

HISTORY OF THE DAUGHTERS

**A Compendium of the Epoch
c. 1935 b.c./b.c.e. to 44 a.d./c.e.**

**As Reported by Primary Ancient
Ecclesiastical and Secular Writers, being:
*Old Testament Scribes,
Herodotus,
Xenophon,
Apocrypha Scribes,
Josephus and,
New Testament Scribes,*
supplemented by
*Classic Greek and Roman Historians.***

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PREFACE

Collection and assembly of data followed specific guidelines:

To maintain a clear field for comparisons, by employing and fully citing a fixed core bibliography;

To focus on and fully incorporate female data as well as male;

To eschew subjective elements in secondary sources, or identify them as such.

This historical project--academically independent and non-denominational--culminated in 2004 with free publication on the World Wide Web, where each of 70 segments is linkable from a detailed table of contents. The second, 2006 edition provided an extensive index table of names. This present third edition reflects a few last text adjustments.

All care was taken to avoid clerical error in transmittal of data. Brief summaries of classic world histories, included for chronological coursing, naturally are not full substitutes for actual sources. No authority is claimable for data as reported from the core documents, recognizing the many versions extant. The quarter-century research and production of this project would be enhanced by resolutions of any contradictions that should arise. In that regard, this publisher can do no better than quote J. Lempriere, from the Preface to his classical dictionary:

"This compilation cannot be made perfect all at once. It must still have its faults and omissions, however cautious and vigilant...and in every page there may be found, in the opinion of some, room for improvement and addition, [and this publisher], also, will be grateful...for whatever observations the friendly critic may make...and take advantage of the remarks of every judicious reader."

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VOLUME/BOOK FOUR

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Book One Introductory Summary

The First 1000 Years¹ Sarah and Abraham to King David and Bath-Sheba

Sarai/Sarah is the first identified mother of *Old Testament* lineage after Eve. Sarah is encountered on departure from “Ur of the Chaldeans” some four thousand years ago--c. 1935 b.c.²--bound for home territory of relatives. She was in the company of her father Terah, husband Abram/Abraham, and Abraham’s nephew Lot. Terah had been father also of Abraham’s full or half-brothers: Haran, Lot’s father, who previously had died in Ur; and Nahor, who bore the same name as Terah’s father. No mothers’ names of Terah’s children are given, but Sarah is acknowledged also to have been Abraham’s half-sister: “[D]aughter of my father she is, only not daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.”³

Sarah, Terah, Abraham and Lot traveled from Ur to the region loosely referred to as “Aram,” where the family had ties to two districts: “Aram-naharaim” and to its west the plain of “Paddan-Aram.” Aram-naharaim had a city named Nahor; and Paddan-Aram had a city named Haran, where Terah and company sojourned for an unspecified time.

Terah died in Haran. After an undisclosed period following his death, Abraham, Sarah and Lot left Haran and emigrated southward into Canaan. In this period “Canaan” generally refers to the territory bordered on the north by Aram, central to northeast by the Jordan River, south/southeast by Edom, and west by the Mediterranean Sea.⁴

By the time Abraham’s household reached Shechem, some 30 miles north of Jerusalem, Abraham and Lot together had more sheep and oxen than the land could sustain without strife. They separated, agreeing that Lot’s purview would be the lower Jordan-basin region and points south. Lot pitched his tents as far as Sodom along Canaan’s south boundary.

Abraham and Sarah then are described moving between various sites, at which the lengths of their stays are not specified. They spent some time in low mountains between Ai and Bethel, where Abraham built an altar. Eventually a famine in the land caused them to migrate south into Egypt. While there, a pharaoh commandeered Sarah for a period of time but then returned her to Abraham, after which Abraham and Sarah returned via the Negeb/Negev to the Ai/Bethel area. Later, at Gerar (8-12 miles south/southeast of modern Gaza, then Philistine country), its king Abimelech appropriated Sarah in the same manner as had the Egyptian pharaoh, and Abimelech also subsequently returned her to Abraham.⁵

¹ The *Genesis* and *Exodus* books of the *Old Testament/Hebrew Scriptures* are cited intermittently in this introductory summary; full biblical references are provided in the appendices and attachments. The translated, interlinear English wordings of quoted verses have not been rephrased; the English translations are supplied exactly as they appear beneath the Hebrew, in the referenced *Old Testament* text.

² This date is an average extrapolation of estimations (e.g. 1925 b.c. offered by *Bible Timeline*; 1943 b.c. by *Aid*; etc. (Longevities of named ancients, whether eponyms or actual individuals, figures in the extrapolations.) See Appendix 1F for Chaldea and Ur.

³ *Genesis* 20:12.

⁴ (a) See Appendix 1A, sub-part I, “Aram/Aramaeans Associations,” and Appendix 2A, Mesopotamia, concerning overlapping descriptions of those regions; (b) the “Mari” tablets of the second millennium b.c. (Appendix 2A, Mari) mention north Mesopotamian cities of Nahor, Terah, Haran, Peleg and Serug. Peleg and Serug are given as the names of Terah’s grandfather and great-great-grandfather (see Appendix 1A, sub-part II); (c) refer to Appendix 1F for “Haran” and “Canaan/ Canaanites.”

⁵ (a) Ai/Hai/(also fem. Aiath and Aija) has been placed about two miles SE of Bethel/Luz (the latter, about 12 miles N of Jerusalem). The Negeb/Negev appears to have embraced the area from Beer-sheba, some 28 mi. SW of Hebron (p. 33), to Kadesh-barnea. Philistine, see Appendix 1F.

Sarah and Abraham next settled by “the oaks of Mamre, the Amorite” at Hebron, where Abraham entered into a covenant with Mamre’s brothers, Eshcol and Aner.⁶ Canaan then was subjected to warring between two alliances of regional principalities.⁷ Lot and his household were captured. Abraham took a contingent of 318 men, pursued the enemy as far as Hobah “on the left of Damascus,” and recovered Lot and Lot’s goods.⁸ Afterward, Abraham and King Melchizedek of *Salem* (an ancient name for Jerusalem) met on excellent diplomatic terms.

Lot ended his days living in a mountain cave with two daughters. Each daughter bore him a son. The sons were named Moab and Ammon.⁹

Abraham’s named offspring consisted of eight children by three named mothers. Keturah--whose origin is not stated, and who is described as a concubine--was mother of six: Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak and Shuah,¹⁰ traditionally accepted as ancestors of various peoples dwelling in regions of north-Arabia to the east and south of Canaan. Hagar, an Egyptian servant of Sarah, gave birth to Ishmael. It is reported that Sarah gave birth to Isaac when she was 91 and Abraham, 100 years old. The relative chronology of births of Ishmael and Keturah’s children cannot be fixed, but the record indicates that Isaac was 13-14 years younger than Ishmael.¹¹

Abraham dismissed Hagar and Ishmael when Isaac was five years old. It is not said precisely when Keturah’s children were separated from Abraham’s household, or if she was alive still and accompanied them. *Genesis* 25:6 reports, “And gave, Abraham, all that was to him to Isaac. And to the sons of concubines...Abraham gave gifts; and sent them away from Isaac his son...eastward, to an eastern land.”

Two daughters of Abraham’s half- or full brother, Haran, are named: Iscah and Milca/Milcah. No further mention is made of Iscah. Milca/Milcah married her uncle Nahor and by him had eight children, some of whom became chiefs in their region(s). Nahor’s “concubine,” Reumah/Reuman, was mother of four children, of which one was a daughter, Maacah.¹²

One of Milcah’s sons by Nahor was named Bethuel. Bethuel, referred to both as “Syrian” and “Aramean[/Aramaean],” was the father of a son and a daughter, Laban and Rebekah, whose mother(s) is/are not named. Rebekah (Isaac’s first cousin twice-removed) was obtained from Nahor City to be Isaac’s wife, at a time some schools calculate as approximately 75 years after Sarah and Abraham left Ur. The death of patriarchal father Abraham has been suggested by some calculations at age 175¹³ (c. 1843 b.c.) and Sarah’s,

⁶ (a) See Appendix 1F for Amorite, Hebron, and Mamre; (b) Eshcol’s one other use is as a thrice-mentioned valley taken to be just north of Hebron; (c) one other use of Aner occurs later as an assigned Levi-Kohathite town or area of uncertain location.

⁷ Kings Chedor-laomer of Elam, Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar, and Tidal of Golim *versus* Bera of Sodom, Birsha of Gomorrah, Shinab of Admah, and Shemeber of Zeboiim. For location of principalities see, for the first two, Appendix 2A, Elam and Babylonia (Shinar). The Ellasar site is uncertain, two mainly-considered possible sites being ancient Larsa, a short distance NE of Ur in Babylonia, or a place nearer Mari (see fn. 4). The remaining five principalities are taken to have been in the south area of the Dead Sea (the “low plain of Siddim”).

⁸ Parallel *Genesis* versions 14 and 19 give different accounts of Lot’s problems at, and his escape from Sodom, including his wife’s fate; one refers to Lot as Abraham’s “brother.”

⁹ See Appendix 1F for Amon/Ammonite and Moab/Moabite.

¹⁰ *Genesis* 25:1-2; *1 Chronicles* 1:32; also Appendix 1A, sub-part III, B, “Descendancy of Keturah,” and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, “Source Quotations,” Shua/Shuah.

¹¹ *Genesis* 17:17, 21-25; Appendix 1F, Ishmael/Ishmaelite.

¹² See (a) for Milcah and Reumah, Appendix 1A, sub-part II, B, “Terah to Leah, Rachel and Rebekah by Generations” (and its fn. 29); (b) for Maacah, Appendix 1A, sub-part I.

¹³ With regard to Abraham’s and Sarah’s burials, see Appendix 1F, Machpelah.

some 40 years earlier.

A tribe, clan or family patriarch served both as ruler and priest,¹⁴ being responsible for the altar and the required sacrifices before it. Upon a patriarch's death, the position did not pass, always, to the firstborn son. As an example, Noah's mantle after the deluge did not descend on first-born, Japheth, or second-born, Ham, but on third son, Shem.

After Rebekah came out of Aram, she and Isaac lived in the vicinity of Gerar, where Isaac initially represented her as his sister, fearing that someone might kill him to gain her fair beauty. The then-king Abimelech of Gerar discerned from Isaac's behavior toward Rebekah that she was his wife. Abimelech chastized Isaac for the deception ("What is this you did to us? Almost had Iain one of the people with your wife and you had sent on us guilt"). King Abimelech then decreed, "Anyone touching man this and his wife, surely he shall be killed."¹⁵

Rebekah and Isaac had two sons, Esau and Jacob. Esau married more than one Canaanite/Ishmaelite woman. His union with Basemath, a first-cousin daughter of Ishmael, produced a son named Reuel. "Reuel" has become synonymous with "Midian," mainly due to Moses' Midianite father-in-law, Reuel/Raguel/Jethro (discussed further, below). Midianites also are referred to as Ishmaelites; but the record lacks direct parental connection between (Keturah + Abraham -) Midian and (Esau + Basemath -) Reuel/Jethro, unless via (Midian + ? -) Ephah.¹⁶ Data about the Ishmaelites/Edomites yields some earmarks of a matriarchal culture that practiced matrilineal marriage and land inheritance.¹⁷

Animosity between brothers Esau and Jacob resulted in Jacob's sojourning in Aram two to three decades, with (Milcha + Nahor - Bethuel + ? -) Laban. No sons of Laban are mentioned. He and unnamed wife/wives had two daughters, Leah and Rachel. While in Aram, Jacob married both Leah and Rachel, his third cousins twice-removed.

The thirteen children sired by Jacob and named as the original Jacobite tribal heads were born of *Lea/Leah*, Rachel, *Zilpha/Zilpah* (unstated heritage) and *Bilha/Bilhah* ("an Egyptian"), as follows:¹⁸

Leah gave birth to *Reuben*/Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, *Zabulon*/Zebulun and *Dina*/Dinah.

Zilpah gave birth to Gad and Asher, considered born for Leah.

Bilhah gave birth to Dan and *Nephtalim*/Naphtali, considered born for Rachel.

¹⁴ Derivation of the word, "priest," began with the Hebrew word, *kohen*. Melchizedek of Salem and Reuel of Midian were referred to as "kohens." In the *Old Testament's* translation to Greek the word used for "kohen" was *hiereus*; its root combines slaughtering and offering of sacrifices. English "priest" derives from Anglo-Saxon *preost*, a contraction of the late Latin *presbyter*, from the Greek, *presbyteros* = elder.

¹⁵ *Genesis* 26:6ff. "Abimelech" occurs also as (a) the name of a son of an unnamed matriarch of Shechem and Judge Gideon (Appendix 1D, II, "Judges"); and (b) possibly the name/title (per *Psalms* 34 superscription) of the ruler of the Philistine-controlled city of Gath (Appendix 2A, *Gath*).

¹⁶ Isaiah refers to the "...camels of Midian and Ephah, all of them shall come from Sheba...." *Isaiah* 60:3. *Ephah* would be the name also of a concubine of Caleb, also discussed further, below.

¹⁷ cf. *Graves and Patai*, pp. 13-14; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 2, "Descendancy of Esau Wives. See *Genesis* 37:25, 27-28 and 39:1, and *Judges* 8:22, 24 for the equating of Midianites with Ishmaelites.

¹⁸ (Italicized names are per *Josephus*.) *Genesis* 37:2 terms both Zilpah and Bilhah as "wives" of Jacob; later, during Jacob's preparation to migrate back to Canaan toward Esau, they are called "slave-girls." *Josephus* describes them as "handmaids...by no means slaves" (*Josephus* *AJ* I.XIX.8). *Josephus* states further about Jacob's children: "Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Lea, and two of Rachel; and four were of the handmaids, two of each...." (*AJ* I.XXI.3.) (Only use of *Zilpah*; see Appendix 1C, fn. 4, for other uses of *Bilhah*.)

Rachel gave birth to Joseph and Benjamin.

All except Joseph and Benjamin were born during Jacob's sojourn with Laban in Paddam-Aram--roughly between 1777 and 1744 b.c.,¹⁹ after which Jacob separated his household from Laban's and emigrated from Aram to Canaan. Jacob's household departed not only with gifts from Laban but also secretly with a "teraphim" that Jacob had considered was legally his. It is said to have been at Rachel's direction that the teraphim was taken.²⁰

The inclusion of Dinah among tribal heads has been claimed as "best understood as a semi-matriarchal tribe included in the Israel confederacy." Hard data is lacking as to Dinah's tribal value and events surrounding a union, proposed by the Shechem kingdom of "Hamor the Hivite," in the marriage of Jacobite Dinah to Hamor's son, prince Shechem. Jacob's sons Levi and Simeon, who were opposed, took "each his sword, and they came on the city...and killed every male and Hamor and Shechem his son."²¹

It was c. 1762 b.c.--before the birth of Benjamin--that the Jacobites had been in the vicinity of Shechem. The next decade they were at Bethel; the third, some five miles south of Jerusalem at the Bethlehem referred to as "Bethlehem-Judah,"²² where Rachel died in the delivery of Benjamin. The Jacobites then are reported at Hebron, at which time Isaac is said to have been 180 years old. Evidently, the Jacobites grazed their herds at places other than where they tented. It is reported that while the household was at Hebron Jacob's older sons went to tend livestock in the Shechem area. One time while there, young son Joseph's half-brothers took hostile action against him that ended in his removal to Egypt with a slave caravan.²³

After the Joseph incident, son Judah separated from the clan and went to tent near "Hirah, the Adullamite."²⁴ There, Judah married a "Canaanite" woman who bore him three sons, Er, Onan and Shelah.²⁵ Er died and left a wife named Tamar, a "Canaanite" also, whose parentage is not given. Tamar entered a levirate betrothal with Er's brother, Onan, but he also met death prematurely. When Judah procrastinated confirmation of Tamar's levirate betrothal to his last son, Shelah, Tamar contrived to and did conceive by Judah, himself, disguising herself as a prostitute to accomplish it. Tamar gave birth to twins, Pharez/Phares/Perez and Zarah/Zerah.²⁶

Famine in Canaan, for an unspecified number of years after Joseph's disappearance,

¹⁹ (Per *Aid*.) It cannot be overemphasized that dates cannot be taken as fixed; debate continues about entire periods. Approximate dates suffice, however, for relating chronology of events--regardless whether ancestral names are taken as eponyms or actual individuals. As examples, (a) the timeline from Noah through son Shem's death, as reported at age 600, would end c. 1785 b.c., more or less when Jacob was fleeing Esau; and (b) Shem's great-grandson Eber's death at age 464, c. 1758 b.c., would coincide more or less with Jacob moving his tents from Shechem to Bethel, before the birth of Joseph and Benjamin.

²⁰ Archeological finds in Mesopotamian surroundings indicate such *teraphim*/idols were connected with establishing rights of inheritance.

²¹ The first quotation in this paragraph is from *Graves and Patai*, page 13; the second, *Genesis* 34:8ff. (Refer to Appendix 1C, V, C, Dinah, for additional detail on the Shechem incident.)

²² See Appendix 1B, "Ephrath, etc." and Appendix 4C, Bethlehem (a second Bethlehem appears as being in Zebulun territory).

²³ Father Jacob was led to believe Joseph had been killed by an animal; refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part V, B, Joseph.

²⁴ Only use of Hirah. Adullam is associated with two sites, one suggested in the vicinity of Machaerus and the other, a city and petty kingdom near the south Canaan border, about midway between Bethlehem and Lachish.

²⁵ This is an early instance of the difficulties in establishing familial relationships due to uncertain translated sentence structure and punctuation, i.e. per *Genesis* 38:2, "And saw there Judah a daughter of a *man* Canaanite named Shuah;" per 1 *Chronicles* 2:3, "The sons of Judah: Er and Onan and Shelah...three were born to him from the daughter of Shua the Canaanitess."

²⁶ "Levirate Duty and Redemption," Appendix 1C, sub-part VII; *Genesis* 38; Appendix 1C, sub-part VIII. Post-exodus, the lineage line Abraham/Isaac/Jacob/Judah passes through Pharez/Phares/Perez. Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Pharez, etc.; Appendix 1F, "Perrizites." See Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, for other uses of Zerah.

forced the Jacobites to seek sustenance from Egypt. In the interim Joseph in Egypt had risen to considerable governmental power. He was married to Asenath, daughter of Egyptian priest and/or priestess, Potipher/Potiphera of On/Heliopolis. They had two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. No daughters are mentioned. At the height of the famine, Joseph's survival and position in Egypt were discovered by the Jacobites, and the Egyptian government peaceably welcomed them *en masse* c. 1705 b.c. (At some time prior to entry into Egypt, Reuben is reported having joined forces with Bilhah in a manner judged inappropriate.) In Egypt the Jacobites were granted territory for subsistence, and a colony was established, referred to as "Goshen." It is believed to have been in the eastern part of the Nile delta near the entrance to Egypt proper.²⁷

The reunion of the Jacobite branches from Canaan with the Josephite branch in Egypt involved descendant relatives unto second and third generations of Jacob. Leah's Judah and Zilpah's Asher each already had two grandson families. The Jacobites multiplied and endured in Egypt a long period, taken at some four centuries.

Levi had entered Egypt with three sons: Gershon, Kohath and Merari. Their mothers are not named. From them sprang eight Levi grandsons: Libni and Shimei (sons of Gershon); Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel (sons of Kohath), and Mahli and Mushi (sons of Merari). No mothers are named.

One daughter of Levi is reported. Her name was Jochebed/Jochebad, and she was born to him in Egypt. Jochebed's mother also is unknown, but her name once may have been in the text.²⁸

By the time of Moses' birth, the status of Jacobite descendants in Egypt was much different than when their ancestors had settled in Goshen²⁹ under Joseph's wing. Egyptian resources had dwindled dramatically as its territory suffered invasions by Ethiopians, who "never left off the prosecution of the war." The Goshenite Hebrews became increasingly subjugated under heavy taxation and forced labor to the extent that Pharaoh ordered Hebrew mid-wives to kill all male newborns.

At some point Jochebed became wife to her nephew Amram: "And took, Amram, Jochebed his aunt to him for a wife; and she bore to him Aaron and Moses." It has been conjectured that Jochebed was Levi's granddaughter rather than daughter, because some manuscripts refer to her as "cousin" or "kin" of Amram. However, as progressively will be noted, inter-generational marriages of relatives, which was not unusual, could render one simultaneously both aunt or uncle *and* cousin of another, and thus be referenceable as either. Jochebed directly is identified as Miriam's mother, but associated language does not state definitively that Amram was her biological father.³⁰ Miriam's age cannot be drawn from the text. She has been surmised as some 12 to 14 years older than Aaron. That estimate is based on the age that would be expected, for her to have been the girl who assisted in the preserving of Moses' infant life. The "sister" there involved, however, is not named in the

²⁷ Concerning Goshen's location, see Appendix 1F, Goshen. (*Graves and Patai* have interpreted Reuben's 'seduction' of Bilhah [Genesis 35:22] as symbolizing Reuben's attainment of tribal alliances with Dan and Naphtali; page 242.)

²⁸ "Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom *** bore her to Levi in Egypt," in which verse the referenced interlinear has inserted, "whom [one] bore her to Levi in Egypt." *Numbers* 26:59.

²⁹ *Jasher* VI.6. Potential relationship is not explored here, of Goshen, with "a place that contained ten thousand acres...named Avaris," to which Egyptian kings ultimately confined the "Hyksos/[shepherd kings]," to whom *Josephus* refers [after quoting *Menetho*] as "no other than our forefathers." *Against Apion*, I.14-16.

³⁰ *Exodus* 6:20 and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, for pertinent verses. It is possible that the conjunction, *and*, plus punctuation in the listing in *Numbers* 26:59 ("x and x, *and* x"), together with omission of Miriam at *Exodus* 6:20, may denote a different father (there are a number of listings where a man's children are recited seemingly separatedly, in the form "x, x, x, *and* x, *and* x," etc.) Descendancy recitations also vary in their use of terms, *son of*, *bom of*, *bore to* and *fathered*; while the term *son* also may denote *tribal* as opposed to *biological* (e.g. Adah's grandsons being referred to also as her *sons*--Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (e) Adah).

account.³¹

There is no biblical detail of Moses' life until the event, related in *Exodus*, of his intervention to save the life of a man in the Goshen community. *Josephus* relates, however, that Moses commanded a conscripted Hebrew army commissioned to fight Ethiopians. Egypt's leaders--all save Thermuthis, the Egyptian pharaoh's daughter--apparently already were at odds with Moses, at once using him and hoping for his death in the battle. Thermuthis is said to have released Moses for the Ethiopian expedition on the others' promise that he would come to no harm; but "the sacred scribes of both nations were glad--those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general."³²

The Ethiopians retreated before Moses' army, which "went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of [them]." A last siege at the Ethiopian royal city ended when Moses accepted the offer of marriage of the Ethiopian king's daughter, Tharbis. The city was delivered up to him; Moses "consummated his marriage, and led the *Egyptians* [*sic.*;/his army] back to their own land."

According to the apocryphal account, it was after the death of Thermuthis (her father having predeceased her) that Moses "came up out of Egypt," and "sojourned with his brethren in the land of Goshen." There, grieved by the oppression of his brethren, he proposed to the people:

"Let us shake off the yoke of the Egyptians.... We be more in number.... The fifth part of the increase of our lands will we not give the Egyptians: neither will we serve Pharaoh any longer [/bow down to Pharaoh] one day more.' Now when it was told Pharaoh, that Moses stirred up the people...[he] sent messengers unto Moses, but they found him not: for he had fled [/gone out of] the land of Goshen...into the land of Midian."³³

According to the biblical pre-exodus account, Moses killed and hid the body of an Egyptian that he had encountered striking a Hebrew man. Then, when Moses later intervened in a quarrel between two other Hebrew men, the guilty one responded:

"Who appointed you as a man, a prince and a judge over us? To kill me you say, as you killed the Egyptian?' And feared Moses, and said, 'Surely is known the thing.' And heard Pharaoh thing this and he sought to kill Moses. And fled Moses...and lived in the land of Midian."³⁴

Moses abided 39 years with the Midianites, in the region of descendants of Ishmael.³⁵ There he married Zipporah, daughter of Midianite kohen (high priest/ruler) Reuel/Jethro.

³¹ *Exodus* 2:3-4: To save Moses, his [there unnamed] mother placed him, under his [there unnamed] sister's eye, by the river in a waterproofed basket, where he was found by Pharaoh's [unnamed] daughter, who sent the sister to find a woman to wet-nurse and tend him. The [unnamed] sister brought his [unnamed] mother, etc. Conversely, *Jasher* VI:9 ff. names Jochebad with Miriam approaching Pharaoh's daughter, who "sought to turn away the evil...of her father...," and Jochebad said, 'Behold here the son of thy handmaid!' Pharaoh's daughter took the infant, saying, "This shall be my son." *Jasher* states that Moses was the first Hebrew male born after the edict; *Josephus* gives the pharaoh-king's daughter's name, Thermuthis; *AJ* II.IX.5-7. See Appendix 1C, sub-part II, B, for *Book of Jasher/Jashar/Jesher*.

³² This and next paragraph, *AJ* II.IX.

³³ *Jasher* VI:1ff. ("Then "it came to pass...that Pharaoh died; and the daughter of Pharaoh died also. And there arose up a king who knew not Moses; neither regarded he the children of Israel"); *Jasher* VI:3-6.

³⁴ *Exodus* 2:11-15.

³⁵ (a) Appendix 1A, Attachment 2; (b) Appendix 1F, "Midian/Midianites;" (c) Reuel/Jethro also appears referred to as "Jether" and "Raguel"--see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Jethro and Reuel.

Moses' wife Zipporah had two children, Eliezer and Gershom/Gershon, of whom on the record only Gershom/n is identified as "son of Moses." Eventually the pharaoh who wanted Moses dead died himself. Moses, having sent son Gershom/n ahead, returned to Goshen (roughly estimated, c. 1275 b.c.), where he began to exhort emigration to Canaan. Moses' Ishmaelite alliance did not abet his cause--he had to send Zipporah and sons back to Reuel, to be reunited when the exodus congregation reached Midian territory. In the meantime, in Goshen, "Caleb, the son of Hezron," is reported as having "invented the bow...and learnt his brethren to prepare themselves for...battle."³⁶

It was decided first to ask Pharaoh to permit the people's passage through and out of Egypt territory, with Aaron as delegation spokesperson. Pharaoh refused the proposal for safe passage,³⁷ replying that the House of Jacob was nurture for Egypt. When he denied further to allow extra time for the sorely-pressed Goshenites to gather taxes due, they rebuked Moses for 'causing more trouble than good.' *Jasher* (not all of which parallels *Exodus*) reports subsequent events as follows:

- Caleb proposed they depart anyway, armed, but not do battle unless the Egyptians attacked.
- Pharaoh, who heard of the plan, was intimidated by the organized force and began to bargain. He demanded all their property be left behind, including herds of animals. Moses replied his people would so leave their goods but for a price, and an agreed price of sale was reached. Miriam was granted her request to keep a male and female animal of each available species.
- After making payment, the Egyptians claimed that the property they had given exceeded the value received and threatened pursuit. Moses returned a message, that if a wrong had been done it would be corrected. Pharaoh agreed to wait one more day.
- Caleb reminded everyone of the burdens Egypt had inflicted on them. It was decided the assembly would leave that night, at a time that would allow their movement to coincide with the hour of reflux of water at the Red Sea passage, which--when the waters returned--would be impassable for Egypt's war chariots.
- When Pharaoh heard the next day that the Hebrew army (600,000 men, besides woman and children) had crossed and was assembled on the other side, he reluctantly (not without animosity) gave up the chase.

The final number of 12 post-exodus Jacobite tribes reflects (a) the disappearance of Dinah; (b) the granting of individual tribal status, on a par with their uncles, for Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Asenath and Joseph; and (c) the creation of a separate status for Leviites. Only three tribes are named in Moses' assembly of exodus leaders. All 12 tribes are included in later enumerations of the exodus army of registered, able-bodied men formally organized with assigned chieftains.³⁸

Conviction was not total on the part of all the people, when "went out all the armies of

³⁶ *Jasher* VI:12-13.

³⁷ Exodus 7:6ff. (Per *Jasher* IX, Moses' magic did not exceed that of the Egyptian priests.)

³⁸ Refer to Appendix 1C--part III for the initial assembly, part V, C for a summary of the 12 tribal leaders and counts, and fn. 55 regarding the terms *Levite* and *Levite*.

[Tet.³⁹] from the land of Egypt” with Moses. Miriam is depicted as a prophetess, playing an important role in maintaining the people’s confidence and solving practical problems along the way. She is credited, additionally, with directing breeding of livestock and finding of water, and proposing that the assembly settle at “Elyma”/Elim. There they lived in tents; and, using some of their treasury to buy supplies in nearby “Rephidim” of the Amalekites, they undertook a sojourn of land cultivation.⁴⁰

The pre- to post-exodus period spanned complex relationships, in which lineage transmissions and tribal sonships ultimately as given cannot be correlated with data available of matings and descendancies--particularly those of Hezron, Chelub/Chelubai/Caleb, and Hur, *vis-a-vis* a shared wife/mother named Ephrath/Ephrathah. Ephrathah marks the exodus complex as Tamar did the pre-Egyptian period.⁴¹ The rosters show Abrahamitic descentance to king David via Isaac-Jacob-Judah-Pharez/Phares/Perez to Hezron, and from Hezron via *Ram-Amminadab*[Izhar?] to king David. Ephrath/Ephrathah, Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Caleb, and Amminadab all involve issues of identity and bloodline transmissions unresolvable on the record.

There is no data as to the ages of individuals or the relative times of reported unions and events. The potential disparities between ages of spouses (together with those in levirate marriages, in which a wife might be considerably older than the new husband), coupled with the tender age at which girls bore children, associate further with lapses, contradictions and language to admit of more than one interpretation. Additionally there is evidence of cases in genealogical listings where, when a son z was sired by a husband named y of a woman whose father’s name was x, x appears as the siring husband’s name—i.e. “z, son of x.”⁴²

(1) At the time of entry into Egypt, Leah’s and Jacob’s son, Reuben, had a son named *Assaron*[/?later, Hezron]. Tamar’s and Judah’s son, Pharez/Phares/Perez, had a son named *Esdrom*[/?later, Hezron]. The post-exodus reports give the appearance that *Assaronites* and *Esdromites* became collectively simply “Hezronites,” some designated sons of Reuben and some, Judah.

(2) Mother(s) of the three primary Hezron sons, Jerahmeel, Ram/Arni and Chelubai/Caleb, is/are not named, while Ephrathah is the only one of three Hezron wives to whom no Hezron children are ascribed. A reference to “Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel,” has been taken to denote a second Ram, a Hezron grandson; however, the one reference to (Jerahmeel-) Ram as a “son” of Hezron also would meet referential parameters of the patriarchal system, if the mother of (Jerahmeel-) Ram was a Hezron daughter.

(3) According to *Josephus*, Hur was Miriam’s husband.⁴³ The verses that describe

³⁹ *Exodus* 12:41. [Tet.] is an abbreviation used in this work for ‘*the tetragrammaton*,’ the consonants originally appearing scripturally as written representation of the word for or ‘name’ of “God”—see Appendix 4D, *Tetragrammaton*.

⁴⁰ *Jasher* XII. Elyma has been suggested as on the Sinai peninsula, about 52 miles S/SE of Suez. Rephidim’s location likewise is uncertain, in that determination of locations has been influenced by extrapolated theories of the actual exodus route.

⁴¹ Refer to Appendix 1B, “Ephrath/Ephrathah;” Appendix 1C, sub-part II, “‘Hezronic’ Period;” 1C, Attachment 1, chart; and Appendix 1C, sub-part VIII, “Lineage Roster, etc.”

⁴² This phenomenon, which emerges in comparisons of text with explorative charts (and touches, also, on the distaff side, as explored in book four), was interpreted strictly by M’Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia*, Vol. III, p. 774: “In constructing their genealogical tables, it is well known that the [Hebrews] reckoned wholly by males, rejecting, where the blood of the grandfather passed to the grandson through a daughter, the name of the daughter herself, and counting that daughter’s husband for the son of maternal grandfather.” (Quoted from *Aid*, p. 1118.)

⁴³ and “Bezaleel” her grandson—refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Miriam*.

connections between Ephrathah, Caleb, Miriam and Hur prevent discernment of any relationship of Ephrathah to Miriam (discounting the widest speculation, that they may have been one and the same). That Ephrathah “bore” Hur to Caleb might mean that, instead of giving birth to him by Caleb, she, when taken to wife, brought Hur with her, while the pertinent biblical verses, when strictly read, allow for Hur to have become Miriam’s husband. (Hur--the name also of a Midianite king--later is named among the “sons of Judah.”)

(4) In addition to the Hur issue, an obtuse verse which appears to name Caleb sons⁴⁴ brings into question lineage transmissions via “Shobal, the father of Kirjath-jearim,” and “Salma, the father of Bethlehem” (“father” denoting *founder* of the named site). Shobal (the name also of a Horite sheik of Seir) later also is named among the “sons of Judah.” Uncertainty exists, as well, as to whether there was/were one or two individuals named Salma/Salmon, the name via which royal lineage passed Ram-Amminadab-Nahshon-*Salmon*-Boaz-Jesse-David.

(5) A final question in the Hezronic period is whether there was one or were two men named “Chelubai/Caleb,” who appears both as a son of Hezron and a son of “Jephunneh, the Kenazite/Kenezite.” Jephunneh traditionally is presumed to have been a male; but even when Jephunneh is taken as female some commentators still endorse two Calebs, citing excessive lapsed time for the Calebs to have been one and the same. An unnaturally long life would not have been required, however, for one Chelubai/Caleb (a) to have been one of the 12 men sent by Moses to assess capturability of Canaan land, (b) to have acquired Hezron wives, and (c) also to have been the 85-year-old Caleb to whom Joshua confirmed inheritance in perpetuity of Hebron land, after being reminded of Moses’ guarantee of it.⁴⁵

Prior to the northward move (apparently during the sojourn at Elyma/Elim), depending on the source, either the Amalekites attacked without warning or Moses proposed dispossessing Amalek. Miriam suggested that a message first be sent to Amalek (“Peradventure he will go quietly out of the land,” she said), and that they offer to buy Amalek’s possessions (“That they may have silver and gold, to buy food and raiment in the lands wherein they shall be strangers”). Moses sent a message, to which Amalek responded, “What meaneth Moses the stranger! Have I done any wrong unto the descendants of Jacob? Will they take from me that which is my own, the land of the Amalekites?” In any event, Moses commanded Caleb and Joshua to go up, and the Amalekites lost the battle.⁴⁶

After Elyma/Elim, the exodus population is depicted in the area of Mount Sinai/Horeb.⁴⁷ There, Moses undertook structuring government and establishing laws and leadership, either (again depending on the source) with or without consultation with and instructions from father-in-law Reuel/Jethro. Certain Reuben and Levi descendants decried Moses’ exercise of authority as exceeding legitimate limits, particularly when he ordained chief priesthood in the line of Aaron, who had taken to wife Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab. Elisheba’s mother is not named; Amminadab follows Ram in the lineage to David. Elisheba also was “sister” of Nahshon, who follows Amminadab in the lineage roster. The controversy brought about the extinction of Elisheba’s sons, Nadab and Abihu; confrontations culminated in a standoff between Moses and his cousin, Korah.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ 1 Chronicles 2:50-51; see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Caleb #16.

⁴⁵ Noted below in discussion of the south-Canaan campaign, at fn. 54.

⁴⁶ Exodus 17:8; *Jasher* XIII.

⁴⁷ Traditionally linked to a central ridge in the south-Sinai.

⁴⁸ The biblical language does not permit discerning whether Nadab and Abihu in fact also were sons of Aaron. For detail on this paragraph see Appendix 1C, IV, “Moses’ Conferences on the Mountain and Connected Events,” and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1,

The next-reported post-exodus conquest was of “the Amorite.”⁴⁹ Moses divided the conquered area east of the lower Jordan River, between the Arnon and Jabbock torrent valleys, into three plots. He granted the plots (south to north, respectively) to Reuben, Gad, and the Manasseh branch of Manasseh-Machir, “the father of Gilead.”⁵⁰ The grant comprised a wedge of territory that Amorite king Sihon had wrested from between the lands of Moab and Ammon. Moses conditioned the grant to the tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasseh-Machir on a pledge that they militarily would continue to assist the confederation, until its final goal was attained.

Moses died in Moab territory on Mt. Arabim/Nebo (“the top of Pisgah;” placed about 15 miles east of the Jordan River, parallel with the north end of the Dead/Salt Sea). Before his death, Moses designated “Oshea, the son of Nun, Joshua,”⁵¹ Moses’ “attendant”/“minister,” to be his successor.⁵² Joshua is referred to as an Ephraimite.

Telescoped scriptural accounts suggest a relatively quick invasion and takeover of Canaan. A “peasants’ revolt” model theorizes gradual incursions, assisted by common cause unions of Abraham descendants.⁵³ In the move onto Canaan territory, certain of the remaining tribal groups also realized land possession before others. During the southern Canaan campaign, Caleb’s full or half-brother, Othniel, joined Caleb and Judah chieftain Nahshon to secure Judah’s allotment. At Gilgal, west of the Jordan River near Jericho, Caleb requested and Joshua reconfirmed the Calebite inheritance conferred earlier by Moses.⁵⁴

The texts lack detail overall as to degrees in which tribes did or did not gain possession of their territorial allotments versus opposition met. Ephraim and the ‘second one-half’ of Manasseh were assigned land from the Jordan River west to the Mediterranean, to be bounded by Issachar on the north and Dan and Benjamin on the south. Ephraim-designated ground was a large center swath of Canaan embracing Shiloh (where Joshua had⁵⁵ established the tabernacle), Bethel (shared with Benjamin), Ramah, and Beth-Horon. Manasseh-west land was north of Ephraim’s and included Shechem and nearby Samaria City. Ephraim and Manasseh each contained some enclaves of the other; later, Issachar and Asher would contain enclaves of Manassehites also. Over time, the Ephraim/Manasseh districts would come to be embraced in the regional designation, “Samaria.” Like Judah in the south, Ephraim came to dominate in the region formed by it and Manasseh-west, although the texts at times refer to the northern districts by the tribal name, Joseph, after Ephraim’s and Manasseh’s father.

“Source Quotations.” (For the ensuing progression of Chief Priests, commencing with [Aaron-] Eleazar and Ithamar, see Appendix 3B, II.)

⁴⁹ See Appendix 1F, Amorite.

⁵⁰ This presents a possible corroborative of posed overlaps in sequencing of circumstances and events. Seemingly after Caleb’s “taking” of Ephraim, Hezron “went in...and took the [unnamed--*Abiah?*] daughter of Machir father of Gilead,” when he was “a son of sixty years.” Refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Hezron # (8).

⁵¹ *Deuteronomy* 31:23, 32:48; *Exodus* 33:11; *Joshua* 1:1. *1 Chronicles* 7:19-27, taken as Joshua’s full descendancy, shows (Non-) Jehohshua. There it is recounted as follows: (Asenath + Joseph-) Ephraim was left childless after men of Gath killed eight of his sons. His [unnamed] wife then bore him a son, Berah/Beriah, who had a daughter, Sherah, who “built Beth-horon the lower and the upper.” The subsequent verses are confusing but appear to indicate (Beriah + ? -) Sherah, Rephah and Resheph [and/or Telah-] Tahan-Laadan-Ammihud-Elishama-(Non-) Jehohshua. Elishama, who then would have been Joshua’s grandfather, was Ephraim’s chief at the time of the first post-exodus registration.

⁵² *Numbers* 13:8 and 16.

⁵³ *Mendenhall’s* theory--in concert with scriptural and secular evidence, as to persisting schisms between conflicting traditions; documented in depth by *Meek*.

⁵⁴ At Gilgal, Caleb said, in effect, ‘You know what Moses said to you and me in Kadesh-barnea. I was 40 years old when he sent me to spy the land...today I am 85.... ...[G]ive to me this mountain.... [A]nd Joshua blessed him and gave Hebron to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance.’ Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Caleb; Attachment 2A, Gilgal.

⁵⁵ Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI traces tabernacle sites; see Appendix 2A for Bethel, Beth-Horon, Ramah and Shiloh.

Final Manasseh-west allotments involved five daughters of (Asenath + Joseph – Manasseh - Machir-Gilead-Hepher-) Zelophehad, who had died before Moses. After Zelophehad's death, the five daughters had sought and received judgment from Moses which assured their future right to inherit allotments on an equal basis with their uncles. Subsequently, on the uncles' petition, Moses revised the original ruling to require the Zelophehad daughters to marry within their tribe: "That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe."⁵⁶

As Joshua advanced in age at Shiloh, land remained undecided for seven tribes and Leviite enclaves. Before those lots were determined, Joshua established certain borders: Judah would "stay within its border 'on the south,'" and Ephraim and Manasseh would "stay within their border 'on the north,'" but the text references are too obscure to fix distinct borders. Joshua then told the representatives of the seven, still-landless tribes to take the balance of the unallotted ground and, "...divide...and map the land in seven portions and bring [the map] to me here, and I shall cast a lot for you...." The following assignments for territory still untaken then were made:

- Asher: A swath south of Phoenicia along the Mediterranean coast to the Manasseh-west line, with Naphtali, Zebulun and Issachar at its east.
- Benjamin: A narrow portion between Ephraim and Judah, with Dan at the west and the Jordan River at the east.
- Dan: A relatively small portion between Ephraim and Judah, with Benjamin at the east and the Mediterranean at the west.
- Issachar: An area encircled clockwise respectively by Zebulun, the Jordan River below the Sea of Galilee, Manasseh-west, and Asher.
- Naphtali: Encircled clockwise by Phoenicia and 'Syria,' the upper Jordan and Sea of Galilee, Issachar, Zebulun and Asher.
- Zebulun: A relatively small area encircled clockwise by Naphtali, Issachar and Asher.
- Simeon: Did not receive a separate allotment. Simeon's inheritance was fixed "inside the inheritance of the sons of Judah..., for the part of the sons of Judah was too much for them."⁵⁷ The enclaved Simeon territory carved from Judah consisted of 17 villages and cities including Beer-Sheba, Bethel and Ziklag, with land and additional villages surrounding some of them.

It was at Shiloh, also, that the heads of Levi petitioned Joshua and then-chief priest (Elisheba + Aaron -) Eleazar for their enclaved inheritances. Sites for Leviite occupation were selected throughout the territories, there being some uncertainty in the texts as to exact number and locations. Of forty-eight chosen sites, 13 were specified Aaronic, nine in Judah/Simeon and four in Benjamin, as shown below.

⁵⁶ AJ, IV.VII.5. (This is an instance where *Josephus* is lacking, giving only Moses' revised ruling); refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, "Zelophehadites."

⁵⁷ Perhaps Simeon's numbers had continued to decrease as dramatically as they had (62%) between the first and second army counts/censuses; refer to Appendix 1C, V, C, Simeon.

The designated Aaronic Levite and non-Aaronic Leviite enclaves were:⁵⁸

Levi-Gershon-LIBNI and Shimei-GERSHOM:

13 in Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and east-Manasseh (Bashan).

Levi-Kohath-Amram-AARON:

Cities and suburbs/pasture lands in Judah/Simeon and Benjamin. *Chronicles* names those in Judah territory as Hebron, Libnah, Jattir, Eshtemoa, Holon/Hilen, Debir, Ain/Ashan, and Beth-shemesh; in Benjamin territory, Geba, Alemeth and Anathoth. *Joshua* names two others, Juttah in Judah and Gibeon in Benjamin, for a total of 13.

Levi-Kohath-Izhar-KORAH, NEPHEG AND ZICHRI,

Levi-Kohath-HEBRON and

Levi-Kohath-Uzziel-MISHAEL, ELIZAPHAN AND SITHRI:

10 enclaves in Manasseh-west, Ephraim and Dan--among them, Shechem with its suburbs in Mount Ephraim, Gezer, and Beth-Horon with its suburbs.

Merari-Mahli-ELEAZAR (died; daughters taken by cousins, sons of Kish) and KISH, and

Merari-MUSHI:

12 enclaves in Reuben, Gad, and Zebulon.

The tribes' continuing struggles for homelands were subject to infra-political balances. The Reubenites, Gadites and Manassehites-east, as they had pledged, did fight unto Shiloh with and for the others, after which Joshua released them to return home. But when word came that they had built an altar at their western boundary, the other tribes felt threatened. At Shiloh, an assembly called for war. Western chiefs led by then-chief priest (Elisheba + Aaron - Eleazar + ? -) Phinehas challenged the altar's existence and purpose. Reuben's leaders responded that the altar in no way stood authoritatively, only as witness for future generations as to the faithfulness among the people on both sides of the river. Their reply satisfied the western congregation, and overt hostilities were avoided.

Significant centers (Bethel, Ramah, Mizpeh, Jerusalem and Gibeah) were on or bordered Benjamin land. Shiloh, just north of Benjamin's line, was the first long-time home of the Ark of the Covenant. Shiloh remained a religious center during the entire ensuing era, when the tribes appear to have practiced autonomy in selection of their judges and there was no centralized leadership. During that 'period of the Judges,' the tribal clans individually continued to pursue their apportionments, at times joining⁵⁹ forces under one or another chief judge/commander when mutual circumstances benefited.

Dire mutual defense needs against the Philistines in the 11th century b.c. foreshadowed the ending of the era of Judges. Philistia territory, united in an axis of the rulers of its cities, was a formidable foe with "war chariots with iron scythes."⁶⁰ The Jacobite

⁵⁸ *Chronicles* and *Joshua* agree on 11 of them; Appendix 2A provides locations of many of the cities named. Descendancies beyond third-generation Levi cousins become intricate in the non-Aaronite stems. Some lines ultimately lose individual identity altogether, or re-emerge variously removed or interveningly absorbed (e.g. Eleazar via Kish by the time of Samuel and Saul, opposed to Shelah in Ezra's time). Appendix 1C, V, C, Levi, offers some additional detail.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 1D, II, "Judges" for this period, roughly from after Joshua's death to the appointment of King Saul. (Appendix 2A, "Ark of the Covenant," gives the status of the Ark at varying times.)

⁶⁰ *Judges* 1:18-19. The home area of legendary Judge Samson bordered on Philistia; he appears earlier to have attempted an alliance with the Philistines (Appendix 1D, II, "Judges").

tribes had battled on and off with Philistia, but by approximately 1060 b.c. the Philistines had expanded into and established garrisons in Canaan heartlands. The occupied populations were kept weaponless, prohibited from having their own smiths, and forced to go to the Philistines even to sharpen agricultural tools.

About 1049 b.c. both sons of then-high priest/judge Eli died battling Philistines, and Eli died immediately thereafter.⁶¹ Eli was succeeded by Samuel, an "Ephrathite" of Ramathaim-zophim/Ramah. Samuel, the son of one Hannah by an Elkanah of Levi-Kohathite descent, had been reared under Eli at the Shiloh sanctuary.⁶² Samuel is identified as judge-commander after Eli's death, but not as a chief or high priest.

The next decade was one of attacks from all sides. Ammonites, Moabites and Amalekites/Edomites regained ground, as a result of unremitting Philistine aggression on other fronts. After the Philistines destroyed Shiloh and took possession of the Ark, military unification was the tribes' last hope. Regional elders pressed for the selection of an overall commander-in-chief/"king."

Samuel chose Saul, a Benjaminite whose ancestors had settled Gibeon.⁶³ Saul, the first man solidly referred to on record as the people's "king," fought valiantly for two years but managed barely to hold ground. Samuel's support then switched to David, youngest son of one Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, whose three eldest sons had been soldiers under Saul. With time, David gained in position at Saul's court, abetted by impressive successes in battle.

Faction by faction, David gradually acquired an independent army, and he established a command in Judah. Saul and his leading sons were killed in a major battle with Philistines at Mt. Gilboa, after which the path was open for David to reorder forces and alliances. In due time David drove back external foes, subdued internal ones, and secured a fully-fledged kingdom over which he reigned as its first great monarch. King David would reign for four decades and be succeeded by Solomon, one of Bath-Sheba's four sons by David.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Eli, upon hearing of the death of his sons, Hophni and Phinehas, "fell and broke his neck." In addition to Appendix 1D, II, *refer also to* (a) Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A, "Chief Priests as Derivably Specified," concerning the long interim transfer of chief priesthood from the (Elisheba + Aaron -) Eleazar line to the (Elisheba + Aaron -) Ithamar line, from which latter Eli descended; and (b) Appendix 2A, "Eli, Descendancy of."

⁶² See Appendix 3B, I, Elkanah, and 2A, Ramah.

⁶³ See Appendix 2A, Geba, etc.

⁶⁴ *Refer to* Appendix 1E, "Saul Through Solomon," for details.

Appendix 1A

I. ARAM/ARAMAEAN ASSOCIATIONS

A. Aram.

1. The Region.

“Aram” by itself often biblically is rendered or understood as ‘Syria.’ While Aram did embrace at least the northern half of present-day Syria, ancient references to “Aram” apparently overlapped the border of present-day Turkey, as well as equating partially with the upper western “Mesopotamia” region.¹ The Aram region figured significantly in tribal history.

In addition to the city in the district of Aram-naharaim that bore the name “Nahor”--the name also of Abraham’s grandfather and one brother--a city in the district of Paddan-aram was named Haran, the name of Abraham’s other brother. Abraham sent for a bride for Isaac from “Mesopotamia,” telling his servant, “[T]o my country and my kindred you shall go and take a wife for my son. ... And he [the servant] arose and went to Mesopotamia to the city of Nahor.” (*Genesis* 24:4, 10). Rebekah, Isaac’s bride, became mother of patriarch Jacob. Aram was home, also, of tribal mothers Leah and Rachel, as discussed in Section One.

Several Aramaean kingdoms are mentioned. After the exodus, Aramaic king Chusham-rishathaim subjugated the emigrants for eight years until (Kenaz -) Othniel liberated them. Aram-zobah, a district south of Paddan-aram (east of the Lebanon mountains and reaching south to Damascus²) was a foe during Saul’s rule. King David defeated Aram-zobah’s king Hadadezer; but, under a subsequent king Rezon at Damascus, hostilities between ‘Israel’ and ‘Syria’ repeated during the “period of the Kings.”³

Two other Aramaean kingdoms--Aram-maacah and the smaller Geshur--existed east of the Jordan River south of Damascus, although at times there may have been a western overlap. David battled an Aramaic alliance headed by Aram-maacah; but (as discussed in book two) his joining of those kingdoms appears to have been not via military action but by personal alliances.

2. As Person or Eponym.

- (a) (Shem - *Aram* -) Uz, Hul, Gether, Mash; see part II, A, below.
- (b) (Milcah + Nahor - Kemuel + ? -) *Aram*; see fn. 29.
- (c) (Asher - Beriah - Heber - Shamer/Shemer/Shomer -) *Aram*;
1 Chronicles 7:30-34.
- (d) If *Aram* = *Ram* (see next item), then also found is [A]Ram-
Barachel the Buzite - Elihu;⁴ *Job* 32:2.
- (e) *Aram* and *Arni* appear in place of “Ram,” in some translations,
between Hezron and Amminadab in the lineage from
Abraham to David (*1 Chronicles* 2:10, *Matthew* 1:4, and *Luke*
3:33).⁵

¹ The Greek word *Mesopotamia* denotes “between two rivers” (the Euphrates and Tigris). Psalm 60 employs the term, *Aram-naharaim*, which denotes the same--refer to Appendix 2A, “Mesopotamia.” (For in-depth analyses of early Aramaean compositions, relationships and biblical involvements, see *Mazar*, pages 121-125 and 151-172.)

² Damascus came to be referred to as “the head of Syria” (*Isaiah* 7-8). “Aram-zobah,” which appears in the introduction to Psalm 60, also may have been the “Hamath-zobah” later conquered by Solomon.

³ Covered in Appendix 2C.

⁴ See Appendix 3B, I, Elihu.

⁵ This and related issues are explored in Appendix 1C.II, “Hezronic’ Period; see also Appendix 1A, Hezron.

B. Maacah/Maachah, Individual Uses.

1. (? + Terah - Nahor + "concubine" Reumah -) *Maacah*. *Genesis* 22:24. Reumah and Nahor had three other children: Tebah, Gaham and Thahash.
2. *Maachah*, a "concubine" who bore four children to (? + Hezron-) Caleb."⁶
3. *Maachah*, "Syrian" wife of Manasseh's first son, Machir, the "father of Gilead."⁷
4. *Maachah*, wife of Jeiel, "father of Gibeon." *1 Chronicles* 8:29, 9:35.
5. (*Maachah*/Maoch-) Achish, King of Gath. *1 Kings* 2:39/*1 Samuel* 27:2.⁸
6. (*Maachah*-) Hanan, one of David's mighty men.⁹
7. (*Maachah*-) Shephatiah, Simeon tribal leader under David. *1 Chronicles* 27:16.
8. (? + Talmai, King of Geshur -) *Maacah*, mother of king David's son, Absalom. *2 Samuel* 3:3; *1 Chronicles* 3:2. It was to the region of that maternal grandfather that Absalom fled after murdering his half-brother, Amnon, and rebelling against David.¹⁰
9. (Absalom or Abishalom + ?-) *Maachah*, wife of (Naamah, the Ammonitess + Solomon -) king Rehoboam.¹¹
10. (Abishalom-*Maachah*-) Asa or (Abishalom-*Maachah*-Abijam-) Asa.¹²
11. Abel-beth-*maachah*:
Where Joab lay siege against (Bichri-) Sheba and desisted after the people threw Sheba's head over the wall. *2 Samuel* 20:14-22. Ben-Hadad I struck "Abel Beth-*maachah*/Abel-maim and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali/and all the storage cities of Naphtali."¹³ *2 Kings* 15:20; *2 Chronicles* 16:4. Assyria's Tiglath-pileser [Pul?] took Abel-beth-*maachah* "in the days of Pekah."¹⁴ *2 Kings* 15:29. Referred to simply as "Abel," at *2 Samuel* 20:18.
12. For additional uses of *Maachah*, see Appendix 3B, I, Micah, etc.

II. NAMED MOTHERS IN THE LINEAGE, ADAM TO JACOB.

A. Adam to Isaac.

The only mothers named in lineage transmission, Adam to Isaac, are Eve and Sarah:

⁶ See chart, Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D.

⁷ Machir is discussed in Appendix 1C.VI, B *et. seq.*

⁸ See Appendix 2A, "Gath," and 103, fn. 17(b).

⁹ Appendix 2B, "David's Military."

¹⁰ As described in volume two; refer also to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, "David, Descendancy of."

¹¹ See fn. 18.

¹² See Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, part IV.

¹³ Refer to Appendix 2C, IV.

¹⁴ Refer to Appendix 2D, fn. 8.

1. *1 Chronicles* 1:1-4:

EVE + Adam = "Daughters and sons."
 /
 ? + Seth = Enos
 ? + Enos = Cainan/Kenan
 ? + Cainan/Kenan = Mahalaleel/Mahalalel
 ? + Mahalaleel/Mahalalel = Jared
 ? + Jared = Enoch
 ? + Enoch = Methuselah
 ? + Methuselah = Lamech
 ? + Lamech = Noah
 ? + Noah¹⁵ = Shem...

(a) Descendancy to post-flood Shem via (Lamech-) Noah poses uncertainty, in that--although some preceding names are similar--two Lamechs are suggested. It commonly is taken that Cain's descendancy ended with The Flood, and that the Lamechs in two reported lines were not the same person.

(1) *Genesis* verses 4:17-22 proceed after Eve and Adam's second child, Abel, has been killed by first child, Cain. There, Cain's descendancy to "Lamech" is given as follows:

EVE + Adam
 Cain + ?
 Enoch + ?
 Irada + ?
 Mehujael + ?
 Methusael + ?
 Lamech + Adah:¹⁶ Jabal and Jubal¹⁷
 " + Zillah: Naamah¹⁸ and Tubalcain.

(2) *Genesis* 4:25-5:25 give the descendancy of Eve's and Adam's third-named son, Seth, to Shem via "Lamech:"

EVE + Adam-
 Seth + ?
 Enosh/Enos + ?
 Cainan + ?
 Mahalaleel + ?
 Jared + ?
 Enoch + ?
 Methuselah + ?
 Lamech + ?
 Noah + ?
 Shem...

(c) According to the longevities reported in the record (whether names are taken as individuals or eponyms for clans), Shem's lifetime overlapped both Abraham's life and Rebekah's and Isaac's union.

¹⁵ Besides Shem, Noah had two other sons, Ham and Japheth, the order of their mention being given differently in pertinent verses; *Genesis* chapter 10 gives their descendancies.

¹⁶ The name, also, of an Esau wife; see Attachment 2 to this appendix--"Descendancies of Esau Wives."

¹⁷ "Fathers," respectively, of tent-dwelling herdsmen and musicians.

¹⁸ *1 Kings* 14:21; refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, at fn. 27 and Appendix 2C, III, at fn. 28. "Naamah" also was the name of a town in the Shephelah about five miles N/NE of Libnah. as well as of a wife of Solomon - see B.9. page 18. (For Libnah, see Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 74.)

2. 1 Chronicles 1:18-19 and 24-28:

...? + Shem = Arphaxad/Arpachshad¹⁹
 [? + Arphaxad = Cainan + ? = Shelah, per Luke 3:35-36]
 ? + Arpachshad = Shalach/Shelah²⁰
 ? + Shalach/Shelah = Eber...

"[T]o Eber were born two sons; the name of the one Peleg, for in his days was divided the earth[/shared land?], and name his brother's Joktan."²¹

...? + Eber²² = Peleg
 ? + Peleg = Reu
 ? + Reu = Serug
 ? + Serug = Nahor (#1)
 ? + Nahor (#1) = Terah
 ? + Terah = Nahor (#2)
 Haran
 Abraham
SARAH + Abraham = Isaac.

(a) There is contradiction in the texts as to whether four of Shem's descendants were Shem sons or grandsons:

(1) 1 Chronicles 1:17 shows nine sons, one grandson, one great-grandson and two great-great-grandsons:

SHEM
 Elam²³
 Asshur²⁴
 Arpachshad Shelah Eber Peleg and Joktan²⁵
 Lud
 Aram²⁶
 Uz²⁷
 Hul
 Gether
 Meshech²⁸

(b) At Genesis 10:21ff. the last four, given above as Shem sons, are given

¹⁹ Some associate "Arpachshad" with Armenia; refer to Appendix 1F, "Ur."

²⁰ The only other use of Shelah is surviving son of (Leah + Jacob - Judah + Daughter of Shuah-) Judah; refer to Introductory Summary at fns. 10 and 25, and to Attachment 1 to this appendix, "Source Quotations," Shua/Shuah.

²¹ Genesis 10:25ff., where Joktan's 13 sons also are named; see next fn. and fn. 25.

²² See Attachment 1 to this appendix, "Source Quotations," Eber, and Appendix 2A, Sheba, as to Joktan/Jokshan and other items associated with Keturah + Abraham descendancies at this time.

²³ Appendix 2A, "Elam."

²⁴ Appendix 1F, "Asshur."

²⁵ Only uses of "Peleg" and "Joktan." Joktan fathered 13 sons [see at (d), in text below], "and their dwellings from Mesha (see Appendix 2C, IV, fns. 23 and 55; also, Appendix 2A, fn. 26), as you go Sephar [site unknown?], a hill of the east." Genesis 10:26-30. Only one Joktan is identified; the name bears similarity to (KETURAH + Abraham -) Jokshan, another single-use; see part III, B, below, "Descendancy of Keturah."

²⁶ See part I above.

²⁷ Other uses of Uz: (a) (Milchah + Nahor -) Uz--fn. 29 (b) (Seir - Zibeon -Anah - Dishon...[lapse?] Dishan -) Uz, Genesis 36:20-28 (c) Job's homeland was named Uz.

²⁸ Also found, (Noah - Japheth -) Meshech, Genesis 10:2; 1 Chronicles 1:5.

as sons of (? + Shem -) Aram:

SHEM
 Elam
 Asshur
 Arpachshad Shalach Eber Peleg and Joktan
 Lud
 Aram

Uz
Hul
Gether
Mash

(c) Per *Genesis* 11:18, "Peleg...fathered Reu:"

RUE
 Serug
 Nahor (#1)
 Terah
 Abraham.

(d) Per *Genesis* 10:26ff. and *1 Chronicles* 1:20-23, Joktan "fathered" the following--"...all these the sons of Joktan:"

JOKTAN
 Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal,
 Diklah, Obal/Ebal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Jobab.

B. Terah to Jacob via Milcah and Rebekah, by Generations.

Notes: Only with Bethuel are the relative generations of parents known; his italicized name indicates his maternal generation. Data is absent for the mothers of Laban, Leah, Rachel and Rebekah. Paternally, Esau and Jacob are third generation after Abraham. Maternally, Esau and Jacob may have been of a fourth generation, in that Rebekah's mother's generation is not known.

	-----Generation After Terah-----				
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
? + Terah					
/	Haran + ?				
/		/ Lot			
/		/ Iscah			
/		/			
/	Nahor + MILCAH ²⁹				
/		/			
/		Bethuel	<i>Bethuel</i>		
/			/ + ? / + ?		
/			/ Laban (<i>mother's generation unknown</i>)		
/			/	/ + ??	
/			/	LEAH (<i>mother's generation unknown</i>)	
/			/	RACHEL (" " " ")	
/ SARAH + Abraham			/		
/		Isaac --- + ---	REBEKAH (<i>maternal generation unknown</i>)		
/			/		
/			/ Esau and Jacob (<i>third paternal generation</i>)		
/			/	<i>Esau and Jacob (fourth maternal generation?)</i>	

The names of the above matriarchs do not appear on the lineage roster as it

²⁹ Milcah had seven other children by Nahor: Uz, Buz, Kemuel ("the father of Aram"), Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph (*Genesis* 22:20-22). Reumah/Reuman, designated a "concubine," had four children by Nahor: Tebah, Gaham, Thahash and MAACHAH (*Genesis* 22:24); for Maacah, see part I, B above. (*Josephus* remarks that Milcah's sons "were all the *genuine* sons of Nahor, for [the others] were born to Reuma, his concubine." *AJ* I.VI.5; italics supplied.) The only other named "Milcah," was a daughter of Zelophehad who figured in Moses' ruling on women's inheritances--see Appendix 1C.VI, "Zelophadites."

combinedly is given. Four mothers are named between (Leah + Jacob -) Judah and (Bath-Sheba + David -) Solomon/Nathan: Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bath-Sheba. One mother, Miriam/Mary [A], is named between Solomon/Nathan and Jesus of the *New Testament*.³⁰

III . DESCENDANCIES OF [ABRAHAM +] HAGAR AND KETURAH.

A. Descendancy of Hagar

(? + ? -) HAGAR + Abraham

Ishmael³¹ + ??:

2 daughters:

Mahalath and

Basemath

Genesis 26:34, 28:9, 36:3.

12 sons:

Nebajoth

Kedar

Abdeel

Mibsam

Mishma

Dumah

Massa

Hadad

Tema

Jetur

Naphish

Kedemah

Genesis 25:13ff.

While Mahalath and Basemath both are referred to as daughters of Ishmael and sisters of Nebajoth, Basemath also is referred to as daughter of Elon the Hittite. Both Mahalath and Basemath became wives of Esau. *Refer to Attachment 2 to this appendix—“Descendancies of Esau Wives.”*

B. Descendancy of Keturah

(? + ? -) KETURAH + Abraham

Zimram

Jokshan + (Cush -) *Raamah*³²

Sheba

Dedan

Asshurim

Letushim

Leummim

Medan

Midian³³

/

/

³⁰ *Refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VIII, “Lineage, Abraham to Solomon and Nathan,” and Appendix 4C, Lineage, David to Jesus and Mary [A].*

³¹ Ishmael's mother “took for him a wife out of the land of Egypt.” *Genesis* 21:20.

³² *Refer to Attachment 1 to this appendix, Raamah.*

³³ The name of the clan with which Moses took refuge while in self-exile from Egypt, marrying the daughter of Reuel/Jethro, Midian's high priest (volume one, Introductory Summary, *at and following* fn. 34); *refer also to Attachment 1 to this appendix, “Source Quotations,” (sss), and Attachment 2, fn. 5.*

Ephah
Epher³⁴
Hanoch/Henoch
Abida
Eldaah

Ishbak³⁵
Shuah

Genesis 25:1ff., 1 Chronicles 1:32ff.

³⁴ See Attachment 1 to this appendix--"Source Quotations," Epher.

³⁵ *Ibid*, Shua/Shuah.

Appendix 1A, Attachment 1

SOURCE QUOTATIONS FOR DESCENDANCIES OF ESAU WIVES (Attachment 2) and HEZRONIC PERIOD (Appendix 1C.II)

(a) Aaron

(1) “[T]ook Amram Jochebed his aunt to him for a wife; and she bore to him *Aaron* and *Moses*.” *Exodus* 6:20.

(2) “Kohath fathered Amram and the name of wife Amram’s Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom [¹] bore her to Levi in Egypt. And she bore to Amram *Aaron* and *Moses*, and *Miriam* their sister.” *Numbers* 26:58-59.

(3) “And the sons of Amram: *Aaron* and *Moses* and *Miriam*.” *1 Chronicles* 6:3.

(4) “[T]ook *Aaron* *Elisheba* the daughter of *Amminadab*, the sister of *Nahshon*, to him for a wife, and she bore to him *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*.” *Exodus* 6:23.

(5) “[T]he sons of *Aaron*: *Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*.” *1 Chronicles* 6:3; *1 Chronicles* 24:1.

(b) Abiah/Abijah

(1) “And after the death of *Hezron* in *Caleb-ephratah*, then the wife of *Hezron*, *Abiah*, bore to *him* [*sic.*; to *Caleb* or posthumously to *Hezron*?] *Ashur* the father of *Tekoa*.” *1 Chronicles* 2:24.

(2) *Abijah/Abijam* - Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, IV, sub-part IV, and Appendix 3B, I, *Abijah/Abiah/Abijam*, for additional uses.

(c) Abihu

(1) “[T]ook *Aaron* *Elisheba* the daughter of *Amminadab*, the sister of *Nahshon*, to him for a wife, and she bore to him *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*.” *Exodus* 6:23.

(2) “[T]he sons of *Aaron*: *Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*.” *1 Chronicles* 6:3; *1 Chronicles* 24:1.

(3) “But died *Nadab* and *Abihu*...” -- refer to Appendix 1C, IV, “*Moses’ Conference on the Mountain and Connected Events*.”

(d) Abiram

(1) “*Dathan* and *Abiram*, sons of *Eliab*, sons of *Reuben*.” *Numbers* 16:12, *Deuteronomy* 11:6.

(2) “[T]he sons of *Eliab* *Nemuel*, and *Dathan*, and *Abiram*.” *Numbers* 26:9.

(e) Adah

(1) *Adah* + *Lamech* (Appendix 1A, I).

(2) “*Esau* took his wives from daughters *Canaan’s*: *Adah* *Elon’s* daughter, the *Hittite*...and bore *Adah* to *Esau* *Eliphaz*.” *Genesis* 36:2, 4.

(3) “These the chiefs of sons *Esau’s*: the sons of *Eliphaz* firstborn *Esau’s*, Chief *Teman*, Chief *Omar*, Chief *Zepho*, Chief *Kenas*, Chief *Korah*,² Chief *Gatham*, Chief *Amalek*. These chiefs of *Eliphaz* in the land of *Edom*; these the sons of *Adah*.” *Genesis* 36:15.

Aholibamah - a rendering of *Oholibamah*; see below.

(f) Amalek

(1) “*Amalek* dwells in the land of the *Negev*.” *Numbers* 13:29.

(2) “*Timna* was a concubine to *Eliphaz*, son *Esau’s*. And she bore to *Eliphaz* *Amalek*.” *Genesis* 36:12.

¹ Jochebed’s mother’s name appears omitted here?—the referenced interlinear adds “whom *one* bore her to,” etc.

² *Korah* not being elsewhere listed as an *Eliphaz* son, “some scholars suggest its appearance in the Masoretic text may be...a copyist’s error;” the Samaritan *Pentateuch* omits *Korah* in this verse. (*Aid*, p. 1014.)

(3) "These the sons Esau's: the sons of Eliphaz firstborn Esau's, Chief Teman, Chief Omar, Chief Zepho, Chief Kenas, Chief Korah, Chief Gatham, Chief *Amalek*. These chiefs of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these the sons of Adah." *Genesis* 36:15-16.

(g) Amminadab

(1) [Of] "the sons of Kohath: *Amminadab*..." *1 Chronicles* 6:22: see also Izhar, below.

(2) "[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered *Amminadab*, and *Amminadab* fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David." *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(3) "Ram fathered *Amminadab*; and *Amminadab* fathered Nahshon, chief of the sons of Judah." "Nahshon the son of *Amminadab*." *1 Chronicles* 2:10; *Numbers* 1:7, 7:12.

(4) "[T]ook Aaron Elisheba the daughter of *Amminadab*, the sister of Nahshon, to him for a wife." *Exodus* 6:23.

(5) (Sarah + Abraham - Isaac + Rebekah - Jacob + Leah - Judah + Tamar - Pharez - Hezron - Ram -) *Amminadab*-Nahshon-Salmon- Boaz-Obed-Jesse-David. *Ruth* 4:18-22; other citations at 1C.VIII.

(6) *Amminadab*, a Levite selected by king David to assist in transporting the ark. *1 Chronicles* 15:11.

(h) Amram

(1) (Levi-Kohath-) *Amram*. *Exodus* 6:16, 18.

(2) "[T]ook *Amram* Jochebed his aunt to him for a wife; and she bore to him Aaron and Moses." *Exodus* 6:20.

(3) "Kohath fathered *Amram* and the name of wife *Amram*'s Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom [³] bore her to Levi in Egypt. And she bore to *Amram* Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister." *Numbers* 26:58-59.

(4) "And the sons of *Amram*: Aaron and Moses and Miriam." *1 Chronicles* 6:3.

(5) "[T]he sons of Kohath by their families *Amram*, and Izehar [*sic.*], Hebron, and Uzziel." *Numbers* 3:19; 27.

(i) Anah

(1) "Esau took his wives from daughters Canaan's: ...Oholibama *Anah*'s daughter Zibeon's daughter the Hivite...." *Genesis* 36:2-3.

(2) "[T]hese were the sons of Oholibama the daughter of *Anah* the daughter of Zibeon wife Esau's...she bore to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah." *Genesis* 36:14.

(3) "[T]he sons of Seir the Horite["these the chiefs of the Horites"⁴] living the land: Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and *Anah*, and Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan; these the chiefs of the Horites, the sons of Seir, in the land of Edom. ...[A]nd sister Lotan's Timna." *Genesis* 36:21-22; *1 Chronicles* 1:38.

(4) "[T]hese the sons of Zibeon, even Aiah and *Anah*; he *Anah* who found the hot springs in the desert as he tended the asses for Zibeon his father." *Genesis* 36:24.

(5) "[T]hese the sons of *Anah*: Dishon, and Oholibamah the daughter of *Anah*." *Genesis* 36:25.

Anoch - see Hanoch.

(j) Asher/Ashur⁵

(1) "And after the death of Hezron in Caleb-ephatah, then the wife of Hezron, Abiah, bore to *him* [*sic.*] *Ashur* the father of Tekoa [posthumously to Hezron and adopted

³ Jochebed's mother's name appears omitted here?--the referenced interlinear adds "whom one bore her to," etc.

⁴ Refer to Appendix 1F, Horite.

⁵ Only use. (a) *Asher* appears, only as the name of (Zilpah + Jacob -) Asher and the tribe descendent from him (unless *Joshua* 17:7 and 10 may refer not just to Asher territory but to a town named Asher NE of Shechem); (b) for *Asshur*, see Appendix 1F.

by Caleb?].” *1 Chronicles* 2:24.

(2) Ashur had “wives two, Helah and Naarah. And bore to him Naarah Ahuzam, and Hopher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari/Ahashtari. These the sons of Naarah. And the sons of Helah: Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan.” *1 Chronicles* 4:5-7.

(3) “[T]he sons of [Ashur +] Helah: Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan. And Coz fathered Anib, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel, the son of Harum. And was Jabez more honorable than his brothers. And his mother called his name Jabez....” *Note*: It is not said that Ashur was Coz’s father and only mildly inferrable that Helah was Coz’s mother. *1 Chronicles* 4:7-9.

(4) The sons of *Asher*: “Imnah/Jimnah, Ishuah, Ishuai/Isui, Beriah,⁶ and Sarah their sister.” *Genesis* 46:17; *1 Chronicles* 7:30.

Assaron - see Hezron.

(k) **Azubah**

(1) “And Caleb the son of Hezron fathered *Azubah* wife and by Jerioth [*sic.*]. And these *her* [?] sons: Jasher⁷ and Shobab and Ardon.” *1 Chronicles* 2:18.

(2) “These are the words of Jasher, son of Caleb, by *Azuba*,” “All these things which I Jasher have written, received I from Caleb my father, yea, even from Hezron my father’s father, and from *Azuba* who travailed with me.” *Jasher* V:1; IV:22.

(3) “And died *Azubah*, and took to himself Caleb Ephrath, and she bore to him Hur.” *1 Chronicles* 2:19.

(4) *Azubah*, mother of King Jehoshaphat (Section Two, Period of the Kings).

(l) **Basemath**

(1) Esau “took a wife...Basemath, Elon’s daughter, the Hittite....”⁸ *Genesis* 26:34.

(2) “Esau took his wives from daughters Canaan’s: ...*Basemath*, Ishmael’s daughter, Nebaioth’s sister...and *Basemath* bore Reuel.” *Genesis* 36:3, 34.

(3) “[T]hese the sons of Reuel, son Esau’s: Chief Nahath, Chief Zerah, Chief Shammah, Chief Mizzah; these the chiefs of Reuel in the land of Edom, these the sons of *Basemath*, wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:17.

(m) **Bezaleel**

(1) “Hur fathered Uri and Uri fathered *Bezaleel*,” “*Bezaleel* the son of Uri the son of Hur.” *Exodus* 31:1; *1 Chronicles* 2:20.

(2) “Moses said...See, has called [Tet.] by name *Bezaleel*, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of/to the tribe of Judah’.” *Exodus* 35:30ff.

(3) “*Bezaleel*...made all [the tabernacle works] which commanded...Moses.” *Exodus* 38:22.

(4) “*Bezaleel*, the son of Uri of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor[/Moses].” *AJ* III.VI.1.

(5) It is unclear from the sequence of verses of *2 Chronicles* 1:3ff. as to where Solomon made the there-described offering before “the altar of bronze that had made *Bezaleel* the son of Uri, the son of Hur”--whether at the “high place” in Gibeon or at the tabernacle tent in Jerusalem, although the former site appears favored by the complete text.

Bilhah - for *Bilhah* in addition to Jacob’s concubine, see Appendix 1C, fn. 4.

(n) **Boaz/Booz**

(1) “And to Naomi a kinsman of her husbands, a mighty man of the family of

⁶ *Beriah* - see Appendix 3B, I, Beriah/Beraiah/Berah.

⁷ This “Jasher” appears to be *Jasher* of the book of that name--see Jasher/Jasher below, and Appendix 1C, sub-part II, “Hezronic Period.”

⁸ Other *Elons*, including Judge Elon, Appendix 1D, II at fn. 37.

⁹ The ms. referenced in this work has “of” interlineally and “to” in the margin text.

Elimelech, and his name *Boaz*.” *Ruth* 2:1.

(2) Naomi said to Ruth, “[N]ear to us [relatedly] the man; of our redeemers he.” *Ruth* 2:20.

(3) When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law [Naomi] to Bethlehem, *Booz*, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her....” *Booz* married Ruth, and they had a son within a year’s time. ...[called] *Obed*.” *AJ V.IX.2*; 4.

(4) “[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered *Boaz*, and *Boaz* fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David.” *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(5) “...Amminadab fathered Nahshon, chief of the sons of Judah, and Nahshon fathered Salma, and Salma fathered *Boaz*, and *Boaz* fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse.” *1 Chronicles* 2:10-12.

(6) “... Nahshon but generated the Salmon, Salmon but generated the *Boaz* out of the Rahab, *Boaz* but generated the Obed out of the Ruth... *Matthew* 1:4-5.

(7) [Jesus...] “...of the David of the Jesse of the Obed of the *Boaz* of the Salmon of the Nahshon, etc.....” *Luke* 3:32.

(o) **Caleb/Chelubai/Chelub**

(1) “Chelub the brother of *Shuah*.” *1 Chronicles* 4:11.

(2) “And the sons of Hezron who were born to him: Jerahmeel and Ram, and *Chelubai*.” *1 Chronicles* 2:9.

(3) Hezron, father of *Caleb*. *1 Chronicles* 2:18.

(4) “*Caleb*, the son of Hezron, invented the bow...and learnt his brethren to prepare themselves for...battle.” *Jasher* VI:12-13.

(5) “*Caleb* the brother of Jerahmeel.” *1 Chronicles* 2:42.

(6) “[T]he sons of *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh: Iru, Elah, and Naam.” *1 Chronicles* 4:15.

(7) “And *Caleb* the son of Hezron fathered Azubah wife and by Jerioth [*sic.*]. And these *her* [?] sons: Jesh¹⁰er and Shobab and Ardon.” *1 Chronicles* 2:18.

(8) “These are the words of Jasher, son of *Caleb*, by Azuba;” “All these things which I Jasher have written, received I from *Caleb* my father, yea, even from Hezron my father’s father, and from Azuba who travailed with me.” *Jasher* V:1; IV:22.

(9) “And died Azubah, and took to himself *Caleb* Ephrath, and she bore to him Hur.” *1 Chronicles* 2:19.

(10) “And after the death of Hezron in Caleb-eph¹⁰ratah, then the wife of Hezron, Abiah, bore to *him* [*sic.*] Ashur the father of Tekoa [to *Caleb* or posthumously to Hezron?--text unclear].” *1 Chronicles* 2:24.

(11) “Of the tribe of Judah, *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh,” Caleb being one of the “heads of the sons of Israel” sent by Moses “from the wilderness of Paran” to scout out Canaan territory. *Numbers* 13:6.

(12) “[T]he sons of *Caleb*, the brother of Jerahmeel, were: Mesha his firstborn who the father of Ziph, and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron.” *1 Chronicles* 2:42.

(13) “And Ephah, *Caleb*’s concubine, bore Haran, and Moza, and Gazez.” *1 Chronicles* 2:46.

(14) “Concubine *Caleb*’s, Maachah, bore Sheber and Tirhahah. She also bore Shaaph the father of Madmanna, Sheva the father of Machbenah, and the father of Gibeab.” *1 Chronicles* 2:48-49.

(15) “And the daughter of *Caleb*, Achsah [mother unspecified].” *1 Chronicles* 2:49.

(16) “These were the sons of *Caleb* the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephr¹¹atah;

Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim,¹¹ Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Beth-gades.” Textwise, this follows the foregoing four listings of *Caleb* offspring; the underlined words are omitted in the margin English of the referenced text. *1 Chronicles* 2:50-51.

¹⁰ This “Jesh¹⁰er” appears to be *Jasher* of the book of that name--see Jasher/Jasher, and Appendix 1C, sub-part II, B, Book of

¹¹ Also known as “Kiriath-jearim;” see Appendix 2A, “Names/Relations/Places.”

(17) Among those Moses and Eleazar numbered in Moab near Jericho “not there was a man of those numbered by Moses and Aaron...in the wilderness of Sinai...except *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua, the son of Nun.” *Numbers* 26:64-65.

(18) “*Caleb* the son of Jephunneh” was among the leaders authorized to “take possession...and divide the land...of Canaan.” *Numbers* 34:16-29.

(19) “*Caleb* the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, who had been “forty years old when Moses...sent me...from Kadesh-barnea to spy the land,” at age “eighty-five years” reminded Joshua at Gilgal of Moses’ promise, “And blessed him Joshua and gave Hebron to *Caleb*...[and] has belonged Hebron to *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite, for an inheritance to day this...” “[T]o *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh...the city of Arba...--it Hebron.” *Joshua* 14:6-14; 15:13.

(20) “And they gave to *Caleb* Hebron as had said Moses.” *Judges* 1:20.

(21) “And went [clan of] Judah against the Canaanites living in Hebron...and... from there against the dwellers of Debir,...and said *Caleb*, he who strikes the city of Sepher[Debir] and takes it, I shall give to him Achsah my daughter. ... And captured it Othniel, the son of Kenas/Kenaz, brother, *Caleb*’s, the one younger than him, and [*Caleb*] gave to him Achsah, his daughter, for a wife. And...she urged [Othniel] to ask from her father a field;...and she said [to *Caleb*] ‘Give to me a blessing; for the land of the south you have given me; then give to me of water springs; and he gave to her the springs upper and the springs lower.” *Judges* 1:10ff. and *Joshua* 15:16 give essentially the same account, here combined.

(22) “Othniel, the son of Kenas, brother of *Caleb*, the one younger than him.” *Judges* 1:13.

(23) After the sons of Israel fell under and served King Chushan- rishathaim of Mesopotamia for eight years, they “...cried for a deliverer...and he saved them--Othniel, the son of Kenaz, brother of *Caleb*’s younger than him--...and he judged Israel...and he went out to war...and had rest the land forty years.” *Judges* 3:9.

(24) “[T]he sons of *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh: Iru, Elah, and Naam; and the son of Elah Kenaz.” *1 Chronicles* 4:15.

(p) Carmi/Charmi

(1) “[T]he sons of Reuben: Hanoch, and Phallu/Pallu, and Hezron, and *Carmi*/these the families of *Reuben*.” *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3.

(2) “Reuben had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, *Charmi*.” *AJ* II.VII.4.

(3) Of the sons of Reuben, “of *Carmi*, the family of the *Carmites*.”¹² *Numbers* 26:6.

(4) (Zerah-Zabdi-*Carmi*-) Achan. “Achan, the son of *Carmi*, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah...[took] of cursed things...” *Joshua* 7:1. “And was taken the tribe of Judah” and “Joshua...took the family of Zarhites...by men, and was taken Zabdi...and was taken Achan, the son of *Carmi*, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah.” *Joshua* 7:16ff.

(a) According to *Joshua*, Achan and his entire family were stoned to death for holding onto spoils taken from Jericho (7:1ff.);

(b) *Josephus* shows (Zebedias-) Achar and reports only Achar was put to death (*AJ* IV.I.14).¹³

(5) “The sons of Judah: Pharez, Hezron, and *Carmi*, and Hur, and Shobal.” *1 Chronicles* 4:1.

¹² From here recitations proceed staggeringly through sons of (Joel-Shemaiah-) Gog-Shimei-Micah-Reaia-Baal-Beerah (carried away by Assyria), whose brothers by families “when the genealogy of their generations was counted” were Jeiel the Chief; Zechariah; or (Joel-Shema-) Bela of Azaz “who lived in Aroer, even to Nebo and Baal-meon;” and “he” lived as far east as the entrance of the wilderness from the Euphrates because “their” cattle multiplied in the land of Gilead.

¹³ *Jasher* XXVIII:20 reports the stoning to death of Achan was for his “blasphemy”--“Achan spake aloud...’Wherefore hath Joshua taken from the congregation, all the gold, all the silver, and all the brass; even all the spoil of the city of Jericho, and given it to the tribe of Levi...[when]...Moses...gave the half of the spoil unto the armed men, who went forth to the battle, and the other half he gave unto the congregation, according to their tribes.”

(q) Coz/Koz¹⁴

(1) “[T]he sons of [Ashur +] Helah: Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan. And Coz fathered Anib, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel, the son of Harum. And was Jabez more honorable than his brothers. And his mother called his name Jabez....” (*Note*: It is not said that Ashur was Coz’s father and only inferrable that Helah was Coz’s mother. 1 *Chronicles* 4:7-9.

(r) Dathan

(1) “Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben.” *Numbers* 16:12, *Deuteronomy* 11:6.

(2) “[T]he sons of Eliab Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram.” *Numbers* 26:9.

(s) Eber

Note: Refer to Heber/Hepher, below, concerning consonantal similarities.

(1) “Shem...the father of all the sons of Eber...” Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. ... And Arpachshad fathered Shalach and Shalach fathered Eber...” *Genesis* 10:22:24.

(2) (*Eber-*) Joktan and Joktan sons (*Genesis* 10:25ff.)--Appendix 1A, footnote 23.

(3) From Balaam’s prophecy to Moab’s king Balak: “And ships from the coast of Chittim ...they afflict Eber¹⁵” *Numbers* 24:24.

(4) The root word is rendered “Ever” in terms referring to a region at 1 *Kings* 4:24 and *Ezra* 4:10, 5:3 and 6:13; see *Hepher*, below, for a use of it as a place.

(5) (*Gad...*) *Eber* 1 *Chronicles* 5:11, 13, where it is interlineated as *Heber* in the referenced text.

(6) *Eber*, a priest who headed a post-exilic paternal house in the days of Nehemiah--Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

(t) Elah (Geographically, see Appendix 2A, *Elah*.)

(1) “[T]he sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh: Iru, *Elah*, and Naam. And the son of *Elah* Kenaz.” 1 *Chronicles* 4:15.

(2) “[T]hese the names of the chiefs of Esau, by their families, by their places, by their names: Chief Timnah, Chief Alvah, Chief Jetheth, Chief *Oholibamah*, Chief *Elah*, Chief Pinon, Chief Kenza, Chief Teman, Chief Mibzar, Chief Magdiel, Chief Iram.” *Genesis* 36:40-43.

(3) “[T]he princes of Edom: prince Timmah, prince Aliah, prince Jetheth, prince Aholibamah, prince *Elah*, prince Pinon, prince Kenaz, prince Teman, prince Mizbar, prince Magdiel, prince Iram.” 1 *Chronicles* 1:51-54.

(4) (*Baasha -*) *Elah*, north king #4 and later uses - Appendix 2A.

(5) *Continued in Appendix 3B, I, Elah*.

(u) Eliab

(1) “[T]he sons of Pallu *Eliab*....” *Numbers* 26:8.

(2) “Dathan and Abiram, sons of *Eliab*, sons of Reuben.” *Numbers* 16:12; *Deuteronomy* 11:6.

(3) “[T]he sons of *Eliab* Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram.” *Numbers* 26:9.

(4) (*Helon-*) *Eliab*, Zebulun leader at the time of the first census; Appendix 1C.V, C.

(5) *Eliab*, later uses - see Appendix 3B, I.

¹⁴ At time rendered *Koz*; in both forms appears post-exilically--see Appendix 3B, I, *Hakkoz*. There was a “Cozbi” during the exodic camping in Moab’s plains: “...and began the people to fornicate with the daughters of Moab.... And behold, a man of the sons of Israel came and brought to his brothers a woman of Midian before eyes Moses’.... And ...Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest...rose...and took a javelin in his hand and went in after the man of Israel into the tent-chamber and pierced both of them, the man of Israel and the woman, through her belly. ... And the name of the man of Israel...Zimri, the son of Salu, ruler of a father’s house of the Zimeonites. And the name of the woman...Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, head of the people of a house father’s in Midian.” *Numbers* 31:7 ff. “And they warred against Midian...and killed every male; and they killed the kings of Midian...Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian. *Numbers* 25:1 ff.

¹⁵ This is given as “afflict the Hebrews” in the *Septuagint*, Syrian *Peshitta* and *Vulgate*.

(v) Eliezer

(1) *Eliezer*, a “man of Damascus” who Abraham referred to as son of his household and sent to Nahor’s house to obtain a wife for Isaac.

(2) “Zipporah the wife of Moses...and her two sons whom the name of one Gershom...and the name of one *Eliezer*.” *Exodus* 18:2-4.

(3) “[T]he sons of Moses: Gershom and *Eliezer*.” *1 Chronicles* 23:15.

(4) After Moses’ defeat of Amalek, “Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, took Zipporah the wife of Moses, after sending her away, and two her sons...Gershom...and *Eliezer*,” “and came Jethro Moses’ father-in-law and his sons and his wife to Moses, to the wilderness where he camped.” *Exodus* 18:2ff.

(5) “And were the sons of *Eliezer*: Rehabiah the head. And not was to *Eliezer* sons other, but the sons of Rehabiah were many to a height.” *1 Chronicles* 23:17.

(6) “Shebuel the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, ruler over the treasures. And his brothers by *Eliezer*: Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomith his son [with] his brothers over all the treasurers of the holy things which had dedicated David the king.” *1 Chronicles* 26:24-26.

(7) *Eliezer*, later uses - see Appendix 3B, I.

(w) Elimelech

(1) “In the days of the judges, that was a famine in the land; and went a man from Bethlehem Judah to live in the fields of Moab.... And the name of the man Elimelech.” He, “his wife Naomi...and his sons...Ephrathites from Bethlehem Judah.” *Ruth* 1:1; refer to Appendix 1C, VII, B.

(x) Eliphaz

(1) “[S]ons of [Adah + Esau -] *Eliphaz*: Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz. Timna was a concubine to Eliphaz, Esau’s son, and she bore to Eliphaz Amalek. These the sons of Adah wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:11-12.

(2) “The sons of *Eliphaz* Teman, and Omar, Zephi and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek.” *1 Chronicles* 1:36.

(3) “These the chiefs of sons Esau’s: the sons of *Eliphaz* firstborn Esau’s, Chief Teman, Chief Omar, Chief Zepho, Chief Kenas, Chief Korah,¹⁶ Chief Gatham, Chief Amalek. These *chiefs of Eliphaz* in the land of Edom; these the *sons of Adah*.” *Genesis* 36:15-16.

(y) Elisheba

(1) “[T]ook Aaron *Elisheba* the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to him for a wife; and she bore to him Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.” *Exodus* 6:23.

(z) Epher

(1) (Keturah + Abraham-) Midian-Ephah, *Epher*, Hanoch, Abida, and Eldaah. *Genesis* 25:4 and *1 Chronicles* 1:33.

(2) In a disconnected descendency list at *1 Chronicles* 4:17, following Caleb descendants: “And the sons of Ezra: Jether and Mered, and *Epher* and Jalon.”

(3) One of several “mighty men of war” and heads of Manasseh houses “carried away” by Assyrian king Pul. *1 Chronicles* 5:24.

Ephrath/Ephratah -- see Appendix 1B.

(aa) Esau

(1) “Oholibamah, wife *Esau*’s.” *Genesis* 36:18.

(2) “*Esau* took his wives from daughters Canaan’s:...bore Adah to Esau Eliphaz. And Basemath bore Reuel. And Oholibamah bore Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.” *Genesis* 36:2-5.

(3) “[W]ent *Esau* to Ishmael and took Mahalath, daughter Ishmael, the son of Abraham, sister Nebajoth’s, to the wives which he had.” *Genesis* 28:9. (No reference to

¹⁶ *Korah* not being elsewhere listed as an Eliphaz son, “some scholars suggest its appearance in the Masoretic text may be...a copyist’s error;” the Samaritan *Pentateuch* omits *Korah* in this verse. (*Aid*, p. 1014.)

Mahalath offspring is made.)

(4) “[T]hese the names of the sons of *Esau*: Eliphaz, son Adah’s wife Esau’s; Reuel the son of Basemath, wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:10.

(5) “*Esau* a son of 40 years and he took a wife Judith, Beer’s daughter, the Hittite.”¹⁷ *Genesis* 26:34.

(6) “[*Esau* and] Oholibamah bore Jeush and Jalam, and Korah. These sons *Esau*’s who were born to him in the land of Canaan. And took *Esau*...all the souls of his house and his livestock...and he went to a land away from Jacob his brother. For had become their possessions great to live together...and lived *Esau* on Mount Seir; *Esau* is Edom.” *Genesis* 36:3-8.

(7) “The sons of *Esau* Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.” *1 Chronicles* 1:35.

(bb) Gershon/Gershom

(1) “[T]he priest of Midian seven daughters...and agreed Moses to live with the man; and he gave Zipporah his daughter to Moses. And she bore a son and called his name *Gershon*.” *Exodus* 2:16-22.

(2) “Zipporah the wife of Moses...and her two sons whom the name of one *Gershom*...and the name of one Eliezer.” *Exodus* 18:2-4.

(3) “[T]he sons of Moses: *Gershom* and Eliezer.” *1 Chronicles* 23:15.

(4) After Moses’ defeat of Amalek, “Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, took Zipporah the wife of Moses, after sending her away, and two her sons...*Gershom*...and Eliezer,” “and came Jethro Moses’ father-in-law and his sons and his wife to Moses, to the wilderness where he camped.” *Exodus* 18:2ff.

(5) “Shebuel the son of *Gershom*, the son of Moses, ruler over the treasures. And his brothers by *Eliezer*: Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomith his son [with] his brothers over all the treasurers of the holy things which had dedicated David the king.” *1 Chronicles* 26:24-26.

(cc) Hamul

(1) “[S]ons of Pharez were Hezron and *Hamul*. *Genesis* 46:2; *1 Chronicles* 2:5.

(2) “[T]he sons of Pharez: of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites; of *Hamul*, the family of the Hamulites.” *Numbers* 26:21.

(dd) Hanoch/Anoch

(1) (Keturah + Abraham-) Midian-Ephah, Ephher, *Hanoch*, Abida, and Eldaah. *Genesis* 25:4 and *1 Chronicles* 1:33.

(2) “[T]he sons of Reuben: *Hanoch*, and Phallu/Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi/these the families of *Reuben*.” *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3.

(3) “Reuben had four sons--*Anoch*, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi.” *AJ* II.VII.4.

(4) “Reuben firstborn Israel’s; the sons of Reuben: of *Hanoch* the family of Hanochites; of Pallu the family of Palluites; of Hezron the family of Hezronites; of Carmi, the family of Carmites. These the families of Reuben.” *Numbers* 26:5-7.

(ee) Heber/Hepher

NOTE: The words translated as Heber and Hepher each consist of three Hebrew script consonants of which the first letter (*h* sound) and last letter (*r* sound) are identical. The Hebrew script for consonantal sounds *b* and *ph* are highly similar, the spoken sound being hard or soft and indicated by small additional strokes.

(1) The *behth* as shown in the referenced text for items (1) (a) through (d) does not have the additional stroke; therefore, a soft or *v* sound would be indicated:

(a) (Zilpah + Jacob-Asher-Beriah-) “*Heber* fathered Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua their sister.” *1 Chronicles* 7:32.

(b) “And the sons of Beriah, *Heber* and Mahchiel.” *Genesis* 46:17.

(c) *Heber* + Jael.”¹⁸

¹⁷ The only other *Beer* was prophet Hosea’s father.

¹⁸ Judges 4:11, 17, 21; 5:24; see Appendix 1D, II, “Deborah,” for Jael’s murder of her husband to assist Deborah’s campaign.

(d) A snarled list of Judah-Caleb/Kenaz, whose descendancy in *1 Chronicles* 4 ends at verse 18 with "...and his wife [whose wife, being difficult to distinguish] Jehudijah bore *Heber*, the father of Socho."¹⁹

(e) (Benjamin...Hushim + [Ehud?²⁰-Shaharaim?]-Elpaal-Shashak-) *Heber* (*1 Chronicles* 8:1-17); but *1 Chronicles* 22-25 has [Shashak-] *Eber*.

(2) At the following sites the scribed *p*, also indicated as a soft sound, is translated *ph*.

(a) Ashur had "wives two, Helah and Naarah. And bore to him Naarah Ahuzam, and *Hepher*, and Temeni, and Haahashtari/Ahashtari. These the sons of *Naarah*." *1 Chronicles* 4:5-6.

(b) (Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-) *Hepher*, father of Zelophehad and grandfather of the five Zelophehad daughters who presented a case for women's inheritance rights to Moses.²¹

(c) King of a place struck by David, *Joshua* 12:17.

(d) One of David's mighty men--see Appendix 2B, "The Military Under David," part IV.

(ff) Hebron²²

(1) "[T]he sons of [Levi-] Kohath: Amram, and Izhar, and *Hebron*, and Uzziel." *Exodus* 6:18; *1 Chronicles* 6:2 and 18; 23:12.

(2) "Of the sons of [Levi-Kohath-] *Hebron*, Jeriah the head, Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, and Jekameam the fourth. *1 Chronicles* 23:19.

(3) "Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, "forty years old when Moses...sent me...from Kadesh-barnea to spy the land," at age "eighty-five years" reminded Joshua at Gilgal of Moses' promise, "And blessed him Joshua and gave *Hebron* to Caleb...[and] has belonged *Hebron* to Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite, for an inheritance to day this...." "[T]o Caleb the son of Jephunneh...the city of Arba...--it *Hebron*." *Joshua* 14:6-14; 15:13.

(4) "[T]he sons of Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel, were: Mesha his firstborn who the father of Ziph, and the sons of Mareshah the father of *Hebron*."²³ "[T]he sons of *Hebron* were Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem and Shema." *1 Chronicles* 2:42-43.

(gg) Helah

(1) "[T]he sons of [Ashur +] *Helah*: Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan. And Coz fathered Anib, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel, the son of Harum. And was Jabez more honorable than his brothers. And his mother called his name Jabez...." *Note*: It is not said that Ashur was Coz's father and only mildly inferrable that *Helah* was Coz's mother. *1 Chronicles* 4:7-9.

Hepher - see Heber.

(hh) Hezron²⁴

NOTE: The name *Hezron* in the referenced text appears varyingly in two forms: Form A (htsm) appears for:

¹⁹ Socho/Soco(h) is used thrice elsewhere to refer to a site. It is included in the inheritance of the tribe of Judah as (a) "In the low country...Adullam (see Introductory Summary, fn. 24) and Socoh" (*Joshua* 15:33-35); (b) "In the hill country...Socoh;" (*Joshua* 15:46); (c) a Solomon deputy oversaw "Sochoh and all the lands of Hopher." (The soft *p*, or *ph* sound, is rendered properly in this instance in the referenced text; *1 Kings* 4:10). Among sites variously suggested for Socho are 16-1/2 mi. SW of Jerusalem; 10-1/2 mi. S-SW of Hebron; and 10-1/2 mi. NW of Samaria.

²⁰ Besides Judge Ehud (see Appendix 1D, II, "Judges"), the name occurs two other times: (a) (Benjamin...*lapse*...Jediael-) Ehud, *1 Chronicles* 7:10 where "Jediael" is taken to be (Benjamin-) "Ashbel"--see Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, D, "Manasseh-Benjamin Shuppim & Muppim Puzzle" and other references there, and Appendix 3B, Attachment 1, "Jediael." (b) (Benjamin...*lapse*...) Ehud, *1 Chronicles* 8:6.

²¹ For the story and related quotations, see Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, "Zelophehadites."

²² As a place, see Appendix 1F, Hebron.

²³ Meaning possibly that Mareshah was father/founder of the Hebron the town.

²⁴ Blank.

Son of Reuben, at *Genesis* 46:9, *Exodus* 6:14 and *Numbers* 26:6;
Son of Pharez at *Genesis* 46:12 and *Numbers* 26:20.

Form B (*htsrvn/htsrwn*) appears for:

(Reuben - Hezron -) Jerahmeel, *1 Chronicles* 2:9;
(Hezron -) Caleb “fathered Azubah wife and by Jerioth [*sic.*], *1 Chronicles* 2:18;
(Reuben - Hezron -) Caleb took Ephrath and “she bore to him Hur”, *1 Chronicles* 2:19;
“Afterward” (Reuben-) Hezron at age 60 remarried, *1 Chronicles* 2:21-22;
(Reuben -) Hezron’s wife bore Ashur to Caleb after Hezron’s death in Caleb-Ephrathah, *1 Chronicles* 2:24;
(Reuben -) Hezron, *1 Chronicles* 5:3;
(Reuben -) Hezron, *1 Chronicles* 2:21-22;
Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron, *1 Chronicles* 2:25;
Ram, the firstborn son of Jerahmeel, “ “ “ ”;
Generations of Pharez: “Pharez fathered Hezron, Hezron fathered Ram and Ram fathered Amminadab,” etc. *Ruth* 4:18-22.

- (1) “[T]he sons of Reuben: Hanoch, and Phallu/Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi/these the families of Reuben.” *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3. “Reuben had four sons--Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi.” *AJ* II.VII.4.
- (2) Hezron, son of Reuben. *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3.
- (3) “[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David.” *Ruth* 4:18-22.
- (4) “And the sons of Hezron who were born to him: Jerahmeel and Ram, and Chelubai.” *1 Chronicles* 2:9.
- (5) “Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron.” *1 Chronicles* 2:25.
- (6) Hezron, father of Caleb. *1 Chronicles* 2:18.
- (7) “Caleb, the son of Hezron, invented the bow...and learnt his brethren to prepare themselves for...battle.” *Jasher* VI:12-13.
- (8) “And afterward went in Hezron to the daughter of Machir father of Gilead, and he took her when he a son of sixty years. And she bore to him Segub.” *1 Chronicles* 2:21.
- (9) “[A]fter the death of Hezron in Caleb-ephatah, then the wife of Hezron, Abiah, bore to him [*sic.*] Ashur the father of Tekoa [posthumously to Hezron, or to Caleb?--text unclear.]” *1 Chronicles* 2:24.
- (10) (Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah-Onam + ? - Jada + ? -) Jether, who “died without sons.” *1 Chronicles* 2:28-32.
- (11) “The sons of Judah: Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal.”²⁵ *1 Chronicles* 4:1.
- (12) “[S]ons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.” *Genesis* 46:2.
- (13) Hezron, son of Pharez. *Genesis* 46:12; *1 Chronicles* 2:5.
- (14) Hezronites, family of Reuben; of the sons of Reuben, “of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites.” *Exodus* 6:14; *Numbers* 26:5-6.
- (15) (15) “And were the sons of Pharez: of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites. *Numbers* 26:21.

(ii) Hobab

- (1) “And the sons of the Kenite, father-in-law Moses, had gone out of the city of the palms with the sons of Judah to the wilderness...” *Judges* 1:16.
- (2) “Heber the Kenite had broken from the Kenites of the sons of Hobab, father-in-law Moses’.” *Judges* 4:14. Some resolve this apparent contradiction (*Hobab*, himself, would have been Moses’ brother-in-law) by suggesting *Hobab* here represented the patriarchy of a (probably deceased) Reuel/Jethro. Other possibilities are (1) that Zipporah

²⁵ The structure and phrasing is unclear in verses 1-4, which contain intervening lines leading to the conclusion, “These, the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem, etc.,” with more interspersions following—see full quote in Appendix 1B, “Ephrath/Ephrathah.”

and *Hobab* were half-siblings--if Reuel was dead and *Hobab* had inherited Zipporah's mother, he then loosely also could be referred to as Moses' father-in-law; and (2) another wife of Moses was a daughter of *Hobab*.

(3) "And Moses said to *Hobab*, the son of Reuel the Midianite, father-in-law Moses..., traveling we to the place of which has said [Tet] it I shall give to you. Go with us.... ..you shall be to us for eyes.... And [*Hobab*] said to [Moses], not I shall go, but to my land and to my kindred I shall go." *Numbers* 10:29-32.

(jj) Hur

(1) "And died Azubah, and took to himself Caleb Ephrath, and she bore to him *Hur*." *1 Chronicles* 2:19.

(2) "These were the sons of Caleb the son of *Hur*, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Bethgades." Textwise, this follows the foregoing four listings of Caleb offspring; the underlined words are omitted in the margin English of the referenced text. *1 Chronicles* 2:50-51.

(3) Moses "bade his brother Aaron, and *Hur* their sister Miriam's husband" to stand at his side during the long battle with Amalekites led by Joshua, "and assist him in the extension of his hands *I*" and Aaron and *Hur* held up his hands...." *AJ* III.II.4 and III.VI.1; *Exodus* 17:10.

(4) Moses left Aaron and *Hur* over the camp when he went to the conference on the mountain. *Exodus* 24:14.

(5) *Hur*, one of five Midianite kings²⁶ over an "immense multitude" who fell when "Moses sent an army against the land of Midian." *AJ* IV.VII.1; *Numbers* 31:7.

(6) "The sons of Judah: Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and *Hur*, and Shobal." *1 Chronicles* 4:1.

(7) "And these the father of Etam²⁷ --Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash--and the name of their sister Hazeleponi--and Penuel the father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These the sons of *Hur*, the firstborn Ephratah, the father of Bethlehem." *1 Chronicles* 4:3-4.

(8) "*Hur* fathered Uri and Uri fathered Bezaleel;" "Bezaleel the son of Uri the son of *Hur*." *Exodus* 31:1; *1 Chronicles* 2:20.

(9) "Moses said...See, has called [Tet.] by name Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of *Hur*, of/to²⁸ the tribe of Judah'." *Exodus* 35:30ff.

(10) It is unclear from the sequence of verses of *2 Chronicles* 1:3ff. as to where Solomon made the there-described offering before "the altar of bronze that had made Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of *Hur*"--whether at the "high place" in Gibeon or at the tabernacle tent in Jerusalem, although the former site appears favored by the complete text.

(kk) Izhar

(1) (Levi-Kohath-) Amram, *Izhar*, Hebron and Uzziel. *1 Chronicles* 6:2, 18; *Exodus* 6:18.

(2) "[T]he sons of *Izhar*: Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri." *Exodus* 6:21.

(3) "[T]he sons of Kohath by their families Amram, and *Izhar* [*sic.*], Hebron, and Uzziel." *Numbers* 3:19; 27.

(4) "[T]he sons of Kohath: Amminadab[*izhar*?²⁹] his son, Korah his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uziah his son and Shaul his son." *1 Chronicles* 6:22-24. *Note*: This verse has led to acceptance by some of *Amminadab* as an alternate for *Izhar*, which is what the *Septuagint* supplies.

(5) (Levi-Kohath-) *Izhar*-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephaniah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel- Jeroham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-Heman. *1*

²⁶ "Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur and Rekem, [the last of whom had] the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, *Arechem*, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called *Petra*." *AJ* IV.VII.1.

²⁷ See Appendix 1F, *Etam*.

²⁸ The ms. referenced in this work has "of" interlineally and "to" in the margin text.

²⁹ This verse has led to a suggestion of *Amminadab* being an alternate name for *Izhar*; the *Septuagint* supplies *Izhar*.

Chronicles 6:33-38.

Jasher/Jazer - see Jesher.

(ll) Jephunneh

(1) “[T]he sons of Jether: *Jephunneh*, and Pispah, and Ara” appears at the end of a listing of sons and heads of family of Asher. *1 Chronicles* 7:38.

(2) “Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of *Jephunneh*,” said Caleb being one of the “heads of the sons of Israel” sent by Moses “from the wilderness of Paran” to scout out Canaan territory. *Numbers* 13:6.

(3) “[T]he sons of Caleb the son of *Jephunneh*: Iru, Elah, and Naam.” *1 Chronicles* 4:15.

(4) “Caleb the son of *Jephunneh* the Kenezite, “forty years old when Moses...sent me...from Kadesh-barnea to spy the land,” at age “eighty-five years” reminded Joshua at Gilgal of Moses’ promise, “And blessed him Joshua and gave Hebron to Caleb...[and] has belonged Hebron to Caleb the son of *Jephunneh*, the Kenezite, for an inheritance to day this...” “[T]o Caleb the son of *Jephunneh*...the city of Arba...--it Hebron.” *Joshua* 14:6-14; 15:13.

(mm) Jerahmeel

(1) “And the sons of Hezron who were born to him: *Jerahmeel* and Ram, and Chelubai.” *1 Chronicles* 2:9.

(2) “Caleb the brother of *Jerahmeel*.” *1 Chronicles* 2:42.

(3) “And were the sons of *Jerahmeel*, the firstborn of Hezron: the firstborn, Ram, and Bunah, and Oren and Ozem, and Ahijah [mother(s) not specified].” *1 Chronicles* 2:25.

(4) (*Jerahmeel* + ? - Ram + ? -) Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. *1 Chronicles* 2:27.

(5) “And there was wife another to *Jerahmeel*, and her name Atarah. She was the mother of Onam.” *1 Chronicles* 2:26. (“[T]he sons of Onam Shammai and Jada.” :28)

(6) (Hezron - *Jerahmeel* + Atarah-Onam + ? - Jada + ? -) Jether, who “died without sons.” *1 Chronicles* 2:28-32.

(7) (Hezron - *Jerahmeel* + Atarah - Onam - Shammai - Nadab - Appaim - Ishi -) Sheshan. “But not were to Sheshan sons, but daughters. And Sheshan [had] a servant Egyptian, and his name Jarha. And gave Sheshan his daughter to Jarha his servant for a wife. And she bore to him Attai, and Attai fathered Nathan, and Nathan fathered Zabad, and Zabad fathered Ephlal, and Ephlal fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jehu, etc.” *1 Chronicles* 2:3, 25, 37, 38.

(8) King David during his competition with Saul and his temporary alliance with Philistine king Achish raided “against the south of Judah, and against the south of the *Jerahmeelites*, and to the south of the Kenites.” *1 Samuel* 27.

(9) “*Jerahmeel*, the son of the king” [the referenced interlinear gives, son of “Hammelech” in the margin], one of the three men sent by king Eliakim/Jehoiakim to seize Baruch and Jeremiah; *Jeremiah* 36:26.

(10) See also Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Inscriptions, Yerahme’el.”

(nn) Jesher/Jasher/Jazer/Jezer³⁰

(1) “And Caleb the son of Hezron fathered Azubah wife and by Jerioth [*sic.*]. And these *her* [?] sons: *Jesher* and Shobab and Ardon.” *1 Chronicles* 2:18.

(2) “These are the words of *Jasher*, son of Caleb, by Azuba.” *Jasher* V:1.

(3) “All these things which I *Jasher* have written, received I from Caleb my father, yea, even from Hezron my father’s father, and from Azuba who travailed with me.” *Jasher* IV:22.

(4) *Jasher* “called unto him *Jazer*, his eldest son,” and said, “Build now an ark, that I may put therein this testimony;; and do thou lay it up in the city of *Jezer*.... And *Jazer* laid it

³⁰ Refer also to Appendix 1C, sub-part II, “Hezronic Period,” B, “Book of Jasher, etc.” (Uncertainties exist regarding the similarities of towns *Jazer* and “Jahaz,” which latter--that at some point became a Levite city [*Joshua* 21:34, 36]--was captured by Moab king Mesha during the rule of southern king Jehoshaphat, and appears to have been between Dhiban/Dibon and Heshbon on the advancing exodus course. Refer to *Aid*, pp. 866 and 872, for additional citations.

up in the city of *Jezer*.” *Jasher* XXXVII.30-32. See also page 360, fn. 29.

(5) “[C]hanted David dirge this over Saul and over Jonathan his son--’and he said to teach the sons of Judah The Bow; See, it is written in the book of *Jasher*.” *2 Samuel* 1:17.

(oo) Jether

(1) “[T]he sons of [Atarah + Jerahmeel - Onam + ? -] Jada the brother of Shammai: *Jether* and Jonathan, and died *Jether* without sons.” *1 Chronicles* 2:32.

(2) Moses asked “his father-in-law, *Jethro*,” for permission to return to Egypt. *Exodus* 4:18-- where in the Masoretic text *Jethro* is spelled *Jether*. *Josephus* has “Raguel, Moses’ father-in-law,” *AJ* III.III - see also *Jethro* and *Reuel*.

(3) [T]he sons of Ezra: *Jether*, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon. And she conceived Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Estemoa.” [This which follows a list of sons of Caleb gives no antecedent there for “Ezra,” it being the only use in this era.] *1 Chronicles* 4:17.

(4) “[T]he sons of *Jether*: Jephunneh, and Pispah, and Ara,” without antecedent for *Jether*,³¹ appears at the end of a listing of sons and heads of family of Asher. *1 Chronicles* 7:30-40.

(5) *Jether*, son of Judge Gideon; refer to Appendix ID.I, “Judges.”

(6) (Jesse + ? - Abigail + *Jether/Ithra*, the Ishmaelite -) Amasa, army chief of king David. *1 Chron.* 2:17, *1 Kings* 2:5, 32; *2 Samuel* 17:25.

(pp) Jetheth

(1) “[T]hese the names of the chiefs of Esau, by their families, by their places, by their names: Chief Timnah, Chief Alvah, Chief *Jetheth*, Chief Oholibamah, Chief Elah, Chief Pinon, Chief Kenza, Chief Teman, Chief Mibzar, Chief Magdiel, Chief Iram.” *Genesis* 36:40-43.

(2) “[T]he princes of Edom: prince Timmah, prince Aliah, prince *Jetheth*, prince Aholibamah, prince Elah, prince Pinon, prince Kenaz, prince Teman, prince Mizbar, prince Magdiel, prince Iram.” *1 Chronicles* 1:51-54.

(qq) Jethro - see also *Jether* (2) and *Reuel*.

(1) Moses tended the flock of “*Jethro*, his father-in-law, the priest of Midian.” *Exodus* 3:1.

(2) Moses asked “his father-in-law, *Jethro*,” for permission to return to Egypt. *Exodus* 4:18 (in the Masoretic text *Jethro* is spelled *Jether*).

(3) After Moses’ defeat of Amalek, “*Jethro*, the father-in-law of Moses, took Zipporah the wife of Moses...and her two sons...Gershom... and Eliezer,” “and came *Jethro* Moses’ father-in-law and his sons and his wife to Moses, to the wilderness where he camped.” *Exodus* 18:2ff.

(rr) Jeush

(1) “[Esau and] Oholibamah bore *Jeush* and Jalam, and Korah. These sons Esau’s who were born to him in the land of Canaan. And took Esau...all the souls of his house and his livestock...and he went to a land away from Jacob his brother. For had become their possessions great to live together...and lived Esau on Mount Seir; Esau is Edom.” *Genesis* 36:3-8.

(2) “The sons of Esau Eliphaz, Reuel, and *Jeush*, and Jaalam, and Korah.” *1 Chronicles* 1:35.

(ss) Jochebed/Jochebad

(1) “[T]ook Amram *Jochebed* his aunt to him for a wife; and she bore to him Aaron and Moses. *Exodus* 6:20.

(2) *Jochebed* is taken to be the unnamed mother in *Exodus* 21ff.: “[W]ent a man from the House of Levi and took a daughter of Levi. And conceived the woman and bore a son,” which is followed by the description of the child being placed in a basket by the river

³¹ Unless equal to the (Asher-Beriah-Heber-Hotham/[Helem?]-Zophah-) “Ithran” of the preceding verse--see item (6) here.

and his ultimate discovery by pharaoh's daughter, who "had pity on him and said, of the children of the Hebrews this." The infant's watchful "sister" also is not named in the verses but commonly has been taken as Miriam; also, while it is not said directly, the verses imply that the "sister" was one of pharaoh's daughter's handmaidens.

(tt) Judah

- (1) "[S]aw...*Judah* a daughter of a man Canaanite named Shuah." *Genesis* 38:2.
- (2) "Shuah's daughter, the wife of *Judah*" *Genesis* 38:12.
- (3) (Tamar + [Leah + Jacob-] *Judah* -) Pharez. *Genesis* 38:30.
- (4) "[T]he sons of *Judah*:" Er, Onan,³² Shelah, Pharez, Zerah. *Genesis* 46:12.
- (5) "Er, Onan and Shelah...were born to him [Judah] from the daughter of Shua the Canaanitess." *1 Chronicles* 2:3.
- (6) "Tamar, his [*Judah*'s] daughter-in-law bore to him Pharez and Zerah." *1 Chronicles* 2:4.
- (7) "*Judas* [*Judah*] had three sons--Salas, Phares, Zerah." *AJ* II.III.4.
- (8) "[T]he sons of *Judah*, by their families: of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites; of Pharez, the family of the Phazites; of Zerah, the family of the Zarhites." *Numbers* 26:20.
- (9) "Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of *Judah*...[took] of cursed things..." *Joshua* 7:1. "And was taken the tribe of *Judah*" and "Joshua...took the family of Zarhites...by men, and was taken Zabdi...and was taken Achan, the son of *Carmi*, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah of the tribe of *Judah*." *Joshua* 7:16ff.
- (10) "The sons of *Judah*: Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal." *1 Chronicles* 4:1.
- (11) (Sarah + Abraham - Isaac + Rebekah - Jacob + Leah - *Judah* + Tamar -) Pharez-Hezron-Ram-Amminadab-Nahshon-Salmon- Boaz-Obed-Jesse-David. *Ruth* 4:18-22; other citations at 1C.VIII.

(uu) Judith

- (1) "Esau a son of 40 years and he took a wife *Judith*, Beeri's daughter the Hittite." *Genesis* 26:34. (No reference is made to offspring of *Judith*.)

(vv) Kenaz/Kenas³³

- (1) "These the chiefs of sons Esau's: the sons of Eliphaz firstborn Esau's, Chief Teman, Chief Omar, Chief Zepho, Chief *Kenaz*, Chief Korah, Chief Gatham, Chief Amalek. These chiefs of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these the sons of Adah." *Genesis* 36:15-16.
- (2) "[S]ons of [Adah + Esau -] Eliphaz: Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and *Kenaz*. ... These the sons of Adah wife Esau's." *Genesis* 36:11-12.
- (3) "[T]hese the names of the chiefs of Esau, by their families, by their places, by their names: Chief Timnah, Chief Alvah, Chief Jetheth, Chief Oholibamah, Chief Elah, Chief Pinon, Chief *Kenaz*, Chief Teman, Chief Mibzar, Chief Magdiel, Chief Iram." *Genesis* 36:40-43.
- (4) "Othniel, the son of *Kenaz*, brother of Caleb, the one younger than him." *Judges* 1:13.
- (5) After the sons of Israel fell under and served King Chushan- rishathaim of Mesopotamia for eight years, they "...cried for a deliverer...and he saved them--Othniel, the son of *Kenaz*, brother of Caleb's younger than him--...and he judged Israel...and he went out to war...and had rest the land forty years." *Judges* 3:9.
- (6) "And went [clan of] Judah against the Canaanites living in Hebron...and... from there against the dwellers of Debir,...and said Caleb, he who strikes the city of Sepher[Debir] and takes it, I shall give to him Achsah my daughter. ... And captured it Othniel, the son of *Kenaz/Kenas*, brother, Caleb's, the one younger than him, and [Caleb] gave to him Achsah, his daughter, for a wife. And...she urged [Othniel] to ask from her father a field;...and she said [to Caleb] 'Give to me a blessing; for the land of the south you have given me; then give to me of water springs; and he gave to her the springs upper and

³² "Onan" formed the root of *onanism*; its meaning of uncompleted coitus derived from when (Judah -) *Onan* refused to consummate levirate marriage with Tamar, and came to be equated, via Latin, with masturbation *per se*.

³³ See Appendix 1F for Kenite/Kenezite/Kenizzite.

the springs lower.” *Judges* 1:10ff. and *Joshua* 15:16 give essentially the same account, here combined.

(7) “[T]he sons of *Caleb* the son of Jephunneh: Iru, Elah, and Naam; and the son of Elah *Kenaz*.” *1 Chronicles* 4:15.

(ww) Kohath

(1) (Levi-Kohath-) Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel. *1 Chron.* 6:2, 18; *Ex.* 6:18.

(2) “*Kohath* fathered Amram.” *Numbers* 26:58.

(3) “[T]he sons of *Kohath* by their families Amram, and Izehar [*sic.*], Hebron, and Uzziel.” *Numbers* 3:19; 27.

(4) “[T]he sons of *Kohath*: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziath his son and Shaul his son.” *1 Chronicles* 6:22-24. *Note*: This verse has led to suggestion that *Amminadab* was an alternate name for *Izhar*, while the *Septuagint* supplies *Izhar*.

(5) (Levi-Kohath-) Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephaniah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel- Jeroham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-Heman. *1 Chronicles* 6:33-38.

(xx) Korah

(1) “[T]he sons of *Korah*, Assir and Elkanah and Ebiasaph.” *Exodus* 6:16.

(2) “[T]he sons of *Kohath*: Amminadab his son, *Korah* his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziath his son and Shaul his son.” *1 Chronicles* 6:22-24. *Note*: This is one of the verses which have led some to accept *Amminadab* as an alternate for *Izhar*, which the *Septuagint* supplies.

(2) “[T]hese the sons of Oholibamah wife Esau’s: Chief Jeush, Chief Jalam, *Chief Korah*; these were the chiefs of Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah, wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:18.

(3) “The sons of Esau Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jaalam, and *Korah*.” *1 Chronicles* 1:35.

(4) “These the chiefs of sons Esau’s: the sons of Eliphaz firstborn Esau’s, Chief Teman, Chief Omar, Chief Zepho, Chief Kenas, *Chief Korah*, Chief Gatham, Chief Amalek. These chiefs of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these the sons of Adah.” *Genesis* 36:15-16.³⁴

(5) “[T]he sons of Izhar: *Korah*, and Nepheg, and Zichri.” *Exodus* 6:21.

(6) “[T]ook *Korah*, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, both Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On; the sons of Peleth, the sons of Reuben,” and “they assembled against Moses and against Aaron,” in rebellion of Moses’ assumption of authority.³⁵ *Numbers* 16:1ff.

(7) Confirmation of the death of Moses’ cousin, *Korah*, appears at *Numbers* 26:10-11: “[O]pened the earth its mouth and swallowed them together with *Korah*, when died that company...two hundred and fifty men...but the sons of *Korah* not did die.”

(8) “[T]he sons of *Caleb*, the brother of Jerahmeel, were: Mesha his firstborn who the father of Ziph, and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron. [T]he sons of Hebron were *Korah*, and Tappuah, and Rekem and Shema.” *1 Chronicles* 2:42-43.

(9) At Moab, among those “numbered of the Levites, by their families...the family of the *Korahites*.” *Numbers* 26:58.

(10) (Levi-Kohath-) Izhar-*Korah*-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephaniah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel- Jeroham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-Heman. *1 Chronicles* 6:33-38.

(11) Later uses of *Korah* - see Appendix 3B, I.

(yy) Laadah

(1) “The sons of Shelah the son of Judah:...*Laadah*, the father of Mareshah.” *1 Chronicles* 4:21.

³⁴ *Korah* not being elsewhere listed as an Eliphaz son, “some scholars suggest its appearance in the Masoretic text may be...a copyist’s error;” the Samaritan *Pentateuch* omits *Korah* in this verse. (*Aid*, p. 1014.)

³⁵ See Appendix 1C, IV, for details.

(zz) Mahalath

(1) “[W]ent Esau to Ishmael and took *Mahalath*, daughter Ishmael, the son of Abraham, sister Nebajoth’s, to the wives which he had.” *Genesis* 28:9. (No reference to Mahalath offspring is made.)

(aaa) Mareshah³⁶

(1) “The sons of Shelah the son of Judah:...Laadah, the father of *Mareshah*. 1 *Chronicles* 4:21.

(1) “[T]he sons of Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel, were: Mesha his firstborn who the father of Ziph, and the sons of *Mareshah* the father of Hebron.” 1 *Chronicles* 2:42.

(bbb) Miriam

(1) “Kohath fathered Amram and the name of wife Amram’s Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom [³⁷?] bore her to Levi in Egypt. And she bore to Amram Aaron and Moses, and *Miriam* their sister.” *Numbers* 26:58-59.

(2) “And the sons of Amram: Aaron and Moses and *Miriam*.” 1 *Chronicles* 6:3.

(3) The unnamed watchful “sister” in the verses about pharaoh’s daughter’s ‘adoption’ of the Hebrew infant commonly has been accepted as having been *Miriam* who (while it is not said directly) the verses imply was one of pharaoh’s daughter’s handmaids; see *Jochebed* #(2).

(4) Moses “bade his brother Aaron, and Hur their sister *Miriam*’s husband” to stand at his side during the long battle with Amalekites led by Joshua. *AJ* III.II.4; *Exodus* 17:10.

(5) “Bezaleel, the son of Uri of the tribe of Judah, the *grandson of Miriam*, the sister of their conductor[*/Moses*].” *AJ* III.VI.1. (This is the only indication of *Miriam*’s having had children or step-children.)

(6) A mention of a seemingly different *Miriam* also appears in this era: “[T]he sons of Ezra: Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon. And she conceived *Miriam*, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Estemoa.” [This which follows a list of sons of Caleb gives no antecedent there for “Ezra,” the only use in this era and a form of the later frequently-appearing *Azariah*, Appendix 3B, I.] 1 *Chronicles* 4:17.

(ccc) Moses

(1) “Kohath fathered Amram and the name of wife Amram’s Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom [³⁸?] bore her to Levi in Egypt. And she bore to Amram Aaron and *Moses*, and *Miriam* their sister.” *Numbers* 26:58-59.

(2) (Levi-Kohath-) Amram (*Exodus* 6:16, 18); “And took Amram Jochebed his aunt to him for a wife; and she bore to him Aaron and *Moses*. *Exodus* 6:20.

(3) “And the sons of Amram: Aaron and *Moses* and *Miriam*.” 1 *Chronicles* 6:3.

(4) “[T]he priest of Midian seven daughters...and agreed *Moses* to live with the man; and he gave Zipporah is daughter to *Moses*. And she bore a son and called his name Gershon.” *Exodus* 2:16-22.

(5) “Zipporah the wife of *Moses*...and her two sons whom the name of one *Gershom*...and the name of one *Eliezer*.” *Exodus* 18:2-4.

(6) “[T]he sons of *Moses*: Gershom and *Eliezer*.” 1 *Chronicles* 23:15.

(7) After *Moses*’ defeat of Amalek, “Jethro, the father-in-law of *Moses*, took Zipporah the wife of *Moses*, after sending her away, and two her sons...*Gershom*...and *Eliezer*,” “and came Jethro *Moses*’ father-in-law and his sons and his wife to *Moses*, to the wilderness where he camped.” *Exodus* 18:2ff.

(8) “Shebuel the son of Gershom, the son of *Moses*, ruler over the treasures. And his brothers by *Eliezer*: Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomith his son [with] his brothers over all the treasurers of the holy things which had dedicated David the king.” 1 *Chronicles* 26:24-26.

³⁶ As a place, see Appendix 1F, *Mareshah*.

³⁷ Jochebed’s mother’s name appears omitted here?—the referenced interlinear adds “whom *one* bore her to.”

³⁸ See preceding footnote.

(ddd) Naarah³⁹

(1) Ashur had “wives two, Helah and *Naarah*. And bore to him *Naarah* Ahuzam, and Hopher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari/Ahashtari. These the sons of *Naarah*.” *1 Chronicles* 4:5-6.

(eee) Nadab

(1) “[T]ook Aaron Elisheba the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to him for a wife, and she bore to him *Nadab*, and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.” *Exodus* 6:23.

(2) “[T]he sons of Aaron: *Nadab* and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.” *1 Chronicles* 6:3; *1 Chronicles* 24:1.

(3) “But died *Nadab* and Abihu....” -- refer to Appendix 1C, IV.

(4) (Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah - Onam + ? - Shammai + ? -) *Nadab* and Abishur. *1 Chronicles* 2:28.

(5) (Father of Gibeon + Maachah -) *Nadab* - refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, “Saul, Descendancy of.”

(fff) Nahshon

(1) “Ram fathered Amminadab; and Amminadab fathered *Nahshon*, chief of the sons of Judah.” “*Nahshon* the son of Amminadab.” *1 Chronicles* 2:10; *Numbers* 1:7, 7:12.

(2) “...Amminadab but generated the *Nahshon*, *Nahshon* but generated the Salmon, Salmon but generated the Boaz out of the Rahab, Boaz but generated the Obed out of the Ruth...” *Matthew* 1:4-5.

(3) [Jesus...] “...of the David of the Jesse of the Obed of the Boaz of the Salmon of the *Nahshon*, etc.....” *Luke* 3:32.

(4) “The ruler of the sons of Judah, *Nahshon*, the son of Amminadab.” *Numbers* 2:3.

(5) “[T]ook Aaron Elisheba the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of *Nahshon*, to him for a wife, and she bore to him *Nadab*, and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.” *Exodus* 6:23.

(6) “[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered *Nahshon*, and *Nahshon* fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David.” *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(ggg) Nemuel

(1) “The sons of Simeon: *Jemuel*” etc. *Genesis* 46:10, *Exodus* 6:15; *Josephus* also shows “Jemuel” as the name of Simeon’s son.

(2) “The sons of Simeon, *Nemuel*....” *1 Chronicles* 4:24.

(3) “The sons of Simeon by their families: of *Nemuel*, the family of the Nemuelites....” *Numbers* 26:12.

(4) “[T]he sons of Eliab *Nemuel*, and Dathan and Abiram.” *Numbers* 26:9.

(hhh) Obed

(1) “[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered *Nahshon*, and *Nahshon* fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered *Obed*, and *Obed* fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David.” *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(2) “...Amminadab fathered *Nahshon*, chief of the sons of Judah, and *Nahshon* fathered Salma, and Salma fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered *Obed*, and *Obed* fathered Jesse.” *1 Chronicles* 2:10-12.

(3) “... *Nahshon* but generated the Salmon, Salmon but generated the Boaz out of the Rahab, Boaz but generated the *Obed* out of the Ruth, *Obed* but generated the Jesse....” *Matthew* 1:4-5.

(4) [“Jesus...”] ...of the David of the Jesse of the *Obed* of the Boaz of the Salmon of the *Nahshon*, etc.....” *Luke* 3:32.

³⁹ As a place, *Naarah* has been equated with “Naaran.” some seven miles N/NE of Jericho (*Aid*, p. 1195).

(5) When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law [Naomi] to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her....” Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year’s time. ...[called] *Obed*.” *AJ V.IX.2*; 4.

(6) (Jerahmeel + Atarah - Onam - Shammai - Nadab - Appaim - Ishi -) Sheshan. “But not were to Sheshan sons, but daughters. And Sheshan [had] a servant Egyptian, and his name Jarha. And gave Sheshan his daughter to Jarha his servant for a wife. And she bore to him Attai, and Attai fathered Nathan, and Nathan fathered Zabad, and Zabad fathered Ephlal, and Ephlal fathered *Obed*, and *Obed* fathered Jehu, etc.” *1 Chronicles* 2:3, 25, 37, 38.

(iii) **Oholibamah**

(1) “[T]hese the sons of Anah: Dishon, and *Oholibamah* the daughter of Anah.” *Genesis* 36:25.

(2) “Esau took his wives from daughters Canaan’s: ...*Oholibama* Anah’s daughter Zibeon’s daughter the Hivite...and *Oholibamah* bore Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.” *Genesis* 36:2-4.

(3) “[T]hese were the sons of *Oholibama* the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon wife Esau’s...she bore to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.” *Genesis* 36:14.

(4) “[T]hese the sons of *Oholibamah* wife Esau’s: Chief Jeush, Chief Jalam, Chief Korah; these were the *chiefs of Oholibamah*, the daughter of Anah, wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:18.

(5) “[T]hese the names of the chiefs of Esau, by their families, by their places, by their names: Chief Timnah, Chief Alvah, Chief Jetheth, Chief *Oholibamah*, Chief Elah, Chief Pinon, Chief Kenza, Chief Teman, Chief Mibzar, Chief Magdiel, Chief Iram.” *Genesis* 36:40-43.

(6) “[T]he princes of Edom: prince Timmah, prince Aliah, prince Jetheth, prince *Aholibamah*, prince Elah, prince Pinon, prince Kenaz, prince Teman, prince Mizbar, prince Magdiel, prince Iram.” *1 Chronicles* 1:51-54.

(jjj) **Onam**

(1) “[T]hese sons Shobal’s:...*Onam*.” *Genesis* 36:23.

(2) *Onam*, father of Shammai and Jada. *1 Chronicles* 2:16.

(3) (Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah-*Onam* + ? - Shammai + ? -) Nadab and Abishur. *1 Chronicles* 2:28.

(4) (*Onam* + ? - Jada + ? -) Jonathan and Jether; the latter “died without sons.” *1 Chronicles* 2:32.

(5) (*Onam* + ? - Jada + ? - Jonathan + ? -) Peleth and Zaza. *1 Chronicles* 2:33.

(kkk) **Othniel**

(1) “Othniel, the son of Kenas, brother of *Caleb*, the one younger than him.” *Judges* 1:13.

(2) After the sons of Israel fell under and served King Chushan-rishathaim of Mesopotamia for eight years, they “...cried for a deliverer...and he saved them--*Othniel*, the son of Kenaz, brother of *Caleb*’s younger than him--...and he judged Israel...and he went out to war...and had rest the land forty years.” *Judges* 3:9.

(3) “And went [clan of] Judah against the Canaanites living in Hebron...and... from there against the dwellers of Debir,...and said *Caleb*, he who strikes the city of Sepher[Debir] and takes it, I shall give to him Achsah my daughter. ... And captured it *Othniel*, the son of Kenas/Kenaz, brother, *Caleb*’s, the one younger than him, and [*Caleb*] gave to him Achsah, his daughter, for a wife. And...she urged [*Othniel*] to ask from her father a field;...and she said [to *Caleb*] ‘Give to me a blessing; for the land of the south you have given me; then give to me of water springs; and he gave to her the springs upper and the springs lower.” *Judges* 1:10ff. and *Joshua* 15:16 give essentially the same account, here combined.

(III) **Pallu/Phallu**

(1) “[T]he sons of Reuben: Hanoch, and *Pallu/Phallu*, and Hezron, and Carmi/these the families of *Reuben*.” *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3.

- (2) "Reuben had four sons--Anoch, *Phallu*, Assaron, Charmi." *AJ* II.VII.4.
 (3) "Reuben firstborn Israel's; the sons of Reuben: of Hanoch the family of Hanochites; of *Pallu* the family of Palluites; of Hezron the family of Hezronites; of Carmi, the family of Carmites. These the families of Reuben." *Numbers* 26:5-7.

(mmm) Peleth

- (1) "[T]ook Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, both Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On; the sons of *Peleth*, the sons of Reuben," and "they assembled against Moses and against Aaron," in rebellion of Moses' assumption of authority. *Numbers* 16:1ff.
 (2) "[T]he sons of [Atarah + Jerahmeel - Onam + ? - Jada + ? -] Jonathan were *Peleth* and *Zaza*." *1 Chronicles* 2:33.

(nnn) Pharez/Phares/Perez

- (1) (Tamar + [Leah + Jacob-] Judah -) *Pharez*. *Genesis* 38:30.
 (2) "Tamar, his [Judah's] daughter-in-law bore to him *Pharez* and *Zerah*." *1 Chronicles* 2:4.
 (3) "[T]he sons of Judah:" Er, Onan, Shelah, *Pharez*, *Zerah*. *Genesis* 46:12.
 (4) "Judas/[Judah] had...by [son] *Phares* two grandchildren, Esrom and Amar." *AJ* II.III.4.
 (5) "[T]he sons of *Judah*, by their families: of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites; of *Pharez*, the family of the Pharzites; of *Zerah*, the family of the Zarhites." *Numbers* 26:20.
 (6) "The sons of Judah: *Pharez*, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal." *1 Chronicles* 4:1.
 (7) "[S]ons of *Pharez* were Hezron and Hamul." *Genesis* 46:2.
 (8) "[T]he sons of *Pharez*: of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites; of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites." *Numbers* 26:21.
 (9) "[T]hese the generations of *Pharez*: *Pharez* fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David." *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(ooo) Raamah

- (1) "The sons of [Noah-] Ham, Cush.... And the sons of Cush, Seba, and Havilah, and Sabta, and *Raamah*, and Sabtecha. And the sons of *Raamah*, Sheba⁴⁰ and Dedan.⁴¹ *Genesis* 10:6-7; *1 Chronicles* 1:8-9. (Keturah "bore to Abraham...Jokshan.... And *Jokshan* fathered Sheba and Dedan." *Genesis* 25:1-3.)
 "Dedan⁴¹ your merchant in cloths loose for riding; Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they traders of your hand, in lambs and rams and goats, in them your trade. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they your merchants, with the chief of all the spices and with every stone precious and gold, they gave for your wares." *Ezekiel* 27:20-22
 (2) *Raamah*, a city near Ma'an (presently in southwest Jordan, south of the Dead Sea and slightly southeast of Petra), has been equated with a *Raamah* near *Ma'in* mentioned in a Minaean inscription. (*Aid*, page 1365)

(ppp) Rahab

- (1) "... Nahshon but generated the Salmon, Salmon but generated the Boaz out of the *Rahab*, Boaz but generated the Obed out of the *Ruth*...." *Matthew* 1:4-5.
 (2) Spies sent by Joshua to Jericho found refuge "in the inn kept by *Rahab*." *AJ* V.I.2; refer to Appendix 1D, I, "Joshua."
 (3) "Was it not You which cutting in pieces *Rahab*....?" *Isaiah* 51:9
 (4) "For the sons of Korah. ,, I will mention *Rahab* [among others]...; This⁴² was

⁴⁰ See Appendix 2A, *Dedan* and *Sheba*.

⁴¹ *Dedan*, a town placed as inland from the upper portion of the Red Sea.

⁴² Editors of the referenced text have added *man* here.

born there. And to Zion it shall be said, 'A man and a man was born in her; and [Tet.] will establish her...in recording the peoples, this⁴³ was born there. *Psalms* 87:4.

(5) "You have crushed as one slain *Rahab*." *Psalms* 89:10.

Raguel - see Jethro.

(qqq) Ram

(1) "[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered *Ram*, and *Ram* fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered Salmon, and Salmon fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David. *Ruth* 4:18-22.

(2) "[T]he sons of *Ram*, the firstborn of Jerahmeel, Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. *1 Chronicles* 2:27.

(3) (Sarah + Abraham - Isaac + Rebekah - Jacob + Leah - Judah + Tamar - Pharez - Hezron -) *Ram*-Amminadab-Nahshon-Salmon- Boaz-Obed-Jesse-David. *Ruth* 4:18-22; other citations at 1C.VIII.

(4) "*Ram* fathered Amminadab...." *1 Chronicles* 2:10.

(5) (The family of *Ram* - Barachel the Buzite -) Elihu [see Appendix 3B, I]. *Job* 32:2.

(rrr) Reuben

(1) After Rachel's death and burial,⁴⁴ "Israel...pitched his tent beyond the tower of the flocks/Edar," and it was while living there "that went *Reuben* and lay with Bilhah, his concubine father's." *Genesis* 35:20-22.

(2) Jacob told *Reuben*, "[M]y firstborn...you went up to the bed of your father;" "to my couch he went up." *Genesis* 49:3-4.

(3) "The sons of Leah, firstborn Jacob's *Reuben*." *Genesis* 35:23.

(4) "[T]he sons of *Reuben*: Hanoch, and Phallu/Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi/these the families of *Reuben*." *Genesis* 46:9; *Exodus* 6:14; *1 Chronicles* 5:3.

(5) "[T]he sons of *Reuben*: of Hanoch the family of Hanochites; of Pallu the family of the Palluites; of Hezron the family of the Hezronites; of Carmi, the family of the Carmites." *Numbers* 26:5-6.

(6) "Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben." *Deuteronomy* 11:6.

(7) "[T]ook Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, both Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On; [and?] the sons of Peleth, [all being?] the sons of *Reuben*," and "they assembled against Moses and against Aaron," in rebellion of Moses' assumption of authority. *Numbers* 16:1ff.

(sss) Reuel⁴⁵ - see also Jethro.

(1) "Esau took his wives from daughters Canaan's: ...Basemath, Ishmael's daughter, Nebaioth's sister...and Basemath bore *Reuel*." *Genesis* 36:3, 34.

(2) "[T]hese sons [of Basemath + Esau -) *Reuel*'s: Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah and Mizzah; these were the sons of Basemath wife Esau's." *Genesis* 36:13.

(3) "[T]hese the sons of *Reuel*, son Esau's: Chief Nahath, Chief Zerah, Chief Shammah, Chief Mizzah; these the *chiefs of Reuel* in the land of Edom; these the *sons of Basemath*, wife Esau's." *Genesis* 36:17.

(4) "The sons of *Reuel* Nahath, Zerah, Shammah and Mizzah." *1 Chronicles* 1:37.

(5) *Reuel*, priest of Midian, who had seven daughters. *Exodus* 2:16, 18. ("[T]he priest of Midian seven daughters...and agreed Moses to live with the man; and he gave Zipporah his daughter to Moses. And she bore a son and called his name Gershon." *Exodus* 2:16-22.)

(6) "Moses [in exile from Egypt] agreed to live with the man [*Reuel*]; and he gave

⁴³ Editors of the referenced text have added *man* here.

⁴⁴ "on the way to Ephrath, that Bethlehem."

⁴⁵ "Reuel" also is used alternately for "Deuel," father of Gad's leader at the time of the first registration; see at Appendix 1C, at fn. 44. Also found, (Sons of Benjamin...Ibnijah-*Reuel*-Shephatiah-) Meshullam; *1 Chronicles* 9:8.

Zipporah his daughter to Moses. And she bore a son and called his name Gershon.”
Exodus 2:21-22.

- (7) *Reuel*, “father-in-law Moses’.” *Numbers* 10:29
- (8) *Josephus* calls Moses’ father-in-law “*Raguel*.” *AJ* III.III.
- (9) “Hobab, son of *Reuel* the Midianite.” *Numbers* 10:29.

(ttt) Ruth

- (1) “*Ruth* the Moabite, her [Naomi’s] daughter-in-law.” *Ruth* 1:22; refer to Appendix 1C, VII, B.
- (2) When *Ruth* was come with her mother-in-law [Naomi] to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her....” Booz married *Ruth*, and they had a son within a year’s time. ...[called] Obed.” *AJ* V.IX.2; 4.
- (3) “... Nahshon but generated the Salmon, Salmon but generated the Boaz out of the Rahab, Boaz but generated the Obed out of the *Ruth*....” *Matthew* 1:4-5.

Sala - see Shelah.

(uuu) Salma

- (1) “...Amminadab fathered Nahshon, chief of the sons of Judah, and Nahshon fathered *Salma*, and *Salma* fathered Boaz, etc....” *1 Chronicles* 2:10-12.
- (2) “These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, *Salma* the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Bethgades.” Textwise, this follows the foregoing four listings of *Caleb* offspring; the underlined words are omitted in the margin English of the referenced text. *1 Chronicles* 2:50-51.
- (3) “The sons of *Salma*: Bethlehem and the Netophathites,⁴⁶ Ataroth, the house of Joab, and half the Manahethites, the Zorites. And the families of the tribes who lived at Jabez: the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, Suchathites. These the Kenites who came from Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab.” *1 Chronicles* 2:54-55.

(vvv) Salmon

- (1) “[T]hese the generations of Pharez: Pharez fathered Hezron, and Hezron fathered Ram, and Ram fathered Amminadab, and Amminadab fathered Nahshon, and Nahshon fathered *Salmon*, and *Salmon* fathered Boaz, and Boaz fathered Obed, and Obed fathered Jesse, and Jesse fathered David.” *Ruth* 4:18-22.
- (2) “... *Nahshon* but generated the *Salmon*, *Salmon* but generated the Boaz out of the Rahab, Boaz but generated the Obed out of the *Ruth*... *Matthew* 1:4-5.
- (3) [Jesus...] “...of the David of the Jesse of the Obed of the Boaz of the *Salmon* of the Nahshon, etc....” *Luke* 3:32.

(www) Segub⁴⁷

- (1) *Segub* fathered Jair, and to whom was twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead.” *1 Chronicles* 2:22.

(xxx) Shaul

- (1) Of “the kings who ruled in the land of Edom before the ruling of a king over the sons of Israel [were]:” Beor, Bela, Jobab, Zerah, Husham, Hadad, Samaiah, *Shaul*....” *Genesis* 36:31ff., *1 Chronicles* 1:48-49.
- (2) “[T]he sons of Simeon: Jemuel,⁴⁸ and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and *Shaul* the sons of a woman of Canaan”/“the sons of a Canaanite; these the families of Simeon.” *Genesis* 46:10; *Exodus* 6:15.

⁴⁶ Men of “Netophah” were numbered in the post-exilic return; refer to Appendix 3B, II (“Numbered Sons, etc. of the Returns”), A (5), (3).

⁴⁷ “Segub” appears as a name, also, at *1 Kings* 16:34, during descriptions of king Ahab: “In his days built Hiel the Bethelite Jericho; in Abiram his firstborn he founded it, and in Segub his youngest he set up its doors, as the word...spoke by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun,” which last appears to refer to *Joshua* 6:26, “Cursed the man...who rises up and builds city this Jericho,” etc.

⁴⁸ See *Nemuel*, above, concerning alternate use with *Jemuel*.

(3) "The sons of Simeon: Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, *Shaul*--Shallum his son, etc." *1 Chronicles* 4:24-25.

(4) "[S]ons of Simeon by their families: of Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites; of Jamin...Jaminites; of Jachin...Jachinites; of Zerah...Zerahites; of *Shaul*...*Shaulites*." *Numbers* 26:12-13.

(5) "[T]he sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziab his son and *Shaul* his son." *1 Chronicles* 6:22-24. *Note*: This is one of the verses which have led some to accept *Amminadab* as an alternate for *Izhar*, which the *Septuagint* supplies.

(yyy) Shelah

(1) "[T]he sons of Judah:" Er, Onan, *Shelah*, Pharez, Zerah. *Genesis* 46:12.

(2) The sons of the daughter of Shuah and Judah were "Er and Onan and *Shelah*." *Genesis* 38:2-5; *1 Chronicles* 2:3.

(3) Of the "sons of Judah, by their families...of *Shelah*, the family of the Shelanites." *Numbers* 26:20.

(4) "The sons of *Shelah* the son of Judah: Er the father of Lecah, and Laadah, the father of Maresha, and the families...who worked fine linen of the house of Ashbea, and Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, was ruled/ruler of Moab, and Jeshubilehem..." *1 Chronicles* 4:21-22.

(zzz) Shobal

(1) "These the sons of Seir the Horite living in the land: Lotan, and *Shobal*, and Zibeon, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezer and Dishan...chiefs of the Horites, the sons of Seir, in the land of Edom." *Genesis* 36:20-21; *1 Chronicles* 1:38-40.

(2) "These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Bethgades." Textwise, this follows the foregoing four listings of *Caleb* offspring; the underlined words are omitted in the margin English of the referenced text. *1 Chronicles* 2:50-51.

(3) "The sons of Judah: Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and *Shobal*." *1 Chronicles* 4:1.

(4) "[T]hese sons *Shobal*'s: Alvan/Alian, Manalath, Ebal, Shapho/Shephi and Onam." *Genesis* 36:23; *1 Chronicles* 1:40.

(aaaa) Shomer/Shamer/Shemer

(1) (Asher-Beriah-Heber-) Japhlet, *Shomer*, Hotham and Shua their sister." *1 Chronicles* 7:32.

(2) "[T]he sons of *Shamer*: Ahi, Shelesh, Amal." *1 Chronicles* 7:34.

(3) (Levi-Merari-Mushi-Mahli-*Shemer*-Bani-Amzi-Hilkiah-Amaziah-Hashabiah-Malluch-Abdi-Kishi-) Ethan [period of the Kings; Section Two]. *1 Chronicles* 6:44-47.

(4) (Shimrith the Moabitess + *Shomer* -) Jozabad, one of the servant-conspirators in the death of king Joash of Judah [period of the Kings; Section Two]. *2 Kings* 12:21; *2 Chronicles* 24:26.

(5) The north's king Omri "bought the hill of Samaria from *Shemer*." *1 Kings* 16:24.

(bbbb) Shua/Shuah

(1) (Keturah + Abraham -) *Shuah*. *1 Chronicles* 1:32; *Genesis* 25:1, 6.

(2) (Zilpah + Jacob-Asher-Beriah-) "Heber fathered Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham, and *Shua* their sister." *1 Chronicles* 7:32.

(3) "Er, Onan and Shelah...were born to him [Judah] from the daughter of *Shua* the Canaanitess." *1 Chronicles* 2:3.

(4) "Chelub the brother of *Shuah*." *1 Chronicles* 4:11.

(5) *Job*'s Bildad, a *Shuhahite/Shuhite*. See also page 6, fn. 25.

(cccc) Simeon

(1) “[T]he sons of *Simeon*: Jemuel,⁴⁹ and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin/Jachim, and Zohar, and Shaul the sons of a woman of Canaan”/“the sons of a Canaanitess; these the families of *Simeon*.” *Genesis* 46:10; *Exodus* 6:15.

(2) “The sons of *Simeon*: Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, Shaul--Shallum his son, etc.” *1 Chronicles* 4:24-25.

(3) “[S]ons of *Simeon* by their families: of Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites; of Jamin...Jaminites; of Jachin...Jachinites; of Zerah...Zerahites; of Shaul...Shaulites.” *Numbers* 26:12-13.

(dddd) Tamar

(1) (*Tamar* + [Leah + Jacob-] Judah -) Pharez. *Genesis* 38:30.

(2) “*Tamar*, his [Judah’s] daughter-in-law bore to him Pharez and Zerah.” *1 Chronicles* 2:4.

(eeee) Timna/Timnah, Timmah.⁵⁰

(1) “[T]he sons of Seir the Horite[/"these the chiefs of the Horites") living the land: Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan...and sister Lotan’s *Timna*.” *Genesis* 36:21-22. “[The] sister of Lotan *Timna*.” *1 Chronicles* 1:39.

(2) “*Timna* was a concubine to Eliphaz, Esau’s son, and she bore to Eliphaz Amalek.” *Genesis* 36:12.

(3) “The sons of Eliphaz Teman, and Omar, Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and *Timna* and Amalek.” *1 Chronicles* 1:36.

(4) “[T]hese the names of the chiefs of Esau, by their families, by their places, by their names: Chief *Timnah*, Chief Alvah, Chief Jetheth, Chief Oholibamah, Chief Elah, Chief Pinon, Chief Kenza, Chief Teman, Chief Mibzar, Chief Magdiel, Chief Iram.” *Genesis* 36:40-43.

(5) “[T]he princes of Edom: prince *Timmah* [*sic.*], prince Aliah, prince Jetheth, prince Aholibamah, prince Elah, prince Pinon, prince Kenaz, prince Teman, prince Mizbar, prince Magdiel, prince Iram.” *1 Chronicles* 1:51-54.

(ffff) Uri

(1) “Hur fathered *Uri* and *Uri* fathered Bezaleel;” “Bezaleel the son of *Uri* the son of Hur.” *Exodus* 31:1; *1 Chronicles* 2:20.

(2) “Moses said...See, has called [Tet.] by name Bezaleel, the son of *Uri*, the son of Hur, of/to⁵¹ the tribe of Judah’.” *Exodus* 35:30ff.

(3) “Bezaleel, the son of *Uri* of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor[Moses].” *AJ* III.VI.1.

(5) It is unclear from the sequence of verses of *2 Chronicles* 1:3ff. as to where Solomon made the there-described offering before “the altar of bronze that had made Bezaleel the son of *Uri*, the son of Hur”--whether at the “high place” in Gibeon or at the tabernacle tent in Jerusalem, although the former site appears favored by the complete text.

(gggg) Zerah/Zarah/Zohar

(1) “Judas/[Judah] had three sons--Sala/Shelah, Phares, *Zerah*.” *AJ* II.III.4.

(2) “[T]he sons of Judah: Er, and Onan, and Shelah; and Pharez, and *Zarah*.” *Genesis* 46:12.

(3) “[T]he sons of Judah, by their families; of Shelah, the family of Shelanites; of Pharez, the family of Pharzites; of *Zerah*, the family of Zarhites.” *Numbers* 26:20.

(3) “The sons of *Simeon*: Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, *Zerah*, Shaul--Shallum his son, etc.” *1 Chronicles* 4:24-25.

(4) “[T]he sons of *Simeon*: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin/Jachim, and *Zohar*, and Shaul the sons of a woman of Canaan/the sons of a Canaanitess.” *Genesis*

⁴⁹ See *Nemuel*, above, concerning alternate use with *Jemuel*.

⁵⁰ Geographical use, see Appendix 1D, II, fn. 41.

⁵¹ The ms. referenced in this work has “of” interlineally and “to” in the margin text.

46:10; *Exodus* 6:15.

(5) “[S]ons of Simeon by their families: of Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites; of Jamin...Jaminites; of Jachin...Jachinites; of *Zerah*...*Zerahites*; of Shaul...Shaulites.” *Numbers* 26:12-13.

(6) “[T]hese sons [of Basemath + Esau -] Reuel’s: Nahath, and *Zerah*, Shammah and Mizzah; these were the sons of Basemath wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:13.

(7) “Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of *Zerah*, of the tribe of Judah...[took] of cursed things” [*Joshua* 7:1]; “and was taken the tribe of Judah” and Joshua “took the family of the *Zarhites*...by men, and was taken Zabdi...and was taken Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of *Zerah*, of the tribe of Judah. *Joshua* 7:16ff.

(8) “[T]hese the sons of Reuel, son Esau’s: Chief Nahath, *Chief Zerah*, Chief Shammah, Chief Mizzah; these the chiefs of Reuel in the land of Edom; these the sons of Basemath, wife Esau’s.” *Genesis* 36:17.

(9) “The sons of Reuel Nahath, *Zerah*, Shammah and Mizzah.” *1 Chronicles* 1:37.

(10) “Bela the son of Beor,” who “reigned in Edom...in his city Dinhabah [“before the ruling of a king over the sons of Israel”] died...and reigned in his place Jobab, the son of *Zerah* from Bozrah.” *Genesis* 36:32-33; *1 Chronicles* 1:44.

(11) “[T]he sons of *Zerah*.” Zimri, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, Dara. *1 Chronicles* 2:6.

(12) The “first in their possession”--“of the sons of *Zerah*, Jeuel and their brothers, 690;” “Pethahiah the son of Meshezabeel, of the sons of *Zerah*, the son of Judah, at hand the king’s in all matters concerning the people.” *1 Chronicles* 9:6; *Nehemiah* 11:24.

(13) *Zerah* the Ethiopian warred with king Asa. *2 Chronicles* 14:9ff.

(14) (a) Levi-Gershom-Libni-Jahath-Zimmah-Joah-Iddo-*Zerah*-Jeaterai. *1 Chronicles* 6:16ff.

(b) Levi-Gershom-Jahath-Shimei-Zimnah-Ethan-Adaiah-*Zerah*-Ethni-Malchiah-Baaseiah-Michael-Shimea-Berachiah-Asaph. *1 Chronicles* 6:39ff.

(hhhh) Zibeon (also Zibia/Zibiah)

(1) “[T]he sons of Seir the Horite[“these the chiefs of the Horites”] living the land: Lotan, and Shobal, and *Zibeon*, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan...and sister Lotan’s Timna.” *Genesis* 36:21-22; *1 Chronicles* 1:38.

(2) “[T]hese were the sons of Oholibama the daughter of Anah the daughter of *Zibeon* wife Esau’s...she bore to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.” *Genesis* 36:14.

One *Zibia/Zibiah* was child of Hodesh + Shaharaim/Shuphupham, apparently a Benjaminite exiled to Manahath, who sired children “in the field of Moab.”⁵²

(iiii) Zipporah

(1) “[T]he priest of Midian seven daughters...and agreed Moses to live with the man; and he gave *Zipporah* his daughter to Moses. And she bore a son and called his name Gershon.” *Exodus* 2:16-22.

(2) “*Zipporah* the wife of Moses...and her two sons whom the name of one Gershom...and the name of one Eliezer.” *Exodus* 18:2-4.

(3) After Moses’ defeat of Amalek, “Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, took *Zipporah* the wife of Moses, after sending her away, and two her sons...Gershom...and Eliezer,” “and came Jethro Moses’ father-in-law and his sons and his wife to Moses, to the wilderness where he camped.” *Exodus* 18:2ff.

⁵² Related may be Caleb-Hur-Shobal descendancy which mentions “Manahathites” (*1 Chronicles* 2:50) and Seir-Shobal-Manahath (*Genesis* 36:20 ff.); also, Benjamin-firstborn Bela (-Shephuphan) *vis-a-vis* Beor-Bela, a king in Edom--*1 Chronicles* 7:6-12 and 8:1-8 present a snarled Benjamin descendancy--see Appendix 1C.VI, C and D (Manasseh Citations and “Shuppim and Muppim” Puzzle) and Attachment 2 to Appendix 1C (Charted Exploration of Benjamin and Manasseh Relationships). (The second use is *Zibia/Zibiah* of Beer-sheba, mother of King Jehoash, south king #7--Appendix 2C.)

APPENDIX 1A, Attachment 2

**EXPLORATION OF
DESCENDANCIES OF ESAU WIVES**

Note: Parenthesized letters refer to Source Quotations given in Attachment 1 to this Appendix 1A.

[Antecedents, 1A, II, B]

Rebekah

+ Isaac	Hagar + Abraham							
/	/							
/	<u>Ishmael</u>		-----+??-----+ ? Seir the Horite-----+ ?		<u>? + Elon the Hittite</u>		<u>? + Beeri the Hivite</u>	
/	/+ ?	/+ ?	/	/	/	/	/	/
/	/	Elon the	Lotan, ⁴	Shobal ¹	Zibeon ²	/	/	/
/	/	Hittite ³	Dishon, ⁴	(zzz)	/	/	/	/
/	/	/	Ezer,	Anah (i)	/	/	/	/
/	/	/	Dishan	/	/	/	/	/
<u>Esau + MAHALATH (zz)</u>	<u>+ BASEMATH (l)</u>		<u>Esau + OHOLIBAMAH (iii)</u>	/	<u>Esau + ADAH (e)</u>		<u>Esau + JUDITH (uu)</u>	
/	/		/	/	/	/	<i>/No progeny given.</i>	
<i>No progeny given.</i>	<u>(sss) Reuel/Jethro⁵</u>		<u>Jeush, Jalam, Korah</u>	<u>Timna⁶ +-----Eliphaz (x)</u>				
	/	/+ ?	/+ ?	/	/	/+ ?	/+ ?	
	/	Zipporah (iiii)	Hobab	Amalek (f)		Teman	Korah (xx)	
	/	plus six other	Relationship between Reuel,			[1A, Att.1, fn. 2]		
	/	daughters	Hobab and the Kenites is	Omar		Zepho/Zephi		
		Nahath,	unresolvable [1A.Att. 1, (ii) <u>Hobab</u>].			Gatam/Gatham		
		Shammah,				Kenaz/Kenas ⁷ (vv)		
		Mizzah, and						
		Zerah ⁸ (gggg)						
		These "chiefs"/"sons" of Reuel are						

The above seven simultaneously are referred to as "chiefs of sons Esau," "chiefs/sons of Eliphaz in the land of Edom," and "sons of Adah."

¹ The name also of a son of Caleb, (o).

² Also referred to as "Hivite;" see Appendix 1F--Hittite, Hivite, Horite, and Seir.

³ For citations and other *Elons*, see Appendix 1D, II, fn. 37.

⁴ But also directly referred to as "son of Anah"--(i)(5).

⁵ This descendancy via Basemath for Reuel/Jethro, priest of Midian, is unconfirmable--no antecedents are given for him. "Reuel" offspring are reported such as to allow for a second Reuel, while unrecorded union(s) of (Keturah + Abraham -) Midian (Appendix 1A at fn. 33) and (Hagar + Abraham -) Ishmael descendants cannot be ruled out. See also Appendix 1F, Midian and Kenaz, etc.

⁶ Also referred to as "son of Eliphaz" and "sister" of Lotan; (eeee) Timna/Timnah.

⁷ See fn. 10.

⁸ There being also a (Canaanitess + Simeon -) Zerah/Zohar.

referred to as "sons of Basemath, wife Esau's;
in the same manner as with Eliphaz/Esau/Adah.

Other named Esau "chiefs"/ "princes of Edom" are Alvah,
Jetheth, Oholibamah, Elah,¹⁰ Pinon, Mizbar, Magdiel, Iram.

⁹ A matriarchal tribal system appears to be reflected by the use of "sons," instead of "grandsons," both for Anah and Basemath (at left).

¹⁰ Also found: (Jephunneh -) Caleb - *Elah* - *Kenaz*; (t) Elah.

Appendix 1B

**EPHRATH/EPHRATHAH/EPHRATAH¹
and EPHRATHITES**

Ephrath and *Ephrathah/Ephratah* appear as both:

- (1) The name of a woman who was wife first of Hezron and then of Caleb, during the 'Hezronic period' complex.

Pertinent verses related to this item (some of awkward construction) are unclear in the official lineage transmission as paternally reported, specifically, as to the descendancies of Hur and Caleb.²

- (2) The place Bethlehem-Judah or its region.

A second "Bethlehem" was located in Zebulun territory.³

The term *Ephrathite* appears to denote persons with distinguishing physical or linguistic characteristics, apart from their area of residence.

Translations of *Ephrath* and *Ephrathah* in the referenced text are not uniform, as shown below:

Citation	<i>Per Hebrew Characters</i>	English Interlineal translation	English Margin rendition	<i>Translation per Hebrew Letters</i>
A. <i>Genesis</i> 35: 16 and 19:	<i>Ephrathah</i>	Ephrath	Ephrath	"As the Jacobites moved southward from Bethel to <i>Ephrathah</i> ," "...died Rachel and was buried on the way to <i>Ephratah</i> ."
B. <i>Genesis</i> 48:7, two uses: First	<i>Ephrathah</i>	Ephrath	Ephrath	"...died...Rachel...when still a little way to come to <i>Ephrathah</i> ; and I [Jacob] buried her there in the way of <i>Ephrath</i> , it Bethlehem."
Second	<i>Ephrath</i>	Ephrath	Ephrath	
C. <i>1 Chronicles</i> 2:19	<i>Ephrath</i>	Ephrath	Ephrath	"Caleb took to himself <i>Ephrath</i> and she bore to him Hur."
D. <i>1 Chronicles</i> 2:24	<i>Ephrathah</i>	Ephratah	Ephratah	After Hezron was dead "in Caleb- <i>Ephrathah</i> ..."

¹The root meaning of the Hebrew word, *Ephrath*, is "fruitfulness" or "fertility."

²Including Miriam's relationship to Hur (Introductory Summary *at and following* fn. 43). Refer also to Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, Charted Explorations of Familial Relationships.

³Refer to Appendix 4C, Bethlehem. (A modern-day "Efrata" is situate a short distance W/SW of Jerusalem--see Appendix 2A, Geba, etc., under *Gibeah*.)

Citation	<i>Per Hebrew Characters</i>	English Interlineal translation	English Margin translation	<i>Translation per Hebrew Letters</i>
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E. 1 Chronicles

2:50-51 *Ephrathah*

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* The underlined words are omitted both interlineally and in the margin English of the referenced text:

"These were the sons of Caleb, the son of Hur, the firstborn of [*Ephrathah; Shobal*] the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Beth Gades."

F. 1 Chronicles

4:1-4 *Ephrathah*

Ephratah

Ephratah

"The sons of Judah: Pharez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal. And Reaiah the son of Shobal fathered Jahath. And Jahath fathered Ahumai, and Lahad. These the families of the Zorathites. And these the father of Etam--Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash, and the name of their sister Hazeleponi--and Penuel the father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These the sons of Hur, the firstborn *Ephrathah*, the father of Bethlehem."

G. Ruth 1:2

Ephrathites

Ephrathites

Ephrathites

In the days of the Judges a man went from Bethlehem in Judah with his wife, Naomi...to live in the fields of Moab, and they were "...*Ephrathites* from Bethlehem Judah."

H. Ruth 4:12

Ephrathah

Ephratah

Ephratah

"May...the woman who is coming into your house [be] as Rachel and as Leah, of whom built both the house of Israel; and may you act ably in *Ephrathah*...."

I. Judges

12:5-6

Ephrathite

Ephraimite

Ephraimite

"And captured Gilead the fords of the Jordan before Ephraim; and it was, when said the fugitives from Ephraim, 'Let me pass over,' then said to him the men of Gilead, 'An *Ephrathite* you are!' And he said, 'No!' Then they said to him, 'say please *Shibboleth*. And he said, *Sibboleth*; was not was able to speak so. And they seized him and killed him at the fords of the Jordan...."

J. 1 Samuel

1:1

Ephrathite

Ephrathite

Ephrathite

There was a certain Leviite man of the hill country of Ephraim, "...Elkanah ⁴...an *Ephrathite*...."

K. 1 Samuel

17:12

Ephrathite

Ephraimite

Ephrathite

"Now David the son of a man, an *Ephrathite* of Bethlehem of Judah, and his name Jesse...."

⁴ Samuel's mother, Hannah, was the favored second wife of Elkanah (a prominent name in the Leviite families of Kohath and Korah; see Appendix 3B, I, Elkanah).

Citation	<i>Per Hebrew Characters</i>	English Interlineal translation	English Margin translation	<i>Translation per Hebrew Letters</i>
L. 1 Kings 11:26	<i>Ephrathite</i>	Ephrathite	Ephrathite	"And Jeroboam, ⁵ the son of Nebat, an <i>Ephrathite</i> of Zereda, and the name of his mother Zeruah, ⁶ a woman widow, a servant to Solomon...."
M. <i>Micah</i> 5:2	<i>Ephrathah</i>	Ephratha	Ephratah	"And you, Bethlehem <i>Ephrathah</i> ..."
N. <i>Psalms</i> 132:6	<i>Ephrathah</i>	Ephratah	Ephratah	"Lo, we have heard of it at <i>Ephrathah</i>"

On comparison,

(a) A, B, H, M and N (*Ephrath/Ephrathah*) reasonably can be taken as geographical references.

(b) E and F appear definitely to refer to an individual named *Ephrathah*.

(c) C and D admit ambiguity when considered in the light of Moses' promised bestowal of the Hebron area to Caleb; Caleb's acquisition also of Hezron wife, Abiah (together with the question of her lineage), the denoting of Hur as "father/founder of Bethlehem," and the relationship of Hur to Miriam.⁷

(d) G and K and I and J, together, allow *Ephrathite* to denote bloodline rather than area of residency, *i.e.* Ephrathites not of Bethlehem areas.⁸

⁵ Who later would be the seceded North's first king (book two and appendices 2C).

⁶ Only use in this form. For the only "Zeruah," see Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, "Jesse, Descendancy of."

⁷ See also Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Abiah, Caleb, Hezron and Miriam.

⁸ In this vein is the *New Testament* report of the denial by Cephas/Peter of association with Jesus (book four), when the remark was made to Peter: "Truly also you out of them [the Galilaeans] are, and for the speech of you evident you it is making." *Matthew* 26:73. (*Luke* 22:56ff. reports the scene without mention of speech.)

Appendix 1C

I. THE PERSONS WHO ENTERED EGYPT WITH JACOB¹

- (a) "And, were all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob, seventy—Joseph being in Egypt--" *Exodus* 1:5.
- (b) "Your fathers went down to Egypt with 70 persons..." *Deuteronomy* 10:22.
- (c) Those souls...of Jacob...besides the wives of Jacob's sons, all the souls—sixty-six. And sons, Joseph's, which were born to him in Egypt, two; all the souls belonging to the house of Jacob going into Egypt, seventy." *Genesis* 46:26-27.
- (d) "These,...of Israel--those coming into Egypt besides the wives of Jacob's sons:" *Genesis* 46:8-27.

The only females named are (Leah + Jacob-) Dinah and ([Zilpah + Jacob -] Asher + ? -) Serah/Sarah. It is stated clearly that the wives of Jacob's sons were not included in the number. Of Jacob's wives/concubines, Rachel died previously (*Genesis* 35:18). When Leah died is not said,² nor are Zilpah's and Bilhah's deaths mentioned. The names given by (d) above are as follows (italicized forms are per *Josephus AJ* II.VII. 4):

<u>Leah/Lea</u>		
Reuben		1
Sons: Hanoch, Phallu, Hezron, Carmi		
<i>Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi</i>		4
Dinah/ <i>Dinah</i>		1
Simeon		1
Sons: Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zohar, Shaul,		
("the sons of a woman Canaan")		
<i>Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul</i>		6
<i>(1 Chronicles 4:24 gives Nemuel, Jamin, Jaarib, Zerah, Shaul.)</i>		
Levi		1
Sons: Gershon, Kohath, Merari		
<i>Gersom, Caath, Merari</i>		3
Judah/ <i>Judas</i>		1
Sons: Shelah, Pharez, Zarah		
<i>Sala, Phares, Zerah</i>		3
Grandsons: (Phares-) Hezron, Hamul		
<i>Esrom, Amar</i>		2
Issachar		1
Sons: Tola, Phuvah, Job, Shimron		
<i>Thola, Phua, Jasob, Samaron</i>		4
Zebulun/ <i>Zabulon</i>		1
Sons: Sered, Elon, Jahleel		
<i>Sarad, Helon, Jalel</i>		3
OF LEAH, subtotal		32

The Leah subtotal above does not agree with either the statement at *Genesis* 46:15, that "all the souls of his [Jacob's by Leah] sons daughters thirty-three,"

¹ The only other use of the form, "Jacob," is in *Matthew's* lineage roster, as the father of Joseph, "husband of Mary [A]" (refer to Appendix 4C, Lineage, David to Jesus, Joseph, Mary [A], etc.). The name "James," however, has been claimed an English form of *Jacob* (Appendix 4C, James).

² But see Appendix 1F, Machpelah.

or the AJ II.VII.4 *Josephus* statement, "So far is the posterity of Lea.... These are thirty-three."

<u>Zilpah/Zilpha</u>			
Gad		1	
Sons:	Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli <i>Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel</i>	7	
Asher/Aser		1	
Sons:	Jimnah, Ishuah, Isui, Beriah <i>Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris</i>	4	
Serah/Sarah,	"their sister"/daughter	1	
Grandsons:	(Beriah -) Heber and Malchiel <i>Abar and Melchiel</i> ³	<u>2</u>	
OF ZILPAH (Genesis 46:18), "16"			16
<u>Rachel</u>			
Joseph (already in Egypt but counted textwise)		1	
Sons (born in Egypt " " " "):			
Ephraim, Manasseh/Manasses		2	
Benjamin		1	
Sons:	Belah, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, Ard <i>Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad</i>	<u>10</u>	
OF RACHEL (Genesis 46:22), "14"			14
<u>Bilhah</u> ⁴			
Dan		1	
Son:	Hushim/Usi ⁵	1	
Naphtali/Nephthali		1	
Sons:	Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, Shillem/Shallum <i>Jesel, Guni, Issari, Sellim</i>	<u>4</u>	
OF BILHAH (Genesis 46:23-5), "7"			<u>7</u>
Total:			69 ⁶

II. "HEZRONIC" PERIOD.⁷

A. In General.

The era of Goshen and the exodus, which spanned patriarchal lineage from Jacob to Amminadab-Nahshon, is sparse of political clan data for men and almost devoid, for women.

³ *Josephus* states it, "Aser had...six male children" and includes son and grandson names together.

⁴ a) Bilhah (1 *Chronicles* 4:29) as *Baalah* (*Joshua* 15:29, 19:3, "City of Baal")—a Simeon enclave in Judah's Negev/Negeb area. Also as *Baalah*, (1) a mountain on the N boundary of Judah territory, and (2) a Judah/Benjamin border town equated with Kirjath-baal/Kirjath-jearim (see Appendix 2A, "Kiriath- Jearim"). "Bilhah" occurs also as the name of a parent of Jahziel, Guni, Jezer and Shallum, sons of Naphtali (1 *Chronicles* 7:13).

⁵ See fn. 37.

⁶ As *Josephus'* editors state, "[T]he number 70 is made up...if we reckon Leah for one; but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number." Page 73, footnote.

⁷ Refer to Appendix 1B, "Ephrath/Ephrathah," and Attachment 1 to this Appendix 1C, at D, for charted exploration of descendancies involved in this summary.

At the time of entry into Egypt, Reuben had a son named Hezron/*Assaron* and Judah's and Tamar's son, Phares/*Pharez/Perez*, had a son named Hezron/*Esrom*; post-exodus reports include "Hezronites" only collectively, some designated sons of Reuben and some, Judah.

Mother(s) of the three primary Hezron sons, Jerahmeel, Ram/*Arni* and Chelubai/*Caleb*, is/are not named. At the same time, Ephrathah is the only one of three Hezron wives to whom no Hezron children are ascribed. . A reference to "Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel," has been taken to denote a second Ram, a Hezron grandson; however, the one reference to (Jerahmeel-) Ram as a "son" of Hezron would fall within the referential parameters of the patriarchal system if the mother of (Jerahmeel-) Ram was a Hezron daughter (in the same manner that, centuries later, Joseph of the *New Testament* may have acquired "sonship" via Heli⁸). Another question about Ephrathah is the descendency of Hur (and Miriam's relationship to him, as discussed in the Introductory Summary).

"Chelubai/Caleb" appears both as a son of Hezron and a son of "Jephunneh, a "Kenazite/Kenezite," but was there in fact a second Caleb?--tradition has presumed Jephunneh to be male, although some commentators still endorse two Calebs even when Jephunneh is taken as female. In either event, an unnaturally long life would not have been required for one Chelubai/Caleb to acquire Hezron wives, have been one of the 12 men sent by Moses to assess capturability of Canaan land, and also be an 85-year-old Caleb who reminded Joshua of Moses' guarantee of Calebite inheritance and was granted Hebron land in perpetuity.

B. Book of Jasher/Jashar/Jesher⁹

This book apparently existed up to the time of David:

Joshua 10:13: "Is it not written in the Book of The Upright? [referring to earlier battles]."

2 Samuel 1:17: "And chanted David dirge this over Saul, and over Jonathan his son--'And he said to teach the sons of Judah the Bow; see, it is written in the Book of Jashar.'"¹⁰

The scroll of *Jasher*, termed a "lost book," was found during a pilgrimage in the 8th century by Alcuinus, Abbot of Canterbury; Alcuinus' believed that *Jasher* fell into the possession of Babylonia at the time of the captivity. The scroll was locked in a chest in the library of "Gazna, in the furthest city of Persia;" the key for the chest was in the custody of the city's treasurer. Alcuinus' translation and notes surfaced in north England in 1721 and eventually were printed in 1879.¹¹

Jasher both agrees with the canon and relates material not included there, some of which indicates a chasm in the scriptural history of the period of Judges. According to *Jasher*, Caleb judged Israel 12 years; Caleb was succeeded by Jasher; and Jasher was succeeded by Othniel--Othniel being the first judge reported in the *Book of Judges*.¹² *Jasher* reports the exodus and the period following it as a straight line of events.

Alcuinus' record of a separate scroll found with that of *The Book of Jasher*

⁸ Appendix 4C, *Heli/Eli* and *Mary* [A].

⁹ *The Book of Jasher*, "One of the Sacred Books of the Bible," Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, Inc., 19th Edition, June 1981; refer also to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Jasher/Jasher/Jazer/Jezer*.

¹⁰ Before Moses re-entered Goshen, Caleb was there, perfecting men in the use of the bow and arrow, as discussed in Section One.

¹¹ Alcuinus founded the University of Paris in 800 and died in 804.

¹² Refer to Appendix 1D, II, "Judges."

corroborates *1 Chronicles* 2:18, that Jasher was son of Azuba/Azubah and Caleb and born in Goshen while Moses was with Reuel/Jethro in Midian. Per *Jasher* 4:22, "All these things which I, Jasher, have written received I from Caleb, my father, yea, even from Hezron, my father's father, and from Azuba who travailed with me."

Some *Jasher* data is incorporated in part IV of this appendix, "Moses Conferences on the Mountain and Connected Events," as noted there.

III. HOUSES EXITING EGYPT

It is at about this time that there comes into use the term, children of *Israel* in place of "Jacob:"

"God gave it to Aaron and Moses" "to bring out the sons of Israel from Egypt--Aaron and Moses, whom God told, "Bring out the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies." *Exodus* 6:26.

Concomitant with introduction of the term *Israelites* for the initial Jacobites, the patriarchal heads of the houses of the fathers and heads of descendant families, as given at *Exodus* 6:14ff. contain only three of the original patriarchal tribes--all descendants of Leah:

LEAH [+ Jacob]:
 Reuben
 Hanoch
 Pallu/Peleth
 Hezron
 Carmi.
 Simeon
 Jemuel/Nemuel
 Jamin
 Ohad
 Jachin
 Zohar and
 Shaul
 Levi
 Gershon
 Libni and Shimei.
 Kohath
 Amram
 Moses
 Aaron
 Nadab
 Abihu
 Eleazar
 Ithamar
 Izhar[*Amminadab?*]
 Korah
 Assir, Elkanah, Abiasaph.
 Nepheg
 Zichri
 Hebron
 Uzziel
 Mishael, Elzaphan and Zithri.
 Merari
 Mahli and Mushi.

The naming of only Leah-descendant chiefs at *Exodus* 6:14 coincides with *Jasher*,

whose verses, however, leave room for others.¹³ The remaining Jacobite tribal names (excepting Dinah) reappear, along with Joseph's Ephraim and Manasseh, reemerge during the exodic period; when the encampments are reported, the people pitched their tents "afar off around the tent of meeting" in tribal groups of three, each under one of four standards:

<u>At the standard of</u>	<u>on side</u>	<u>the peoples of:</u>
Dan	North	Dan, Asher, Naphtali.
Judah	East	Judah, Issachar, Zebulun.
Reuben	South	Reuben, Gad, Simeon.
Ephraim	West	Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh.

Levi was divided into three groups, as discussed in part V, and placed between the outer divisions and the tent of meeting, with the (Levi-) Kohathites near Reuben, (Levi-) Gershonites near Ephraim and (Levi-) Merariites near Dan.

IV. MOSES' CONFERENCES ON THE MOUNTAIN and CONNECTED EVENTS.

A. Rebellion of Nadab¹⁴ and Abihu¹⁵ Korah-led Revolt Miriam's Objection and Demise

"And it came to pass when Jethro saw that Moses, his son-in-law, was become a prince unto the Hebrews, had brought them up out of...Egypt into the wilderness, that he had driven out the Amalekites and possessed...all the country of Rephidim, that he [Jethro] went out and with him Zipporah and her two children whom Moses had sent back...and they encamped at the foot of mount Horeb. And Moses departed from the wilderness of Zin: to meet his father-in-law at mount Horeb." *Jasher XIV:1-2.*

"And heard, Jethro, the priest of Midian, father-in-law to Moses...that [Tet.]¹⁶ had brought out Israel from Egypt. ... And took, Jethro...a burnt offering and sacrifices...and came Aaron and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law." (*Exodus 18:2 ff.*) Moses said, "'Behold, lift up your eyes, for the number of the children of Jacob exceed the number of thy people: and their dwellings are from Elyma, even until thou comest into the valley of Rephidim'. And Jethro said, 'Thou hast spoken truly: thy people are a great people, and their number are without tale.'" (*Jasher XIV:8-9.*) The verses that follow (in both texts) relate Reuel/Jethro counseling Moses how to manage governance by establishing laws and appointing judges. Moses instructed the people to select 70 representatives.

"And spoke Miriam and Aaron against Moses...and they said, 'Only by Moses has spoken [Tet]? Has not also by us He spoken? ... And came [Tet.] in the pillar of cloud.... And glowed the anger of [Tet.] against them....and the cloud turned away...and, behold, Miriam leprous as snow! ... And said [Tet.] to Moses, 'If her father surely had spit in her face, should not she be humiliated seven days?'" *Numbers 12:1-15.*

"And Miriam arose and said, 'Shall Jethro instruct the Hebrews? Are the children of Jacob without understanding? Are the customs of the Midianites to be brought in among us?' ... And the voice of the tribes of the congregation were on the side of Miriam. And the

¹³ "...Moses assembled together the sons of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Gershon, Kohath, Merari, Izhar, Uzziel, and Korah, *even the heads of the families of the children of Israel.*" (V:1; italics supplied.) The last phrase either emphasizes the named all were heads or indicates that other, lesser representatives were included.

¹⁴ Other *Nadabs*, see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (eee), and Appendix 2C, III, "Parentages of the Kings," fn. 5.

¹⁵ Only use.

¹⁶ Abbreviation for "tetragrammatron"--refer to Introductory Summary, fn. 39.

anger of Moses was greatly kindled against Miriam; and Moses sought to cut Miriam off from the congregation. And Moses hid Miriam for seven days.... And the people of Israel gathered themselves together unto Moses, and said: 'Bring forth unto us Miriam, our counsellor, for according to all she hath spoken we will do.' Then Moses brought forth Miriam...and when the people saw Miriam that she was well, they rejoiced greatly.... And Miriam died there [in Kadesh], and the children of Israel mourned for Miriam 40 days.... And the lamentation was great...." *Jasher XV.*

Moses determined that Aaron and "his sons," Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, would be confirmed as lead priests.¹⁷ According to [Tet's] instruction that Moses "anoint Aaron and his sons and consecrate, Moses anointed Aaron and his sons and appropriately clothed them. *Exodus 28-30:30; Leviticus 8:10 ff.*

After the lamentation for Miriam, Moses left Aaron and Hur in camp and went up mountain with Joshua, Nadab and Abihu to meet with Jethro, and received instructions on building of a tabernacle.¹⁸ *Jasher XVI.*

During Moses' absence Aaron, relenting to the people's insinuations, consented to "make a god" for them. They brought to him all their gold, from which he made a gold calf and for which he constructed an altar, before which they made offerings and celebrated. (*Exodus 32*) Aaron sent a message to Moses that the people were questioning which was better--to return and be "subjects of the Egyptians whom we know," or to "walk after the laws and customs of Jethro, the Midianite, whom we know not." *Jasher XVII:19.*

After receiving the message, Moses "spake unto Joshua, Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy elders: '...it behoveth us to say unto the people: We have seen the Lord in the mount...and the words which he hath spoken to us, they are those which we now deliver unto you.' ...The saying of Moses was pleasing to Joshua, and unto the seventy elders; but unto Nadab and Abihu it was not pleasing. And Nadab and Abihu were cut off from the assembly: and they hastened into the camp of the children of Israel, which lay at the foot of Mount Sinai. And on the fortieth morning...Moses, Joshua and the seventy elders, assayed to come down from the mount. And as they descended, Joshua spake unto Moses and said, 'Lo, Nadab and Abihu have joined themselves unto the people: and the voice of the people seemeth as the voice of rebellion. ...lo, Aaron, Hur, Nadab, and Abihu stand up before the people.'" *Jasher XVII: 21-27.*

Moses and his party came down from the mountain with two tablets of inscribed laws. Joshua, hearing shouting in camp, told Moses: "A sound of war in the camp." Moses retook command; and, after breaking the tablets, directed the Leviites to execute "his brother...neighbor...relative." Approximately 3000 men "fell." *Exodus 32:15-17.*

"...on the morrow...Moses stood...at the entrance into the camp, and he said, 'Who is on the Lord's side? Let him come forth of the camp.' And Aaron, and all the sons of the tribe of Levi, except Nadab and Abihu, came forth...and stood before Moses. ... Then said Moses unto the sons of Levi, even unto all the tribe thereof: 'Gird on each man his sword, and go ye through the camp, and slay ye the forward, even every man his friend. And they did so: and they slew Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, with three thousand of the

¹⁷ The grammar here is one of singular vs. multiple references which ends at 28:43: "and [garments] shall be on Aaron and on his sons in their going into the tent of the meeting." (It routinely is presumed that Elisheba had only one husband and that Aaron was father of all four of her sons.)

¹⁸ Sequencing of events between canon sources is unclear; there also are sequential differences between the canon and *Jasher*—e.g. (a) it is uncertain whether the Korah incident came before, at the same time or after Korah's rebellion (discussed below); (b) the exact time of Miriam's misfortunes is difficult to fix—accounts in *Numbers* do not allow definite sequencing of her objection/"interference," chastisement, diagnosis of being "leperous," banishment outside of camp for a week, or how long afterward she died; and (c) *Jasher* reports only one meeting on the mount (see fn. 20). Part V below presents *Numbers* highlights, for comparison.

people. But Aaron held his peace/stood aghast.”¹⁹

Jasher XVIII:1 ff.

“And the sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, each his censer, and put in them fire; and they put on it incense and brought before [Tet.] fire strange.... And went out fire from before [Tet.] and consumed them, and they died.... And said Moses to Aaron, ‘It, that which has spoke [Tet.]...and Aaron was silent.”

1 Chronicles 10.

“And died Nadab and Abihu for bringing strange fire....”

Numbers 26:61.

“...and [Nadab and Abihu] sons no they had; and acted as priests Eleazar and Ithamar in the presence of Aaron their father.”

Numbers 3:4.

Moses made a second trip up the mountain, leaving the camp in charge of Aaron and Hur. “Whoever has matters, let him approach to them.” (*Exodus 24:12-14.*) “...on the morrow...Moses read before the congregation...the statutes and ordinances which the Lord had appointed unto the children of Israel to observe.”

*Jasher XIX.*²⁰

The building of the ark, vessels, tabernacle, etc. took place.

Exodus 35-40; Jasher XX.

“And took Korah, the son of Izhar...both Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab; and On; the sons of Peleth, the sons of Reuben; and they arose before Moses with certain of the sons of Israel, 250 leaders of the company, elect men of the company, men of name. And they assembled against Moses and against Aaron, and said to them, ‘Too much, for you, all the congregation.... Why then do you lift yourselves above the assembly of Jehovah?’” Moses replied to the effect that on the morrow they would seek out who belonged to Jehovah and who was holy, etc.

Numbers 16:1 ff.

“And when Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and On, with two hundred and fifty of the children of Israel, men famous in the congregation, and men of renown, saw all that was done, they said...‘This thing which Moses and Aaron have done is not of the Lord/not good for the commonweal of Israel. [A]nd they gathered themselves together unto Moses and said...‘are not all the people holy? Wherefore hast thou separated the tribe of Levi, to be sanctified to the Lord? ... Should not all help to till the ground? Yea, the hands of the people are not equal to the task: and shalt thou take away every tenth man from the labour.’ And Moses said, ‘Tomorrow shall the Lord answer the words of evil you now speak/the blasphemies you now utter: and shew who is holy, and who is not holy.’”

Jasher XXI:1-7.

“...and they stood at the door of the tent of meeting...and assembled against them, Korah, all the congregation.” Moses admonished them;²¹ and “it was, as he finished speaking...that split apart the ground which under them, and opened the earth its mouth and swallowed them, and their houses” [“and their wives, and their sons and their infants”], and all the men who for Korah, and all their property...; and they perished from the assembly. ...and fire came forth...and consumed the 250 men that offered the incense.” Moses then had all copper censers of “they who were buried” beaten and turned into a cover for the altar “as a memorial to the sons of Israel, so that not shall draw near man an alien who not of the seed of Aaron to offer incense...and not shall be as Korah and as his

¹⁹ *Jasher’s* translator at times indicates two possible readings.

²⁰ *Jasher*, which recounts only one meeting on the mount, states the laws differently than the canon: 1) No god(s) shall be worshipped other than the Lord who is “God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;” 2) no teraphim or likenesses of God are to be made; 3) God’s name shall be sacred; 4) the seventh day shall be one of rest; 5) the “hoary head” shall be revered; 6) no man shall smite another unto death or himself be killed; 7) the children of Jacob are not to be slandered or spoken evil of; 8) another’s property shall not be coveted; 9) there shall be no sibling incest (“after the abominations of the Egyptians”); 10) no sex during menstruation; 11) no sex with a betrothed virgin; 12) no sex with another’s wife.

²¹ Moses said to Korah, “And will you seek also the priesthood?” *Numbers 16:10.*

company....”²²

Numbers 16:18 ff.

“And it came to pass on the morrow, that Korah [Moses’ cousin], Dathan, and Abiram, with the two hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel, assembled...before the door of the tabernacle.... And Moses spake unto them...’Ye fight...even against the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob....’ And Moses said unto the congregation: ‘Separate yourselves from Korah and his company, peradventure the Lord will do a new thing. ... And Moses commanded the Levites, saying: ‘Up now, slay Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with those that are with them, with fire, even as the Lord hath spoken unto me. And Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with the two hundred and fifty men...perished by fire before the door of the tabernacle.... And great fear fell on all the congregation: and they fled every one to his dwelling/they hastened every man to his tent. Thus did Moses establish the priesthood in his brother’s house, in the tribe of Levi....”

Jasher XXI:8-15.

The next day the congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron, “You have killed the people of [Tet.]” There began another “plague,”²³ “and Aaron stood between the dead and the living; and was stayed the plague. And were those who died by the plague 14,700 besides those who died for the matter of Korah.” (*Numbers 16:41 ff.*) Moses was moved to settle the matter by placing rods in the tabernacle, one for every house with its father’s name on it. On the following day Aaron’s rod was found budded.

Numbers 17:1 ff.

Moses returned to the mountain, stayed 40 days and nights, and brought back new tablets of commandments.

Exodus 34.

“And came...the whole congregation in the wilderness of Zin,²⁴ ...and remained the people in Kadesh; and died there, Miriam, and was buried there.”

Numbers 20:1.

V. MISCELLANEOUS POST-EXODUS EVENTS INCLUDING ARMY REGISTRATION (“CENSUSES”) AND OTHER TRIBAL DETAILS.

A. The First Registration.²⁵ Taken by Moses and Aaron the first day, second month, second year after leaving Egypt, was before breaking camp near Mount Sinai. Count was made for all tribes except Levi, of “every male...from 20 years old and upward, able to go forth to war....” The Levites received their assignments, rules of conduct were expressed, tribal leaders made their offerings at tabernacle, and an order for the march was established.

In encampments the tribes were to pitch “afar off, around the tent of meeting” in four groupings of three tribes each, each threesome under one standard, as set forth in part III, above. During the exilic marches Judah was lead company; left flank--front to rear--Issachar, Simeon, Manasseh and Asher; right flank--Zebulun, Gad, Benjamin and Naphtali; and Dan at rear-center between Asher and Naphtali.

The following month the trumpet call came to break camp. ([Reuel-] Hobab declined to accompany Moses farther.

²² Not all Korah descendants died, apparently; the Korahite family is listed later among the Levites in the Moab registration.

²³ The etymology of “plague” suggests that the actual translation from Greek is a *blow or stroke of calamity*--as for example, *Book of Revelation 16:21* (plague of hail), *22:18* (general sufferings).

²⁴ One of numerous spots of exodus encampments, this one is believed to have been 50 mi. S-SE of Beer-sheba or approximately 90 mi. S of Jerusalem, “alongside” Edom, where Kadesh (-barnea) was located.

²⁵ *Numbers* chapters 1-36 are the general reference for these sections, italics being supplied where they appear. “Levi,” in part C below, contains some detail on the different counting and “redemption” of Leviite males. (Hobab, App. 1A, Att. 1.)

1. From Sinai to Moab after the first registration, per *Numbers* 12ff.:

- Miriam and Aaron complained to Moses about Reuel/Jethro influence (quoted in preceding part of this appendix).
- 12 men were sent to reconnoiter Canaan. Of them, only Joshua and Caleb encouraged advancing; the dissenting spies died “by the plague.”
- Israelites suffered a defeat by Canaanites/Amalekites.
- The Korah revolt and annihilation occurred.
- Onset of plague; total who died 14,700, plus those with Korah.
- Aaron’s rod budded.
- The people abode at Kadesh; Miriam died.
- Cry for water at Kadesh.
- Edom rejected Moses’ proposal to cross its territory.
- Move from Kadesh to Mount Hor, “at the edge of the land of Edom.”
- Moses, Aaron and Eleazar climbed Mount Hor. Aaron was replaced by Eleazar as chief priest. *Aaron died before the other two came down.*
- Israelites eventually defeated Canaanite King Arad. On the move toward the torrent alley of the Arnon (the Moab/Ammon border), they conquered Amorite²⁶ king Sihon, dispossessed Jaazer of its villages, and defeated Og of Bashan—territory that would become the first apportionment, to Reuben and Gad.

2. Moab Encampment, per *Numbers* 22ff.

- Threatened, King [Zippor-] Balak of Moab consulted with the elders of Midian.
- While living in Shittim on the Moab plain, Israelites consorted with Moabite and Midianite women and “bowed” to their gods. Moses commanded, ‘Take the chiefs of the people and hang them,’ saying to the judges of Israel, “you kill each of the men who joined to Baal-Peor.”²⁷
- Slaying of Midianite [Zur-] Cozbi and Simeonite [Salu-] Zimri by [Aaron- Eleazar-] Phinehas, for which Phinehas and his seed received everlasting priesthood.

B. The Second Registration.

The second registration was taken by Moses and Eleazar “after the plague;” (*Numbers* 25:19ff.); “...and among these not there was a man of those numbered in...the Sinai... ...except Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.” (*Numbers* 26:64-65.)

- The daughters of Zelophehad brought their case before Moses, to confirm their rights of inheritance.²⁸ Moses first ruled in their favor.
- Moses prepared for his death; Joshua was installed as leader.
- Moses ordered war against Midian. Midian and its five kings fell. (Only female children who had not lain with a man were spared).
- Reuben, Gad and part of the tribe of Manasseh took possession of their apportionment east of the Jordan but pledged to continue to serve in the army for the benefit of their brethren.
- A compass was described of the territory to be taken by the other tribes, and their leaders were named.
- Cities of refuge, plus areas of land around them, were designated to be given to the Leviites.

²⁶ See Appendix 1F, *Amorite*.

²⁷ The meaning of *Baal* was, loosely, *lord* or *owner*; Peor is considered possibly a summit north of Mt. Nebo overlooking the plains of Moab.

²⁸ Refer to part VI below.

- The head fathers of “the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh” appealed Moses’ ruling that the five daughters of the appellants’ dead sibling, Zelophehad, should inherit his share.
- Moses revised his original ruling.

C. Tribal Leaders, Counts and Associated Details.

The leaders shown in the First Registration column were the tribal representatives who stood with Moses and Aaron as the count was taken (*Numbers* 1:5 ff.). The names agree with the list of division captains when the army set off “in the second year, in the second month, in the twentieth of the month” (10:10 ff.).

In the Second Registration tally (*Numbers* 26:6ff.), only the sons’ families’ names--no leaders--are given. Descendant-families in the second registration, in many instances, no longer agree with original tribal son/grandson families.

The names of the leaders who were given authority to take possession and divide the land are centered below beneath each tally;²⁹ the names of assigned tribal leaders are centered beneath the counts. Gad, Reuben and Manasseh-east, who already had received their land, are not included in the list. An asterisk following a name means the name appears in the texts only that one time.

	<u>First Registration</u>	<u>Second Registration</u>
ASHER	41,500; (Ocran/Ochran*-) Pagiel*	53,400 Jimna(ites/Jimnites), Jesui(ites), Beriah(ites/Berites), Heber(ites); Malchiel(ites); "and Asher's daughter's name was Serah/ Sarah."
	[Shelomi*-] Ahihud ³⁰	
BENJAMIN	35,400; [Gideoni ³¹ -] Abidan*	45,600 Bela(ites), Ashbel(ites), Ahiram(ites), Shuphaim(ites), ³² Hupham(ites); Ard(ites), Naaman(ites/Naamites).
	[Chislon*-] Elidad*	

When Jacob allowed Benjamin to accompany Reuben on a second trip to Egypt to meet Joseph, Jacob took special pains to secure Benjamin’s safety; Reuben had to leave two of his own sons behind as surety.

Benjamin lineage lines contain a number of unresolvable lapses. The texts as they stand indicate that at some point(s) intertribal absorptions occurred between Benjamin and Manasseh.³³

²⁹ *Numbers* 34:16-29: Moses received [Tet.] direction that he was to take “one ruler of every tribe...to take possession of the land,” while high priest Eleazar and Joshua were to take possession of the land for Moses. “These [the chosen leaders] whom commanded [Tet.] to divide the land to the sons of Israel in the land of Canaan.”

³⁰ "Ahihud:" (a) different spellings/vowel pointings yield two meanings: *brother of honor or majesty* (son of Shelomi), and *brother of mystery*, brother of Benjamin-Uzza. (Kings Manasseh and Amon were buried in an unknown “garden of Uzza”.)

³¹ A second biblical use of this name is the celebrated judge [Manasseh-Abiezer-Joash-] Gideon of Ophrah (Appendix 1D, II).

³² Regarding *Shuphaimites* and *Huphamites*, see part VI, D, “Manasseh-Benjamin ‘Shuppim and Muppim’ Puzzle,” below.

³³ Refer to this Appendix, part VI, D.

First Registration

Second Registration

32,500 Shuthelah(ites), Becher(ites/
Bechrites),⁴¹ Tahan(ites), Eran(ites).

(Shiptan*-) Kemuel⁴²

Ephraim's assigned territory, which covered a relatively large part of central Canaan, embraced several prominent biblical cities, including Shechem, Shiloh, Bethel (which at times appears as Benjamin's), Ramah,⁴³ and Beth-Horon. Beth-Horon, approximately 12 miles NW of Jerusalem, was founded and/or built by Ephraim's daughter or granddaughter, Sherah. The quotation referenced above in footnote 72 is unclear as to whether Sherah built two cities or had a sibling: "And [Ephraim] went in to his [unnamed] wife; and she conceived and bore a son...Berah/Beriah.... And his [whose?] daughter was Sherah, and she built Beth-horon the lower and the upper, and Uzzen-sherah."

GAD 45,650; (Reuel/Deuel*-)⁴⁴
Eliasaph⁴⁵

40,500 Zephon(ites), Haggi(ites), Shuni(ites),
Ozni(ites), Eri(ites), Arod(ites),
Areli(ites).

One of the cities in Gad's assigned territory was Succoth.⁴⁶

ISSACHAR 54,400; (Zuar*-) Nethaneel/
Nethanel⁴⁷

64,300 Tola(ites), Puah(ites/Punites),
Jashub(ites), Shimron(ites).

(Azzan*-) Paltiel⁴⁸

Diligent search of the texts yields little about Issachar sons, Tola,⁴⁹ Puah⁵⁰ /Puvah, Iob⁵¹/Jashub and Shimron.⁵² Issacharite Igal/Igeal⁵³ was one of the 12 leaders who

Three): (1) *Elishama*/Elishua, a son of David; (2) a priest in King Jehoshaphat's day; (3) a secretary in the pre-Babylonian-exile court of King Jehoiakim; and (4) grandfather of the Ishmael who assassinated Gedaliah.

⁴¹ Becher was the second son of Benjamin (*Genesis* 46:21; *1 Chronicles* 7:6), absent in Benjamin genealogies of *Numbers* 26 and *1 Chronicles* 8--related issues are discussed in part VI below.

⁴² Two others: (a) Terah-Nahor + Milcah-Kemuel-Aram; (b) Levi-Hashabiah-Kemuel of David's day.

⁴³ A shortened version of a multiply used name; see Appendix 2A, *Ramah*.

⁴⁴ Variants of the name (per Samaritan *Pentateuch* and Latin *Vulgate*, and Masoretic and Syriac *Peshitta*, respectively).

⁴⁵ One other, (Lael-) Eliasaph, a captain of Levi, at fn. 60.

⁴⁶ See fn. 38.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3B, I, *Nethanel/Nethaneel*.

⁴⁸ One other Paltiel: son of Laish/Gallim and first-named possessor of Saul's daughter, Michal. As (Raphu-) "Palti," a Benjaminite chief and one of the original 12 spies (with possible Raphu connections of: [a] Benjamin-Rapha, Benjamin's fifth son per *1 Chronicles* 8, but absent from list of entries to Egypt in *Genesis* and the family lists of *Numbers*; and [b] Benjamin-Saul-Raphah/Rephaiah).

⁴⁹ See Appendix 1D, II for only other use of Tola, a Judge of Israel for 23 years.

⁵⁰ Only other Puah is one of the two midwives who (with the other, Sephora [*Septuagint*]/Shiphah/ Zipporah [*Masoretic*]/Saphira [in Aramaic]), circumvented a pharaoh command that all Hebrew male offspring be drowned at birth, for which courageous service "[Tet.] made for [the midwives] houses [of their own]". *Exodus* 1:15 ff.

⁵¹ The son-name "Jashub" as it appears in *Numbers* and *Chronicles* is taken as an alternate form of the Iob/Job of *Genesis*.

⁵² Shimron also was the name of a Canaan city that united under Jabin of Hazor against Joshua at "the waters of Merom" (undecidedly associated with Lake Huleh; about 10-1/2 mi. north of the Sea of Galilee).

⁵³ Amidst *2 Samuel* 23:36, *1 Chronicles* 3, 11, and 2:29, the Igal/Igeal line appears lost in one text and picked up in another: (a) (Judah-Hezron-Jerahmeel+Atarah-Onam-Shammai-Nadab-Appaim-Ishi-Sheshan-Attai/Ahlai [?—a son or daughter?] + Jarha,

reconnoitered Canaan and reported to Moses at Kadesh. Issachar supported Barak in the Deborah-commandeered overthrow of Canaanite Jabin's forces led by Sisera.⁵⁴

JOSEPH

Joseph, Rachel's first son, was very young when he became separated from the Jacob house. The texts reveal the competitiveness that existed between Leah and Rachel sons, when Joseph (then apparently highest in Jacob's esteem) was sent by his father from Hebron to check on the welfare of the older sons and the flocks they were tending. Joseph found them in the area of Dothan on a plain slightly northeast of Shechem. A plan emerged among Joseph's half-brothers to do away with him. Reuben, who was in charge of the grazing party, was dissuasive; at first they only imprisoned Joseph in a pit.

Judah finally suggested that instead of killing Joseph they turn him over to a passing caravan of Ishmaelite-Midianites taking a load of spices, balm and ladanum to Egypt. Reuben, not there at the time and returning to find Joseph gone, despaired over his own fate, asking, "And I; where shall I go?" Joseph's robe (which it is presumed the others kept at hand) was smeared with the blood of a ram and sent to Jacob, who was led to believe Joseph had been killed by an animal. Meanwhile, the Ishmaelite-Midianites conveyed Joseph to Egypt, where he apparently was sold to high priest Potipher/Potiphera of On/Heliopolis and, over time, rose to an important position in Egypt's government.

JUDAH	74,600; (Amminadab-) Nahshon*	76,500 Shelah(nites), Pharez(ites/ Pharzites), Zerah(ites/ Zarhites), Hezron(ites), Hamul(ites).
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(Jephunneh-) Caleb

Complex tribal pre- and post-exodus interrelationships and 'absorptions' appear evident in tracing the lines of Judah descendency, especially between Reuben and Judah and the Calebites. They are addressed above, in part II, "The 'Hezronic Period.'"

LEVI

Under Moses' command the status of the Levi tribe changed from that of the other tribes: at the time of the first registration all Leviites⁵⁵ were placed in religious service. Leviite males were not numbered for military service, were exempted from the tabernacle tax and, instead of a regional land allotment, were to have *enclaves*--cities with surrounding pastureland, within the territories of all the other tribes.

Leviites of the first registration consisted of the families of Libni and Shimei ("Gershonites"); Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel ("Kohathites"); and Mahli and Mushi ("Merariites"). Instead of numbering males from 20 years upward "able to go forth to war," all

an Egyptian slave of [his/her father Sheshan] – [another?] Ahlai/Attai + ? – Joseph-Nathan-Zabad/ Zobah-Igal; or (b) ...Attai (?)-Nathan-Igal [compare also with fn. 40]. Further, while Igal appears in *Samuel's* list of David's mighty men as son of Nathan of Zobah, *1 Chronicles* uses "Joel the brother of Nathan." The name "Attai/Ahlai" also appears in volume two, as (1) a Gadite who joined David; (2) father of Zabad, one of David's mighty men; (3) a grandson of Solomon (a son of Rehoboam with Maacah of Absalom—see Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, "David, Descendancy of"); and (4) brother of king Abijah/Abijam (see Appendix 2C, south king #2).

⁵⁴ See Appendix 1D, II under Deborah.

⁵⁵ In this work the spelling, *Levite*, includes all members of the Levi tribe. (The biblical texts reflect distinctions between (Levi-Aaron-) Leviite "*priests*" and non-Aaronic Leviite "*Levites*," servants of the priests and priesthood.)

males older than a month were counted for a total of 22,000+.⁵⁶ *Numbers* 3:41 and 8:13ff. describe how the Leviite males were considered as assuming the priestly position of firstborn sons of all the other family houses; but it is unclear why the other clans were required to pay to Aaron and his sons a total “redemption” equal to five shekel per extra head because the number of the other firstborn sons exceeded the Leviite total.

During the early exodus period (Amminadab-Elisheba + Aaron-) Eleazar and Ithamar held the highest priest offices under their chief-priest father, Aaron.⁵⁷ Leviite males between 30 and 50 years then were assigned specific ecclesiastical duties. That group numbered 2,630 Gershonites, 2,750 Kohathites and 3,200 Merariites--a total of 8,580. As far as can be ascertained from text descriptions, the Kohathites were directly under Eleazar, the Merariites and Gershonites were under Ithamar, and Ithamar answered to Eleazar. At the end of approximately 40 years, Aaron was dead and Eleazar, alone, was in Aaron's place as chief priest. The commanders then were:

- (Uzziel⁵⁸ -) Elizaphan⁵⁹ over the (Kohathite-) Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites and Uzzielites;
- (Lael*-) Eliasaph⁶⁰ over the (Gershonite-) Libnites and Shimeiites;
- (Abihail -) Zuriel⁶¹ over the (Merariite-) Mahliites and Mushites.

The Kohathites formed an inner circle on marches, bore the ark, and were keepers of sanctuary tables, candlesticks, altars, and vessels. The Gershonites were keepers of the tabernacle, tent, coverings, hangings, and cords. The Merariites were keepers of the boards of the tabernacle bars, pillars, sockets, pins and cords.

The recap at *Numbers* 26:57ff. of Levi families and counts, which is unclear in its relative references between the two registrations, also seems to indicate at its end that (Jephunneh-) Caleb and (Nun-) Joshua were at the time of the second count the only living survivors of the first count of *Levi*:

[These are the numbered of the Levites, by their families [A]: of Gershon, the family of Gershonites; of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites; of Merari, the family of the Merariites. “ Immediately followed by, “These are the families [B] of the Levites: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahliites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korathites. [Then appears the genealogy of Levi-Elisheba and Aaron, and mention of the death of Nadab and Abihu.] And were the [numbered ones of [B] “23,000.... These [B] are those counted by Moses and Eleazar the priest...on the plains of Moab beside Jordan, Jericho; and among these [B] not there was a man of those [A] numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest.... For had said [Tet.] to them ‘Surely they shall die in the wilderness; and not should be left of them, a man except Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua, the son of Nun.”

Leviite descendancies range through many disparate verses of *Exodus*, *Numbers*, *Chronicles* and *Samuel*. Intervening incorporations are found between Gershon/Gershom and Merari, and between their and Kohath's son-families, with lapses which obscure Leviite descendancies over centuries, until eventually some names do reappear. Post-exodically, the line of Gershonite-Shimeiites under the ensuing revised grouping Libni/"Laadan"⁶² leads off in confusing tangents of Libni-Iddo-Zerah...ending in Jetherai/Jesherai, (Shimei-Michael-

⁵⁶ There is a discrepancy between this text total of 22,000 and that at *Numbers* 3:14-28 of 22,300 which gives Gershon, 7500; Kohath, 8,600; Merari, 6,200.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3B, II, “Chief/High Priesthood,” details those offices from their inception.

⁵⁸ See Appendix 3B, I, Uzziel.

⁵⁹ Who with his brother, Mishael, removed the bodies of Elisheba's sons, Nadab and Abihu; part IV above. Two other Elizaphans: (a) (Parnach*-) Elizaphan, chief of Zebulun (below at Zebulun), and (b) Elizaphan, forefather of a family who served during the reigns of David and Hezekiah.

⁶⁰ Also the name of, see above, Gad's captain, (Reuel/Deuel-) Eliasaph.

⁶¹ See fn. 40.

⁶² See also Ephraim/Joshua connection, fn. 40, (a)(2).

Berachiah-) Asaph (of David's time), and the houses⁶³ of Jehiel-Joel and Shelomith-Beriah.⁶⁴ Moses' Amramite line reappears via his younger son, Eliezer. In *Judges* a Gershom descendant-priest, Jonathan, served the house of Micah in Ephraim hill country and founded a priestly family among the Danites.⁶⁵

Among other widely-gapped descendancies of Levi grandsons and great-grandsons are:

Via Kohath/Izhar:

Korah-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel (aka Vashni) and Abijah- ... -Heman and Asaph of David's time;

Amminadab-Korah-Ebiasaph-"Assir"⁶⁶ -Uzziah-Shaul, with a crossover possible at "Assir" to Elkanah-Eliab-Elkanah- judge Samuel.

Via Merari/Mushi

Mahli-Libni/Laadon-Shimei-Uzza-Shimea-Haggiah-Asaiah;
Eleazar and Kish-Jerahmeel, of David's time. ("And died Eleazar. And not were to him sons, but daughters. And took them the sons of Kish."⁶⁷)

Via Merari/Mushi

Mahli-Eder and Jeremoth/Jerimoth;
Mahli-Shamer/Shomer/Shemer-Amzi-Hilkiah-Amaziah-Hashabiah-
Malluch-Abdi -Kishi -Ethan.

Via Kohath/Uzziel/[--Azarel?]⁶⁸

MANASSEH

32,000; (Pedahzur*-)
Gamaliel⁶⁹

52,700 Machir(ites), Gilead(ites),
Jeezer(ites), Helek(ites),
Asriel(ites), Shechem(ites),
Shemida(ites), Hephher(ites),
Zelophehad(ites).

(Ephod*-) Hanniel⁷⁰

The complicated reports of Manasseh descendancies, which contain unresolvable lapses, appear to involve intertribal absorptions, predominantly between Benjamin, Levi and

⁶³ The word, "house," undergoes a change in definitions—from the entire household of offspring (over whom family father presided as priest), through clan-kin embracings—ultimately to representative priestly "divisions" or "courses" at the temple. Later at the main Temple, each division/course apparently had its own room, occupied by the representative priest during that house's respective assigned period of service. (The text of the post-Babylon rebuilding gives the then-order of occupation of the rooms, the connecting construction of which apparently also formed the first fortified wall of the environs. It is not known whether any of the searches for treasure itemized in the famous [Dead Sea's] Copper Scroll have been initiated on this theory.)

⁶⁴ "...but Jeush and Beriah had not many sons; therefore they were in the roster of one father's house." *1 Chronicles* 23; see also Appendix 3B, I, Beriah.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 1D, II at fn. 46 and Appendix 2A, Jonathan.

⁶⁶ "Assir" may not be a proper name, but denote, instead, *captive*; see Appendix 3B, I, Assir.

⁶⁷ *1 Chronicles* 23:12-22. Connection of Kish via Ner to Benjamin-Saul is vague; see Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of."

⁶⁸ Of the names in this and the last category, refer to (a) Jeremoth/Jerimoth, Appendix 3B, 1; (b) Shomer/Shemer, Attachment 1 to this Appendix 1C, at D (Asher), and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, "Source Quotations;" (c) Azarel/Azareel and Uzziel, Appendix 3B, I.

⁶⁹ One other Gamaliel—a Pharisee and law teacher called "The Elder," he privately counseled the Sanhedrin to be cautious in light of history before acting against Peter and apostles who persisted teaching after the execution of Jesus.

⁷⁰ One other: (Ulla-) Hanniel, head of an Asher house.

_____ First Registration _____

_____ Second Registration _____

Manasseh.⁷¹ They and the case of the five Zelophehadite daughters (who petitioned Moses for the right to inherit in their own names, but lost the right on appeal of their uncles) are addressed in part VI below, and connected attachments as there noted.

NAPHTALI

53,400; (Enan*-) Ahira*

45,400 Jahzeel(ites), Guni(ites),
Jezer(ites), Shillem(ites).

(Ammihud⁷² -) Pedahel*

REUBEN

46,500; (Shedeur*-) Elizur*

43,730 Hanoch(ites), Pallu(ites),
Hezron(ites), Carmi(ites).

The also-complicated reports of Reuben descendancies, which contain unresolvable lapses, appear to involve intertribal absorptions, predominantly between Levi and Judah after the Reubenite revolt against Moses, addressed above in part IV, A.

SIMEON

59,300; (Zurishaddai*-)
Shelumiel

22,200 Nemuel(ites), Jamin(ites),
Jachin(ites), Zerah(ites);
Shaul(ites).

(Ammihud⁷³ -) Shemuel

Simeon's first three sons are gone by *Numbers* 26:12. His fourth, Jachin, seems to die as "Jarib" and then reappear as "Jachin" when Ezra gathered Leviites at the Ahava River for the return to Jerusalem after exile. Simeon's last two children were Zohar/Zerah and Saul/Shaul.

ZEBULUN 57,400; (Helon*-) Eliab⁷⁴

60,500 Sered(ites/Sardites), Elon(ites),
Jahleel(ites).

(Parnach*-) Elizaphan⁷⁵

D. Comparison of the two Registration Counts

1. By Tribe

- a) All but Levi are able-bodied males from the age of 20 years.
- b) Levi counts are all males from the age of one month.

⁷¹ Refer to part VI, D, below.

⁷² See fn. 39.

⁷³ See fn. 39.

⁷⁴ Other uses of Eliab, see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Eliab.

⁷⁵ Elizaphan, see fn. 59.

	<u>FIRST</u>	<u>SECOND</u>
Asher	41,500	53,400
Benjamin	35,400	45,600
Dan	62,700	64,400
Dinah		
Ephraim	40,500	32,500
Gad	45,650	40,500
Issachar	54,400	64,300
Judah	74,600	76,500
Manasseh	32,200	52,700
Naphtali	53,400	45,400
Reuben	46,500	43,730
Simeon	59,300	22,200
Zebulon	<u>57,400</u>	<u>60,500</u>
Of army age, excluding Levi	603,550	601,730
Levi	22,273	23,000

2. By Matriarchal Lineages.

The second count:

<u>Of LEAH:</u>	Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun Levi	267,230	23,000
<u>Of ZILPAH:</u>	Gad and Asher	93,900	
<u>Of RACHEL:</u>	Joseph, via Asenath, Ephraim Manasseh Benjamin	32,500 52,700 45,600	
<u>Of BILHAH:</u>	Dan and Naphtali	<u>109,800</u>	___
		601,730	23,000

VI. ZELOPHEHADITES

The Zelophehad matter established case law as to female inheritance rights in the absence of male siblings. (Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-Hepher-) Zelophehad died during the early stages of the exodus and left no sons but five daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah. The fact they brought their case before Moses may indicate they were of at least semi-matriarchal tribal descent.⁷⁶

A. The Main Case, Rulings and Disposition⁷⁷

Initially Moses ruled that the daughters would receive their legacy in their own right:

[After the plague] "...came the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead,

⁷⁶ See part VII, "Levirate," below, re matriarchal/patriarchal practices in general.

⁷⁷ Quotations are given in the unreconstituted interlinear English. Asterisks mark names that appear biblically only that one time. Names neither asterisked nor footnoted are identified further on.

the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the family of Manasseh the son of Joseph. And these the names of daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. And they stood before Moses and before Eleazar, the priest, and before the rulers and all the congregation, at the door of the tent of meeting, saying, 'Our father died in the wilderness and he not was among the congregation...in the company of Korah, but for his own sins he died, and not sons were to him. Why is taken away the name of our father from the midst of his family because no to him son? Give to us an inheritance among the brothers of our father.'

"And brought Moses their cause before [Tet.] And spoke [Tet.] to Moses, saying, 'Rightly the daughters of Zelophehad speak; surely you shall give them a possession, an inheritance among brothers their father's, and cause to pass on the inheritance of their father to them. And to the sons of Israel you shall speak, saying, "When a man dies, and son is no to him, you shall pass on his inheritance to his daughter; and if he has no daughter, then you shall give his inheritance to his brothers; and if he has no brothers, then you shall give his inheritance to his father's brothers; and if his father has no brothers, then you shall give his inheritance to his nearest relation...."'

Numbers 27:1-11.

At the time of the second registration on the plains of Moab, the Zelophehad daughters again were listed individually, when Moses and Eleazar numbered the sons of Joseph by their families:

"The sons of Manasseh:...Machirites...Gileadites. These are the sons of Gilead:...of Jeezer* /⁷⁸ [Jezer/Abi-ezer], the families of the Jeezerites; of Helek,* the families of the Helekites; of Asriel, the families of the Asrielites; and of Shechem,⁷⁹ the family of the Shechemites; and of Shemida,⁸⁰ the family of the Shemidaites; and of Hephher, the family of the Hephherites; and Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, not were to him sons, but daughters; and the names of the daughters Zelophehad's, Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. These are the [remaining] families of Manasseh by their numbered ones, 52,700."

Numbers 26:28-34.

The women's uncles subsequently appealed, and Moses revoked the first decision. He made a different final ruling:

"And came...the heads of the fathers of...the sons of Gilead...and spoke before Moses, and before the rulers, the heads of the fathers...and they said, 'My lord, commanded [Tet.] to give the land for inheritance by lot to the sons of Israel; and my lord was commanded by [Tet.] to give the inheritance of Zelophehad, our brother, to his daughters. And they to one shall be of the sons of the tribes of the sons of Israel for wives then will be taken their inheritance from the inheritance of our fathers, and will be added to the inheritance the tribe of which they shall be to them; so from the lot of our inheritance it shall be taken...from the tribe of our fathers you be taking their inheritance.

"And directed Moses... 'Rightly the tribe of the sons of Joseph speaks. This the thing which has commanded [Tet.] as to the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, "To the good, in their eyes let them be for wives only to the family of the tribe of their father let them be married. So not shall turn the inheritance of the sons of Israel from tribe to tribe.... And any daughter owning an inheritance from any tribe of the sons of Israel to one of the family of the tribe of her father to become a wife so that may possess the sons of Israel each the inheritance of his father.... [S]o did daughters Zelophehad's, for were Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, daughters of Zelophehad, to sons father's their brothers for wives... These the commandments and the judgments...by the hand of Moses...on the plains of Moab, beside the Jordan, Jericho."

Numbers 36 to end.

At Shiloh, the last Manasseh families to receive apportionments *male by their families* evidently were those to which the Zelophehad daughters did marry, but which male each married is not spelled out (explored further in part B, below).

"And there was, for the sons of Manasseh, remaining for their families: for the sons of Abiezer, and for the sons of Helek, and for the sons of Asriel, and for the sons of Shechem, and for the sons of Hephher, and for the sons of Shemidah...male by their families. But Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters. And...Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah...came before Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua, the son of Nun, and before the rulers, saying, '[Tet.] commanded Moses to give to us an inheritance among our brothers;' and [Joshua] gave to them...an inheritance among brothers their father's. And fell portions Manasseh

⁷⁸ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Abi-ezer, as well as the chart in part C, below.

⁷⁹ Only other individual *Shechem* was the Shechem (the place) prince involved with Dinah.

⁸⁰ *1 Chronicles 7:19* shows Shechem as Shemida's son without clear antecedent (following the Shuppim/Huppim/Muppim "puzzle," part D below).

The land designated was west of the Jordan between Ephraim on the south and Issachar on the north, and embraced Shechem and Samaria City.

B. Descendants, Names and Relationships of the Children of Manasseh

1. In General. (This discussion in part employs verses quoted also in part C below.)

Manasseh clan names do not appear until after the exodus. Nine are given in the second registration: Machir, Gilead, Jeezer/Iezer/Abi-ezer, Helek, Asriel/Ashriel, Shechem, Shemida, Hephher and Zelophehad. Jair appears to be a tenth (?).

Early In cofederation advances (?+Manasseh-) Machir struck as far as “the borders of kings Geshur and Maachath,” and drove the Amorites out of the Gilead region.⁸² The Machirites received that conquered territory while Moses still was alive. Frequent references to Machir as “the father of Gilead,” which term has two senses--parent of a son named Gilead and/or founder/father of the Gilead region--confounds the various accounts. Machirites (Manasseh-east) appear as “sons” of Gilead in the regional sense, whereas the remaining families who became Manasseh-west, to which the Zelophehads belonged, appear as “sons of Gilead”/“Gileadites” in the paternal sense.

Descendant family names of the Machirites are not given. Some, perhaps all, appear to be descendants of an unnamed Machir daughter and Hezron; their grandson (Machir daughter + Hezron- Segub-) Jair took 23 Gilead region cities.⁸³ Gileadites all appear to have descended from [? + Machir-) Gilead, but a question remains as to Ashriel/Asriel, the name of an only child of a Syrian woman named Jaladah. Due to sentence structure it is unclear whether Jaladah was Manasseh’s concubine and bore Asriel to Manasseh, or Jaladah was Manasseh’s concubine and bore Asriel to Machir, or Jaladah was Machir’s concubine and bore Asriel to Machir.⁸⁴

Children of Machir with a third wife, Maacah, are referred to in *1 Chronicles 7:15ff.* as “sons of Gilead” likely in the regional sense. There, however, Maacah is claimed also to be Machir’s sister; and there is an implication that Zelophehad was a sister, too, while an unreasonable number of text errors would be required for Zelophehad to have been a female. The verses also include a statement that Machir “took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim,” taken as reflecting an intertribal relationship based on a similar confusion with the same words in Benjamin-related text. Pursuing that theory (part D, below) leads to other unclear passages involving an exile of certain individuals with name ties to both this issue and the difficulty of fixing personal events on the timeline of post-exodic Israelite advances.⁸⁵

When Joshua complied with Moses’ ruling, five Manasseh clans remained unapportioned. The last apportionments--“*male by their families*”--included the

⁸¹ Italics supplied--see list--nine or ten?--below.

⁸² *Joshua 12:5-6.* Strictly, the land of Gilead extended along the east side of the Jordan, N from the torrent valley of the Jabbock and reaching south toward the torrent valley of the Arnon, bounded by Ammon on the east and Bashan on the north. Bashan, the upper east-Jordan/east-Sea of Galilee area, at times seems included in Gilead references. Gilead also is spoken of as in “two parts”--the combined Gad/Reuben apportionment to the south being one, and the Manasseh-east apportionment (sometimes called “the rest of Gilead”) the other. (See part C below for “sons of” Gilead.)

⁸³ This is a rare post-exodus chronological guidepost, especially in that the complex relationships of the “Hezronic period” (part II of this appendix) are evident in the lapses, etc. that redound in post-exodic retrospective genealogical orderings, which included assimilation of sub-clans.

⁸⁴ *Numbers 26:28-34,* however, definitely show Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-Asriel.

⁸⁵ Touched on in fn. 83.

Zelophehadite daughter's legacies. The land disposition for all of the original nine Manasseh groups (it not being said into which Gileadite clan each daughter married) thus was as follows:

1.	Machirites	Received their apportionment previously/ Manasseh-east.
2.	Gileadites	Represented by the remaining families of:
3.	Jeezerites/Abi-ezerites	1 of 5 remaining families
4.	Helekites	2 of 5
5.	Asrielites/Ashrielites	3 of 5
[6.	Hepherites	Not included since it equates with 7.]
[7.	Zelophehadites	Not included by its own name since the only Zelophehadites were the daughters.]
8.	Shechemites	4 of 5
9.	Shemidaite/Shemidahites	5 of 5
[10.	Jair?] ⁸⁶	

B. 2. Other related data.

- Mahlah was the name also of the daughter of [? + Manasseh-? + Machir -] Hammolecheth (Gilead's sister). Hammolecheth's two sons were Ishbod* and Abi-ezer, the latter also the family name of clan 3, above.⁸⁷
- Tirzah was the name also of (1) a king defeated by Joshua (*Joshua* 12:7, 24); (2) a city in the "Samaria" region, for which evidence points to a location some seven miles NE of Nablus/Shechem; and (3) early capital of the kingdom of Israel.⁸⁸
- Milcah is another name of regional significance.⁸⁹
- Hopher also was the name of a city and district "beyond the Jordan westward," another of the kingships overcome under Joshua, the exact location of which is not known but suggested N/NE of Joppa/Tel Aviv.
- Hopher was the name, too, of a child of [Abiah/Abijah+Hezron-] Ashur ("the father of Tekoa") with "Naarah." This Hopher could be the Gileadite if Naarah was a Gilead daughter.⁹⁰

C. Manasseh Additional Citations and Chart

The chart is based on quotations already supplied together with the following:

- (a) "The sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites; and Machir fathered Gilead....
Genesis 28:29.

⁸⁶ "[G]ave Moses Gilead to Machir the son of Manasseh.... And Jair the son of Manasseh went out and seized their towns and called them towns of Jair. And [Jair? -] Nobah went and took Kenath and its villages and called it Nobah after his own name." *Numbers* 32:40-42. (*Nobah* has been linked to ruins in the vicinity of "Canatha, some 50 miles SE of Damascus and believed site later of one of the original 10 cities of the "Dekapolis"--see Appendix 4C.) Jair in all took 60 cities from Geshur, Aram and Kenath. Refer also to Attachment 1 to this Appendix 1C, at D, and Appendix 4C, *Jaire/Jairus/Joare*.

⁸⁷ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, part II, chart of judge Gideon descendancy, and 3B, I, *Abi-ezer*.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 2C, IV, for 17 (e) and fn. 22.

⁸⁹ Explorable through Appendix 1A., II, B. As to uses of names of Zelophehad's remaining daughters, *Hoglah* is not used otherwise (except for a wadi S of Jericho), and *Noah's* only other use is (Adam...Lamech-) *Noah*.

⁹⁰ See Attachment 1 to this appendix and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Heber/Hopher*. The last biblical use of Hopher is "the Mecherathite,* one of David's leading supporters--the term intended there believed to be "Maachathite."

(b) "And...went in Hezron to the daughter of Machir father of Gilead and he took her when he a son of 60 years. And she bore to him Segub. And Segub fathered Jair, and was to him 23 cities in the land of Gilead. And he took Geshur and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath and its daughter towns, 60 cities. All these belonged to Machir the father of Gilead." *1 Chronicles*. 2:21-3..

(c) "The sons of Manasseh: Ashriel, whom Jaladah, his concubine Syrian bore, with Machir the father of Gilead. And Machir took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim, and the name of his sister, Maacah; and the name of the second, Zelophehad. And were to Zelophehad daughters. And bore Maachah the wife of Machir a son, and she called his name Peresh. And the name of his brother Sheresh, and his sons: Ulam and Rakem. And the sons of Ulam: Bedan. These the sons of Gilead the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh. And his sister, Hammolecheth bore Ishod, and Abiezer, and Mahalah/Mahlah. ⁹¹ And were the sons of Shemida, Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam." *1 Chronicles* 7:15 ff.

(d) *Abi-ezer*, Appendix 3B, I. *Hepher*, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (ee) *Heber/Hepher*. *Hezron*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 1. *Iri/Ir*, Attachment 2 to this Appendix 1C, column (3). *Jair*, Appendix 1D, II and Appendix 4B, Attachment 3. *Jephthah*, Appendix 1D, II, at footnote 32. *Joash* and *Gideon*, Appendix 3B, II, part 2, and Appendix 1, D. *Zelophehad* and daughters, part VI of this Appendix 1C.

-----Manasseh-----				
	/ + Jaladah		/ + ?	
	Asriel or		/	
-----Machir ⁹² -----				
	/ + Jaladah	+ ?	/ + ?	+ Maacah
	/	/	/	/
Ashriel	Gilead		Hammolecheth	Peresh, and A Daughter ⁹³
	/ + "a harlot"	/ + ?	/ + ?	Sheresh
Jephthah	/	"Sons of Gilead"	/	/
	/	/	/	/
	Abi-ezer	/	Abi-ezer	Ulam
	(Jeezerites)	Hepher	/	Segub
	Helek	/ + ?	[Joash-Gideon?]	Bedan
	(Helekites)	/	Ishdod	Rakem
	Asriel	/	Mahalah/	(The above also
	(Asrielites)	/	Mahlah	referred to as
	Shechem	/		"sons of Gilead")
	(Shechemites)	/		Ira
	Shemida	/		[Iri/Ir?]
	(Shemidaites)	/		
		Zelophehad		
		/ + ?		
		Mahlah,		
		Noah,		
		Hoglah,		
		Milcah,		
		Tirzah.		

D. Manasseh/Benjamin "Shuppim and Muppim" Puzzle

The interjection of Benjamin genealogy into that of Manasseh in *1 Chronicles 7* raises issues of there-unexplained inter-tribe absorptions of descendants of the former into the latter. Incomplete connections between ensuing names are compounded by use of the terms, "Huppim," "Muppim" and "Shuppim" in those and related verses. "Huppim" and "Muppim" of the referenced verses are their only biblical uses; and the same appears true of "Shuppim," in that one other apparent biblical use of it (at *1 Chronicles 26:16*) has been considered to be a dittograph.

The Hebrew characters representing *shpm* and *hpm* appear the same in both Benjamin and Manasseh verses. Some sources, drawing on the similarity of Hebrew characters represented by *m* and *sh*, have considered that the texts are reconcilable on surmised that "Muppim" intended *Shuppim* and, in turn, "Shuppim" intended *Shephupham/n*.

⁹¹ Only other form is "Mahalath:" (a) (Ishmael-) Mahalath, an Esau wife (Appendix 1A, Attachment 2), and (b) (David-Jerimoth-) Mahalath who became a wife of (David-) Rehoboam--see Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, part IV.

⁹² One other--(Ammiel-) Machir of Lo-Debar; see Appendix 2A, *Ammiel/Eliam-Bath-Sheba*, etc."

⁹³ Or a daughter of Gilead?

The varying genealogical listings for Benjamin and Manasseh are presented below. Apart from the confusion surrounding the above terms or names, a seeming loss in, and/or a commingling of genealogies, may reflect consequences of an inflammatory incident at “Gibeah” which occurred at an unspecified time during the period of Judges and caused a civil war between Benjamin and the other tribes.⁹⁴ The most confusing of the verses may contain a clue in its reference to *Geba*:⁹⁵

“Now Benjamin fathered Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the second, and Aharah the third, Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth. And were sons to Bela: Addar, and Gera, and Abihud, and Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah, and Gera, and Shephuphan, and Hiram. *And these the sons of Ehud, they: the heads of the fathers to the people of Geba, and they exiled them to Manahath.*⁹⁶ *And Naaman, and Ahiah, and Gera he exiled them. And [?] fathered Uzza and Ahihud. And Shaharaim fathered in the field of Moab, after he [?] had sent away them. Hushim and Baara his wives. And he [?] fathered by Hodesh his wife Jobab, and Zibia, and Mesha, and Malcham, and Jeuz, and Shachia and Mirra. These his [?] sons, heads of the fathers. And by Hushim, he [?] fathered Abitub, and Elpaal. The sons of Elpaal: Eber, and Micham, and Shamed...and Beriah, and Shema--...*” followed by a long list of their ensuing descendants.
1 Chronicles 8:1ff.

VII. LEVIRATE DUTY and REDEMPTION

A. Levirate Duty

In patriarchal tribes a wife became a member of her husband’s clan (patrilocal marriage). In matriarchal tribes, a husband became a member of his wife’s clan (matrilocal marriage). “Other hints of ancient matriarchal culture occur in (a) *Genesis* [2:24]...: ‘Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife,’⁹⁷ and (b) the apparently inalienable right of a mother in a matriarchal culture to name her sons.⁹⁸

The Jacobite tribes practiced the custom of *levirate* marriage. A sonless widow held her dead husband’s legacy until it and she were “redeemed” by the legitimate surviving male relative. ‘Right of repurchase’ belonged, in order by seniority, to the dead man’s brother(s), uncle(s), cousin(s) and lastly any other male blood relative. The apparent ideal was for a brother to take the widow and enable her to produce a son to carry on her dead husband’s line. Individual ambitions obviously could influence matters. A younger, unmarried man might be reluctant (as it seems was the case with Onan, Judah’s second son, toward Tamar) to raise up a son-nephew and thus diminish his own inheritance.⁹⁹ Evidently a man could decline the customary obligation, provided he allowed the widow to shame him publically at least once (as occurred with one unnamed man, a nearer relative of Naomi’s dead husband than was Boaz, the ultimate redeemer of Naomi *via* Ruth--below).

B. Redemption and the Book of Ruth.

⁹⁴ Related at the end of Appendix D, II (only 600 Benjaminite males survived).

⁹⁵ See Appendix 2A, *Geba/Gibeah/Gibeah/Gibeon*, regarding alternate uses of terms for that region. Refer to Attachment 2 to this appendix for a comparison of related Benjamin and Manasseh descendancies.

⁹⁶ Site unknown; only other use is “son of Shobal”--Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (zzz) *Shobal*.

⁹⁷ Page 13 of Graves and Patai, *Hebrew Myths*, wherein the authors reflect generally upon the ancient matriarch’s divine prerogatives and symbolically in scripture, and discuss specific facets of the melding of ancestral matriarchal and patriarchal societies, including Abrahamitic/Jacobite reluctance to allow sons to marry matriarchal Canaanites (pages 26, 30, 80, 204, 219, 238 and 273).

⁹⁸ A *New Testament* connection occurs in the circumstances of Elizabeth’s naming of John (the ‘baptizer’)--Appendix 4C, *Elizabeth*.

⁹⁹ Although redemption of a widow could be accompanied by significant benefits (as, seemingly, with Jeremiah--see Appendix 2C, VII). (The term *onanism* derived from Onan’s behavior, the first definition of which is “incompleted coitus,” has come secondarily to define masturbation in general.)

The time of the writing of the *Book of Ruth* undoubtedly already has been subject of considerable academic exposition which this work has not pursued. It is noted, however, that at least one school puts *Ruth's* writing *circa* the fifth century b.c. and its exilic returns,¹⁰⁰ although it would be as reasonable if *Ruth* was written in support of some subsequent issue of legitimacy (such as [Haggith + David -] Adonijah's, if Haggith was a daughter of the king of Moab at Mizpeh who gave refuge to David's parents during his contention with Saul.)

It is not clear in *Ruth* that the Naomi/Boaz substitute levirate acceptance of Ruth included Elimelech's field in Moab. Conversely, in Jeremiah's redemption purchase of Hanameel's Anathoth field, it is not stated whether it also involved a levirate relationship.¹⁰¹ Thus it is unknowable if 'purchase' of a relative's field differed from levirate assumption, to produce a child to carry on the name of its dead father. With Boaz's acquisition, *Elimelech's* name disappeared, as did *Hananiah's* in the Jeremiah redemption.

Elimelech died while he and Naomi lived where Elimelech owned fields in the region known as Moab. Although it is reported that the Ephrathite Elimelech moved to "Moab" land during a time of famine, it is possible that said *Eli-melech* (in which *melech* is derived from the *Hebrew*, "king") retained a regional dominion extending to and including Bethlehem. Both sons of Naomi and Elimelech--Mahlon and Chillion--died, each leaving a Moabite widow. Chillion's wife, Orpah opted to remain in Moab, while Mahlon's wife, Ruth, accompanied Naomi back to Bethlehem. There, Naomi sought out her dead husband's kinsmen with regard to her levirate rights.

The nearest male relative, who is not named, passed the right of "redemption" to Boaz, "a mighty man of the family of Elimelech." In the negotiations for repurchase of Elimelech's estate, Ruth, presumably still of childbearing age, ultimately was taken by Boaz in Naomi's stead. *Ruth* relates how the redemption was sealed according to custom: the [unnamed] kinsman who gave up his repurchase right drew off his sandal and gave it to Boaz, at which time the elder witnesses were made to exclaim, "...let your house be as the house of Pharez whom Tamar bore to Judah--of the seed which [Tet.] shall give to you of this young woman." (4:12.)

Ruth and Boaz produced Obed, eighth from Judah in the royal lineage line as given, and grandfather of king David.

**VIII. LINEAGE ROSTER AS GIVEN,
(SARAH +) ABRAHAM TO (DAVID + BATH-SHEBA -) SOLOMON AND NATHAN**

-----According to-----

<u>Genesis</u>	<u>1 Chronicles</u>	<u>Gospel of Matthew</u>	<u>Gospel of Luke</u>
Abram/Abraham	Abraham	Abraham	Abraham
Isaac	Isaac	Isaac	Isaac
Israel/Jacob	Israel	Jacob	Jacob
Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah
and Tamar	and Tamar	and Tamar	
Pharez	Pharez	Perez	Perez

Continued next page

¹⁰⁰ When, as one commentator has stated, "leaders established a rigid and narrow racial policy by which all intermarriage with foreigners was forbidden and all who had already married foreign wives was to put them away." *Asimov*, Vol. 1, p. 265.

¹⁰¹ Which might concomitantly include a high priesthood legitimization?--i.e. "sonship" of Hilkiah; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah."

-----According to-----

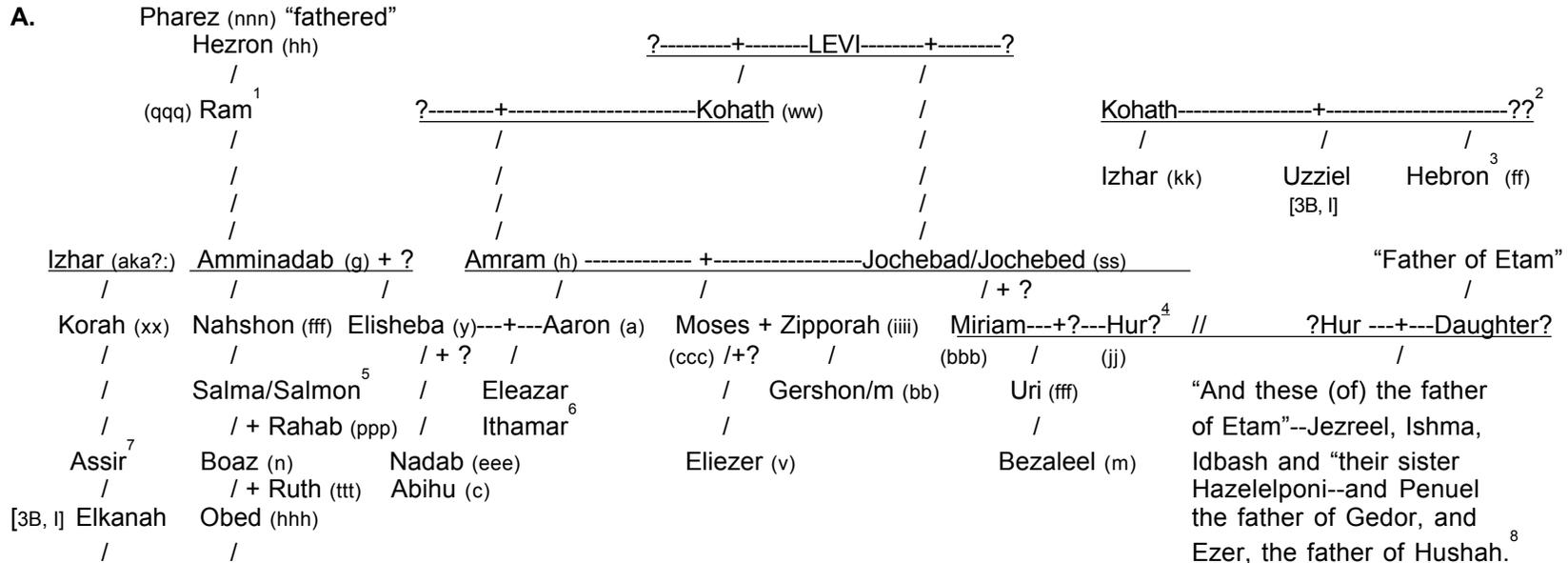
<u>Genesis</u> + <u>Book of Ruth</u>	<u>1 Chronicles</u>	<u>Gospel of</u> <u>Matthew</u>	<u>Gospel of</u> <u>Luke</u>
Hezron	Hezron	Hezron	Hezron
Ram	Ram	Ram	Arni ¹⁰²
Amminadab	Amminadab	Amminadab	Amminadab
Nahshon	Nahshon	Nahshon	Nahshon
Salmon	Salma	Salmon and Rahab	Salmon
Boaz	Boaz	Boaz and Ruth	Boaz
Obed	Obed	Obed	Obed
Jesse	Jesse	Jesse	Jesse
David	David	David and Wife of Uriah	David
		Solomon	Nathan

¹⁰² Considered a variant spelling of Ram; the *Authorized Version* has Aram.

APPENDIX 1C, Attachment 1

**CHARTED EXPLORATIONS OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
LEVI, REUBEN, JUDAH, HEZRON, CALEB, ASHUR and ASHER**

Note: Parenthesized letters refer to Source Quotations given in Appendix 1A, Attachment 1.
Bracketed references are to other appendices/attachments as noted.



¹ See at D, (Hezron-) Jerahmeel; question as to maternal lineage--refer to Appendix 1A, part I, D, at fn. 19.

² + Mareshah?--see at fn. 26.

³ Given: (Hebron-) Jeriah, Amariah, Jahaziel and Jekameam; see also fns. 26 and 27.

⁴ Or?--(Ephrathah + Hezron -) Hur, as placed at D.

⁵ (uuu) and (vvv). [Salma + ? = Bethlehem and the Netophathites, etc.?--see (uuu) (3).]

⁶ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, concerning the service of these two Elisheba + Aaron sons as co-chief priests, after their father's death.

⁷ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Assir.

/
 Ebiasaph Jesse [2A, Att. 1]
 /
 Assir David [2A, Att. 3]
 /
 Tahath [3B, I]
 /
 Uriel⁹
 /
 Uzziel
 /
 Shaul (xxx)

/
 These the sons of Hur, the
 firstborn Ephratah, the father
 of Bethlehem." *1 Chronicles*
 4:3-4.

B.

Leah + Jacob			
/			
Reuben			
/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?
Hanoch (dd)	Pallu/Phallu ¹⁰ (III)	Carmi (p)	Assaron/Hezron (hh)
/	/	/	/
/	Nemuel ¹¹ (ggg)	/	/
/	Dathan (r)	/	/
/	Abiram (d)	/	/
"family of Hanochites"	"family of Palluites"	"family of Carmites"	"family of Hezronites"

⁸ This is the only use of *Hushah*, it being considered Hushah may have been a place founded by Ezer ("those who so regard Hushah as a city generally identify it with Husan, about four miles W of Bethlehem;" *Aid*, p. 805).

⁹ See page 172, fn. 33, for additional uses.

¹⁰ /Peleth?

¹¹ Simeon tribe list at *Numbers* 26:12 also includes "family of [Jemuel/]Nemuelites." (Nemuel was not named as joining the Korah rebellion that resulted in Dathan's and Abiram's demise--Appendix 1C, sub-part IV, A.)

C.

? + Shuah (bbbb)			Leah + Jacob		
/			/		
Daughter-----+-----Judah-----+-----Tamar (dddd)-----					
/			/		
Shelah (yyy)			?? + Pharez/Phares/Perez (nnn) Zerah (gggg)		
/			/		
/			/		
/ Er ¹⁴			Hamul (cc) Esdrom/Hezron Zarhites ¹² / ¹³		
/			/		
/ Laah ¹⁵			/ (hh) /		
/			/		
/ Lecah ¹⁵			/ "family of Hamulites" "family of Hezronites" /		
/			/		
/ Mareshah (See D.)			/ Carmi		
/			/		
Family of Shelanites/Shilonites			Pharez, Hezron, Carmi, Hur, Shobal (zzz)		
House of Ashbea. Jokim, Man of Chozeba, Joash, ¹⁶ Saraph "ruler over Moab," and Jeshubilehem.					

D.

? + ?

Machir¹⁷

¹² The Simeon tribe list at *Numbers* 26:12 also includes a family of Zarhites/Zerahites.

¹³ Also given is (Zerah -) *Zimri*, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, Dara--refer to fn. 23.

¹⁴ Only two other *Ers* are found: (a) Judah's son, *Er* (one of Tamar's prematurely-died betrotheds), and (b) an *Er* given by *Luke* (3:28) in the lineage of the *New Testament* Jesus--Appendix 4C, Lineage, David to Jesus.

¹⁵ Only use.

¹⁶ Also given: (Manasseh-Machir-Gilead/Hammolecheth-Abiezer/Abiezerites-Joash-) Gideon; see Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C, chart.

HEZRON										
/ + ?			[+ EPHRATHAH?]		/ [+ JEPHUNNEH?]		/ + ?		/ + Daughter / + Abiah (b)	
? ¹⁸	-----+---Jerahmeel---+ Atarah	Ram	/ [App.1B]	/ (II)	Shuah (bbbb)	Segub (www)	/			
/	(mm) / (mm)(5)		Hur?]	/	('sister of Chelub')	/	Jair	/		
/	/			/				/		
Ram ¹⁹	Onam (jjj)			/			Naarah +-----Ashur ²⁰ ---+ Helah			
/	/	/		/			/ (ddd) (j) / (gg)			
Maaz,	Jada	/		/			Ahuzam	Zereth		
Jamin,	/	/		/			Haahashtari	Jezoar		
Eker	JETHER ²¹	Jonathan	Shammai	/			Temeni	Ethnan		
	/ (oo)	/ [App.2A]	/	/			Hepher ²²	[Coz? (q)] ²³		
	JEPHUNNEH, ²⁴	Peleth,	Nadab,	/						
	Pispah, Ara,	Zaza.	Abishur (+ Abihail ²⁵).	/						

¹⁷ (Manasseh-) *Machir* and (*Machir*-) Gilead descendancies charted at Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C.

¹⁸ A half-sister; daughter of Hezron?

¹⁹ See at fn. 1, "Ram... Amminadab."

²⁰ "Father of Tekoa." (*Asher* is given in part E.)

²¹ Although Jether is reported to have died without [leaving] sons, nothing is said of daughters.

²² See *Heber* at fn. 35 in *Asher* descent; refer also to (Machir-Gilead-Sons of Gilead-) Hopher, Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C.

²³ The source quote supplies the unclear introduction of Coz (given also as *Koz*), this its only use until the reformation period (priests of *Koz*, excommunicated for unproved genealogy--App. 3B, II, part IV, A). A female *Cozbi* existed at the time of the Moab encampment: "began the people to fornicate with the daughters of Moab.... And...a man of the sons of Israel came and brought to his brothers a woman of Midian before eyes Moses'.... And...Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest...rose...and took a javelin in his hand and went in after the man of Israel into the tent-chamber and pierced both of them, the man of Israel and the woman, through her belly. ... And the name of the man of Israel ...Zimri, the son of Salu, ruler of a father's house of the Zimeonites. And the name of the woman...Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, head of the people of a house father's in Midian." "And they warred against Midian...and killed every male; and they killed the kings of Midian...Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian." *Numbers* 25:1ff., 31:7ff. ("Qos," "the Edomite deity...appears frequently in the Aramaic ostraca as part of a person's name." *Biblical Arch. Review*, July/Aug. 2004; Vol. 30, No. 4, p. 44.)

²⁴ These children of Jephunneh are given at the end of an apparent listing of *Asher*, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (II)(1).

²⁵ There are contradictions between two versions of the ensuing strings--see Appendix 1C in fns. 40 and 53.

(Continued) ----- HEZRON -----

				/ [+ Jephunneh?]			
	Maresha ²⁶			/			
	/			----- CHELUB/CHELUBAI/CALEB -----			
/ + ?	Daughter	or ? /		/ + Azubah	/ + Ephah	/ + ?	/ + ?
Mesha	/	Daughter		Jeshur/Jasher/Jether,	Haran,	Hur	Shobal,
/	/	/		Shobab,	Moza,	(“firstborn of	Salma,
Ziph	Hebron ²⁷	/Sons of Mareshah		Ardon,	Gazez	Ephrathah”)	Hareph
				DEBORAH [App.2A, <u>Debir</u> (2)] ²⁹			Othniel ²⁸)
		/[1 Chron. 2:42-45]				/	Fathers, respectively,
		Korah, Tappuah, Rekem, Shema.				Caleb, “son”	of “Kirjath-Jearim,”
		/				of Hur	“Bethlehem,” and
		Shammai	Raham			(o)(16) ³⁰	“Beth-gades.”
		/					
		Maon					
		/					
		Beth-zur					

(Continued) Maachah ----- + CHELUB/CHELUBAI/CALEB + -----?

[App.1A, ³¹]	/ (o)(14)	/
	Sheber, Tirhahah,	Iru, Elah,
	Shaaph (“father of Madmanna”),	and Kenaz [-Othniel?]
	Sheva (“father of Machbenah”), and	
	unnamed “father of Gibeab” ³²	

²⁶ “Father/[founder?] of Hebron” (Appendix 1F, Hebron).

²⁷ Place or individual?

²⁸ Refer to Appendix 1A, Att. 1, Caleb, et al. (o) (21); Caleb gave Achsah and land to [Kenas/Kenaz-] Othniel for conquering Sephir/Debir), and Kenaz/Kenas (vv).

²⁹ Gives citation where (Jasher -) Deborah stated that her [unnamed] husband “was slain at Makkedah, when Israel went out to fight for the people of Gibeon” (related in 1D, I, fn. 9).

³⁰ This one reference to Caleb as a Hur son potentially is explainable through Caleb becoming Hur’s *step*-son through acquisition of Ephrathah.

³¹ Included in the source quotes in Appendix 1A, at I, B, is a “Maachah” who was a “Syrian” wife of (Manasseh-) Machir, “the father of Gilead.”

³² Unclear from text whether Sheva was father of both Machbenah and Gibeab or the name of a Sheva sibling was lost from the string.

E.

ASHER + ?? (i)		
/	/	/
Imnah,	/	/
Jimnah,	/	/
Ishuah,	Beriah ³³	Sarah/Serah, ³⁴
Ishuai/Isui	/	("their" sister)
	Heber ³⁵	
	/	
	Japhlet,	
	Shomer (aaaa),	
	Hotham,	
	Shua (bbbb); "their sister"	

³³ See Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, I, C (*Shaharaim* descendancy).

³⁴ *Numbers* 26:46; *1 Chronicles* 7:30.

³⁵ Refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Heber/Hepher, involving potential confusion in translation due to consonantal script.

Appendix 1C, Attachment 2

**Charted Explorations of Familial Relationships,
Benjamin and Manasseh**

I. Benjamin Descendancy

A. As Variously Given.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Genesis</i> 46:21ff.	<i>Numbers</i> 26:38ff.	<i>1 Chronicles</i> 7:6ff.	<i>1 Chronicles</i> 8:1ff.
Sons of Benjamin: Bela Becher ¹	Benjamin “by families:” of Bela, Belaites	Benjamin descendancy: Bela Becher Zemira Joash Eliezer Elioenai Omri Jerimoth Abiah Anathoth Alameth Jediael Bilhan/Bilham ² Jeush Benjamin Ehud Chenaanah Zethan Tharshish Ahishahar	“Benjamin fathered:” Bela, firstborn
Ashbel Gera Naaman	[2 <i>Samuel</i> 16:5] “Of the family of the house of Saul” Gera (Shimei. etc.?) ³	of Ashbel, Ashbelites (Bela-) Naamites	Ashbel, second

¹ A family of (Becher-) Bacrites appears also under sons of Ephraim at *Numbers* 26:35.

² Only other use of *Bilhan* is (Sons of Seir-Ezer-) Bilhan related to (Seir-) Anah, *1 Chronicles* 1:38ff.

³ See part C below.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Genesis 46:21ff.	Numbers 26:38ff.	1 Chronicles 7:6ff.	1 Chronicles 8:1ff.
Ehi/Ehud? ⁴ –per 1 Chronicles 7:6-8			
/	/		
Uzza	Naaman [Shaharaim? ⁵]		
Ahiahud	Ahiah		
	(Ahijah/Ahio/ Ahoah?)		
	“and ‘he’ exiled them” ⁶		
Rosh			
Ard	(Bela-) Ardites; of Ahiram, Ahiramites		Aharah, third Nohah, fourth Rapha, fifth
		Of Bela, sons ⁷	“And were sons to Bela:”
		Ezbon	Addar ⁸
		Uzzi	Gera
		Uzziel	Abihud
		Jerimoth	Abishua
		Iri,	Naaman) ⁹
		“and	Ahoah)
		Shuppim and	Gera)
Muppim	of Shupham , Shuphamites	Muppin , sons of <i>Ir</i> . ¹⁰	Shephuphan
		and	

⁴ (Only use of *Ehi*.) Note 1 Chronicles 8:6 quote at end of column (4)--the there-longer list of Bela “sons” including the three below from *Numbers* also are called “sons of Ehud.”

⁵ Antecedents of *Shaharaim*, who “fathered in the field of Moab” after exile, are not clear from these verses--see part C below.

⁶ See *Naaman* and *Ahoah* at fn. 9.

⁷ “five, heads of the house of fathers.”

⁸ Might this (Benjamin-Bela-) *Gera* be the unnamed “Gileadite” father of Judge *Jair*?--see 1 Chronicles 2:21 quotation in part II (Manasseh Descendancy) below, and refer to D of Attachment 1, tAppendix 1C, D: Hezron + (Manasseh-Machir-) unnamed daughter-Segub-*Jair*, for whom no descendants subsequently are mentioned. (Appendix 4C, Jair/Jairus/Joare; Appendix 3B, I, Gera/Gerasenes.)

⁹ See *Ehi/Ehud* descendancy in column (1).

¹⁰ Interlineally, *Ir* is printed “It” in the referenced text. These are the only uses of *Iri* and *Ir*, but see Appendix 3B, I, Ira, “a *Jairite*.”

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Genesis 46:21ff.	Numbers 26:38ff.	1 Chronicles 7:6ff.	1 Chronicles 8:1ff.
Huppim	of Hupham , Huphamites	[Of ? -] (Aher-) Hushim	Huram

8:6: “[T]hese the sons of sons of Ehud, these they: the heads of the fathers of the people of *Geba*, and they exiled them to Manahath.”

B. Benjamin Descendancy As Later Given for Saul.¹¹

- (1) A gap ensues in subsequent Benjamin lineage until Saul's great-great-great-grandfather, *Aphiah*, where name similarities only may offer conjecture.
- (2) A name contradiction occurs as to Saul's grandfather, *Jehiel/Abiel*, “father of Gibeon.”
- (3) A contradiction appears as to Saul's father, *Kish* vs. *Ner*.

C. Shaharaim Descendancy - 1 Chronicles 8:8 to 8:28:

Hushim +	SHAHARAIM	+ Hodesh	+ Baara
/	/	/	/
Ahitub	Elpaal	Jobab,	No progeny given.
/	/	Zibia,	
/	Eber,	Mesha, Shachia, Mirma	
/	Misham,	Malcham,	
/	Shamed	Jeuz,	
/	and Beriah	Shachia,	
/	/	Mirma	
/	/		
/	Shema-- (Shemai/Shemeah/Shimhi?)	Jeroham	no clear antecedents given.
Zebadiah,	Ahio, Jeremoth, Zebadiah,	/	
Meshullam,	Arad, Ader, Michael,	Jakim, Zichri,	Shamsherai,
Hezeki,	Ispah, Joha and	Zabdi, Elienai,	Shehariah,
Heber,	Shashak	Zilthai, Eliel,	Athaliah, Jaresiah,
Ishmerai,	/	Adaiah, Beraiah,	Elijah, Zichri
Jezlaiah,	Ishpan ¹²	Shimroth	
Jobab	Heber		

¹¹ On these points, refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, where Saul's lineage is explored.

Shashak- continued

Eliel
Abdon
Zichri
Hanan
Hananiah
Elam
Antothijah
Iphdeiah
Penuel

-----“These heads of the fathers, by their generations.” 1 Chronicles 8:28-----

II. Manasseh Descendancy.

Genesis 50:23: Manasseh - Machir.
1 Chronicles 2:21: ([Machir + ? -] *Unnamed Daughter* + Hezron - Segub + ?) Jair.
1 Chronicles 7:14: (Jaladah, a “Syrian” + Machir -) Ashriel.
1 Chronicles 7:15: “Machir took a wife for **Huppim** and **Shuppim**, and the name of his sister, Maachah; and the name of the second, Zelophehad. And were to Zelophehad daughters.”
1 Chronicles 7:16: “[B]ore Maachah the wife of Machir a son, and she called his name Peresh.”

Numbers 26:29ff.

“Sons of Manasseh:”
of Machir, Machirites;
“and Machir fathered Gilead.”
of Gilead, Gileadites.
“These are the sons of Gilead:”
of Jeezer, Jeezerites
of Helek, Helekites
of Asriel, Asrielites
of Shechem, Shechemites
of Shemida, Shemidaites
of Hephher, Hephherites
(Hephher-) Zelophehad had no sons but daughters,
Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah,
Milcah and Tirzah.

Joshua 17:2ff.

Manasseh
Machir, firstborn, who
“had Gilead and Bashan;”
but there were “remaining sons of Manasseh:”
sons of Abiezer
sons of Helek
sons of Asriel
sons of Shechem
sons of Shemidah
sons of Hephher
But (Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-Hephher-) Zelophehad had no sons but daughters, Mahliah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah.

¹² Refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Heber/Hephher.

Appendix 1D, I¹

JOSHUA

When Joshua assumed command after Moses died the people were encamped east of the Jordan River in the northeast vicinity of the Dead Sea. From there Joshua sent two men to reconnoiter the walled city of Jericho west of the Jordan River, some 20 miles northeast of Bethlehem as the crow flies. Joshua's men made contact with one Rahab, a woman sympathizer in Jericho. Rahab is described only as a "harlot," and her clan relations in Jericho are not detailed; however, the fact that her residence was in the city's wall suggests she may not have been of the peasant class. Rahab, one of the four women named in the official lineage roster, appears as the great-great-grandmother of king David.²

Jericho's king was informed that Joshua men were in the city and commenced a search for them. Rahab concealed their presence while the king's men questioned her at her home. Afterward, she engineered their escape from Jericho by rope from the outer window of her house that formed part of the city wall. Before doing so, she elicited their promise that in exchange for her aid she and all her kin would be spared in any ensuing action. She was told to gather all of her family to the house and mark its window with a scarlet thread.

Upon receiving his men's report, Joshua gave all his officers three days' time to ready the people to cross the Jordan. The people were commanded to rise and follow the priests and ark-bearing Levites as soon as they saw them set forth. With an army of about 40,000 armed Reubenites, Gadites and east-Manassehites leading the way, the people crossed the Jordan onto the plains of Jericho on "the tenth of the month first;" and a new camp was established immediately east of Jericho, at Gilgal.³ Jericho sealed its walls.

Joshua had his army, with the ark in its midst, circle the city seven consecutive days sounding trumpets. Then, at a prescribed moment, they gave a great shout, and "...fell the wall under it; and up went the people to the city...." Rahab and "all her families" were brought out of the city before it and all that was in it was burned (except "the silver and the gold, and the vessels of copper and of iron they gave the treasury"). "Rahab...and house her father's, and all whom she had, kept alive, Joshua; and she lives in the midst of Israel to this day.... And warned Joshua at time that, saying, 'Cursed the man...who rises up and builds city, this Jericho; at the cast of his firstborn he will found it, and of his youngest son set up its gates.'"⁴

Joshua next targeted Ai, about 12 miles north of Jerusalem. After another reconnaissance, Joshua made a 3000-man assault against Ai, which failed. Before a second attempt, one (Zerah-Zabdi-Carmi-) Achan/Achar "of the tribe of Judah" was found guilty of secreting certain valuable spoil. Either he alone,⁵ or (depending on the source) he with all his sons and daughters, were stoned and burned.

Joshua's strategy for the second Ai assault was a rear ambush by only a part of his army, to draw out Ai's men in the belief all of the enemy was before them, and leave the city unprotected. The plan succeeded. Twelve thousand inhabitants of Ai are reported to have fallen; its captured king was hanged.

¹ This summary from the *Book of Joshua* is cited at intervals.

² (Rahab + Salma/Salmon - Boaz + Ruth - Obed + ? - Jesse + ? -) David; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (n) Boaz, (hhh) Obed, (uuu) Salma, (vvv) Salmon; Appendix 1C, sub-part VIII, "Lineage Roster, Abraham to Solomon and Nathan;" Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, "Descendancy of Jesse," and Attachment 3, "Descendancy of David."

³ To *Joshua* 5. See Appendix 2A, Gilgal.

⁴ *Joshua* 6:22ff.

⁵ *Josephus* has Zebedias/Zachar-Achan, and mentions only Achan's death; *AJ* IV.I.14.

Hivites/Amorites west of Jericho, when informed of Joshua's successful advances, sent a humble delegation and surrendered to a covenant of peace. Their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth and Kirjath-Jearim;⁶ and they became "...slaves and woodcutters and drawers of water...for the congregation."

Meanwhile, five other regional kings had gathered forces. Kings Hoham of Hebron, Piram of Jarmuth, Japhia of Lachish and Debir of Eglon joined Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem, and they laid siege at Gibeon. Word was sent to Joshua, whose army traveled all night to reach Gibeon and won the ensuing battle.⁷

The five kings fled and hid in a cave near Makkedah.⁸ Joshua caught the kings and temporarily sealed them in the cave while his force went in pursuit of the kings' soldiers, all of whom either surrendered or were annihilated. Afterward, Joshua executed the kings.

Joshua and his army also captured Makkedah, killed its king, and left no survivors.⁹ After Makkedah, Joshua and his army went against Libnah, then Lachish, also killing their kings and leaving no survivors. King Horam and his people of Gezer, who went to the aid of Lachish, also were struck to the last man.¹⁰

Joshua and his army continued to advance, striking Eglon, Hebron, Debir,¹¹ "...all the land: the heights, and the Negev, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; not he did leave a survivor;...from Kadesh-barnea, even until Gaza, and all the land of Goshen,¹² even until Gibeon; and all kings these and their land captured Joshua.... And returned Joshua, and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal."

Another opposing, wide-ranged alliance was formed by King Jabin of Hazor, who gathered the kings of Medon/Madon, Shimron and Achshaph--"kings that on the north of the heights, and on the plains south of Chineroth, and in the low country and in the hills of Dor on the west; and the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the heights, and the Hivite below Herman, and in the land of Mizpah." Their armies joined and camped together at the waters of Merom. Joshua and his army made a surprise attack, followed by a relentless pursuit which left no survivors. Returning, he captured Hazor, killed its king, burned the city and left no survivors. "But all the cities which stood by their mounds not did burn...Hazor only...[a]nd all the spoil of cities these, and the cattle, seized...; but every human being they struck by edge, the sword's, until they had destroyed them; not they did leave anyone breathing." "There not was a city that made peace with...Israel, except the Hivites natives of Gibeon."¹³ Of the

⁶ See for (a) Hivite/Amorite, Appendix 1F; (b) Geba/Gibea/Gibeah/Gibeon and Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim, Appendix 2A. Chephirah is identified with a summit five miles W/SW of biblical Gibeon, and Beeroth, approximately the same distance N/NE of Gibeon in the vicinity of present-day Ramallah.

⁷ (a) Jarmuth is believed to have been 16 miles SW of Jerusalem; (b) Lachish, generally identified with a mound 15 miles W of Hebron; (c) Eglon, believed to have been 7 miles SW of Lachish--see also at fn. 10.

⁸ Appendix 2A, Makkedah.

⁹ To *Joshua* 10:28.

¹⁰ Blank.

¹¹ See Appendix 2A, "Debir."

¹² Refer to Appendix 1F, Goshen.

¹³ *Joshua* 11:13 ff.; 11:19.

Anakim and their cities, some remained--in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod.¹⁴

The text sets forth (a) the expanse and borders of territory east of the Jordan River formerly ruled by Amorite King Sihon, which land Moses had allotted to the Reubenites, Gadites and east-Manassehites, and (b) the expanse and borders of conquests west of the Jordan--a total of 31 kings and their cities.¹⁵ Next detailed are (a) the borders, regions and cities of the tribal allotments--both those possessed, and as-yet not; (b) the dedicated Levitical cities/areas within each tribe's allotment; and (c) designated cities where a "manslayer striking anyone in innocence" could obtain refuge from an avenger.

The sons of Reuben, Gad and east-Manasseh had honored their pledge to assist the common effort, and Joshua released them to return to their land east of the Jordan. However, as Joshua's days at the Shiloh capital neared an end, several tribes still were not in possession of land. Joshua established certain borders and then had the landless tribes provide him with a map, over which lots were cast and allotments assigned to those tribes of territory that remained to be taken.¹⁶

Before Joshua died he held an assembly at Shechem, where, for the benefit of the rulers and all the people, he recalled their history, faith and achievements, and entreated them to persevere. Joshua died at age 110 and was buried "in the border of his inheritance, in Timnath-serah/[heres], which in the hills of Ephraim, on the north of the hill of Gaash."¹⁷ Chief priest Eleazar, Aaron's successor, also died; he was buried "in the hill of Phinehas his son...in the hills of Ephraim."¹⁸

¹⁴ (a) *Hazor* here has been identified as a city about four miles SW of Lake Huleh, (see Appendix 2A for other Hazors); (b) *Medon/Madon*, placed about six miles NW of Tiberias on the SW side of the Sea of Galilee; (c) *Shimron*, suggested as a short distance W of Medon in Zebulun's allotment; (d) *Achshaph*, possibly six miles SE of Acco (Acco being a seaport city some 30 miles S of Tyre of Phoenicia's Mediterranean coastline); (e) *Chineroth/Chinnereth*, (1) an early name for the Sea of Galilee; (2) a town about two miles SW of Capernaum (see Appendix 4C, *Capernaum/Capharnaum*); (f) *Dor*, on or near the Mediterranean coast some 15 miles S of Cape Carmel (see Appendix 2A, *Carmel*); (g) *Perrizite*, Appendix 1F; (h) *Jebusite* and *Mizpeh*, Appendix 2A; (h) "the waters of *Merom*" have been associated with various Lake Huleh sites; (i) *Anakim*, Appendix 2A; (j) *Gath's* true location is unknown; separated sites have been suggested, one being 15 miles SE of Gaza, which does fit this grouping; for more, see Appendix 2A, *Gath*; (k) *Ashdod*, about midway between Gaza and Joppa.

¹⁵ *Joshua* 12:1-24.

¹⁶ Detailed in Introductory Summary following fn. 56.

¹⁷ (a) *Gaash* the hill has not been located definitively--"brooks"/"torrents" of *Gaash* are mentioned at 2 *Samuel* 23:30 and 1 *Chronicles* 11:32; (b) "current geographers prefer to identify" Timnath-serah/[heres] about 18 miles S/SW of ancient Shechem (*Aid*, p. 1601).

¹⁸ *Joshua* chapters 13-24. *Joshua* 22 has a parallel account of the conflict that arose subsequently, when the easterners unilaterally erected an altar at the Jordan--refer to Introductory Summary paragraphs between fns. 56 and 59.

Appendix 1D, II

JUDGES

The era from Joshua through judge-commander Samuel--commonly called the "period of the Judges"--is estimated roughly at 330-350 years, ending with selection of Saul as the first named king.¹ "[I]n days those, there was no king in Israel; each man the right in his eyes did." *Judges'* accounts reflect obeisance to different judges by differently-grouped tribes at varying times and that, "in many cases, the judges were contemporaries of one another, exercising authority over limited tribal areas."² Twelve male and one female judge-commanders, apart from Joshua and Samuel, are identified, as will be detailed below.

Elsewhere the record provides interim (Levi-Aaron-) chief/high priest descendancies, including transfer of authority for a long period from the (Aaron-) Eleazar branch to that of (Aaron-) Ithamar.³ However, no data is provided over the *Judges* era for individual chief/high priest functions or functionaries until high priest Eli, under whom Samuel was reared at the Shiloh sanctuary. The 40-year tenure of (Ithamar...-) Eli, which is not described in *Judges*, is taken as contemporaneous with the terms of Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon and perhaps a portion of Samson's. Opponents over the years of *Judges* ranged from all compass points: Moabites, Midianites and Ammonites from the east and southeast and Philistines from the southwest, as well as tribes from north of the Sea of Galilee.

A major non-sequential feature of *Judges* is the placement at its end of a report of a civil war arising from an incident at Gibeah, which otherwise appears to have occurred *circa* the beginning of the era during the lifetime of Aaron's grandson, Phinehas/Phineas.⁴ Lineage data compiled from other scriptural texts, as noted below at judges Jair, Jephthah and Abdon, also touch on *Judges'* sequencing. The first judge reported by *Judges* is Othniel. The *Book of Jasher* (which both agrees with the canon and relates additional material) would indicate a chasm, however, in the scriptural account--that, prior to Othniel, Caleb judged Israel 12 years and was succeeded for a time by Jasher, with Othniel then succeeding Jasher.⁵ The summary of *Judges* presented here includes that sequence. A question mark in the Tribal Affiliation column indicates the relationship is not stated directly and is subject to potential derivations:

<u>Descendancy</u>	JUDGE	<u>Tribal Affiliation</u>
Son of Kenaz ⁶ + ? -	OTHNIEL, Caleb's younger brother. ⁷	Judah

Under Othniel's command "the sons of Israel" were freed from an eight-year servitude to one "Chushan- Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia. ... And the land had rest for 40 years, and died Othniel...."

¹ *Judges* 21:25. (Archeological work of recent decades, which has spurred re-estimates of the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages, poses new considerations in dating this as well as other ancient periods, as has been reviewed in current biblical archaeology literature, such as the *Biblical Archaeology Review*.)

² *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* as quoted in *Aid*, pp. 336-37.

³ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, "Chief/High Priesthood," part II.

⁴ That account is related at the end, also, of this summary.

⁵ Refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part II, "Hezronic Period."

⁶ See Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Kenaz, and Appendix 1F, Kenite.

⁷ *Judges* 3; *Jasher* 34:22.

Descendancy JUDGE Tribal Affiliation

**Benjamin + ?-
[Bela?] - Gera + ? - EHUD⁸ Benjamin**

Judge Ehud effected an end to an 18-year bondage by Moab's King Eglon (who had taken possession of Jericho⁹) and was allied with Ammon and Amalek. The final battle with Moab ensued after Ehud went to Eglon at Gilgal on the pretense of paying tribute; left in private audience with the king, Ehud ran him through with a sword. Ehud "blew on the horn in the hills of Ephraim and went down with him the sons of Israel from the hills...and captured the fords of the Jordan against the Moabites," of whom 10,000 were struck down. "And had rest the land, eighty years."

Son of Anath¹⁰ + ? - SHAMGAR¹¹ Naphtali?

No time period is assigned to Shamgar, who "struck the Philistines, 600 men...and delivered also he, Israel." According to *Josephus*, Shamgar died in his first year.

The next named foe is King Jabin of "Hazor"¹² who oppressed sons of Israel for 20 years. "And a prophetess [Deborah]...was judging Israel at that time...."

? + ? - DEBORAH¹³ Zebulon?

Deborah was a "wife of Lapidoth." She dwelled in the hill region of Ephraim between Ramah and Bethel. There, "sons of Israel would go up to her for judgment." The *Book of Jasher* relates that, after Deborah's "husband was slain before Makkedah when Israel went out to fight for the people of Gibeon," Deborah built her own city, "Debir."¹⁴

(Abinoam¹⁵ -) Barak "out of Kedesh-Naphtali" joined leadership with Deborah in a Naphtaliite/Zebulonite coalition, versus king Jabin's force commanded by a man named Sisera. Ten thousand of Deborah participated in the battle when it took place in the torrent valley of the Kishon, in the low plain of Jezreel at the east edge of Issachar and Zebulun territory, vicinity of Mount Tabor.

Sisera fled on foot and took refuge in the tent of Jael, a wife of (Hobab-) Heber,¹⁶ a Kenite, who was at peace with Jabin and tented near Kedesh.¹⁷ Sisera was faint and fell

⁸ *Judges* 3. Benjamin descendancy to and via Ehud during this time is unclear--refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, D, "Manasseh-Benjamin 'Shuppim and Muppim' Puzzle," and the chart of relationships in 1C, Attachment 2, column (1).

⁹ "the city of palm trees" *Judges* 3:13.

¹⁰ Possibly *Beth-Anath*, a Naphtaliite city about 12 miles E of Acco between upper and lower Galilee (for Acco, see Appendix 1D, I, fn. 14 [d]).

¹¹ *Judges* 3:31.

¹² For relating this *Judges* event with *Joshua*, see at Appendix 1D, I, following fn. 8.

¹³ *Judges* 4. (See Appendix 2A, *Debir*, re a [Jasher -] *Deborah*.)

¹⁴ (a) *Jasher* 35:28ff.; (b) there is no other use of "Lapidoth;" some scholars have considered whether he and Barak, the next-listed judge, were one and the same; (c) for *Ramah*, *Bethel* and the various *Debirs*, see Appendix 2A.

¹⁵ (a) *Abinoam* is an only use but similar to *Ahinoam* of two uses--wife of Saul, and a Jezreelite wife of king David; (b) *Kedesh-Naphtali*, also called "Kedesh in Galilee," linked to a small plain about 4 miles NW of the Huleh basin; also see fn. 17; (c) *Tabor*, Appendix 2A.

¹⁶ Who "had broken from the Kenites of the sons of Hobab, father-in-law Moses," involving a complicated period that involved a Moabitic Kenite branch connected to the descendancy of "Shaharaim;" see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (ee) *Heber/Hepher* and (ii) *Hobab*, and Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, column (1) of "Benjamin Descendancy" after Ehi/Ehud.

¹⁷ It not clear as to which of the following: (a) *Kedesh-Naphtali/Kadesh* in Galilee following fn. 15, apparently a (Levi-) Gershon **App1D, II**

asleep. While he was unconscious, Jael killed him by hammering a tent peg through his temple. Deborah's involvement in or knowledge of the Jael plan appears implied in the report that she told Barak, before the fact, that Sisera would fall at the hands of a woman. With Sisera dead, Deborah and Barak prevailed over Jabin. They sang a song of victory, "and had rest the land forty years."

Next reported is seven years of oppression, during which Midian destroyed crops sown by sons of Israel who were living "in the mountains and the caves and the strongholds."¹⁸

Joash, the Abiezerite + ?- GIDEON¹⁹ Manasseh/[+Benjamin?]

"Midian and Amalek, and the sons of the east...were camped in the valley of Jezreel." Gideon, who lived at Joash's Ophrah, was recruited by a "messenger."²⁰ Gideon won Ophrahite allegiance; the Abiezerites assembled behind him; and he issued a call throughout Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun and Naphtali.

Gideon's first force of 300 routed an enemy camp. Joined by others, they overcame Midianite princes Oreb and Zeeb, continued in pursuit, struck the army of Midianite kings Zebah and Zalmunna, and conquered Succoth.²¹ Gideon captured and killed kings Zebah and Zalmunna; certain men that Zebah and Zalmunna had killed in Tabor were Gideon's "brothers, sons of my mother."

Gideon collected gold from the peoples he had saved (who had "*rings of gold...because Ishmaelites, they*"²²). From the gold Gideon made an "ephod" that he put in his city of Ophrah. The ephod is said to have become "a snare" to Gideon and his house; conversely, reference to Gideon as *Jerubaal* appears derived from his destruction of a *Baal* shrine at Ophrah.²³ After Midian was subdued, "had rest the land, forty years, in the days of Gideon." Gideon lived in his own house, had many wives and 70 sons. Gideon's firstborn was Jether, who, when told by Gideon to kill the captured Midianite kings, wasn't able.²⁴

Regional power was contested after Gideon died. A "concubine" of Gideon in Shechem had born him a son named Abimelech. Abimelech assembled men to him and went to the house of his mother's father at Shechem. "[R]emember, that your bone and your flesh I [am]," he told his relatives. With their aid he garnered support of Shechem's leaders, who "caused Abimelech to reign as [their] king." Abimelech was supported by "all the leaders of Shechem and all the house of Millo." But back at Ophrah he killed all but one of his brothers and/or half-brothers; however, the youngest Gideon son, Jotham, was

enclave in Naphtali believed some 4 miles NW of the Huleh Basin; (b) *Kedesh* (1 *Chronicles* 6:72)/Kishion (*Joshua* 12:22, 21:28), a (Levi-) Gershon city in Issachar; possibly a site 2-1/2 mi. SE of Megiddo; a third *Kadesh*, Introductory Summary, fn. 5.)

¹⁸ Here commencing with *Judges* 6.

¹⁹ See the Gideon explorative chart at Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II.

²⁰ (a) "Ophrah" also was name of a city assigned to Benjamin in *Joshua* 18:23; actual location(s) is/are not known (b)

Textwise, later varying renderings of *Hebrew* "malakh," *messenger*, as "angel" affects the distinction of a biblical envoy *vis-a-vis* his dispatcher (*refer to* Appendix 4 D, "Some Terms of Interest," "*messenger*" v. "*angel*").

²¹ See Appendix 1C, fn. 38.

²² *Judges* 8:24; italics supplied.

²³ See Appendix 2A, *Ephod*, and "*Deities, Miscellaneous, Baal*."

²⁴ To *Judges* 8:31. Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Jether*.

Descendancy

JUDGE

Tribal Affiliation

hidden and escaped death.²⁵

Enmity arose on the part of some Shechemites, who were admonished by their leader, Gaal, to “serve the men of Hamor the father of Shechem!” Abimelech battled the resurgent Shechemites, burned the city’s tower and felled a thousand men and women. He then besieged Thebez, some 10 miles to the northeast. But as he drew near to burn its tower “a certain woman” dropped a millstone on his head from the city wall. Abimelech commanded his attache to put him out of his misery with a sword,²⁶ “lest they say of me, ‘a woman killed him.’” In all, Abimelech ‘ruled over Israel’ three years.

Puah of Dodo + ? - TOLA²⁷

Issachar

All that is said of Tola is that he lived in Shamir/Shamar/Samaria “in the hills of Ephraim,”²⁸ that he rose up after Abimelech, judged “Israel” 23 years, and was buried in Shamir.

“a Gileadite”

JAIR

Manasseh

Judges reports only that Jair had 30 sons “who rode on 30 ass colts; and 30 cities they had...in the land of Gilead,” and that he died and was buried in Kamon.²⁹ “A Gileadite,” *Judges’* simple antecedent for Jair, may reflect the complicated intertribal relationships following the “Hezronic” period, as Jair’s lineage elsewhere is derivable;³⁰ and the same issues possibly also are reflected in the antecedents given for Jair’s successor, Jephthah.

Judges next names as foes Ammon and Philistia. The text focuses first on an 18-year struggle with the Ammonites, who had overrun Gilead, pushed the easterners west to the Jordan and beyond, and forayed into Benjamin and Ephraim. With an Ammonite force camped in Gilead, the Gileadite chieftains gathered at Mizpeh³¹ and sought a leader.

Machir + ?- Gilead

+ “a prostitute/harlot” - JEPHTHAH³²

Manasseh

The Gileadites solicited Jephthah, who earlier had been driven away by his younger half- brothers and was living with a band of men in the land of “Tob,” identified by some with a region about 40 miles E/SE of the Sea of Galilee. Jephthah took command, conditioned on an agreement that if victorious he would remain as chief of Gilead. It also is reported he vowed that, should he win, “the thing outcoming, which comes out from the doors of my house to meet me when I return... shall belong to [Tet.], and it I will offer a burnt offering.”³³

²⁵ (a) Other *Abimelechs*, see Introductory Summary *at and in* fn. 15; (b) *Millo* (9:6), unknown.

²⁶ Through *Judges* 9.

²⁷ *Judges* 10:1-2. (a) *Tolaites* were counted in the second registration; (b)(1) Leah + Jacob-Issachar + ? ... *Puah/Puvah*; (b)(2) *Puahites*/aka *Punites* were counted in the second registration); (b)(3) *Puah* (with Shiprah) was a midwife who sought to save Hebrew males at birth contrary to a pre-exodus pharaohnic order; (c) two of king David’s mighty men were *Dodo/Dodai*-descended—see Appendix 2B, parts IV and V.

²⁸ The name varies with text sources, although “Samaria” is a much later term of considerable range—see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Samaria*.

²⁹ “Kamon’s” location is unknown; speculation centers on two sites, respectively about 11 and 12 miles S of the Sea of Galilee.

³⁰ *Judges* 10:3. Refer to chart in Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, concerning *Jair* lineage, and Appendix 4C, *Jair/Jairus/Joare*.

³¹ Appendix 2A, *Mizpeh/etc.*

³² *Judges* 11. Only use of the name *Jephthah*; see descendancy chart at Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C.

Descendancy

JUDGE

Tribal Affiliation

After striking the Ammonites from Aroer to Minnith (20 cities),³⁴ Jephthah “came to” Mizpeh, “to his house.” The first thing to greet Jephthah from his house when he returned was his [unnamed] daughter, his only child. “And it came to pass...he did to her his vow which he had vowed; and she never knew a man....” That text has been interpreted as a murder by Jephthah of his daughter as the “burnt offering,” although it is unclear why she plead for and received a two-month delay “to weep for her virginity” instead of for her life, before her father complied with his vow. Where Jephthah’s house was situated can’t be answered because of the general vagueness of biblical Mizpehs/Mizpahs.

Ephraimites rose up against Jephthah after his military success, for not engaging them also in the fight with Ammon. Civil war ensued, in which the Gileadites captured “the fords of the Jordan before Ephraim,” where it is reported 42,000 Ephraimites were killed as they attempted to return.”³⁵

“And judged Jephthah Israel six years; and died Jephthah the Gileadite, and was buried in the cities [sic.] of Gilead.”

Of the next three judges named, little is said:

“of Bethlehem” **IBZAN**³⁶ ?

Ibzan had “...30 sons; and 30 daughters he sent abroad, and 30 daughters he brought for his sons from abroad. And he judged Israel seven years. And died Ibzan and was buried at Bethlehem.”

? + ? - **ELON**³⁷ **Zebulun**

After Ibzan, Elon “judged Israel ten years. And died Elon, the Zebulonite, and was buried in Aijalon, in the land of Zebulun.”³⁸

Hillel the Pirathonite + ?- **ABDON**³⁹ ?

³³ *Judges* 11:31. 2 *Samuel* 10:6 mentions 12,000 men of Tob (“Ish tob”) along with Syrians and Maacahites in an Ammonite force battled by Joab/David. (*Tob* reappears in the name, *Tobiah*, Appendix 3B, I.)

³⁴ To *Judges* 11:39. (a) *Aroer*, Appendix 2A; (b) “Minnith,” site unknown.

³⁵ The Ephraimites “crossing northward” (*Judges* 12) to confront Jephthah, combined with the Tob reference, could confirm his Mizpeh as the one in the northeast; *Judges* 11:29 is especially confusing in this respect, as well as the reported linguistic differences between involved foes at *Judges* 12:4-6 (cf. *Matthew* 26:73)—see Appendix 1B, “Ephrathah,” preceding fn. 4.

³⁶ *Judges* 12:8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 12:11. Other Elons: (a) Hittite whose daughter married Esau (Appendix 1A, Attachment 2); (b) second of Zebulun’s three children who existed before entry into Egypt; (c) a town near the border of Dan’s initial apportionment, uncertainly located between Ithlah (possibly 9 miles W/NW of Jerusalem) and Timnah (of which two are mentioned—one at the Judah/Dan boundary about 2 miles W of Beth-shemesh [see Appendix 2A, *Beth-Shemesh*] and the other at modern Tibnah about 2 miles N/NW of “Gibea” [2A, *Geba*, etc.].)

³⁸ One other use of Aijalon/Ajalon is a (Kohath-) levitical city in Dan territory (*Joshua* 19:42 and 21:24), but 1 *Chronicles* 6:69 seems to put it in Ephraim. Per 1 *Chronicles* 8:13 the heads of Aijalon’s fathers were (Benjamin... *lapse*...) Beriah and Shema (see *Shaharaim* descendancy and related apparent Benjamin/Manasseh intertribal absorptions—Appendix 1C, Attachment 2). Saul’s Jonathan would strike Philistines from Michmas/h (placed some 7 miles NE of Jerusalem) to Aijalon; Solomon’s successor-son Rehoboam would fortify Aijalon; and more than two centuries later it would fall once more to the Philistines.

³⁹ *Judges* 12:13. Uses of *Abdon*: (a) (Hushim + *Shaharaim*-Elpaal-Beriah-Shashak-) *Abdon*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2; (b) a Gershon/Gershom levitical city in Asher territory, its possible site being identified at the foot of the hills of Galilee (*Joshua* 21:27-30; 1 *Chronicles* 6:71-74); (c) (Maacah + Jeiel-) *Abdon*, a granduncle of Saul (see “Jeiel,” Appendix 3B, I); (c) *Abdon*/Achor, of King Josiah’s court (2 *Chronicles* 34:20; 2 *Kings* 22:12).

Descendancy

JUDGE

Tribal Affiliation

Abdon had “40 sons, and 30 sons of sons, who rode on 70 he-asses, and he judged Israel eight years. And died Abdon, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite, and was buried in Pirathon (possibly six miles W/SW of Shechem) in the land of Ephraim, in the hills of the Amalekites.”

**Manoah of Zorah
“of the family of the
Danites” + ?-**

SAMSON⁴⁰

Dan [+ Judah?]

Per the prologue of *Judges* 13, Philistines dominated the Israelites for 40 years. It is not said exactly what part of that time constituted Samson’s stated 20-year tenure. Samson’s Philistine battles appear as regional incidents, subsequent to his attempt to form a peaceful alliance.

Samson’s quest to wed a Philistine daughter of Timnath(/?Timnah)⁴¹ bears some marks of a challenged union not palatable to all concerned. A seven-day betrothal feast was held at Timnath, at which Samson was surrounded by 30 “companions,” at first introduction seemingly friends of his and to whom he riddled a riddle.⁴² If they gave the correct answer, they would receive 30 linen garments/shirts and 30 changes of clothes; if not, they would provide the same to Samson.

The “companions” threatened Samson’s fiancée they would kill both her and her father unless she got the answer for them; she was forced to wheedle it out of Samson and divulge it to “the sons of her people.” Losing the bet, Samson then went “down to Askelon [a principal Philistine Mediterranean seaport city] and struck of them 30 men and took their plunder.” He gave “the changes” to those who had answered the riddle and went back to his father’s house.

Later, just before wheat harvest, Samson went to claim his betrothed at her house and discovered that her father had betrothed her, instead, to one “who had been best man for” Samson. Samson declined the father’s entreaty to take a younger daughter and furiously took revenge by destroying Philistine crops. In turn, the Philistines “burned her and her father.” Samson then “smote them...a slaughter great,” and retreated.⁴³

The Philistines forayed in Judah territory, pitched a camp, and informed the Judaeans they were after Samson. Three thousand men of Judah “went down to Etam”⁴⁴ to confront Samson, saying, “...you know that ruling over us, the Philistines.... And what this you have [brought upon] us?” They bound Samson and turned him over to the Philistines. Samson broke free, killed 1,000 of his foe and escaped. He next is reported in Gaza, in the residence of a “harlot” where he evaded Philistines seeking to capture him.

⁴⁰ *Judges* 13 through 16. (a) *Zorah/Zoreah*, very near Philistia, was in Judah-assigned territory but just across the line from Timnah/Timnath in Dan-assigned territory; (b) Samson’s unnamed mother received a visitation from an alternately-called “angel”/“man,” announcing her barrenness would end and she would bear a son--“a Nazirite to [Tet]...from the womb until the day of his death.” (*Ibid.*, 13:5-7)

⁴¹ In Judah allotment (*Joshua* 15:33); on Dan’s border (*Joshua* 19:41); refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Timna/Timnah*.

⁴² Puzzles/riddles, as well as dream interpretation, being an ancient method of testing worthiness through demonstrated intelligence--as examples, the Daniel and Cyrus discourses (Appendix 3A, II, C(2)(b) and the Zerubbabel “contest” of Darius (Appendix 3A, V, 1A and E).

⁴³ to a “cleft of the rock of Etam”--(possibly an isolated crag about three miles E/SE of Zorah, affording a wide view of the surrounding low hills. A Simeonite enclave city named Etam in Judah territory is connected also with a site SW of Jerusalem, as well as an inclusion under sons of Judah in *1 Chronicles* 4:3 of “the father of Etam,” in the confusing Ephratah/Hur descendancy--Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, A.

⁴⁴ *Judges* 15:11.

Samson left in the middle of the night, divesting the city of its gates as he went.

Philistine rulers then bribed a woman named Delilah of the valley of Sorek (in the same general area east of Timnath/Timnah), and to whom Samson was attracted, to help them capture Samson. Once she had gained his trust, Samson's enemies ambushed him in her room, put out his eyes and imprisoned him in Gaza. At some later point, the Philistines put Samson on display for the crowd's entertainment. Summoning all of his strength, he toppled two middle pillars that supported the structure above him, causing the death of many. Samson also died in the building's collapse. His brothers and all of the house of his father retrieved his body, which was laid to rest in his father's burial ground between Zorah and Eshtaol.

Judges chapters 17 and 18 report that the Danites--still without secure territory--sent out five men from Zorah and Eshtaol to spy land. Crossing over into Ephraim territory they came to the place of one Micah, who had a house of worship. There they encountered a young "Levite from Bethlehem of Judah" whom Micah had hired as a priest. Encouraged by the priest as to their quest, the Danites pursued the land search and settled on Laish, a Sidonian colony in the north but inland and remote from Phoenicia's main coast cities of Sidon and Tyre. Based on the spies' assessment,⁴⁵ 600 Danites from Zorah and Eshtaol readied for war and camped at Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim.

Danites passing over to Ephraim congregated before Micah's house while five representatives entered, took "the graven image and the ephod, and the household idols, and the molten image," and convinced the Levite priest to accompany them. Micah and his flock challenged the Danites but, outnumbered, were warded off. The Danites then proceeded to conquer and sack Laish, after which they rebuilt the city and renamed it Dan. At Laish/Dan, the Danites set up for themselves Micah's graven image(s) "which he had made, all the days was the house of [Tet.] in Shiloh; " and Jonathan [--taken to be the priest priorly unnamed in the account--], the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh [or Moses?⁴⁶], he and his sons were priests for the tribe of Danites until the day of captivity."

The last three chapters of *Judges* (19-21) report events connected to a civil war in which all the other tribes were joined against Benjamin. The time is not specified; it happened "in days those, when king was not in Israel."

The initial incident was as follows. A Leviite "on the far side of the hill country of Ephraim" had an adulterous wife/concubine, a woman of Bethlehem-Judah, who had returned to her father's house. After some time the Leviite, accompanied by a young man, went to retrieve his woman. He was welcomed gracefully both by her and her father.

Five days later the Leviite left for home at evening time with the young woman and his companion, planning to look for that night's lodging in Gibeah of Benjamin. An elder Ephraimite living in Gibeah offered to be their host. While they were at ease in his home some local ne'er-do-wells circled the house and demanded the master bring out the stranger. (It is not clear whether they meant the Leviite or his young male companion, but the text here--especially the host's admonitions to the aggressors--implies they had sodomy in mind.) The host offered to give the brigands his virgin daughter, instead, and/or the Leviite's wife/concubine, to do as they willed. The Leviite's woman was given to them, and they "abused her all night." In the morning she was found dead at the door.

⁴⁵ (a) Micah, Appendix 3B, I; (b) Dan and Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim, Attachment 2A.

⁴⁶ The Hebrew text referenced in this work does show here the consonants for "Manasseh;" it is unclear why the encyclopedia referenced states that it should say "Moses," although Gershom/Gershon, first son of Zipporah and Moses, might fit actual sequencing?

The Leviite brought the body home, cut it in 12 pieces “to the bones,” and “sent her into all the borders of Israel.”⁴⁷ Heads of all the tribes and a large war party assembled at Mizpeh.⁴⁸ When Benjamin refused to turn over the guilty Gibeahans, the other assembled tribes waged war by lots, with Judah first to do battle.

The Benjaminites prevailed in the first two days’ battles, with numerous “Israelite” casualties. The tide turned after the Israelites sought counsel from the chief priest at Bethel (“The ark of the covenant was there and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was standing before it in those days...”⁴⁹) They destroyed the city and “the sword was put” to all Benjaminites, man and beast, and cities set on fire. At war’s end all that remained of Benjamin were 600 men who had fled to desert cliffs, when they remained four months.

Judges 21 reports that all had taken an oath at the Mizpeh assembly that (1) anyone who gave a daughter to Benjamin would be “cursed,” and (2) any Israelites who did not join in the retaliation would be put to death. But in chapter 21 the tenor is changed. Grievous lamentation is described among the involved tribes over the decimation of Benjamin, and they considered how to revive their brother-tribe without breaking the oath.

“Numbering” themselves, they found that Jabesh-Gilead⁵⁰ had not answered the summons to Mizpeh. As had been said, any who did not “surely shall die.” A force was committed to strike Jabesh-Gilead “with the edge of the sword, even the women and little ones...every male, and every [non-virgin] woman.” Four hundred young Jabesh-Gilead virgins were brought back, and they were sent with the Israelite’s peace offering to the 600 Benjaminites surviving at a desert refuge. There were not, however, enough females to go around. A plan was proffered to make up the difference: at an upcoming feast day at Shiloh, the surviving Benjaminites could surprise and capture daughters of Shiloh when they came out to dance. Thus it could be said no daughters had been given voluntarily and no oath broken, with tribal leaders taking it upon themselves to pacify the women’s fathers.

The surviving sons of Benjamin followed the plan, “took women according to their number,” and “returned to their inheritance, built the cities, and lived in them. And went up and down from there the sons of Israel,” then, “each to his tribe, and to his family, and they departed from there, every man to his inheritance. In those days there was no king in Israel, each man the right, in his eyes, did.”

⁴⁷ Saul similarly summoned tribes after a barbaric attack on Jabesh by Nahash, the Ammonite (Appendix 2A, Nahash), by cutting up oxen and sending their pieces throughout the territories with a message, “Whoever does not come out after Saul and Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen.” 2 *Samuel* 11:7.

⁴⁸ Which Mizpeh is not clear; see Mizpeh, etc., Appendix 2A.

⁴⁹ *Judges* 20:26.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 2A, Jabesh-Gilead.

Appendix 1E

SAUL through SOLOMON¹

Toward the end of his career Judge Samuel was petitioned to appoint a king,² and all the families of all the tribes appeared at an assembly Samuel held at Mispah. First he made certain that they understood clearly precisely what a king would demand from his subjects and what serving one fully would involve.

A Benjaminite named Saul was seated "...at the head of the 30 invited ones...at the hall. ... And brought near, Samuel, the tribe of Benjamin by its families, and was taken the family of Matrites, and was taken Saul, the son of Kish, " who was "tallest" of all the people. After speaking of the duties of the kingdom, Samuel "wrote [it] in the book." Some unnamed "worthless sons" were not content with the choice, but "the valiant" who "were touched" returned with Saul to Gibeah.³

King Nahash of Ammon "went up" and besieged Jabesh-Gilead. Jabesh-Gilead men offered Nahash a covenant. Nahash responded to the effect, 'I'll covenant all right!--to take out every man's right eye,' and gave them seven days to make up their minds as to surrender. When news of it got to Saul he cut up oxen pieces and sent them through the territories with a message that men rise to the cause lest such be done to them. Saul numbered his responding force at Bezek. In an ensuing battle the Ammonites were routed. Meanwhile, Philistines hovered in great force at Michmas/Michmash. The people were called to Saul at Gilgal where, despite objection on some parts, Saul's kingship was reconfirmed.⁴

At the start Saul had a force of 3,000. Two thousand were with him in Michmash and the Bethel⁵ hills; 1,000 were with his son, Jonathan, in Benjamin-Gibeah.

Saul with his force crossed the Jordan to Gad-Gilead and waited for Samuel to join them. After waiting seven days the men began to scatter. Samuel finally arrived, but became at odds with Saul for having made an 'illegitimate' offering to [Tet.], and Samuel returned to Gilgal.

Next, Saul, Jonathan and 600 remaining men went to Benjamin-Geba/Gibeah. (Many of Saul's original force had run and joined the Philistine camp.⁶) Saul's remaining men were without swords. The Philistines still were camped at Michmas. Without Saul's knowledge, Jonathan and Saul's armor-bearer overtook a 20-man Philistine outpost.

At that time Ahijah was wearing the high priest raiment or "ephod," and at some point Saul had Ahijah bring the Ark into Saul's camp. As they were consulting, a battle cry arose in the Philistine camp; Saul told Ahijah, "Draw back your hand," and with a cry led his men into

¹ This material primarily is from *1* and *2 Samuel* with citations provided at regular intervals, augmented by *1 Kings* and *1 Chronicles* as noted. Refer also to (a) Appendix 3B, I, Samuel, and (b) Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of," part III (Timetable as Estimatedly Derivable, regarding chronology, Samuel to David).

² Per *1 Samuel* 12:12, the aggression of King Nahash of Ammon prompted this move; see Appendix 2A, "Nahash."

³ (a) See Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of;" (b) *1 Samuel* 9:22; (c) only use of *Matrites*; derivation unknown; some versions have "Matri;" (d) *Gibeah*, see Appendix 2A, Geba, etc.; (e) to *1 Samuel* 10:25.

⁴ (a) Refer to latter portion of Appendix 1D, II for civil warring events of uncertain chronology concerning Jabesh-Gilead; (b) two uses of a site named *Bezek*, in this instance tentatively placed about 13 miles NE of Shechem (it has been debated that the other use, at *Judges* 1:3-7, may be the same site); (c) *Michmas/Michmash* site identified with a hill about 7 miles NE of Jerusalem; (d) to *1 Samuel* 11:12; (e) Appendix 2A, "Gilgal;" (f) *1 Samuel* 13 begins, "A son of a year [was Saul] when he became king, and two years he reigned." It is not known whether the term, "a son of a year" is an error in reporting his actual age or dates assumption of particular status--refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, part III at (g).

⁵ See Appendix 2A, Bethel.

⁶ As revealed at *1 Samuel* 14:21.

battle.⁷ As the fighting progressed, Saul was rejoined by all the men who previously had turned coat and or scattered. The Philistines were beaten back to Aijalon. Saul left off pursuing them, then; but war with the Philistines was “heavy all the days of Saul.” He also fought “all around,” with Moab, Ammon, Edom and the kings of Zobah, as well as Amalek.⁸

Samuel had told Saul to strike Amalek without mercy. Before the battle with Amalek, Saul warned “the Kenite” to get out from the middle of Amalek territory lest he/they be destroyed, too. Samuel learned, however, that Saul did not destroy everything of Amalek and had taken pity on King Agag. (Before returning to Gilgal, Saul went to Carmel where “he set up for himself *a hand*.”) A displeased Samuel had King Agag brought to him and cut Agag into pieces. Samuel returned to Ramah; Saul, to Gibeah.

Samuel next went to Bethlehem. His arrival caused its elders to “tremble,” until he reassured them he had come in peace. There he selected and ‘anointed’ (Jesse -) David “in the midst of his brothers.” Members of Saul’s court subsequently commended David to him and he sent for the young man. David very quickly proved his talents and became Saul’s armor-bearer.¹⁰

Prior to joining the court, David’s father had sent him with provisions for Saul’s force, when it was pitched opposite Philistines, across the valley of Elah in the vicinity of Socoh.¹¹ While David was there the Philistine’s Goliath issued a challenge to the Saul men, and David urged them to take it. When the report reached Saul, he summoned David and gave approval. David downed Goliath with a slingshot and rock and then cut off Goliath’s head with Goliath’s own sword.

Abner (Saul’s army chief) and David returned to Saul with Goliath’s head in David’s hand. Saul set David over the army. Jonathan became David’s apparel and armor bearer, and fast friend.¹²

As David’s growing popularity and power became obvious, Saul offered his daughter, Merab, in a marriage alliance. David was not inclined immediately to accept. (Merab then instead was given as a wife to Adriel the Meholathite.¹³) When later after a battle David brought 200 Philistine foreskins to Saul, Saul gave David another, younger daughter--Michal.

As David continued to achieve independent victories, a competition brewed between him and Saul. It finally reached a point where Saul separated himself with 1000 men. Jonathan learned that his father wanted to do away with David, told it to David, and then convincingly interceded with Saul so that Saul and David temporarily were reunited. However, after a new triumph of David’s over Philistines, Saul dispatched henchmen to kill David. Wife Michal warned David and earnestly assisted his escape, lying to her father that David had threatened to kill her if she didn’t.

David went to stay with Samuel at “Naioth in Ramah.” Saul sent three messengers to “prophesy” before Samuel but finally went, himself, to plead his position in person.¹⁴

⁷ (a) *Ahijah*, see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, Eli Descendancy; (b) it is not said from where the Ark was brought; but this seems to be after its first capture by the Philistines, its return by them, and its eventual arrival at Kirjath-Jearim, where it rested 20 years--see Appendix 2A, *Ark*.

⁸ *Aijalon*, Appendix 1D, II, *at and in* fn. 38; (b) *also see* Appendix 1A, “Aram-Zobah.”

⁹ (a) *Kenite*, Appendix 1F; (b) *a hand* has been translated “a monument;” (c) Appendix 2A, *Carmel*; (d) to *1 Samuel* 16.

¹⁰ (a) See Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, “Jesse, Descendancy of;” (b) anointment with oil was a form of confirmation--see Appendix 4D, “Some Terms of Interest,” *Anoint*; (c) Samuel’s earlier, private anointment of Saul is at *1 Samuel* 9:27-10:1.

¹¹ See Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, fn. 19.

¹² To *1 Samuel* 18.

¹³ See Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, “Saul, Descendancy of, *at and in* fn. 19.”

¹⁴ (a) “Naioth” is unknown; Ramathaim-zophim/Arimathea was Samuel’s hometown (see Appendix 2A, “Ramah); (b) definition

David pressed Jonathan about Saul's intentions. Jonathan agreed to search out the matter, but first he elicited a covenant from David that, if in fact Saul was plotting to kill David, David and Jonathan would part peaceably, and David never would cut off Jonathan's house. Jonathan devised a plan whereby he would approach his father while David hid outside, and the manner in which Jonathan called to a servant would convey Saul's position relative to David.

When Saul questioned Jonathan why David was not present at table, Jonathan gave him an excuse David had directed--that, at David's request, Jonathan allowed him to make a family visit to Bethlehem. Angry, Saul chastized Jonathan for placing his own inheritance at risk in favor of David and commanded Jonathan to bring David to him. Instead, Jonathan signaled David that, yes, Saul decidedly was set against him. Jonathan secretly met with David the following morning and, disobeying his father's command, let David leave based on their covenant.¹⁵

David, who had no weapon of his own, went to Nob on the ruse he was on the king Saul's private business. He convinced priest Ahimelech to give him Goliath's sword, which had been in safekeeping there.¹⁶ David's words and actions at Nob were observed by Saul's chief shepherd, Doeg the Edomite.

David moved on to Gath, thinking to solicit aid from its King (Maach-) Achish. When Gath's leaders greeted him with suspicion, David decided to behave as if he had gone harmlessly mad and retreated to a cave at Adullam. There, joined by his brothers and "every man in distress," he gathered a force of 400. He next went to Mizpeh of Moab, solicited its king and obtained refuge there for his mother and father, where they remained all the time that David was quartered at Adullam.¹⁷

Philistines at the time were garrisoned at Bethlehem,¹⁸ and a prophet by the name of Gad urged David to enter Judah territory.¹⁹ Thirty sons of Benjamin and Judah, led by Amasai,²⁰ also joined David.²¹

Saul heard about David's whereabouts and was told by Doeg what had transpired at Nob. Saul sent for Ahimelech and all the priests of his house. Saul's other "servants" refused Saul's command to kill all the priests; but "Doeg the Edomite...fell upon the priests...and killed in day that 85 men bearing an ephod linen. And Nob, the city of priests, he struck with the edge of the sword from man even to women, from child even to suckling...." Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's sons, managed to escape to David, who, when he heard of the killings, acknowledged he had expected Doeg would report to Saul.²²

of both Hebrew and Greek words rendered as *prophecy* includes "to speak/speak out before" (*Aid*, p. 1347); *1 Chronicles* 25 contains additional uses of *prophecy*.

¹⁵ (a) The order of the pertinent verses would indicate David kept up appearances at Saul's court even after the attempt on his life from which Michal helped him escape; (b) to *1 Samuel* 21.

¹⁶ *In re* the moving of the Shiloh tabernacle to Nob see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, part III (g). (The Nob region, also referred to as "the city of the priests," has been placed a short distance N/NE of Jerusalem based on a summary of villages at *Nehemiah* 11:31, 32 and *Isaiah* 10:28-32, which would be in Benjamin territory.) It cannot be pinpointed exactly what the high priests did during the factoring, with Ahimelech's son, Ahijah, being left at Shiloh.

¹⁷ (a) *Gath*, Appendix 1D.I, fn. 14 (j); (b) this at *1 Samuel* 27:2 is the only use of "Maach;" at *1 Kings* 2:39 *Achish* is given as a son of "Maachah"--see Appendix 1A, IB, *Maacah/Maachah, Individual Uses*; (c) Appendix 2A, *Mizpeh, etc.*; (d) *Adullam*, see Introductory Summary, fn. 24.

¹⁸ *1 Chronicles* 11:15.

¹⁹ Many Gadites had joined up with David. (Gad "the seer" wrote a book of the acts of David. *1 Chronicles* 29:29)

²⁰ This Amasai may be the same person as *Amasa*, who appears later in this narrative; refer to Appendix 2A, *Amasa/Amasai*, and Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, "Jesse, Descendancy of," under Abigail.

²¹ *1 Chronicles* 12:16.

²² (a) "Servant," throughout *Kings*, denotes various types of service--military men; princes attendant to a king; household

The Philistines moved about nine miles west of Hebron to Keilah; David and his men fought them and won. Before Saul could marshal a force to confront David there, David--now with a force of 600--was back in wilderness strongholds. Jonathan met up with David in a forest, assured him he would not tell David's whereabouts to Saul, and they again made a covenant: Jonathan would be second to David once David was firmly established as king.

Men of Siph, a southern city, went up to Saul and urged that he go with them after David. Saul set out. With Saul in pursuit, David and his men evaded him by changing locations, until Saul was detoured by a message of a Philistine incursion elsewhere. David returned to strongholds at Engedi.²³

Saul next took 3000 men and went after David at Engedi. There they had a private encounter, during which David easily could have killed Saul but asserted his hand would not be on the king. Saul acknowledged David certainly was destined himself to become king, and he asked David not to cut off Saul seed or destroy Saul's name. David so swore and they parted.²⁴

Samuel died.

David sent men to ask provisions from wealthy (Caleb....) Nabal of Carmel, who had tended flocks in the Maon area.²⁵ When Nabal refused, David and 400 of his men girded themselves and set out for Carmel. Word of their approach reached Nabal's wife, Abigail. Abigail loaded supplies and secretly took them to David with a plea to spare her husband, to which David agreed.

"And it was about ten days, that smote [Tet.] Nabal, and he died. And heard David that was dead Nabal.... ... And came the servants of David to Abigail to Carmel, and spoke to her, saying, 'David has sent us to you to take you to him for a wife.' And she arose and bowed herself, her face to the earth, and said, 'Behold, your handmaid.'" "And [? + ? -] Ahinoam had David [also] taken, from Jezreel, and they became even both of them to him wives; and Saul gave Michal his daughter, the wife of David, to Phalti/Palti the son of Laish who from Gallim."²⁶

David told himself the best thing he could do in view of Saul's vengeance was to escape to Philistine land. This time King Achish of Gath accepted David and gave him Ziklag, where David would live 16 months with his two wives.²⁷

David next is reported as destroying the Geshurites, Gezrites and Amalekites ("former inhabitants of the land as you come to Shur and Egypt"), leaving none alive to report back. David told Achish he had been warring against the "south of Judah, Jerahmeel and Kenites," and Achish became convinced that David was detested by all of his own people. Philistines gathered again for war, and Achish asked David for assurance that David and his battalion would join in. David gave it, and Achish appointed David "keeper of his head forever."

servants; (b) *1 Samuel* 22:18ff.; (c) *Abiathar*, see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of."

²³ Possibly 24 miles SE of Jerusalem on the shore of the Dead Sea.

²⁴ To *1 Samuel* 25. The encounter between David and Saul is described as Saul's entering a cave "to cover his feet," where David emerged from the recesses, came near enough to "cut off the skirt of the robe" of the unwitting Saul, but spared his life.

²⁵ Possibly eight and one-half miles S of Hebron near the "second" Carmel (Appendix 2A, *Carmel*).

²⁶ *1 Samuel* 25:38 ff. (a) *Ahinoam* also was the name of Saul's wife (refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment , Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of," as well as Attachment 3, "David, Descendancy of;"; (b) *Jezreel*, Appendix 2A; (c) *Laish*, Appendix 2A, *Dan*; (d) a *Paltiel*, only--App. 1C, fn. 48; (e) Gallim was perhaps three miles NE of Jerusalem.

²⁷ Parts of *1 Samuel* 26, as well as this chapter 27, are repetitive. Chapter 26 also describes a second instance where David could have killed Saul: David and Abishai sneaked down to Saul's camp one night when Saul was following David with the Ziph men. David restrained Abishai, who was ready to kill Saul. Instead, David took Saul's spear and water skin, later called across to let Saul know how close they had been, and taunted Abner for his laxness in protecting Saul. Afterward, Saul "returned to his place."

The Philistines camped in Shunam. Saul gathered “Israel” to a camp at Mount Gilboa, a few miles to the south of Shunam. In the process, Saul consulted a woman diviner who called up the ghost of Samuel, who in turn informed Saul that his power had gone from him and his kingdom was passing to David. Next it is reported that “Israel” pitched closer, at Jezreel, while the Philistines gathered at Aphek, with David’s battalion at the rear of the Philistines. As they proceeded toward Jezreel, other rulers of the Philistine axis objected to David and his troop, which forced King Achish to send David and his men back. At this point Manassehites “fell to” David but then did not “help”--perhaps because the Philistines dismissed him from the battle.²⁸

David discovered that while he had been away Amalekites had attacked in the south, burned Ziklag, and taken all the women and children. In pursuit, David came across an Egyptian servant that had been with the Amalekites, and he showed David the location of the enemy camp. David struck, retrieved everyone who had been taken from Ziklag, and seized other goods. Upon his return to Ziklag he sent shares of plunder to “the elders of Judah” in “all the places where had gone up and down there, David--he and his men.”²⁹

The Philistines conquered Saul at Mt. Gilboa, killing his sons Jonathan, Abinadab and Malchishua. Saul, hit by arrows, fell on his own sword when his armor bearer was unable to follow Saul’s command to finish him off. The Philistines found Saul and his sons the next day, when they returned to strip the dead. They decapitated Saul and hung his and his sons’ bodies on the wall of Beth-Shan. Men of Jabesh-Gilead heard about it and traveled all night to recover the bodies, which they buried “under the oak” in Jabesh-Gilead. Men in the valley and beyond the Jordan fled, seeing that the cause was lost; and the Philistines took possession of the abandoned cities.³⁰

The report of David’s return to Ziklag, which commences *2 Samuel*, differs from the preceding account as to Saul’s death. A youth who described himself as an Amalekite from Saul’s camp informed David that he had found Saul fallen but alive; Saul asked the youth to finish him off, and he did. The youth had Saul’s crown and bracelet, which he gave to David. (David had this messenger killed.)

David moved his household and men to Hebron, from where he would “reign” seven years, six months. The men of Judah “anointed” him king over the “house of Judah.”³¹ Abner, Saul’s uncle or cousin,³² who remained in command of Saul’s army, crossed over to Mahanaim with Saul’s 40-year-old son, Ish-bosheth, called ruler over the Ashurites, Jezreelites, Ephraimites, Benjaminites and all “Israel.” (This “reign” of Ish-bosheth would last two years.)

Ish-bosheth’s servants under Abner met with David’s servants under (Zeruiah + ? -) Joab, at the pool of Gibeon (/at the “Field of Knives, which in Gibeon”). Combined versions appear to leapfrog in sequence, ordered here as follows:

²⁸ (a) *Shunam*, in Issachar territory, SE of the Sea of Galilee near Jezreel; (b) an interchanging use of “Israel” is noticeable in this period; although it at times appears all-encompassing, frequently its use and the term, “Israelites,” evidently refer specifically to forces commanded by Saul; e.g. the two paragraphs preceding fn. 37; (c) *1 Samuel* 28; (d) *Aphek*, Appendix 2A; (e) Manassehite involvement, *1 Chronicles* 12:19 (also listed are Manassehite chiefs and valiant warriors).

²⁹ David sent shares to his “friends,” in “...Bethel, Ramoth of the Negev [Appendix 2A, *Ramah*, etc.], Jattir [SW of Hebron], Aroer [Appendix 2A], Siphmoth [unknown], Eshtemoa [possibly nine miles S of Hebron], Rachal/Racal [appears in another ms. as “Carmel”], Chorashan [unknown], Athach [uncertain], and Hebron.” (to *1 Samuel* 31)

³⁰ (a) *1 Chronicles* 10:1; (b) *Beth-Shean/Beth-Shan*, Appendix 2A; (c) to *1 Samuel* 31:8; it is not correct at this point in sequencing that “...all [Saul’s] house, together they died,” as stated at *1 Chronicles* 10:6. As will be noted later, some Saul descendants still were left.

³¹ Over the period leading to unification under David, “Judah” and “Israel” already emerge as divided (with Benjamin in-between), presaging the permanent split that would occur after Solomon.

³² See Saul Descendancy regarding this contradiction.

Abner proposed a match of 12 men from each side. (Zeruiah-) Asahel, despite being armorless, went after Abner. Abner repeatedly tried to make Asahel leave off but ultimately killed him. (Abner almost plead with Asahel, who it appears he met that very day, not wanting to inflict needless pain on Joab. However, Asahel--although without armor--kept advancing; Abner remonstrated Asahel at least to take a shield from one of the nearby men, before finally killing him.) With the Benjamin men gathered behind Abner, Joab and (Zeruiah-) Abishai made to advance on them; but Abner reasoned with Joab against shedding more blood, and Joab called it off. "And was the battle very hard that day, and beaten were Abner and the men of Israel before the servants of David."³³ After burying Asahel "in the burying place of his father, Bethlehem," Joab and Abishai returned to Hebron.

Sons were born to David in Hebron.³⁴ In Saul's household, Abner "went in" to Rizpah, Saul's "concubine," thereby usurping Ish-bosheth's inherited kingly power. Ish-bosheth sent to David, soliciting a covenant. David answered, "First bring to me Michal." Ish-bosheth retrieved Michal from Phalti/Palti and delivered her. (It is not said whether Saul's five surviving grandchildren were with her at that time.³⁵) Abner attended a following feast at Hebron, where he pledged to bring all "Israel" and Benjamin over to David.

Joab, arriving later at Hebron, objected vehemently when he heard of the David/Abner pact. He secretly summoned Abner back and killed him. David publically deplored Joab's act but reconciled it on the basis of Asahel's murder. He gave Abner an honorable burial. Ish-bosheth, Saul's son, upon hearing of Abner's death, "dropped his hands; and all Israel were terrified." Two of Ish-bosheth's captains, Baanah and Rechab, sons of (Benjamin...-) Rimmon of Beeroth, assassinated Ish-bosheth when he was taking a midday siesta. (They cut off his head and brought it to David). David had Ish-bosheth's assassins killed.³⁶

Thousands (--all the "Israelites"/"principal men of the Hebrew people" and their rulers) joined with David, at Hebron. They came variously armed with weapons and copious supplies: (a) 6,800 of Judah ("who had [until now] continued with Saul's son"); (b) 7,100 of Simeon; 4,600 of Levi with "Jehoiada the leader to the Aaronites, and with him 3,700 (4,700 of Levi "having Jehoiada for their leader"); (c) "Zadok, a young man mighty in valor; and the house of his father captains 22" ("Zadok the high priest, with 22 captains of his kindred"); (d) Benjamin brothers of Saul, 3,000; "for until now most of them had kept allegiance to the house of Saul" ("of Benjamin the armed men were 4,000; but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them"); (e) of Ephraim, 20,800; (f) of the half-tribe of Manasseh, 18,000; (g) of Issachar..."their heads 200 and all their brothers at their command" ("of Issachar came 200...but of armed men 20,000"); (h) of Zebulon, 50,000 ("This was the only tribe that came universally in to David"); (i) of Naphtali, 1000 chiefs and with them 37,000 ("eminent men and rulers were 1,000...and the tribe itself...being (in a manner) innumerable"); (j) of Danites, 28,600 (27,600); (k) of Asher, 40,000; (l) "And from beyond the Jordan: of the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh...120,000 ("Out of the two tribes that were beyond the Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh...120,000).³⁷

The Hebron assembly established 30-year-old David in his kingdom "with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the

³³ Also 2 Samuel 2. (a) *Manahaim* location is uncertain; two sites have been advanced--the first some 8 miles SE of Jabesh and the second some 15 miles south of it; (b) Other mss. read "Geshurites" (Appendix 1A under *Aram*; 2A, *Geshur*) or "Asherites" (1F, *Asher/Asherites* and *Ashur*; (c) *Zeruiah*, see Jesse Descendancy.

³⁴ See David Descendancy.

³⁵ See Saul Descendancy.

³⁶ To 2 Samuel 4; 2 Samuel 4:1ff.

³⁷ The second readings are per *Josephus AJ VII.II.2*.

people removed and came to Jerusalem,”³⁸ from where David would reign 33 years “over all Israel and Judah.” “[W]ent David and all Israel [to] Jerusalem, it Jebus and there Jebusites dwellers of the land.” David captured Zion of the Jebusites, lived in its fortress and built the city all around. (David had said, whoever struck the Jebusites first would be captain of his army; Joab went up and was victorious.)³⁹

David then proposed to an assembly that they send to gather all the brothers remaining in the land and also retrieve the Ark. A company went to “Baalath”/Kirjath-Jearim to accompany the Ark from Abinadab’s house. An interference at the Nachon/Nacon/Chidon threshing floor, which resulted in the death of (Abinadab) Uzza/Uzzah, caused David to leave the Ark instead at the house of Obed-Edom, the Gittite, for three months.⁴⁰

In Jerusalem, David took concubines and more wives, and had more children.⁴¹ King Hiram of Tyre sent cedar and carpenters to build David a house. David struck the Philistines, who had spread out in the valley of Rephaim; when the Philistines assembled a second time, David struck them from Geba to Gezer.⁴² The ark finally was brought to Jerusalem.⁴³ Michal, watching a jubilant David, “despised him in her heart.”

David eventually prevailed over the Philistines and took “the bridle of the mother city,” Gath, from their hands. David also struck and overcame Moabites. Two major David strikes were against (Rehob-) Hadadezer, then king of Zobah. Hadadezer, with Syrian assistance, sought to restore his hand at the Euphrates River. David routed Hadadezer in the Valley of Salt and put garrisons in “Aram of Damascus” and in “all Edom;” and the Syrians became tributary to David. King Toi/Tou of Hamath sent his son, Joram/Hadoram, to David with precious metal objects and a message of peace.⁴⁴

David now had Joab over the army; (Ahilud-) Jehoshaphat as historian; (Ahitub-) Zadok and (Abiathar-) Ahimelech⁴⁵ as chief priests; Seraiah⁴⁶ as scribe; and (Jehoiada-) Benaiah commanding the Cherethites and Pelethites.⁴⁷ David’s sons [unnamed] were “priests” or “the heads at the hand of the king.”⁴⁸

David inquired as to any survivors of the house of Saul. He was informed by Ziba, a servant of Saul, that Jonathan’s surviving issue--Saul son Mephi-bosheth and his son,

³⁸ *Loc.cit.*

³⁹ *1 Chronicles* 11:4.

⁴⁰ (a) *Nachon/Nacon/Chidon*, unknown; (b) Other uses of *Uzza/Uzzah*, (1) (Benjamin...lapse /Ehud?-) Uzza and Ahihud (see chart, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, I. Benjamin Descendancy, following fn. 4); (2) (Levi-Merari-Shimei-) Uzza (*1 Chronicles* 6:29); (3) “Garden of Uzza,” Appendix 1C, fn. 30; (4) *Uzza*, head of a post-Babylon “Nethinim” family (*Nethinim*, Appendix 3B, II, fn. 48); (5) a “Temple of *Uzza*,” named on an ostracum (inscribed clay) list of “tax-exempt sacred buildings in Maqqedah, a site about 15 miles west of Hebron,” along with a “Temple of Yaho” and “Temple of Nabu [which two respectively contain the Hebrew and Chaldaean “theophoric element”—refer to Appendix 4D, Tetragrammeton—while “Uzza is a north Arabian deity, well known from north Arabian and Nabatean inscriptions, [which] had a temple in Petra.”]. *Biblical Archaeology Review*, July/August 2004, Vol. 30, No. 4; pp. 40, 43. (c) *Obed-Edom*, Appendix 2A; (d) “Gittite”, see fn. 69.

⁴¹ Refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, “David, Descendancy of.”

⁴² (a) *Rephaim*, traditionally identified as an approximately three-mile plain descending SW from Jerusalem toward Bethlehem; (b) *Gezer* has been placed about 30 miles SW of Jerusalem toward the Mediterranean coast; (c) through *2 Samuel* chapters 5 and 6, some passages being paralleled in *1 Chronicles* 11, 13 and 14.

⁴³ The celebration and its attendants are described in *1 Chronicles* 15 and 16.

⁴⁴ References for this paragraph, *1 Chronicles* 18:3-10 and *2 Samuel* 8; (a) Saul fought Zobah-- at fn. 8; (b) *Adoram/Hadoram*, see Appendix 2A, *Adoniram/Adoram/Hadoram/Joram*.

⁴⁵ A conflict of text data commences here as to the Eli line parentage; see Eli Descendancy.

⁴⁶ *1 Chronicles* 18:16 shows “Shavsha.”

⁴⁷ Appendix 2A, *Cherethites and Pelethites*.

⁴⁸ Per *2 Samuel* 8:9 and *1 Chronicles* 18:17, respectively.

Micah⁴⁹ -- were with (Ammiel-) Machir in Lo-debar.⁵⁰ David sent for Mephi-bosheth and Micah, gave them “all that belonged to Saul,” and established them and Ziba in a residence.

Ammon’s King Nahash⁵¹ died and was succeeded by his son, Hanun. Ambassadors that David sent to Hanun met with humiliation. Hanun hired forces⁵² to fight the “Israelites.” Joab and Abishai divided their command of David’s forces, respectively, against the ‘Syrians’ and Ammonites. When Joab prevailed first over the Syrians, the Ammonites fled.

The next foray reported is another by Hadadezer/Hadarezer, joined by Aramaeans from beyond the “river”/“Jordan.” David called out all “Israel,” and Hadadezer was vanquished. “All the kings” who were “servants of Hadarezer” made peace with and served David--and “feared, Aram/Syria, to help anymore the sons of Ammon.”⁵³

“And made David a name when he returned from his striking Aram in the Valley of Salt, 18,000 men, and he put in Edom garrisons; in all Edom he put garrisons and became all Edom servants to David....” A parallel reading is that [Zeruiah-] Abishai “struck 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt and he put garrisons, etc.”⁵⁴

Subsequently, “At the time when go out the messengers”--“...at the return of the year, at the time go forth the kings”,⁵⁵ David sent out Joab and the army, which laid siege at the Ammonite capital of Rabbah.

There also was war again with the Philistines--in Gezer. Israel’s Sibbechai the Hushathite⁵⁶ struck one Sippai of the “children of the giant.” In other battles, (Jair-) Elhanan struck Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite; (Shimea-) Jonathan, David’s brother, struck yet another unnamed giant offspring in Gath.⁵⁷

David, abiding at Jerusalem, took for himself (Ammiel/Eliam-) Bath-sheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite of David’s military.⁵⁸ David had sexual relations with Bath-sheba, after which she returned to her home; at some point she became pregnant.

David had Uriah brought from the Rabbah front on the pretext of bringing news from Joab. Uriah refused David’s suggestion to take military leave and spend some time at home. Uriah said he could not, on principle, when his brother-soldiers remained in the thick of things.

David sent a letter for Joab back with Uriah to Joab, instructing Joab to arrange for Uriah to die in battle. Joab caused some of Rabbah’s men to be drawn out of the city and in the ensuing fight Uriah was killed. After Bath-sheba’s period of mourning was past, David sent for her “and she became to him for a wife,” “and bore a son to him....”⁵⁹

⁴⁹ See Saul Descendancy, Appendix 2A, Attachment 2.

⁵⁰ (a) Of the two text mentions of Bath-Sheba’s father, one is as “Ammiel” and one is as “Eliam,” words that employ the same letters but in different sequence; see Appendix 2A, Ammiel/Eliam; (b) Appendix 2A, Lo-debar.

⁵¹ This Nahash traditionally is taken as different Nahash from the one who befriended David; *but see* Appendix 2A, “Nahash.”

⁵² 20,000 Aramaeans from Beth-rehob (a plain, perhaps a small kingdom, in the vicinity of Laish/Dan) and Zobah, and 1000 men of the King of Maacah (see Appendix 1A) and of Tob (see Appendix 1D.II, fn. 33). *1 Chronicles* 19:6 describes them as being men “from Syria of Naharaim [*Aram-naharaim*, see Section One, at fn. 4] and Syria of Maacah and from Zobah.”

⁵³ To *2 Samuel* 11. Parallel words occur at *1 Chronicles* 19.

⁵⁴ *1 Samuel* 8:13 and *1 Chronicles* 18:12-13, respectively.

⁵⁵ *2 Samuel* 11 and *1 Chronicles* 20:11.

⁵⁶ (a) (? + Hur/?Father of Etam-Ezer-) *Hushah* (*1 Chronicles* 4:4; see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 8).

⁵⁷ *1 Chronicles* 20:4.

⁵⁸ “Uriah the Hittite, most likely from the Jebusite aristocracy of Jerusalem...may have been the crown prince or, at least, one of the military commanders of the last Jebusite king, who later came to serve David.” *Mazar*, p. 129.

⁵⁹ To *2 Samuel* 12.

“Nathan”⁶⁰ chastized David severely for his actions. The baby died. Subsequently, Bath-Sheba gave birth to Solomon. (Nathan called Solomon “Jedadiah.”)

Joab, who had captured Rabbah’s water supply, summoned David to come and take the city. David obtained much spoil from Rabbah and took control of all Ammonite cities and people. David “...put them to the saw and to sharp tools of iron, and to axes of iron, and caused them to go over into the brick-kiln; and so he did to all the cities of the sons of Ammon. And returned David and all the people to Jerusalem.”⁶¹

David’s son, Amnon, seduced Tamar,⁶² his half-sister (taken as Absalom’s full sister), and then dismissed her. (Amnon allegedly was goaded into the act by Solomons “cousin,” Jehonadab/Jonathan.) Tamar dwelled with Absalom, who told her to keep silent. David heard about the incident and was angered, but no action was taken. Absalom hated Amnon but held his silence. Then, while “all the king’s sons” were out on a sheep-shearing trip, Absalom had Amnon killed. David first was given to believe that Absalom had caused all of his half-brothers to be killed, until (Shemiah-) Jonadab conveyed to him the truth.

Absalom went to his maternal grandfather, (Ammihud-) Talmai, King of Geshur,⁶³ and remained there three years. In the interim, Joab interceded on Absalom’s behalf. David finally let Absalom return to Jerusalem but would not see him. Eventually, after two years of effort on Joab’s part, Absalom was granted an audience with his father, and David made peace with him. “And were born to Absalom three sons and daughter, one,...Tamar...a woman of beautiful form;” it is not said at what points in Absalom’s life his children were born. “[L]ike Absalom not there was a man handsome in all Israel”--the weight of his head hair, which he cut at the end of each year, was “200 shekels by the weight king’s.”⁶⁴

Absalom cultivated power. One of David’s counselors, Ahithopel of Giloh, backed Absalom. At the end of forty years Absalom had moved to Hebron. His threatening power and popular position were such that the aging David was caused to seek refuge outside Jerusalem. David took his wives, but not his concubines, and crossed the Kidron brook “toward the way of the wilderness.”⁶⁵

Initially David was accompanied by Zadok and by Levites bearing the Ark. But then he caused Zadok, (Zadok-) Ahimaaz, and (Abiathar-) Jonathan to return with the Ark to the city and abide there, in order to forward word to him as the situation developed. David also assigned Hushai the Archite to remain at court as an informant.⁶⁶

When David “had passed on a little from the top,” Ziba met him with supplies and told him that Mephi-bosheth had gone to Jerusalem, intending to reclaim his father Saul’s kingdom. Near Bahurim (calculated to have been a short distance northeast of Bethlehem), David was taunted and stoned by (Benjamin...Gera-⁶⁷) Shimei, “a man of the family of Saul’s house.” Shimei cursed David and declared that Absalom would have the kingdom. Abishai would have killed Shimei then and there, but David stayed his hand.

⁶⁰ (a) The baby was “smote,” became ill and died after seven days; (b) concerning “Nathan” identity, *refer to* volume two Introductory Summary *at and following* fn. 11.

⁶¹ 2 Samuel 12:31.

⁶² See Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, “David, Descendancy of.”

⁶³ See Appendix 1A.

⁶⁴ 2 Samuel 14; Absalom’s line is included with David Descendancy.

⁶⁵ (a) Ahithopel (only use of the name) may have been Bath-Sheba’s grandfather; *refer to* Appendix 2A, Ammiel/Eliam); (b) Giloh’s location isn’t specified; some place it about seven miles N/NW of Hebron); (c) the point from which the 40-year period is measured is not given.

⁶⁶ Only use; has been associated with the Bethel area.

⁶⁷ See exiled Gera, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, Benjamin Descendancy.

At Jerusalem, Absalom had Ahithopel swear allegiance. A tent was pitched on the roof of David's house, and "in went Absalom to the concubines, his father's, before all the eyes of Israel."⁶⁸ Ahithopel strove to win over "all the elders of Israel," and he pressed Absalom to give him a force to strike David. Solomon instead took Hushai's counsel, that it would be wiser to wait until an all-"Israel" force was assembled. Hushai told Zadok and Abiathar of how he had managed temporarily to intervene in Ahithopel's plotting. Word was taken to David. Ahithopel committed suicide. (Jonathan and Ahimaaz eluded Absalom henchmen by hiding in a well at Bahurim.)

David crossed the Jordan at night and went to Mahanaim, where he received provisions from (Nahash-) Shobi of Rabbah, (Ammiel-) Machir of Lo-Debar, and Barzillai the Gileadite from Rogelim. Eighty-year-old Barzillai, "a very great man...sustained the king as he abode in Mahanaim." David offered Barzillai a place with him in Jerusalem; Barzillai graciously declined. Meanwhile, Absalom's camp was established in Gilead with Amasa as chief. David's force was divided in thirds under Abishai, Ittai the Gittite, and Joab. David instructed his officers to deal gently with Absalom.⁶⁹

The battle took place in the "forest of Ephraim, and were smitten there the people of *Israel*." "...*Israel* [had] camped with Absalom in the land of Gilead."⁷⁰ When Joab and his attendants came upon Absalom, who had lost his mule and was caught in a tree, they killed him. Joab sent word to David via Cushite/the Cushite. (Ahimaaz pleaded with Joab to let him take the message; Joab denied the request; Ahimaaz ran ahead anyway but, although he reached David before the Cushite, he then told David he did not know what transpired and waited to let the Cushite tell David.) David grieved deeply for Absalom. Joab took David to task, made him collect himself, and caused him to sit in the "gate" (it is presumed, of Gilgal, since David's return is not reported until following verses), where "all the people" came in before the king." Meanwhile, "*Israel* had fled each one to his tents."⁷¹

David sent Abiathar and Zadok to the elders of Judah to ask, "Why are you the last to bring back [my] house?," and to Amasa, "My bone and my flesh, you; and why are you the last to bring back the king?"

Judah men met David at Gilgal⁷² to bring him back over the Jordan. David spared Shimei and his backers, contrary to Abishai's advice that Shimei should be killed. Mephibosheth came supplicatingly to David, and David told him and Ziba to divide their [Saul's] land between them. David blessed Barzillai, who graciously declined to accompany David but offered "Chimham" in his place. "[A]nd Chimham crossed with [David] and all the people of *Judah*. And they brought over the king, and also half of the people of *Israel*." But then (Benjamin... Bichri-) Sheba blew his horn--"Is not for us a portion in David...each man to his tents, O *Israel*!"--"and every man of *Israel*" went up from following David, going after Sheba. (The "Israelites" were distressed, because "Judah is stealing the king away and also in David [we] more than you. ... And was word of the men of Judah more than the word of the men of *Israel*."⁷³)

⁶⁸ The public conquest of a downed ruler's women anciently was a common form of confirming victory.

⁶⁹ (a) Appendix 2A, *Nahash*; also here at fn. 2; (b) *Barzillai*, see Saul Descendancy, fn. 21; before David died he exhorted Solomon "to do kindness" to the sons of Barzillai, the Gileadite, and have them "among those eating at [the king's] table." *1 Kings* 2:7; (c) *Rogelim*, placed tentatively about 16 miles SE of the Sea of Galilee; (d) *Gittite*, Appendix 2A; one of David's "mighty men" was "Ithai/Ittai, son of Rebai of Gibeah of the sons of Benjamin"--Appendix 2B.

⁷⁰ *2 Samuel* 17:26; italics supplied.

⁷¹ (a) Italics supplied. (b) Although the fate of Absalom's children (as well as the time of their births) is not given, a comment reported after his death relates that (at some point before) he had set a pillar in the "King's Valley," saying, "...for...is not to me a son for the sake of remembering my name." *2 Samuel* 18:18.

⁷² Logically this would be the Gilgal believed to be on the eastern outskirts of Jericho.

⁷³ To *2 Samuel* 20. (a) *Chimham* is used one other time, as a lodging place (*Jeremiah* 41:17); (b) Only use of *Bichri*; however, "Bichrite" is given as "Berite"/Beraite in one version--refer to Benjamin Descendancy, *Beriah*; (c) *Sheba*, Appendix 2A; (d)

On his return to Jerusalem, David shut up the ten concubines “in widowhood” for the rest of their days.⁷⁴

David sent Abishai, Joab’s men, the Cherethites, Pelethites “and all the mighty men,” after Sheba. Near “the stone great that in Gibeon,” Joab first killed Amasa; then, with Abishai, he went after Sheba. Their troops hesitated at first but then followed. They chased Sheba into Abel Beth-maachah and laid siege. A woman of the city went out and counseled Joab to spare the city. “You seeking to destroy a city, and a mother in Israel. Why....?” she admonished Joab. Joab answered that he only was interested in capturing Sheba, who had “...lifted his hand against the king.” The woman returned to the city and arranged for Sheba to be killed. Sheba’s head/hand was thrown over the wall in proof.⁷⁵

David’s administrators who are named at this point were: Joab, still over the army; Jehoshaphat, recorder; Zadok and Abiathar, priests; Sheva, scribe; Benaiah, still over the Cherethites and Pelethites; and Adoram/Hadoram over forced labor. “And also Ira the Jairite was a priest to David.”⁷⁶

A three-year famine next is described, which David claimed was the result of the acts of Saul’s house and Saul’s putting to death Gibeonites, “of the remnant of the Amorites.” David asked the remaining Gibeonites what could be done in compensation. They asked for seven Saul sons. David turned over (Rizpah + Saul-) Armoni and Mephi-bosheth and “five the sons of Michal...whom she bore to Adriel....” The seven were put to death. However, because of David’s oath to Jonathan, he spared (Jonathan-) Mephi-bosheth. David then had Saul’s and Jonathan’s bones brought from Jabesh-Gilead and buried in the “land of Benjamin in Zela[/Zelah],⁷⁷ in the grave of Kish....”

2 *Samuel* 21 finishes with what partially appears to be a recount of earlier Philistine battling. “[A]gain the Philistines warred....”--in “Gob,” with four sons born “to the giant in Gath [Ishi-benoth, Saph, and Goliath, plus one unnamed],” who were struck, respectively, by Abishai, Sibbechai, Elhanan and (Shimeah-) Jonathan, David’s nephew.⁷⁸ Chapter 22 is David’s “victory song.” Chapter 23 is a recount of David’s mighty men.⁷⁸

David commanded Joab to take a count of all able-bodied men “drawing sword,” from Dan to Beer-sheba. Joab questioned the efficacy of doing so, but David insisted. The count results were, of those “mustered to David,” 800,000 of Israel and 500,000 of Judah. Descriptions vary. (a) “...and [Tet’s] anger... burned against Israel and moved David against them to say, go, number Israel and Judah....” Another view, based on mss. which say, “When *one* incited David against them,” is that a registration may have begun during the Absalom rebellion and Sheba opposition. (b) Joab responded to David, “Why become a cause of guilt to Israel?” There, the counts are 1,100,000 and 470,000, with Benjamin not counted. (c) To alleviate an ensuing “pestilence,” the prophet Gad advised David that he had three choices: (1) seven years of famine, (2) to flee from adversaries for three months, or (3) to endure three days of “plague.” Apparently David chose the third, for “...from Dan to Beer-sheba 70,000 men died.” The parallel report recounts prophet Gad’s three choices and a David reply, “...into the hand of man not let me fall;” with a subsequent pestilence that “fell, of Israel, 70,000 men.”⁷⁹

“Israel”/“Judah” competition, 2 *Samuel* 19:41; (d) italics supplied.

⁷⁴ For example of the use of the term, “widowhood” when a named spouse seemingly was not dead, see Appendix 4C, fn. 43.

⁷⁵ (a) *Abel Beth-maachah* has been placed as four miles W of Dan, in Naphtali territory, along the E-W route from Damascus to Tyre; (b) 2 *Samuel* 20:19; (c) the referenced interlinear text gives Sheba’s “head” at one place, “hand” at another.

⁷⁶ *Ira the Jairite*, refer to Appendix 1C, VI, C chart (also see *Ir*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, at fn.10 for possible earlier uses as *Ir/Iri*, and Appendix 3B, I, *Ira*).

⁷⁷ Some put this between Jerusalem and Gibeon.

⁷⁸ Refer to Appendix 2B, “The Military Under David.”

⁷⁹ (a) 2 *Samuel* 24:1; (b) and (c) 1 *Chronicles* 21 (See Appendix 1C, fn. 23 regarding the word, “plague.” An “angel”

David, repenting, was told by Gad to raise an altar in the grain floor of Araunah(/Ornan) the Jebusite. (The tabernacle apparently was not with David at that time: "And the tabernacle...at time that, in the high place in Gibeon; and not was able David to go before it...") David bought the grain floor, set up an altar, and made offerings.⁸⁰

David caused to be gathered "...the aliens who in the land..." and appointed workers to build a temple. David assembled 100,000 gold talents, bronze, iron, wood from Sidonia, etc., and gave the task to Solomon. All rulers of Israel would assist "...to build the sanctuary...[and] to bring in the ark of the covenant...and holy vessels..."⁸¹

[The remainder of this narrative is according to 1 Kings, unless otherwise noted.]

David, now old, was provided with a new woman servant, Abishag the Shunammite. Meanwhile, (Haggith-) Adonijah had been expecting to succeed over the kingdom. He assembled horsemen and prepared a chariot, with runners before it, and spoke "with Joab the son of Zeruiah and with Abiathar the priest, and they helped. But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei and Rei...not were with Adonijah."

Adonijah held a sacrificial offering ceremony at En-Rogel, inviting all his brothers "the sons of the king," Joab, and all the men of Judah--but not Solomon and Zadok.⁸²

Nathan encouraged Bath-sheba to advance Solomon's interests with David. She reminded David he had sworn to her that surely Solomon would be the one to reign after him, and told him what Adonijah had done--"behold, Adonijah reigns!" Nathan went in to David after Bath-sheba, as he and Bath-Sheba had planned, and pressed the king further on the matter. David then declared that Solomon would be his successor. He instructed Zadok, Nathan and Benaiah to accompany Solomon on the king's mule to Gihon,⁸³ and there anoint Solomon as king. They proceeded, along with the Cherethites and Perithites, and the ceremony was held with great fanfare.

Adonijah and his assembly had heard the roar and stopped their feasting, when priest Abiathar arrived with the news that Zadok and Nathan had anointed Solomon. The assembly "trembled and they rose...and went each to his way." Solomon sent for Adonijah who fearing for his life had taken refuge at the altar. Solomon told Adonijah that so long as he behaved he would not be harmed and sent him to his house.⁸⁴

Solomon took the throne while David still was alive. David held an assembly after Solomon was seated on the throne, gave Solomon the pattern for the temple, enumerated all its items and priestly divisions, and asked, "...who is willing to consecrate his hand to [Tet]?" All the chiefs offered labor and precious contributions, and with a great celebration Solomon was "made king a second time...and anointed..., and Zadok as priest."⁸⁵ All Levites 30 years and older were counted, and appointments were made of priestly divisions, courses, levitical servants and their descendancies, together with assignees in every type of service including military divisions, captains and tribal rulers. Joab began a numbering/registration but did not finish, and "for this, wrath upon Israel. And not went up [that] number in the account of the

[/messenger?--see Appendix 4D, "Some Terms of Interest"] was involved in these proceedings.)

⁸⁰ 1 Chronicles 21:18; 2 Chronicles 3:1; 1 Chronicles 21:29-30 (see Appendix 2A for Tabernacle); the "...angel...returned his sword to its sheath"/"the plague was stayed." 1 Chronicles 21; 2 Samuel 24.

⁸¹ 1 Chronicles 22.

⁸² 1 Kings 1. (a) Rei (only use), one of David's mighty men; (b) En-Rogel, a well or spring on the Judah/Benjamin border, perhaps just south of the Jerusalem wall's southeast corner (based on Joshua 15:7 and 18:16), in the vicinity of Job's well.

⁸³ Another spring in the Kidron valley a half-mile or so from En-Rogel, opposite the City of David's (eastern) Water Gate.

⁸⁴ To end of 1 Kings 1.

⁸⁵ 1 Chronicles 28.

words of the days of King David.”⁸⁶

David in his last words to Solomon seemingly judged bad ends for Joab and Shimei for their deeds and good for Barzillai. David died, having reigned 40 years--seven in Hebron and 33 in Jerusalem. “And the acts of King David, the first and the last, are in the words of Samuel the seer and in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the words of Gad, the seer....”⁸⁷

In the aftermath, Adonijah petitioned Bath-Sheba to obtain Solomon’s permission for Adonijah to be given Abishag as his wife. (It is not discernible if Adonijah’s acquisition of Abishag would have borne a specific distinction of status, such as co-rulership.) Solomon took affront, saying, “[W]hy are you asking...? [Why not] Also ask for him the kingdom, for he my brother older is, even for him, and for Abiathar the priest, and for Joab...”

“And sent King Solomon by the hand of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and he fell on [him, Adonijah], and he died.” Then Solomon dismissed priest Abiathar, telling him he also really deserved death.⁸⁸ Joab fled to the tent of [Tet.] with Benaiah at his heels at Solomon’s behest. Joab refused to leave the tent, maintaining that if he was to die it would be there. When Benaiah reported back to Solomon, Solomon reiterated Joab’s acts relative to Abner and Amasa, and told Benaiah to do what Joab willed.

After Joab’s murder, Solomon put Benaiah over the army and kept Zadok as sole chief priest. Solomon also put Shimei in a type of house arrest in Jerusalem, forbidding him to cross the Kidron brook or die. After three years, however, two of Shimei’s “servants” went to (Maacah/Maoch-) Achish in Gath, after which Shimei also was moved to follow them there but for what purpose is not said. On return to Jerusalem, Shimei was summoned by Solomon who reminded him of the order to not cross the Kidron brook, and, at Solomon’s command, Benaiah killed Shimei, “...and the kingdom was settled in the hand of Solomon.”⁸⁹

Solomon married the daughter of Egypt’s then-pharaoh.

Solomon judged the legendary case of two women fighting over one baby.

Solomon’s “captains” are given as (a) priest (Zadok-) Azariah; (b) Shisha-) Elihoreph and (Shisha-) Ahiah, scribes; (c) (Ahilud-) Jehoshaphat, recorder; (d) (Jehoiada-) Benaiah over the army; (e) priests Zadok and Abiathar (it seeming that Abiathar ought not to be listed at this time, although it is not said precisely when Solomon dismissed him); (f) (Nathan-) Azariah, “over the officers;” (g) (Nathan-) Zabud “priest friend of the king;” (h) Abishar over the household; and (i) (Abda-) Adoniram, over forced labor. Twelve deputies were named by Solomon “over all *Israel*,” together with their domains, none of which appear to be in Judah and from which one-twelfth of each year’s royal provisions were extracted.⁹⁰

Solomon “...all the days of his life...” was ruler over “all the kingdoms from the River to the land of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt...and lived Judah and Israel safely...”

⁸⁶ 1 Chronicles 23-27; 1 Chronicles 27:24

⁸⁷ Resuming at 1 Kings 2; also, 1 Chronicles 29:26.

⁸⁸ “Go to Anathoth, to your fields....” 1 Kings 2:26. Anathoth, some three miles N/NE of Jerusalem, was a priestly city the overall significance of which is obscured somewhat; see, for example, Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.” Other uses of Anathoth, Appendix 3B, I.

⁸⁹ 1 Kings 2:46. The David Descendancy gives Solomon’s line.

⁹⁰ 1 Kings 3-4. (a) Azariah, Appendix 3B, Attachment 1; (b) only uses; (c) Ahijah/Ahiah, Appendix 3B, I; (f) and (g) whether these *Nathans* were one and the same, and/or either was either or both the “prophet” Nathan and (Bath-Sheba + David-) Nathan, cannot be known; (g) Zabud, only use; (h) Abishar, only use; (i) Abda, one other: a post-Babylonian Levite given as (Jeduthun-Galal-Shammua-) Abda at *Nehemiah* 11:17 and as (Jeduthun-Galal-Shemiah-) Obadiah at 1 *Chronicles* 9:16; (i) Adoniram, only use, but see Adoniram/Adoram, etc., Appendix 2A. Solomon’s deputies, etc. are at 1 *Kings* 4:7 ff.

The progress of the building of the temple and Solomon's house cannot be sequenced chronologically with certainty. Events included (1) a preparative assembly of chiefs and judges that Solomon held at the tabernacle in Gibeon; (2) trading of wheat, barley, oil and wine for trees from Hiram of Tyre; and (3) a numbering by Solomon of "the strangers who in the land of Israel, as the numbering which numbered them David"--153,600 men, composed of 70,000 burden bearers, 80,000 hewers and 3,600 supervisors. Solomon took forced labor from all descendants remaining and "not exterminated" of Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites "who were not of Israel."⁹¹

The building was founded in the Jebusite grain floor; details of construction and Hiram's making of vessels all are set forth. Solomon raised forced labor out of all "Israel" (30,000 men to go to Lebanon in monthly relays of 10,000 each; 70,000 burden-bearers; 80,000 hewing in the mountains; 3,300 captains and deputies). Stone was quarried for the foundation. Hiram floated cedar and juniper wood down the coast. The temple began to be built in the 480th year from the exodus, being founded in the fourth year in the month of Zif. In the eleventh year in the month Bul, the eighth month, the house was finished. "So he built it [the temple] seven years."⁹² Solomon built his own house for 13 years.

When the temple was completed Solomon held a great assembly "to bring up the ark from the City of David--Zion," made sacrificial offerings, and a great feast was held.⁹³

So it was at the end of 20 years that Solomon had built both the temple and his house. He had created a navy. He had rebuilt Jerusalem's wall, Milo, Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer; fortified, among other sites, upper and lower Beth-horon; seized Hamath-zobah; and built Tadmor/Tamar in the wilderness. The Queen of Sheba traveled to see Solomon and confirmed all that she had heard about his greatness.⁹⁴

"And to [Solomon were] wives, princesses, 700, and concubines, 300." None of Solomon's women are named; they only are described as the [unnamed] pharaoh daughter, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Sidonians, and Hittites. He is reported in his late years to have inclined toward many deities--Sidonian goddess Ashtoreth, Ammonite Milcom, Ammonite Malech/Molech (for whom he built a "high place"), and Moab Chemosh (for whom he also built a "high place before Jerusalem").⁹⁵

An adversary came up against Solomon--Hadad the Edomite, of the seed of the king of Edom. Hadad's vengeance dated back to when Joab went to bury the slain of an Edomite battle during David's reign.⁹⁶ Joab "and all Israel" had remained six months and struck Edom "until was cut off every male." Hadad, a boy at the time, was saved by certain of his father's servants, who had fled into Egypt together with men of Paran. The then-pharaoh gave them refuge and land; and Hadad grew and found favor in the eyes of the pharaoh, whose wife was Queen Tahpenes. The pharaoh gave Hadad the queen's sister as a wife. When Hadad heard David and Joab were dead, he determined he would return.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Per 2 Chronicles 2; 2 Chronicles 8:7.

⁹² 1 Kings 5ff.; 6:37. (1 Kings 7:1 includes detailed description of the accoutrements of Solomon's house.)

⁹³ 2 Chronicles 2:5-7. Included are instructions regarding worship and judging.

⁹⁴ To 1 Kings 11. (a) "All the house of Milo" was included with Shechem's leaders when Abimelech took power after Gideon, during the period of the "Judges" (Appendix 1D, II, at fn. 25); (b) Hazor, Appendix 2A; (c) Megiddo, about 57 mi. N/NW of Jerusalem and 19 mi. SE of modern Haifa; (d) Gezer, a site given to Solomon's wife, the pharaoh's daughter, by her father, who previously had captured and burned it; (e) Beth-Horon and Hamath-zobah, Appendix 2A; (f) Tadmor[Tamar?], commonly identified with a city Greco-Romans called Palmyra, about 130 miles NE of Damascus; however, uncertainties between mss. of the city named at 1 Kings 9:18, together with the term, "in the wilderness," could mean Solomon built a city named "Tamar;" (g) Sheba, Appendix 2A.

⁹⁵ For the foregoing names, see Appendix 2A, Deities, Other.

⁹⁶ Roughly c. fns. 53-54, above.

⁹⁷ To 1 Kings 11:21. (a) Paran, in general, the central to northeast portion of the Sinai peninsula; (b) Queen Tahpenes' sister bore Hadad a son, Genubath, who was raised with pharaoh's sons.

A second foe of Solomon was (Eliada/Eliadah-) Rezon, who had captained a troop of men for Zobah's king Hadadezer, before David took over Damascus. Rezon amassed a following and eventually had come to reign in Damascus. "And he was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon, besides...Hadad, and he despised Israel, and reigned over Syria."⁹⁸

"And rest, the acts of Solomon, the first and the last, not they are written in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer as to Jeroboam the son of Nebat?" Solomon had reigned "over all Israel in Jerusalem" 40 years when he died, "and reigned Rehoboam his son in his place."⁹⁹

No sibling struggles are reported as such in the passing of the sceptre from Solomon to Rehoboam. However, at an unknown point before Solomon's death, priest Ahijah at Shiloh confirmed Jeroboam¹⁰⁰ as ruler over "Israel." Jeroboam was the son of Zeruah,¹⁰¹ a "widow servant of" or "a widow of a servant of" Solomon. Solomon sought to kill Jeroboam, who took refuge in Egypt until Solomon died.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *1 Kings* 11:23ff. *Eliada/Eliadah*: (a) The name of a David son, which name has borne some debate--see David Descendancy; (b) a mighty man of Benjamin under King Jehoshaphat-- Appendix 2C, southern king #4.

⁹⁹ This paragraph, *2 Chronicles* 9:29 ff., partially is paralleled at *1 Chronicles* 29:29: "And the acts of David the king, the first and the last, behold, they are written in the words of Samuel the seer, and in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the words of Gad the seer" (scribed words of "Nathan" and "Gad" are not extant); *Iddo*, Appendix 3B, I; *Jeroboam*, Appendix 2C, north king #1.

¹⁰⁰ Volume two, Introductory Summary, preceding fn. 13.

¹⁰¹ Only use in this form; but see "Zerujah" in Jesse Descendancy.

¹⁰² The "Period of the Kings" commences at this point (narrated in Appendix 2C).

Appendix 1F

NAMES/PLACES¹

Amalek/Amalekite

“*Amalek* dwells in the land of the Negev....” *Numbers* 13:29.

Grandson of Adah and Esau; Appendix 1A, Attachment 2.

Judah king Amaziah “went to the Valley of Salt/Mount Seir, and struck the sons of Seir, the remainder which escaped to *Amalek*....” *2 Chronicles* 25:11.

In the days of Judah king Hezekiah, 500 sons of Simeon went to Mount Seir and struck the remainder [of *Amalek*].” *1 Chronicles* 4:41-43.

Amon/Ammon/Ammonite

Ammon land (its capital was Rabbah, present-day Amman, Jordan) reached roughly E/NE from the Jordan River’s Jabbock torrent valley.

Deuteronomy 2:19 directed that [Lot+unnamed daughter-] descendants of Ben-ammi/*Ammon* were not to be molested.

Amorite

(Noah-Ham-) “Canaan fathered Zidon/Sidon, his firstborn, and Heth, also the Jebusite, and the *Amorite*, and the Girgashite and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.” *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

“The origin of the term [*Amurru*, found in Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform texts] is apparently from a word meaning ‘west,’ which would indicate that the Land of Amurru (MAR.TU) was the ‘western region,’ *i.e.* the territory between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean coast; the “Amorites” (Amurru) were therefore the ‘Westerners,’ *i.e.* the population of Syria and the Syrian Desert in its broadest sense. ...[one] implication here is that they were mainly Semitic nomads from the expanses west of the Euphrates....”--a “penetration deep into Mesopotamia and the establishment of ‘Amorite’ kingdoms,” of which one, “the Old Babylonian kingdom founded by Sumuabum at the beginning the 19th century b.c.e., reached the height of its power in the reign of Hammurapi (the first half of the 18th century b.c.e.)” *Mazar*, page 2, fn. 2 and page 5.

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the *Amorite*, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

The term *Amorites* at times seems used generically for Canaanite clans, while also named separately as a tribe that, by the time of the exodus, commanded east-Jordan kingdoms from northern Moab to Mount Hermon and territory west of the Dead Sea, as well: Joshua fought an alliance of “all the kings of the Amorites living in the hill-country,” “five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon....” *Joshua* 10:3ff; *refer to* Section One following fn. 6.

“*Amalek* dwells in the land of the Negev, and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the *Amorite* dwell in the hills, and the Canaanite dwells by the sea, and by the hand of the Jordan.” *Numbers* 13:29.

In reference to one post-exodus defeat, foes described by Moses as “Amalekites and Canaanites” at *Numbers* 14:44-45 are given as *Amorites* at *Deuteronomy* 1:44.

“...Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the *Amorite*, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the heights, and the Hivite below Hermon, and in the land of Mizpah.” *Joshua* 11:3ff.

Ezekiel said, of Jerusalem: “Your mother was a Hittite and your grandfather an *Amorite*,” 16:3.

Solomon’s labor forces included “All the people that were left of the...*Amorites*....”

¹The names defined accord with English spellings rendered in the referenced text, unless otherwise noted. General definitions supplied from *Aid* may be subject to refinements not pursued here.

1 Kings 9:20ff.

Arkite

(Noah-Ham-) Canaan “fathered...the *Arkite*.” *Genesis* 10:15ff and *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.
No biblical detail.

Arvadite

(Noah-Ham-) “Canaan fathered...the *Arvadite*.” *Genesis* 10:15ff and *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.
No detail other than, “The residents [of] Sidon and *Arvad* were rowers....” *Ezekiel* 27:8.

Asher/Asherites

(Zilpah + Jacob -) Asher.
The *Asherites* lived “...in the midst of the Canaanites...for not [were] they dispossess[ed].” *Judges* 1:32.
Asher, a point or town marking Manasseh’s border [possibly about 11 miles NE of Shechem]. *Joshua* 17:7.

Ashur

Ashur so rendered occurs only at *1 Chronicles* 2:24 and 4:5: (Abiah/Abijah + Hezron-) *Ashur*, father [and/or founder of Tekoa] + Naarah - Hopher. See Appendix 1C, Attachment 1 chart at D.

Asshur

So rendered for a Shem son at *Genesis* 10:22-24 and *1 Chronicles* 1:17.
Asshurim is found at *Genesis* 25:1-3: (Keturah + Abraham - Jokshan - Dedan -) *Asshurim*.
The first capital of Assyria was *Asshur*. At some text sites (such as those that follow) the *Hebrew* is rendered in English as “Assyria.” “Sennacherib the king of *Asshur*,” *2 Kings* 19:37; reference to the “camp of *Asshur*” and “king of *Asshur*,” *Isaiah* 3:38; “Esar-haddon, king of *Asshur*,” *Ezra* 4:2.

Canaan/Canaanite²

(Noah-Ham-) “*Canaan* fathered Zidon/Sidon, his firstborn, and Heth, also the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.” *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

A rough description of *Canaan* is the approximately 12,000 square miles of territory bounded by, on the north, west and east, respectively, the Lebanon mountains, Mediterranean Sea and Jordan River, and extending south to Gaza and the desert. It is not possible, however, to fix consistently definite borders for the “land of Canaan,” nor to conclude that the name originated in its descent from one individual or tribe, with portions of the region gradually becoming occupied by later-named groups who then geographically could be referred to as “Canaanites.”

(1) The first boundary description of land occupied by “Canaanites” is at *Genesis* 10:19: “[T]he border of Canaanites from Sidon, as you come to Gerar, as far as Gaza, as you go towards Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, as far as Lasha.” *Genesis* 10:19.

(2) As ‘bequeathed’ to Moses: “[T] land of Canaan, by its borders: And it shall be to you south side from the wilderness of Zin, along by the coast of Edom, and it shall be to you a border south of the end of Sea the Salt, eastward. And shall turn to you the border from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim and shall pass on to Zin and shall its end from the south

² Potentially intermingled translations of *Cainaanite* with Kainite/Kenite (e.g. its script at *Judges* 1:10) are not explored, *but refer to Kenas, etc.*, below.

to Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go out to Hazar-addar, and it shall go to Azmon. And shall turn the border from Azmon to the brook of Egypt, and shall be the end of it at the Sea. And a west border shall be to you the Sea Great a border.... And this shall be to you a border north: from the Sea Great you shall mark a line for yourselves Mount Hor; from Mount Hor you shall mark a line to the gate of Hamath; and shall be the end of the border at Zedad; and shall go out the border to Ziphron. And you shall mark line for you for a border east from Hazar-enan to Shepham; and shall go down the border from Shepham to Riblah, and on the east of Ain; and shall go the border and shall reach unto the shoulder of the Sea of Chinnereth eastward. And shall go down the border to the Jordan, and shall be the end of it at Sea the Salt.” *Numbers* 34:1-12.

At the time of the separation of Abraham and Lot, “...the *Canaanite* and Perizzite then lived in the land.” *Genesis* 13:2.

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the *Canaanite*, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

After the incident at Shechem involving Dinah, Jacob berated Simeon and Levi for making him “stink among inhabitants, the land’s: among the *Canaanites* and the Perizzites....” *Genesis* 34:30.

“...*Canaanite* on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the heights, and the Hivite below Hermon, and in the land of Mizpah.” *Joshua* 11:3ff.

“[T]he *Canaanite* dwells by the sea, and by the hand of the Jordan.” *Numbers* 13:29.

A *Cainan* appears between (Shem-) Arpachshad/Arphaxad and Shalach/Shelah in *Luke*’s lineage list; refer to Appendix 1A, part II.

Chaldaeae/Chaldaeans/”Kaidu”

A term for the land and peoples occupying the southern portion of the alluvial plain/delta area of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, *i.e.* the district of ‘Babylonia, which wholly became referred to as “the land of the Chaldeans,” a term that reached its greatest regional usage during the time of the Nabu/ [Nabopolassar, et al] dynasty.

“Chaldea” also was a name used for mountainous country between Armenia and the Black Sea, whose “Chaldeans” at war with Armenia were subdued by Cyrus II (The Great).³ Some scholars have related “Arpachshad/Arpaxad” to *Chaldea/Chaldean*, on the theory that the Hebrew *chshad* is contained in both--see Ur, below, concerning more-recent debate. See *also* page 305, fn. 11.

Cush/Cushite

“[T]he sons of Noah that went out of ark Shem, Ham, and Japheth” (*Genesis* 9:18); “And sons Ham’s: *Cush*, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan. And the sons of *Cush*: Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah/Sabta, and Raamah, and Sabtecha” (*Genesis* 10:6-7, 1 *Chronicles* 1:8-9).

“Aside from the genealogical accounts at *Genesis* chapter 10 and 1 *Chronicles* chapter 1, and perhaps the use of the name in the introduction of *Psalm* 7 [which states, “A song of David, which he sang to [[Tet.]] concerning the words of Cush *the Benjamite (italics supplied)*”]... the name ‘Cush’ is employed in all other texts to refer to the progeny of that son of [? + Noah -] Ham and the place of their habitation.” *Aid*, page 403.

“And a river went out from Eden...and...was divided and became into four heads. ... And the name of the river second Gihon; it the one surrounding all the land of *Cush*.” *Genesis* 2:10, 13. Geographical location of Cush land remains a subject of academic debate, in that definite identification of the “Gihon” river has not been possible, *e.g.*:

“The translators of the *Septuagint* rendered the Hebrew word for ‘Cush’ by the Greek name ‘Ethiopia’ in [the quotation above], as they did in all other cases where

³ *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, vol. II, p. 467.

'Cush' appears, with the exception of the genealogical tables of Genesis and First Chronicles. ... Josephus and others, following the rendering of the *Septuagint*, associated the Gihon River with the Nile." *Aid*, page 403.

Edom

Territory south of Ammon. "Edom in the valley of salt;" *2 Kings* 14:7.
"Esau is Edom." *Genesis* 36:9.
See also Seir, below.

Etam

Etam, one of Simeon's named villages; *1 Chronicles* 4:32.
Of uncertain location, but some suggest in Judah territory about 28 miles SW of Jerusalem, while the (Hur...) *Etam* is suggested as "probably" two miles SW of Bethlehem.⁴
"Crag *Etam*" - refer to Appendix 1D, II, "Judges," at fn. 43.

Girgashite

(Noah-Ham-) "Canaan fathered...the *Girgashite*;" *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was "from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the *Girgashite*, and the Jebusite." *Genesis* 15:18-19.

No biblical detail, but *Girgash* and *Ben-Girgash* reportedly have been found scribed in Ugaritic.⁵

Goshen

"And you shall live in the land of Goshen, near to me," was Joseph's message to father Jacob (*Genesis* 45:10); Jacob sent Judah ahead to Joseph, to give directions...to Goshen," and Joseph in his chariot "went to meet Israel, his father, to Goshen" (*Genesis* 28-29); Pharaoh confirmed to them "a place in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land of Ramsesd" (*Genesis* 47:11); "And lived Jacob in the land of Egypt seven and ten years," and he died there (*Genesis* 47:28, 33); prior to the exodus, Goshen was spared first from swarms of flies and second from severe hail that otherwise afflicted Egypt (*Exodus* 8:22, 9:26).

Cities used as markers in Judah's allotment included a *Goshen* (*Joshua* 15:51) ["Some geographers tentatively place it at modern Zahariyeh, about eleven and a half miles SW of Hebron"--*Aid*, page 679].

Joshua struck "from Kadesh-barnea, even until Gaza, and all the land of *Goshen*, even until Gibeon" (*Joshua* 10:41); "And took Joshua all land this: the heights, and all the Negev, and all the land of *Goshen*, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and mountains Israel's and its lowlands, from Mount Halak, that goes up to Seir, etc." *Joshua* 11:16.

See also page 8, fn. 41.

Hamath/Hamathite

(Noah-Ham-) "Canaan fathered...the *Hamathite*;" *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

Hamath, present-day Hama; on the Orontes River, some 120 miles north of Damascus.

Hamath, an early small kingdom in Syria territory, "sometimes said to be of Hittite origin,"⁶ and seemingly adjacent to "Aram-zobah" (refer to Appendix 1A, part A).

According to *Numbers* 13:21, Moses' reconnoitering party ventured as far as "the entering in of *Hamath*"--"an oft-repeated phrase thought to refer, not to the gate of the city itself, but, rather, to the southern boundary of the territory over which it ruled," although

⁴ *Aid*, p. 533; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Hur (#7).

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 661.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 706.

scholars differ on this point.⁷

Haran

“The name of the ancient city [*Haran*] is preserved in modern Harran, situated on the Belikh River, about 68 miles...N of its junction with the Euphrates. But some believe that the ancient site itself lies to the N of modern Harran. Certain scholars see evidence for patriarchal residence...in the correspondency of ancient place-names in this area to such personal names as Serug, Nahor and Terah [and *Haran*]--Gen. 10:22-26.”⁸

Haran, where Terah, Abraham, Sarah and Lot temporarily sojourned; associated with the region of “Aram;” see Section One preceding and in fn. 4.

(? + Terah -) *Haran*, full or half-brother of Abraham; Appendix 1A, part II, B.

(Ephah + Caleb -) *Haran*; Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, part D.

(Shimei--)*Haran*, among the “heads of the fathers” of (Levi-Gershon-)

Laadan/Shimei in King David’s divisions; *1 Chronicles* 22:6ff.

Hazor

Hazor, a town or city placed south of Hebron in the vicinity of Kadesh-Barnea in the Negeb, also is referred to as “Kiriath-Hezron” (see *Hezron*, below). *Hazor* is named as the last exodus camping site before Paran, where Miriam temporarily became “leprous” after challenging Moses’ behavior. *Numbers* 11:35, 12:16, 33:17, 18; *Deuteronomy* 1:1 (see Appendix 1C, IV, “Moses’ Conference, etc.”) *Josephus* refers to it as “Hazeroth;” *AJ* XIII.

“Hezron, which is *Hazor*”--a Judah city at the far south border; *Joshua* 15:25

For *Hazor* [-north], of king Jabin with whom Deborah did battle, see Appendix 2A, *Hazor*.

Hebron, the place⁹

Approximately 19 miles south of Jerusalem.

See also *Machpelah*, below.

“[S]ons of Mareshah, the father[/*founder*?] of *Hebron*,” see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1 chart, *at and following* footnote 26.

Hezron, the place¹⁰

Joshua 15:1-3 would place *Hezron* on Judah’s southern border between Kadesh-Barnea and Addar; a parallel at *Numbers* 34:4 reads instead “Hazar-addar.”

Hittite

Historians and archaeologists have not completed identification of the biblical “Hittites.” Evidentially it can be said that the *Hittites* occupied “Syrian regions north of Canaan,”¹¹ while the biblical texts indicate they may have occupied or at least ranged over a wider area. “During Akhenaton’s reign [*circa* 1379-1362 b.c.] the *Hittites* captured northern Syria....”¹²

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the *Hittite*, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

According to words received by Joshua: “[C]ross over Jordan this; you and all people this, to the land which I am giving to them.... From the wilderness to Lebanon this,

⁷ *Loc.cit.*

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 713.

⁹ *Hebron* individuals, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Hebron*.

¹⁰ *Hezron*, the individual: Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, *Hezron*; Appendix 1C, sub-part II, “The Hezronic Period;” and Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, Descendancy.

¹¹ *Mazar*, p. 193.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 221.

even to the river Great, River Euphrates, all the land of the *Hittites* and to the Sea Great, toward the setting of the sun.” *Joshua* 1:4.

“Amalek dwells in the land of the Negev, and the *Hittite*, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the hills, and the Canaanite dwells by the sea, and by the hand of the Jordan.” *Numbers* 13:29.

“...Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the *Hittite*, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the heights, and the Hivite below Hermon, and in the land of Mizpah.” *Joshua* 11:3ff.

Esau married *Hittite* women. Some consider that (Noah-Ham-Canaan-) Heth, Canaan’s second-listed son, was ancestral father of the “Hittites.” If one use of “Hittite” does equate with “Hethite” (definition still uncertain), Esau wives Basemath and Adah might be called daughters of Heth via Elon (see Appendix 1A, Attachment 2).

Abraham was on good terms with *Hittites*--he bargained with *Hittite* [Zohar-) Ephron at the gate of Hebron, and bought Machpelah (below).

“Kinship of the Jebusites with the *Hittites*...is underlined by Ezekiel,”¹³ who said also, of Jerusalem, “Your mother was a *Hittite* and your grandfather an Amorite’.” *Ezekiel* 16:3.

“Three ethnic groups played the most important role as neighbors of the tribes of Israel until the crystallization of the monarchy. They are (1) the Hivites in Shechem and in the four neighboring cities of Beeroth, Chephirah, Baalath-Kiriath-jearim, and Gibeon...(2) the *Hittites* in Hebron and...Luz-Bethel; and (3) the Jebusites in the Jerusalem region, who most probably were related to the *Hittites*.”¹⁴

Two soldiers for David were *Hittite*--Abimelech and Uriah (Bath-Sheba’s husband). Ahimelech, the *Hittite*, accompanied David on a foray to Saul’s camp. *1 Samuel* 26:6.

Solomon had *Hittite* wives.

Solomon’s labor forces included “All the people that were left of the...*Hittites*...” *1 Kings* 9:20ff.

Hivite

“Hivites” may have been a sub-group of Hurrians, below.

(Noah-Ham-) “Canaan fathered...the *Hivite*,” *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

“...the *Hivite* below Hermon, and in the land of Mizpah [Appendix 2A, Mizpah, etc.]” *Joshua* 11:3ff.

“Three ethnic groups played the most important role as neighbors of the tribes of Israel until the crystallization of the monarchy,” among them “the *Hivites* in Shechem and in the four neighboring cities of Beeroth, Chephirah, Baalath-Kiriath-jearim, and Gibeon...”¹⁵

For Dinah’s association with Prince Hamor, the *Hivite*, see Appendix 1C, V, C, Dinah.

Solomon’s labor forces included “All the people that were left of the...*Hivites*...” *1 Kings* 9:20ff.

See also Horite, below.

Horite

(Zibeon - Anah + ? -) Aholibamah/Oholibamah + Esau (Appendix 1A, Attachment 2): Reference to Zibeon as both a “son of Seir, the *Horite*,” and as a “Hivite” (*Genesis* 36:2; 20, 24) has led to a suggestion that the seeming contradiction results from misrendering of similarly-appearing Hebrew letters, *rehsh* and *waw*, in that “horite”--if derived from Hebrew *hohr*, “cave” or “hole”--would be descriptive, *i.e.* a Hivite cave-dweller.

“The *Horite* on the mount of Seir;” see also Seir, below.

Horite may have been a subgroup of Hurrian, below.

Hurrian

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.* (full quote at fn. 14).

Certain archaeological findings of ancient writings may be proof that a *Hurrite* population occupied regions of Armenia, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine in patriarchal time, and that “Hivites,” “Horites,” and “Jebusites” all may have been part of that primary group.

Ishmael/Ishmaelite

(Hagar + Abraham -) *Ishmael*; descendency given at 1A, III.

Ishmaelites and Midianites appear equated at *Genesis* 37:25, 27 and 28 and 39:1 and at *Judges* 8:22, 24.

(Saul-Jonathan-Meribbaal-Micah-Ahaz-Jehoadah-Moza-Azel-) *Ishmael* of the sons of Benjamin. *1 Chronicles* 8:33:38; 9:39-44.

“Zebadiah the son of *Ishmael*, the ruler of the house of Judah, for every matter of the king [Jehoshaphat].” *2 Chronicles* 19:11.

(Jehohanan-) *Ishmael*, one of the “heads of the hundreds” who covenanted with high priest Jehoiada to overthrow queen Athaliah and install king Joash. (Appendix 2C, IV.)

Ishmael, “son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama of the seed royal,” who led the murder of governor Gedaliah after the Babylonian conquest. (Appendix 2C, IV.)

(Of the sons of Pashur-) *Ishmael/Ismael*, found to have a foreign wife/family, in the Ezra/Nehemiah excommunication proceedings (Appendix 3B,II, IV, B, Chart B and related).

Israel/Israelite

Israel, the name conferred on Jacob (*Genesis* 32:28), thus becoming applicable to descendants of Jacob.

Israelites, the term applied to supporters of Saul and his son (Appendix 1E).

Israel, the name of the northern kingdom established following the split of king David’s empire after Solomon’s death.

Clarity is elusive relative to the use of *Israel* and *Israelite* and their relation to *Israel-Jacob*[ites], only a few examples being (a) (Abigail + Ithra, the *Israelite* -) Amasa (Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, Jesse Descendency); (b) whether designation of certain excommunicated exilic returnees as being “of *Israel*” (Appendix 3B, II, IV) denoted ancestral descendency and/or northern kingdom origin; (c) similarly, reference by Jesus of the *New Testament* to colleague Nathanael as “truly *Israelite* in whom deceit not is,” and Nathanael’s remark to Jesus, “...you are king of *Israel*.” *John* 1:47; 49.

Jebusite

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the *Jebusite*.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

See Appendix 2A, Jebus/Jebusite.

Kadesh

Refer to Appendix ID, II, fns. 15 and 17.

Kadmonites

Only use: The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the *Kadmonite*, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the *Jebusite*.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

A number of points may support the term *Kadmonites* as meaning “easterners.”¹⁶

Kain¹⁷

¹⁶ *Aid*, p. 986.

In some texts “Kain”/“Kainite” is rendered “Kenite” (below); cf. *Numbers* 24:21, *Joshua* 15:57, *Judges* 1:10 (“And the sons of the *Kenite*, father-in-law Moses....”) and *Judges* 4:11.

Kenaz/Kenite/Kenezite/Kenizzite¹⁸

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the *Kenite*, and the *Kenizzite*, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

Kenite is used interchangeably with Midianite (see, below).

See also Kain, above.

Among other reported instances of involvements with *Kenites* are (a) Saul warned *Kenites* living in Amalekite territory, before he attacked; *1 Samuel* 15:5-6; (b) King David shared profits of battle with some people “in the cities of the *Kenites*,” *1 Samuel* 30:29; (c) *Kenites* are given as families of scribes residing at Jabez:¹⁹ “Tirathites, Shimeathites and Suchathites. These the *Kenites* who came from Hemath, the father of the House of Rechab.”²⁰ *1 Chronicles* 2:55.

Machpelah

A cave burial site purchased by Abraham from Heth/(Zohar-) Ephron (Sidon’s brother), the Hittite, and part of a Canaan field (“of Ephron”²¹) “in front of Mamre”--see Mamre, below).

Genesis 25:7 reports that Isaac and Ishmael together buried Abraham at the cave of “Machpelah,” which Abraham purchased before Sarah’s death and where she had been buried.

“It generally has been accepted that the burial cave is located in modern Hebron beneath a Moslem mosque within an enclosure called Haram el-Khalil.”²²

The text of Jacob’s burial wishes at *Genesis* 49:31 says Jacob wanted to be buried where “they buried Abraham and Sarah, his wife--there they buried Isaac and Rebekah, his wife, and there I buried Leah.”

Mamre

Traditionally identified as Ramet el-Khalil, about 2 miles north of modern Hebron.²³

Mareshah, possibly as a place

See Hebron, above, and Hebron and Mareshah, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1.

Midian/Midianite

Midianites, a tribe or clan ranging over Edomite/Ishmaelite/Moabite territory. The extent of *Midian*, their land, at varying times is uncertain but “generally agreed” to have

¹⁷ Potentially intermingled translations of Cainanite with *Kainite/Kenite* (e.g. script at *Judges* 1:10) are not explored

¹⁸ Refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Kenaz/Kenaz, and Attachment 2 chart, for individuals related to Esau and Caleb.

¹⁹ Of undetermined location *but see* Appendix 2A, “Jabesh, etc.”. The only other use of *Jabez* is a son named immediately following Naarah + Ashur offspring whose neither mother nor father are identified; *1 Chronicles* 4:5-10.

²⁰ Appendix 3B, I, Rechab.

²¹ The only other use of Ephron occurs in *Joshua*’s delineation of the Judah borders, part of which “went up to the cities of Mount Ephron....” 15:9.

²² *Aid*, p. 1091.

²³ *Loc. cit.*

been “mainly in the NW part of Arabia just E of the Gulf of Aqabah.”²⁴] *Meek* used “Negev/Negeb in its broadest sense, to include Midian.”²⁵

(Keturah + Abraham -) *Midian*; Appendix 1A at fn. 33.

Moses took refuge with the *Midianites* and married the daughter of Jethro/Reuel/Raguel, kohen/priest of *Midian* (Section One at footnote 35).

Midianite is used interchangeably with “Kenite” (see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Hobab, a relative of Moses).

Midianites appear equated with Ishmaelites at *Genesis* 37:25, 27, 28, 39:1 and *Judges* 8:22, 24.

Midianite alliance with Moab--below.

Moab/Moabite

Moab land swept east from the Jordan and Dead Sea, between Ammon and Edom. Seven hundred years after Abraham, *Moabites* (who practiced circumcision also) initially assisted the Exodus immigrants. When the immigrants later reached Jericho, however, *Moabites* and *Midianites* allied against them (the *Midianites* joining with [Lot + unnamed daughter...-] *Moab* king [Zippor-] Balak).

Enmity with *Moabites* would persist; but *Deuteronomy* 2:19 directed that [Lot + unnamed daughter...-] descendants of Ben-ammi/Ammon were not to be molested.

“*Moab* shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba.” *Isaiah* 15:2.

Perizzite

At the time of the separation of Abraham and Lot, “...the Canaanite and *Perizzite* then lived in the land.” *Genesis* 13:2.

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the *Perizzite*, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

After the Shechem/Dinah incident, Jacob berated Simeon and Levi for making him “stink among inhabitants, the land’s: among the Canaanites and the *Perizzites*,” *Genesis* 34:30.

(Leah + Jacob - Judah + Tamar -) Phares/Pharez/*Perez*; Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Phares/Pharez/Perez.

Solomon’s labor forces included “All the people that were left of the...*Perizzites*...” *1 Kings* 9:20ff.

Philistia/Philistines

The fertile 50-mile x 15-mile coastal plain along the southern part of the Mediterranean’s east coast, settled by “Philistine” peoples before the days of Abraham. The exact origin of the Philistines is not known; many scholars have concluded they migrated to the Canaan coast either from or via Mediterranean islands (specifically, Crete, which has been equated with the “Caphtor” of *Amos* 9:7--“the *Philistines* from Caphtor”).

Rephaim

The land designated by [Tet.] for Abraham was “from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates; the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Rephaim*, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18-19.

Additional uses, see Appendix 2A, Rephaim.

Seir

Seir “commonly is identified with the ridge about nine miles west of Jerusalem,” in “the mountainous region between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqabah.” “The

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 1154.

²⁵ *Meek*, p. 99, fn. 37; *Negev/Negeb*, Introductory Summary, fn. 5.

mountainous region between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqabah.”²⁶

“the Horite on the mount of *Seir*.” *Genesis* 14:6.

“These the chiefs of the Horites: Chief Lotan, Chief Shobal, Chief Zibeon, Chief Anah, Chief Dishon, Chief Ezer, Chief Dishan; these the chiefs Horite according to their chiefs in the land of *Seir*.” *Genesis* 36:29-30. “And the sons of *Seir*: Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan.” *1 Chronicles* 1:38.

“The Horites on the mount of *Seir*, as far as the oak of Paran which is by the wilderness.” *1 Genesis* 14:6.

“[A]s a possession to Esau have I [Tet.] given Mount *Seir*.” “In *Seir* lived the Horites formerly, and the sons of Esau dispossessed them....” *Deuteronomy* 2:5, 12. “And I [Tet.] gave to Esau Mount *Seir* to possess it, and Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt.” *Joshua* 24:4. “And lived Esau on Mount *Seir*; Esau is Edom.” *Genesis* 36:8.

“[W]hen we [the exodus congregation] left from with [*sic.*, interlineally] our brothers the sons of Esau the ones living in *Seir*, from the way of the Arabah....” *Deuteronomy* 2:8.

The border of Judah’s allotment “went up to the cities of Mount Ephron; and was drawn to Baalah--it Kirjath-jearim, and turned the border from Baalah westward to Mount *Seir*, and passed toward the side of Mount Jearim on the north....” *Joshua* 15:9-10.

Judah king Amaziah/sons of Simeon, “went to the Valley of Salt/Mount *Seir*, and struck the sons of *Seir*/the remainder which escaped to *Amalek*...” *2 Chronicles* 25:11; 4:41-43.

Shechem

Abraham encamped at the trees of Moreh at *Shechem* and built an altar.

Shechem, Canaanite city-kingdom of Hamor the Hivite at the time of the Jacobites move southward from Aram.

Joseph’s bones when brought out of Egypt were buried at *Shechem*, “In the portion of the field Jacob bought from the son of Hamor, the father of *Shechem*.”

Shechem, about 30 miles north of Jerusalem, strategically commanded the east-west and north-south roads traversing central Canaan. It seems later to be within Manasseh’s apportionment while also described as being “in the mountainous region of Ephraim.” Of ongoing sacred status, *Shechem* became a Levite enclave and city of refuge.

Shechem was (a) site of Joshua’s last assembly (Appendix 1D, I); (b) site of an attempted confirmation of Solomon’s successor-son, Rehoboam as overall king, before the north/south split (book two); and (c) site where Jeroboam, the first northern king, would begin his rule (*1 Kings* 12:25).

During the time of the Babylonian conquest, “[C]ame men from *Shechem* from Shiloh, and from Samaria [to Jerusalem]” with offerings for the temple. *Jeremiah* 41:5.

Refer also to Appendix 3B, II, VI, A, “Temple Sites.”

Sinite

(Noah-Ham-) “Canaan fathered...the *Sinite*,” *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff.

No further biblical detail.

Ancient Lebanese locations of similar word are reported found in ancient writings.²⁷

Ur

Terah took Abraham, Sarah and Lot “and left with them from *Ur of the Chaldeans* to go land of Canaan.” (*Genesis* 11:30)

Ur of the Chaldeans long has been taken as being Tell el-Muqayyar, situate on the west bank of the Euphrates River 150 miles SE of ancient Babylon. However, more recently, the existence of a Mesopotamian *Ur*, near the southern border of current Turkey, has been suggested.²⁸ Associated factors are:

(1) “*Chaldaeans, the people of Chaldaeae, a nomad tribe in the mountains on the*

²⁶ *Aid* page 1467.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1512.

²⁸ Millard, Alan R., “Where Was Abraham’s Ur?,” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3, page 52.

borders of Armenia;” “Chaldea, a mountainous country between Armenia and the Black Sea...confused by the earlier Greek writers...with the Chaldeans of Babylonia. [T]here was no connection, as is shown by the later Greek use of [the word spelled] *khi*, *alpha*, *lambda*, *delta*, *iota*, *alpha*; by an entirely different form in the Armenian writings; and by the form Haldi instead of Haldu in their own writings.”²⁹

(2) One of Cyrus the Great’s early accomplishments (while leading the troops of his uncle, Cyaxares II, king of Media³⁰) was to settle frontier differences between the Armenians and their northern neighbors. He backed an Armenian march into the mountains, took possession of the heights, and then forged agreement between the Armenians and Chaldeans to share tillage and pasturage under Mede protection.³¹

(3) Some scholars relate Chaldaeia/Chaldaean to “Arpachshad/Arpaxad,” on the theory that each contains the Hebrew *chsad*, associating Arpachshad with *Arrapachitis* between Urmia and Lake Van in the region of Armenia, of Ptolemy’s writings. On this point, biblical texts indicate ambivalences in the formal lineage:

(a) “The sons of [Noah-] Shem: Elam, Asshur, *Arpachshad*, Lud, *Aram*. And sons *Aram*’s: *Uz*, *Hul*, *Gether*, *Mash*. And Arpachshad fathered Shalach, and Shalach fathered Eber and to Eber were born two sons”-- Peleg and Joktan--of whom Abraham was of the line of Peleg. *Genesis* 10:21ff.; see complete roster at Appendix 1A.II

(b) “The sons of Shem [were] Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, Aram, Uz, Hul, Gether and Meshech. And Arpachshad fathered Shelah and Shelah fathered Eber, etc.” *1 Chronicles* 1:17:ff.

(c) The pertinent part of the roster also varies as follows:

(Noah-*Shem-Arpachshad-Shelah-Eber-*) Peleg; (a) and (b) above.

(Noah-*Shem-Arphaxad-Cainan-Shelah-Eber-*) Peleg; *Luke* 3:35-36.

A suggestion made on this point has been that the origin of *Cainan* in the lineage roster given by *Luke* might have been a transposition plus mistranslation/miscopying of a modifier, and what originally had been designated was “Arpaxad/Arpachshad, the Chaldean.” According to calculation of reported longevities in the texts, Shem’s life overlapped both Abraham’s and Isaac’s; thus it can be speculated that the division at Peleg and Joktan might have been preceded by a branched division into stems of Noah-Shem-Arpachshad and Noah-Shem-Aram.

(4) Other aspects of the *Ur* issue are:

(a) The *Chaldean*/Babylonian dynasty founded by Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar’s father, who was allied with Cyaxares I of Media when he took Nineveh *circa* 612 b.c.;

(b) The apparent subsequent division of Ninevehite and Babylonian “Assyrians” (Assyria’s long-time government at Asshur, the name of Shem’s second-named son, retreated to *Harran*); and

(c) Snarls involving seemingly interchangeable uses of “Assyrian” and “Babylonian” by the ancient historians, e.g. the *Xenophon* II.i.5 reference to “Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria.”

Zemarite

(Noah-Ham-) “Canaan fathered...the *Zemarite*,” *Genesis* 10:15ff.; *1 Chronicles* 1:8ff. No biblical detail.

²⁹ *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Vol. II, tr. Miller, Walter; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979 Edition; ed. n. p. 467; italics supplied.

³⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, III, “Narrative, *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*.”

³¹ *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, III.iii.24ff.

Book Two Introductory Summary

To The First Fall of Jerusalem

(Bath-Sheba and David to Nehushta and Jehoiakim)

No maternal data is available for king David or his seven male siblings. They all are given as sons of one "Jesse of Bethlehem-Ephrathah," who appears in the official lineage as grandson of Ruth and Boaz.¹

Two of David's female relatives, "Abigail" and "Zeruiah," commonly are taken to be his full-blooded sisters. However, although they are referenced as "sisters of the sons of Jesse," they are not described directly as daughters of Jesse. Abigail and Zeruiah evidently were considerably older than David, given his peer age with their named soldier sons.

There is nothing in the texts to prevent equating "sister" Abigail with "Abigail, wife of Nabal of Carmel,"² who became one of David's first three wives. (Nabal met an unspecified death during David's rise to power.) David's other first-named wives were (a) a Saul daughter named Michal (last-mentioned female in the dwindling House of [Ner(i)-] Kish³), received by David when he was soldiering for Saul; and (b) Ahinoam, Saul's wife, later "taken from Jezreel" by David during his warring with Saul.⁴

Before Saul's vanquishment, he is reported to have retrieved Michal from David and given her to one Phalti/Palti, from whom David later reacquired her. Biblical text leaves unclear whether it was Michal or her older sister, Merab, who was mother of five Saul grandsons. The only other ancient source states that "Michal...when she was married to [undesigned] *him* whom Saul her father had given her...bare five children." David, upon his establishment in Jerusalem, turned over the five Saul grandsons, together with two sons of Rizpah by Saul, to certain Saul enemies, who put all seven to death.⁵

Royal mothers and their children--princesses and potential successor-princes--numbered among the king's chief properties. The size and makeup of a royal harem, besides reflecting personal choice, mirrored the crown power in political and military resources. The harem variously could include (a) women inherited and retained from the preceding king, (b) women married by the current king to seal alliances with other dynasties and rulers, and (c) selected females from the harem of a vanquished foe.⁶ Ages of females are not given.⁷

¹ See Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, "Jesse, Descendancy of," and Appendix 1E, "Saul Through Solomon." Bethlehem-Ephrathah, some five miles SE of Jerusalem is distinguished from a second Bethlehem some 7 miles W/NW of Nazareth-- see Appendix 1B, "Ephrath and Ephrathah." (Bethlehem-Ephrathah is referred to as "David's city," *i.e.* hometown, as opposed to "The City of David," the royal residence he later built on Mount Zion; see Appendix 2A, "Jebusites.")

² Besides "Jesse, Descendancy of," see Appendix 2A, "Nahash;" Appendix 1E *at and following* fn. 25; and 2 *Samuel* 5:4.

³ Certain questions remain unanswerable with respect to David's affiances over the period of the shift of supremacy from Saul to him; *but* see Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of," and Appendix 1E for David's acquisition of Ahinoam (*at* fn. 26), Abigail (*at* fn. 25), and Michal (*following* fn. 12 ff.). (*Refer to* Saul Descendancy concerning the *Ner/i* 'contradictions.')

⁴ Appendix 1E, "Saul Through Solomon," details data given in this summary, including David's rise to power, his reign, and Solomon's succession.

⁵ *Josephus*, AJ VII.IV.3 quotation re Michal, italics supplied; 1 *Samuel* 18:19; 2 *Samuel* 21:8.

⁶ Sometimes taken with their offspring (who not always were allowed to survive, as demonstrated *en passim* in all books of this work)—*e.g.*, Nebuchadnezzar's removal of queen mother, Nehushta, and "wives of the king" (*Jeremiah* 29:2; see *at* fn. 21, below), coupled with reports of captured princes at Babylon's court who later became involved with Cyrus and Darius, as later discussed.

Tamar, whose mother is not named, is the only named “daughter” of king David, although *Chronicles* indicates that David had more than one female child. Traditionally, Tamar has been taken both as David’s biological daughter and Absalom’s full-blooded sister; but that is not conclusive from the record, in that Tamar’s lineage primarily is inferred circuitously via *Samuel* and *Chronicles*, which partial lists refer to David’s offspring in varying terms.⁸ Mothers are named for only half of David’s 20⁹ reported “sons.” Four are treated with detail. They were (in the order in which their births are reported): (1) Amnon, son of Ahinoam; (3) Absalom, son of Maachah; (4) Adonijah, son of Haggith; and (9 or 10) Solomon, son of Bath-sheba.

Altogether the royal harem constituted a household fraught with half-sibling rivalries, as mothers and sons jockeyed for position in the changing schemes of kings.¹⁰ Power struggles involving David’s lead sons began some time before he died. His waning days were presaged by a “violation” of Tamar by Amnon, and ended when Nathan and Bath-sheba unitedly secured David’s death-bed confirmation of Solomon as the monarchy’s heir-elect.

Birth of Bath-sheba’s and David’s son, Nathan, may have preceded Solomon’s.¹¹ Nathan, the son, is not discussed *per se*. In David’s royal household the name, “Nathan,” centers on a man of unrecounted origin depicted as a prophet or priest, who chastized David for his tactics in obtaining Bath-sheba. Nathan, depicted as a serious confidante of Bath-sheba, encouraged her to obtain David’s appointment of Solomon as successor, and himself also pressed David in that regard. Adonijah who had been expecting to succeed, went so far as to officiate at a competing assembly; but it was Solomon who ultimately gained the throne.¹²

Solomon reigned 39 years, to c. 926 b.c. During his reign he divided the northlands into administrative districts whose populations experienced increasing forced labor and oppression under the monarchy’s demands. Solomon designated Rehoboam, his son by Naamah “the Ammonitess,” as successor. Opponents favored Jeroboam, the son of Zeruah (a widowed “servant of Solomon”) and one Nebat, “an Ephrathite.”

Jeroboam previously had been chief administrator of “all the burden of the house of Joseph.” Competition between him and the monarchy is evident before Solomon’s death. Reportedly, Jeroboam had gone “out from Jerusalem” and met with a Shilonite priest/prophet named Ahijah, who professed to Jeroboam that, “Thus says [Tet.]...: ‘I am tearing the kingdom from the hand of Solomon and giving to you ten, the tribes...’”¹³ At that time Solomon had looked to kill the contending Jeroboam, but Jeroboam had taken refuge with King Shishak of Egypt.

After Solomon died, son Rehoboam presented himself for ratification as king at an assembly of “all Israel” held at Shechem. Jeroboam (who had been “sent and called for”)

⁷ it generally is impossible, as well, to discern relative ages of members of either gender, e.g. the fact that Saul’s lead son, Jonathan, was twice David’s stated age of 30 when David became king, is derivable only from combined data.

⁸ An indefinite “Tamar, their sister” appearing at the end of one such list; see David Descendancy.

⁹ (Excluding Bath-Sheba’s child born first after her acquisition by David, which child died in infancy.) Refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, “David, Descendancy of.”

¹⁰ Such as between Absalom, Amnon and Adonijah, as detailed in Appendix 1E, “Saul Through Solomon.” (That syndrome was to be most dramatically reported in the Hasmonaean/Herodian complex—Appendix 4B.)

¹¹ One of the three scriptural accounts lists Solomon’s birth immediately following the death of the first child born to Bath-sheba after her appropriation by David (2 *Samuel* 12:15-24). Two list Nathan before Solomon (2 *Samuel* 5:13 and 1 *Chronicles* 3:5; quotations are given in Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, David Descendancy).

¹² Refer to Appendix 1E preceding fn. 83.

¹³ 1 *Kings* 11:26ff. (Refer to Appendix 2C, IV Narrative, “Through the Period of the Kings;” Appendix 3B, I, Ahijah, for all uses.)

returned from exile and was spokesman for the opposition. They petitioned Rehoboam for redress of civil and social grievances, including reductions of forced labor and taxes. Jeroboam gave Rehoboam three days to respond.

Rehoboam ignored advice from his elders. Taking counsel, instead, from “the young men who had grown up with him,” he refused to compromise. The opponents rebelled and “caused Jeroboam to reign over all Israel [the 10 tribes],” the only dissenting tribe being “the tribe of Judah.” Civil war threatened. Rehoboam “assembled all the house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin,” “180,000 chosen makers of war, to fight with the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom to Rehoboam.” Overt civil warfare was averted by intervention of a prophet named Shemaiah, whose counsel against war was heeded.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the cohesive empire adroitly consolidated and maintained by king David dissolved and divided into separate kingdoms-- "Israel" and "Judah"--with their own rulers, capitals, and shrines.

The ensuing nearly 400-years (the ‘period of the kings’) was a complicated time involving fluctuating ‘south’/‘north’ contentions, external aggression, and internal power struggles within each kingdom. The events of the centuries of the divided kingdoms, including tenures of kings, prophets and high priests, are sequenced brokenly in *Kings* and *Chronicles*. Generational progressions often bewilder with overlaps of identical and/or similar names. Occasionally-- reminiscent of the era of *Judges*--there came to the fore powerful prophets/priest commanders, primarily Elijah, Elisha, and high priest Jehoiada. Only a handful of chief or high priests are named, however, and writings are not extant of all scribing prophets to whom the texts refer.

At times, differences between the two kingdoms gave way to allied combat against foreign aggression. The texts reveal greater degrees of alliance in certain periods marked by solid intermarriages between Judah and Israel royal and priestly houses.¹⁵ Both kingdoms progressively became ensnared by foreign parties competing for world power--first by Aram/Syria; then, Assyria; finally, Babylonia. Aram/Syria constituted the primary regional foe throughout the first two centuries of the ‘period of the kings.’ Over that time, south and north are reported alternately covenanting with and/or paying tribute to Aram/Syria, interspersed with battles to keep or regain territory, and sometimes uniting in their efforts. Data is insufficient, however, for discerning actual political relationships between the respective kingdoms and Aram/Syria--such as when Ahab-N (north) agreed to unite with Jehoshaphat-S (south), later involvements of Elisha, and the advent of Jehu-N.¹⁶

Egypt (initially under Ethiopian/Libyan domination) made one serious incursion into Judah during Rehoboam’s reign,¹⁷ and south king Asa is reported battling Ethiopians some two decades later. Assyria, resurging from a decline, gained dominance of Media and Elam in the east and then struck westward against Aram/Syria, and eventually into ‘Palestine.’ The texts report that approximately 225 years into the period (by the time of the reign of king Pekah-N c. 735 b.c.), Assyria had taken all of the Israel kingdom’s major cities east and west of the Jordan River, effected deportations, and was in occupation of “Samaria.”¹⁸

Israel’s king Pekah entered a coalition with Aram/Syria, which besieged Jerusalem and took a captivity. Judah’s king Ahaz emptied his treasury to engage Assyrian assistance

¹⁴ Rehoboam’s successor-son would prove more aggressive; *refer to* Appendix 2C, IV.

¹⁵ Appendix 2C, IV narrates and cites the period that is summarized briefly here; its precise length is uncertain--*refer to* the global comparative chronology of events given in Appendix 2D, “Calendar Year Comparison Timeline.” (References for the preceding paragraphs are *1 Kings* 12 and *2 Chronicles* 11.)

¹⁶ In all this, *refer to* Appendix 2C, IV narrative, “Through the Period of the Kings.”

¹⁷ Rehoboam lost some cities, and Shishak looted the Jerusalem temple.

¹⁸ The reader cannot be reminded too often of the overall uncertainty of datings. For Samaria/ Samaritan, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3.

against the Pekah/Aram combine. Assyria complied. It put an end to Aram/Syria, seizing Damascus c. 732, and absorbed the Syrian territories; but in the process Assyria conquered Galilee areas as well. Judah's king Ahaz remained servile to Assyria. Then, in the reign of his successor-son, king Hezekiah, Assyria conquered the north's capital of Samaria City, c. 723/722--the "ninth and final year" of Israel's last king, Hoshea. That event/date traditionally is taken as the end of the northern kingdom, "Israel."

By Hezekiah's fourteenth year (c. the mid-600's b.c.), Assyria had captured Judah's fortified cities. Hezekiah (who it appears was looking to Egypt for assistance) became an Assyrian vassal. Judah paid a heavy tribute; nevertheless, Assyria afterwards persisted in camping against Jerusalem. The Assyrian camp mysteriously was struck, however, by a force in the night--all who were not killed retreated. Judah continued as a vassal of Assyria for another six to seven decades, through the long reign of Hezekiah's successor, Manasseh, and possibly two years into the reign of Manasseh's successor, Amon. At that point, the Assyrian empire was at its peak, dominating Egypt and ruling parts of Arabia, (present-day) Turkey, and Persia (Susa and Elam), as well as all of Syria/Aram and original Davidic kingdom territories. But combined forces in Media and Babylon were eroding the far-flung, greater Assyrian empire. All too soon, taking advantage of growing anarchy within, they would bring it to a close.

Media had commenced unification under a monarchy c. 700 b.c. Its third king, Cyaxares I, ascended the throne c. 626, about the same time that one Nabopolassar--who had been a general for Assyria's Assurbanipal--revolted and established himself in Babylon. In approximately 614 b.c. Cyaxares I and his Medes conquered Asshur, the most ancient Assyrian capital, and pushed the Assyrians downriver to Nineveh. Nabopolassar arrived too late to do battle, but he met up with Cyaxares I and they formed an alliance. The Medes and 'Babylonians' together, joined by Scythians in the final assault, conquered Nineveh c. 612. The last Assyrian faction fled to Harran, some 100 miles to the west, where to some extent they were supported by the Egyptians. Cyaxares I returned to his own dominions. About two years later, Nabopolassar defeated the Egypto-Assyrian force at Harran and established a Babylonian/Scythian garrison there.¹⁹

The record is silent for the next few years, during which time it appears that Nabopolassar went into retirement and left the major command of his armies to his son, Nebuchadnezzar.²⁰ Meanwhile, Pharaoh Necho II of Egypt undertook a major expedition to counter the Babylonian-led expansion. Judah's then-king Josiah chose to oppose Necho's march (the texts do not state a clear purpose why); and Josiah was killed in a defeat of his forces at Megiddo. Egypt established a stronghold at Carchemish, and Judah became vassal of Egypt.

In the year generally taken as 605 b.c., Carchemish was taken by then-prince Nebuchadnezzar. There is uncertainty in sequencing events of Nebuchadnezzar's ensuing lordship over the core biblical territories, as to his assaults on it, exactly how many were made, and his ultimate conquest of Jerusalem and Judah. He is said to have lain a long siege at Philistia's Ashkelon, and c. 609 to have installed Eliakim/Jehoiakim as vassal king in Judah. *Daniel* reports that Nebuchadnezzar surrounded Jerusalem and took both spoil and some "sons...of the royal seed" to his Babylon court, following a rebellion by Eliakim/Jehoiakim "in the third year of the reign of [Eliakim/]Jehoiakim."²¹

¹⁹"The Assyrian nation, as such, passed away in Syria." *Ibid.*, p. 130. Refer to book three for the Neo-Babylonian and Media/Persia dynasties and related events.

²⁰aka Nebuchadrezzar and sometimes designated Nebuchadnezzar II, to distinguish him from an earlier namesake. (Portions of the data in this section are from *Cambridge*, v. III, pp. 130 and 207.)

²¹Alternately, *Jeremiah* reports that Nebuchadnezzar struck Carchemish in Jehoiakim's "fourth year."

Within another few years, Nebuchadnezzar had crushed all rebellion, and king Jehoiakim was dead. Nebuchadnezzar took Jehoiakim's wife, queen-mother Nehushta, and her young successor-son, Jehoiachin, to Babylon with other captives.²²

At some previous time, Nebuchadnezzar had married Amytis, who it appears was a daughter of (Cyaxares I -) Astyages.²³

The last vassal king installed at Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar was Mattaniah/Zedekiah. Zedekiah, too, finally rebelled, in his tenth or eleventh year (c. 586 b.c., according to common dating); and Nebuchadnezzar waged another siege of Jerusalem. The city was breached at the end of two years, another exile was made, and Judah became a Babylonian province. Shortly thereafter, Jerusalem was destroyed by a Babylonian force commanded by Nebuzaradan, captain of Nebuchadnezzar's army.

Farther east, a third new force was emerging in the *Achaemenid* dynasty, of the region of Anshan/Elam,²⁴ which was connected to Media by royal marriage. Anshan's Cambyses I (son of Cyrus I) was married to a second (Cyaxares I -) Astyages' daughter, named Mandane. Their son was Cyrus II, later to be known as 'Cyrus the Great.' Cambyses I initially was a vassal of Astyages. Then, c. 550 b.c., Cyrus II--apparently with the blessing of his uncle, Cyaxares II of Media--dethroned Astyages, heralding the advent of the Persian empire.

Meanwhile, queen Nehushta's bloodline, enduring in exile, was about to reflowerish.

²² The biblical texts state that Jehoiakim was taken in fetters to Babylon, while *Josephus* states Nebuchadnezzar had Jehoiakim killed and his body thrown before Jerusalem's wall. (Regarding all of the within brief summary, refer to Appendix 2C, IV Narrative, and Appendix 2D, Calendar Year Comparison.)

²³ Astyages succeeded his father as king of Media c. 585/584 b.c. It is not known at what point the Amytis/ Nebuchadnezzar marriage (per *Berossus* and *Abydenus*) took place; some would make Amytis Cyaxares I's daughter, which timewise would discount her as the unnamed queen at Belshazzar's feast; *but see* Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart/Neo-Babylonians," at C, "Exploration of Issues." (Appendix 3A, Parts I - III provide details of the Median, Babylonian and Persian dynasties and relations.)

²⁴ See Appendix 2A, Elam.

Appendix 2A

NAMES/RELATIONS/PLACES¹

ABIHAIL

(Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah-Onam-Shammai-Abishur + *Abihail*...lapse, etc.--see Appendix 1C, footnotes 40 and 53.

(*Abihail*-) Zuriel, ruler of the father house of the families of (Levi-) Merari. *Numbers* 3:35.

(Huri-) *Abihail*-). *1 Chronicles* 5:14.

(Jesse-Eliab-) *Abihail* (see Attachment 1 to this appendix, "Jesse Descendancy of." "Esther, the daughter of *Abihail*." *Esther* 9:29.

Abihail, uncle of (Kish-Shimei-Jair-) Mordecai, guardian of Esther. *Esther* 2:5, 15.

ADONIRAM/ADORAM/HADORAM/JORAM

Refer to Hadoram, this appendix.

AMASA/AMASAI/AMASHAI

Amasa, Son of Abigail and Jether/Ithra. (See Attachment 1 to this appendix, "Jesse, Descendancy of," and *Amasai* in Appendix 1E, *at and in* footnote 20.)

(Hadlai-) *Amasa*, among Ephraimite leaders who refused captives brought to them by the army of northern king Pekah. *2 Chronicles* 28:12.

(Elkanah-) *Amasai*, one of David's ministers of song. *1 Chronicles* 6:25.

(Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephaniah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-*Amasai*-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel-Jercham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-) Heman, one of David's lead singers. *Chronicles* 6:33ff.

Amasai, a musician accompanying the Ark. *1 Chronicles* 15:24.

(*Amasai*-) Mahath helped cleanse the temple for King Hezekiah. *2 Chronicles* 29:12-18.

(Immer-Meshillemoth-Ahasel-Azareel-) *Amashai* was among post-exilic priests at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:13.

AMMIEL/ELIAM [In Hebrew these names are formed by the same four letters in different order.]

(Gemalli-) *Ammiel*, representing the tribe of Dan among the 12 men Moses sent to scout Canaan. *Numbers* 13:12.

(Ahithophel-) *Eliam*, one of David's mighty warriors. *2 Samuel* 23:34. [*Ahithopel* "of Giloh" backed Absalom's attempted coup--Appendix 1E *at and following* footnote 65.]

Ammiel, Bath-Sheba's father. *1 Chronicles* 3:5.

Eliam, Bath-Sheba's father. *2 Samuel* 11:3

(*Ammiel*-) Machir of Lo-Debar, to whom Saul's surviving grandson was taken--refer to 1C, VI, C, Machir descendancy, and Lo-Debar, this appendix.

(Obed-edom-) *Ammiel*--Obed, this appendix.

AMON

Amon, "the ruler of the city [presumed to be, Samaria]," to whom king Ahab sent Micaiah for imprisonment, for unsatisfactory prophesying concerning proposed action to repossess Ramoth-Gilead (a key to the Gilead and Bashan districts) from 'Syrians.' *1 Kings* 22:26; *2 Chronicles* 18:25.

Amon, 15th king of Judah (Appendix 2C).

Amon/Ami, numbered among the "sons of the servants of Solomon" in the post-exilic returns. *Nehemiah* 7:57-59; *Ezra* 2:57.

¹ Uncited data in this appendix are from *Aid*. Italicization of names in quotations is supplied.

See also Deities, Miscellaneous - Amon/Amun.

ANAKIM

Sons/children of *Anak*--of tall stature; among them, Ahiman, Sheshai and Talmi--seen occupying Hebron when Moses had the area reconnoitered. *Numbers* 13:22, 28; *Deuteronomy* 2:10-12; 9:2.

"And the name of Hebron before [Caleb received it, was] Kirjath-Arba, the man great among the *Anakim*." [*Kirjath-Arba*, ancient name for Hebron, this appendix.] *Joshua* 14:15.

Joshua "cut off the *Anakim*...from Hebron, from Debir...;" only some remained, "in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod." *Joshua* 11:21-22.

"And went Judah against the Canaanites...in Hebron...and struck they Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi." "And [Caleb] expelled from there the three sons of *Anak*." *Judges* 1:10, 20.

ANATOLIA - See Asia, Asia Minor, this appendix.

ANSHAN - see Elam, this appendix.

APAMEA/Orontem.

"In ancient geography, a city in Syria, situated on the Orontes River about 50 miles SE of Antioch; ...regionally called Pharnake. (*Apamea*/aka Apamea Cibotus: "In ancient geography, a city in Phrygia, Asia Minor, near the modern Dinar, Turkey.)

APHEK/APHIK

Aphek, mentioned by Joshua as among places remaining to be conquered [placed at Alphaca, about 23 miles NE of present-day Beirut, Lebanon]. *Joshua* 13:4.

Aphik, a town never possessed, in allotted Asher territory. *Joshua* 19:30; *Judges* 1:31.

A king of *Aphek* is listed among those conquered by Joshua. *Joshua* 12:18.

Aphek, site of the Philistines' camp when they won the battle in which they captured the ark and Eli's sons were killed. [This *Aphek* has been placed some 20 miles W/NW of Shiloh.] *1 Samuel* 4:1ff.

Aphek, a town at which a Philistine axis gathered before the battle that ended in the death of Saul. *1 Samuel* 29:1ff.

Aphek, a site involved in a battle between king Ahab and king Ben Hadad I of Aram/Syria [Appendix 2C.IV, footnote 32. Some scholars consider this *Aphek* to be the same as that above; others, that there was a second *Aphek*, slightly east of the Sea of Galilee.] *1 Kings* 20:26ff.

ARABIA

As used in *Xenophon*, "Arabaya" [= the level country]; "not the Arabian peninsula, but the land along the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia subject to Assyria." Miller tr., *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Index.

ARK

(See also Tabernacle, this appendix.)

According to:

1 Samuel:

3:2: Ark located at Shiloh.

4:5: Taken from Shiloh into "Israel" camp.

4:9: Captured by Philistines, who first took it from Ebenezer [placed 11 miles E of Tel-Aviv/Joppa] to Ashdod [near the Mediterranean coast about 00midway twixt Joppa and Gaza]; next, at Gath [this

- appendix]; then, Ekron [site unknown; 12 miles E/NE of Ashdod has been suggested.]
- 6-7: The ark rested in Philistine fields seven months. Following certain catastrophes, they sent it away on a cart. It arrived in the field of one Joshua of the levitical city of Beth-Shemesh. [This Beth-Shemesh has been placed about 16 miles W of Jerusalem; for others, see Beth-Shemesh, this appendix.]
- At Beth-Shemesh, 70 Bethshemites [plus “50,000 men,” per *1 Samuel* 6:18] were “smote” for looking inside the ark. The Bethshemites sent word to Kirjath-Jearim [Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim, this appendix] for men to come to retrieve it. The ark was taken to the house of *Abinadab* [--*other uses*, see (a) “Saul, Descendancy of,” Attachment 2 to this appendix 2A, part III, A, (2), and (b) “Jesse, Descendancy of,” Attachment 1 to this appendix, footnote 4.]
- Eleazar was sanctified to guard the ark and it rested at Kirjath-Jearim for 20 years.
- 14:18: Saul asked priest Ahijah to bring the ark to his camp at/in the vicinity of Gibeah during an engagement with the Philistines [--Appendix 1E; for *Ahijah*, refer to Attachment 4 to this appendix, “Eli Descendancy of”].
- 2 *Samuel* 6:1 ff./1 *Chronicles* 13:
David, established in Jerusalem, proposed to an assembly that they send for the ark. David “and all the people who with him, from Baal-judah”/“David and all Israel” went to “Baalah, to Kirjath-Jearim...Judah,” to retrieve the ark from Abinadab.
- A hostile event at Uzza caused David to decide to leave the ark at the house of Obed-Edom, the Gittite, where it rested three months. [Refer to Appendix 1E, footnote 40, for other uses of *Uzza*--as name of individuals, garden and temple.]
- 2 *Samuel* 6:16/1 *Chronicles* 15:3, 16:1:
“And was it the ark of Jehovah...entered the City of David....” and it was “set in its place, in the midst of the tent that...David had prepared[/pitched] for it.”--
- 1 *Chronicles* 16:37-39/1 *Chronicles* 21:29-30:
--“And he left, there before the ark...ministers...,” “and Zadok the priest, and his brothers the priests, before the tabernacle....in the high place that in Gibeon.”
- 2 *Samuel*:
11:11: When David spoke with Bath-Sheba’s husband, Uriah, about taking a rest from battle, Uriah remarked, “The ark, and Israel, and Judah dwell in booths; and my lord Joab, and [his] servants, on the face of the field are camping.”
- 15: During David’s retreat from Absalom, the accompanying Zadok and Levites also were bearing away the ark, but David had them return it.
- 1 *Chronicles* 22:
David caused preparations for and instructed Solomon and all the rulers to “build the sanctuary...to bring in the ark of the covenant....”
- 2 *Chronicles*
2:1: Solomon held an assembly of chiefs and judges at the tabernacle in Gibeon to pursue building the sanctuary (the ark apparently still was in its tent).
- 2:5, 6: On completion of the building, Solomon held an assembly “...to bring up the ark from the City of David--Zion.”

1 Kings

- 3:15: Solomon "...came [to] Jerusalem and stood before the ark...."
8:4 Solomon had a great assembly to move the ark from Zion/the city of David; and "brought up the ark...and the tabernacle...."

1 Kings

- 8:6: "And brought the priests the ark of the covenant...to its place, to the oracle of the house, into the holy of holies, to under the wings of the cherubs; for the cherubs were spreading wings to the place of the ark, and covered the cherubs over the ark, and over its staves, from above...."
8:9: "Nothing was in the ark, only two the tables of stone which left there Moses in Horeb...."
35:3: King Josiah, at his Passover celebration in Jerusalem, told the Levites, "Put the ark holy in the house that Solomon built...it shall not be for you a burden on your shoulders." [This has been considered as the last mention of the ark in the canon.]

2 Maccabees 2:1: "You will find in the records [that] document [not here identified, which] tells how the prophet [Jeremiah]...ordered that the tent and the ark should accompany him and how he went off to the mountain which Moses climbed [taken to be mount Nebo; and] ...found a room in a cave in which he put the tent, the ark, and the altar of incense; then he blocked up the entrance."

ARMENIA/ARMANIYA

"[T]he country of the uppermost Euphrates and Tigris rivers, east of Cappadocia and NW of Media...its chief mountain is Ararat." Miller tr., *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Index.

AROER

Aroer, "beside Gilead," "at the edge of the river" and to the right of the [unnamed] city which is beside the river." *Deuteronomy* 2:36.

Aroer, by the valley of Arnon. *Deuteronomy* 3:12.

Aroer, on the bank of the river Arnon. *Joshua* 12:2.

Aroer, on the bank of the river Arnon" and the [unnamed] city which is in the middle of the valley." *Joshua* 13:9.

Aroer, on Reuben border. *Joshua* 13:16.

Aroer, on Gad border "before Rabbah." *Joshua* 13:25.

Aroer, on the right side of the [unnamed] city that is in the middle of the valley of Gad. 2 *Samuel* 24:5.

Aroer, by the Arnon river. 2 *Kings* 10:33.

ASHTAROTH/ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM

Ashtaroth "would indicate that it was a center of worship of the goddess Ashtoreth or Astarte;" it is "generally identified" in the region of Bashan, some 20 miles E of the Sea of Galilee; and, "The city is referred to in Assyrian inscriptions and in the Tell el-Amarna letters." ("Beeshterah" at *Joshua* 21:27 corresponds with *Ashtaroth* at 1 *Chronicles* 6:71.) *Aid*, page 145.

An *Ashterathite*, Uzzia, was one of David's mighty men. 1 *Chronicles* 11:44.

Ashteroth-Karnaim, where Elam's king Chedorlaomer defeated the Rephaim.

Genesis 14:5. [*Karnaim*, to which mention is made in 1 and 2 *Maccabees*, "is considered to be located at Sheikh Sa'ad...about three miles N of Tell 'Ashterah, the generally accepted site of Ashtaroth." It is uncertain if *Ashteroth-Karnaim* was the full name of *Ashtaroth* or simply indicates their proximity. *Aid*, page 145.

See also Deities, Miscellaneous, Ashteroth and Baal, this appendix.

ASIA

"...[T]he term 'Asia' was used, in some ancient writings, to refer to the Seleucid Empire of the third century B.C.E. as ruled by Antiochus the Great [referred to by *Maccabees* and *Josephus* as 'king of Asia'] which then included Syria, Mesopotamia, and much of Asia Minor." *Aid*, p. 147.

"*Alpha/sigma/iota/alpha*...at first used by the Greeks as the name of a district of Lydia, near the river Cayster, and later used sometimes to designate what is known now as Asia Minor, and sometimes as a general name for the country east of Greece." *Greek Dictionary*, page 812.

Asia Minor: *Asia Minor* "did not...come into use until the 4th century of the Common Era. ...*Anatolia* (meaning 'rising of the sun') was later given to this region by the Greeks." *Aid*, p. 147.

"Peninsula of west Asia which lies between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara on the north, the Aegean Sea on the west, and the Mediterranean Sea on the south; the east boundary is vague. Chief divisions in ancient times were Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Lycaonia Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. It is not roughly coextensive with Asiatic Turkey, or Anatolia. ... It was the seat of Troy, Lydia and other ancient powers, and of the Ionian Greek civilization." *Ency.* 240.

Asia proper, chief divisions:

Turkey, Arabia, India, USSR, China, Indochina, Burma, Korea--with islands.

ASSYRIA

Assyria's first biblical reference is at *Genesis* 2:14, which states that the third of the four heads of the river that "went out from Eden to water the garden" was the Hiddekel (Tigris)--"the one going east of Assyria."

"Assyria [Ashshur = the wet watered plain, Athura]; the country lying mainly along the east bank of the middle Tigris, west of Media...and extending up into the piedmont country bordering on Armenia. ... With the destruction of Nineveh, at the hands of the older Cyaxares [I] and Nabopolassar, Assyria as an independent nation...ceased to exist. By Assyria, Xenophon means the land governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia." Miller tr., *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Index.

Assyria first capital is taken as having been Asshur, believed founded as early as the second millennium b.c., on the west bank of the upper Tigris about two-thirds the distance between present-day Baghdad and the Armenian foothills. Later, after the Babylonian factioing, Nineveh, north of Asshur, assumed the status of capital--*Nineveh*, below.

"Syria" frequently is rendered in ancient writings as "Assyria" (*refer to* App. 3A, III, fn. 31).

BAALAH/BAAL-JUDAH - see Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim, this appendix.

BABYLONIA and BABYLON

"Babylonia, a large province of Assyria, of which Babylon [city] was the capital. The inhabitants shook off the Assyrian yoke, and afterward became very powerful." *Lempriere*, p. 99.

The Babylonian region occupied the rich valley presently a portion of Iraq between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, from the Persian Gulf delta on the south to roughly Baghdad on the north. "Babylonia is strictly not a geographical, but a political-historical designation...often used [by ancient writers] interchangeably with Assyria." Miller tr., *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Index.

Babylon, the city (taken to be the biblical "Babel"), lay approximately 50 miles south of modern Baghdad, on the banks of the Euphrates River.

Biblically, an early name of some of the Babylon region may have been "Shinar:" *Daniel* 1:2 speaks of Nebuchadnezzar carrying his spoils to "the land of Shinar;" *Isaiah* 11:11

speaks of the recovery of a remnant from Shinar; *Zechariah* 5:10's vision mentions "Shinar;" *Joshua* 7:21 notes that a beautiful robe "of Shinar" was among the spoil Achan secretly kept for himself.

BATH-SHEBA, see Ammiel/Eliam.

BEEROTH/BEROTHITE

Beeroth, whose residents were among those of four cities that covenanted with Joshua; refer to Appendix 1D, I, at footnote 6.

Beeroth, included among Benjaminite cities. *Joshua* 18:25.

Rechab, one of two "captains of troops [of] the son of Saul," was the son of "Rimmon of *Beeroth* of the sons of Benjamin; for also *Beeroth* is reckoned to Benjamin...." *2 Samuel* 4:2.

Sons of *Beeroth* are among post-Babylon repatriates. *Ezra* 2:25; *Nehemiah* 7:29.

Beeroth "is generally identified with el-Bireh, a neighboring town of modern Ramallah...about four and a half miles...N-NE of Gibeon," but "some suggest a site farther S." *Aid*, page 206. [*Refer also to Geba/Gibea/Gibeah/Gibeon, this appendix.*]

BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION

Behistun/Bisitun, about 22 miles east of Bakhtaran in western Iran, along the ancient caravan route from Baghdad to Tehran, is the site of a text inscribed in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian (Akkadian) cuneiform. The text appears on a bas-relief scene sculpted some 225 feet high on the face of a limestone cliff rock. (The scene depicts vanquished leaders paying homage to Persian king Darius I.) "Henry Rawlinson's successful interpretation of the inscription opened the way for the decipherment of Akkadian and the recovery of Mesopotamian literature." *McCarter*, p. 6.

BEL

This title, *Lord*, is suggested as originally used in worshipping the god "Enlil," who in importance preceded Marduk/Merodach, the patron god of Babylon. *Aid*, page 209.

BETHEL

Identified with ruins located about 12 miles N of Jerusalem; excavations suggest they date as far back as possibly the 21st century b.c.

BETH-HORON

Placed about 10 miles NW of Jerusalem on two hilltop sites.

BETH-SHAN/BETH-SHEAN

Evidenced in the texts as a militarily strategic city and junction town, connecting major trade routes. Present-day Beit Shean lies slightly west of the Jordan River about 12 miles S of the Sea of Galilee. Strata of its excavations date back before Abraham. By the last century b.c. Beth-Shan was known as Scythopolis and (per *Josephus*) was one of the largest cities in the Dekapolis (*refer to Appendix 4C, Dekapolis/Decapolis*).

BETH-SHEMESH

Beth-Shemesh, city where the ark first arrived after its return from the Philistines (see *Ark*, above), has been placed about 16 miles W of Jerusalem.

A "fortified" city in a list of Naphtali cities; site unidentified. *Joshua* 19:38.

A town toward which the border of Issachar's allotment reached (*Joshua* 19:22), with different sites proposed. (Some "modern authorities prefer an identification with el-'Abeidiyeh on the banks of the Jordan just a couple of miles...S of the Sea of Galilee and about ten miles...E of Mount Tabor." *Aid*, page 226.

The same *Hebrew* characters appear *Jeremiah* 43:13, where they are translated

according to their meaning--“the house of the sun”--in a prophesy against Egypt; the reference there “is considered to be the same as Heliopolis (a Greek name also meaning ‘city of the sun’), located a few miles E-NE of modern Cairo...elsewhere referred to [as] On.” [More about On at Appendix 3B, II, subpart VI, C, “Heliopolis, Egypt.”]

CARCHEMISH

At the current boundary of Syria and Turkey, on the upper Euphrates River some 60 miles west of Harran and 500 miles north of Jerusalem. Most anciently, *Carchemish* had been an important city of both the Mitanni and the Hittites. Subsequently it became a possession of Egypt, until it was captured by Assyria under Sargon II.

CARMEL

Suggestion that *Carmel*, a *city/village*, was some 7-1/2 miles S/SE of Hebron has arisen circularly, based on inferences from the (Nabal of Carmel-) Abigail account (Appendix 1E) and the list of Judah cities at *Joshua* 15:1-55.

Carmel range: A wedge-shaped spur off of Canaan's central mountains, which runs northwesterly to a headland at the Mediterranean Sea (present-day Haifa), with the coastal plain of Asher on the north, the valley of Jezreel/Esdraelon on the range's east flank, and plains of Sharon and Philistia on the south. The texts generally do not specify between the northwest ridge and the entire range.

CHERETHITES and PELETHITES

Positive identification is lacking for these terms used to distinguish a group commanded by Benaiah, under king David. Associations are:

Cherethite:

“...the Negev of the Cherethites....” *1 Samuel* 30:14.

A “brook Cherith, which before Jordan, “ where Elijah concealed himself for a period. *1 Kings* 17:3.

Some equate “cherethite” with *execution*, based on the Hebrew root for “cut off.”

Pelethite:

(Reuben-) *Peleth*, who rebelled with Korah (*refer to* Appendix 1C, sub-part IV, A, “Korah-led Revolt).

(Jerahmeel + Atarah -) *Peleth* (*see* Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D).

CHINNERETH/CHINNEROTH - see Galilee.

CYRUS CYLINDER

A text in Babylonian cuneiform, commemorating Cyrus II's (“the Great's”) conquest of Babylon, inscribed on a 10-inch-long clay barrel. The text says, in part, “I am Cyrus, king of the world; great king; legitimate king; king of Babylon; king of Sumer and Akkad; king of the four rims; son of Cambyses, great king; king of Anshan; grandson of Cyrus [I]...descendant of Teispes....of a family always kingship.” (Teispes was the son of Achaemenes, thus, the “Achaemenian” line, from which Cyrus claimed descent.) The text states further, “I returned to...sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris, the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, the images which [once] lived therein and established for them permanent sanctuaries. I gathered all their inhabitants and returned their habitations.” *McCarter*, p. 27; Wright, G. Ernest, *Biblical Archaeology*, page 200, as quoted by *Aid* at page 410.

DAN

Initially, a far-north Sidonian colony near Mount Hermon, approximately midway between Tyre and Damascus, originally known as Laish; also known as Lus(i) or Lechem. During the period of the Judges, Laish was conquered and occupied by Danites and was renamed *Dan* (Appendix 1D, II, preceding fn. 46). References to Laish as “Dan,” however, occur priorly in the texts, during the time of Abraham.

DEBIR -

Individually, *Debir*, King of Eglon in an anti-Joshua alliance of five Canaanite kings-- Appendix 1D, I, preceding footnote 7.

Geographically:

It is unclear from the various references how many *Debir* sites are involved:

(a) "Then came Deborah, the daughter of Jasher, and said unto her father: Behold my husband was slain before Makkedah, when Israel went out to fight for the people of Gibeon. Wherefore that I, and my sons, and my daughters, may serve...let us build us a city, that we may dwell therein.' And Jasher said, 'Thou hast said it: and call thou its name *Debir*.'" *Jasher* 35:30. [Makkedah, this appendix.]

(b) *Debir* captured by Joshua. *Joshua* 10:38-39

(c) The "name of *Debir* before" was "[Kirjath-]Sepher;" "Kirjath-Sannah, which is *Debir*" [conquered for Judah by Caleb]. *Joshua* 15:15, 49; *Judges* 1:11ff.

(d) A *pass of Debir*, "at the low plain of Achor" (placed SW of Jericho), appears in Judah's boundary list. *Joshua* 15:7

Two *Debir* placements tentatively made are:

1. The "border of *Debir*" that was part of the border of Gad (*Joshua* 13:26) has been associated with Lo-debar, about 10 miles S of the Sea of Galilee, east side of the Jordan.
2. "*Debir* and its open land," which was included as a Levi-Kohathite-Amramite-Aaronite levitical city in the Shiloh distributions (*Joshua* 21:15; *1 Chronicles* 6:58), has been placed within 12 to 15 miles SW of Hebron, at the extremities of which exist ancient underground basins that would correspond to the upper and lower "springs" mentioned at *Joshua* 15:19 and *Judges* 1:15.

DEDAN - see Raamah.

DEITIES, Miscellaneous²

Amon/Amun

A local Egyptian deity "who rose to the position of 'king of the gods' under the name Amon-Ra/[Amun-Re]." His city, which still bears the Greek name, Thebes--about 330 miles south of Cairo, situate there on both banks of the upper Nile--apparently was known as "the City of the God Amon/Amun." *Aid*, page 69.

Asherah

The term appears to have denoted a Canaanite cult goddess. However, at times the term denotes a specific image/artifact, rendered "sacred pole" but initially appearing as "pillar" (*Judges* 6:27). The same Hebrew characters at *Judges* 6:27 (= *pillar*) become "*Asherah*" (see *2 Kings* 23:4, 6, 8; *2 Kings* 18:4). "[A]t the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium b.c./b.c.e. (Iron Age I), several local Israelite sanctuaries...generally contained three main elements: an altar for animal sacrifices; a standing stone, or stele (Hebrew: *masseba*)...an a sacred tree (Hebrew: *asherah*)." *Biblical Archaeology Review*, July/August, Vol. 30, No. 4, page 40 (Lemaire, Andre, "Another Temple to the Israelite God").

"And also Maachah the mother of Asa the king, [Asa] removed her from queen mother" because she had made an image "for *Asherah*" (which could be read, she "made a horrible image as an *asherah*"). *2 Chronicles* 15:16

Ashtoreth

A counterpart of other chief goddesses: Ishtar (Babylonian), Ashtarte (Phoenician), Astarte (Greek).

"...goddess of the Sidonians..." *1 Kings* 11:5 and 33; *2 Kings* 23:13.

See also Ashtaroth/Ashteroth-Karnaim, this appendix.

² Only brief data is included here, relative to deities mentioned in or related to quotations that appear in this work.

Baal

The Hebrew words, *ba'al* and *ba'alim*, when employed with the definite article, appear to specify regional or local deity/dieties, oftentimes linked with regional goddesses. ("It is commonly recognized that the three major goddesses of Baalism--Asherah, Ashtoreth and Anath--are closely linked, and are frequently confused with one another." *Aid*, page 146.)

Without the definite article, *ba'al* is used in the sense of "master," "owner," or "lord"--such as in the name of (Ish-bosheth)/*Eshbaal*, "the lord's man" (see *Merib-baal* below).

Baal also appears as if it is a proper name:

(Jeiel [Father of Gibeon] + Maachah-) *Baal*. *1 Chronicles* 8:30, 32; 9:35, 36.

(Joel-) *Baal*. *1 Chronicles* 5:4-5.

"...*Baal*//*Baalath-beer*..." *1 Chronicles* 4:24 ff.; *Joshua* 19:1 ff.

Merib-baal, see "Saul, Descendancy of," Attachment 2 to this appendix 2A, sub-part III, C.

The reason is not known why in some names "bosheth" is found substituted for *baal*, or why-- transliterated as *idol* at *Jeremiah* 3:24, for example--it is rendered in the margin as "shameful thing."

Chemosh

A Moabite stele ("the Moabite stone") reflects *Chemosh* primarily as a god of war. *Chemosh* also appears to have been a deity among the Ammonites, in that judge Jephthah referred to *Chemosh* as "your god," when addressing the king of the Ammonites (*Judges* 11:24).

Malech/Molech (possibly the same as *Milcom*)

"...and shall cut off him from among his people; for of his seed he has given to Molech..." *Leviticus* 20:3.

Milcom

"...the idol of the Ammonites..." *1 Kings* 11:6.

"...god of the sons of Ammon..." *1 Kings* 11:33.

Possibly the same as Malcham: "And I will cut off...the remnant of Baal...and those...yet swearing by Malcham..." *Zephaniah* 1:4-5.

Nebo/[Nabu/Nebu]

Assyrian/Babylonian deity; son of Marduk/=also called "Bel"/*Lord*." *Aid*, page 1211.

Referred to by Nabonidus as "the administrator of all the upper and nether world..." (*Nabonidus*, Appendix 3A, II.)

"Nebu," a form of *Nebo*, appears in the names of Babylon kings.

Qos - See Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, footnote 23.

ECBATANA/ECBATANE/ACHMETHA/HAGMATANA

Ecbatana, the capital of Media, was situated at modern Hamadan, Iran, some five miles S of present-day Tehran, where excavations predate Median rule. Located on the northeast slopes of the Orontes mountains, Ecbatana was a summer capital for both Median and Persian royalty.

The Greek historian Ctesias (who served as a physician at the Persian court), claimed Ecbatana was founded by "Semiramis" (equated by Assyrian legend with queen Sammu-rabat, who did extensive building at Babylon--*New Century Cyclopedia*, pages 1144, 3467 and 3551). Herodotus claimed Ecbatana was founded by the first-named Median king, Deioeces.

Ecbatana as rendered in *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions of *Ezra* is rendered "Achmetha" in the *Masoretic* and *Peshitta*. In old Persian it is "Hagmatana."

ELAH

Geographically, a low plain or valley SW of Jerusalem where Goliath of the Philistines was met.

Individually: Refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Elah, and Appendix 3B, I, Elah.

ELAM

Individually:

(? + Noah - Shem + ? -) *Elam*, one of five Shem sons from whose descendants, "according to their families, according to their tongues, in their lands, according to their nations," are given at *Genesis* 10:21; *1 Chronicles* 1:17. The names of Elam's sons are not specified.

Elam, according to *Aid* (page 501) designates both 'a people and a region on the SE border of Mesopotamia.' "The first two sons of Shem are Elam and Asshur, the eponyms of the Elamites and the Assyrians" (*Asimov*, vol. 1, page 53).

Among the *Ezra* 4:9 names of relocated Assyrian captives who joined in a "protest" to king Artaxerxes/Ahasuerus were "Erechites, Babylonians, and men of Susa--that is, the *Elamites*..."

Men of *Elam* of the post-exilic returns were among the later-excommunicants--Appendix 3B, II, parts III and IV.

Geographically:

Known also as Susiana and in classical *Greek*, as *Elymais*.

The *Elam* region roughly equates with the southwest province of Khuzistan, Iran, occupying a fertile plain east of the lower Tigris and north of the Persian Gulf, extending on its north and east into bordering mountains (the Zagros). ("If Eden is taken to be [ancient] Sumer, then the region 'east of Eden' would be that known as *Elam*." *Asimov*, volume 1, page 34.)

Elam's capital was Susa/Shushan, situate on the Karkeh River some 225 miles east of Babylon city. Renowned for metal work, Susa was a focus of trade and a vying point amongst Mesopotamia's various rulers. The site "exhibits a group of large, high mounds forming a diamond shape about 3-1/2 miles in circuit;" 1851 excavations disclosed the palace of Artaxerxes II; 1884-86 excavations laid bare beneath those ruins the palace of Darius I.

The *Old Testament* mentions ancient *Elam* in Abraham's time, when its king, Chedorlaomer/ ("Kudur-Lagamaru", led an alliance against a rebelling coalition of Canaanite kings over whom he had held suzerainty. The next secular notices are *Elam's* domination by the first "Nebuchadnezzar" c. 1130 b.c., and its alliance with Babylonia against greater Assyria during the eighth and seventh centuries b.c., during which time *Elam* engaged in major battles and suffered defeats. (Ashurbanipal destroyed Susa c. 645).

In the following period, *Elam* essentially was equated with the kingdom of *Anshan*, an independent state under the "Achaemenid" (*Persian* "Hakhamanis") dynasty--the family from which descended Cyrus the Great, who, united with Medo/Persia, saw disintegration of the Assyrian empire and the fall of Babylon. The *Anshan* region of *Elam* is represented in early inscriptions, where Susa/Shushan stood to the west of the Indus Valley in the vicinity of ancient Ur/(Sumer). Cyrus I, Cambyses I and Cyrus II each was referred to as "king of *Anshan*" (refer to Appendix 3A, I and III). A rebuilt Susa became the winter residence of the Persian kings and was involved with certain exilic events and personalities--notably *Daniel*, *Esther* and *Nehemiah* and *Esther*.

The famous stele of Hammurabi's Code, which was discovered at Susa, is believed to have been placed there when *Elam* regained regional dominance.

ELIAM - see [Ammiel](#).

ELYMAIS - see [Elam](#).

EPHOD

"[T]hey shall make a breast-plate and an *ephod*, and a robe, and a tunic of woven stuff, a miter, and a girdle.and they shall make the *ephod* gold, blue, and purple crimson and linen twined, the work of a skilled workman." *Exodus* 28:4-6.

"[Y]ou shall make two rings of gold, and you shall put them on the two shoulder-pieces of the *ephod* from beneath, at its front, near its joining, above the band of the *ephod*."

Exodus 28:27.

“...the robe of the *ephod*...” *Exodus* 29:5.

“Micah, he had a house of gods; and he made an *ephod*...” *Judges* 17:5. [Refer to Appendix 1D, II, “Judges,” beginning with the paragraph of footnote 45, concerning the incident involving Micah and the Danites, who confiscated his “graven image, the *ephod*, and the household idols, and the molten image,” together with Micah’s priest.]

After a successful campaign against two Midianite kings, judge Gideon obtained crescents and the pendants, and the clothing purple that on the kings,” and, together with rings of gold received from the Israelites he delivered from the hand of Midian, “made of it Gideon an *ephod* and put it in his city...Ophrah, and whored all Israel after it there; and it became to Gideon and to his house a snare.” *Judges* 8:24ff.

“Samuel ministering..., a child girded an *ephod* of linen.” *1 Samuel* 2:18.

“[K]new David that against him, Saul was devising the evil, and said to Abiathar to the priest, ‘Bring near the *ephod*.’” *1 Samuel* 23:9.

“[S]aid David to Abiathar the priest, the son of Ahimelech, ‘Bring near, please, to me the *ephod*.’” *1 Samuel* 30:7.

“[T]urned Doeg the Edomite, and fell he upon the priests, and killed in day that eighty-five men bearing a *ephod* linen.” *1 Samuel* 22:18.

“David dancing with all might...girded with a *ephod* linen.” *2 Samuel* 6:14.

“David was clothed with a robe of fine linen...; also on David an *ephod* of linen.” *1 Chronicles* 15:27.

As an individual: “[T]he ruler Hanniel, the son of *Ephod*,” “of the tribe of the sons of Manasseh,” was among the tribal rulers selected under Moses to “take possession of the land” and “to divide the sons of Israel in the land of Canaan.” *Numbers* 34:23, 18, 29.

GALILEE

Galilee, an alternate name of the Lake (“Sea”) of Chinnereth/Chinneroth/Tiberias, came to be used generally for the proximate region, which textwise is bordered amorously. The region’s first biblical description is as a mountainous area apportioned to Naphtali (“*Galilee*, in the hills of Naphtali;” *Joshua* 20:3), later including apportionments of Asher, Issachar and Zebulun. (It has been suggested that its initial physical extent was approximately 60 x 30 miles, ensuingly reduced, until by the time of Herod Antipas it measured about 25 x 40 miles; *Aid*, page 617.)

For a wider description of the Galilee Sea and Region, see Appendix 4C.

GATH

Locating the Philistine capital/city-state of *Gath*/"Gittaim" still evokes uncertainty. Its common placement is taken at about 20 miles NE of Gaza city; another proposal puts it about 15 miles SE of Gaza.

Gath is distinguished from two *Gath*-rimmons, one a Kohathite Levitical enclave which appears either or both in the allotment of Dan (*Joshua*) and/or Ephraim (*Chronicles*) and identified with a site about three miles NE of Tel Aviv; a second *Gath*-rimmon in Manasseh. (*Aid*, p. 629, provides scholarly comparisons of “Gath-rimmon” verses.)

GEBA/GIBEA/GIBEAH/GIBEON

The Hebrew characters for the words, *Geba* (masculine form of word meaning “hill”) and *Gibeah* (feminine form), are nearly identical; *Gibeon* contains the same root. Some scholars, in attempting to follow certain biblical accounts, ascribe confusion to scribal errors--spellings interchangeably appear to designate not three but two primary entities, a Geba/Gibeah and a Gibeon.

Some involved citations are:

Among Benjamin's originally named cities were *Gaba*, *Gibeon* and *Gibeath*.³
Joshua 18:24, 25, 28.

Among the Aaronite Levitical cities dedicated out of Benjamin were *Gibeon* and *Gaba*, plus "Anathoth" and "Almon." *Joshua* 21:17.

Geba, plus "Anathoth" and "Alemeth," were among the Aaronite Levitical cities dedicated out of Benjamin; *Gibeon* is omitted.⁴ *1 Chronicles* 6:60.

In *Samuel*, one encounters varying references to *Gibeah of Benjamin*, *Gibeah of Saul*, and *Gibeah of the sons of Benjamin*. *1 Samuel* 13:2; *2 Samuel* 21:6, 23:29. (*Gibeath* [the hill of] Benjamin," which "existed at *Gibeah*" was the clan's "cult centre" *Mazar*, page 47.)

1 Samuel 13 and 14 have occasioned some differences among scholars in the chapters' renderings of both *Geba* and *Gibeah*, although one apparent general consensus has been that *Gibeah* was intended throughout.

Mss. vary between *Gibeon* and *Gibeah* as the place where seven of Saul's descendants were relinquished by David and put to death (Appendix 1E).

"And the tabernacle...at time that [[before completion of Solomon's temple; Appendix 1E], in the high place in *Gibeon*; and not was able David to go before it..." *1 Chronicles* 21:29-30.

Physical locations are given as:

Gibeah - Some three miles N of Jerusalem.

The Levite who became involved in an incident at *Gibeah* that led to civil warring passed over Jebusi/Jerusalem, preferring to lodge the night in *Gibeah*--a short distance is implied. [See Appendix 1D, II.] *Judges* 19:12.

The lot for "the tribe of the sons of Judah "...in the hill country...*Gibeah*."

Joshua 15:57. The sequencing of towns in the list has caused some to assume a second *Gibeah* either a short distance W/SW of Jerusalem (near present-day Efrata), or SE of Hebron.

Gibeon - Linked with present-day *Jib*, some six miles N/NW of Jerusalem, where excavations on the hill have revealed an ancient site of 16 acres.

Excavations in early Iron Age hill country settlements include *Gibeon* (*el-Jib*)--a village represented by part of an enclosing wall on the edge of the mound and by a water system fed from a spring outside. *Mazar*, page 37.

Geba - Same as *Gibeah* insofar as most scholars believe.

Gaba - Same as *Geba*?

Finally, there is the spelling, *Gibeah*:

"Now the sons of Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel: [Maacah + Caleb-] Sheva, the father of Machbenah, and the father of *Gibeah*"--it not clear whether Sheva was father of both Machbenah and *Gibeah* or the name of a Sheva sibling was lost from the text. [Caleb chart is in Appendix 1C, Attachment 1]. *1 Chronicles* 2:48-49.

GESHUR/GESHURITE

Geshur, the kingdom--refer to Appendix 1A, "Aramaean Associations."

"This the land that still remains [to be possessed]: all the regions of the Philistines, and all of *Geshuri*..." *Joshua* 13:2.

³ In that list, Benjamin also had "Jebusi, which Jerusalem," while the Judah list in final verse 63 of chapter 15 states, "As for the Jebusites, the natives of Jerusalem, not could the sons of Judah drive them out..." (that is, until later, during David's ascension; Appendix 1E).

⁴ Apart from minor differences in spellings, the *Joshua* and *1 Chronicles* lists of Levitical cities out of Judah and Benjamin do not agree. Whereas both lists mark a total of 13 (of which 9 were to be from Judah and 4 from Benjamin) *1 Chronicles* omits *Juttah* from Judah and *Gibeon* from Benjamin, for a total of 11.

GILGAL

Opinion continues to differ as to the locale of all *Gilgal* events.

Sites advanced for *Gilgal* are:

- One mile NE of ancient Jericho; favored as the site of the first exodus encampment west of the Jordan;
- North of Bethel; favored as the site in Elijah and Elisha verses;
- In SW Samaria near present-day Tel-Aviv.

Uses of *Gilgal* include:

- "on the edge of [east] Jericho" *Joshua* 4:19.
- "opposite to the ascent of Adummin, which on the south of the torrent."
Joshua 15:7.
- "the king of the nations of *Gilgal*," among those conquered by Joshua.
Joshua 12:23.
- "graven images" at *Gilgal* during the time of Judge Ehud. *Judges* 3:12, 26
- wherefrom Elijah and Elisha went "down to" Bethel but then back to Jericho.
2 Kings 2:1-5.
- where Elisha returned from Shunem. *2 Kings* 4:38-41.
- in warnings-- "not do [go to] *Gilgal*;" "wickedness in *Gilgal*." *Hoshea* 4:15; 9:15; against entering *Gilgal*. *Amos* 4:4, 5:5.

GITTITE

Gittite has been taken as denoting "Gathite," based on *1 Samuel* 17:4, 23 and *1 Chronicles* 20:5, with reference to Goliath "the Philistine of Gath [above]" and "Goliath the *Gittite*."

GUTIUM ("Kutu")

On the west side of the Tigris, northeast from Babylon; territory contained within the hills on its east and the Tigris, Lower Zab and Diyala Rivers.

HADORAM

(Noah-Shem-Arpachshad-Shalach-Eber-Joktan -) *Hadoram* (*Genesis* 10:1-32). (King Toi/Tou of Hamath -) *Hadoram* (*1 Chronicles* 18:9-11), also referred to as "Joram" (*2 Samuel* 8:9).

Hadoram, administrator over forced labor and taxes under king Rehoboam (*2 Chronicles* 10:18); given also as (Abda -) *Adoniram* (*1 Kings* 4:6) and *Adoram* (*1 Kings* 12:18 and *2 Samuel* 20:24).

Refer also to Adoniram, etc. and Joram, this appendix.

HAMATH-ZOBACH

Refer to Appendix 1A, at footnotes 2 and 3.

Saul fought kings of Zobah (Appendix 1E, at footnote 8).

Solomon seized *Hamath-zobah* (Appendix 1E, preceding footnote 94).

HAZOR

Hazor, a few miles SW of the Lake Huleh area, where excavations revealed an ancient development of some 150 acres. (*Aid*, page 722.)

"And Joshua burnt *Hazor*, because of Jabin,⁵ the king thereof; for he it was who led the nations to battle." *Jasher* 30:26.

Nebuchadnezzar struck "the kingdoms of *Hazor*." *Jeremiah* 49:28

Hazor, one of the cities where post-exilically there lived "the sons of Benjamin from Geba." *Nehemiah* 11:31ff.

⁵ *Hazor* king(s) *Jabin* battled both Joshua (Appendix 1D, I, paragraph following footnote 12) and Deborah (Appendix 1D, II, beginning at footnote 12).

A second *Hazor* seems “at the far border...in the south” but which, if correctly punctuated, appears it should read, “Kerioth/(city of) - Hezron” [*more at Appendix 1F, Hazor*]. *Joshua* 15:25.

HEBRON

Geographically, 19 miles S/SW of Jerusalem.

Hebron anciently was referred to also as *Kiriath/Kirjath-Arba* (a name still in use after the Babylonian exile).

At the Shiloh apportionments the (Levi-Kohath-Amram-) Aaronites received nine cities/ enclaves in the allotment of Judah(+ Simeon), one of which was “Kirjath-Arba the father of Anak, which is Hebron, in the hill-country of Judah, with its open land around it. But the fields of the city, and its villages, they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his property.” *Joshua* 21:11-12.

Individually: (Levi-Kohath-) *Hebron*. *Exodus* 6:18.

(Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel-*Hebron*-⁶) Korah, Tappuah, Rekem, Shema. *1 Chronicles* 2:42.

Levi-Kohath-*Hebron*-...*lapse*... *1 Chronicles* 6:1ff.

(Levi-Kohath-*Hebron*-...*lapse*...-) Eliel [of the time of David]. *1 Chronicles* 15:9.

(Levi-Kohath-*Hebron*-...*lapse*...-) Jeriah, Amariah, Jahaziel, Jekameam [during David's old age]. *1 Chronicles* 23:19.

“Of the *Hebronites*: Hashabiah and his brothers of sons mighty, 1,700 over the oversight of Israel beyond the Jordan westward, for all the work of [Tet.] and for service the king's. Of *Hebron*: Jeriah the head of the *Hebronites*, for his generations to his fathers” [during David's reign]. *1 Chronicles* 26:30ff.

HESHBON: About 15-1/2 mi. E of the Jordan River at a point almost parallel with the N end of the Dead Sea, approximately midway between Arnon and Jabbock rivers. Hesbon ruins on two hills evidence remains of an ancient large reservoir and pools.

HYRCANIA

“The land on the southeast of the Caspian Sea...called neighbor of Assyria although all Media lay between.” “In ancient geography, a region in west Asia, around the south end of the Caspian Sea; now part of northern Iran. ...Hyrcanium Mare, late name of the Caspian Sea.” *New Century Cyclopedia*, page 2096.)

JABESH/JABESH-GILEAD

Geographically: Ancient town SE of Sea of Galilee in the north of Gad-assigned territory in Gilead:

(a) Destroyed once by a coalition of all tribes except Benjamin, for not responding to an assembly of war called after a certain incident in Gibeah (for the full account, see final section of Appendix 1D).

(b) Centuries later, many took refuge at *Jabesh* from the oppression of Ammonite king *Nahash* (below), whose vengeful attack on *Jabesh* was the decisive factor in Saul's decision to lead.

Individually: *Jabesh*, father of the north's fifteenth king, Shallum (Appendix 2C).

JEARIM - see Kiriath/Kirjath-jearim.

JEBUS/JEBUSITES

“[Noah-Ham-] Canaan fathered...the *Jebusite*.” *Genesis* 10:16.

Josephus gives the sixth-named son of (Noah-Ham-) Canaan as *Jebuseus*. *AJ* I.VI.2

⁶ The total text is unclear: (Caleb-) “Mesha his firstborn who the father of Ziph, and the sons of Mareshah the father/[founder?] of Hebron. And the sons of Hebron:” etc.—refer to Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, “Charted Explorations of Familial Relationships, etc.,” D, Descendancy of (Hezron-) Caleb. (*Mesha*, see Appendix 2C, IV, fns. 23 and 55.)

"Amalek dwells in the land of the Negev, and the Hittite, and the *Jebusite*, and the Amorite dwell in the hills..." *Numbers* 13:29.

Jerusalem referred to as *Jebusi*: *Joshua* 18:28, *Judges* 19:10-11 and *1 Chronicles* 11:4-5.

Jebusi "which is Jerusalem" was among the cities named as Benjamin's, in the Shiloh apportionments. *Joshua* 18:28.

"[T]he *Jebusite* in the heights..." *Joshua* 11:33.

The name *Jebusi* dates to its existence as a regional threshing floor,⁷ and to the *Jebusite* king Adoni-zedek, first to unite the five main Canaanite kingdoms against Joshua. Fortified *Jebusi* is believed to have occupied heights alternately referred to as "Mount Moriah" and "Mount Zion," somewhere in the eastern portion of the present-day "old city" in Jerusalem. Abraham was forestalled from sacrificing Isaac on a mountain in the "land of Moriah" (*Genesis* 22:2); however, although he is known to have spied the mountain on a third day of travel from Beersheba, it is not said in which direction he was traveling. Tradition later grew to equate that mountain with the place where the Temple of Solomon was built (*Asimov*, pages 87-88). *Jebusi/Moriah* also has come to be equated with "Zion:" "David captured the stronghold of Zion" (*2 Samuel* 5:7); "And began Solomon to build the house of [Tet.] at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah" (*2 Chronicles* 3:1).

Judges 1:5 ff. reports that, after Joshua's death, Judah captured "Jerusalem...struck it with edge the sword's, and the city set on fire." However the *Jebusites* either retained the heights or at some point regained possession, for it was not until Joab led David's army against the site that the *Jebusites* finally lost and the way was cleared for David's move from Hebron to Jerusalem.

Jebusites were among the "three ethnic groups [that] played the most important role as neighbors of the tribes of Israel until the crystallization of the monarchy." *Mazar*, pages 38-39 (full quotation at Appendix 1F, fn. 14).

King Solomons labor forces included "all the people that were left of the...*Jebusites*." *1 Kings* 9:20ff.

Jebusites existed still among post-exilic families and were involved in the *Ezra/Nehemiah* excommunications of men who had wives and offspring "from the people of the lands." (Refer to Appendix 3B, II, parts III and IV.)

JEHU

Jehu, "son of Jehoshaphat," north king #10 (Appendix 2C).

Jehu, "the Anathothite," among David's "mighty men." *1 Chronicles* 12:3.

Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah-Onam-Shammai -Nadab-Appaim-Ishi-Sheshan-Daughter of Sheshan + Jarha-Attai-Nathan -Obed-*Jehu*-Azariah. *1 Chronicles* 2:3-38.

Asiel-Seraiah-Josibah-*Jehu*. *1 Chronicles* 4:35.

JEZREEL

Approximately 10 miles S of Nazareth.

JONADAB/JEHONADAB - see Jonathan.

JONATHAN

(Levi-Kohath-Gershon/Gershom-Manasseh-) **or** [Zipporah + Moses-Gershon/Gershom-Manasseh-) *Jonathan*, who served the House of Micah for a period before being appropriated by Danites (Refer to Appendix 1D, II, beginning with the paragraph of footnote 45).

(Hezron-Jerahmeel + Atarah-Onam-Jada-*Jonathan*-) Peleth (Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D).

⁷ There still was a threshing floor at Jebusi/Jerusalem in David's day, which he acquired from Araunah/Oman, and upon which he built his first altar.

Jonathan, Saul's leading son who formed a strong kinship with David (Appendix 1E and Section Two, *en passim*; and Attachment 2 to this appendix, "Saul, Descendancy of").

(Jesse-Shammah/Shimei/Shimeah-) *Jonathan/Jonadab/Jehonadab*, brother or half-brother of David. In a Philistine battle at Gath/Gob/Geezer, this *Jonathan* killed one of the four formidable sons of Rapha. (2 *Samuel* 21:21, 13:3 and 32.)⁸ This *Jonathan* abetted Amnon's seduction of Tamar (Section Two).

Johanan, a Benjamite leader for David at Ziklag. 1 *Chronicles* 12:1-4.

Johanan, a Gadite leader for David in the wilderness. 1 *Chronicles* 12:8-15.

(Shage/Shagee the Hararite-) *Jonathan or Jonathan* the brother of Shammah the Hararite, of the sons of Jashen/Hashem. (Appendix 2B, "David's Military," at footnote 8.)

(Korah...Meshelemiah-) *Jehohanan*, gatekeeper for David. 1 *Chronicles* 26:1-3.

Jehohanan, King Jehoshaphat army chief over 280,000 men. 2 *Chronicles* 17:14-16.

(*Jehohanan*-) Ishmael, who assisted high priest Jehoiada's deposal of queen Athaliah in Judah (Appendix 2C, IV, narrative).

High Priest *Jehohanan/Johanan*, Ephraim leader during Ahaz/Pekah reigns, and possibly father of high priest Azariah of the time of king Uzziah (Appendix 2C, IV, narrative).

See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, (w) *Johanan/Yehohanan/Jonathan/Jonathas*, for ensuing individuals bearing *Jonathan* and variations.

JORAM/JEHORAM

See *Adoniram, etc.*, this appendix, and in Appendix 1E at footnote 44.

See "Jehoram/Joram," Appendix 2C, I, at and in footnote 1.

KING'S MULE

A mule is a hybrid of a mare and an he-ass, yielding combination of a horse's strength with the endurance and surefootedness of the ass. (The offspring of a stallion and a she-ass--a "hinny"--is smaller and lacks strength.) Mules often were exchanged as royal gifts. They were rare in the core biblical territories, compared to the ass or donkey, which was the common beast of burden and transportation. (Spoils of an early Midianite battle included 61,000 asses/donkeys; and it is said that when Zerubbabel led exiles from Babylon there was at least one donkey for every six persons, including slaves and singers. *Numbers* 31:32-34; *Ezra* 2:64-67; *Nehemiah* 7:66-69.)

Only persons of prominence possessed mules. Solomon used David's personal mule to ride to his anointing ceremony at Gihon.⁹

KIRIATH-ARBA - see Hebron.

KIRIATH/KIRJATH-JEARIM aka Baalah/Baal-judah.

The border of Judah's allotment "went up to the cities of Mount Ephron; and was drawn to Baalah--it *Kirjath-jearim*, and turned the border from Baalah westward to Mount Seir, and passed toward the side of Mount *Jearim* on the north...." *Joshua* 15:9-10.

Traditionally the *Kirjath-Jearim* site is identified as on the Benjamin/Judah border

⁸ In *Samuel* 18ff., "Rapha" is translated in the referenced text as "giant." The man Jonathan killed is not named. The others were [1] Ishbi-benob, killed by (Zeruiah-) Abishai; [2] Saph, killed by Sibbechai the Hushathite; and [3] Goliath the Gittite, killed by (Jaare-oregim, the Bethlehemite-) Elhanan. 2 *Samuel* 21:15 ff. Parallel passages at 1 *Chronicles* 20:4 ff. give [1] omitted; [2] Sippai, killed by Sibbechai; and [3] Lahmi, brother of Goliath, killed by (Jair-) Elhanan. Other Raphas are Benjamin's fifth son, 1 *Chronicles* 8:2; Raphah/Rephaiah, a Saul descendant, 1 *Chronicles* 8:2.

⁹ Accordingly--depending on translation, *donkey v. mule*--primary texts of the timeline of volume four may indicate that the animal chosen by [Yehohshua/Jesus] for a critical entry into Jerusalem had symbolic implications. (Looking at the Greek words, *Mark* 11:7 and *Luke* 19:35 have "colt," *John* 12:14 has "colt of ass," and *Matthew* 21:7 reports both an "ass" and a "colt" were brought.)

some eight miles NW of Jerusalem. The first two verses quoted below appear to admit into issue which of the two tribes possessed the village or city of Kiriath/Kirjath-Jearim and/or when:

The cities in the inheritance of Judah included "Kirjath-baal which is *Kirjath-jearim*...." *Joshua* 15:60.

"And the cities for the tribe of the sons of Benjamin...were...*Kirjath*....[Some scholars believe that the name *Kirjath-jearim* appeared in the original Hebrew text, as it does in the Alexandrine Manuscript (LXX)." *Aid*, page 1008.] *Joshua* 18:28.

The Judah border between Dan-assigned and Benjamin allotments was drawn "to Baalah--it *Kirjath-jearim*," then "turned the border from Baalah westward..." *Joshua* 15:9-10.

Benjamin's border was "at the city of Baal--it is *Kirjath-jearim* a city of the sons of Judah--this is the west side." And "the south side, from the end of *Kirjath-jearim*; and went out the border westward." *Joshua* 18:14

"These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal, the father of *Kirjath-Jearim*, etc." (Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, and related).

"David...went...from Baal-judah, to bring up from there the Ark," the ark having rested for many years at *Kiriath/Kirjath-jearim* [Ark, above]. *2 Samuel* 6:2.

KIRJATH-SEPHER/KIRJATH-SANNAH - see Debir.

LO-DEBAR - see Debir.

MAKKEDAH/MAQQEDAH

The site of "Makkedah"/"Maqqedah" has been "long debated" by scholars, "most likely...modern Khirbet el-Kom, about 15 miles west of Hebron..." where ostraca (inscribed clay pieces) evidence a "mix of ethnic groups" after the Babylonian conquest (*i.e.* temples of "Yaho"/[Tet.], "Uzza...a north Arabian deity; [and] Nebu...Mesopotamian." *Biblical Archaeology Review*, July/August, Vol. 30, No. 4, pages 38ff. [For uses of *Uzza*, see Appendix 1E, footnote 40.]

MARI

A very ancient crossroads city, west and slightly north of Baghdad on the right bank of the Euphrates River. "Downriver lay the great cities of Lower Mesopotamia. Upriver were the western frontier cities of Syria. To the north was Upper Mesopotamia...and, further east, Assyria. ... The modern site of Mari is Tell Hariri...not far from the Iraqi frontier." *Mari* is considered one of the most elaborate developments of the early second millennium b.c., where excavations begun in 1933 revealed ruins of a large royal palace. Among the "Mari Tablets" (a large array of secular texts found there) were orders for construction of irrigation projects and correspondence relative to imports, exports and military equipment. Of particular interest was a list of north Mesopotamian cities that included five of the earliest names of biblical lineage: Peleg, Serug, Nahor, Terah and Haran [Section One]. ("...Abraham being in Mesopotamia before...; then having gone forth out of land of Chaldeans he resided in Haran." *Acts* 7:2-3, quoting Stephen.)

Concerning events that "determined the fate of Syria and Canaan for many generations to come"--relative to the available "abundance of Akkadian texts," which include the "vast hoard of documents from the royal archives at *Mari*"-- it has been remarked that:

[They inform us] about the personal names of the Amorites, their tribal and social organization, and their settlement in Mesopotamia. ... The last quarter of the 19th century b.c.e. was characterized by an increase in the strength of the West Semitic dynasties, and competition for hegemony in Mesopotamia and northern and central Syria," between Yamhad in northern Syria and Mari on the Euphrates.

On one Mari temple inscription, Yahdun-lim (son the founder of the Mari dynasty) boasted of a campaign to the Mediterranean, to impose authority on coastal towns and to fell trees in the Lebanon. Some time after that, king Samsi-adad of Assyria began to consolidate and expand his power in Mesopotamia. Ultimately, he waged a successful campaign in Syria, set up a victory stele in the "Land of Laban," and gained control of Mari where his son served as viceroy (c. 1795 b.c.e.).

Qatna in central Syria, ruled by one Ishi-adad, acknowledged Assyrian dominance and became another

important city-state. Commercial activity resurged among Assyrian colonies (also into Anatolia; particularly, at Hattusa) during Ishi-adad's reign. "As a consequence of these events in the political and economic spheres, the ties between the West Semitic kingdoms in the Fertile Crescent were strengthened, and commerce grew between Mesopotamia on the one hand, and Anatolia, Syria, Canaan and the Mediterranean coast, on the other. Furthermore, the Akkadian language was adopted as the commercial and diplomatic *lingua franca* and, above all, there came about an extensive urbanization, i.e. the rapid growth of urban centres throughout the Levant.

"These developments are evidenced by the Mari documents from the reign of Samsi-adad I and the period immediately following his death (1780 b.c.e.), when rivalry between the various West Semitic kingdoms over the political and economic hegemony was renewed with even greater intensity. This competition was particularly keen after the return to power (c. 1772 b.c./b.c.e.) of a prince of the original Mari dynasty, who was aided by the king of Yamhad, his father-in-law, and "continued until the conquest of Mari by Hammurabi [Hammurabi], King of Babylon (1760 b.c.e.)."

Mazar, pp. 13-14.

MEDIA

Media was bounded by Assyria proper and Armenia on the west, the Elburz mountains and Caspian Sea on the north, Parthia on the east, and Elam and Persia to the south. The royal city of Ecbatana lay roughly at center. Media's borders fluctuated according to varying dominations.

"Media is divided into two parts. One part of it is called Greater Media, of which the metropolis is Ecbatana, a large city containing the royal residence of the Median empire.... The other part is Atropatian Media, which got its name from the commander ["In the battle of Arbela, 331 b.c."] Atropates, who prevented also this country, which was a part of Greater Media, from becoming subject to the Macedonians." *Strabo*, II.13. 1-2 (XIII).

Median unification that commenced under king Deioces is marked by the reign of Cyaxares I (Appendix 3A, III).

In the Assyrian victories over the northern kingdom of Israel, some Israelite captives were sent to Assyria and some to "cities of the Medes," then under Assyrian suzerainty.

MESOPOTAMIA (Greek for "land between the rivers")

There is a broad range of uses in scripture of the term, "Mesopotamia." Generally it denoted a wide swath of territory north from the Persian Gulf, embracing the Tigris and Euphrates river areas, and curving westward south of Iran's and Turkey's mountains, then reaching southward to include the alluvial plain south of Baghdad. At times the term was used more widely to include all the Babylon region.

In perhaps its strictest sense, *Mesopotamia* corresponded with the biblical "Aram-naharaim" (Aram "of the two rivers"), denoting the more northern Euphrates/Tigris region, which in turn was the E/NE part of the wider, western-reaching region commonly called "Aram." Aram-naharaim appears to have been adjacent to the "flatlands of Aram/Paddan-aram," where the cities of Haran and Nahor were situated.

Stephen at *Acts* 7:2 speaks of Abraham as having resided in Mesopotamia; the *Septuagint* renders the *Hebrew* "Aram-naharaim" as *Mesopotamia*.

See also Appendix 1A, I, "Aramaean Associations."

MIZPAH/MISPAH/MISPEH

During the Joshua campaigns, among those to whom king Jabin sent for defensive allies were "the Hivite below Hermon, and in the land of *Mispeh*." *Joshua* 11:3.

Joshua conquered and pursued the enemy "as far as the valley of *Mizpeh* eastward." This region has been suggested as NE of the sea of Galilee in the vicinity of Caesarea Philippi/Panias/Banyas. *Joshua* 11:8.

A site possibly "in the low country," if it is included in the long preface to a list of Judah cities. If this *Mizpah* was where it has been placed in the low hills to the E of Philistia, it would have been very near the Dan/Judah border. *Joshua* 15:33.

A city included in the list of Benjamin cities. Suggested sites have been five miles N/NW or eight miles N of Jerusalem. *Joshua* 18:26.

Where sons of Israel gathered and camped when judge Jephthah was enlisted to

fight Ammon (Appendix 1D, II). Jephthah “passed through *Mizpeh* of Gilead;” Jephthah’s house was at *Mizpeh*. This location has not been fixed. *Judges* 11:29; 11:34.

Site where a tribal war party assembled against Benjaminites for an atrocity committed at Gibeah (Appendix 1D, II).

Judge Samuel’s annual circuit was “Bethel, and Gilgal, and *Mizpah*.” *1 Samuel* 7:16.

Site of a congregation held by judge Samuel, from where the army went out and drove back Philistines. Bible geographers have suggested this site as some 11 miles E of present-day Tel Aviv. [Samuel set a stone between “*Mizpeh* and Shen, and called its name Eben-ezer.”¹⁰] *1 Samuel* 7:5-12.

David asked of the king of “*Mizpeh* of Moab” and was granted by him refuge for David’s father and mother, while David was headquartered at Adullam during his warring with Saul. This site is unknown; one suggestion has been S/SW of present-day Madeba/Madaba in the vicinity of Machaerus. *1 Samuel* 22:3.

Southern king Asa, after driving back northern king Baasha, rebuilt *Mizpah* (Appendix 2C, IV).

Site of the headquarters of Governor Gedaliah, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar after his conquest (Appendix 2C, IV).

During post-exilic wall restoration at Jerusalem, the Fountain Gate was repaired and restored by “Shallum, the son of Col-hozeh the ruler of a part of *Mizpah*,” while “*Ezer*, the son of Jeshua, the ruler of *Mizpah*,” repaired a piece near “the ascent to the armory at the corner.” *Nehemiah* 3:15; 19.

NAHASH

Nahash, Ammonite chief/king when Saul became king.

A fragment of *1 Samuel* 11 found among the Dead Sea scroll discoveries of 1947-52 contains sentences additional to the priorly extant prologue to Ammonite king Nahash’s siege at Jabesh-Gilead (Appendix 1E). The find agrees with the *Josephus* account, that the gouging-out of one of a man’s eyes (a method of punishing and controlling enemies and rebels), with which Nahash threatened the people at Jabesh-Gilead, had been used by Nahash previously, east of the Jordan:

“[N]ahash, king of the children of Ammon, sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out a[ll] their right eyes and struck ter[r]or and dread] in Israel. There was not left one among the children of Israel beyond the Jordan who]se right eye was no[t put o]ut by Naha[sh, king] of the children of Ammon; except that seven thousand men [fled from] the children of [A]mmon and entered [J]abesh-Gilead. About a month later,“-- [this is where the formerly received narrative

commences]. *1 Samuel* 11.¹¹

“Abigail, the daughter of *Nahash*, the sister of Zeruiah” [Abigail and Zeruiah being also referred to as “sisters” of David’s father, Jesse’s sons--see Introductory Summary following fn. 4]. *2 Samuel* 17:25.

“And it was afterwards, that died the king of the sons of Ammon, and reigned Hanum his son in his place. And said David, ‘I will do kindness with Hanum the son of *Nahash*, as did his father with me kindness.’” *2 Samuel* 10:1-2.

¹⁰ *Ezer*, chief of 11 Gad army chieftains who “separated to David” at Ziklag (*1 Chronicles* 12:9).

¹¹ Shanks, Hershel, Ed., *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York, NY: Random House, Inc./Vintage Books, 1993; Cross, Frank Moore, “Light on the Bible from the Dead Sea Caves” (Chapter 12). Cross concludes: “This lost-and-now recovered passage gives the background for Nahash’s attack on Jabesh-Gilead: Nahash, leading a resurgent Ammonite nation, had earlier reconquered land long claimed both by Ammon and by the...tribes of Reuben and Gad east of the Jordan River. ... [W]arriors of Reuben and Gad who survived defeat...fled and found refuge north of the traditional border of Ammon (at the Jabbock River), in the Gileadite city of Jabesh. A month or so after their escape, Nahash determined to subjugate Jabesh-Gilead for sheltering his escaped ‘subjects.’ This was Nahash’s motivation...for striking at Jabesh-Gilead far north of his claimed borders, at a Gileadite city allied with Benjamin and Saul.” (Brackets mark lacunae reconstructed by Cross in the ms.)

“Shobi, the son of *Nahash*, from Rabbah¹² of the sons of Ammon” sent supplies to David in his retreat from Absalom's rebellion (Appendix 1E). *2 Samuel* 17:27-29.

NATHAN

A *Nathan* in a confusing Judah line via an Egyptian slave (Appendix 1C, fn. 53).
Nathan, son of Bath-Sheba and David (Introductory Summary *at and following* fn. 10).

Nathan, the prophet/priest/advisor of David and Bath-Sheba (*Loc. cit.*).
Among David's mighty men were (*Nathan*-) Igal and Joel, brother of *Nathan*. (Appendix 2B, parts IV and III.)

King Solomon had “Azariah the son of *Nathan* over the officers,” and “Zabud the son of *Nathan* the priest [as] friend of the king.” *1 Kings* 4:5.

Nathan, one of nine chiefs that Ezra sent from his encamped gathering of exiles, to find ministers. *Ezra* 8:15.

Nathan, one of 13 post-exilic sons of “Binnui” found to have a foreign wife/family. (Appendix 3B, III, A (3) and B; and 3B, IV, B). *Ezra* 10:44.

A *Nathan* house mentioned by *Zechariah*: “And shall mourn the land--families, families alone: the family of the house of David alone, and their wives alone; *the family of the house of Nathan* alone, and their wives alone; the family of the house of Levi alone; and their wives alone; the family of Shimei alone, and their wives alone; all the families who are left, family by family alone, and their wives alone.” *Zechariah* 12:12 (italics supplied).

Nathan, named by *Luke* as next in lineage after David (*Matthew* gives Solomon)--Appendix 4C, Lineage, David to Jesus.

NEBO

Nebo, a Moabite city rebuilt by Reubenites after defeat of its king Sihon (*Numbers* 32:37-38). (Apparently *Nebo* subsequently was regained by Moabites, in that the Moabite Stone lists it as retaken by king Mesha, The *Nebo* site “is commonly identified” with Khirbet Mekhayyet, about five miles SW of Heshbon. *Aid*, page 1211.)

“[W]ent up Moses from the plains of Moab to Mount *Nebo*, the top of Pisgah, which opposite Jericho”/“into Mount of Abarim this, Mount *Nebo*.” “And died there Moses...in the land of Moab.” *Deuteronomy* 32:48, 34:1 and 5.

Men of “*Nebo*” in post-exilic returns were among the later-excommunicants--Appendix 3B, II, parts III and IV.

See also *Deities, Miscellaneous, Nebo/[Nabu/Nebu]*

NINEVEH

Assyria's second capital, marked by ruins situate on the east bank of the Tigris River opposite present-day Mosul, in northern Iraq (/upper Mesopotamia). The earliest reference to Nineveh is in cuneiform texts of Shamshi/Samshi-adad I, ruler of Assyria in the 18th century b.c. (see Mari, above). Babylonian king Hammurabi/Hammurapi gained control of Assyria within some 20 years of Shamshi-adad. In his famous Code, Hammurabi states that he “glorified the name of Ishtar” in Nineveh.

It appears that, some four centuries later, certain “kings of Mitanni” may have exercised some control at Nineveh, based on evidence that one Mitanni king sent Nineveh's Ishtar statue to Egypt to cure an ailing pharaoh (a hymn to Ishtar of the same period is in the Hurrian language). It also appears that Nineveh at some point returned fully under Assyrian hand--king Ashur-uballit rebuilt the temple of Ishtar and there are traces of a palace built by Shalmaneser I in the next century. (Nineveh served as a cooler summer royal residence.)

Circa 704-681 b.c. Nineveh was the Assyrian empire capital under Sennacherib, who built an elaborate irrigation system for the arid locale. (Appendix 2C, IV, Hezekiah reign).

¹² Modern-day Amman, Jordan; then, a strategic link along a segment of the “King's Road” running north/south on the east side of the Jordan, from Damascus to the Red Sea--the main trade route to Arabia.

Nineveh as the foremost city of the 'western' world fell c. 612 b.c. to an alliance of Media and Babylon. (Refer to Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," at 601 b.c.)

OBED-EDOM

Obed-Edom, a musician at the time the Ark was brought to Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 15:21.

Obed-Edom, with whom the Ark was left,¹³ in his house "on a hill," for three months before it finally reached Jerusalem. *2 Samuel* 6:11-12; *1 Chronicles* 13:14.

(Jeduthun-) *Obed-Edom*, a gatekeeper at the time the Ark was brought to Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 15:18/16:38.

Obed-Edom, head of a division of gatekeepers for the South Gate. *1 Chronicles* 26:4-8, 15.

Obed-Edom, a temple treasurer during the reign of southern king Amaziah (Appendix 2C).

PERSIAN, EMPIRE OF

Persia, as Cyrus the Great's empire (volume three), "was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia." Its capital was Persepolis, a city more anciently known as Pasargadae. *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, VIII.viii.1 and vol. 2, page 475, respectively.

Wider definition of Persia, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3.

PHARNACES/Pharnasez I

I, King of Pontus c.190-160 b.c.

II, King of Pontus c. 63-47 b.c.; son of Mithridates VI (the Great) of Pontus. It was following Caesar's defeat of Pharnaces II at Zela, when Caesar invaded Pontus after making himself master of domains lying along the Cimmerian Bosphorus, that he sent his famous report to Rome: 'Veni, Vidi, Vici [I came, I saw, I conquered].'" *New Century Cyclopedia*, page 3159.

PHARNAKE - see Apamea/Orontem.

PONTUS

"In ancient geography a country in Asia Minor bounded by the Black Sea on the north, Colchis on the east, Armenia on the southeast and south, and Cappodicia on the south, Galatia on the southwest and Paphlagonia on the west. It became independent of Persia in the fourth century b.c. and rose to great power with extended boundaries under Mithridates VI. After the victories of Pompey (c 66 b.c.) it was reduced to former limits, and was eventually made a Roman province." *New Century Cyclopedia*, page 3223.

RABBAH (Rabbath/Rabboth-Ammon)

Geographically:

A. Present-day Amman, Jordan; anciently, the Ammonite capital. Rebuilt in third century b.c. by Ptolemy Philadelphus and renamed Philadelphia, it then was a prosperous city of "the Decapolis" [Dekapolis/Decapoli], Appendix 4C]."

"For only Og the king of Bashan remained...behold, his bedstead a bedstead of iron; is not it in *Rabbah* of the sons of Ammon?" *Deuteronomy* 3:11.

B. *Rabbah*, an unidentified city within Judah's allotment. The border of Judah "went up to the cities of Mount Ephron; and was drawn to Baalah--it Kirjath-jearim, and turned the border from Baalah westward to Mount Seir, etc.and passed toward the side of Mount Jearim

¹³ After the attendant death of "Uzzah" at the threshing floor of Nachon/Nacon/Chidon. (David, angered at the "break against Uzzah," renamed the site "Perez-uzzah.")

on the north;” and within it were “Kirjath-baal, which is Kirjath-jearim, and *Rabbah*--two cities with their villages.” *Joshua* 15:9-10; 15:60.

RAMAH

Ramah, a shortened version of “Ramathaim-zophim, of the hill country of Ephraim,” where judge-commander Samuel was born and where he was buried (--in *Ramah*, “his house”/“his city”) *1 Samuel* 1:1; 19; *1 Samuel* 25:1; *1 Samuel* 28:3.

In Greek, *Ramah* is rendered “Arimathaea,” the hometown also of Joseph, the Sanhedrin member who obtained Pontius Pilate’s permission to remove and provide a tomb for the body of Jesus of the *New Testament*. *Matthew* 27:57-60; *Mark* 15:43-46; *Luke* 23:50-53; *John* 19:38-42.

“In Old Testament Geography, [*Ramah* is] the name of several places in Palestine. The principal were the *Ramah of Benjamin*, situated a few miles N of Jerusalem, and the *Ramah of Samuel*, also called *Ramathaim Zophim*. The latter was situated N or NW of Jerusalem...[and] some identify it with [both] the *Ramah of Benjamin* and...*Arimathea*.” *New Century Cyclopedia*, page 3300.

Primary *Ramah* references:

Ramah among the cities of Benjamin. *Joshua* 18:25.

The prophetess Deborah lived “between *Ramah* and between Bethel, in the hills of Ephraim.” *Judges* 4:5.

Ramah and Gibeah were near each other. *Judges* 19:13.

Ramah thus was near/at the Israel/Judah border during the period of the divided kingdoms (Appendix 2C, IV, at footnote 15).

Ramah where Nebuchadnezzar’s captain assembled captives to be taken to Babylon. *Jeremiah* 40:1.

621 sons of “*Ramah* and Geba/Gaba are listed among returned exiles. *Ezra* 2:26; *Nehemiah* 7:30.

“Sons of Benjamin” are listed living at *Ramah* (among other places) after the repatriation. *Nehemiah* 11:33.

Other *Ramah*/[*Ramoth*] references::

A Simeon city inside Judah called “*Ramah of the south*” (*Joshua* 19:8), possibly the “*Ramoth*’ of the Negev” at *1 Samuel* 30:27.

Another instance where *Ramah* and “*Ramoth*” appear as used interchangeably is *2 Chronicles* 22:5, where “*Ramoth-Gilead*” in a second mention is called *Ramah* (*Ramoth-Gilead/Ramah*, see Appendix 2C.IV at footnote 44.) *Ramoth-gilead*, a key to the Gilead and Bashan districts (Solomon had a regional supply depot there), is believed to have been in the height of Gilead, in the old Gad allotment east of the Jordan River, some 30 miles SE of the south tip of Lake Tiberias/Sea of Galilee, circa present-day Ramtha near Jordan’s border with Syria. *Aid*, page 1371.

Ramah, a city used in delineating the border of Asher territory (see Tyre). *Joshua* 19:29.

Ramah, a fortified city in Naphtali territory. *Joshua* 19:36.

Ramathite is found in reference to Shimei, King David’s keeper of the vineyards.

RAMOTH-GILEAD - see Ramah.

REPHAIM

“*Rephaim*” identified with a specific group of peoples, “land, this: from the river of Egypt to the river great, the river Euphrates: [that of] the Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the *Rephaim*, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.” *Genesis* 15:18.

Chedorlaomer’s alliance [Section One, footnote 7) “struck the *Rephaim* in Ashteroth Karnaim.” *Genesis* 14:5.

Part of Judah's border went up to "the valley of the son of Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite on the south--it Jerusalem--and the border to the top of the mount which before...Hinnom westward, which is at the far end of the valley of *Rephaim*...." *Joshua* 15:8-9. (It is not clear why, in the parallel portion description of Benjamin's border, the same Hebrew letters are rendered [valley of the] "giants" instead of the *Rephaim* (*Joshua* 18:16). The same occurs at *Joshua* 17:15.

The traditional identification for the valley or plain of *Rephaim* is the three-mile descent from Jerusalem SW toward Bethlehem, narrowing at its end into a *wadi*.

Among the Philistines with whom David warred were "sons of *Rapha*." *2 Samuel* 21:17.

The Philistines "were spread out in the valley of *Rephaim*." *2 Samuel* 5:18.

While David was headquartered at Adullam, the Philistine army was camping "in the valley of *Rephaim*" and its garrison was "then in Bethlehem." *2 Samuel* 23:13; *1 Chronicles* 11:15.

The Philistines "came and raided in the valley of *Rephaim*." *1 Chronicles* 14:9.

The Hebrew *rephaim* is found rendered in another sense, as "departed" (*Job* 26:5) and "dead" (e.g. *Proverbs* 2:18, 9:18, 21:16). The possibility is not explored here of a confounding of the *Rephaim* with the valley of Hinnom/Gehenna (*Matthew* 5:22, *Mark* 9:47), relative to that area's ancient death-connected uses.

SHAMMUAH/SHAMMAH/SHAMMUA/SHIMEA

This name is subject to considerable variations, all of which are given in Appendix 3B, Attachment 1. Primary uses in book two are:

An early son of Bath-Sheba (Attachment 3 to this appendix, "David, Descendancy of").

An older (half-?) brother of David, given as third son of Jesse and variously appearing as Shammah/Shimeah/Shimei/Shimeah (see Attachment 1, "Jesse, Descendancy of," this appendix). This Shammah/etc. was in the Saul contingent taunted by Goliath and was killed by Saul's son, Jonathan. *2 Samuel* 21:21.

SHARON, PLAIN OF

This area directly south of Mt. Carmel is about 44 miles long and ranges from 8 miles wide at its north end to 12 on its south. It consists of undulating country with a line of low rocky hills on the coastal side.

SHEBA

Geographically:

(1) Although there seems no doubt Sheba was a wealthy kingdom and great consensus placing it somewhere in Arabian territory, its actual location has not been settled. (See, however, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Raamah--the kingdom of *Sheba* may not have been any further than present-day south Jordan.)

"The queen of *Sheba*...came to test [Solomon] with hard questions. And she came to Jerusalem with a company great...." *1 Kings* 10:1-2.

"A multitude camels shall cover you...all of them from *Sheba* shall come; golden incense, etc." *Isaiah* 60:6.

"...frankincense from *Sheba*...." *Jeremiah* 6:20.

"...merchants of *Sheba* and *Ramah*...." *Ezekiel* 27.12.

(2) A *Sheba* was part of Simeon's allotment "inside" Judah's inheritance. Given the cities with which it is named, it appears to have been in the deep south (*Joshua* 19:1-8). This *Sheba* (which also may be the "Shema" in a mixed parallel list at *Joshua* 15:20ff., 26) does not appear in the list of the Simeon cities at *1 Chronicles* 4:24ff. However, *Joshua* 19:2, which begins "Beer-sheba and *Sheba*," states at the end of its list, "13 cities and their villages;" whereas, if Beer-sheba and *Sheba* are counted each as one the list would total 14. This has led to conjecture that Beer-sheba and *Sheba* were one, because "Beer" specifies a

water source/well.

Individually:

Refer to Appendix 1A at and in footnotes 21 and 22, and Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Raamah, with regard to questions raised by the following quotations (the latter two being the only use of Jokshan):

(Noah-Cush-Raamah-) *Sheba* and Dedan. *Genesis* 10:6-7, *1 Chronicles* 1:9.

(Noah-Shem-Arpachshad-Shalach/Shelah-Eber-Joktan-) *Sheba*.

Genesis 10:21-27; *1 Chronicles* 1:17-22..

“Then added Abraham...a wife...Keturah. And she bore to him...Jokshan....

And Jokshan fathered *Sheba* and Dedan.” *Genesis* 25:1-3.

“And the sons of Keturah, concubine Abraham’s: she bore...Jokshan.... And the sons of Jokshan *Sheba* and Dedan.” *1 Chronicles* 1:32.

(Benjamin...Bichri-) *Sheba* (Appendix 1E, preceding footnote 73).

(Huri-Abihail [this appendix] -) *Sheba*, one of seven sibling chiefs who lived in Bashan, Gilead, from a genealogical count taken at the time of the reigns of (south) king Jotham and (north) king Jeroboam. *1 Chronicles* 5:14-17.

SHILOH

Situated about 22 miles N of Jerusalem, “on the north side of Bethel, toward the sunrising, by the highway which goes up from Bethel to Shechem....” *Judges* 21:19.

SUSA/SHUSHAN - see Elam.

SUSIANA - see Elam.

SYRIA

The term *Syria* is complicated in supposed ancient definitions during eras. Demonstratively:

“Syria (shortened from Assyria [Ashur], which became to the Greeks the specific name for the countries about the Tigris, while Syria meant to them the Semitic Northwest, including Phoenicia and Palestine, as well as Babylonia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia)...” *Xenophon*, Index, page 477.

“Syria...[its] boundaries are not accurately ascertained by the ancients;” but, generally speaking, it was bounded on the east by the Euphrates, north by Mount Taurus, west by the Mediterranean and south by Arabia. “It was divided into several districts and provinces, among which were Phoenicia, Seleucia, Judaea or Palestine, Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Assyria. It was also called *Assyria*, and the words Syria and Assyria, though distinguished and defined by some [ancient] authors, were often used indifferently.” *Lempriere*, p. 586.

Refer also to Appendix 1A, “Aram/Aramaean Associations,” A, Aram, The Region.

Syria continued in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3.

TABERNACLE/Tent of Meeting - see also Ark.

It is presumed that the tabernacle was set up at Joshua’s Gilgal camp, and then established later at Shiloh. *Joshua* 18:1.

Men went up from their cities from time to time to worship at the Shiloh tabernacle; “...house of *Tet*. at Shiloh....” *1 Samuel* 1:24; *2 Samuel* 1:3.

At Nob?--refer to Appendix 1E, fn. 16.

At “the high place in Gibeon.” *1 Chronicles* 21:29-30.

Solomon went to Gibeon, “to sacrifice there, for it the high place great.” *1 Kings* 3:4.

The tabernacle of the congregation was brought up to Jerusalem after Solomon completed the building of the temple. *1 Kings* 8:4; *2 Chronicles* 5:5.

TABOR

An 1843-foot mountain on the NE of the Jezreel valley, 12 miles W of the southern end of the Sea of Galilee and some five miles E/SE of Nazareth. (*Aid*, page 1571.)

On Issachar's northern border. *Joshua* 19:17, 22.

Where Barak assembled his forces to fight Sisera (Appendix 1D, II, *Deborah*).

Gideon (Appendix 1D, II, "Judges") said to Midianite kings Zebah and Zalmunna, "...the men whom you killed in Tabor? ...'My brothers, sons of my mother they...." *Judges* 8:18-19.

A (Levi-Kohath-) Merari enclave city in Zebulun territory. *1 Chronicles* 6:77.

"the great tree of Tabor" site unknown--a point on a journey dictated to Saul by Samuel after Samuel had anointed Saul. *1 Samuel* 10:3.

TEKOA/TEKOAH

"[A]fter the death of Hezron in Caleb-ephatah," the wife of Hezron, "Abiah, bore to [Hezron] Ashur the father of Tekoa." *1 Chronicles*. 2:3, 24.

A town placed some 10+ miles south of Jerusalem, in the vicinity where a Judaeans/Israelite/Edomite alliance battled Moabites during the reigns of kings Jehoshaphat (south) and Jehoram (north). (Appendix 2C, IV, at footnote 58).

Home of a woman sent by Joab to speak an allegorical message to king David to convince him to reclaim Absalom. *2 Samuel* 14:1-21.

A Judean defense outpost fortified by Solomon's successor son, Rehoboam. *2 Chronicles* 11:5-6.

It is reported that Tekoahite nobles involved with the temple reconstruction did not "bring their necks to the work." *Nehemiah* 3:5.

TIBERIAS

A city roughly midway down the W shore of the Sea of Galilee, which Herod Antipas built as his capital city and named after Roman emperor Tiberius Caesar.

TYRE

A major Sidonian/Phoenician seaport, 32 miles N of Mt. Carmel and 22 miles S of Sidon, the second major Sidonian/Phoenician city and a principal trading center. (Asher's border touched "Sidon great," then "turn[ed] the border to Ramah, and to the city strong, Tyre." *Joshua* 19:29).

ZABAD

Ephraim-Zabad...lapse. *1 Chronicles* 7:20.

Refer to Appendix 1C, footnote 40, item (2)(b) for a descendancy string originating with Hezron, in which *Zabad* appears.

Zabad, co-assassin of Joash, south king #7 (Appendix 2C.)

Zabad, a name occurring among post-exilic men found to have foreign wives and sons (Appendix 3B, II, parts III and IV).

ZIMRI

The unknown geographical site of "...all the kings of *Zimri*" (*Jeremiah* 25:25), which some see connected to (Keturah + Abraham-) *Zimran* (Appendix 1A.III, B).

(Tamar + Judah-Zerah-) *Zimri*. *1 Chronicles* 2:4, 6.

(Salu-) *Zimri*, slain by (Elisheba + Aaron- Eleazar-) Phinehas in the 'Cozbi affair'--see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, footnote 23.

(Saul-Jonathan-Merib-baal- Micah- Ahaz-Jehoadah-) *Zimri*. *1 Chronicles* 8:33ff.; 9:39ff.

Appendix 2A, Attachment 1.

JESSE, DESCENDANCY OF

(a) “Jesse passed *seven* his sons before Samuel, but said Samuel to Jesse, not has chosen *Tet.* among these.” Jesse then told Samuel that his “youngest” son remained and summoned David at Samuel’s request. *1 Samuel* 16:10ff. *Note:* This would make David an *eighth* son of Jesse, which corresponds with (c) below but not with (b).

(b) “And Jesse fathered his firstborn Eliab[*/Elihu*], and Abinadab the second, and Shimea the third, Nethaneel the fourth, Raddai the fifth, Ozem the sixth, *David the seventh.* And their sisters Zeruiah and Abigail.” *2 Chronicles* 2:13-16. (Of king David’s leaders, “over Judah *Elihu*, of the brothers of David;” *1 Chronicles* 27:18.)

(c) “[T]o Jesse were *eight* sons”-- Eliab, firstborn; Abinadab, second; and Shammah, third, first had battled for Saul. *1 Samuel* 17.12-14.

(d) “And the sons of Zeruiah: Abishai, and Joab, and Asahel,¹ three. And Abigail bore Amasa; and the father of Amasa Jether the Ishmaelite.” *1 Chronicles* 16-17.

(e) “Amasa the son of a man and his name Ithra, the Israelite, who had gone in to Abigail, the daughter of Nahash, the sister of Zeruiah, the mother of Joab.” *Note:* “Some authorities believe that Abigail was only a half-sister”-- that Jesse fathered Abigail and Zeruiah with another woman before siring David, while “Rabbinical tradition holds that Nahash is simply another name for Jesse,” with certain versions substituting “Jesse” for “Nahash” in their text. *2 Samuel* 17:25. (*Aid*, pp. 16-17; see Appendices 2A, Nahash, at footnote 3, and 1E *before* footnote 51.)

(f) The only reference to a Zeruiah husband and father of her sons is at *2 Samuel* 2:32: son Asahel was “buried in the grave of his father which Bethlehem.” (*Refer to* Appendix 1E following 33 regarding the confrontation that resulted in Asahel’s death.)

¹Other *Asahels*: A Levite teacher of king Jehoshaphat’s reign; a temple commissioner of funds in king Hezekiah’s reign; (*Asahel-*) Jonathan, found to have a foreign wife during post-exilic excommunications.

JESSE + ?? "an Ephrathahite/Ephrathite" ²						[Jesse + ?? or [? + Nahash?]		
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Eliab ³ / [Elihu]	Abinadab ⁴	Shammah/Shimea ⁵	Nethaneel	Raddai	Ozem ⁶	David	Zeruiah	Abigail + Jether/Ithra
/	/	/	[App.3B, Att. 1, [only use	/	/	/	/	[App. 1A, Att. 1 ⁷]
Abihail (+ Jerimoth ⁸)	Jonadab/ Jehonadab ⁹	Nethanel]	of name]	<i>Continued in</i>	<i>Att. 3 to this</i>	<i>appendix, "David,</i>	Abishai,	Amasa
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Joab,	[App. 2A, <u>Amasa</u>]
Mahalath ¹⁰	/	/	/	/	/	/	Asahel.	/
<i>/Continued in Att. 3</i>	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
part IV, Rehoboam.	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

² See Appendix 1B, "Ephrath/Ephrathah."

³ Eliab was angered when David, delivering provisions to the battlefield, expressed aggression at the appearance of the Philistine champion, Goliath (1 Samuel 17:20 ff.; Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Eliab.)

⁴ Uses of *Abinadab*: (a) *Abinadab* at whose house in Kirjath-jearim the ark remained for two decades--his son, Uzza, was killed during David's subsequent moving of the ark (Appendix 2A, Ark); (b) *Abinadab*, father of an unnamed son who married Solomon's daughter, Taphath, and was Solomon's deputy over the region of Dor (1 Kings 4:11); (c) *Abinadab* a Saul son (Attachment 2 to this appendix, "Saul, Descendancy of").

⁵ Refer to Appendix 2A, Shammuah/Shammua/Shimea.

⁶ One other, a son of Jerahmeel; see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, Hezron descendancy.

⁷ Also see Appendix 2B, part III, at "Gareb, *the Ithrite*."

⁸ An obliquely mentioned son of David; see Attachment 3 to this appendix, "David, Descendancy of," part II, (c).

⁹ 2 Samuel 13:32. The same as?--(Shimeah-) "Jonathan," who struck one giant warrior of Gath and also instigated Amnon's "violation" of Tamar (2 Samuel 21-21; 13:3 ff.). One other Jehonadab was a son of Rechab of the time of north king #10.

¹⁰ 2 Chronicles 11:18. One other, (Ishmael + ?-) *Mahalath*--Appendix 1A, Attachment 2, "Descendancies of Esau Wives."

Appendix 2A, Attachment 2

SAUL, DESCENDANCY OF

*Asterisks denote the only biblical use of those names or recognizable renditions.
Italics in quotations are supplied.*

I. Saul Lineage.

A. In General.

The ante and posthumous decedents of Saul and his near relatives are not clear. The following items are noted in reference to the verses involved (see part B below for source quotations):

(1) *Ner* is not included as a "son" of the [there-unnamed] "father of Gibeon" in quotation B(1)(a) below.

(2) *Ner* is included as a "son" of the "father of Gibeon, *Jeiel*"¹ in B(1)(b).

(3) *Jeiel* traditionally has been equated with *Abiel*,² an equation that appears supported by associating references (1)(a) and (b) and (3).

(4) It is indiscernible whether *Maachah* had children by anyone other than *Jeiel/Abiel*.

(5) Daughters of Eleazar were taken by sons of Kish.

(6) Abner's and Saul's maternal descendancies are not reported.⁴

B. Source Quotations.

(1) (a) "And in/at Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, and the name of his wife Maachah. And his son firstborn Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Nadab, and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zecher. And Mikloth* fathered Shimeah/Shimeam."⁵ *1 Chronicles 8:29-32.*

(b) "And in/at Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, Jeiel, and the name of his wife Maachah, and his son firstborn Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab, and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah and Mikloth."⁶ *1 Chronicles 9:35-37.*

(c) "The sons of [Levi -] Merari: Mahli and Mushi; the sons of Mahli: Eleazar and Kish. And died Eleazar. And not were to him sons, but daughters. And took them the sons of Kish."⁷ *1 Chronicles 23:21-22.*

(d) "Of Kish, the son of Kish Jerahmeel."⁸ *1 Chronicles 24:29.*

¹ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, *Jehiel/Jehieli/Jeiel*, for all uses.

² Only one other use of *Abiel* is as a parallel name for one "Abi-Albon," a David warrior (Appendix 2B, "David's Military").

³ *Maachah*, a regional name of historical significance: see Appendix 1A, "Aramaean Associations." Other *Maachahs*: Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C and 1C's Attachment 2, sub-part II, quotation, *1 Chronicles 7:15*; Attachment 3 to this appendix, "David Descendancy of," sub-parts I and IV.

⁴ A sole use of "Ner" as the linking name in Saul's parentage mirrors a sole use of "Neri" by *Luke*, seemingly between Josiah and Shealtiel-Zerubbabel, in *Lineage, David to Jesus--* Appendix 4C, Names/Places/ Relationships," and Appendix 3B, I, *Zerubbabel*. (Also concerning dual kinships on the distaff side, cf. Appendix 4C, *Elizabeth, Mary [A]*, and *Zechariah*.)

⁵ Other uses of names in the string: (a) *Abdon*, 1D, II, fn. 39, and Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, part I, C, *Shaharaim Descendancy*; (b) *Zur*, Midianite chief whose daughter was Cozbi--Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23; (c) one other *Kish*: (Merari...Abdi-) *Kish*, a levitical assistant in King Hezekiah's time; (d) *Baal*, here at fn. 22 and Appendix 2A, *Deities, Miscellaneous*; (e) two other *Nadabs*: (1) (Elisheba -) *Nadab* (Appendix 1C.IV.A) and (2) *Nadab* in a complicated string of Hezron descendants at *1 Chronicles 2:25ff*; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Hezron*, et al.; (f) *Gedor*, Appendix 2A; (g) two other *Ahios*: (1) (Hushim + Shaharaim-Elpaal-Beriah-) *Ahio* in *1 Chronicles 8:1-14*'s list of Benjamin descendants, which includes the "Shupim and Muppim Puzzle" (Appendix 1C, VI, D and its Attachment 2, C); (2) (Abinadab-) *Ahio*, who accompanied his brother of Uzza in moving the ark from Kirjath-Jearim (Appendix 1E at fn. 40); (h) *Zachariah, etc.*, Appendix 3B, I; (i) one other *Mikloth*, chief officer of a David military division; (j) *Shammua/ Shammuah/Shimeah, etc.*, Appendix 2A.

⁶ Appendices 1A, Attachment 1, *Jerahmeel*, and 1C, Attachment 1, D, *Hezron Descendancy*.

- (1) Rizpah “bore” sons, Armoni* and Mephibosheth [A¹⁴] “to Saul.”
- (2) “...and the name [*sic.*] of two daughters his [Saul’s], the name of the firstborn Merab, and the name of the younger, Michal.” Their mother(s) is/are not specified. *1 Samuel* 14:49.
- (3) The mother(s) is/are not specified of Saul’s other sons, which five appear relatively clearly on the record as being Jonathan,¹⁵ Malchishua,* Abinadab,¹⁶ Ishvi/*sui*,¹⁷ and “Ish-baal”/“Ish-bosheth”/or/ “Eshbaal.”¹⁸
- (4) Available data:
- (a) [Certain Gibeonites said to victorious David,] “...let be given to us seven men of sons....And took [David] two the] sons of Rizpah...whom she bore to Saul, Armoni and Mephibosheth....” *2 Samuel* 21:6 ff.
- (b) “...Ishbosheth the son of Saul....” *2 Samuel* 8 ff.
- (c) “Saul fathered Jonathan, and Malchishua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.” *1 Chronicles* 8:33; 9:39.
- (d) “[T]he sons of Saul, Jonathan, and Ishvi, and Malchishua....” *1 Samuel* 14:49.
- (e) “...and struck the Philistines Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchishua, ‘the sons of Saul.’” *1 Samuel* 31:2.

B. Saul Grandsons.

The texts state that Saul gave daughter Merab to one Adriel the Meholathite*¹⁹ after David rejected marrying her. What became of Merab is not said. Michal then was to be given to David by Saul, but then Saul gave her instead to one Phalti/Palti²⁰ (David possessed her later).

- (1) It is not said that Michal ever also belonged to Adriel. It is reported, however, that Michal “bore” “five sons...to Adriel,” while other text implies that she died without having had children ever [(d) below].
- (2) The five unnamed grandsons of Saul eventually were given over by David to certain Gibeonites, who killed them [(3)(a) above].
- (3) Relevant citations:
- (a) “And was it at the time to give Merab...to David, that she was given [instead] to Adriel the Meholathite for a wife.” *1 Samuel* 18:19.
- (b) “And took the king [David] two the sons of Rizpah...and five the [unnamed] sons of Michal, daughter of Saul, whom she bore to Adriel, the son of Barzillai²¹ the Meholathite, and gave into the hand of the Gibeonites.” *2 Samuel* 21:8-9.
- (c) “And to Michal the daughter of Saul, not was there to her a child until the day of her death.” *2 Samuel* 6:20, 23.

¹⁴ *Mephibosheth* also being name of a (Saul-) Jonathan son (*at fn.* 22).

¹⁵ See C, below, for Jonathan descendancy, and Appendix 3B, I, *Jonathan*, for other uses of the name.

¹⁶ The name also of a Jesse son, *Abinadab* (who fought with Saul)—Attachment 1 to this Appendix, “Jesse, Descendancy of,” *at fn.* 4, where other uses of *Abinadab* also are given.

¹⁷ One other use: (Zilpah + Asher-) *Ishvi/sui*.

¹⁸ (based on one traditional theory of name alterations—*refer to fn.* 22, regarding *baal* and *bosheth*).

¹⁹ Geographers have not ascertained a site for *Abel* [meadow]-Meholah. A judge Gideon account places it “by Tabbath,” thought to have been about three miles east of the Jordan, some 16 miles SE of Beth-Shan/Shean/Scythopolis, with argument also made for a site west of the Jordan. (Involved also are [1] the unknown location of the home of prophet Elijah, the “Tishbite;” and [2] the possibility that Tabbath = Tubas (outside Tirzah) is interpretable as “opposite” Abel-Meholah, thus locating the home of prophet Elisha; see Appendix 2C, IV, *at fn.* 29.)

²⁰ See Appendix 1E *at fn.* 26.

²¹ It is not said directly that this Barzillai was the same Barzillai who helped sustain David during the Absalom conflict (Appendix 1E preceding *fn.* 69). A third use of *Barzillai* is at *Nehemiah* 7:63 (paralleled at *Ezra* 2:61ff.), where certain priests had taken “of the daughters of *Barzillai*, the Gileadite, to wife and was called by their name,” and were “polluted from the priesthood” because they were not found enrolled in genealogical records—*refer to Appendix* 3B, II, sub-part IV, A, Chart A.

C. (Saul-) Jonathan Descendants.

It is unclear but found generally acceptable that Jonathan had only one son, referred to by two names--"Merib-baal" and "Mephibosheth [B²²]"--which son had one son, Micah/Mica.

(1) Available data:

(a) When David asked who was left of the house of Saul, servant Ziba replied: "Yet a son to Jonathan, crippled in both feet. ... [at] house Machir's, the son of Ammiel,²³ in Lo-debar. Then sent King David and took him from house Machir's...and came Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul, to David... [where David maintained him at table]". *2 Samuel 9:3-5.*

(b) "And the son of Jonathan, Merib-baal. And Merib-baal fathered Micah. And the sons of Micah:²⁴ Pithon*, and Melech*, and Tarea*, and Ahaz."²⁵ *1 Chronicles 8:34-36.*

(c) "And the son of Jonathan Merib-baal, and Merib-baal fathered Micah. And the sons of Micah: Pithon, and Melech, and Tahrea, and Ahaz..." *1 Chronicles 9:40-41.*

"And to Jonathan...a son crippled feet; a son of five years he was when came the news [of the death] of Saul and Jonathan from Jezreel; and took him up his nurse and fled, and it was while she hurried to flee that he fell and became lame; and his name Mephibosheth." *2 Samuel 4:4.*

(e) "...to Mephibosheth a little son, and his name Mica." *2 Samuel 9:12.*

²² The application of name 'alterations' using *baal* and *bosheth* makes for uncertainty here, as with Ish-bosheth; refer to Appendix 2A, Deities, Miscellaneous, Baal.

²³ *Machir + Maachah*, Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C. *Ammiel* is one form of the name of Bath-Sheba's father--see Appendix 2A, Ammiel/Eliam.

²⁴ Appendix 3B, Attachment 1, Micah, etc.

²⁵ Refer to Appendix 2C, III, fn. 49.

Appendix 2A, Attachment 3

DAVID, Descendancy of

*An asterisk denotes only use of the name and no further mention of that individual.
Italics in quotations are supplied.*

I. David Sons Born Prior to His Establishment in Jerusalem.

(a) “Ahinoam, had David taken, from Jezreel...;” “Ahinoam of Jezreel.”¹ *1 Samuel* 25:40; *2 Samuel* 3:2. The only other use of *Ahinoam* is Saul's only-mentioned wife (Attachment 2 to this appendix, “Saul, Descendancy of”).

(b) “And came the servants of David to Abigail [wife of (Caleb -) Nabal], to Carmel, and spoke to her, saying, ‘David has sent us to you to take you to him for a wife. And she rose and bowed...and said, ‘Behold, your handmaid.’” *1 Samuel* 25:38ff. (Appendix 1E preceding fn. 26; refer also to *Abigail*, Attachment 1 to this appendix, “Jesse, Descendancy of.”)

(c) “And were born to David sons in Hebron. And was his firstborn Amnon...and his second Chileab*[/Daniel]...and the third Absalom...and the fourth Adonijah...and the fifth Shephatiah...and the sixth Ithream*.” *2 Samuel* 3 and *1 Chronicles* 3, which also name the mothers of David's sons as shown below. (*Absalom* is an only use; there is strong evidence, however, that the “Abishalom” at *1 Kings* 15:2 and 10 would be Absalom if derived as in part IV below.)

(d) “Now these were the sons of David, who were born to him in Hebron. The firstborn Amnon...the second Daniel [Chileab]...the third Absalom...the fourth Adonijah...the fifth Shephatiah...the sixth Ithream.” *1 Chronicles* 3:1ff.

(e) “And were born to Absalom three sons and daughter, one, and her name Tamar; she was a woman of beautiful form.” *2 Samuel* 14:27. Tamar the *daughter* of Absalom traditionally not is taken as the “sister,” *Tamar* of Absalom--chart at II, below, and its quotation (d).

	? + Jesse	? + Talmai,				
	/	/	King of Geshur			
-----David----- / -----						
/ + Ahinoam	/ + Abigail	/ + Michal	/ + Maachah ⁶	/ + Haggith*	/ + Abital	/ + Eglah*
Amnon	Chileab/Daniel	0	Absalom[Abishalom]	Adonijah	Shephatiah	Ithream*
		/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?		
		3 Sons	Tamar	Maachah		
		(No data	/			
		available)	<u>Continued in part IV below..</u>			

¹ Appendix 2A, *Jezreel*.

² One other: (...Shimron-) *Amnon* (*1 Chronicles* 4:1, 20).

³ Two other uses: (a) *Adonijah*, a leader/teacher in Judah under king Jehoshaphat (Appendix 2C; south king #4); and (b) *Adonijah*, a head among the men who covenanted with governor Nehemiah--seemingly the individual called “Adonikam” at *Ezra* 2:13.

⁴ Of whom there is no further mention (Other uses, Appendix 3B, I, *Shephatiah*).

⁵ Three other uses: (a) *Daniel* the prophet [refer to Appendix 3A, II, C(2)(a) and (b)]; (b) *Daniel* “from the sons of Ithamar,” a “chief” who returned from exile with Ezra (Appendix 3B, II, part III, B); (c) a priest *Daniel* who sealed the post-Babylon covenant of governor Nehemiah (Appendix 3B, II, Detail A).

⁶ David struck *Geshur* (*1 Samuel* 27:8; Appendix 2A, *Geshur*); this Maachah is named as the daughter of King Talmai of Geshur (see Appendix 1A for details and other *Maachahs*)--among prominent ones were *Maachah*: wife of Jeiel, the father of Gibeon--Attachment 2 to this appendix, “Saul, Descendancy of,” sub-part I, B, (1)(b); (d) *Maachah* wife of Machir, father of Gilead--Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, C, and 1C, Attachment 2, sub-part II, Manasseh Descendancy.

⁷ *2 Samuel* 14:27.

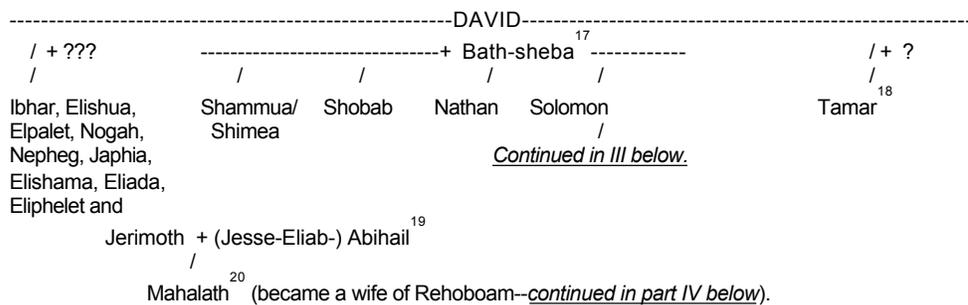
II. David Sons Born at Jerusalem.

(a) “And took David again wives in Jerusalem; and fathered David again sons and daughters; and these the names of the children who were to him in Jerusalem: Shammua,⁸ and Shobab,⁹ Nathan,¹⁰ and Solomon,* and Ibhara,* and Elishua,* and Elpalet,* and Nogah,* and Nepheg,¹¹ and Japhia,¹² and Elishama,¹³ and Beeliada¹⁴ and Eliphalet.*” *1 Chronicles* 14:3 ff.

(b) “And these were born to him in Jerusalem: Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, four, to Bathsheba...and Ibhara, and Elishama, and Eliphelet, and Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia, and Elishama, and Eliada,¹⁵ and Eliphelet,¹⁶ nine; ...and Tamar, their sister.” *1 Chronicles* 3:5-9. This is the only implication that David was Tamar’s father and that she was born at Jerusalem. Tamar’s parentage remains in question due to a snarl involving Absalom/Abishalom,” “Maacah/Michaiah,” and “Abijah/Abijam”--refer to footnote 19 and part IV below.

(c) A fourteenth son, Jerimoth, is mentioned obliquely. See quote at (b) of part IV below.

(d) “And happened afterward that Absalom the son of David a sister beautiful and her name Tamar.” *2 Samuel* 13:1.



⁸ Appendix 2A, Shammua/Shammua/Shimea.

⁹ One other, (Hezron-Caleb + Azubah-) *Shobab* (Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, Chelub, etc. Descendancy).

¹⁰ Refer to Introductory Summary, fn. 10, and Appendix 2A, Nathan.

¹¹ No further mention but one other use of the name: (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-) Korah, *Nepheg* and Zichri (*Exodus* 6:16 ff.)

¹² No further mention but two other uses of the name: (a) *Japhia*, one of five Amorite kings who attacked Gibeon after it made peace with Joshua (Appendix ID, I, preceding fn. 7); (b) *Japhia*, a marking point on Zebulun’s border (*Joshua* 19:12).

¹³ No further mention; other uses, Appendix 1C, fn. 40.

¹⁴ Taken as *Eliada*, next footnote.

¹⁵ (a) (*Eliada/Eliadah*-) Rezon, captain for Zobah’s king Hadadezer (Appendix 1E preceding fn. 98); (b) *Eliada*, a mighty Benjaminite under south king #4, Jehoshaphat (Appendix 2C).

¹⁶ The repetitions of Elishama and Eliphelet in this verse are taken as scribal errors.

¹⁷ (Ammiel/Eliam [Appendix 2A] -) Bath-Sheba is the last of the four *Old Testament* females named in the lineage roster of Jesus of the *New Testament/Greek Scriptures*, where she is identified obliquely as “the wife of Uriah” (Appendix 1C, VII). Regarding Bath-Sheba’s son born first after her acquisition by David, which child died in infancy, see Appendix 1E between fns. 58 and 59.

¹⁸ Tradition has held that this Tamar, although not referred to directly as a *daughter of David* (quotation II[b] above), was an Absalom full-blooded sister charted in part I, above. Concerning Tamar ‘seduction’ by Absalom’s half-brother, Amnon, see Appendix 1E at fn. 62. The only other use of *Tamar* is [Leah + Jacob -] Judah’s daughter-in-law, *Tamar*, mother of Judah son, Phares/Pharez/Perez, in the official lineage.

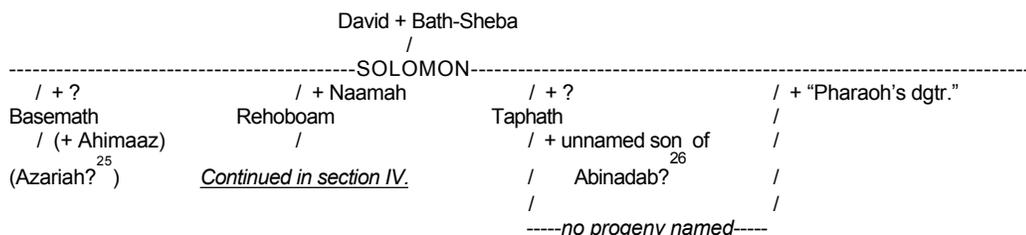
¹⁹ *2 Chronicles* 11:18; refer to fn. 27.

²⁰ One other *Mahalath*, daughter of Ishmael and an Esau wife (Appendix 1A, Attachment 2, “Descendancies of Esau Wives”).

III. Solomon Descendants.

(a) Solomon had 700 “wives, princesses,”²¹ of whom only two are named or described: “[T]he name of his [Rehoboam, Solomon’s son’s] mother Naamah²² the Ammonitess.” *1 Kings* 14:31.

(b) Solomon had an unknown number of children of whom only three are described: successor-son, Rehoboam, and two daughters named: Basemath²³ (“Ahimaaz²⁴ in Naphtali...took *Basemath* the daughter of Solomon for a wife,” *1 Kings* 4:15), and Taphath*



IV. Rehoboam Descendancy.

(a) Rehoboam had 18 wives and 60 concubines. He fathered 28 sons and 60 daughters (*2 Chronicles* 11:21), of whom the texts identify only those appearing in the citations that follow.

(b) “And took Rehoboam for himself a wife, Mahalath, the daughter of Jerimoth, the son of David [and] Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse. And she bore to him...Jeush, Shamariah and Zaham.” *2 Chronicles* 11:18-19.

(c) “And after her [Mahalath] he took Maachah the daughter of Absalom, and she bore to him Abijah, and Attai,²⁸ and Ziza,²⁹ and Shelomith.³⁰” *2 Chronicles* 11:20.

(d) Rehoboam appointed Abijah as chief ruler among all his brothers, “so as to cause him to reign.” *2 Chronicles* 11:22.

(e) “And lay Rehoboam with his fathers.... And reigned Abijah his son in his place.” *1 Kings* 14:31.

(f) “In the year eighteenth of [north-] King Jeroboam³¹ began to reign Abijah over Judah three years. He reigned in Jerusalem, and the name of his mother Michaiiah,³² the

²¹ See Appendix 1E preceding fn. 95 for the general summary of their types.

²² One other, (Lamech + Zillah-) *Naamah*, page 19, fn. 18; *Naamah* as a place also is noted there).

²³ Only other Basemath is an Ishmael daughter who married Esau (Appendix 1A, fn. 31, and Appendix 1A, Attachment 2).

²⁴ One of Solomon’s “twelve officers over all Israel.) Other uses of *Ahimaaz*: (a) *Ahimaaz*, father of Ahinoam, page 166, fn. 9; to this appendix, “Saul Descendancy of,” fn. 10); (b) *Ahimaaz*, a priest who supported David during Absalom’s attempted takeover; (c) [Zadok -*Ahimaaz* -] Azariah and more uses, Appendix 3B, I, *Azariah*.

²⁵ Refer to fn. 24, (c).

²⁶ *1 Kings* 4:7-11. *Abinadab*, other uses—Attachment 1 to this Appendix 2A, “Jesse, Descendancy of,” fn. 4.

²⁷ The language of *2 Chronicles* 11:18ff. has caused some to take “Abihail” as another Rehoboam wife instead of the mother of Mahalath. The use of the singular pronoun (“after *her*”) however, supports the generally-held thesis of the missing, here-bracketed conjunction. Four other Abihails appear in the texts, one taken as a woman and three as men—see Appendix 2A, *Abihail*.

²⁸ Other uses of *Attai*, Appendix 1C, fn. 53.

²⁹ Other uses: (a) *Zizah* and (Shimei-) Shelomith were sub-chiefs among a division of (Levi-Gershon-) Shimei Leviites in David’s late years (*1 Chronicles* 23:6-11); (b) (Simeon...Shiphi-) *Ziza* of the days of King Hezekiah (*1 Chronicles* 4:37).

³⁰ See foregoing footnote and Appendix 3B, I, *Zerubbabel*, for other uses.

³¹ North king #1; coincidentally, an unnamed *Jeroboam* wife had a son named Abijah who died when “a boy” (Appendix 2C).

³² Appendix 3B, I, *Micha...Michaiiah*.

daughter of Uriel³³ from Gibeah.” *2 Chronicles* 13:1-2.

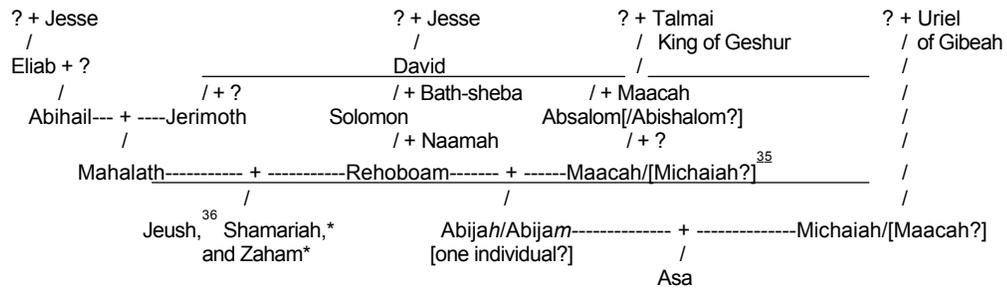
(g) “...and there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.... And the rest of the acts Abijah...are written in the inquiry of the prophet Iddo.”³⁴ *2 Chronicles* 13:1-22.

(h) “And in the year eighteenth of King Jeroboam...reigned Abijam over Judah. ...and name his mother’s Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom.” *1 Kings* 15:1-2.

(i) “And [when] lay Abijam with his fathers.... ...reigned Asa his son in his place...and name his mother’s Maachah the daughter of Abishalom.” *1 Kings* 15:8-10.

(j) Among other acts, Asa removed “Maachah his mother...from being queen, in that she made a horrid thing for Asherah.” *1 Kings* 15:13.

Based on *Chronicles* and *Kings* parallel reports of *Abijah* and *Abijam* events-- including warring with Jeroboam I--Abijah/Abijam does appear to have been one person. His immediate lineage and that of his successor-son, Asa, remain unclear, however, as they hinge on unknown exact maternal identities. Involving the possibility that one Maacah/ Michaiah mothered two generations of kings--if given, equations Absalom/Abishalom, Maacah/Michaiah and Abijah/Abijam. The following chart incorporates the various data as supplied by the texts and shows the uncertainties.



³³ Two other uses: (a) *Uriel*, chief of the Kohathites in David’s Leviite assembly to bring the ark to Jerusalem from the house of Obed-Edom (*1 Chronicles* 15:5 ff.); and (b) (Levi-Kohath-Amminadab-Korah-Assir-Elkanah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-) *Uriel* of the men David set “over the service of song...when rested the ark.” (*1 Chronicles* 6:22 ff.)

³⁴ Appendix 3B, I, *Iddo*.

³⁵ Refer back to quotation II(b) and cross-references cited there.

³⁶ Appendix 3B, I, *Jeush*.

** Abiathar's mother had to be an Eli daughter married to Ahimelech, for Abiathar at once to be both a grandson of Eli and a son of (Ahitub-) Ahimelech.

II. Source Quotations.

(a) ABIATHAR

(1) David formed divisions under "Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar," *1 Chronicles* 24:3, 6, 31.

(2) "But escaped [from the Nob massacre] one son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and his name was *Abiathar*." *1 Samuel* 22:20. "*Abiathar*, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David." *Josephus AJ*, VI, XII.8.

(3) "[W]hen fled *Abiathar*, the son of Ahimelech, to David...an ephod¹⁰ came down in his hand." *1 Samuel* 23:6-9. (David said to Abiathar, 'Bring near the ephod.'¹¹)

(4) "Eli, the grandfather of *Abiathar*," *Josephus AJ*, VIII.I.3.

(5) David "appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest together with *Abiathar*." *Josephus AJ*, VII.V.4.

The order of the appointments is not clear, altogether--the order of their names is given in the texts as "Zadok and Abiathar." [See Zadok's joining with David's army--items 10 below (*1 Kings* 2:35) and (i)(1).]

(6) When finally David reigned, "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of *Abiathar*, [were] priests"/ "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech¹² the son of *Abiathar*, [were] priests;" *2 Samuel* 8:17/*1 Chronicles* 18:16.

(7) When Solomon succeeded David, "Zadok and *Abiathar*, priests;" *1 Kings* 4:4.

(8) "And drove, Solomon, *Abiathar* [who had supported Adonijah] from being priest," *1 Kings* 2:27. "[A]nd Zadok, the priest, put the king [Solomon] in the place of *Abiathar*," *1 Kings* 2:35; Solomon told Abiathar to go to "Anathoth,¹³ to your fields...."

(9) "And it happened [Jesus] in the sabbaths to be proceeding through the grainfields, ...plucking the heads of grain. And the Pharisees were saying to him, 'See; why are they [your companions] doing to the sabbaths which not is lawful?'" Jesus replied, "Never did you read what did David when need he had and he got hungry, he and [those] with him? How he entered into the house of God upon *Abiathar*, chief priest, and the loaves of the presentation he ate, which not is lawful to eat [except for priests], and he gave also to [those] with him?" (*Mark* 2:23 ff.; *Matthew* 12:3ff. and *Luke* 6:3ff. also tell of David and his men eating of the shewbread but do not name the priest.)

(b) AHIJAH/AHIAH

(1) (Hezron-Jerahmeel-) *Ahijah*. *1 Chronicles* 2:25; Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, (mm) *Jerahmeel*; see also Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, "Charter Explorations, Benjamin and Manasseh," column (1), (Ehud-) *Ahiah*.

(2) "*Ahiah*[*Ahijah*], the son of Ahitub, the brother of Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of [Tet.] at Shiloh was carrying an ephod [when (Saul-) Jonathan overtook the Philistine's outpost]"--the lineage after "Ichabod" has been taken referring to him; *1 Samuel* 14:3.

(3) See Appendix 2C, III, fn. 6, regarding a seal, "*Ahiyahu*, [son of] *Sm*[?]."

(4) Saul said "to *Ahijah*, 'Bring near the ark,'" *1 Samuel* 14:18.

(5) At some point in the contention between (Solomon-) Rehoboam and Jeroboam (who became the north's first king), Jeroboam met with "...*Ahijah* the Shilonite,¹⁴ the prophet," who told Jeroboam, "ten the tribes [to you], and the tribe of one shall be to [Rehoboam].... ...and you shall...be king over Israel." *1 Kings* 11:29-39; paralleled at *2 Chronicles* 10:15:19.

¹⁰ Appendix 2A, *Ephod*.

¹¹ The query David wished to pose to [Tet.] was whether he and his men could trust the men of Keilah not to aid Saul, who David had heard was coming after him; the answer being 'no,' David took his men to other strongholds.

¹² This non-conformity with other related verses is taken as a copyist's error.

¹³ See fn. 20.

¹⁴ See Appendix 1E at fn. 100 and this volume's Introductory Summary at fn. 13.

(6) When northern king Jeroboam I's [unnamed] wife went to *Ahijah* to plead for their sick son, "*Ahijah* was not able to see, for were set his eyes because of his old age."¹⁵ *1 Kings* 14:4.

(7) "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, the first and the last, not they are written in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of *Ahijah the Shilonite*, and in the visions of Iddo the seer as to Jeroboam?"¹⁶ *2 Chronicles* 9:29.

(8) *Ahijah*, one of David's mighty men.

(9) *Ahijah*, a Levite over the treasury during David's reign. *1 Chronicles* 26:20.

(10) (Seraiah/Sheva/Shavsha/Shisha-) *Ahiah* and his brother Elihoreph* were scribes for Solomon. *1 Kings* 4:3.

(11) (Issachar...*Ahijah*-) king Baasha, north king #3 (Appendix 2C).

(12) *Ahijah*, among the "heads of the people" at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant (Appendix 3B, II, part V).

(c) AHIMELECH

(1) "[C]ame David to Nob, to *Ahimelech, the priest*" [who allowed David to take Goliath's sword, after David's final break with Saul]. *1 Samuel* 21:1. "David...came to the city Nob to *Ahimelech, the high priest*" and obtained Goliath's sword and shew bread to eat for himself and his men. *Josephus AJ*, VI.XII.4-6.

(2) *Ahimelech* "the Hittite," who accompanied (Zeruiah-) Joab, when David proposed sneaking into Saul's camp. Joab agreed to accompany David, but nothing more is said about an *Ahimelech* "the Hittite." (*1 Samuel* 26:6).

(3) "[S]ent the king [Saul] to call *Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub*," and confronted him, saying, "You shall surely die...you and all the house of your father." *1 Samuel* 22:11.

(4) Saul "slew *Ahimelech* and all his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five." Saul destroyed "the family of *Ahimelech* the high priest, *with Ahimelech himself*, and the city of the priests." *Josephus AJ*, VI.XII.6, 9. *1 Samuel* 22:18ff. does not name any of the murdered priests.

(5) "But Abiathar, the son of *Ahimelech*, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David." *Josephus AJ*, VI, XII.8.

(6) "[E]scaped one son of *Ahimelech*, the son of Ahitub, and his name was Abiathar." *1 Samuel* 22:20.

(7) "And divided them, David, even Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and *Ahimelech* of the sons of Ithamar, according to their offices in their service." *1 Chronicles* 24:3, 6, 31.

(8) When finally David reigned, "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and *Ahimelech* the son of Abiathar, [were] priests,"/ "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and *Ahimelech* the son of Abiathar, priests." *2 Samuel* 8:17/ *Chronicles* 18:16. As noted in the introduction to this attachment, it has been taken that the latter part of this verse should read, "...Abiathar the son of *Ahimelech*."

(d) AHITUB

(1) "Arophaeus's son was *Ahitub*; and Ahitub's son was Zadok." *Josephus AJ*, VIII.I.3; refer also to Appendix 3B, II, part II, A.

(2) "Ahiah/[Ahijah], the son of *Ahitub*, the brother of Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of [Tet.] at Shiloh was carrying an ephod [at the time of (Saul-) Jonathan's overtaking the Philistine's outpost]." *1 Samuel* 14:3; qualifiers after "Ichabod" are taken as referring to him, not Ahitub.

(3) *Ahitub* is referred to as the "ruler/chief of the house/temple" in the lineage lists (Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, "Chief Priesthood Lineage, Aaron to Josedek/Jehozadak, As Variously Given"). According to all other data this would place him as such at Shiloh; yet he is not addressed by the texts except for the aforementioned appellation in the lineage lists (associated issues being further confounded by the *1 Chronicles* 6:3ff. data, which appears to contain repetitions).

¹⁵ Taking David's regnal years at both Hebron and Jerusalem to be 40-1/2 years, an estimated number of years to Jeroboam's emergence would be 41; timewise, this aged Ahijah could be (Ahitub-) Ahijah.

¹⁶ Written words of Nathan did not survive; but see Appendix 2A, Nathan, and Appendix 3B, I, Iddo.

(4) *Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub*; 1 Samuel 22:11.

(5) "But escaped one son of Ahimelech, the son of *Ahitub*, and his name was Abiathar." 1 Samuel 22:20.

(6) When finally David reigned, "Zadok the son of *Ahitub*, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, [were] priests;"/ "Zadok the son of *Ahitub*, and *Abimelech* the son of Abiathar, priests." 2 Samuel 8:17/1 Chronicles 18:16. As noted in the introduction to this attachment, it has been taken that the latter part of this verse should read, ..."Abiathar the son of Ahimelech."

(7) "*Ahitub's* son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the time of David." Josephus AJ, VIII.I.3.

(8) Per Josephus, after Abiathar was banished by Solomon, the high priest office "was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok." *loc. cit.*

(e) ELI

(1) Only use as a name in this form, *but see* Appendix 4C, "Names/Places/Relationships," *Heli/Eli*, and *Heli* in Esdras high priest lineage list, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, at fn. 6.

(2) *Eli* "judged Israel forty years." 1 Samuel 4:18.

(3) "*Eli*, the grandfather of Abiathar," Josephus AJ, VIII.I.3.

(4) "Ahiah/[Ahijah], the son of Ahitub, the brother of Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, the son of *Eli*, the priest of [Tet.] at Shiloh was carrying an ephod." 1 Samuel 14:3.

(f) ICHABOD

(1) Eli's "daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas" gave birth to a son of Phinehas after Phinehas had been killed; "she called the child *Ichabod*."¹⁷ 1 Samuel 4:19-21

(2) "Ahiah, the son of Ahitub, the brother of *Ichabod*, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of [Tet.] at Shiloh was carrying an ephod." 1 Samuel 14:3. (Qualifiers after "Ichabod" are taken as referring to him, not to Ahitub.)

(g) PHINEHAS #1

(1) (Elisheba + Aaron-Eleazar + a daughter of Putiel-) *Phinehas* in the Aaron-Eleazar priesthood lineage (Exodus 6:25; refer to Appendix 3B, II, A; (also Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23, the Eleazar vs. Cozbi incident).

Per Josephus, after Abiathar was banished by Solomon, the "transfer" of the high priest office "to the family Of Phineas, to Zadok" (AJ, VIII.I.3) is taken to mean the family of (Eleazar-) Phinehas #1.

(h) PHINEHAS/PHINEAS/PHINEES #2

(1) "*Phinehas*, son of Eli," 1 Samuel 2:34.

(2) Eli's "daughter-in-law, the wife of *Phinehas*" gave birth to a son of Phinehas after Phinehas had been killed; "she called the child Ichabod." 1 Samuel 4:19-21.

(3) "Ahiah/[Ahijah], the son of Ahitub, the brother of Ichabod, the son of *Phinehas*, the son of Eli, the priest of [Tet.] at Shiloh was carrying an ephod." 1 Samuel 14:3.

(i) ZADOK

(1) While David was campaigning out of Hebron, among the multitude who joined him was "Zadok, the high priest, with 22 captains of his kindred." Josephus AJ, VII.II.2.

(2) "And divided them, David, even Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, according to their offices in their service." 1 Chronicles 24:3, 6, 31.

(3) David "appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest together with Abiathar." Josephus AJ, VII.V.4.

(4) "Arophaeus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the time of David." Josephus AJ, VIII.I.3.

(5) When finally David reigned, "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and *Ahimelech* the son of Abiathar, [were] priests;"/ "Zadok the son of Ahitub, and *Abimelech* the son of Abiathar, priests." 2 Samuel 8:17/ Chronicles 18:16. As noted in the introduction to this attachment, it has been taken that the latter part of this verse should read, ..."Abiathar the son of

¹⁷ After which time she said, "Has departed the glory from Israel."

Ahimelech.”

(6) “Abiathar and *Zadok*, the high priests,” were persuaded by David to stay behind and keep tabs on things in Jerusalem, when he crossed the Jordan during Absalom’s insurrection. He took along their sons, Ahimaaz the son of *Zadok* and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers. *Josephus AJ*, VII.IX.2.

(7) When Solomon succeeded David, “*Zadok* and Abiathar, priests.” *1 Kings* 4:4.

(8) “And drove, Solomon, Abiathar from being priest,” *1 Kings* 2:27. “[A]nd *Zadok*, the priest, put the king [Solomon] in the place of Abiathar.” *1 Kings* 2:35.

(9) Per *Josephus*, after Abiathar was banished by Solomon, the high priest office “was transferred to the family of Phineas, to *Zadok*.” *AJ*, VIII.I.3.

(10) *Zadok*, father of Jerusha who was the mother of (Uzziah-) Jotham, southern king #11--Appendices 2C.

(11) *Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Zadok.*

III. Timetable As Estimatedly Derivable.

	<u>Dates</u> ¹⁸ b.c.	<u>Estimated Intervening Years</u>
a) The tabernacle and ark were at Shiloh from the time of Joshua until Shiloh was taken by the Philistines. <small>Shiloh’s taking mainly is deduced from <i>Jeremiah</i> 7:12-14; Eli and Samuel are described together in the sanctuary, with the ark, in Eli’s advanced age--<i>1 Samuel</i> 3:3.</small>		
b) Eli’s 40-year tenure began:	c. 1089	
c) The Philistines took Shiloh; (Eli-) Phinehas died in battle (at Aphek); Eli died the same year.	c. 1049	40
d) The Philistines returned the Ark after several months. <small>(Subsequently, it was lodged with one Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim for 20 years.) <i>1 Samuel</i> 7:2.</small>		
e) Samuel called an assembly at Mizpah.	c. 1048	<u>1</u>
f) After the Mizpah assembly, the Philistine were driven back. <small>And “were restored, the cities which had taken, the Philistines, from Israel, to Israel, from Ekron even to Gath, and their border delivered...from the hand of the Philistines; ...and judged, Samuel, Israel, all the days of his life.” <i>1 Samuel</i> 7:5-14. (Samuel’s seat was in Ramah, where he “built an altar” and from where he judged...traveling a circuit....” Samuel is identified as a judge-commander, not chief or high priest.)</small>		
g) It is not known whether the Shiloh tabernacle temporarily was revived; but at some point a sanctuary/tabernacle ¹⁹ had been or then was established, “in the high place that in Gibeon,” seemingly also referred to as (or near) “Nob,” “the city of the priests.” <small>The precise location of Nob is not known but taken as near <i>Anathoth</i>, based on <i>Nehemiah</i> 11:31-32, “[T]he sons of Benjamin from Geba...and their villages, <i>Anathoth</i>, Nob, Ananiah, Hazor, Ramah, etc.”--<i>Anathoth’s</i> likely proximity to Nob also being echoed in <i>Isaiah</i> 10:30-32.²⁰</small>		

[Sub-total: 41]

¹⁸ Not all of the dates on this derived timetable jibe with dates commonly advanced.

¹⁹ *Josephus* refers to it as a “temple,” *AJ* VI.XII.7.

²⁰ “A number of geological authorities believe that Nob was on the east slope of Mount Scopus, not much over a mile N/NE of the Jerusalem mount” (*Aid*, page 1231). See Appendix 1E, “Saul Through Solomon,” fn. 88, for *Anathoth* (a somewhat-obscured priestly city which figured, also, in the Jeremiah/Hananiah priestly conflict; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah”).

	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Estimated Intervening Years</u>
	b.c.	
	Forward:	41
h) Ahitub was “ruler of the house of [<i>Tet.</i>]” This is derived from all the data and lineage progression lists as variously given.		
i) Aged Samuel’s sons were not to the people’s liking; they asked for appointment of a king. Saul was chosen. Saul’s tenure is highly uncertain; sources give him 12 to 25 years; refer to note following item (m).	c. 1036	12
j) Ahitub’s end is not told, but (Ahitub-) Ahijah was his apparent first successor. Ahijah has been taken as coming from Shiloh, at the time of Saul’s last battle; that depends on the grammar of 1 Samuel 14:3: “Ahijah, the son of Ahitub, the brother of Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest [?who had been] at Shiloh...;” refer to item (l).		
k) Prior to Samuel’s anointment of David as king, Ahijah was wearing the high priest ephod [of Shiloh?].		
l) Samuel anointed David.	?	
m) Samuel died, “about this time [--when David ‘cut off Saul’s skirt’]. This estimate is based on Samuel’s commencement c. 1048, combined with the statement, Samuel “governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli, the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul.” Josephus AJ, VI.XIII.5.	c. 1018	18
n) After David’s final break with Saul, (Ahitub-) Ahimelech, chief priest at Nob, aided David.		
o) Saul castigated Ahimelech; threatened death to all his house.		
p) Saul directed the massacre of Nob priests. Abiathar escaped to David. Zadok and “22 captains of his kindred” joined David at Hebron.		
q) “And divided them, David [into companies?], even Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, according to their offices in their service.” ²¹)		
r) Estimated date of Saul’s death. Per Josephus AJ, VI, XIV.9, Saul “reigned 18 years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two.”	c. 1016	<u>2</u>
s) As David began his rule, Zadok first appears as a priest along with Abiathar.		
t) David eventually captured Jerusalem’s heights from the Jebusites and made a tent in the “City of David” /Jerusalem, for the Ark. He “called...the priests,” Abiathar and Zadok, and the Levites, to transport the Ark. 1 Chronicles 15:11.		
u) The ark was brought to Jerusalem but the tabernacle remained in the Gibeon “high place.” Evidenced by the statement that, when Solomon succeeded he held a congregation at “the high place that in Gibeon, for there was the tent of meeting of [<i>Tet.</i>].... But the ark... had brought up, David, from Kirjath-jearim.” 2 Chronicles 1:3-4.		

Forward: 73

²¹ Refer to page 173 preceding fn. 6.

	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Estimated Intervening Years</u>
	b.c.	
	Forward:	73
v) "And [David] left there, before the ark...to minister before the ark..." Asaph and Obed-edom and their brothers, "and [he left] Zadok the priest, and his brothers...before the tabernacle...in the high place that in Gibeon." The lack of mention here of Abiathar cannot be explained unless David utilized the higher priestly position in another manner. Abiathar is not mentioned again until Solomon's banishment of him.		
w) Abiathar had a son, Jonathan, old enough to be involved at the time of Absalom's rebellion. "Zadok and Abiathar" were priests then also.	c. 978?	38
x) David's reign of "41" years ended; Solomon succeeded and banished Abiathar.		
y) The tabernacle remained at Gibeon until Solomon completed the temple at Jerusalem.		
z) Solomon's reign ended.	c. 926	<u>52</u>
Total, <i>Estimated Intervening Years</i> (1089 - 926 =)		163

Appendix 2B

THE MILITARY UNDER DAVID

I. A. "These those coming to David, to Ziklag...." 1 Chronicles 12:1ff.

Ahiezer, son of Shemaah the Gibeathite, "the head"
Attai, "sixth" of the Gadites
Azarel, a Korahite
Bealiah
Berachah
Eliab, "third" of the Gadites
Eliel, "seventh" of the Gadites
Elizabad, "ninth" of the Gadites
Elkanah, a Korahite
Eluzai
Ezer, "head" of the Gadites
Ishmaiah, the Gibeonite, "a warrior among the 30, and over the 30"
Jahaziel
Jashobeam[*Josheb-Baashebeth*], a Korahite. The only bearer of the name(s). See more at his name in parts III, IV and V below.
Jehu, the *Anathothite*
Jeremiah
Jeremiah, "fifth" of the Gadites
Jeremiah, "tenth" of the Gadites
Jerimoth
Jessiah, a Korahite
Jeziel, son of Azmaveth
Joash, son of Shemaah the Gibeathite
Joelah, son of Jeroham of Gedor. (a) (Founder/father of Gibeon/Jeiel/Abiel -) *Gedor*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, B, "Benjamin Descendancy as Later Given for Saul; (b) ("Father of Etam"/Hur?-Penuel-) *Gedor*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, A; (c) (?)"Ishbah, the father of Eshtemoa" + Jehudijah-) Jered, "the father of *Gedor* (1 Chronicles 4:1-18); (d) *Gedor*, town or towns suggested in the vicinity to the northwest of Hebron and Jerusalem.
Joezer, a Korahite
Johanan
Johanan, "eighth" of the Gadites
Jozabad, the Gederathite¹
Machbanni, "eleventh" of the Gadites
Mishmannah, "fourth" of the Gadites
Obadiah, "second" of the Gadites
Pelet, son of Azmaveth
Shemariah
Shephatiah, the Haruphite²
Zebadiah, son of Jeroham of Gedor (Total, 34 individuals)

¹ With this and similar references it cannot be said whether the name denotes a person, house, or place. (a) The *Gederah/Jedirah* above tentatively has been suggested about a mile NE of Gibeon; (b) the site of a second use, a Judah-assigned city in the Shephelah, has been suggested as being about 15 miles W/NW of Jerusalem; (c) *Gederathite* possibly may be an alternate form of *Gederite* (King Geder was one of the 31 Canaanite kings overtaken by Joshua).

² (a) *Haruph/Hareph/Hariph*, as a place, unknown; (b) (Caleb-Hur-) Hareph, "father of Bethgades [Beth-gader]--see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D, Descendancy of (Hezron -) Caleb; (c) *Hariph*, aka *Jorah*, chief of 112 males/families that returned from exile; refer to Appendix 3B, III.

B. “[T]hese they who crossed over the Jordan in the month first...and put flight all the valleys to the east and to the west.”

“And came the sons of Benjamin and Judah to the stronghold to David. And went out David before them...and said..., If for peace you have come to me, to help me, there is to me concerning you a heart to unite....” “Amasai, the head of the thirty, [responded]: ‘To you, David, and with you, the sons of Jesse--peace!’”

“[W]hen he [David] came with the Philistines against Saul to battle,” men from Manasseh fell to David, “but not they helped [then], for they, by counsel, sent him away, the lords of the Philistines, saying, ‘With our heads he will fall to his master Saul.’”

However, “[W]hen he [David] went to Ziklag, there fell to him from Manasseh:”

Adnah
 Elihu
 Jediael
 Jozabad
 Jozabad [*sic. repeat*]
 Michael
 Zillethai.

II. [T]hese the numbers of the heads of those armed for war; they came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him....” 1 Chronicles 12:23ff.

Sons of	
Aaronites,	
with Jehoiada, the leader	3,700
Asher	40,000
Benjamin, “the brothers of Saul”	3,000
(“[U]ntil now, most of them had kept allegiance to the house of Saul.”)	
Danites	28,600
Ephraim	20,800
Issachar, “their heads 200, and all their brothers”	--
Judah [with]	6,800
Levi	4,600
Manasseh	18,000
Naphtali, “chiefs, 1,000, and with them:”	37,000
Simeon	7,100
Zebulun	50,000
Reubenites) “from beyond Gadites, and) the Jordan” Manasseh half-tribe)	120,000
Zadok, “and the house of his father, captains, 22.”	--

III. “[T]hese the heads of the warriors who to David, who made themselves strong with him in his kingdom...to cause him to reign....” 1 Chronicles 11:10ff.

x indicates the name appears also in the <u>2 Samuel</u> list in part IV. ³		[Order in which the name appears in <u>1 Chron. 11 text</u>]
x	“Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, head of the thirty.” <i>See alternate renditions in parts I and IV, and sonship in part V.</i>	[1]
	“And after him,	
x	“Eleazar, the son of Dodo, the Ahohite; he among three the warriors.”	[2]
x	Abishai, the brother of Joab: “he was the head of the three...and to him a name among the three. Of the three, by the two he was honored, and became their captain; but to the three not he did come.”	[3]
x	“Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada...from Kabzeel. [W]as honored he, but to the three not did he come.” <i>Kabziel, tentatively placed by one school as about 10 miles NE of Beer-sheba; it appears to take the form, Jekabzeel, in a Nehemiah list of postexilic settlements.</i>	[4]
	[Recommencing at 1 Chronicles 11:26ff.:]	
x	Abiel, the Arbathite. <i>Taken to be the Abi-albon at part IV below. Depending on punctuation of Joshua 14:15, Arba was a great man of “Kiriath-Arba”--see Appendix 2A, Hebron.)</i>	[18]
x	Abiezer, the Antothite (<i>Anethothite</i> and <i>Anathothite</i> appear in parts IV and V).	[10]
?	Adin ^a , son of Shiza; “the Reubenite, the head to the Reubenites, and with him 30.”	[37]
x	Ahiam, son of Sacar, the Hararite. <i>Sacar, the name also of Obed-Edom’s fourth son. The only use of Hararite is in these listings: at Jonathan and (as Hargrite) at Shammoth in this section; and at Ahiam and the first and third Shammahs, in part IV. It may denote mountain or hill dweller.</i>	[23]
	Ahijah, the Pelonite. <i>Pelonite is used also with reference to Helez, below; see note also at Helez, the Paltite, in part IV.</i>	[26]
x	Asahel, brother of Joab.	[5]
x	Azmaveth, the Baharumite. <i>Believed to denote a resident of Bahurim, a village beside the Mount of Olives near the road to Jericho.</i>	[19]
x	Benaiah, the Pirathonite. <i>Pirathon, a town of Ephraim “in the hill country of the Amalekites,” suggested about six miles W/SW of Shechem.)</i>	[16]
x	Elhanan, son of Dodo of Bethlehem.	[6]
x	Eliabha, the Shaalbonite.	[20]
	Eliel, the Mahavite. (Meaning of <i>Mahavite</i> is unknown.)	[45]
	Eliel.	[49]
	Eliphal, son of Ur. <i>Only use of both Eliphal and Ur, aside from the latter being the name of the city originally left by Terah, Abraham, et al. However, see Eliphelet in part IV below.</i>	[24]
x	Gareb, the Ithrite. (a) “[T]he families of Kirjath-jearim, the Ithrites,” 1 Chronicles 3:53; (b) <i>Ithra</i> aka (<i>Jether/Ithra</i> + Abigail -) Amasa, Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, Jesse Descendancy; (c) (Seir the Horite...Dishan-) <i>Ithran</i> , Genesis 36:26; (d) Asher-Beriah-Heber-Sheber/Shomer/Shamer/ <i>Iapse</i> -Helem-Zophah-) <i>Ithran</i> , 1 Chronicles 7:30-37).	[34]
	Hanan, son of Maachah.	[38]

³ A question mark indicates uncertainty due to spelling variations; an x is omitted if the variation is more than slight.

x indicates the name
appears also in the
2 Samuel list in part IV.

[Order in which the
name appears in
1 Chron. 11 text]

x	Sons of <i>Hashem</i> /[<i>Jashen?</i>], the Githonite/Gizonite. No definition for Githonite/Gizonite.	[21]
x	Heled, son of Baanah the Netophathite. Appendix 3B, I, <u>Netophah</u> , etc.	[14]
x	Helez, the Pelonite. Helez <i>the Paltite</i> appears in <i>2 Samuel</i> , below.	[8]
	Hepher, the Mecherathite. The <i>Maachathite?</i> ; see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, <u>Hepher</u> , and Manasseh chart at Appendix 1C, VI, C.	[25]
x	Hezro/Hezrai, the Carmelite.	[27]
	Hurai, of the torrents of Gaash. <i>Hiddai</i> of the <i>2 Samuel</i> list in part IV?	[17]
	Ilai, the Ahohite. See <i>Ahoah</i> , Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, Benjamin Descendancy, at fn. 9.	[12]
x	Ira, son of Ikkesh, the Tekoite. (Only use of <i>Ikkesh</i> .)	[9]
x	Ira, the Ithrite. See Gareb, above, and Appendix 3B, I, <u>Ira</u> .	[33]
x	Ithai/Iltai, son of Rebai of Gibeah of the sons of Benjamin. Nearest form of <i>Rebai</i> is <i>Reba</i> , one of five Midianite kings mentioned in <i>Numbers</i> and referred to by <i>Joshua</i> as a "chief of Sihon."	[15]
	Ithmah, the Moabite.	[48]
	Jaasiel, the Mezobaite. (Only use of <i>Mezobaite</i> .)	[51]
x	Jashobeam, son of a <u>Hachmonite</u> . [Hachmoni-] <i>Jehiel</i> "was with the king's [David's] sons" (<i>1 Chronicles</i> 27:32).	[1]
	Jediael, son of Shimri.	[43]
	Jeiel, son of Hotham, the Aroerite. See Appendix 3B, I, <u>Jehiel/Jehieli/Jeiel</u> .	[42]
	Jeribai, son of Elnaam. (Only uses.)	[46]
x	Joel/ <u>Igal</u> , brother of Nathan. See Appendix 3B, I, <u>Joel</u> , and Appendix 2A, <u>Nathan</u> .	[29]
	Joha, the Tizite, brother of Jediael. (Beriah-) <i>Joha</i> , Appendix 1C, Attachment 1,C, Shahraraim Descendancy (via <i>Elpaal</i>); <i>Tizite</i> , unknown; <i>Jediael</i> , Appendix 3B, I.	[44]
x?	Jonathan, son of Shage, the Hararite. Appendix 3B, I, <u>Jehohanan</u> , etc.)	[22]
	Joshaphat, the Mithnite. (<i>Mithnite</i> , unknown.)	[39]
	Joshaviah, son of Elnaam. (Only uses.)	[47]
x	Maharai, the Netophathite.	[13]
	Mibhar, son of Hagri. ⁴	[30]
	Naarai, son of Ezbai. (Only uses in these forms.)	[28]
x	Naharai, the Berothite/[Beerothite]; the armor-bearer of Joab, the son of Zeruiah. Only use of <i>Naharai</i> in this form; see Appendix 2A, <u>Beroth/Beerothite</u> .	[32]
	Obed.	[50]
x?	Shama, son of Hotham, the Aroerite.	[41]
x?	Shammoth/[<i>Shammah?</i>], the Harorite.	[7]
x?	Sibbecai/[<i>Mebunnai?</i>], the Hushathite. ⁵	[11]

⁴ (a) It has been conjectured that *Hagrite* denotes a descendant of *Hagar* (mother of Abraham son, Ishmael); (b) *1 Chronicles* 5:18ff. relates that sons of Reuben, Gad and the one-half Manasseh east of Jordan supplanted the *Hagrites* and confiscated large numbers of their livestock; (c) *1 Chronicles* 5:7ff., that Reuben/descendants/brethren, whose cattle multiplied in Gilead, made war with the *Hagrites* in the time of Saul.

⁵ *1 Chronicles* 4:1-4 is unclear as to whether *Hushah* is a place, man or woman--see Appendix

x indicates the name appears also in the <u>2 Samuel</u> list in part IV.		[Order in which the name appears in <u>1 Chron.</u> 11 text]
x	Uriah, the Hittite.	[35]
	Uzzia, the Ashterathite/Ashterothite. Appendix 2A, <u>Ashtaroth/Ashteroth</u> .	[40]
	Zabad, son of Ahlai. ⁶ Appendix 2A, <u>Zabad</u> .	[36]
x	Zelek, the Ammonite. <i>Zelek</i> , only use.	[31]

IV. “These the names of the mighty ones to David....” 2 Samuel 23:8ff.

-- indicates the name does not appear in <u>1 Chron.</u> list in part III.		[Order in which the name appears in <u>2 Samuel</u> 23 text]
	Abi-albon, the Arbathite. <i>See Abiel</i> , part III.	[20]
	Abiezer, the Anethothite. (<i>Anathothite?</i>)	[12]
	Abishai, the son of Zeruiah, the brother of Joab-- “he [Abishai] head of the three;... More than the three surely was he honored? And he was to them for a commander, but to the three not he did come.”	[4]
	Adino, the Eznite.	[2]
	Ahiam, son of Sharar, the Hararite.	[26]
	Asahel, brother of Joab “of the 30”	[6]
	Azmaveth, the Barhumite. (a) (Saul-Jonathan-Meribbaal-Micah-Ahaz-Jehoadah-) <i>Azmaveth</i> (<u>1 Chronicles</u> 8:33ff.); (b) (Adiel-) <i>Azmaveth</i> , “over the King’s treasures” (<u>1 Chronicles</u> 27:25); (c) aka Beth- <i>azmaveth</i> —believed about five miles N/NE of Jerusalem, between Geba and Anathoth. (<i>Barhumite</i> also rendered <i>Baharumite</i> —see part III above.)	[21]
--	Bani, the Gadite. <i>See Appendix 3B, I, Bani</i> .	[32]
	Benaiah, son of Jehoiada from Kabziel. <i>Kabzeel/Jekabzeel</i> ; <i>see part III</i> . “[A]nd to him [Benaiah] a name among three the mighty ones. ... He was honored but to the three not he did come.”	[5]
	Benaiah, the Pirathonite.	[18]
	Eleazar, the son of Dodom the son of Ahohi, “of the three mighty men with David when they taunted the Philistines.” Appendix 3B, I, <u>Eleazar</u> ; Appendix 1D, II, fn. 27, (Puah of <i>Dodo</i> -) Judge Tola, of Issachar.	[3]
	Elhanan, the son of Dodo of Bethlehem	[7]
	Eliabba, the Shaalbonite. If alternate forms are <i>Shaalbim</i> and <i>Shaalabbin</i> , identified with a site about 16 miles W/NW of Jerusalem.	[22]
	Eliam, son of Ahithophel the Gilonite. Appendix 2A, (<u>Ammiel/Eliam</u> -) Bath-sheba.	[28]
	Elika, the Harodite. A spring rising on the northwest spur of Mt. Gilboa was named <i>Harod</i> .	[9]
--	Eliphelet, son of Ahasbai, son of the Maachathite.	[27]
	Gareb, an Ithrite.	[36]
	Heleb/Heled, son of Baanah a Netophathite.	[16]

1C, Attachment 1, Descendancy of Levi, at fn. 8. Hushan, as a site, is placed about four miles W of Bethlehem.

⁶Refer to Appendix 1C, fn. 53, for the string in which appears an *Attai/Ahlai* (male or female?) puzzle.

-- indicates the name does not appear in 1 Chron. list in part III.

[Order in which the name appears in 2 Samuel 23 text]

	Helez, the Paltite. ⁷	[10]
	Hezrai/Hezro, the Carmelite. Appendix 2A, <u>Camel</u> .	[29]
	Hiddai [Hurai?], of the brooks of Gaash. ⁸	[19]
	Igal [Joel?], son of Nathan of Zobah. Appendix 1A--Aramaean kingdom of Aram-Zobah.	[31]
	Ira, son of Ikkesh the Tekoite. Appendix 2A, <u>Tekoa, etc.</u>	[11]
	Ira, an Ithrite.	[35]
	Ittai, son of Ribai out of Gibeah, of the sons of Benjamin	[17]
--	Jashen/[<i>Hashem?</i>]--"sons of" ⁹	[23]
--	Jonathan	[24]
	Josheb-baashebeth[/ <i>Jashobeam</i>], the Jachmonite, "chief of the three." In the margin English of the text referenced in this work <i>Jachmonite</i> is rendered <i>Tachmonite</i> . More at his name in parts I and III above; sonship at part V below.	[1]
	Maharai, the Netophathite.	[15]
	Mebunnai [Sibbecai?], the Hushathite. Per <u>2 Samuel</u> 21:18, it was <i>Sibbechai</i> the Hushathite who struck the giant sons of Rapha.	[13]
	Naharai, the Beerothite, armor-bearer of Joab, son of Zeruiah.	[34]
	Paarai, the Arbite. <i>Paarai</i> , only use; <i>Arbite</i> , see at <i>Abiel</i> , part III.	[30]
--?	Shammah, of Agee, the Hararite. (<i>Agee</i> , only use.)	[4]
	Shammah [Shammoth], the Harodite.	[8]
--?	Shammah, the Hararite.	[25]
	Uriah, the Hittite.	[37]
	Zalmon, the Ahohite. <i>Zalmon</i> , a mountain near Shechem (<u>Judges</u> 9:48, 49).	[14]
	Zelek, the Ammonite	[33]

"...all, thirty and seven."

V. King David's Ultimate Army at Jerusalem.

A. Captains.

1 Chronicles 27:2ff.

Twelve monthly divisions, each consisting of 24,000 men:

Service Month	Captain
1	(Zabdiel-) Jashobeam[/ <i>Josheb-Baashebeth</i>], "of the sons of Perez, the head of all the captains of the armies for the month first." One other <i>Zabdiel</i> , a prominent priest after the exile.
2	Dodai, an Ahohite, "and of his division Mikloth the ruler." (Jeiel -) <i>Mikloth</i> , <u>1 Chronicles</u> 9:37.

⁷ Other uses: (a) (Raphu-) *Palti* of Benjamin, one of Moses' 12 reconnoiteurs of Canaan territory; (b) (Azzan-) *Paltiel*, leader of Issachar authorized to take possession of Issachar's apportionment; (c) (Laish of Gallim-) *Palti/Paltiel*, to whom Saul first gave his daughter Michal (1 Samuel 25:44).

⁸ Joshua was buried "in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, in the hills of Ephraim, north of Mount *Gaash*" (Joshua 24:30; Judges 8).

⁹ It generally has been taken that the name of the leader of "*sons of Jashen*" was dropped at some point in text generations.

Service Month	Captain
3	Benaiah, son of Jehoiada, "...mighty among the 30, and above the 30."
4	Asahel, brother of Joab ¹⁰ ("and Zebadiah, his son, after him").
5	Shamhuth, the Izrahite. <i>Shamhuth</i> , only use; Issachar-Tola-Uzzi-Izrahiah, 1 Chronicles 7:1-5; Izrahiah, a post-exilic participant in Nehemiah wall inauguration.
6	Ira, son of Ikkesh the Tekoite.
7	Helez, the Pelonite, of the sons of Ephraim.
8	Sibbecai, the Hushathite, of the Zarhites. Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, <u>Zerah/Zarah/Zohar</u> .
9	Abiezer, the Anathothite, of the Benjaminites.
10	Maharai, the Netophathite, of the Zarhites.
11	Benaiah, the Pirathonite, of the sons of Ephraim.
12	Heldai, the Netophathite, of Othniel. Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, <u>Othniel</u> .

B. "Now, over the tribes of Israel:"

1 Chronicles 27:16ff.

"Of/over" the:	TRIBE Branch,	the Ruler was:	Internal References
	LEVI/ Aaronites	Zadok	Appendix 3B, I.
	BENJAMIN	Jaasiel, ¹¹ son of <i>Abner</i>	Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, <i>Saul Descendancy</i> .
	DAN	Azareel, son of Jeroham.	Appendix 3B, I.
	EPHRAIM	Hoshea, son of Azariah.	" "
	ISSACHAR	Omri, ¹² son of Michael.	" "
	JUDAH	Elihu, of the brothers of David.	Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, <i>Jesse Descendancy</i> .
	LEVIITES	Hashabiah, son of Kemuel. ¹³	Appendix 3B, II, Att. 4.
Half-tribe of	MANASSEH	Joel, son of Pedaiah. ¹⁴	Appendix 3B, I.
Half-tribe "in Gilead" of	MANASSEH	Iddo, son of Zechariah	Appendix 3B, II, Att. 4. Appendix 3B, I and Appendix 3B, II, Att. 4.

¹⁰ Asahel's name here conflicts chronologically with his death before unification under David; one explanation given is that the reference here is to the "house" of Asahel.

¹¹ Only use in this form except for *Jaasiel* the Mezobaite in part III above. A *Jaaziel/Aziel/Jeiel* was an accompanier of the Ark to Jerusalem--Appendix 3B, I, Jeiel, etc.

¹² Other uses of *Omri*, see Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 20.

¹³ Others, (Milcah + Nahor -) *Kemuel*, Appendix 1A, fn. 29; (Shiphtan-) *Kemuel*, chief who represented Ephraim in the apportionment of Canaan land.

¹⁴ See Appendix 3B, I Zerubbabel, Descendancy of.

<u>"Of/over"</u> the:	<u>TRIBE</u> <u>Branch,</u>	<u>the Ruler was:</u>	<u>Internal References</u>
	NAPHTALI	Jerimoth, son of Azriel ¹⁵	Appendix 3 B, I.
	REUBENITES	Eliezer, son of Zichri.	" "
	SIMEONITES	Shephatiah, son of Maachah.	" "
	ZEBULUN	Ishmaiah, son of Obadiah	Appendix 1A, part I B. One other use (part I). Appendix 3B, I.

¹⁵ (a) (Jaladah + Manasseh or Machir -) Ashriel/Asriel --Appendix 1C, part VI, C; (b) Appendix 3B, I, under Seraiah, for other use.

Appendix 2C, I

Introduction to the Period of the Kings

The texts do not define a territorial border between the Judah and Israel kingdoms. *Very generally*, the border is taken to have run through the original Benjamin allotment more or less parallel with the old Ephraim line. The South's capital remained at Jerusalem throughout the period. Northern kings ruled first out of Shechem, next from Tirzah, and then Samaria City--all as noted in Appendix 2C, IV ("Through the 'Period of the Kings,' Narrative"). Considerable detail is consolidated in appendices 2C, II ("Table of Kings") and 2C, III ("Parentages of Kings"), to unencumber the narrative.

Appendix 2C, II summarizes progression of tenures, derivable only by cross-referencing the tandem text format, which gives the first year of each king in each kingdom in a given year of the king in the other. Uncertainty also remains in sequencing many period events, mainly due to disparate distribution of material between *Kings* and *Chronicles*. (Items that prohibit exacting the precise length of the period are discussed in 2C, II, and uncertain sequences are noted in the Narrative. Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," compares three calendaring sources.)

Certain names identically borne by kings of both Israel and Judah pose some confusion. They are:

- a) Kings *Jehoram/Joram*,¹ name of two kings--south king #5 and north king #9--whose terms overlapped some seven to eight years. The second spelling of the name is taken to be a shortened form; each form variously is found used for each king.² To avoid confusion in this work, these two kings uniformly are referred to as Jehoram-S and Jehoram-N.
- b) Kings *Jehoash/Joash*,³ south #8 and north #12. Here the "short" form, *Joash*, predominantly is found used for both in the Hebrew script but frequently rendered *Jehoash*, both interlineally and at the margin.⁴ Again for clarity, these two kings uniformly are referred to in this appendix as Joash-S and Joash-N.⁵

¹ *Heb.*: "Jehoram" = *yowd, he, vav, reysh, mem*; "Joram" = *yowd, vav, reysh, mem*, where the latter generally has been accepted as a "short" form of the name. One other use of "Jehoram" is as a priest-teacher under King Jehoshaphat, *2 Chronicles* 17:7-9. Other Jorams: (a) Joram/ Hadoram, son of King Toi of Hamath; sent by his father as an ambassador to king David; *2 Samuel* 8:10; *1 Chronicles* 18:10; (b) (Moses-Gershom-Shebuel-) Joram, *1 Chronicles* 26:24-25.]

² *2 Kings* 8 of the interlinear text used in this work is the prime example. Verse 16 gives "Joram" in both Hebrew and interlineally for north king #9 but is rendered "Jehoram" at the margin. Verses 17 and 25 give "Jehoram" across the board for south king #5; yet at verses 20, 23, 24 and 25 he appears as "Joram" in the Hebrew and interlineally, but "Jehoram" at the margin.

³ *Heb.*: "Jehoash" = *yowd, he, vav, aleph, shiyn*; "Joash" = *yowd, vav, aleph, shiyn*, where the latter generally has been accepted also as a "short" form. [A second shorter spelling--*yowd, vav, ayin, shiyn*--occurs only once, as (Benjamin-Becher-) *Joash* at *1 Chronicles* 7:6, 8.]

⁴ *2 Kings* 13 here being the prime example. North king #12's name at 13:10 is given across the board as "Jehoash;" yet in the immediately preceding (:9) and subsequent (:12, 13 and 14) verses the name appears as "Joash" in Hebrew and interlineally, but with "Jehoash" supplied at the margin. Other uses of *Joash*, Appendix 2C, III, fn. 18.

- (c) The identical name *Jehoahaz* for king north #11 and *Jehoahaz* south #17 (also given as *Shallum*) generally creates no problem, since their terms were widely separate. However, in keeping with the format established, they are referred to in this appendix as Jehoahaz-N and Jehoahaz-S.⁶
- (d) Kings *Ahaziah*--north #8 and south #6--are referred to in this appendix as Ahaziah-N and Ahaziah-S.⁷

⁵ As a side note, per the given timeframe it appears impossible that the *Joash* at *2 Chronicles* 18:25 and *1 Kings* 22:26--referred to as "son of the king," when Ahab ordered imprisonment of the prophet Michaiah--could have been either of these individuals.

⁶ (a) There exists a .63-inch red jasper seal of unknown provenance, "incised with a fighting cock surmounted by two registers containing Hebrew letters of the last half of the seventh century B.C.E. and reading, 'Belonging to Jehoahaz / son of the king.' McCarter, p. 144. See page 509, *Jaazaniah*, for a second seal bearing the same emblem. (b) *Jehoahaz*/Shallum, south king #17 (refer to Appendices 2C, II, fn. 7; 2C, III, at fn. 69; and 2C, VII, fn. 7), while *Jehoash* is another form given (e.g. at *2 Kings* 14:1 and *2 Chronicles* 36:2). (c) "Jehoahaz" also is encountered once as seemingly an alternate rendition of *Ahaziah*, south king #6--see next footnote.

⁷ *2 Chronicles* 21:17 shows "Jehoahaz" as south king #6's name; it may be that this "alternate spelling...simply transposes the divine name (Jah) to serve as prefix instead of suffix." *Aid*, p. 877.

Appendix 2C, II

TABLE OF KINGS

Notes: *Length of Term* is as given by the biblical text. Year one is fixed at 926 b.c., from which is deducted the cumulative *Sequential Year of the Period* to obtain the *Estimated Calendar Year*. Source citations for the table accompany the data relative to each king in Appendix 2C, IV, Narrative. Slight overlaps of years are noticeable in some instances, the result of combining cross-data between kings' terms.¹ Small uncertainties are footnoted either on this table or Appendix 2D ("Calendar Year Comparison Timeline"); significant exceptions are summarized at the end of the table.

South Kings				North Kings				
<i>Including time of, and age at commencement, if given.</i>				<i>Including time of, and age at commencement, if given.</i>				
Commencing with division into two kingdoms:								
<i>Of the Period</i>								
<u>Length of Term</u>	<u>Sequential / Calendar</u>		<u>Year</u>			<u>Length of Term</u>		
			b.c.					
17	Rehoboam	#1	Age 41.	1	926	Jeroboam I	#1	22
3	Abijah/m	#2		18	908			
	Began reign 18th year of Jeroboam.							
41	Asa	#3		20	906			
	Began 20th year of Jeroboam.							
				22	904	Nadab	#2	2
						Began 2nd year of Asa.		
				23	903	Baasha	#3	24
						Began 3rd year of Asa		
				46	880	Elah	#4	2
						Began 26th year of Asa.		
				47	879	Killed in 27th year of Asa.		
						Zimri #5 - Survived 7 days.		
						<i>Omri and Tibni contend for power.</i>		4
				51	875	Omri #6	uncontended	8
						Began 31st year of Asa.		
				58	868	Ahab	#7	22
						Began 38th year of Asa.		
25	Jehoshaphat	#4	Age 35.	62	864			
	Began 4th year of Ahab.							
				79/80	847/46	Ahaziah-N	#8	2
						Began year 17 of Jehoshaphat.		
				80	846	Jehoram-N	#9	12
						Began year 18 of Jehoshaphat and/or		
8	Jehoram-S	#5	Age 32.	85 ²	841	year 2 of Jehoram-S. ³		
	Began 5th year of Jehoram-N.							
<hr/>								
94	<i>Subtotal, years of reigns</i> -----			carried forward-----		<i>Subtotal, years of reigns</i>		98

¹ e.g. at Ahaziah-N: sequential first year of Jehoshaphat's term, 62, plus 17(th year) = sequential year 79, while sequential first year of Ahab's term, 58, plus 22(-year) Ahab term = sequential year 80.

² But adding all of Jehoshaphat's 25 years to period-year of commencement would yield period-year 87 for commencement of Jehoram-S; a coregnal period is uncertain.

³ See Narrative, 2C, IV, fn. 53.

<u>Length of Term</u>	<i>Of the Period</i> <u>Sequential / Calendar</u> <u>Year</u>		<u>Length of Term</u>
94	Subtotal, years of reigns-----brought forward-----		Subtotal, years of reigns 98
1	Ahaziah-S #6	Age 22. Began 11th year of Jehoram-N.	91 835
6	Athaliah #7	End of Athaliah term:	92/93 834/833 Jehu #10 30 ⁴ 93 833 99 827
40	Joash-S #8	"A son of 7 years." Began 7th year of Jehu.	100 826
			123 803 Jehoahaz-N #11 17 Began 23rd year of Joash-S.
			137 ⁵ 789 Joash-N #12 16 Began 37th year Joash-S.
29	Amaziah #9	Age 25. Began 2nd year of Joash-N.	139 787
			154 772 Jeroboam II #13 41 Began 15th year of Amaziah.
52	Uzziah #10	Age 16. Began 27th year of Jeroboam II.	181 ⁶ 745
			219 ⁷ 707 Zechariah #14 6 mos. Began 38th year of Uzziah.
			220 706 Shallum #15 30 days
			220 706 Menahem #16 10 Began 39th year of Uzziah/Azariah.
			231 695 Pekahiah #17 2 Began 50 th year of Uzziah/Azariah.
			233 693 Pekah #18 20 Began 52nd year of Uzziah.
	[Uzziah/Jotham co-reign? ⁸]		
"16"	Jotham #11	Age 25. Began 2nd year of Pekah.	235 ⁹ 691
238	Subtotal, years of reigns-----carried forward-----		Subtotal, years of reigns 234 yrs. 7 mos.

⁴ Jehu's term is not stated in the texts. Here it is based on Joash-S commencement in the "7th year of Jehu" and Jehoahaz-N's succession of Jehu in Joash-S "23rd year," 7 + 23 = 30.

⁵ 100 + 37 = 137; but if all of Joash-S's stated 40-year term were added, period-year 140.

⁶ See next three footnotes *re* a 13-year sequential discrepancy. The better-known name from *Chronicles* is used in this appendix for *Uzziah*, referred to in *Kings* as "Azariah."

⁷ Uzziah could not have both succeeded Amaziah's 29 years in (139 + 29 =) 168 *and* begun to reign in Jeroboam II's 27th year (154 + 27 =) 181 sequential year. The uncertain 13 years are not deducted in this derivation. Additionally, if Zechariah began directly following Jeroboam II's death, it would have been (154 + 41 =) 195; alternatively, using the conflicting Uzziah dates, Zechariah's term would have begun in either (168 + 38 =) 206 or (181 + 38 =) 219--the date used in this tally.

⁸ See next footnote.

⁹ A two-year discrepancy between Uzziah (Uzziah, 181 + 52-year reign = 233) and Jotham's given ascendance in the second year of Pekah (= 235) is ascribed to a co-reign inclusion Jotham's "16" years.

<u>Length of Term</u>			<i>Of the Period</i> <u>Sequential / Calendar</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Length of Term</u>
238	<i>Subtotal, years of reigns-----brought forward-----</i>			<i>Subtotal, years of reigns</i> 234 yrs., 7 mos.
	[Jotham/Ahaz co-reign?]		--	
16	Ahaz	#12 Age 20. Began 17th year of Pekah.	250 676	
			[255/53? = 671/669?--true end of Pekah? ¹⁰]	
			262 ¹¹ 664	Hoshea #19 9 yrs. Began "12th year of Ahaz."
29	Hezekiah	#13 Age 25. Began 3rd year of Hoshea.	265 ¹² 661	
			271 655	End of Hoshea, last northern king.
55	Manasseh	#14 Age 12. No cross-reference given as to beginning of his term.	294 ¹³ 632	
2	Amon	#15 Age 22. No cross-reference.	349 ¹⁴ 577	
31	Josiah	#16 Age 8. ¹⁵ No cross-reference.	351 ¹⁶ 575	
3 mos.	Jehoahaz-S ¹⁷	#17 Age 23. No cross-reference.	382 ¹⁸ 544	
11	Eliakim/ Jehoiakim	#18 Age 25. Began when Egypt deposed Jehoahaz-S.	382 544	
<hr/>				
382 yrs.	<i>Subtotal, yrs. of reigns-----carried forward-----</i>			<i>Subtotal, yrs. of reigns</i> 243 yrs. 3 mos. 7 mos.

¹⁰ See next footnote.

¹¹ Date of Ahaz's sole ascendance. Although Jotham's reign is given as 16 years, *2 Kings* 15:30 states that Hoshea killed Pekah in Jotham's "20th year." This may indicate that, in addition to Jotham co-reigning at least two years with Uzziah (*refer* to fn. 9), Jotham also co-reigned a period with Ahaz. But note that an 11- to-9-year lapse emerges between apparent end of Pekah term and Hoshea commencement.

¹² But adding strictly 16 years for Ahaz's term would yield 266.

¹³ Calculated from period-year of Hezekiah commencement plus Hezekiah term (266 + 29 = 294), and assuming ascension immediately following predecessor's death.

¹⁴ Calculated from period-year of Manasseh commencement plus Manasseh term (294 + 55 = 349), and assuming ascension immediately following predecessor's death.

¹⁵ A queen-mother/regent is not specified.

¹⁶ Calculated from period-year of Amon commencement plus Amon term (349 + 2 = 351), and assuming ascension immediately following predecessor's death.

¹⁷ Apparently referred to as "Shallum" in *1 Chronicles* 3:15 and *Jeremiah* 22:11; some translations have "Joahaz" at *2 Chronicles* 36:2.

¹⁸ Calculated from period-year of Josiah commencement plus Josiah term (351 + 31 = 382), etc.

<u>Length of Term</u>	<i>Of the Period</i> Sequential / Calendar		<u>Length of Term</u>
	<u>Year</u>		
382 yrs. 3 mos. <i>Subtotal, yrs. of reigns---brought forward---</i>			<i>Subtotal, yrs. of reigns</i> 243 yrs., 7 mos.
3 mos. Jehoiachin #19 Age 8 or 18. ¹⁹	393	533	
Began when Nebuchadnezzar deposed Eliakim/Jehoiakim.			
11 Mattaniah/Zedekiah #20 Age 21.	393	533	
Began when Jehoiachin was exiled to Babylon.			
End of south kings. 522 b.c.			
<i>Total Period Per Sequenced Terms (926 – 522=) 404 years.</i>			
393 yrs. 6 mos.----- <i>Total cumulative reigns</i> ----- 243 yrs. 7 mos.			

Summary notes

Apart from small sliding discrepancies that emerge in secondary calculation, comparing regnal-year subtotals against assigned calendar years does reveal periods of greater uncertainty, e.g.:

A. On the northern side:

- (1) The calculations that place Jehu commencement at 834/833 b.c.²⁰ yield (926 - 834/833 =) 92/93 intervening cumulative regnal years, while the cumulative regnal years derived from the texts, as shown, subtotal 98 after Jehoram-N--a difference of five to six years.
- (2) The subtotal of 202 regnal years after Jeroboam II's reign yields (926 – 202 =) 724 b.c., while the derived calendar year per the texts for Zechariah's commencement yields 707--a difference of 17 years.
- (3) (a) After Hoshea, (926 - 243⁺ =) 682⁺ b.c. results as the last year of the northern monarchy, instead of 655 b.c.--a difference of 27 years. At the same time, subtracting the table's period year 271 as Hoshea's fall, from the period year total of 404, yields 133 years. Per Josephus, "[T]he entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a *hundred and thirty years, six months, and 10 days*"²¹ --a difference of only some two years, six months.

B. On the southern side:

- (1) Jehoram-S (926 - 94 =) 832 b.c., against Ahaziah-S commencement 835 b.c., yields a difference of only three years; but deducting the cumulative regnal sub-total after Uzziah (926 - 222 =) 704 b.c., against a Jotham first year of 691 b.c., yields a 13-year difference.
- (2) The grand total regnal years of 393 years, 6 months at the time of the south's fall yields a difference of (926 b.c. - 393 years, 6 months = 532⁺ b.c. - 522 [derived calendar year] =) 10 years, 6 months.

¹⁹ 2 *Chronicles* 36:9; 2 *Kings* 24:8. Age 18 appears to better fit the derived table--refer to Appendix 2C, III, C (Age Potential Comparisons).

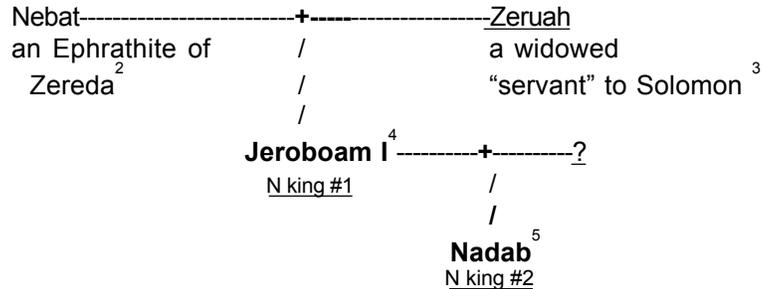
²⁰ See fn. 4.

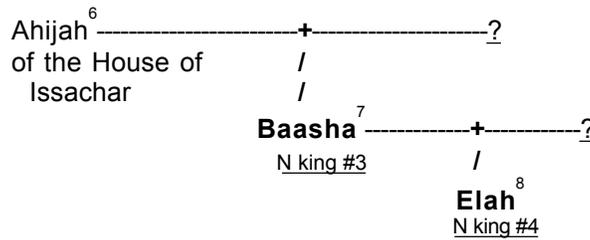
²¹ *AJ*, X.IX.7, italics supplied.

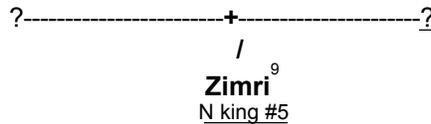
Appendix 2C, III

Parentages As Given for Kings of the Period¹

A. NORTHERN KINGDOM







¹ Biblical text citations for the respective kings accompany the narrative in Appendix 2C, IV; footnotes in this part supply assorted extra detail.

² (a) Only use of Nebat, whose parentage is not given; (b) "Ephrath/Ephrathah," see Appendix 1B; (c) Zereda tentatively is placed 16 miles SW of Shechem. ("Zeredathah" at 2 *Chronicles* 4:17 resembles 1 *Kings* 7:46's "Zarethan," where Solomon had precious metal temple vessels cast.)

³ Only use of *Zeruah*; for *Zerujah*; see Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, "Jesse, Descendancy of."

⁴ Jeroboam originally was chief over the labor of the house(s) of Joseph until contention began between him and Solomon. The only other use of Jeroboam is N king #13; they are distinguished here by the numerals I and II.

⁵ Other uses, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Nadab.

⁶ (a) *Ahijah's* parentage is not given; however, a .051-inch black seal "found at an unknown location with a bronze ring still attached...seems to have belonged to a man...in the second half of the eighth century B.C.E....but the reading of the letters in its lower register is uncertain: 'Ahiyahu/[son of] Sm[.]'." *McCarter*, p. 144. See page 505, Ahiyahu. (An *Ahijah*, a Shiloh prophet, was involved directly in and confirmed Jeroboam I's ascension; Jeroboam I's unnamed queen later consulted the prophet Ahijah with respect to her ailing son, *Abijah*.) (b) Refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of," part II, (b), Ahijah/Ahiah, for all uses.

⁷ Only use of *Baasha*.

⁸ Other uses, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Elah, and Appendix 2A, Elah.

⁹ Other uses: (a) The unknown geographical locus of "...all the kings of *Zimri*" (*Jeremiah* 25:25), which some see connected to (Keturah + Abraham-) *Zimran* (*Genesis* 25:1-2); (b) (Tamar + Judah-Zerah-) *Zimri* (*1 Chronicles* 2:4, 6); (c) (Salu-) *Zimri*, slain by (Aaron- Eleazar-) Phinehas in the 'Cozbi affair,' Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23; and (d) (Saul-Jonathan -Merib-baal-Micah-Ahaz- Jehoadah-) *Zimri* (*1 Chronicles* 8:33ff.; 9:39ff.).

Jabesh²⁰ -----+-----?
 /
Shallum²¹
 N king #15

Gadi²² -----+-----?
 /
Menahem²³ -----+-----?
 N king #16 /
 /
Pekahiah²⁴
 N king #17

Remaliah-----+-----?
 (Pekahiah's "general") /
 /
Pekah²⁵
 N king #18

Elah²⁶ -----+-----?
 /
Hoshea²⁷
 N king #19

B. SOUTHERN KINGDOM

Solomon-----+-----Naamah, the Ammonitess²⁸
 /
Rehoboam²⁹ -- *continued next page*

²⁰ One other use only--see Appendix 2A, Jabesh/Jabesh-Gilead.

²¹ Appendix 3B, I, Shallum.

²² In this form, only use; others: (a) *Gaddi*, son of [Manasseh-] Susi, and *Gaddiel*, son of [Zebulun-] Sodi, both among Moses' group of 12 'spy' chiefs; (b) *Gad*, a prophet who became a counselor to David during and after the Saul contention ("Behold, David's acts, the first and last, are written in the books of Samuel, the seer; Nathan, the prophet; and *Gad*, the seer...?" [1 *Chronicles* 29:30] (Gad directed David concerning acquisition of the threshing floor of Jebusite Araunah/Oman, upon which site David built an altar [2 *Samuel* 24:16-25, 1 *Chronicles* 21:9ff.]. A natural stone scarp beneath Jerusalem's present-day Dome of the Rock has been speculated as being part of that ancient threshing floor.)

²³ This being the only biblical use of *Menahem* as a person's name, an Assyrian inscription relating to payment of tributes reads, "Menahem the Samarian." Presently a town of "Menahemya" exists a short distance SW of the Sea of Galilee.

²⁴ Only use.

²⁵ Only use.

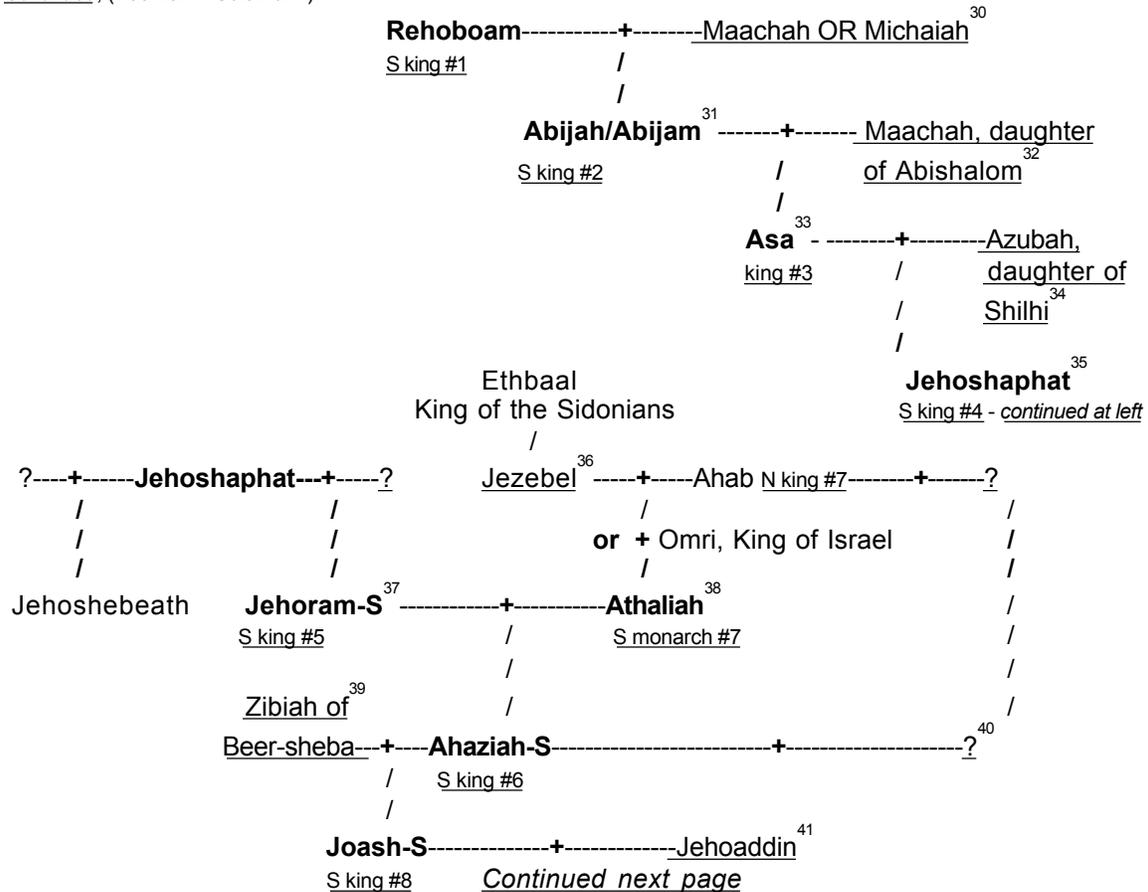
²⁶ The name also of N king # 4--at fn. 8.

²⁷ Hosea/Hoshea and Hoshaiah, Appendix 3B, I.

²⁸ Page 19, fn. 18.

²⁹ Only use.

Continued. (Naamah + Solomon -)



³⁰ Refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, "David, Descendancy of," sub-part IV, for questions related to Maachah and Abijah/m and Asa lineage.

³¹ Abijam in *Kings*; Abijah in *Chronicles*. All uses, Appendix 3B, I, Abijah/Abiah/Abijam.

³² Follow fn. 30.

³³ Page 566, Berechiah/Barachiah.

³⁴ The only other *Azubah* was a wife of Caleb; see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D. Information related to "Shilhi" is confined to its resemblance to the town "Shilhim" (/Sharuhan/Shaaraim), about 20 miles W of Beer-Sheba at the southern outskirts of Judah territory.

³⁵ Others: (a) (Ahilud-) *Jehoshaphat*, Recorder under David; (b) (Paruah-) *Jehoshaphat*, Solomon's provisional officer in Issachar; and (c) *Jehoshaphat*, father of a Jehu; he generally is not taken as north king #10, but see fn. 17.

³⁶ Strictly, the texts do not state that Jezebel was Athaliah's mother, nor, that Ahab was her father--refer to next two footnotes. "Daughter of Ethbaal," *1 Kings* 16:31; her mother is not given. (One other use of *Jezebel* occurs in *Revelation* 2:21, as a personage of Thyatira.)

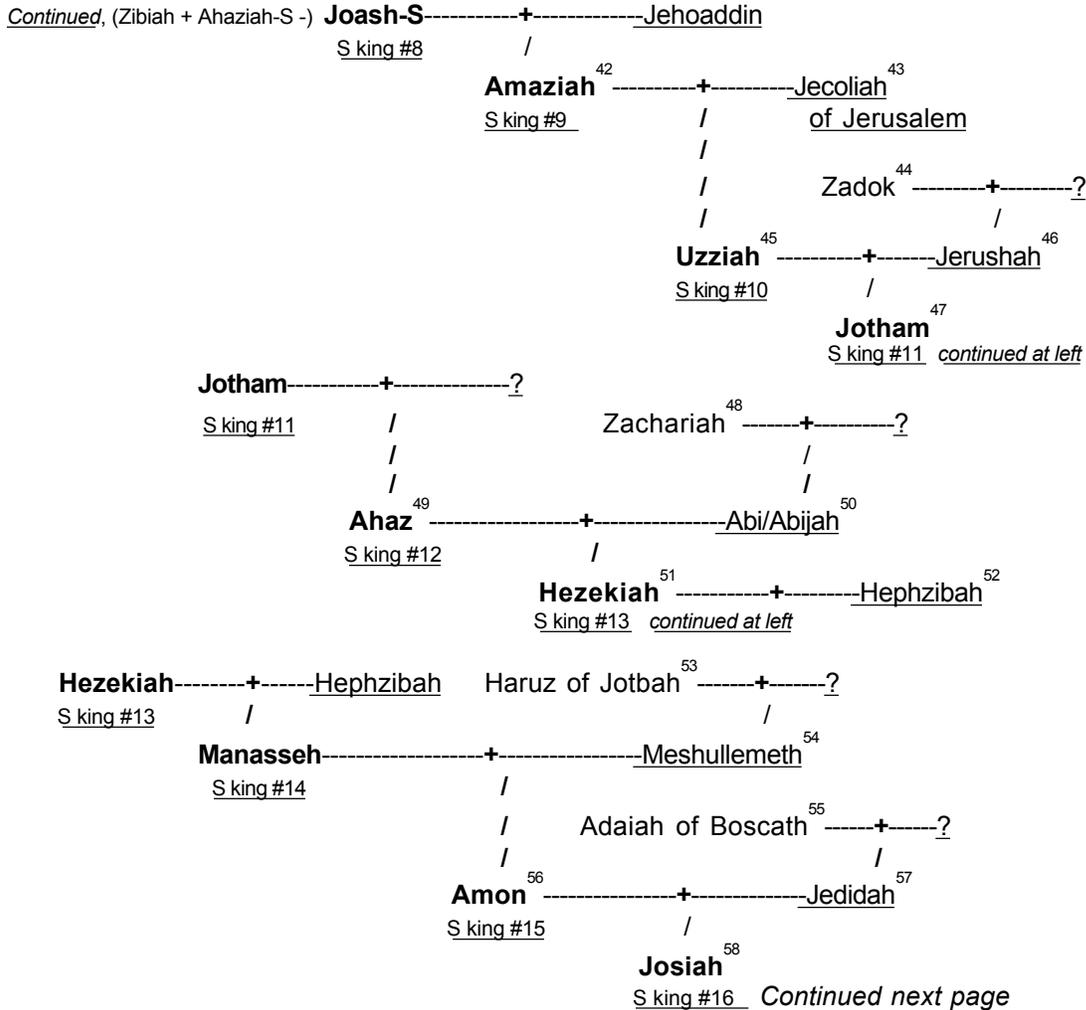
³⁷ Even with regard to Jehoram and Athaliah are the texts indefinite: Jehoshaphat "contracted a marriage with Ahab" (*2 Chronicles* 18:1), but neither spouse is named; and ; "[A] daughter of Ahab was to [Jehoram] for a wife" (*2 Kings* 8:18, *2 Chronicles* 21:6), but the daughter's name is not given.

³⁸ (a) *Athaliah*, mother of Ahaziah-S, "youngest son of Jehoram," *2 Chronicles* 22:2; (b) the mother of "Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram...was *Athaliah, the daughter of Omri*, the king of Israel" (*2 Kings* 8:26); (c) "*Athaliah, the daughter of Omri*" (*2 Chronicles* 22:2). Per *2 Chronicles* 24:7, this Athaliah also had other sons. Others: (a) *Athaliah* in a list of "sons of Jeroham [sic.]" among "heads of the fathers, by their generations...in Jerusalem" (*1 Chronicles* 8:25-28); (b) father of Jeshaiah, a "chief" with 70 sons of Elam in the post-Babylon repatriation and excommunications (Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, A and B, and sub-part IV).

³⁹ Only use in this form; there is a (Hodesh + Shahraraim -) *Zibia*--Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, "Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships, Benamin and Manasseh," part B.

⁴⁰ This spouse of Ahaziah-S is shown here as an unnamed daughter of King Ahab, but *2 Kings* 8:27 states only that Azariah was "a son-in-law of the house of Ahab."

⁴¹ Also found as Jehoaddan. This is the only use except the similar (Saul-Jonathan-Merib-baal-Micah-Ahaz-) *Jehoaddah* - Alemeth, Azmaveth, Zimri; *1 Chronicles* 8:33ff.



⁴² Other uses of Amaziah, see Appendix 3B, I.

⁴³ Only use.

⁴⁴ Others, Appendix 3B, I, Zadok.

⁴⁵ Other uses, Appendix 3B, I, Uzziah; referred to also as "Azariah"--see Appendix 2C, II, fn. 6.

⁴⁶ This is the only use of "Jerushah, mother of King Jotham; wife of Uzziah" (2 Kings 33 and 2 Chronicles 26:19). .

⁴⁷ One other: (Jahdai-) Jotham, 1 Chronicles 2:47.

⁴⁸ Appendix 3B, I, Zachariah, et al.

⁴⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Their Inscriptions, concerning bullae discoveries that refer to king Ahaz. One other use: (Saul-Jonathan-Merib-baal-Micah-) Ahaz, which string is continued here at fn. 41 1 Chronicles 8:33ff.

⁵⁰ Others: Appendix 3B, I, Abijah/Abijam.

⁵¹ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Their Inscriptions, concerning bullae discoveries that refer to king Hezekiah. Other uses: (a) (Hezekiah-Amariah-Gedaliah-Cushi-) Zephaniah, of the Book of; (b) in form, Hizkiah, see Appendix 3B, I, Neariah;" (c) in form, Hizkijah, see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, "Comparison Collected Listings, etc.," column (5).

⁵² One other use: Certain Isaiah 62:4 translations replace the text which says, Jerusalem "shall be called Heph-zibah," with "My Delight [is] in Her."

⁵³ Only use of Haruz. Jotbah has been related to a site about nine miles north of Nazareth.

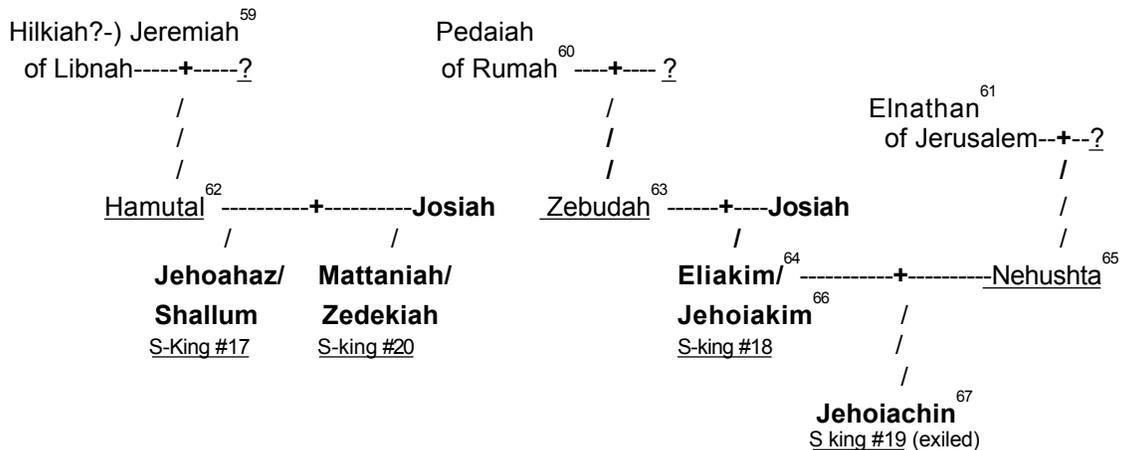
⁵⁴ Appendix 3B, I, Meshullemith, etc.

⁵⁵ Appendix 3B, I, Aadaiah. Boscath/Bozkath has been placed in the Shephelah due west of Hebron.

⁵⁶ Appendix 2A, Amon.

⁵⁷ Only use, but resembles another singular use, "Jedidjah," Nathan's name for Solomon.

⁵⁸ One other use: (Zephaniah -) Josiah (Zechariah 6:10).



Parentage of the last southern king, **Mattaniah/Zedekiah**, is unclear. Pertinent references are:

- 1 *Chronicles* 3:15: Josiah's sons were "the firstborn, Johanan;⁶⁸ the second, Jehoiakim; the third, *Zedekiah*; the fourth, Shallum."⁶⁹
- 1 *Chronicles* 3:16: "And the sons of Jehoiakim, Jeconiah,⁷⁰ his son, *Zedekiah*, his son."
If Jehoiakim inherited Josiah's harem, a (Hamutal + Josiah-) Zedekiah also might be called a son of Jehoiakim.
- 2 *Kings* 23:36: Jehoiakim's mother was "Zebudah."

⁵⁹ Unless the calendaring of the last decades of the period were adjusted, it appears unlikely this Jeremiah also could have been the active prophet. Tradition thus has held that this Hilkiah, father of one Jeremiah, was not the Hilkiah who was King Josiah's high priest; however, refer to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah."

⁶⁰ (a) *Pedaiah* appears also as the name of (a) one of seven sons reported born to Jehoiachin (S king #19) and (b) one of contradicting names for Zerubbabel's father--see Appendix 3B, I, *Zerubbabel*. (b) There exists a "seventh-century B.C.E. seal inscribed *lpyhw bn / hmlk*, 'Belonging to Pedyahu, son of / the king,'" in Hebrew letters within two registers, "surmounted by a third, upper register containing a stylized proto-Aeolic capital, a rare but not unique design in Hebrew seals." "[T]he individual who owned this seal is probably not mentioned in the bible." *McCarter*, p. 147. Rumah is placed 15 miles W of the Sea of Galilee, 6 miles N of Nazareth, or--less possibly--"Arumah," 6 miles SE of Shechem.

⁶¹ (a) This Elnathan, Jehoiachin's maternal grandfather, could be *Elnathan*, "son of Achbor," whom king Jehoiakim sent to Egypt to bring back the prophet Urijah (*Jeremiah* 26:22, 36:12). (Micaiah/Micah-) Achbor/Abdon was one of the men that king Josiah sent to consult the prophetess Huldah when the Book of the Law was found. *2 Kings* 22:12; *2 Chronicles* 34:20--refer to part IV, narrative. (b) A Lachish letter dated to this period states: "The commander of the host, Coniah [Jehoiachin; see fn. 67] of *Elnathan*, hath come down in order to go into Egypt"--refer to Appendix 3B, I, *Lachish Letters*.

⁶² Only use.

⁶³ Only use.

⁶⁴ Other uses, Appendix 3B.I, *Eliakim*.

⁶⁵ "Nehushta" does not occur as the name of any other individual. A similar, singular reference occurs at *2 Kings* 18:4: S-king Hezekiah "took away the high places, and broke in pieces the standing pillars, and cut down the Asherah, and beat to bits the serpent bronze that made Moses, for to days those offered the sons of Israel burned sacrifices to it; and called it *Nehushtan*."

⁶⁶ "Pharaoh Necho...changed his name to *Jehoiakim*." *2 Kings* 23:31. Only use of this spelling; see Appendix 3B, I, *Jehoiakim*.

⁶⁷ Only use of *Jehoiachin*, who had two apparent pseudonyms: (a) "*Jeconiah*, the son of Jehoiakim...who went to Babylon," *Jeremiah* 28:4; (b) "And reigned King Zedekiah, the son of Josiah, instead of *Coniah*, the son of Jehoiakim," *Jeremiah* 37:1; (c) "*Jeconiah*, king of Judah, whom had stripped Nebuchadnezzar," *Esther* 2:6. For the sons of Jehoiachin/Jeconiah/Coniah born in exile, see Appendix 3B, I, *Jehoiachin*, and *Zerubbabel*.

⁶⁸ "Johanan" as a Josiah son is not mentioned again. One *Johanan* of Judah's military that remained after Jerusalem fell is discussed in *Jeremiah* (Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah").

⁶⁹ Taken as aka *Jehoahaz*--*Jeremiah* 22:11-12 makes reference to "...Shallum, the son of Josiah.... [I]n the place where they have exiled him [Egypt], there he will die." Refer to Appendix 2C, I, *at and in* fn. 6, and Appendix 2C, IV, narrative.

⁷⁰ See fn. 67.

Jeremiah 52:1 and *Zedekiah's* mother was "Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of
2 Kings 24:18: Libnah."⁷¹

One apparent direct conflict is:

Josephus, page 307: "Zedekiah...had the same mother with his brother, Jehoiakim."
 This indicates Jehoiakim and Zedekiah had the same blood mother, Hamutal or Zebudah. *Josephus'* source is unknown. Age-wise, however, Zedekiah could have been son of either Josiah or Jehoiakim, based on the age comparisons in section C, below.

The final two references would not require Jehoiakim and Zedekiah to have the same mother if Josiah was father of both:

2 Chronicles 36:9: Nebuchadnezzar "made king Zedekiah, [Jehoiachin's] relative."
2 Kings 24:17: The king of Babylon "made to reign...Mattaniah, [Jehoiachin's] uncle...and changed his name to Zedekiah."

C. Age Potential Comparisons.

Sequential period-years are from Appendix 2C, II, Table of Kings.

	<u>Period-Year</u>	<u>At Projected or Given</u> <u>Age</u>	<u>Event</u>
	351	Josiah 8 or 18	Began 31-year reign.
	357	" 14	Jehoiakim born to Josiah.
	359	" 16	Jehoahaz born.
	372	" 29	Zedekiah born.
	"	Jehoiakim 15	Age at Zedekiah's birth. Age at which Jehoiachin was born to Jehoiakim:
(a)	375	Jehoiakim 18	- if Jehoiachin ascended at age 18;
(b)	385	" 28	- if Jehoiachin ascended at age 8.
	382	Josiah 39	Died.
	382	Jehoahaz 23	Reigned three months.
	382	Jehoiakim 25	Began 11-year reign.
	393	" 36	Deposed.
			Jehoiachin began his reign: ⁷²
(a)	383	Jehoiachin	- if at age 8;
(b)	393	"	- if at age 18.
	393	Zedekiah 21	Began his 11-year reign.

⁷¹ It is noted that these and the several following verses in each book are identical, one seemingly copied from the other.

⁷² Jehoiachin's tenure is given as "three months" by *2 Kings* 24:8 and "three months and ten days" by *2 Chronicles* 36:9.

Appendix 2C, IV

Through The “Period of the Kings” Narrative¹

Following the split of the David/Solomon empire into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the north’s first king, Jeroboam I,² rebuilt “Shechem in the hills of Ephraim and lived in it.” Jeroboam I established shrines in Bethel and Dan, permitted idol figures, and “made priests... of...people...not of the sons of Levi.”³

The south’s first king, Rehoboam, had a harem of 18 wives, 60 concubines, 60 daughters and 28 sons. (The texts never state directly how many or who of a deceased king’s harem were inherited by his successor.)⁴

“[T]here was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all [their] days.” In Rehoboam’s fifth year, Egypt’s ruler Shishak/Sheshonk I invaded Judah. He robbed Rehoboam of all the temple gold (including Solomon’s shields, which were replaced with copper). (Shishak/Sheshonk was the then [Libyan] ruler of Egypt, with whom Jeroboam I previously had gained refuge from Solomon.)

Rehoboam died at age 58, apparently of natural causes. He was succeeded in the south by Abijah/Abijam.⁵ War is said to have begun immediately between Jeroboam I and Abijah/m. Five hundred thousand of Jeroboam’s soldiers are reported slain in a decisive battle, after which ‘the south’ went on to wrest several cities from the “humbled” north. “And not retained power, Jeroboam, any more, in the days of [the prophet] Ahijah...and he [Jeroboam] died.”

Jeroboam I was succeeded in ‘the north’ by Nadab.⁶

Judah’s “mighty” king Abijah/m had 14 wives and 22 sons and 16 daughters. Events specific to his reign and his death are not related, only that “All of his acts...ways...and words were written in the inquiry of the prophet Iddo.”⁷

Asa⁸ succeeded Abijah/m, and 10 years of quiet first are reported in the land. At some point, Asa deposed queen-mother, Maachah, “in that she made a horrid thing for Asherah.”⁹ Two years into Asa’s reign (while “all Israel were besieging” Gibbethon,¹⁰ which was in the hands of Philistines), northern king Nadab was assassinated by the next

¹ Citations footnoted at first mention of a king’s name are to the major text sites about him. *Refer also to parts II and III of this appendix for table of kings and family details, where available. In some instances material paralleling one paragraph appears in an ensuing paragraph, and may or may not be identical.*

² *1 Kings 11:26-27-40, 12:25-33; 14:20; 2 Chronicles 10:2-5, 12.*

³ It is not clear whether “Levi” in the foregoing sentence meant solely the Aaronic branch or other branches of Levi also.

⁴ *1 Kings 11:43; 12:1-24; 14:21-31; 15:6; 2 Chronicles 10 through 12.*

⁵ *1 Kings 15:1-3, 7; 2 Chronicles 13:1-14:1.*

⁶ *1 Kings 14:20, 15:25-31.*

⁷ This writing is not known to have survived; see 3B, II, Attachment 4, Iddo.

⁸ *1 Kings 15:9-24, 32; 2 Chronicles 14 through 16.*

⁹ See Appendix 2A, Deities, Miscellaneous.

¹⁰ Only use is as an original Dan city which had been given to Kohathites as a Levitical city; one suggested site is approximately 17 miles E/NE of Ashdod.

northern king, Baasha.¹¹ Baasha annihilated all (unnamed) persons remaining of the house of Jeroboam I. One “Jehu, son of Hanani,” castigated Baasha and prophesied destruction of his house.¹²

Asa’s army consisted of 300,000 men of Judah and 280,000 men of Benjamin. It subsequently fought and won a war with the army of “Zerah, the Ethiopian.”¹³ Asa’s force routed Zerah’s force as far as Gerar (some 8-12 miles south/southeast of modern Gaza) and struck all the neighboring cities. The “plunder they had brought” supplied a sacrificial assembly held at Jerusalem in Asa’s 15th year. The gathering included “all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them out of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and out of Simeon--for they had fallen to [Asa] in abundance.” (Asa was prodded by a “prophet,” (Oded-) Azariah, to work toward removing all “hateful idols” out of Judah, Benjamin, and “cities seized from the hills of Ephraim.”)

Timing is uncertain of involvements between kings Asa and Baasha. One report states that there was war between them “all their days” and two others, respectively, that there was no war until Asa’s “35th” [or] “36th” year. But Baasha’s successor is reported as ascending in Asa’s “26th year;”¹⁴ nor can it be fixed when it was, that “Hanani, the seer” chastised Asa for hiring Syria/Aram against the north, and predicted more wars for Asa. (Angered, Asa put Hanani in stocks “and oppressed some of the people at that time.”)

The warring between Asa and Baasha is summarized briefly: Basha, apparently in league with Aram/Syria, “came up against Judah,” proceeding to fortify Ramah “of Benjamin” a short distance north of Jerusalem.¹⁵ Asa sent temple and palace treasures to (Hezion-Tabrimmon-) Ben-hadad [I]¹⁶, king of Aram/Syria at Damascus, inducing him to break a treaty he had with Baasha. Ben-hadad I then aided Asa, sent troops against “Israel, and struck Ijon, Dan, Abel Beth-maachah, and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali.” When Baasha heard of the losses, he “ceased building Ramah and lived in Tirzah.” Asa commanded all Judah-- “none was exempt”--to carry away the stones and timber with which Baasha had built Ramah; Asa used the materials to build Geba of Benjamin, and Mizpah.¹⁷ (Egypt at this time was in a long period of decline relative to its northern neighbors.)

It is not said how Baasha met death, but power struggles in the north are obvious with its three next-named kings. The northern reign from Tirzah by Elah, Baasha’s successor, lasted only two years. He was assassinated in Tirzah, during Asa’s 27th year, in a short coup by “Zimri, captain of half the chariots.” Zimri then “struck...and destroyed all the [remaining] house of Baasha.”¹⁸

¹¹ 1 Kings 15:27-33; 16:1-6.

¹² “Jehu, son of Hanani the seer/prophet,” also would rebuke south king #4, Jehoshaphat, some three decades later; Appendix 2A, Jehu; Appendix 3B, I, Hanani.

¹³ Zerah, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Zerah/Zarah/Zorah.

¹⁴ 1 Kings 15:32; 2 Chronicles 15:19 and 16:1. (2 Chronicles 16:7-10.)

¹⁵ Appendix 2A, Ramah.

¹⁶ The name appears on a stele found a few miles N of Aleppo as (*Hadyan - Tab-Rammon -*) *Bir-Hadad*, King of Aram.

¹⁷ (a) *Ijon*, perhaps some 20 miles N of Lake Huleh; (b) this the last mention of Dan in the bible; (c) *Chinneroth* “*Chinnereth*.” Appendix 2A, Galilee; (d) Appendix 2A, Abel beth-Maachah, Geba and Mizpah; (e) The exact location of Tirzah in Samaria territory is uncertain; however, archaeologically favored is a site 7 miles NE of Shechem/Nablus, in a narrow valley area between mounts Gerizzim and Ebal (present-day West Bank; near Tubas). The only other use of *Tirzah* is as the name of a Zelophead daughter--Appendis 1C, VI.

¹⁸ 1 Kings 16:8-10; Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Elah; Appendix 2A, Zimri.

Zimri¹⁹ reigned “seven days in Tirzah.” The brief account states that “the people were camped against Gibbethon of the Philistines” when word came of Zimri’s murder of Elah. (If such was the case, it would have been more than two decades after the identically reported siege, above, at which Baasha assassinated Nadab.) “[O]n day that in the camp,” “all Israel” caused Omri, captain of the army, “to reign.” Omri²⁰ “and all Israel” went from Gibbethon to Tirzah and laid a siege. Zimri, seeing his imminent capture, “burned over him the house of the king...and died.”

Contention for northern leadership persisted; support was divided between Omri and “Tibni, the son of Ginath.” “[W]ere stronger the people who after Omri, than the people who after Tibni...; and died Tibni, and reigned Omri.”²¹

Omri reigned his first six years from Tirzah. He then bought a “hill” about 7 miles NW of Shechem from its owner, Shemer, upon which Omri built a city. The city, originally called Shemer, later came to be known as Samaria, from which the region later took its name.²² During his reign, Omri apparently gained control of Moab territory--roughly, present Jordan territory east of the Dead Sea.²³ The manner of Omri’s death is not said; but it is reported that three years remained of Asa’s reign in Judah when Omri’s son Ahab began to reign at Samaria.

Ahab²⁴ entered into a marriage alliance with the Phoenicians, marrying Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians.²⁵ It is reported that Ahab not only tolerated but encouraged “Baal” worship in Samaria.

Approximately four years into Ahab’s tenure in the north, Asa was succeeded in the south by Jehoshaphat.²⁶ The texts generally report that king Jehoshaphat retained command of Ephraimite cities captured by Asa and both Philistines and Arabians were tributaries of Judah. Jehoshaphat’s chief priest was named Amariah; two other named priests were Elishama²⁷ and Jehoram. It is not said whether that Jehoram and Jehoshaphat’s son, Jehoram, were one and the same.

* * *

The Ahab and Jehoshaphat terms coincided some 22 years.

¹⁹ 1 Kings 16:9-18.

²⁰ 1 Kings 16:21-28. *Omri*, other uses: (a) *Omri*, Fifth son of (Benjamin-) Becher (Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, column 3); (b) (Michael-) *Omri*, a head of Issachar in David’s time (1 Chronicles 27:22; (c) (Bani-Imri-) *Omri*, a post-exilic resident of Jerusalem (1 Chronicles 9:4).

²¹ (a) *Ginath* is an unknown site, this being its only biblical mention. (*Ginnetho/Ginnethon* was a priestly house headed by one Meshullam under Nehemiah’s post-exilic governorship; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.) (b) Although Tibni is not listed officially as a northern king, he apparently had hold of the capital for some years during the civil warring. It is not said whether a blood relationship existed between contenders.

²² *Shemer*, refer to Appendix 1C, fn. 68, (b). Concerning Samaria regional definitions, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Samaria/Samaritans. At this point, “Samaria [the city, presently known as Sebaste/Sebastiya]” and perhaps its immediate vicinity likely may not be all the territory of the *Samaria* later made a colony by Alexander the Great.

²³ Omri’s subjection of Moab was gleaned from the stele known as the Moabite Stone, on which Moab’s king Mesha related that king Omri took possession of “Medeba” (present-day Madeba is about 12 miles east of the northern end of the Dead Sea).

²⁴ 1 Kings 16:29-34 and interspersed throughout 1 Kings 18:1 - 22:40; 2 Chronicles 18.

²⁵ Who has been equated with King Ithobalus at Tyre, “a priest of Astarte,” mentioned by *Josephus* in “Against Apion,” Book 1, paragraph 18.

²⁶ 2 Chronicles 17, 18, 19, 20, 21:1-3; 1 Kings 22.

²⁷ *Elishama*, Appendix 1C, fn. 40.

Accounts are interspersed with involvements of two prominent “prophet-party”²⁸ commanders: Elijah, a “Tishbite of the sojourners of Gilead,” and Elisha, “son of Shaphat of Abel-Meholah.”²⁹ First, a lone Elijah, then he and Elisha together, and ultimately Elisha alone, intermittently is/are reported over approximately five decades, ranging from the Jehoshapat/Ahab reigns through ensuing accessions south and north. Sure sequencing of their activities and regional events is impossible due both to the disjointed relevant texts and the figuring of more than one Aramaean/Syrian king “Ben-Hadad,”³⁰ in several disparate accounts of the decades in question. At times it seems as if three “Ben-Hadads” are drawn in the texts. A more logical deduction overall is that there were two: a Ben-Hadad I who reigned perhaps 40 years (from some point in Baasha’s reign to the taking of the Syrian throne by Hazael, a “son of Ben-Hadad”), and a Ben-Hadad II, son of Hazael. Narration continues on that premise.

Another problem in sorting the relevant texts is frequent absence of a proper name of a referenced prophet or king. Those undistinguished references are retained in the narrative.

* * *

Ben-Hadad I, king of Aram/Syria, allied with 32 other kings and advanced on Samaria. He sent a message to Ahab demanding all his wealth, wives and sons. Ahab first returned a message that he would comply, and Ben-Hadad sent a second message that he would send in a search party the next day, to find and take everything desirable. Ahab held council, at which all the elders and people again urged and persuaded him not to comply. Upon receiving Ahab’s refusal, Ben-Hadad and his force laid siege against the city.

An unnamed prophet directed Ahab to muster “the [“232”] young men of the rulers of the provinces” and number all the [“7000”] sons of Israel. Ahab’s force successfully routed the Syrian camp—“went out the king of Israel and struck the horses, and the chariots, and struck the Syrians with a slaughter great.” Ben-Hadad, however, escaped.³¹

The same unnamed prophet warned “the king of Israel” to strengthen himself, in that the king of Syria was going to return the first of the year. (Ahab’s name is not used in these verses, only the designation, “king.”) Indeed, by the turn of the year Ben-Hadad I had reassembled an army and equipment. The Syrian and Israel armies both pitched camps in the valley of Esdraelon, west of Jezreel (present-day Yizre’el). Their battle joined on the seventh day, during which Israel struck 100,000 Syrian footmen. The rest fled to Aphek,³² where the city wall fell on the remaining 27,000.

Ben-Hadad I retreated into an innermost room of the city, while his servants went to

²⁸ A term some historians have used to denote an amorphous third entity, commanding varying authority and support in both political venues, not uncommonly led by a priest/prophet.

²⁹ (a) This, the only use of “Tishbite,” occurs six different times all with reference to Elijah. Some have concluded from the phrase that there was a town or region east of the Jordan called *Tishbeh*; (b) *Abel-meholah* and proximity, refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, “Saul, Descendancy of,” fn. 21; (c) other uses of *Shaphat*: (1) (Hori-) *Shaphat* of the tribe of Simeon, one of Moses’ 12 “spies” (*Numbers* 13:25); (b) (Adlai-) *Shaphat*, a chief herdsman under King David (*1 Chronicles* 27:29); (c) *Shaphat*, of the tribe of Gad, who lived in Bashan (*1 Chronicles* 5:11-12); and (d) (Zerubbabel- Hananiah-Shechaniah-Shemaiah-) *Shaphat* (*1 Chronicles* 3:19ff.). (Biblically, “sojourning” indicates residence away from one’s home territory.)

³⁰ Inscriptions of Assyrian Shalmaneser III appear to refer to Ben-Hadad as “Hadadezer,” leading to two schools of thought: (1) Ben-Hadad and Hadadezer each is a short form of one full name, “Ben-Hadadezer;” and/or (2) Hadadezer was a throne name.

³¹ *1 Kings* 20:13-20.

³² Appendix 2A, *Aphek*.

the king of Israel to plead for mercy: “Ben-Hadad has said, ‘Please let live my life.’ And *he* [unnamed king of Israel] responded, ‘Yet is he alive? He my brother.’ And the servant] observed and made haste and caught [the meaning?] from him, and repeated, ‘Your brother, Ben-Hadad.’ And he [the king of Israel] said, ‘Go, bring him.’”

“And came out to him Ben-Hadad, and he took him up on the chariot. And he said to him, ‘The cities that took my father from your father, I give back; and streets you shall make for yourself in Damascus, as did my father in Samaria. Then I with the covenant will let you go.’ And he cut with him a covenant and sent him away.” Someone--“of the prophets,” but in disguise--informed the “king of Israel” that an [unnamed] captive, entrusted to one who was “of the prophets,” had escaped. The king’s ultimate response was to the effect, ‘Your life for his life and your people for his people.’ And went the king of Israel to his house, sullen and angry, and came to Samaria.”³³

“And they continued three years,” “there was no war between Syria and Israel.”³⁴

“After these things,” Ahab sought to buy the vineyard of a Jezreelite named Naboth, which field was adjacent to the royal palace. When Naboth refused to give up the “inheritance of his fathers...came [back] Ahab to his [own] house sullen and angry.” Ahab was so upset he took to his bed and denied himself food. Wife Jezebel said she would take care of matters. She sent letters in Ahab’s name, over his seal, to all nobles and elders in the city “dwelling with Naboth.” The letters instructed that a feast be arranged with Naboth at its head. At it, two paid stooges were to bring charges against Naboth of cursing god and king, in consequence of which Naboth would be stoned. And so it was; and Ahab took possession of Naboth’s land. Prophet Elijah got word, went to Samaria city,³⁵ condemned Ahab for the Naboth matter, and predicted evil for him and his house.

Elijah predicted a drought to Ahab and then he withdrew to Cherith brook, “which before Jordan,” where he hid a while. From there he went to Zarephath of Sidon, stayed with a widow, and restored her ill son to health.³⁶ Meanwhile, the predicted drought occurred. By its third year, famine in Samaria was severe, and Ahab was harboring less good will than ever toward the absent Elijah. Ahab enlisted one Obadiah to help him scour the land for sustenance, each taking a different area. (At some point, Jezebel had “cut off the prophets of *Tet*,”³⁷ and Obadiah had hidden 100 of them in caves.) Along the road Obadiah encountered Elijah, who instructed Obadiah to tell Ahab that Elijah had been found. Obadiah was reluctant, fearing that Elijah would elude Ahab again and, if he did, Ahab would kill Obadiah. But Elijah sufficiently reassured Obadiah, who notified Ahab; and, thereafter, “went, Ahab, to meet Elijah.”³⁸

Elijah challenged Ahab to a test of *Baal*³⁹ power versus *Tet*. “All the people” gathered at Mount Carmel--Elijah against 450 prophets of Baal from throughout “Israel,” of whom 400 were “of Asherah...[and] ate at Jezebel’s table.” Each side was to prepare a bullock over wood and call upon its respective deity to ignite the fire. The Baal prophets were unsuccessful after several hours of attempt; but fire came promptly to consume Elijah’s

³³ This and preceding paragraph, *1 Kings* 20:22-43.

³⁴ *1 Kings* 22:1.

³⁵ *1 Kings* 21:1-17.

³⁶ *1 Kings* 17.

³⁷ *1 Kings* 18:4. The parallel at 18:13 states, “Jezebel struck the prophets....” The abbreviation, *Tet*., employed in this work, is for Tetragrammaton, Appendix 4D, “Some Terms of Interest.”

³⁸ *1 Kings* 18:1-16.

³⁹ See Appendix 2A, Deities, Miscellaneous.

offering, despite his having had his pyre drenched with “water.” Elijah then commanded, “Seize the prophets of Baal; a man do not let escape.” And they were “brought to Elijah at the brook/torrent of Kishon and slaughtered.”⁴⁰

The rains came, and “Elijah...ran before Ahab until you come to Jezreel.” Jezebel, upon hearing what had transpired, sent Elijah a threatening message. Elijah “arose and went for his life.” First he went into the wilderness and dwelled in a cave at Mount Horeb in the Sinai. Then the word came to Elijah to (1) return via Damascus; (2) anoint Hazael as king over Aram/Syria, (3) anoint (Nimshi-) Jehu king over Israel, and (4) anoint Elisha in Elijah’s place. Further, Hazael and Jehu were to kill any and all who opposed them. Elijah left Mount Horeb,⁴¹ found Elisha, and “threw his mantle upon him.” Elisha accompanied Elijah as a minister.

Meanwhile, Jehoshaphat had grown great in the southern kingdom. He had fortified cities and placed garrisons in Ephraim cities taken during Asa’s reign, as well as throughout Judah. In his third year he sent out leading Levites to teach. Surrounding kingdoms did not oppose him; the Philistines gave him tribute of silver and other gifts, and the Arabians paid in flocks (7700 lambs and 7700 he-goats). Jehoshaphat had mighty captains over numerous companies, and he built fortresses and cities to store his abundance.⁴²

The houses of Jehoshaphat and Ahab had become allied through one or more marriages;⁴³ and there had been “no war between Syria and Israel for “three years,” when, “in the year third...came...Jehoshaphat the king of Judah to the king of Israel.” Ahab prepared a feast for Jehoshaphat and his company and asked Jehoshaphat if he would help him repossess Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians.⁴⁴ Jehoshaphat asked Ahab to consult *Tef.*, and 400 prophets were assembled. Jehoshaphat and Ahab sat in a threshing floor at the gate of Samaria city, with “all the prophets...before them,” as debate ensued whether or not to take on Syria. All of the prophets were in favor except one, (Imla-) Michaiah, who, when pressed, allowed he believed Ahab was being deceived. One (Chenaanah-) Zedekiah⁴⁵ challenged Michaiah, and Ahab ultimately had Michaiah bound away to the stocks.

Ahab decided to go into battle but “in disguise;” he would not wear his distinguishing royal robes but Jehoshaphat would wear his. It is reported that the king of Aram ordered his charioteers not to “fight with the small or with the great—only with the king of Israel alone,” and that at one point Syria’s soldiers thought Jehoshaphat was Ahab. But Jehoshaphat cried out [something], “and they turned from after him.” The king of Israel, however, eventually was “struck...between the scales and the breastplate [of his armor].” Ahab told his charioteer to “turn and take me out from the battle, for I am wounded.” Yet, as “raged the battle..., the king was propped up in the chariot before Aram until the

⁴⁰ *1 Kings* 18:19ff. A “torrent” rushes with water in the rainy season and is dry in summer. The Kishon torrent has been identified with a stream near Mount Tabor, between a spur of the Galilee hills and coastal Carmel, which stream winds a narrow gorge from the Esdraelon plain NW to the Mediterranean Sea at Acco bay/Ptolemais.

⁴¹ *1 Kings* 19:1-21. The primary impression received of Elisha is one of mundane practicality—more concerned with the greater scheme of things than different concepts or forms of god-worship—*i.e.* tolerant by nature of ‘henotheistic’ relationships.

⁴² *2 Chronicles* 17:1-19.

⁴³ Appendix 2C, III.

⁴⁴ Ramoth-gilead, a key to the Gilead and Bashan districts (Solomon had a regional supply deputy there), is believed to have been in the height of Gilead in old Gad territory, some 30 miles SE of the south tip of Lake Tiberias (*circa* present-day Ramtha near Jordan’s border with Syria). Ramoth-gilead’s shortened version, “Ramah,” is to be distinguished from others, *which see at* Appendix 2A, Ramah.

⁴⁵ *1 Kings* 22; *2 Chronicles* 18:2-27. (Other uses of *Michaiah* and *Zedekiah*, see Appendix 3B, I.)

evening.” “[A]nd ran out the blood of the wound into the middle of the chariot...” Then “passed the cry through the camp when went the sun, ‘Each to his city! Each to his land!’ And died the king.”⁴⁶

Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem “in peace.” After his return, Jehu, son of Hanani the seer, rebuked Jehoshaphat for some [unclear] reason, but indicated Jehoshaphat’s good works mitigated the cause of the rebuke. Jehoshaphat’s chief priest was one Amariah, and (Ishmael-) Zebadiah was Judah’s chief in all royal matters. Jehoshaphat appointed “chiefs of the fathers of Israel” in Jerusalem and placed judges throughout Judah.”⁴⁷

Ahab was succeeded as king of Israel by his son Ahaziah (mother unknown).⁴⁸ Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah joined in a venture “to make ships to go to Tarshish.” The shipbuilding took place but the project failed. It is not related exactly why or how.⁴⁹ (Dodavah of Mareshah-) Eliezer had prophesied failure because Jehoshaphat had joined with Ahaziah; and “the ships were broken, so that they were not able to go to Tarshish.” A parallel version states, “Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but not they did go, for were broken the ships at Ezion-geber. Then said Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, to Jehoshaphat, ‘Let go my servants with your servants in the ships;’ but not was willing Jehoshaphat.”

Subsequently, Ahaziah-N fell through a lattice from his upper room. Lying ill, he sent leaders of “Baal-zerub, god of [Philistine] Ekron” to inquire as to his chances of survival. This time, the word came to Elijah that he should intercept Ahaziah-N’s messengers and tell them Ahaziah surely was going to perish. Ahaziah then sent out two companies of 50 men each, one after the other. Elijah repeated his prediction, and both companies met with destruction. The captain of a third company of 50 sent by Ahaziah pleaded with Elijah that they be spared.⁵⁰

Elijah then was moved to go himself to see Ahaziah, to whom he personally made the prediction, which came true--Ahaziah died. “And reigned [Ahaziah’s half?-brother] Jehoram-N [son of Jezebel] in his place,” “for not there was to [Ahaziah] a son.”⁵¹

* * *

At some point uncertain in the sequencing of the within events, Elijah and Elisha had traveled together from Gilgal to Bethel. There, “sons of the prophets” came out to Elisha and asked him whether he was aware that Elijah was to be “taken from over [Elisha’s] head” that day. Elisha replied that he did know and to keep silent. Elijah and Elisha moved on to Jericho, where the “sons of the prophets” there repeated the question and Elisha, his answer.

Fifty of the sons of the prophets separated themselves afar off, as

⁴⁶ 1 Kings 22:29-37; 2 Chronicles 18:28-34.

⁴⁷ 2 Chronicles 19.

⁴⁸ 1 Kings 22:40, 51.

⁴⁹ 2 Chronicles 20:35; 1 Kings 22:48ff.

⁵⁰ 2 Kings 2:18.

⁵¹ Jehoram-N’s commencement is given as in both “the year second of Jehoram[-S], the son of Jehoshaphat” (2 Kings 1:1-17) and “the year eighteenth of Jehoshaphat” (2 Kings 3:1), while 2 Kings 8:16 says, “[I]n the year fifth of Joram [Jehoram] the son of Ahab, the king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat king of Judah, became king Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah.” These references have been taken together as reflecting a period of coregency of Jehoram-S and the aging Jehoshaphat.

Elijah and Elisha stood by the Jordan, where Elisha was assuring Elijah that he would not leave him. Then a fiery chariot and horses came between them, and “went up Elijah in a tempest.”⁵² The sons of the prophets begged Elisha to send their 50 mighty men to search for Elijah. Elisha reluctantly consented, but Elijah was not found. Elisha then went via Bethel to Mount Carmel, and “from there he returned Samaria.”⁵³

It appears that south king Jehoshaphat’s son, Jehoram-S, co-served as regent of Judah during Jehoshaphat’s final years, commencing about the time of Ahaziah-N’s death. Jehoram-S’s brothers/half-brothers (“sons of Jehoshaphat”) were Jehiel, Zechariah, Michael, Shephatiah, and two Azariahs, to all of whom Jehoshaphat had given fortified cities and riches.⁵⁴

Moabite Medeba/Madeba had been a conquest of earlier northern king Omri. Medeba’s king Mesha’s tribute to Israel was 100,000 lambs and the wool of 100,000 rams,⁵⁵ against which he had been rebelling since the death of Ahab. “[A]fterwards came the sons of Moab and the sons of Ammon” against the south as well.

Jehoram-N, who had mustered all Israel, proposed an alliance with Judah, which was accepted. Jehoshaphat received information that a large force “from beyond the sea [of Galilee], from Aram,” was assembled in the south, at “Hazazon-tamar, which En-gedi.”⁵⁶ He held an assembly, at which one Jahaziel⁵⁷ exhorted the congregation not to fear, saying, “You shall not [need to] fight in this,” intimating that an unexpected salvation would be had. Judah and Israel were joined by the king of Edom. Together they followed a Jehoshaphat proposal, that they make a seven-day circuit to approach the foe from Edom territory. In the process, however, men and livestock suffered for lack of water and Israel’s king questioned the likelihood of victory.

Jehoshaphat asked whether there was a prophet to be consulted. One of Jehoram-N’s men produced Elisha. Elisha remarked to the “king of Israel” that--but for Jehoshaphat’s presence--he would have had nothing to do with him. Then Elisha instructed them “to make stream bed, this, full of trenches. ... And it was, in the morning...that behold, water came by the way of Edom...,” while the alliance’s soldiers were sent as far as Tekoa,⁵⁸ with instructions to lay ambushes.

“[A]ll Moab had heard that had come up the kings to fight against them.” As they “stood by the border...in the morning, the sun shone on the water; and saw the Moabites opposite, the water red as blood.” The enemy assumed that Jehoshaphat and his allies had fought among themselves and were ripe for conquest but found otherwise, and were

⁵² Elisha “was crying, ‘My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and its horsemen!’” *2 Kings* 2:12.

⁵³ This and preceding paragraph, *2 Kings* 2.

⁵⁴ *2 Kings* 8:16-18; *2 Chronicles* 21; *2 Chronicles* 21:2-3.

⁵⁵ *2 Kings* 3:4. Moab shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba,” *Isaiah* 15:2. Other uses of *Mesha*: (a) (Benjamin...Shaharaim, who “fathered in the field of Moab” + Hodesh-) *Mesha* (*1 Chronicles* 8:1ff.; explored in Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, D, “Manasseh- Benjamin Shuppim and Muppim Puzzle”); (b) (Caleb-) *Mesha*, Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, D; (c) (Hagar + Abraham-Ishmael-) *Massa/Mesha*? (Appendix 1A, part III): The Greek *Septuagint* translates *Mesha* as *Masse*, thought further to be a variant of *Massa*; *Aid*, p. 1144.

⁵⁶ En/Ein-gedi lies about 25 miles SE of Jerusalem on the western edge of the Dead Sea. The precise logistics of the respective army camp locations are unclear, however, vis-a-vis the strategy ultimately employed by Elisha, below.

⁵⁷ Son of (Asaph...Mattaniah-Jehiel-Benaiah-Zechariah-) Jahaziel. Other uses, see Appendix 3B, I, *Jahaziel/ Jahzeel/ Jahziel*, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Jahaziel/ Jehiel*.

⁵⁸ Appendix 2A, *Tekoa*.

routed. The Judah/Israel/Edom forces “entered and struck Moab, and the cities they pulled down...until there was left of Kir-hareseth [only] its stones.”⁵⁹

In a last desperate attempt Moab’s king took 700 swordsmen “to break through to the king of Edom; and not they were able. And he took his son, the firstborn who reigned in his place, and gave him [as] a burning on the wall.” In the parallel resumption of the report, *Chronicles* states that, after “the sons of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir⁶⁰ that had come against Judah” were “smitten” in ambushes, Ammon and Moab rose up “against the inhabitants of Mount Seir” to utterly destroy them. “And when Judah came to the watchtower, to the wilderness” and “looked toward the host, lo...corpses fallen to the earth, and was no survivor.” “Jehoshaphat and his people” plundered spoil of such quantity it took three days to collect. (It further appears that Judah subsequently established some suzerainty in the territory, in that a revolt by Edom is reported later during the reign of Jehoshaphat’s son.⁶¹)

At some unspecified time, Elisha returned to Gilgal. “Famine was in the land.” “Sons of the prophets” complained to Elisha that the [unspecified] place they inhabited was insufficient for them. They proposed, “let us go up to the Jordan and make a place there.” Elisha went with them.⁶² At another unspecified time, Elisha “crossed over to Shunem.” He and his “young man, Gehazi,” lodged with a prominent Shunnamite woman. Elisha advised her to go away⁶³ because of the famine, and she took her household to Philistine country for seven years.

Naaman,⁶⁴ a valiant captain warrior of Syria’s king, was leprous. A girl of Israel, who had been taken captive by an Aramaean band and was a servant to Naaman’s wife, remarked that it was too bad “the prophet who in Samaria” wasn’t available. That prompted the king of Aram/Syria to send Naaman to the king of Israel with silver, gold and garments, asking that Naaman be cured. The king of Israel balked. Elisha heard, however, and sent for and told Naaman that he would be cleansed if he repeatedly washed well in the Jordan. Naaman followed Elisha’s instructions and was cured. Afterward, the grateful Naaman professed to Elisha that he personally no longer would make offerings to other deities; but he would need to be forgiven, after returning to serve his king,⁶⁵ for continuing to bow at the house of Syrian god, Rimmon. Elisha told him to go in peace.

Jehoshaphat’s ending is not fixed; however, at some point in the reign of Jehoram-

⁵⁹ (a) In the Aramaic Targum the sites biblically referred to as Kir-hareseth/Kir-heres and Kir of Moab consistently are rendered *Kerak*, identified with present-day Kerak, Jordan, about 11 miles E of the lower portion of the Dead Sea. (*Isaiah* 15:1ff. names Kir of Moab in concert with other Moabite sites—Medaba/Madaba and Nebo—between Kerak and Amman [old Rabbah], Jordan); (b) *Amos* 1:5 predicted, “And go captive the people of Aram to Kir,” and at 9:7 refers to “Aram from Kir.”

⁶⁰ It is unclear whether the phrase, “who had come against Judah,” indicates that not all of “Mt. Seir” were involved, complicated further by the derivation of two Mt. Seirs: (1) the mountain region between the Dead Sea and Gulf of Aqaba (*Genesis* 36:20ff. names “sons of Seir the Horite” living in Edom, it not being clear whether they were Esau sons or other sons of Esau wives); and (2) part of a ridge running from Kiriath-Jearim on Judah’s north boundary (*Joshua* 15:10).

⁶¹ See paragraph of fn. 74. (This and preceding four paragraphs, *2 Kings* 1:1, 3:11-27; *2 Chronicles* 20:1-24.)

⁶² *2 Kings* 4:38; *2 Kings* 6:1-3.

⁶³ Shunem is placed in old Issachar territory, near Jezreel’s north and overlooking its plain. Elisha caused the woman to bear a son, who died after a severe headache and who Elisha then revived. When the woman returned to Shunem, she asked “the [undesigned] king” to restore her property and Gehazi confirmed to “the king” that she was the woman whose son Elisha had revived. “The king” gave her a eunuch/servant and all the interim profits of her field. *2 Kings* 8:1-6.

⁶⁴ Only other use is (Benjamin-Bela-) *Naaman* among Benjaminites exiled at an unspecified time—see Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, “Charted Explorations, etc.,” at fn. 9.

⁶⁵ *2 Kings* 5:1ff. (Elisha’s young man, Gehazi, surreptitiously went after Naaman to beg goods from him, for which Elisha chastized him.)

N, Jehoshapat's son, Jehoram-S (mother unknown), fully ascended to Judah's throne. Jehoram-S was married to "a daughter" of Ahab.⁶⁶ He killed his six full and/or half-blooded brothers, but the texts do not state whether he also took rule of their cities. Jehoram-S also killed former "rulers" of Israel, named Shephatiah, Michael, Azariah, Zechariah and Jehiel."⁶⁷

"And was it afterwards that gathered Ben-hadad I King of Aram all his army and went up and besieged Samaria." Aram besieged Samaria until the cost of living was such that "the head of an ass...eighty silver, and a fourth of a cab of dove's dung, at five." The city was nearing famine. Israel's "king" heard from a woman in the city, that children were being killed and cooked and eaten. He looked to take off Elisha's head. Elisha, in his house [in Samaria?] with [unnamed]⁶⁸ elders, predicted matters would improve by the morrow, and that there would be food.

Meanwhile, the Syrian army received an intelligence report that the king of Israel (this would be Jehoram-N?) had hired Hittite kings and Egyptians to his aid. When some starving "lepers" at Samaria's gates chanced going out for food, they found the Syrian camp deserted. They satisfied themselves with booty and then carried the news back to the city. A company sent out by Israel's king to see whether it was a trap found that the withdrawal report was true. "And went out the people and plundered the camp of Syria," and found food as Elisha had said.⁶⁹

During the time that "the king of Aram was fighting against Israel," the king of Israel secretly was being informed of where Aram was going to place its camps. Aram's king sought to discover who in his court might be the informer and was told that it was "the man of God," and that it was Elisha, telling Israel's king all that Syria's king "spoke in his bedroom."⁷⁰

Elisha was at "Dothan," and the Syrian king sent a company after him. They surrounded the town but were duped by Elisha, who they did not know by sight. He convinced them he would lead them to the man they sought, and then took them to the king of Israel at Samaria city. They were not killed, however; Elisha had them fed and released, "and not any more the bands of Aram did come into the land of Israel."⁷¹

Elisha went to Damascus, where Ben-Hadad I was sick. Hearing that Elisha was in town, Ben-Hadad commissioned his son, Hazael, to take presents to Elisha and inquire about his father's chances of recovery. Hazael told Elisha, "Your son, Ben-hadad, the king of Aram, has sent me to you." Elisha's response to Hazael was, "'Go, say to him, 'Surely you shall revive', although has shown me *Tet*. that surely he will die'"⁷² (--disputed, in that apparently the Masoretic text shows that Elisha told Hazael to tell Ben-Hadad that he would *survive*). Elisha "wept," predicting Hazael would become king and do evil. Hazael returned to Ben-Hadad and told him that Elisha said he would recover. "And it was on the day next that *he* [unspecified]⁷³ took a plaited cloth and dipped it in water and spread on his face, and he died."⁷³

⁶⁶ 2 Kings 8:18; 2 Chronicles 21:6; refer to Appendix 2C, III, "Parentages of Kings."

⁶⁷ 2 Chronicles 21:2ff. Verses 12-14, which report a writing from prophet Elijah predicting evil for Jehoram-S's house, appear not to fit this timeline.

⁶⁸ 2 Kings 6:24 - 7:1.

⁶⁹ 2 Kings 7.3ff. "Aram" and "Syria" are used interchangeably in the texts.

⁷⁰ 2 Kings 6:8-12. *Dothan* has been placed some 10 miles NE of Samaria, between the hills of Samaria and the Carmel range.

⁷¹ 2 Kings 6:13-23.

⁷² 2 Kings 8:7-15.

⁷³ 2 Kings 8:7-15.

Jehorams N and S were continuing in their individual reigns, when Edom appointed a king over itself and “revolted from under the hand of Judah.” Jehoram-S with his chariots struck Edom at Zair, but the Edom conflict continued and Libnah revolted.⁷⁴ Judah then was invaded by a Philistine/Arabian combine. “[T]he Philistines and of the Arabians who beside the hand of the Ethiopians” captured Jehoram’s wives, all of his sons but one, and seized “all the goods” from the palace. “[N]ot there was left to [Jehoram-S] a son except Ahaziah/Jehoahaz, the youngest,” whose mother was Athaliah.⁷⁵

The texts do not detail how Jehoram-S and his youngest son were spared, or how long afterward it was that the conquered king was plagued with an incurable disease of the bowels, of which he died in two years’ time. The “inhabitants of Jerusalem” made Ahaziah king, “for all the older ones had been slain by the band that came with the Arabians to the camp.”⁷⁶

Ahaziah-S began his reign in Judah in the “eleventh year of Jehoram-N.”⁷⁷ These two kings (who also may have been related by blood back to Omri⁷⁸) were closely allied. Ahaziah-S joined Jehoram-N to aid him at Ramoth-gilead, where “all Israel” had been holding off Hazael, the [then-] king of Aram. Jehoram-N was wounded; he was returned to Jezreel to heal, apparently leaving others in command.⁷⁹ (It appears that Jezreel was residence, also, of queen mother Jezebel).

Meanwhile, Elisha sent “one of the sons of the prophets” with a vial of oil to Ramoth-gilead, where he would find a “captain” named “Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi.”⁸⁰ Elisha’s emissary was directed to take Jehu to an “innermost chamber,” pour the oil over his head and say, “Thus says *Tet.*, ‘I have anointed you for a king to Israel.’” The emissary also was to give Jehu certain messages, e.g. to smite the house of “your lord Ahab” -- “all the house of Ahab shall perish....”

Elisha’s servant found Jehu sitting with the other “commanders of the army.” He privately “anointed” Jehu and delivered Elisha’s messages. When Jehu went back out to “the servants of his lord,” one asked, “[Is all] well? Why did come madman, this, to you?’ And he said to them, ‘You know the man, and his communication.’ And they said, ‘A lie!’” But Jehu told them all that had been said to him, that “Thus, says [*Tet.*], ‘I have anointed you for a king to Israel.’ And they hurried, and put each man his garment under him on the bare steps, and blew with the ram’s horn, and said, ‘Jehu reigns!’”

Jehu commanded that no one be allowed to leave who might “tell [it] in Jezreel” while he, himself, rode there, joined by one Jehonadab, son of Rechab. Jehu took Jehonadab into his chariot and said, “Come with me and see my zeal!”⁸¹

At the same time, Ahaziah-S had gone from Ramoth-gilead to Jezreel to visit the

⁷⁴ Libnah, SW of Hebron in the vicinity of Judah’s southern border, was (with Lachish and Azekah) one of the key cities in a strategic area also bordering Philistia, and through which passed the principal road between Egypt and Jerusalem. (Most likely location, Khirbet el-Kom.” Le Maire, Andre, BAR, “another Temple . . .,” Vol. 30, No. 4, p. 39.) Libnah politics at the time of this revolt are not provided.

⁷⁵ With regard to the double-name of this king, refer to Appendix 2C, I.

⁷⁶ This and preceding paragraph, 2 *Kings* 8:20-24; 2 *Chronicles* 21:8-10 and 16-20; 22:1.

⁷⁷ 2 *Kings* 9:29.

⁷⁸ It commonly has been taken that Jehoram-N was Ahaziah-S’s uncle, on the premise that both Jehoram-N and Ahaziah-S’s mother (Athaliah) were children of Ahab and Jezebel; text references, however, are indefinite--refer to Appendix 2C, III.

⁷⁹ 2 *Kings* 8:28; 2 *Chronicles* 22:5-6.

⁸⁰ Appendix 2C, III, fn. 17.

⁸¹ This and preceding two paragraphs, 2 *Kings* 9:1-10, 2 *Kings* 10:15-16.

wounded Jehoram-N.

The watch at Jezreel saw Jehu approaching fast and furiously and reported to Jehoram-N, who sent out messengers: *Was Jehu coming in peace?* But Jehu repeatedly kept messengers from returning. Finally Jehoram was moved to go out to him. He and Ahaziah-S went out in their respective chariots and found Jehu “in the portion of Naboth.” When Jehoram arrived within hearing of Jehu he called out, “Peace, Jehu?” Jehu replied, “What peace, so long as the harlotries of Jezebel, your mother...?” Jehoram-N turned, crying out, “Treachery, O Ahaziah!” as Jehu let loose an arrow that pierced Jehoram-N and went out through his heart. Ahaziah-S escaped. Jehu commanded “Strike him, also, in the chariot, ...and [Ahaziah] fled to Megiddo and died there.” A parallel reports that Jehu “sought out Ahaziah, and they captured him--and he was hiding himself in Samaria--and brought him to Jehu, and put him to death.”⁸²

Inside Jezreel’s royal residence, Jezebel prepared herself regally to meet her fate. Jezebel’s words saluting Jehu, as she looked down from her window, were, “[Is all] well, *Zimri, the slayer of his lord?*”⁸³ And he lifted his face to the window, and said, ‘Who with me? Who??’ And looked down to him two or three eunuchs. And he said, ‘Throw her down!’ And they threw her down, and fell of her blood on the wall, and on the horses; and he trampled her.”⁸⁴

When Jehu seized power in the north, there were 70 “sons of Ahab” abiding in Samaria with “the great men of the city who reared them.” Jehu wrote to all supporters of the house of Ahab, and to the rulers/elders of Jezreel. All were in much fear, for “Behold, two the kings [Jehoram-N and Ahaziah-S] not had stood before [Jehu].” Jehu challenged them to the effect, ‘of Ahab’s 70 sons, choose the best and defend him.’ The elders and rulers responded that they would refrain from making any one of them king, and they would do all that Jehu wanted. Jehu’s reply was (also to the effect), ‘If you read me well, you will bring the [severed] head of each, of all the sons of the house of Ahab, to me at Jezreel tomorrow.’

The elders and rulers saw Jehu as unbeatable and capitulated. The heads of the 70 sons of Ahab were sent to Jehu at Jezreel in baskets. When Jehu was told they had been delivered, he said, “Make them two heaps the entrance of the gate until the morning,” at which time he went out and addressed the people. Jehu facetiously stated he was going to “serve Baal much” compared to Ahab’s “little,” and deceitfully summoned all the prophets, servants and priests of Baal from throughout Israel to a great sacrifice. When the house was full “from end to end,” Jehu instructed 80 of his men stationed outside to kill them all “by edge sword’s.” When it was over, Jehu had struck “all those left to the house of Ahab...all his great men and his friends, and his priests, until not did he leave...a survivor.”⁸⁵

Further, at a shearing house in one of the highways of Samaria, Jehu encountered “the brothers of Ahaziah[-S]--on their way, apparently ignorant of intervening events, going as they said “to greet the sons of the king [Jehoram-N] and the sons of the queen.” “Capture them alive!” Jehu ordered, which they did, and killed them at the pit--“42 men; and not did he leave a man of them.” Jehu also “found the leaders of Judah, and the sons of the brothers of Ahaziah, the servants of Ahaziah, and killed them;” “and none was, of the

⁸² 2 Kings 9:17-28; 2 Chronicles 22:9ff.

⁸³ Possibly a reference to the coup of north king #5?--at fn. 18.

⁸⁴ 2 Kings 9:30-33.

⁸⁵ 2 Kings 10:1-30. Jehu is reported as removing Baalism from Israel, but “not did turn” from following the calves of gold at Bethel and Dan.

house of Ahaziah, to retain the power of the [Judah] kingdom.”⁸⁶

When queen-mother Athaliah in Judah heard of the death of her son, Ahaziah-S, she “rose up and destroyed all seed of the kingdom of the house of Judah”⁸⁷ excepting one, the infant, Joash, son of Ahaziah-S and Zibiah of Beer-sheba. Jehoshabeath--“daughter of King Jehoram,” “sister of Ahaziah,” and “wife of Jehoiada, the priest”-- saved Joash “from among the sons of the king who were put to death,” by hiding him in a bedroom storeroom with his nurse. From there (apparently unknown to Athaliah) Joash secretly was conveyed to the temple; and he “was with them in the house of God hiding himself six years, and Athaliah reigned over the land.”⁸⁸

Chief Priest Jehoiada is an exception to uncertainties generally reflected as to the range of support for particular prophets or priests. Jehoiada is portrayed in post-Jehoram-S Judah as a sure leader with well-defined military backing. When the time was ripe, in the “seventh year,” Jehoiada gathered at Jerusalem “Levites out of all the cities of Judah and chiefs of the fathers of Israel,” including “the rulers of hundreds of the Carites, and the guards,” with whom he “cut a covenant with and took an oath of them in the temple.” Jehoiada armed the soldiers and guards with spears and shields of David from the temple, and set companies of watches about the temple and young prince Joash. Jehoiada “took captains of hundreds; many sons entered into covenant with him--even” Azariah, son of *Jero~~h~~am* [*sic*]; Ishmael, son of Jehonanan; Azariah, son of Obed; Maaseiah, son of Adaiah; and Elishaphat, son of Zichri. And Jehoiada “brought [Joash] the son of the king [Jehoram-S and Athaliah], and put on him the crown and the testimony; and they made him king and anointed him.”⁸⁹

Athaliah, hearing the commotion, went to the temple and beheld the ceremony and rejoicing. She railed and cried, “Treason!” “Conspiracy!” At Jehoiada’s command she was taken “in the way of the palace horse-gate” and put to death. Jehoiada further commanded that all Athaliah supporters also be executed. “And went in all the people of the land to the house of Baal and tore it down,” smashing all and killing “Mattan the priest of Baal.” And all the people and soldiers brought the new king from the temple through the Guard’s Gate into the palace and sat him on the throne, “and the city was quiet.”⁹⁰

Jehoiada took two wives for Joash-S, who fathered sons and daughters and reigned until he was almost 50--but “the high places were not taken away; still the people sacrificed and burned offerings in high places.” In Joash-S’s 23rd year the priests still had not repaired “the breach of the house,” and Joash began an effort to “renew the house of *Tet.*,” questioning the Levites why Jehoiada had not required them to “bring in out of Judah and out of Jerusalem the offering of Moses...for the tent of the testimony.” He ordered that a collection chest be placed near the altar and that the priests who guarded the threshold put in it all the money that was borne to the temple. (“[M]oney the guilt offering and money the sin offering not was brought into the house...for the priests’ it was.”) The collections were used to hire carpenters, masons, etc. to strengthen the house and furnish it with gold and silver vessels.⁹¹

⁸⁶ 2 Kings 10:12-14; 2 Chronicles 22:8.

⁸⁷ Presumably offspring of Jehoram-S, who were not also Athaliah’s children?--although other wives and offspring of Jehoram-S are not described.

⁸⁸ 2 Chronicles 22:10-12; 2 Kings 11:1-3.

⁸⁹ 2 Kings 11:4-12; 2 Chronicles 23:1-8. Only use of “Elishaphat;” for other names, see Appendix 3B, I. It is unclear whether the designated “house of Baal” was the palace.

⁹⁰ 2 Kings 11:13-21; 2 Chronicles C 23:12-21.

⁹¹ 2 Kings 12:1-16; 2 Chronicles 24:1-14.

The break between Israel and Phoenicia concomitant with Jehu's ascendancy left the kingdom of Israel much more vulnerable than it had been, during the houses of Ahab/Jezebel alliance. Hazael struck all the borders of Israel from the Jordan east, territories of Gilead, Bashan, Gad, Reuben and Manasseh. King Jehu progressively lost ground as more and more Israel land fell under occupation and tribute. Finally its capital of Samaria City and surrounding region (collectively called "Samaria") fell to Syria.

"And Jehu lay with his fathers and his son, Jehoahaz [-N; mother unknown], reigned [Israel] in his place," in the 23rd year of Joash-S.⁹²

The nature of king Joash-S apparently was less commanding after Chief Priest Jehoiada died (at reported age 130). "Asherah" practice revived. Aram's Hazael captured Gath, "set his face" against Jerusalem and then retired when Joash-S surrendered temple treasure without a fight. One Zechariah, a son of (? +) high priest Jehoiada, issued public denouncement and chastisement and was "stoned...in the court of the house," at the king's command.⁹³ Another Aram force came at the turn of the year. Although not a very large one, it destroyed "all the leaders of the people" and reaped spoil that "was sent to the king of Damascus." Joash-S was left "with diseases many." Unnamed "servants" conspired against him, and two killed him in his bed. Joash-S's son, Amaziah [whose mother was Jehoaddin], took over Judah's throne.⁹⁴

The north continued to be oppressed by king Hazael. It is reported that "Israel," led by a "deliverer," ultimately was forced to go "out from under the hand of Aram and lived...in their tents as 'yesterday,'" leaving king Jehoahaz-N with a vastly reduced company. His end is not recounted, but some 37 years into the 40-year term of Joash-S, "Jehoahaz lay with his fathers, was buried in Samaria, and his son Joash[-N] reigned in his place."⁹⁵

Hazael died and was succeeded by his son, Ben-Hadad II.

Elisha fell sick with a final illness. Joash-N went to see him, and "wept on his face, and said, 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and its horsemen!'" Elisha predicted Joash would strike "Aram in Aphek until it is finished." But when Joash-N "smote the earth" only three times, Elisha said Joash-N would strike Aram three times but not the five or six necessary to finish the job.

Elisha then died. Joash-N retook "the cities out of the hand of Ben-hadad, the son of Hazael, that [Hazael] had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz." "Three times struck him, Joash, and recovered the cities of Israel."⁹⁷

Amaziah-S began his reign in Judah in approximately the second year of Joash-N. When the kingdom was secure in Amaziah's hand, he killed his "servants" who had killed his father. "But their sons not did he kill," in keeping with Moses' commandment, "not shall sons

⁹² 2 Kings 10:32-35; 2 Kings 13:1ff.

⁹³ Refer to Appendix 4C, Zechariah, concerning this and other slain Zechariahs *vis-a-vis* which Zechariah was being referenced by Jesus at *Luke* 11:47-51 and *Matthew* 23:35. (Appendix 3B, I, Zechariah/Zachariah, gives interim uses of the name.)

⁹⁴ 2 Chronicles 24:23-27; 2 Kings 12:21. *Chronicles* gives the names of Joash's assassins as (Shimeath, the Ammonitess-) Zabad and (Shimrith, the Moabitess-) Jehozabad; *Kings* gives (Shimeath-) Jozachar and (Shomer-) Jehozabad, and states Joash-S was killed in "the house of Millo, which goes to Silla." (a) *Shemer/Shomer*, see fn. 22; (b) a Jehozabad was a Benjaminite officer over 180,000 men of Jehoshaphat's army, the only other Jehozabad being a son of Obed-Edom; (c) "Millo," unknown; *but see* Appendix 1E, fn. 94; (d) this is the only use of "Silla," site unknown.

⁹⁵ 2 Kings 13:1-9.

⁹⁶ The same exclamation Elisha made over Elijah--see fn. 52.

⁹⁷ This and preceding paragraph, 2 Kings 13:14-20, 22-25.

die for the fathers' but each for his own sin." Amaziah is reported as doing right in his reign, except, "the high places not were taken away; still the people sacrificed and burned offering in the high places."⁹⁸

Amaziah gathered Judah and appointed captains according to the houses of their fathers (captains of the thousands; captains of the hundreds), numbering the men up from 20 years--300,000 "choice ones, going forth to battle, holding spear and shield." He also paid 100 talents of silver to hire out of Israel 100,000 mighty men of valor to serve along Judah's southern border. But a "man of God" counseled Amaziah, "Israel's army, all the sons of Ephraim, are not to go out with you." Amaziah asked, what about the payment already given to the Israel troops? The "man of God" replied (to the effect), 'more than that is intended for you.' So Amaziah separated out the Ephraim troops to return to their "own place." The dismissed Ephraimites took out their anger by raiding Judah cities "from Samaria even to Beth-horan, killing 3000 and taking much spoil."⁹⁹

Amaziah smote Edom, battling its sons of Seir in the Valley of Salt. Ten thousand were killed and another 10,000 captured, taken "to the top of the rock" and thrown down, "and all of them were broken." "Amaziah took Selah by war and called its name Joktheel."¹⁰⁰ Afterward, Amaziah "brought in the gods of the sons of Seir and set them up for himself ...and bowed" to them.

An unnamed prophet challenged Amaziah's behavior and predicted Amaziah's destruction for not listening to counsel.¹⁰¹ Amaziah was impatient with the prophet. Afterwards, he sent a challenge to Joash-N. "Come; let us meet face to face!" Joash-N replied, "The thorn that in Lebanon sent to the cedar that in Lebanon, saying, 'Give your daughter to my son for a wife; and passed by a beast of the field, that in Lebanon, and trampled the thorn.' You have said, 'Behold, I have struck Edom'...lifted...your heart to boast; now, stay in your house. Why should you stir yourself to evil, that you should fall, you and Judah with you? ... Glory [in your victory over the Edomites]; but stay in your house and, instead, give your daughter to my son as wife."¹⁰² Amaziah-S chose not.

The ensuing battle between Amaziah-S and Joash-N was fought at Beth-shemesh. Judah was beaten, "and they fled each man to his tent." Captured, Amaziah was taken by Joash-N's army to Jerusalem, where it broke down 400 cubits of the wall (from the gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate) and seized all the precious metal and vessels both "found in the house of *Tet*. with Obed-edom" and in the palace. Joash-N's army took "the sons of the [unnamed] hostages" and returned to Samaria.¹⁰³ It appears from ensuing text that Amaziah-S was spared and remained at Jerusalem.

Joash-N's ending is not recorded; but at some point he lay with his fathers and his son, Jeroboam [II; mother unknown] ruled in his place. Jeroboam II-N "restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath [north of Damascus] to the sea of the Arabah [Salt Sea]," according to the word "by the hand of his servant, Jonah," son of the prophet Amittai

⁹⁸ 2 Kings 14:1-6; 2 Chronicles 25:1-4. (As elsewhere noted, the "servant" anciently was employed for all levels of a monarch's attendants, not just domestic.)

⁹⁹ 2 Chronicles 25:5-11.

¹⁰⁰ This Selah commonly has been placed on a rocky summit about 50 miles S of the southern tip of the Dead Sea, west of the site of the Nabataean city of Petra (see fn. 96, "Silla"). One other biblical mention, "Sela in the wilderness," is at *Isaiah* 16:1. (Not to be confused with *selah*, a "musical interlude" found in the psalms; *Aid*, p. 1467.) One other "Joktheel" is at *Joshua* 15:38.

¹⁰¹ 2 Chronicles 25:14, 16.

¹⁰² It is not said whether the son offered in marriage was Jeroboam II, the next northern king.

¹⁰³ This and preceding paragraph, 2 Chronicles 25:17-24; 2 Kings 14:7-15.

from Gath-Hepher in Zebulun territory.¹⁰⁴

Amaziah-S lived another 15 years after he “turned aside from following [Tet.]” A conspiracy at Jerusalem at an unspecified time caused him to flee to Lachish. “[T]hey [undesigned] sent after him... and killed him there;” and “all of the people of Judah” took 16-year-old (Azariah)/Uzziah, son of Amaziah-S and Jecoliah of Jerusalem, and made him king “instead of his father.”¹⁰⁵

One prophet seemingly involved in this period was Amos: “[S]ent Amaziah the priest of Bethel to Jeroboam the king of Israel, saying, has conspired against you Amos in the midst of the house of Israel. Not is able the land to endure all his words. For thus says Amos, ‘By the sword shall die Jeroboam [II], and Israel surely will go into exile.’ And said Amaziah to Amos, ‘O Seer, go flee for yourself to the land of Judah, and eat there bread and there prophesy. But Bethel not do again any more prophesy; for the holy place of the king it, and the house royal it.’”¹⁰⁶

Uzziah-S’s army “for making war” was mustered by Maaseiah, an officer under Hananiah of the king’s captains; scribe Jeiel recorded the numbers.¹⁰⁷ The army totaled 307,500 men under 2,600 “captains of their fathers,” well-equipped with shields, spears, helmets, breastplates, and bows, even to stones for the slings; and he had war engines, invented by skillful men, placed on the towers and city corners.

Uzziah’s army fought the Philistines, was successful against the Gur-baalite and Meunite Arabians, and conquered Gath, Jabneh and Ashdod. Uzziah had other cities built around Ashdod and among the Philistines. He built and fortified towers--both “in the wilderness,” and in Jerusalem (the Corner and Valley gates and the “Angle”). He regained the port of Elath/Eloth on the gulf of Aqaba and restored it. Uzziah had numerous wells dug, with much cattle in both lowland and plain, and farmers and vinedressers in the mountains and in Carmel. The Ammonites were brought under tribute to Judah, and word of Uzziah’s prominence reached to the entrance of Egypt. Uzziah’s days were also “the days of [one] Zechariah, who had understanding in the visions of [Tet.]”¹⁰⁸

In Uzziah’s 38th year, Jeroboam II-N “lay with his fathers, and reigned Zechariah, his son [mother unknown] in his place.” Zechariah reigned at Samaria only six months. (Jabesh -) Shallum [mother unknown] plotted against Zechariah, struck him “before the people and killed him, and reigned in his place.” Shallum’s reign in Samaria lasted only “a month of days,” in Uzziah’s 39th year. (Gadi-) Menahem (mother unknown), came from Tirzah into Samaria City, killed Shallum and reigned in his place. Menahem “smote Tiphshah”

¹⁰⁴ 2 Kings 14:16, 23-29; only use of “Amittai.” This Jonah is taken as the prophet of the book by that name, commissioned to approach Assyria’s capital of Nineveh (opposite present-day Mosul in northern Iraq; see Appendix 2A, Nineveh). Jonah loathed the assigned task, temporarily fled from it, then finally went and warned the Ninevites of an overthrow if their king did not capitulate.

¹⁰⁵ 2 Kings 14:17-22; 2 Chronicles 25:25-27.

¹⁰⁶ Amos 7:10. (There exists in the Israel Museum collection at Jerusalem a .87 x .47 inch jasper seal depicting “a scene of worship beneath a winged sun disk,” on which the script of a single inscription at bottom--“Amoz the scribe”--“shows it to be Moabite. It dates to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E.” McCarter, p. 144.)

¹⁰⁷ For name uses, see Appendix 3B, I, Maaseiah, Hananiah, etc., and Jeiel, etc.

¹⁰⁸ This and preceding paragraph, 2 Kings 15:1-7; 2 Chronicles 26. (a) Some connection of Gur-baal has been made with Jagur in south Judah, about 12 miles E of Beer-sheba; (b) “Mehunim” are believed to have been people of Arabian descent in the vicinity of Ma’an, about 20 miles SE of Petra, Jordan (*Ezra* and *Nehemiah* list some of them among the returning Nethinim--see Appendix 3B, I); (c) Appendix 2A, Gath; (d) (1) Jabneh, “probably *Jabneel*, “identified with modern Yebna,” “some thirteen miles S of Joppa” and four miles inland from the Mediterranean; (2) *Jabneel* of Naphtali, *Joshua* 19:32, 33; (e) Ashdod, about midway between present-day Gaza and Tel Aviv.

¹⁰⁹ (a) One other use of *Jabesh*: Appendix 2A, Jabesh/Jabesh-Gilead; (b) other *Shallums*, Appendix 3B, I, Shallum/Shallun.

“and all who in it, and its borders from Tirzah, for not it did open so he struck; all its pregnant women he ripped up.” And Menahem reigned in Shallum’s place.¹¹⁰

In the south, Uzziah reportedly behaved power-hungry; he personally offered incense on the altar. His presumptuous behavior was challenged by 80 priests, led by chief priest Azariah: “Not for you, O King, to burn incense.... Go out of the sanctuary, for you have acted slyly....” Leprosy arose in Uzziah’s forehead, and he was hurried from there. And “the king, a leper to the day of his death,” lived separately while his son, Jotham [whose mother was Jerusha] was “over the house, judging the people of the land.”

Menahem-N reigned 10-years at Samaria. At some point Assyria’s Tiglath-Pileser (King “Pul”) came against Israel and imposed a heavy tribute. Menahem paid Pul 1,000 silver talents, taking 50 silver shekels off of each man of wealth in Israel to give to Assyria.¹¹¹

In the south, the length of an apparent co-regency of Uzziah and Jotham is not specified; but during that period two more north kings followed Menahem. By “the 50th year” of Uzziah/Jotham, Menahem was dead and his son, Pekahiah [mother unknown], reigned. Pekahiah lasted two years. (Remaliah-) Pekah [mother unknown], a son of one of Pekahiah’s generals, plotted against Pekahiah (along with Argob, Arieah and 50 Gileadite sons) and killed him in the palace citadel. Pekah claimed the throne.¹¹²

At some point during the within time, Uzziah (whose acts were as “written [by] Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet”) “lay with his fathers.... And his son Jotham reigned [solely].”

Meanwhile, during Pekah-N’s 20-year reign, Assyria’s king Pul advanced on Israel and captured Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead and Galilee--all the land of Naphtali, “and deported them to Assyria.”

Jotham-S, successor of Uzziah, did not interfere with the Temple; “still the people were acting corruptly,” and “the high places were not taken away.” Nonetheless, Jotham brought the sons of Ammon under tribute to Judah, and he did much building of cities, towers, and fortresses in “the forests,” as well as Jerusalem’s Upper Gate and a goodly portion of the wall of Ophel.

During Jotham’s reign, Israel’s king Pekah allied with Aram’s then- king, Rezin.¹¹³ Rezin recovered Elath, and he and Pekah laid siege against Jerusalem. “And killed, Pekah ...in Judah, 120,000 in one day, all sons of valor.” Jotham’s death is not described--it only being reported that Maaseiah (son of Jotham’s son, Ahaz) was killed by Zichri, “a mighty one of Ephraim,” who killed also Azrikam, “the leader of the house [temple],” and Elkanah, “second to the king.” The Pekah-Rezin force seized “200,000 of their brothers, wives, sons and daughters,” together with much spoil, and brought all to Samaria.¹¹⁴

Oded, a prophet there, confronted the army: 'Hear me. Send back the captives you have taken of your brothers!' Certain Ephraimite leaders--(Johanah-) Azariah, (Meshillemoth-) Berechiah, (Shallum-) Jehizkiah, and (Hadlai-) Amasa--rose up with him: “You shall not bring the captives here, to [place] guilt upon us.” The “armed men” quit the assembly and left the captives and spoil with it. The Ephraimites then clothed, shod, fed,

¹¹⁰ 2 Kings 15:8-22. *Tiphseh*, unknown.

¹¹¹ 2 Kings 15:16-22. (*Timeline* places this at calendar year 738 b.c./b.c.e.)

¹¹² 2 Kings 15:23-30. (a) *Argob* also was the name of a region of Bashan, east of Lake Tiberias/ Sea of Galilee; (b) only use of *Arieah*.

¹¹³ 2 Kings 15:32-37; 2 Chronicles 27:1-9.

¹¹⁴ *Azrikam*, *Elkanah*, *Maaseiah*/*Mahseiah*/*Maaziah*, *Zichri*, see Appendix 3B, I.

anointed the captives “and led them out on asses, even every feeble one, brought them to Jericho near their brothers, and returned to Samaria.”¹¹⁵

Judah’s king Ahaz--Jotham’s succeeding son (mother unknown)--sent a plea to Assyria’s king Tiglath-Pileser, together with all of value Ahaz could collect, for aid against the Israel/Aram coalition. (“Your servant and your son, I,” Ahaz referred to himself). Tiglath complied by killing Rezin; but he seized Damascus for himself (which he “exiled...to Kir”¹¹⁶), thereby bringing the Syria/Aram kingdom to its end.

Ahaz paid homage to Tiglath-pileser at Damascus, and sent a pattern of the Damascus altar with instructions back to Urijah, the priest, to build one at Jerusalem. Ahaz had *Tet’s* bronze altar moved to the side and effected other changes to satisfy the Assyria’s king. Yet, despite all of Ahaz’ submissions to Tiglath-pileser, the Assyrian king instead “distressed” Ahaz instead of helping him.

In and about the same time of Ahaz’s appeal for help from Assyria, Edomites struck Judah again and seized an [unspecified] captivity. Philistines raided, too, against cities of the low country and the south of Judah, and took Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, Gederoth, Soco and its villages/suburbs, Timna/ Timnah and its villages/suburbs, and Gimzo and its villages/suburbs.¹¹⁷

In the north, (Elah-) Hoshea conspired against Pekah in the 12th year of Ahaz-S. Hoshea killed Pekah and reigned in his place. Assyria’s King Shalmaneser V (who succeeded Tiglath) retained dominion over Hoshea and kept the north under tribute, which Hoshea failed to meet “year by year.” In the “third year” of Hoshea-N, Ahaz-S (whose death is not described) was succeeded by his son, Hezekiah, whose mother was Abi/Abijah.¹¹⁸

Israel’s Hoshea finally sought aid from Egypt, then ruled by an Ethiopian dynasty. Assyria’s Shalmaneser V learned of Hoshea’s application to Egypt and laid siege against Samaria in the “seventh year of Hoshea,” the “fourth year of Hezekiah.”

In Hoshea’s ninth and last year (third of the siege) Israel’s capital of Samaria fell. (At about the same time, Assyria’s Shalmaneser was succeeded by Sargon II.) Hoshea, last of the northern kings, was captured and imprisoned. ‘Northerners’ were exiled and relocated to Halah and Habor, by the Gozan River, and to cities of the Medes, while people from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath and Sepharvaim relocated to Samaria cities.¹¹⁹

Among first acts of Judah’s king Hezekiah¹²⁰ was to repair and open the temple, and to hold an assembly for its cleansing and reconstitution. “Our fathers have fallen by the sword,” he decreed, “and our sons; and our daughters....and our wives are in captivity. It

¹¹⁵ This and preceding paragraph, 2 *Chronicles* 28:6-15. (a) “Jehizkiah” and “Hadai” are only uses; (b) Appendix 2A, *Amasa*; (c) other names, see Appendix 3B, I.

¹¹⁶ Refer to fn. 59.

¹¹⁷ This and preceding paragraphs, 2 *Chronicles* 28:6-26.

¹¹⁸ 2 *Kings* 18:1-7; 2 *Chronicles* 28:27. An inscription left by Assyria’s Tiglath-pileser III claims he put Hoshea on the throne. (A discrepancy seems apparent as to Hezekiah’s age: the texts report that Ahaz had become king at age 20 and ruled 16 years, yet that Hezekiah succeeded his father at age 25.)

¹¹⁹ This and preceding paragraph, 2 *Kings* 17:1-41, 18:9-12. (a) Halah, unknown; (b) Habor, linked variously by names of a town and a Euphrates tributary as possibly in the neighborhood of SE Turkey/NE Syria/NW Iran; (c) The “Medes,” Media (and Elam) were becoming a new faction on the continent from outer Palestine east to Babylon--see Appendix 2A, *Media*; also Appendix 3B, I, *Hoshea, etc.*

¹²⁰ See Appendix 3B, I, *Seals and Inscriptions*, concerning discoveries of Hezekiah seal impressions.

is in my heart to make a covenant'.” Hezekiah sent notice to all Judah and Israel, and wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasseh, to attend a Passover at Jerusalem. Runners passed the call from city to city, throughout Ephraim and Manasseh all the way to Zebulun, “from Beer-sheba to Dan.” In certain places the proposal was mocked; but Asherites, Manassehites and Zebulunites are named as among those who attended. And many persons from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, although not themselves strictly “cleansed,” were allowed to eat the Passover (“otherwise than was written”); and Hezekiah prayed atonement for everyone. Sons of Aaron were placed in sacrificial charge and Levites appointed for all temple services. Such a Passover had not been seen “since the days of Solomon.”¹²¹

Hezekiah appointed courses of priests by their divisions.¹²² His chief priest was Azariah of the house of Zadok. “[A]ll the sons of Israel [returned] each to his possession, to their cities;” and, “as spread the word, brought abundantly the sons of Israel the first fruits of grain, new wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the produce of the field; and the tithe of all—very much they brought. And the sons of Israel and Judah, those living in the cities of Judah, also they tithed of the herd and the flock.” Hezekiah had rooms built at the temple to store offerings and established regular distributions. He also is reported as having “struck the Philistines to Gaza and its borders.”¹²³

In Hezekiah’s 14th year, Assyria’s king Sennacherib (successor of Sargon) invaded Judah and captured its fortified cities. Hezekiah took counsel with his leaders and prepared for a siege. He gathered the people and set captains of war over them. Defensive preparations included stopping up potential enemy water sources near Jerusalem, fortifying its towers, and producing darts and shields.

Assyria, which had defeated an Elamite force at Kish and now ruled Babylon under a viceroy, pursued a campaign against Phoenicia as well. While besieging Lachish, Sennacherib sent a contingent “with a massive army” to Jerusalem to demand Hezekiah’s surrender. Hezekiah sent out (Hilkiah-) Eliakim (who was over the temple), Shebna/Shebna, and (Asaph-) Joah, the recorder,¹²⁴ while Jerusalem’s inhabitants gathered around the city wall to watch and listen. The words of Sennacherib’s chief, spoken from “the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the field, fuller’s,” were to the effect: ‘Upon what have you laid your trust?—on a staff of broken reed,” he said, referring to Egypt—“which, when a man leans on it then enters his palm and pierces it. Thus is the pharaoh king of Egypt to any who trust on him.”¹²⁵

¹²¹ 2 *Chronicles* 29:1 - 30:26. Included among the Levites [text punctuation does not permit certainty as to descendency of all named] were: (Amasai-) Mahath and (Azariah-) Joel of the sons of the Kohathites; and of the sons of Merari; (Abdi-) Kish and (Jehalelel-) Azariah; of the Gershonites; (Zimmah-) Joah and (Joah-) Edom; of the sons of Elizaphan; of the sons of Asaph, Zechariah and Mattaniah; of the sons of Heman, Jehiel and Shimei; of the sons of Jeduthun, Shemaiah and Uzziel. (Many of these names can be found via Appendix 3B, I.)

¹²² Refer to Appendix 3B, II, A, 1) “King David’s Divisions,” and Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, which references later divisional changes.

¹²³ 2 *Chronicles* 31:1-21; 2 *Kings* 18:8. The store overseers (under managing Levite brothers, Cononiah and Shimei) were Jehiel, Azariah, Nathan, Asahel, Jerimoth, Jozabad, Eliel, Ismachiah, Mahath and Benaiah. Distributions were via (Imnah-) Kore, gatekeeper at the east, to Eden, Miniamin, Jeshua, Shemiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah in the cities of the priests [some of which latter names match priesthood division names]. Distributions were to be made “to ...the great so to the small; apart from their genealogy; to males from a son 30 years and upward to everyone who had gone into the temple, the proper portion day by day for their service in their duties according to their divisions.” Enrollments were made genealogically of the priests by the house of their fathers, and of the Levites, from a son of 20 years upward...infants, wives, sons, daughters. “Also for sons Aaron’s the priests, in the fields of the lands of their cities, separate in every city, men who were designated by name to give portions to every male among the priests and to all enrolled genealogically among the Levites.”

¹²⁴ See Appendix 3B, I, for Eliakim, Hilkiah, and Asaph; this is only use of *Shebna(h)*.

¹²⁵ This and preceding paragraph, 2 *Kings* 18:13-27; 2 *Chronicles* 32:1-22; *Isaiah* 36:1-9.

Eliakim, et al. asked that Sennacherib's chief speak with them "please, [in] Aramaic," not to speak "Jewish, in the ears of the people who on the wall." The chief replied, "To your master and to you has sent me my master to speak words these, not to the men that sit on the wall."

"Now say to Hezekiah," the Assyrian Chief of the Cupbearers called with a loud voice in "Jewish" toward "the people of Jerusalem who on the wall..." "The King of Assyria asks, 'Who among all gods has been able to deliver his people from my hand? ... On what you are trusting, that you sit under seige ...? Not Hezekiah is misleading you?--to give you up to die by famine and by thirst...?' "[M]ake your peace with me and come out to me, and you shall eat each man his vine, and each of his fig tree, and you shall drink each of the waters of his well until I come; and I will take you to a land like your own land, a land of grain and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil, and honey, and live, and not die; and not do listen to Hezekiah..." "[E]xchange pledges now with my lord the king of Assyria," the messenger continued, "and I will give to you 2000 horses, if you are able to give for yourself riders on them." How is it?, he asked them, "that you trust for yourself on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?" But the people kept silent, as Hezekiah had commanded them.¹²⁶

Hezekiah sent to the Assyrian king at his camp against Lachish, saying, 'Whatever you put on me I will bear.' Hezekiah paid 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold (temple and crown treasures plus pillars he had overlaid). Prism inscriptions of Sennacherib relate that he made Hezekiah "a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage," and that the tribute extracted from and sent by Hezekiah to Sennacherib at Nineveh (of gold, precious stones, ivory, etc.--"all kinds of valuable treasures") included "his [Hezekiah's] daughters."¹²⁷

Hezekiah sent Eliakim, Shebna and the elders of the priests to the prophet (Amoz¹²⁸) Isaiah for counsel, to seek guidance "for the remnant." Isaiah sent back a message, "Tell this to your Lord:" have no fear; the king of Assyria "shall hear a rumor, and shall return to his land...."

Sennacherib, who had moved from Lachish to war against Libnah, subsequently received word that "Tirhakah the king of Ethiopia...Lo, he has come out to fight against you."¹²⁹ The following morning it was discovered that the Assyrian camp had been struck during the night--185,000; "every mighty one of valor, both leader and head in the camp of the king of Assyria"--and that Sennacherib had returned to "his land." ("And it was in night that went out the angel of *Tet.* and struck in the camp of Assyria...and departed and went, and returned, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, and lived in Nineveh.") Sennacherib soon thereafter was assassinated by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer¹³⁰ (who fled to "the land of Ararat"); and Sennacherib's son, Esarhaddon, reigned in his place.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, *Kings* and *Chronicles*. As to the exact number and sequence of Assyrian demands and Hezekiah responses (here ordered as seems most reasonable), the texts are unclear.

¹²⁷ *2 Kings* 18:13-16; *Aid*, p. 1469.

¹²⁸ *Amoz*, only use in that form; *but see* fn. 106.

¹²⁹ *2 Kings* 19:6-9.

¹³⁰ (a) *Cf. Herodotus*, de Selincourt trans., Book Two, p. 138, para. 141ff.: Herodotus relates an account given him "by the Egyptians and their priests that, when Egypt's Sethos had taken position at Pelusium, "which guards the entrance to Egypt" to meet an invasion by "Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria...thousands of field-mice swarmed over the Assyrians during the night, and ate their quivers, their bowstrings, and the leather handles of their shields, so that on the following day, having no arms to fight with, they abandoned their position and suffered severe losses during their retreat." (b) A relative confirmation of the Tirhakah/Taharqa intervention is provided on a stela erected by Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor, which relates victory over Tirhakah at Memphis, Egypt, the capital of Tirhakah's dynasty then ruling Egypt. *McCarter* gives 671 b.c./b.c.e. as the date of the Memphis battle, which jibes well with the calendar derived from the kings' reigns per the texts, whereas the period of Hezekiah's reign as offered by common sources ranges from 44 to 74 years earlier (*refer to* Appendix 2D, "Calendar

"In days those" Hezekiah became sick "even to death." Isaiah told Hezekiah to prepare for it. Then, after curing Hezekiah of a boil/ulcer, Isaiah indicated that Hezekiah--who as yet had no heir--would live additional years and be delivered from the hand of the Assyrian king, and the city would be saved. Three years later Hezekiah had a son, Manasseh, whose mother was Hephzibah. Many brought a present to *Tet.*, to Jerusalem, and precious gifts to Hezekiah. Merodach of Elam, sent a delegation and presents to Hezekiah, soliciting his health. Hezekiah took the occasion to show Merodach's emissaries all of his treasury and weapons. Isaiah, critical of Hezekiah's actions, predicted the day was coming when all would be carried off to Babylon (which, however, "not did come on them in his [Hezekiah's] days").¹³¹

Is reported that Hezekiah had great riches and honor and had overseen many public works, including a 1749-foot aqueduct to redirect the upper watercourse of Gihon to beneath the city of David. His death is not described. His son, Manasseh, then 12 years old, succeeded to Judah's throne. (It is not stated whether the queen-mother was co-regent during the first years of Manasseh's reign.)¹³²

The texts stress Manasseh failings more than accomplishments. He rebuilt "high places" his father had destroyed, reraising Baal and Asherah altars; he employed divination; he "made pass through, his sons, fire in the valley of Hinnom." Prophets condemned him and predicted evil for his house.¹³³

At some point Assyrian army captains captured Manasseh "with hooks" in a thicket, "bound him with bronze fetters, and made him go to Babylon." After an unspecified period of time, Manasseh--"humbled"--"was taken back to Jerusalem, to his kingdom." ("Manasseh of Judah" is reported as appearing on a list of 22 vassal kings who paid tribute to both Esarhaddon and his successor, Ashurbanipal.¹³⁴)

Subsequent public works by Manasseh included an outer wall for the city of David on the west of Gihon, in the valley, and at the entrance to the Fish Gate, and a high surrounding wall above Ophel. Judah cities were fortified. While it is said that "he removed the gods of the foreigner" with appropriate commandments to the people, "still the people sacrificed in high places, only." The rest of acts of Manasseh were "written in...the Matters of Hozai/Hosai," as well as the "Book of the Matters of the Kings."

Manasseh's death is not described; he was buried in the Garden of Uzza.¹³⁵ He was succeeded by his 22-year-old son, Amon, whose mother was Meshullemeth. Little is said of Amon, who continued to serve his father's "graven images" and survived only two years at Jerusalem. He was killed at the palace by "his own servants." (Amon also was buried in the Garden of Uzza.) Afterward, "the people of the land" killed the conspirators and installed Amon's eight-year-old son, Josiah, whose mother was Jedidah.¹³⁶

Josiah in his "12th year" began to "cleanse Judah and Jerusalem [of] the high

Year Comparison Timeline").

¹³¹ *2 Kings* 20:1ff; *2 Chronicles* 32:24ff. This and preceding paragraph also *2 Kings* 19:8-20, 35-37; *2 Chronicles* 32:21ff.; *Isaiah* 37.

¹³² *2 Kings* 21:1; *2 Chronicles* 32:27-33.

¹³³ *2 Kings* 21:2-8.

¹³⁴ *Aid*, p. 1103.

¹³⁵ This and preceding paragraph, *2 Kings* 21:17; *2 Chronicles* 33:11-19. "Garden of Uzza" location, unknown; *Uzza/Uzzah* other uses, Appendix 1E, fn. 40.

¹³⁶ *2 Kings* 21:19-26; *2 Chronicles* 33:21-25. A co-regent for the young Josiah is not named.

places” and all their accoutrements. In his “18th year” he sent (Azaliah-) Shaphan, Maaseiah (head of the city), and (Joahaz-) Joah (the recorder) to high priest Hilkiah for calculation of the silver collected by the Levites, who guarded the threshold of the temple, from the people “of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and from all the remnant of Israel, and from all Judah, and Benjamin, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.” The funds were used for temple repair, to pay workers, and to buy quarried stones and wood. “Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari, and Zechariah and Meshullam of the sons of the Kohathites,” oversaw the work.

At the time that the silver was “poured out,” High Priest Hilkiah¹³⁷ also gave to Shaphan a “Book of the Law found in the house.” When Shaphan read it to Josiah, Josiah commanded Hilkiah, Shaphan the scribe, (Shaphan-) Ahikam, (Micaiah-) Achbor and Asahiah, servant of the king, to inquire as to the book’s verity. “Go inquire of *Tet.* for me and for him who is left in Israel and in Judah, as to the words of the book that has been found,” Josiah commanded, saying further that a great deal of wrath seemed to have been incurred for not keeping the book’s written words.¹³⁸

The high priest with the others went to the “prophetess” Huldah, wife of (Harhas-Tikvah -) Shallum. Huldah (“keeper of the wardrobe”) lived in Jerusalem’s “Second” (*sic*).¹³⁹ Huldah instructed that they “Say this to the King: ‘*Tet.* will bring evil on this place, and its inhabitants--all the curses that are written in the book--should they forsake Him. But because your heart is tender and you were humbled when you heard the words concerning this place, and concerning its inhabitants, and *Tet.* also heard, He will gather your fathers to you.’”¹⁴⁰

Josiah assembled all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem to the temple and read to all the priests, prophets and people, small to great, “the words of the book of the covenant that was found” in the temple. Josiah pledged himself to practice the covenant. He commanded that all the foreign artifacts be removed from the temple and burned outside of the city in the Kidron; and he dismissed all the priests of the Baal, Asherah and a constellation high-places, from Geba to Beer-sheba. He razed the house of the male prostitutes in the temple, where the women of Asherah houses “were weaving;” and he defiled “Tophath, that in the valley of the son of Hinnom, so that not could cause to pass through, man, his son and his daughter, the fire to Molech.” “And he destroyed the horses that had given, the kings of Judah, to the sun, at the entrance of the [temple], by the room of Nathan-melech the eunuch that in the courts, and the chariots of the sun he burned with fire.” He broke down the altars on the top of the upper room of Ahaz and those which Manasseh had erected in the two courts of the temple. Josiah altogether tore down the “high places that before Jerusalem, which of the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, which had built Solomon the king of Israel for Ashtoreth, the idol of the Sidonians, and for Chemosh, the idol of Moab, and for Milcom, the disgust of the sons of Ammon....”¹⁴¹

In his “18th year,”¹⁴² Josiah--“the last of his kind ever to surface”--commanded preparation of a celebration of *Tet./Passover* in the old style, after he had “put away” divining, soothsaying, and family gods and their idols in deference to the recovered Book of

¹³⁷ See Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Inscriptions, concerning a discovered sealing stone, “Belonging to Hanan son of Hilqiyahu.”

¹³⁸ This and preceding two paragraphs, *2 Kings* 22:1-13; *2 Chronicles* 34:1-28. Achbor also is referred to as *Abdon*--see Appendix ID, II, fn. 39. Hilkiah, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4; Maaseiah, Meshullam, Michaiah, Obadiah, Shaphan and Zechariah, Appendix 3B, I.)

¹³⁹ The interlinear text referenced in this work adds “Quarter” at the margin.

¹⁴⁰ *2 Kings* 22:8-20.

¹⁴¹ *2 Kings* 23:1-17; *2 Chronicles* 34:29-33.

¹⁴² Uncertain whether this reference is still to his own years or that of his reign, *i.e.* at age 26.

the Law. He set priests over prescribed functions, strengthened them in their services, and instructed sanctified Levites teaching all Israel to, “[P]ut the holy ark in the house that built Solomon, the son of David the king of Israel; it shall not be for you a burden on your shoulders...and prepare [yourselves] by the house of your fathers, according to your divisions, by the writing of David the king of Israel, and the writing of Solomon his son, and stand in the holy, by the division of the house of the fathers of your brothers, the sons of the people, and the portion of the house of the father of the Levites. Now kill the passover....” “There had not been a Passover like it kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet.”¹⁴³

Toward the latter part of Josiah’s reign, greater Assyria--which had been warding off both Medes and Babylonians, was in its dying throes. Necho, Egypt’s then-pharaoh, entered Judah on his way to battle the Assyrian king “by the river Euphrates.” Necho sent an advance message to Josiah that he was proceeding “Not against you, today, but toward the house I have war...hold yourself from opposition.” Instead, Josiah “disguised” himself, ...came to fight in the valley of Megiddo,” and was killed. “And shot the archers at King Josiah...and he died;” “[H]e/ [Necho] killed him, in Megiddo, when he saw him.”¹⁴⁴

“The people of the land” anointed Hamutal’s son by Josiah, Jehoahaz/Shallum, and made him king of Judah, now vassal of Egypt. Necho, however, had his forces depose Jehoahaz/Shallum, who was taken captive to Necho at “Riblah, in the land of Hamath.”¹⁴⁵ Subsequently, Jehoahaz was removed to Egypt, where ultimately he died at and in an unknown time and manner. Necho installed Zebudah’s son by Josiah, Eliakim, as king, and changed his name to Jehoiakim.¹⁴⁶

Babylonian/Chaldaeian Nebuchadnezzar, meanwhile, had taken all Syria. In the “eighth year” of Eliakim/Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition against him and levied a heavy tribute. At the end of three years, Eliakim/Jehoiakim rebelled and was defeated by a Babylonian force, which included troops drawn from “Aram, Moab, and sons of Ammon,” together with the “Chaldeans.” Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim “in bronze fetters to take him away to Babylon,”¹⁴⁷ and put Jerusalem’s temple vessels in his temple in Babylon. It is reported that, by this time, the king of Babylon had taken all that had been possessed by Egypt “from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates,” and “not did again, any more, the king of Egypt come out of his land.”

The death of Eliakim/Jehoiakim is not described. He “lay with his fathers, and his

¹⁴³ 2 Kings 23:21-28; 2 Chronicles 35:1-19. As to “divisions,” see David’s organization of Temple representation for the chief houses of all the tribes--Appendix 3B, II, (A)(1). Josiah is said to have “cleansed Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon even to Naphtali.” (The text goes into great detail as to what was contributed by the chiefs of the Levites and the leaders to the priests and people, together with a count of stock and people which is not altogether clear.) Per *Esdras* 1:8, the governors of the temple at this time were “Helkias, Zacharias, and Syelus.”

¹⁴⁴ 2 Kings 23:29-30; 2 Chronicles 35:20-27. Parallel versions differ as to who dealt the blow. “And sung a dirge, Jeremiah, for Josiah, and speak all the singers and songstresses in their lamentations of Josiah to today, and made them for a statute...and they are written in [*Lamentations*].” Use of the term, *disguised* himself (whether in dress or alliance) recalls the matter of Ahaz vs. the Syrians with Jehoshaphat (following fn. 45).

¹⁴⁵ Generally accepted as on the east bank of the Orontes River in its valley between the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon mountains. By this time the Babylonians and Medes had overthrown Assyria and it is believed Necho was proceeding against them. (Appendix 1F, *Hamath/ Hamathite*.)

¹⁴⁶ 2 Kings 23:31-34; 2 Chronicles 36:1-5.

¹⁴⁷ *Josephus* states that, “A little time afterwards,” Nebuchadnezzar went against Jehoiakim, who received him into the city, expecting no harm if he submitted; but Nebuchadnezzar “slew such as were in the flower of their age and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king, Jehoiakim, whom [Nebuchadnezzar] commanded to be thrown before the walls without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country,” and took captives, “3000 in number...among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young.” *AJ*, X.VII.3. It is not said whether this was in conjunction with the major battle at the border when Egypt kept the Babylonians from entering its land.

son, Jehoiachin [whose mother was Nehushta] reigned in his place.”¹⁴⁸ Parallel verses contain seeming contradictions as to Jehoiachin’s age at succession and circumstances of his deposal. The *Book of Kings*, after stating a “three-month tenure” of “eighteen”-year-old Jehoiachin, reports, “At time that,” Nebuchadnezzar laid a siege against Jerusalem, “and went out Jehoiachin the king of Judah to the king of Babylon, he and his mother, and his servants, and his officers, and his eunuchs, and took him, the king of Babylon, *in the year eighth of his reign.*” According to *Chronicles*, “A son of eight years Jehoiachin when he began his reign of “three months and ten days,” and “at the turn of the year sent King Nebuchadnezzar and brought him [and the other exiles] to Babylon.”

Nebuchadnezzar took what remained of temple and palace treasures, cutting into pieces gold vessels Solomon had made; and he exiled “all Jerusalem, and all the officers, and all the mighty men of valor [7000] , even 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths [1000]--none remained except the poorest people of the land. And he exiled Jehoiachin to Babylon, and mother the king’s, and wives the king’s, and his officials, and the mighty men of the land; he brought the exiles from Jerusalem to Babylon.”¹⁴⁹

Nebuchadnezzar left Mattaniah, a second son of Josiah and Hamutal (Jehoiachin’s “uncle/relative”) “over Judah and Jerusalem,” and changed Mattaniah’s name to Zedekiah.¹⁵⁰

* * *

*The prophet Jeremiah was a prominent figure during these final years of the kingdom of Judah, interacting especially with king Mattaniah /Zedekiah.*¹⁵¹

* * *

Mattaniah/Zedekiah vacillated between resistance and submission. Jeremiah urged the latter, but Mattaniah/Zedekiah ultimately was not “humbled before Jeremiah, the prophet.” In the ninth year of Mattaniah/Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar and his army camped against Jerusalem. A two-year siege eventually inflicted insupportable famine, both in the city and for the people of the land. In the 11th year of Mattaniah/Zedekiah, Jerusalem’s fortifications were broken, and there entered “all the men of war by night, by way of the gate between the two walls that by garden the king’s.”

King Mattaniah/Zedekiah initially escaped south, “by way toward the Arabah;” but the Chaldeans¹⁵² /Babylonians overtook him in the plain of Jericho, and all his army was scattered from him. He was seized and brought to the Babylonian king at Riblah for judgment. Mattaniah/Zedekiah was forced to watch the killing of his sons, had his own eyes put out and, bound in bronze fetters, was taken to Babylon.¹⁵³

Thereafter (“the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar”), Nebuchadnezzar’s captain Nebuzaradan demolished Jerusalem.¹⁵⁴ The army with him broke down the city walls

¹⁴⁸ This and preceding paragraph, *Kings* 2:23:35, 24:1-8; *2 Chronicles* 36:5-8.

¹⁴⁹ This and preceding paragraph, *2 Kings* 24:10-16; *2 Chronicles* 36:9-10. The unnamed queen-mother would have been Nehushta--see part III of this Appendix 2C, fn. 65. “The year eighth of his reign” also has been interpreted as referring to Nebuchadnezzar’s tenure, which does correlate with *Jeremiah*--see Appendix 2C, VII.

¹⁵⁰ *2 Chronicles* 36:10; *2 Kings* 24:17.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.”

¹⁵² See Appendix 1F, *Chaldaeae/Chaldaeans*.

¹⁵³ *2 Kings* 25:1-7; *2 Chronicles* 36:10-13. Based on all sources, it seems at this point there occurred the events at Mizpeh, which appear later in the *Kings* text and are given below following fn. 155.

¹⁵⁴ “In the fifth year [from which is not stated,] the Chaldaeans burned Jerusalem.” *Baruch* 1:2.

completely and burned the temple, the palace, and every great house. Many persons left in the city--"those that had fallen away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the rest of the multitude" were exiled...." But Nebuzaradan left "the poorest of the land...for vine-dressers and for farmers." (A long list is given of confiscated items, including two pillars, "the sea one, and the stands that had made Solomon... and the second like it.")

Nebuzaradan took as captives head priest Seraiah, second priest Zephaniah, three temple threshold keepers, a certain eunuch who was appointed over the men of war, five men found in the city of those "who saw face the king's," the scribe of the chief of the army, and 60 men of the people of the land who also were found in the city. "And struck them the king of Babylon, and killed them in Riblah in the land of Hamath; and he exiled Judah from its land."

Nebuchadnezzar left some individuals, however, "in the land of Judah" and "set over them Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan."¹⁵⁵ When certain of Judah's surviving army officers heard about Gedaliah's appointment as governor under Babylon, they went with their men to Gedaliah, who was at Mizpeh/Mizpah. The officers included Ishmael, son of Nethaniah; Johanan, son of Careah; Seraiah, son of Tanhumeth of Netophah; and Jaazaniah, son of a Maachathite. Gedaliah swore to them "not to be afraid of the Chaldeans; live in the land and serve the king of Babylon; and it will be well." Gedaliah assured people who had fled that it was safe to return from hiding, so long as they were obedient to their overlord.¹⁵⁶

But in the "month seventh came Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama of the seed royal, and ten men with him, and they struck Gedaliah, and he died; and the Jews and the Chaldeans who were with him in Mizpah. Then arose all the people from the small even to great, and the heads of the armies and came [to] Egypt, for they feared before Chaldeans."¹⁵⁷

Kings and Chronicles do not report ensuing interim events. Josephus reports as follows. Ishmael took captives including women and children, among whom were daughters of king Mattaniah/Zedekiah. Johanan overtook Ishmael at the fountain in Hebron, fought him and brought back the captives. Johanan then consulted Jeremiah, who said they should not leave or fear the Babylonians; but Jeremiah's counsel was distrusted, and the group proceeded into Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch with them.¹⁵⁸

Five years later, Nebuchadnezzar--who had conquered Coelesyria and the Ammonites and Moabites--finally overthrew Egypt's king.

* * *

In year 37 of king Jehoiachin's exile, "[Amel/Awil-Marduk] Evil-merodach, king of Babylon, in the year he became king," "lifted up...the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah from the house of prison." Jehoiachin was given a seat at the head of all the other kings at Merodach's court and received a regular daily allowance for all the [remaining] days of his

¹⁵⁵ 2 Kings 25:8-22; 2 Chronicles 36:17-20.

¹⁵⁶ 2 Kings 25:23-24. (a) Other uses of Gedaliah: (1) (Pashur-) *Gedaliah*, one of king Zedekiah's court--Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah;" (2) (*Gedaliah-Cushi*-) Zephaniah, the prophet; (3) (Jeduthun-) *Gedaliah*, a musician for David; (4) (Jeshua-) *Gedaliah* (at the time of *Ezra*), a returning priest who had a foreign wife; (b) Appendix 2A, *Mizpah*, etc.; (c) *Careah*/[*Kareah*] in *Jeremiah*] is an only use; correlations are (1) *Carrhae*, a Graeco-Roman name for Haran; (2) *Caria*, the name of an ancient district in SW Asia Minor; (3) high priest Jehoiada covenanted with *Carites* who aided the overthrow of Athaliah (2 Kings 11:4ff.); (d) Refer to Appendix 1F, *Ishmael/Ishmaelites*; Appendix 3B, I, *Jaazaniah*, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Johanan*, etc., *Nethaniah*, *Netophah*, and *Seraiah*; (e) *Tanhumeth*, only use.

¹⁵⁷ 2 Kings 25:23-26.

¹⁵⁸ AJ, X.IX.4; refer also to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah."

life.¹⁵⁹

[*End of Kings.*]

2 Chronicles contains final verses that are echoed at the beginning of *Ezra*:

"And in year first of Cyrus, the king of Persia...[*Tet*] stirred...the spirit of Cyrus...and he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and also in writing, saying, 'Thus says Cyrus, the king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the Earth has given to me [*Tet.*], the God of the Heavens, and He has appointed me to build to Him a house in Jerusalem that in Judah. Who among you of all His people, [*Tet*] his God, with him and let him go up.'¹⁶⁰"

"And in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia...stirred up [*Tet.*] the spirit of Cyrus...and he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and also in writing, saying, 'Thus says Cyrus, king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the Earth has given me [*Tet.*] the God of Heaven. And he appointed me to build for Him a house in Jerusalem, which in Judah. Who among you of all His people be his God with him; and let him go up to Jerusalem which in Judah and rebuild the house of [*Tet.*] the God of Israel--He, God--who in Jerusalem.'¹⁶¹"

¹⁵⁹ *2 Kings* 25:27-30 (end of *2 Kings*).

¹⁶⁰ *2 Chronicles* 36:22-3.

¹⁶¹ *Ezra* 1:1-3. (See also Appendix 2A, Cyrus Cylinder.)

Appendix 2C, V

TOBIT¹

The apocryphal book of *Tobit* is an account of a family's existence in exile after an Assyrian deportation from the 'north.' The date(s) of its writing is/are unknown. (It perhaps is significant that with chapter four its narration changes from first to third person.) *Tobit's* theological embroidery and stated long lifespans are not greater, necessarily, than other, canonical scripture. The main criticisms relate to (a) its ordering of key events, the dates of which are subject to a number of uncertainties, and (b) its descriptions of Assyrian monarchs by singular versions of their proper names.

The Narrative provides citations at regular intervals and is followed by an explorative chronology. The spelling of obvious recognizable names is upgraded in the narrative, e.g. *Nephtali* to Naphtali, *Nineve* to Nineveh, and *Ecbatane* to Ecbatana.²

Narrative

[Naphtali...Asael-Gabael-Aduel-Ananiel+Deborah-Tobiel -] *Tobias/Tobiah* I states that he was "but young" in Israel, when "all the ['north] tribes revolted...and the house of my father Naphtali sacrificed unto...Baal..." He and Anna,³ with their son, *Tobias/Tobiah* II, were led out of "Thisbe, at the right hand of that city properly called Naphtali...in Galilee," in a captivity of Assyrian King "Enemessar." *Tobiah* I first was taken to Nineveh, where he was the king's "purveyor." Business took him to Media; there he deposited 10 silver talents personally in trust with one Gabael, "brother of Gabrias," at Rages/Rhages/Ragau, a city about 150 miles northeast of Ecbatana.⁴

Tobit 1:1, 8, 9, 13, 14.

Tobiah I reports that when Sennacherib gained the Assyrian throne there were "troubles with his [Sennacherib's] estate" which prevented *Tobiah* from traveling from Nineveh to Media for an unstated period.⁵ Near the end of Sennacherib's rule, one "of the Ninevites" reported to authorities certain irregular activity on *Tobiah's* part, specifically, burying indigent dead brethren. *Tobiah* I, "understanding that [he] was sought for to be put to death," went into hiding;⁶ but "there passed not five and fifty days" of *Tobiah* I's retreat, when Sennacherib was assassinated.

"Sarchedonus" ascended Assyria's throne. *Tobiah* I's nephew, Achiacharus, the son of *Tobiah's* brother, Anael, was made cupbearer, keeper of the signet, and administrator of all of the king's "accounts...and affairs." Achiacharus had supported *Tobiah* during his

¹"Tobit," derived from *Tobijah/Tobiah*, appears used more frequently as a name in the 'north. *Tobijah/Tobiah* figured later in charged, heavily political conflicts during the reformation, which timeline is contained in volume three.

²Other recognizable names--primarily, *Azarias/Azariah*, *Ananias/Hananiah*, *Samaias/Shemaiah* and *Jonathas/Jonathan*--are of interest relative to issues of priesthood lines; refer to Appendices 3B, I and 3B, II, Attachments 4 and 6, under the respective names.

³"his [*Tobiah* II's] mother," who died after *Tobiah* I; *Tobit* 14:12.

⁴(a) Appendix 2C, VI ("Judith") -- King "Nabuchodonosor" made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of *Ragau*. (b) Other uses of *Asael/Asahel*: (1) See (Zeruah -) *Asahel*, Appendix 2A, Attachment 1, "Jesse, Descendancy of;" (2) a Levite teacher under king Jehoshaphat; (3) a temple commissioner for king Hezekiah (*2 Chronicles* 31:13); and (d) father of a Jonathan who opposed the post-exilic direction to put away foreign wives (*Ezra* 10). (c) *Ananiel* not found elsewhere in this form; however, if the last consonant of was *h*, the name would fall within a wide range of variations *Anani* to *Hananiah*--see Appendix 3B.I, under each. (d) The only other Deborah of mention is the prophetess/judge, also of Naphtali (Appendix 1D, II). (e) Appendix 2A, *Ecbatana* (some five miles S of present-day Tehran).

⁵This would have been c. the Merodach's rebellion against Assyria and his claiming kingship of Babylon, and the coming to power in Media of Dioces; refer to Appendix 2D timeline.

⁶Verse 2:10 indicates this may have been in "Elymais"/Elam (Appendix 2A, *Elam*); Merodach had Elamite support.

retreat; and now, through his influence, Tobiah was freed to return home. Tobit was reunited with his wife and son at the time of "Pentecost" (a later name of the Festival of Harvest or Weeks).
Tobit 1:15, 20-22; 2:1.

At age 58 Tobiah I developed an eye affliction ("a whiteness" came into his eyes). His vision was severely impaired for eight years.

Tobiah I had relatives in Ecbatana--Edna and Raguel, cousin of Tobiah I's son (Tobiah II). Edna and Raguel had a daughter, Sara, an only child, who "belonged to [Tobiah II] by right of inheritance." Sara had been betrothed seven times, but in each instance the prospective groom had died before the marriage was consummated.
Tobit 6:10; 14:1; 3:7-8.

Tobiah I's wife took in work to support the family. After some time he decided to send their son to retrieve the silver in Media, for which deposit he possessed a written receipt. It was determined that Tobiah II best have a companion for the long journey; and Tobiah II found and introduced to his father a gentleman who initially called himself 'Raphael,' and who claimed to both know and once to have lodged with their kinsman, Gabael. When introduced, Tobiah I questioned 'Raphael' as to his tribe and family. 'Raphael' then confessed that his name actually was Azariah, and that he was "a son of Hananiah the great, and of thy [Tobiah's] brethren."

Tobiah I accepted that Azariah was both who he claimed to be and "of an honest and good stock." Tobiah I further remarked, "I know Hananiah and Jonathan, sons of that great Shemaiah...in that we went together to Jerusalem to worship..." Satisfied, Tobiah I gave Tobiah II the note for the silver and sent the two men on their way.
Tobit 2:11-12; 4:1-2, 5:2-12, 17.

One evening of the journey, while Azariah and Tobiah II were camped somewhere along the Tigris River, Azariah told Tobiah II to preserve the liver, heart and gall of a fish. Later, as they neared Rages, Azariah told Tobiah II that he was going to arrange for him to marry Sara, "because the right of inheritance doth rather appertain to thee than to any other...for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning [start]." "Moreover," Azariah added, "I suppose that she shall bear thee children." He reassured Tobiah II that a sacrificial smoke made of the fish heart and liver would arrest the evil spirit that had caused Sara's seven prior potential mates to meet premature death.
Tobit 6:1-4, 9-12, 16-17.

Edna and Raguel were overjoyed to see their Naphtaliim relatives. Upon seeing Sara, Tobiah II urged Azariah to "speak of those things of which thou didst talk in the way, and let this business be discharged." Agreement to the betrothal easily was reached, and Raguel wrote and sealed an instrument of covenants. Raguel gave thanks, that mercy had been granted "two that were the only children begotten [remaining?] of their fathers," and he produced a 14-day wedding feast. Tobiah II, concerned over the long passage of time and his waiting parents, gave Azariah the receipt to take to Gabael in the interim, to retrieve the silver. A servant and two camels were provided for the trip.⁷ The evening of Azariah's arrival at Rages, Gabael turned over "the bags, which were sealed up," and the next morning they set out together to return to the wedding festival. Back in Nineveh, Tobiah II's mother had all but given up hope that he still was alive.
Tobit 7; 8:17; 9; 10:4.

Raguel gave Tobiah II one-half of all his goods, servants and cattle as a bridepiece and blessed the newlyweds on their way. Azariah accompanied them, and as they neared home Azariah told Tobiah II a way in which his father's eye affliction might be cured. Tobiah II followed Azariah's instructions. As his father stumbled to the door to greet him, Tobiah II straked the preserved fish gall across his father's eyes, which caused them to smart. Tobiah I rubbed at his eyes; the whiteness pulled away, and his eyesight was restored after a loss of eight years.

⁷ The round-trip from Ecbatana to Rages if by camel would have taken between 7 and 10 days, depending upon how hard one rode.

“And Achiacharus, and Nasbas, his brother’s son, came,” and a second wedding feast of seven days was held. *Tobit* 10:10-11, 18-19; 11:11-13; 14:2.

When it came time for Azariah to take his leave, the Tobiahs gifted him with one-half of all the brideprice that had been received from Raguel. Azariah then took the Tobiahs aside and privately revealed that he was one of the “seven holy [ones]⁸ which present the prayers...and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.” Azariah reassured the overwhelmed Tobiahs not to fear, that all would go well, and that he was leaving to go “up” to him who had sent him; he directed, however, that they should “write all things done in a book.” *Tobit* 12:5; 15, 20.

Sara and Tobiah II had six sons. Tobiah I in his old age advised Tobiah II, “Go to Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonah the prophet spake of Nineveh--that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media.” Tobiah I gave up the ghost at the reported age of 158. “And when Anna his [Tobiah II’s] mother was dead, he buried her with his father.”

Tobiah II took his family to “Ecbatana to Raguel his father in law, where he became old with honour, and he buried his father- and mother-in-law honourably, and he inherited their substance, and his father’s.” Tobiah II died “at Ecbatana in Media, being one hundred and seven and twenty years old. But before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodonosor[*Nabopolassar?*] and Assuerus[*Cyaxares I?*],⁹ and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.” *Tobit* 14:3-4; 11-15.

Tobit supplies no subsequent data on families or descendants of the six Sara + Tobiah II sons and any sisters they might have had.

Comparative Chronology

Of the names *Tobit* employs for Assyrian kings, *Enemessar* seems to fit Shalmaneser V. Per established scholarship, the next Assyrian king after Shalmaneser V was Sargon II. Instead, *Tobit* next refers to Sennacherib and then refers to Sennacherib’s successor-son as *Sarchedonus*, instead of Esar-haddon as accepted. Yet *Tobit*’s description of “Sarchedonus” does appear to fit Esar-haddon, who did succeed Sennacherib after “two of [Sennacherib’s other] sons killed him and...fled into the mountains of Ararath”¹⁰--as *Tobit* says also of *Sarchedonus*. (Further, Sargon’s sonship remains in question.¹¹)

The chronological exploration below has been drawn against the global timeline.¹² As will be noted, Tobiah I could not both have lived 158 years and died “before the fall of Nineveh.” The projected death date of (744 - 158 =) 586 b.c. coincides, however, with the ultimate sacking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar’s forces. Also coincidentally, Tobiah II’s

⁸ The word *ones* has been substituted, here, for the text word, *angels*, in consideration of nuances of translation--see Appendix 4D, “Some Terms of Interest,” “messenger” v. “angel.”

⁹ Concerning the foregoing name versions: (a) the “Nabuchodonosor” of *Judith* also is equatable with *Nabopolassar*--see Appendix 2C, VI, “Judith,” *Summary Note* (2); (b) *Assuerus* closely resembles *Esther*’s use of “Ahasuerus,” involved in another confusion relative to names of monarchs in the descendancy of Media + Persia [Anshan]--refer to Appendix 3A, V, B.

¹⁰ *Tobit* 1:21--corroborated by an Esar-haddon inscription (*Aid*, p. 528). Part of this confusion may have stemmed from a similar competition between two of Esar-haddon’s sons after he died, which resulted in a division of power--Ashurbanipal over Assyria and Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon. (There exists, also, the possibility touched on in other sections of this work: that sonship when patriarchally listed necessarily does not reveal males’ maternal relationships. ‘Sarchedonus’ has been taken by one school to denote Ashurbanipal, based on the Greek *Sardanapallos* [*Aid*, p. 142]--but Ashurbanipal was Esar-haddon’s son, Sennacherib’s *grandson*.)

¹¹ The “diversity of opinion clearly derives from the fragmentary nature of the historical sources and their apparent inconsistency,” and “the manner in which Sargon came to the throne and as to his lineage or parentage.” *Aid*, p. 1449.

¹² Appendix 2D, “Calendar Year Comparison Timeline.”

stated age at death meets another notable date--Nebuchadnezzar's seizure of Jerusalem in 598/597 b.c.

<u>Events as Given</u>	<u>Suggested Date or Avg. Global Date</u>	<u>Suggested or Stated Age at the time of the event.</u>	
		<u>Tobiah I Age</u>	<u>Tobiah II Age</u>
	<i>b.c.</i>	<i>b.c.</i>	<i>b.c.</i>
Date of Tobiah I birth. (Tiglath-Pileser III ruler of Assyria.)	746		
Shalmaneser V (<i>Enemessar?</i>) began sieges of Samaria region	725		
Date of Tobiah II birth	724	22	
Deportation of Tobiah family. Tobit I purveyor of <i>Enemessar</i> .	? ¹³	?	?
Samaria fell. "[S]argon is often credited with having completed the conquest...begun by Shalmaneser V." ¹⁴	722		
Sargon II ruled Assyria; deportations. Tobit I defied Assyrian law and buried dead brethren.	721		
Sennacherib reign began. Tobiah I forced into hiding.	705/4	41/42	19/20
Coinciding this chronology with stated age, Tobiah I contracted his eye disease:	688	57/58	
Sennacherib assassinated.	681		
Esar-haddon (<i>Sarchedonus?</i>) began reign. Tobiah I's nephew became Assyrian administrator; Tobiah freed from hiding. (Tobiah II's journey with <i>Raphael/Azarias/Azariah</i> to <i>Rages/Rhages/Ragau</i> , etc.)	681/680		
Tobiah II's return to Nineveh; Tobiah I's sight restored "eight years" from onset of disease.	680	66	
Death of Tobiah I "before" fall of Nineveh--this date and age estimate are derivable under one school of dating. ¹⁵	638	108	
Nineveh fell to alliance of Nabopolassar and Media's Cyaxares I, 'standard' date:	612 ¹⁶		
Death of Tobiah II --"after" fall of Nineveh.	597	127	

¹³ Assyrian deportations from the north through Samaria culminated c. 722/721 b.c., but how many and when they were made are unknown--some as early as Tiglath-Pileser III and the time of northern king Pekah.

¹⁴ *Aid*, p. 1449.

¹⁵ See next footnote.

¹⁶ 632 b.c., also found advanced as the year of Nineveh's fall, reflects the range of dating differences relative to this era.

Appendix 2C, VI

JUDITH

The apocryphal book of *Judith*, believed written a few hundred centuries after its events, reports an 'Assyrian' conquest of Elam, under one *Nabuchodonosor*, most likely near the end of the 7th century b.c./b.c.e. It describes his decision to proceed against the west, the methods used, and a saving intervention in Judah/Israel by a woman named Judith. *Judith* for the most part is advanced as a fictional piece, but it appears equally possible--embellishments aside--that an actual event is recounted, hindered by ancient generic terms and unique renditions of proper names. A summary of those items follows the narrative.

Narrative¹

"[T]he twelfth year of "*Nabuchodonosor*, who reigned in Nineve [was also] in the days of *Arphaxad*,² which reigned over...Medes in Ectabane." "[I]n those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau."³ Arphaxad was joined by "all they that dwelt in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris, and Hydaspes, and the plain of Arioch, the king of the *Elymaeans*, ...[who] assembled themselves to battle."

Nabuchodonosor, "king of the *Assyrians*," sent far and wide seeking military assistance, east into Persia and westward all the way to the Mediterranean coast--Damascus, the Libanus, Cilicia, the higher Galilee, Carmel, Samaria and all the way to Egypt and Ethiopia--but his solicitations were ignored. *Judith*, 1:1-11.

"In the seventeenth year [,however,] Nabuchodonosor forces prevailed and he "became lord of" Arphaxad's cities, including Ectabane, which he spoiled. He overtook Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, "smote him through with darts," and returned to Nineve where he and his "very great multitude of men of war" "of sundry nations" banqueted for 120 days. The following ("the eighteenth") year, following talk in Nabuchodonosor's household "that he should avenge himself on all the earth," he called a secret counsel of officers and nobles. It then was decreed that "all flesh that did not obey the commandment of his mouth" would be destroyed.

A force of 120,000 foot soldiers and a cavalry of 12,000 archers was commissioned against the west country under "chief captain *Holofernes*," who "called all the governors and captains, and the officers of the army of *Assur*,"⁵ and with whom went a "great number also of sundry countries." Holofernes' regiment was accompanied by large numbers of camels and asses for carriage, and sheep, oxen and goats for provisions. Nabuchodonosor's orders were, "Kill the rebellious; preserve the surrenderers for me." The army wasted and killed its way "over against Arabia, up Damascus' plains of wheat at harvest time, and across the Euphrates through Mesopotamia to Celicia [beyond the northern edges of Syria] and Japheth's borders."

Judith 2.

¹ *Judith* references apply to preceding paragraphs; *italics* in the quoted material are supplied.

² Refer to (a) Appendix 1A, fn. 19; (b) Appendix 1F, Chaldaeae/Chaldaeae and Ur.

³ Cf. Rages/Rhages/Ragau of *Tobit*, Appendix 2C, V, fn. 9 (one other near-reference is *Tobit*'s Tobiah I's relative, *Raguel*.)

⁴ Appendix 2A, Elam.

⁵ Appendix 1F, Asshur.

As the fear and dread of his approach reached the sea coast (Sidon and Tyre, and south to Ascalon), city rulers began to send out ambassadors of surrender, to the effect, 'use us, our homes, our goods and our people as you please.' Down the seacoast, Holofernes thus established garrisons "in the high cities and took out of them chosen men for aid." Yet, although he was received with "garlands, etc.," he nonetheless "cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves.... [H]e came over against Esdraelon near unto Judea, over against the great strait of Judea. And he pitched between Geba and Scythopolis,⁶ and there he tarried...[to] gather together all the carriages of his army." *Judith 3.*

Holofernes tarried a full month between Scythopolis and Geba to assemble his carriages. Meanwhile, the children of Israel that dwelt in Judea heard all that Holofernes had done to the nations, were exceedingly afraid of him, and troubled for Jerusalem. "For they were newly returned from the captivity,⁷ and all the people of Judea were lately gathered together: and the vessels, altar and house sanctified after the profanation."

The peoples of the region rallied. They sent for support to many places, including Bethoron, Jericho, the coasts and villages of Samaria and the valley of Salem, "and possessed themselves beforehand of all the tops of the high mountains, and fortified the villages that were in them, and laid up victuals for the provision of war; for their fields were of late reaped."

"Also, *Jocim* the high priest, which was in those days in Jerusalem," wrote to them that dwelt in "*Bethulia*" and Betomestham, which is over against *Esdraelon* toward the open country," charging them to hold the passages and the entrance straits of Judea. *Judith 4.*

Word of the defensive preparations reached Holofernes. He "called all the princes of Moab, and the captains of Ammon, and all the governors of the sea coast ("ye sons of Chanaan")," and questioned them concerning the nature, number and strengths of the "people...that dwelleth in the hill country. "Achior, captain of all the sons of Ammon and Ephraim hirelings," gave a recitation of their accomplishments and reasoned a plea against hasty judgment. The others of Holofernes' chief men, those of the seaside and Moab, pressed to go forth. *Judith 5.*

Holofernes took Achior soundly to task for negative "prophecy" and prophesied his own success, after which he commanded that Achior be delivered over to the foe. At the fountains that were "under Bethulia," when slingers from the city emerged to accost the company, Achior was bound and left there. "[T]he Israelites...from the city...brought him into Bethulia, and presented him to the governors of the city"--(Micha-) Ozias of Simeon, (Gothoniel-) Chabris, and (Melchiel-) Charmis,¹⁰ who called an assembly to hear the report of Achior, who related all that had been said between him and Holofernes. *Judith 6.*

The next two days Holofernes moved camp, spread in length from Bethulia unto

⁶ Appendix 2A, Beth-sheah/shan and Geba, etc.

⁷ Possibly referring possibly to the relatively brief "Egyptian" captivity following Necho's defeat of Josiah?

⁸ No concrete identification (but reminiscent of Bethel, which is identified with ruins located about 12 miles N of Jerusalem).

⁹ [A]t times the designation 'Valley of Jezreel' is also used today to include the low plain W of Jezreel or the Plain of Esdraelon (the Greek form of the Hebrew Jezreel)." *Aid* page 936.

¹⁰ The most unrecognizable names are not explored; for others, see Appendix 3B, I, Hoshaiah, Malchiah, etc., and Micah, etc.

"Cyamon, which is over against Esdraelon." Holofernes was counseled by "all the chief of the children of Esau, and all the governors of the people of Moab, and the captains of the sea coast." They proposed that forcing thirst and famine of the encircled Bethulites was a better course of action than attack. Holofernes agreed; so "the camp of the children of Ammon...with 5,000 Assyrians...pitched in the valley, and took the waters," while "the children of Esau went up" and camped in other surrounding areas, "and the rest of the army of the Assyrians camped in the plain." Encompassed by the enemy, inside Bethulia's walls the cisterns gradually emptied and the people, greatly weakened, eventually begged Ozias to give up. Ozias asked them to endure five more days, after which, absent merciful intervention, the city would be surrendered. *Judith 7.*

Judith, the daughter of (Israel-Salasadai-Samael-Nathanael-Eliab-Eliu-Acitho-Raphaim- Gedeon-Ananias-Elcia-Oziel-Joseph-Ox-) Merari,"¹¹ had been left a wealthy widow by her husband, Manasses. Judith was sent for and presided over a council of Ozias, Chabris and Charmis. She urged against surrender. She had a plan, details of which she would not divulge; but she assured the men that the city would be saved. *Judith 8.*

Judith arrayed herself with her best finery, ornaments and ointments; and she and her maid were let out the city gate. They went down the mountain and through the valley to the first Assyrian watch, where Judith requested an audience with Holofernes. She allowed that she had "fled" from the coming certain destruction and had come to show Holofernes a way "of winning all the hill country without losing the body or life of one of his men." Judith's beauty stood her in good stead. She was brought before Holofernes, who was resting "upon his bed under a canopy, which was woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones."

Judith 9 and 10, including her supplicating prayers, in which she mentions her forefather, "Simeon" (9:2).

Judith regaled Holofernes with deceits--that she had fled because the senate in Jerusalem was not in agreement with Bethulia's comportment; and that "licence" from the senate soon would arrive commanding Bethulia deliver itself to Holofernes. Judith assured Holofernes that she, herself, would lead him into Jerusalem.

Holofernes was well pleased with both Judith's beauty and wit. She was allowed to remain discreetly in camp. Over the next three days she established a pattern, whereby Holofernes allowed her to be undisturbed when she went out in the morning for prayer and in the evening to bathe in a fountain by the camp. On the fourth day Holofernes made a feast "to his own servants only, and called none of the officers," and he sent "Bagoas the eunuch" to obtain Judith's presence, which she in full attire did present. Soft skins were laid on the ground for Judith over against Holofernes, who took great delight all the evening and drank "much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born."

Judith 11 and 12.

When evening came the servants were dismissed and Bagoas shut the tent from without. Judith was left alone with Holofernes who, "filled with wine," eventually passed out on his bed. She took Holofernes' fauchion from a pillar of the bed, took hold of his hair, and "smote" him twice upon the neck with all her might, severing his head. As his body tumbled she pulled down the canopy from the pillars, wrapped the head in it, and placed it in the food

¹¹ Of the more recognizable names or versions: (a) *Nathanael*--one other, Bartholomew/Nathanael, Appendix 4C at fn. 3; (b) *Eliab*, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, and Appendix 3B, I; (c) *Rephaiah/m*, Appendix 3B, I; (d) *Hananiah(/Ananias)*, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4; (e) (Levi-*Merari*-) Mahli and Mushi [*apse*], Appendix 1C, sub-part III; (f) *Joseph/Josiphiah*, Appendix 3B, I; *Joseph*, Appendix 3B, II, Attachments 4 and 6 and Appendix 4C.

bag held by her maid, who, according to plan, was waiting outside. They then (as observers were accustomed to seeing) walked out together, as if to pray. This time, however, Judith and her maid secretly exited the camp. They compassed the valley and went up Bethulia's mountain, to the city gate.

"Open; open now the gate!" Judith cried. The men of the city hastily did so; a call went forth for the elders. The people too, small and great, all ran together, and a fire was made for light. Then Judith took Holofernes' head out of the bag. "Behold the head of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur! And behold the canopy, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness."
Judith 13.

Judith commanded, "Hear me now, my brethren, take this head and hang it upon the highest place of your walls," and instructed them further that in the morning they should emerge from the city in battle dress. As soon as morning arose all the men took their weapons and went forth by bands unto the straits of the mountain. When the "Assyrians saw them, they sent to their leaders, which came to their captains and tribunes, and to every one of their rulers, [who] came to Holofernes' tent.... Then went in Bagoas, and knocked at the door of the tent; for he thought that Holofernes had slept with Judith." Bagoas discovered Holofernes' headless body. An immediate search for Judith was in vain.

The army's captains were at a complete loss, and "fear and trembling" set upon their astonished troops, who quickly became disorganized, with soldiers fleeing in every direction "into every way of the plain, and of the hill country." In the interim, Ozias and the others had sent runners from Bethulia to all surrounding areas, with news of Holofernes' death and orders that "the children of Israel" be prepared to ambush the enemies when they appeared. The Holofernes troops were chased, with great slaughter, until they were past the borders of Damascus.

The "residue, that dwelt at Bethulia, fell upon the camp of Assur, and spoiled them ["30 days"] and were greatly enriched. And the children of Israel that returned from the slaughter had that which remained; and the villages and the cities, that were in the mountains and in the plain, got many spoils...." Joacim the high priest and the "ancients of the children of Israel that dwelt in Jerusalem" came to salute Judith. Judith received Holofernes' "tent, and all his plate, and beds, and vessels, and all his stuff...." All the women ran together to see and dance for her, and she distributed branches to them. They put garlands of olive on her and her maid, and Judith led the parade, while "all the men of Israel followed in their armor with garlands, and songs in their mouths." Judith loaded all the goods she had received onto her mule carts, for dedication as gifts to the temple; and she remained with the people in Jerusalem, where feasting continued for three months.

Afterward, Judith returned to Bethulia, where she "remained in her own possession...waxed old in her husband's house, being an hundred and five years old...she died in Bethulia; and they buried her in the cave of her husband Manasses."
Judith 15-16.

Summary Notes:¹²

(1) An early rebel in 'Assyria' (during Hezekiah's days) was Merodach/Berodach-baladan, a *Chaldaean*,¹³ who revolted against Assyria with Elamite backing c. 703 b.c./b.c.e.

¹²Dates and quotations are as given in Appendix 2D.

¹³Refer to Appendix 1F, *Chaldaea, etc.*, but particularly, *Ur*, in the same appendix, concerning questions in defining this term.

and claimed himself king of Babylon.¹⁴

(2) “Nabuchodonosor” most commonly has been taken to mean “Nebuchadnezzar.” “Nabuchodonosor,” however, equally could be equated with Nebuchadnezzar’s father, *Nabopolassar*, or generically with the ‘Nabu’ dynasty in general. (Nabopolassar’s revolt in ‘Assyria’ and commencement of his dynasty is calendared c. 626 b.c.).

(a) Media/Cyaxares I and ‘Babylon’/Nabopolassar united in Nabopolassar’s “14th year,” prior to the taking of Nineveh.

(3) If “Nabuchodonosor” was Nabopolassar (or that dynasty), and “Arphaxad” referred to “Chaldaeae” in Armenia, the “17th year” in which Nabu forces prevailed over “Arphaxad” would have been c. 609 b.c. It was around that time that crown-prince Nebuchadnezzar was commanding his father’s troops in the field.

(4) A few years later, king Jehoiakim rebelled. The biblical texts relate that the Nebuchadnezzar force that conquered the rebellion also included (as in *Judith*) troops drawn from “Aram, Moab and sons of Ammon.”¹⁵

(5) “*Bagoas* is the Greek form of a Persian name [word] meaning ‘given by God,’ and was often used for eunuchs, so that the phrase [in *Judith*], ‘Bagoas the eunuch,’ was almost a cliché.”¹⁶ (*Bagoi/Bagos*es occurs later in time to name an individual who could not be the “Bagoas” of *Judith*.)

(6) *Holofernes*, reportedly is found some 250 years later, as the name of a general of Persian king Artaxerxes III’s Egyptian expedition, which has made it seem “reasonable, then, to suppose that the writer of *Judith* had telescoped [the] Egyptian campaign of Artaxerxes...and made Holofernes...the leader of the Assyrian hosts.”¹⁷ The possibility of an earlier man with the same name, however, was is not found ruled out.

(7) “Joacim, the high priest that in Jerusalem.”

This reference in *Judith* has been another cause for assertions that the book is a fanciful creation, because *Joacim* in that form as an individual primarily only is known as a high priest, named in both *Josephus* and *Baruch*, in the time of repatriations (c. 454 b.c.).¹⁸ There are, however, several forms of the name, frequently used interchangeably.¹⁹

There exist considerable differences, also, between the biblical and *Josephus* chief/high priest lineage lists. The term “high” priest does not denote necessarily “chief,” while there is no period data related to ongoing recognition, in Jerusalem or elsewhere, of *divisional* “high” priests.²⁰

¹⁴ A later *Merodach*--Amel/Awil-Marduk/Merodach--ruled briefly in ‘Babylon’ c. the estimated time of (Nabopolassar -) Nebuchadnezzar’s death.

¹⁵ Appendix 2C, IV, narrative following fn.146.

¹⁶ Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Bagoi, etc.

¹⁷ *Asimov*, v. 2, pp. 28-29.

¹⁸ (Appendix 3A, IV, “Explorative Timeline, etc.”) There is no data on this later *Joacim*’s life after his service. He, however, may have returned to the Babylon exilic community, where is encountered one *Joacim*, a most-honored elder, judge and husband of Susanna, daughter of “Chelcias,” who certain parties sought to disgrace but was vindicated by “Daniel”--see Appendix 3B, I, Susanna, History of.

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, v. Joacim, and other sites cross-referenced there.

²⁰ See King David’s Divisions, Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A(1), in which were *Jakim* and *Jachin*. Refer also to comparisons in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1 (perhaps notable is that *Josephus* shows “Elcias” as ‘grandfather’ of the exiled Josekek, while *Judith*’s lineage includes “Elcia.”)

Appendix 2C, VII

JEREMIAH¹

Scholars believe the long non-sequential book of *Jeremiah* to have been combined from originally separate scrolls. Its bulk consists of the “prophet” Jeremiah’s preachings and prophecies over roughly the last two decades preceding, and a time following Nebuchadnezzar’s ultimate conquest of Jerusalem c. 586 b.c./b.c.e. Most of the book’s hard data appear in chapters 1, 29-43 and 52.

Ramifications of Jeremiah’s political differences with both regal and temple rulers are detailed, as the prophet unstintingly maintained that the people’s best course of action was to submit peaceably to the hegemony of imperial Babylon. As an example, Jeremiah urged king Jehoiakim, “Listen not to [those]...saying, ‘Not you shall serve the king of Babylon.... [T]he nation that will bring its neck into the yoke of the king of Babylon and serve him, *Tet.* will leave it on its land...[to] till it and live in it.”²

Jeremiah especially opens a window on political differences within the priesthood, extending all the way to the exilic communities and their efforts to exert influence. *Jeremiah’s* shifting sequency over the reigns of (Eliakim)/Jehoiakim and (Mattaniah)/Zedekiah redounds in some uncertainties as to the order of events; those uncertainties are noted as they arise in the Narrative in part C of this appendix.

A. Comparative Age Timeline.

	<u>Suggested Year</u>	<u>Jeremiah Age</u>
Jeremiah born.	645 b.c.	
The command to preach initiated in Jeremiah “in the 13th year of Josiah,” and he continued his preaching during “the days of Jehoiakim...to the end of the 11th year of Zedekiah... [and] the exile of Jerusalem.” (1:1)	627	18 ³
Jeremiah lamented for king Josiah. (2 <i>Chr.</i> 35:25)	609	
Between Josiah year 13 and the “fourth year of Jehoiakim”-- being “the first year of Nebuchadnezzar [over the region],” Jeremiah had been speaking “to that day, 23 years.” (25:1)	605/604	40/41
“Seventh Year” - Nebuchadnezzar exiled King Jehoiachin. ⁴ (52:28)	598/597	47/48

¹ Chapter and verse references are to *Jeremiah* unless otherwise noted. Refer to (a) in general, Appendix 2D, “Calendar Year Comparison Timeline, the basis also for the Comparative Age Timeline in part A above; and (b) Appendix 2C, IV following fn. 146 for parallel portions of narrative.

² 27:9-11.

³ 18 is a generous estimated age, since 1:6 states Jeremiah was but “a boy” when the command to preach moved him.

(Regardless, he seemingly can be placed squarely in the time period when, according to 1 *Esdras* 1:28, King Josias/Josiah confronted Egypt at Megiddo, “not regarding the words of *Jeremy*.”)

⁴ “Seventh year” of what or who is not said, but reasonably may be taken as the end of the ensuing seven years of Jehoiakim’s tenure and 3-months (+ 10 days) of Jehoiachin’s. Per *Josephus*, Nebuchadnezzar made an “expedition” to and was admitted to

	<u>Suggested Year</u>	<u>Jeremiah Age</u>
“Year ninth” of Zedekiah (Nebuchadnezzar’s 16th year over the region); Nebuchadnezzar pitched siege against Jerusalem. (52:4-5)	589/588	56/57
“So came the city under attack until the 11 th year of King Zedekiah.” (52:6)		
“Then was breached the city” in the “18th year of Nebuchadnezzar.” (52:6-11)	586	59
832 persons were exiled from Jerusalem. (52:29)		
“Year 19” of Nebuchadnezzar, his captain, Nebuzaradan, sacked Jerusalem. (52:30)	584	60
“Year 23” of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan exiled 745 persons. (52:30)	582	63
Jeremiah was released.		
After the assassination of Gedaliah, who had been appointed local governor by Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah accompanied a remnant group who took refuge in Egypt.	?	?
(It is not stated whether Jeremiah remained permanently in Egypt.)		
“Year 37” of the exile of Jehoiachin, Awil/Abel-Marduk/ Merodach recognized Judah’s royal house and raised Jehoiachin/[Jeconiah] to the court. (598/597 - 37 =)	561/560	
Jeremiah, if he lived still, would have been:		84/85

B. References to “Jeremiah” by Name⁵

The only direct statement of the prophet Jeremiah's family is his claim to be "the son of Hilkiyah, of the priests who in Anathoth," unless the later mention of *Jeremiah*, "father of Jaazaniah," is a self-reference.⁶ Traditionally it has been concluded that the referenced "Hilkiyah" was not the high priest Hilkiyah who served in Josiah's 18th year.

Prophet Jeremiah is taken as a different person, also, than the *Jeremiah* named as father of Hamutal of Libnah, mother of southern kings, Jehoahaz/Shallum and Mattaniah/Zedekiah and wife of Josiah. Given Jehoahaz/Shallum's age of 23 when he began his reign, it appears that Jeremiah could not have been Hamutal's biological father, in that he still would have been a boy when Hamutal, herself, gave birth to Jehoahaz/Shallum.⁷

Jerusalem by Jehoiakim based on the latter's reliance on covenants made by Nebuchadnezzar. However, "[W]hen he [Nebuchadnezzar] was come into the city he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel...." *AJ*, X.VI, 3. Ezekiel was contemporaneous with Jeremiah; he reports one of his "visions" as occurring in "the 25th year of our exile [c. (598/597 -25 =) 573/572 b.c.]...the 14th year [c. (586 - 14 =) 572 b.c.] after was struck the city." *Ezekiel*, 40:1.

⁵ For uses not pertaining to this section, see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Jeremiah*.

⁶ *Jeremiah* 1:1; (35:3). A *Jaazaniah* was involved in Jeremiah's reclaiming of the Rechabites (see preceding fn. 10); and a *Jezeniah*, with governor Gedaliah before his assassination (see preceding fn. 22); for all uses, see Appendix 3B, I, *Jaazaniah/Jezeniah*, and the same appendix for *Anathoth*.

⁷ *2 Kings* 23:31 and 24:18; Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 74, *Libnah*. *Jeremiah* does remark, at 22:11, "For thus says *Tet*. concerning

Within the parameters of the within period the texts additionally describe:

(1) (Habaziah/Habazinniah [only use] -*Jeremiah* -) Jaazaniah, who is addressed in the narrative in part C, below;

(2) *Jeremiah*, father of Hamutal, a wife of king Josiah and mother of kings Jehoahaz/Shallum and Zedekiah/Mattaniah.

(a) The extant timeframe does not allow prophet Jeremiah to have been Hamutal's biological father [?]-given Jehoahaz/Shallum's age of 23 at the estimated time of his ascendance (609/608 b.c.), prophet Jeremiah would have been only 13 or 14 when Jehoahaz/Shallum was born (645 -609/608 = 36/37 - 23 = 13/14).

(b) The texts do not preclude a potential of Hamutal's acquisition as a "daughter" via a *levirate/redemption* relationship.⁸

C. Narrative Summary of *Jeremiah* Events⁹

"In the days of Jehoiakim," Jeremiah 'reclaimed' the "Rechabites," who maintained that they long had obeyed their father, "the voice of Jonadab, the son of Rechab." The Rechabites had come to live at Jerusalem because of the invading armies of Chaldeans and Syrians. Jeremiah took (Habaziah- Jeremiah-) Jaazaniah, "and his brothers, and all his sons, and the whole house of the Rechabites...into the house of [*Tef.*], into the room of the sons of Hanan, the son of Igdaliah, a man of God, which near the room of the rulers, which above the room of Maaseiah the son of Shallum, the keeper of the threshold;" and Jeremiah assured the "house of the Rechabites" that "not shall be cut off a man to Jonadab, the son of Rechab."¹⁰

Jeremiah 35.

"In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim," Jeremiah preached words in the temple that caused "the priests...and all the people" to seize him, "...saying, 'Surely you shall die! Why have you prophesied [that,] "Like Shiloh shall be house this, and city this will be desolate without inhabitant?"' The "princes of Judah" came from the "King's house" and sat in the entrance of the New Gate, where unnamed priests argued that Jeremiah should be put to death. Then said the rulers, and all the people, to the [opposing] priests and prophets, 'Not for man this, a sentence of death, for in the name of [*Tef.*] our God has he spoken to us.'"

The opponent elders argued case law. Hadn't king Hezekiah and all Judah put Micah to death when he prophesied destruction? And--most recently: what of Urijah, son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, who prophesied in the same vein as Jeremiah? Didn't king Jehoiakim send a party led by (Achbor-) Elnathan¹¹ into Egypt, to bring the fleeing Urijah back, and strike him with the sword? "[T]he hand of (Shaphan-) Ahikam," however, was with

Shallum, the son of Josiah the king of Judah, 'He will return there [to Judah] any more. But in the place where they have exiled him, there he will die...."

⁸ As explored in the narrative and further in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2. ("Levirate Duty and Redemption," see Appendix 1C, sub-part VII.)

⁹ *Jeremiah's* preaching/prophesy chapters are given at the end of the narrative.

¹⁰ Appendix 3B.I, *Rechab.*

¹¹ Taken to be the "Elnathan" who was father of Jehoiachin's mother, Nehushta. A Lachish letter (Appendix 3B, I, *Lachish*) dated to the period states, "The commander of the host, Coniah son of *Elnathan*, hath come down in order to go into Egypt." (Other *Elnathans*, three among "chiefs/men of understanding," sent by the returning Ezra to "Iddo [Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4], the chief man at Casiphia," for ministers. *Ezra* 8:16-17; Appendix 3A, V, "Repatriation and Reformation Source-Quoted Narratives," C, *Ezra*.)

Jeremiah, "that they should not give him unto death." [It is not said at the conclusion of this chapter whether it was then that Jeremiah was yoked, as is later detailed.] *Jeremiah 26.*

In Jehoiakim's fourth year, Jeremiah had Baruch¹² scribe a sermon for him. Jeremiah was "shut up; not...able to go to the house of [*Tet.*]." He instructed Baruch to read his scroll to the people at the temple and to all the people who came to the city "on the day of fasting." Baruch read it to the people at the entrance of the New Gate when a mass fast was held in Jerusalem, the following year.

(Shaphan-Gemariah-) Micaiah heard the reading. Afterwards, he went "down to house the kings into room the scribe's," where were sitting "all the rulers"--the scribe Elishama, (Shemaiah-) Delaiah, (Achbor) Elnathan, Gemariah, and (Hananiah-) Zedekiah, among others. The princes sent for Baruch to bring the book and advised him that he and Jeremiah should hide, since they "surely would...inform the King." King Jehoiakim, after (Cushi-Shelemiah-Nethaniah-) Jehudi had read only three or four leaves, cut the scroll with the scribe's knife, threw it into the fire-pan, and commanded the seizure of Jeremiah and Baruch, who meanwhile had gone into hiding.

Jeremiah instructed Baruch to rewrite the scroll, and "were added...words many."

Jeremiah 36.

Jeremiah does not relate the time and manner of Jehoiakim's death. (Of two reports, one states Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim in bronze fetters "to take him away to Babylon;" the other, that he was killed by Nebuchadnezzar and his body thrown outside the city walls.¹³)

Subsequent to his appointment, king Mattaniah/Zedekiah sent (Melchiah-) Pashur and (Maaseiah-) Zephaniah¹⁴ to obtain Jeremiah's counsel in how to deal with Nebuchadnezzar's warring. Jeremiah responded with a horrible tale of potential destruction, and that the people should be told to submit to the Chaldeans (*i.e.* neo-Babylonians) for the sake of survival. Upon hearing Jeremiah's words, Pashur, the Chief Officer of the Temple (referred to also as a "son of Immer"¹⁵), struck Jeremiah and placed him in stocks in the upper Benjamin Gate. Pashur released Jeremiah the next day.

Jeremiah 21; 20.

Jeremiah relates how he preached substantively identical messages during the reigns of both Jehoiakim and Zedekiah: that the people willingly should "bring their necks to the yoke of Babylon," and that they should spread the same message to "the king of Edom...of Moab...of the sons of Ammon...Tyre [and] Sidon."

Jeremiah 27.

In the "year fourth of Zedekiah," Jeremiah (in stocks again; this time at the Temple) had a confrontation with Hananiah, son of "Azur, the Prophet of Gibeon."¹⁶ (Jeremiah earlier had self-remarked, "Thus says [*Tet.*] about the men of Anathoth, who seek your life, saying, 'Do not

¹² (Shallum-Maasiah-Neariah-) *Baruch*, per *Jeremiah*; (Chelcias-Asadias-Sedecias-Maasias-Nerias-) *Baruch* per *Baruch* 1:1.

¹³ *2 Chronicles* 36:6; *AJ X.VI.3.* (*Daniel* 1:2 simply states Eliakim/Jehoiakim was given into Nebuchadnezzar's hand during a siege.)

¹⁴ For these and other mentioned names, see Appendix 3B, I.

¹⁵ *Immer*, one of David's original priesthood divisions, sons of whom returned with Zerubbabel but were found to have foreign wives; Appendix 3B, II, A (1) and Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

¹⁶ Regarding possible alternate version and meaning, *captive*, refer to Appendix 3B, I, *Assir*.

prophesy in the name of [Tet.]...for I will bring evil on the men of Anathoth."¹⁷) Hananiah predicted that the yoke of the king of Babylon soon would be broken, and that within two years all that Nebuchadnezzar had taken--Jeconiah[Jehoiachin], all the exiles, and the precious vessels--would be restored. Jeremiah's (paraphrased) response was, 'May it be so. But the prophet who speaks peace is proven to be a prophet when peace comes.' "Then took Hananiah *the prophet* the yoke from neck Jeremiah's *the prophet* and broke it. And said Hananiah, 'Thus says [Tet.], "Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar...within two years."'

Jeremiah "went his way," but he accused Hananiah of not being a true prophet and of making the people "trust in a lie." Jeremiah then predicted that Hananiah would die within the year. Hananiah did die, some two months later, "in year that, in the month seventh." The nature of his death is not given. *Jeremiah 28.*

"[A]fter had departed [into exile] Jeconiah[Jehoiachin] the king, and the queen mother, and the eunuchs and the leaders of Judah and Jerusalem, and the craftsmen, and the smiths, [and Mattaniah/Zedekiah had been installed in place of Jehoiachin/Nehushta]," Jeremiah sent a letter to the exiles, encouraging them to build houses, seek peace and multiply in Babylon. The letter was carried "by the hand of Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemariah the son of Hilkiah, *whom sent Zedekiah king of Judah to Nebuchadnezzar.*" (The text is unclear as to whether the italicized phrase modifies Shaphan and Gemariah or Hilkiah, and does not state why Elasah and Gemariah were sent to Babylon and if Jeremiah's letter was conveyed in secret.¹⁸)

The words of Jeremiah sent to the exiles declaimed lies told to them by (Koliah-) Ahab and (Maaseiah-) Zedekiah, "whom roasted them the king of Babylon in the fire." Jeremiah also told the exiles to ask "Shemaiah the Nehelemite" concerning letters he sent to "all the people who in Jerusalem and to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest and to all the priests, saying, '[Tet.] has made you priest instead of Jehoiada the priest, to be officers in the house...over every madman who prophesies; that you put him into the stocks and into the collar. Now therefore why not have you reproved Jeremiah the Anathothite, who prophesies to you? For he sent to Babylon saying, "long it. Build houses and dwell, and plant, etc.'" Zephaniah had read to Jeremiah the letter of Shemaiah, and Jeremiah responded, "Send to all the exiles,.. 'Because prophesied to you Shemaiah, and I not did sent him, and he caused you to trust in a lie,'" he would be punished, "and his seed; not shall be to him a man living in the midst of people this..." *Jeremiah 29:1ff.*

At about this point, the "army Pharaoh's had come out of Egypt. And when heard the Chaldaeans who besieged Jerusalem news of them, they departed from Jerusalem." Zedekiah sent (Shelemiah -) Jehucal and (Maaseiah "the priest" -) Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah "the priest" to pray; and "Jeremiah came in and went out among the people, for not they had put him in a house of prison." He prophesied that the relief was only temporary; that Nebuchadnezzar's force would return and wreak even worse deeds on the city. Jeremiah sent a warning to the king, repeating that, although the Chaldaean army had retreated, eventually it would return in full force. *Jeremiah 37:1-10.*

¹⁷ *Jeremiah* 11:21 and :23. (One of two scriptural references to skin color occurs at *Jeremiah* 13:23 ["Can change, the Ethiopian, his skin?"]; the other is in *Ezekiel*.)

¹⁸ *Hilkiah*, who subsequently is not mentioned again, is involved in questions as to high priest lineage-- refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2, "Charted Exploration, etc."

"[W]hen left the army of Chaldaeans from Jerusalem, because of army Pharaoh's," Jeremiah went out of Jerusalem a short distance to Benjamin land, "to receive a portion from in the midst of the people." At the Benjamin Gate, Jeremiah was accosted by (Hananiah-Shelemiah-) Irijah, who accused Jeremiah of "falling" to the Chaldaeans. Irijah took Jeremiah to the princes, who "struck" him and placed him in the room of Johnathan, the scribe, which had been made into a "house of prison." "[E]ntered Jeremiah into the house of the pit and into the cells, then remained there Jeremiah many days." *Jeremiah 37:11-16.*

King Zedekiah sent for Jeremiah and asked secretly if there was any word from [Tet.]. Jeremiah responded yes--that Zedekiah was to be given into the hand of the king of Babylon. Jeremiah then pleaded his case, not to be returned to the prison room lest he die there, after which Zedekiah commanded that Jeremiah instead be committed "into the court of the guard-house" and given a piece of bread daily from the baker's street, "until was gone all the bread of the city." *Jeremiah 37:21ff.*

In Zedekiah's "year tenth," Jeremiah still was restricted in the guard-house court. Hanameel, "the son of Shallum your[/Jeremiah's] uncle," came to Jeremiah with the offer to buy for himself Hanameel's "field which in Anathoth," because the "right of possession and...the right to redemption" was "to Jeremiah." Jeremiah weighed 17 silver shekels for Hanameel, wrote a book of purchase, sealed it, and "called witnesses.... So I took the document of purchase which was sealed, of the command and the statutes and the open copy. And I gave the document of purchase to Baruch before the eyes of Hanameel, uncle's my [sic.], and before the eyes of the witnesses who wrote in the document the purchase, before the eyes of all the Jews who sat in the court of the guard."¹⁹ *Jeremiah 32:1-12.*

(Malchiah-) Pashur, (Shelemiah-) Jucal, (Pashur-) Gedaliah, and (Mattan-) Shephatiah were inflamed by Jeremiah's preachings;²⁰ they pressed for Jeremiah to be killed. King Zedekiah's response was, "Behold, he in your hand. For not the king is able to do against you [any]thing." They then let Jeremiah down with ropes into "the pit of Malchiah the son of the king, which in the court of the guard-house," and Jeremiah "sank into the mud." Ebed-melech, an Ethiopian in charge of the royal household and obvious supporter of Jeremiah, made a plea to king Zedekiah. Zedekiah ordered Jeremiah be rescued and authorized his servant to take 30 men to lift Jeremiah out. Ebed-melech used "worn-out clothes and rags" from under the king's treasury to make ropes. Jeremiah was lifted out, and he "dwelt in the court of the guard-house." *Jeremiah 38:1-12.*

The King then had Jeremiah brought to him at the third entrance of the temple for a secret meeting. Zedekiah promised not to divulge anything Jeremiah might say or return him to his enemies, so long as Jeremiah did not reveal the meeting. Jeremiah told Zedekiah that, if he would go out to the princes of the King of Babylon, [paraphrased] 'your soul shall live and the city not be burned. Don't think the Chaldaeans have left for good, and Pharaoh's army's not going to help you. When Nebuchadnezzar is through with him he'll come after you and our city.' Jeremiah warned the King, too, of what would happen to his wives and children; but Zedekiah was equally afraid of enemies in his own ranks. He told Jeremiah that should "hear

¹⁹ This is the only use of *Hanameel*. (See Hanameel, 568.) It is not said whether personal property may have been attached; questions remain as to the relationship founding Jeremiah's right of redemption and whether the settlement also involved levirate marriage (answers hinge on the identity of "Azzur/Azur the Prophet" and potential family ties of Hananiah, Hilkiyah and Hanameel--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2).

²⁰ Jeremiah had made a devastating prophesy to Pashur and Zephaniah, who had been sent to him by King Zedekiah asking for prayers.

the rulers that I have talked with you, and they come to you...[and ask what was said, say that]...I was presenting my plea before the king, that not he would return me to house Jonathan's to die there." The rulers did question Jeremiah and he did so reply. So both kept their silence; and Jeremiah stayed in the court of the guard until Jerusalem's capture.

Jeremiah 38:14-28.

"In the eleventh year of Zedekiah...was breached the city. ...[I]n came all of the rulers of the king of Babylon and sat in gate the middle: Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim chief of the eunuchs, Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag and all the rest....And it was, when saw them Zedekiah...and all men of the war, they fled...by night from the city." King Zedekiah, who went "the way of the Arabah," was captured there and taken to Nebuchadnezzar at "Riblah in the land of Hamath, where he spoke on him judgment." Nebuchadnezzar killed Zedekiah's sons at Riblah "before his eyes" and killed also "all the rulers of Judah." Zedekiah he blinded and bound in bronze fetters to carry him to Babylon. The Chaldeans burned houses of the king and the people, "and the walls of Jerusalem broke down." "[T]he rest of the people who remained in the city, and those who fell away, who fell to him, and the rest of the people who remained, deported Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard [to] Babylon. But the people poor, who was not to them a thing, left Nebuzaradan...in the land of Judah, and gave to them vineyards and fields."

Jeremiah 39:2-10.

Nebuchadnezzar ordered Nebuzaradan to take Jeremiah, not harm him and to do "as he [Jeremiah] shall say." Jeremiah was taken out of the guard-house, "and they gave him to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, to take him to the house. So he lived among the people." But Jeremiah, before being turned over to Gedaliah, first had been taken in chains to Riblah with the other exiles; it was there that the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard freed him and gave the choice of either living in Babylon or to go back, "to Gedaliah...whom has appointed the king of Babylon over the cities of Judah. ...Or to all right in your eyes to go, go. So gave to him captain of the guard ration and a reward, and sent him away. Then went Jeremiah to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam of Mizpah, and lived with him among the people who were left in the land."

Jeremiah 39:2; 11-14 40:1-6.

"When the rulers of the armies in the field...and their men" heard of Gedaliah's appointment--and that there was "appointed with him men, and women ["among whom were the daughters of King Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan...had left with Gedaliah"²¹), and children and of the poor...[those] not exiled"--they joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. Among those who joined Gedaliah were "Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan, and Jonathan the sons of Kareah, and Seriaiah the son of Tanhumeth, and the sons of Ephai of Netopha, and Jezaniah the son of the Maachathite."²² Gedaliah exhorted them and their troops not to fear but to "serve the Chaldeans. Live in the land and serve the king of Babylon, and it will be well with you...." Gedaliah would remain at Mizpah "to serve before the Chaldeans" and urged the rest to go "and live in your cities that you have seized. Also when all the Jews that in Moab and the sons of Ammon and in Edom; and who in all the lands heard that had left [Nebuchadnezzar] a remnant of Judah, and that he had appointed over them Gedaliah...even returned all the Jews/[Judahaeans?] out of all places where they there had been driven...and gathered wine and the harvest abundance."

Jeremiah 40:7-12.

"*Johanan* the son of Kareah and all the captains of the army that in the field" told

²¹ *AJ*, X.IX.4.

²² Refer to Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 156, for these names, and also to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Caria*.

Gedaliah, “Certainly you know that Baalis the king of the sons of Ammon has sent Ishmael...to strike your soul.’ But not did believe them Gedaliah....” Johanan spoke secretly to Gedaliah, then, in Mizpah, and asked, “Let me go please, and I will strike Ishmael...and a man not shall know. Why [let him] strike your soul and should all be scattered the Jews who are gathered to you, and perish the remnant of Judah?” But Gedaliah claimed that Johanan was mistaken about Ishmael, and forbade him to take action. *Jeremiah 40:13-16.*

“[I]n the month seventh [the year is not designated], came Ishmael the son of Nethaniah the son of Elishama of the seed royal, and of the rulers of the king, and ten men with him,” to dine with Gedaliah at Mizpah. “Then arose Ishmael...and ten the men...and struck Gedaliah...with the sword.” Ishmael struck also “all the Jews who were with him...and the Chaldeans who were found there, of men the war.” “[O]n the second day after he had killed Gedaliah,” before word of the deed had spread, 80 priestly men with offerings arrived at Mizpah from Shechem, Shiloh and Samaria. “Went forth Ishmael...to meet them, as he walked weeping;” but after accompanying them to “middle of the city, killed them Ishmael”--all but 10, who proffered grain, wheat and barley. “Then took captive Ishmael all the rest of the people who in Mizpah, daughters the king’s [Zedekiah’s], and all...whom had committed Nebuzar-adan [to] Gedaliah....Ishmael took captive...and went to go over to the sons of Ammon.” *Jeremiah 41:1-10.*

(Kareah -) Johanan and all the captains of the army who were with him “took all the men and went to fight with Ishmael...and found him by the waters great in Gibeon.” On their arrival, Ishmael’s captives went over to Johanan; Ishmael and eight of his men escaped “and went over to the sons of Ammon. Johanan took all of the “remnant of the people whom he had recovered...and the women, and the children, and the eunuchs...and they left and lived in the inn of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem, to go to enter Egypt.... For they were afraid of [the Chaldaeans] because had struck Ishmael...Gedaliah...whom the king of Babylon had appointed [as governor by] in the land.” *Jeremiah 41:11-18.*

Johanan, Jezaniah and all the people “from the least even to the greatest” beseeched Jeremiah for guidance. Jeremiah responded that he first would pray. Ten days later Jeremiah called Johanan, the captains, the army and all the prople, and returned the answer that they should not fear Babylon’s king, and that they would be safe and prosperous if they remained on the land. If, however, they chose to sojourn in Egypt, they would suffer by the sword and famine, and die there. *Jeremiah 42.*

(Hoshaiah -) Azariah,²³ Johanan, and all the “proud” men disagreed, saying to Jeremiah, “You falsely speak.... Baruch the son of Neriah is inciting you against us, to deliver us into the hand of the Chaldeans to put to death us and to exile us to Babylon.” So Johanan and all the captains took “all the remnant of Judah who had returned from all the nations where they had been driven to in the land of Judah--men, and women, and children, and daughters the king’s, and every person that had left Nebuzar-adan...with Gedaliah...and Jeremiah the prophet *and Baruch*.²⁴ And they came into the land of Egypt....to Tahpanhes.” At *Tahpanhes*,²⁵ Jeremiah prophesied that Nebuchadnezzar would strike and conquer Egypt, with associated devastation and captivities. *Jeremiah 43.*

²³ Appendix 3B, I, *Azariah*.

²⁴ It is not said whether (and, if so, at what times) Baruch remained in company with Jeremiah.

²⁵ “A city in Egypt regularly mentioned with other cities of northern (Lower) Egypt, such as Noph (Memphis), On (Heliopolis), and Pibeseth (Bubastis).” *Aid*, p. 1572.

Jeremiah continued to speak out while in Egypt. The text relates his preachings “to the Jews who were living in the land of Egypt”--at Migdel, Tahpanhes, Noph, from the land of Pathros--at one assembly to “all the men who knew that had burned incense their wives to gods other, and all the women who stood by.” The assembly answered, “[T]he word which you have spoken...we will not listen to.... But certainly we will do every thing that goes out of our mouth, to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out to her drink offerings, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings, and our princes in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem; and we had plenty of bread, and were well, and evil not did see. And from then we stopped burning incense to the queen of heaven, [etc.] we have lacked all, and by the sword, and by the famine, have been devoured.” Jeremiah prophesied that Pharaoh-²⁶*Hophra* of Egypt would be given over into the hands of his enemies, as had Zedekiah into Nebuchadnezzar’s. *Jeremiah 44.*

It is not known how long Jeremiah remained in Egypt or if he died there. Nor are told the futures of the [Mattaniah/]Zedekiah daughters and of other potentially undesigned women of the Judaeen royal harem.²⁷

D. Additional Chapters of Jeremiah.

<u>Chapter(s)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
1 - 19; 22; 30-31	Preachings and prophecies-- Chapter 11 contains words against <i>Anathoth</i> ; ²⁸ Chapter 22 mentions king Jehoahaz/Shallum.
45	Preachings “that spoke Jeremiah the prophet by Baruch... written in a book...in the year fourth of Jehoiakim.”
46	Preachings of Jeremiah when the army of Egypt’s Pharaoh- necho was struck by the king of Babylon at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.
47	Preachings of Jeremiah “against the Philistines, before Pharaoh struck Gaza.”
48	Dire prophesies and judgments against Moab and all its cities.
49:1-33.	To the “sons of Ammon.”
49:34ff.	“Against Elam,” “in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah.”
50	Against Babylon and the land of the Chaldeans.
51:1-58	Predicts Babylon’s fall and dire attendant circumstances. (“[T]here has been aroused the spirit of the kings of the Medes....”)
51:59ff.	Appears to say that all of the foregoing chapter 51 contained the word commanded by Jeremiah to (Maasaiah-Neriah-) Seraiah, “when he went with Zedekiah king of Judah [to] Babylon in year the fourth of his reign. And Seraiah quarter- master.”
52	Identically parallel to <i>2 Kings</i> 24:18 - 25:21 and <i>Kings</i> 25:27-30 with these exceptions: The king of Babylon put Zedekiah “in a house of prison” “ <i>till</i>

²⁶ *Ouaphre*. “Apries of Herodotus has been understood by scholars to be Hophra.” *Aid*, p. 788.

²⁷ Just so, daughters possibly accompanying Nehushta and Jehoiachin, to Babylon.

²⁸ See at fn. 7.

the day of his death.”

Nebuzar-adan sacked Jerusalem on the “*tenth*” (vs. “*seventh*”) day of the fifth month of the 19th year, with some added detail on the items confiscated.

In addition to head/chief priest Seraiah and second priest Zephaniah, Nebuzar-adan took “*seven*” men (instead of “*five*”), “of them who saw the king’s face.”

Appendix 2D

CALENDAR YEAR COMPARISON TIMELINE From the Post-David Kingdom Division to the Death of Alexander the Great

I. Introduction.

It has been impossible for scholars to compile a verified chronology from ancient tablets. The writings of four ancient historians--Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Ctesias, all of whom did live as early as the time of the Persian empire--were assimilated into the extant chronology, which, as it stands, embraces a good deal of guesswork. In some instances the primary sources contradict one another. Calendaring the period of decomposition of the greater Assyrian empire rests largely on a "canon" compiled by one Ptolemy, some six centuries after the events.¹ Further, some Assyrian royal annals are thought 'edited' by successive monarchs for their own glorification, and thus are not fully reliable. Comparison of major uncertainties and differences posed in derivations are noted in the Timeline, sub-part III.

Column A - "Dates per Text Calculations" calendars the terms of the kings of Judah and Israel calculated strictly from the biblical texts.²

Column B - "Average Common Dates Given" are as found in *Timeline, Asimov* and otherwise as footnoted in that column.

Column C - "Dates per Classic Sources" are as given in the *Cambridge Ancient History* unless otherwise noted. *Cambridge* references are denoted "v" = volume; "T" = Synchronistic Table; "KL" = Synchronized Kings List. The *Cambridge* text indicates uncertainties with a "?."

Columns B and C, at Judah king Jotham, diverge widely from column A's text-derivation (691 v. 757/754 b.c., about 63 years); and some continuing divergence could be attributable to uncertain co-reigns.³ Overall, the incremental differences of B and C largely tally with their lesser total than column A for resulting cumulative period years.

¹ One of its apparent sources, Berossus, is believed to have been a Babylonian priest who, c. the third century b.c., wrote a Babylon history in Greek based partially on cuneiform records.

² Refer to Appendix 2C, II, "Table of Kings."

³ Not detailed is a slight difference between *Timeline* and *Asimov* of seven years for the first four kings, which corresponds with *Asimov's* commencing the period of kings at 933 b.c. *Timeline* and *Asimov* agree (Athaliah/Joash) at 843 b.c., but then differ one to 10 years for the remainder of the period.

II. Total Years of the Period of Kings per Sources Outlined:

	-----A----- Per Table 2C.II	-----B----- <i>Timeline</i>	<i>Asimov</i>	-----C----- <i>Cambridge</i>	<i>Aid</i> ⁴
Date used for beginning of period ⁵	926	926	933	937	997
Date yielded or taken as fall of Babylon	<u>522</u>	<u>586</u>	<u>586</u>	<u>586</u>	<u>607</u>
Resulting cumulative Period years	404	340	347	351	390

III. Timeline.

Events	Palestine Rulers		A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
	Judah	Israel			
Beginning of divided kingdoms. Shishak I ruler of Egypt	Rehoboam	Jeroboam	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
				926	?937; ?932 v.III, T.
	Abijah		908	925	
	Asa		906	910	
				908	c. 914 v.III, T.
Asshurnasirpal II ruler of Assyria.		Nadab	904	907	
		Baasha	903	906	
				883	
		Elah	880	883	
		Zimri	879	882	c. 887 v.III, T.
Jezebel's father, Ethbaal/Ithobaal, King of Tyre and Sidon.		Omri/Tibni contention	879	882	" " "
		Omri/sole reign	875		
				873 (to 842)	
		Ahab	868	871	c. 876 v.III, T.
		Jehoshaphat	865/864	868	c. 874 " " "
Shalmaneser III ruler of Assyria.				858 (to 824)	
		Ahaziah-N	847/846	852	

⁴ *Aid's* calendaring of the period commences with 997 b.c., based on premises set forth in that volume. Its chronology roughly parallels column A's king's tenures down to king Uzziah with a constant difference of 70-74 years; subsequently, an 84- to 86-year difference is constant through Zedekiah, excepting a 94-year difference at Hoshea. (Although this appendix does not compare the *Aid* calendar in detail, it is noted that certain of its estimates may meet the chronology of some events, e.g. the year assigned to the fall of Nineveh (see Appendix 2C, V, "Tobit," fn. 16).

⁵ This uncertain date of period commencement more recently was fixed by Kenneth A. Kitchen, professor of Egyptology, University of Liverpool, as 931/930 b.c., based on his calculations of the tenure of king Shoshenq of Egypt--*BAR*, "How We Know When Solomon Ruled," vol. 27, no. 4, p. 32.

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
			b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
		Jehoram-N	846	851	
	Jehoram-S		841 ⁶	847	
	Ahaziah-S		835	844	
		Jehu	834-833	843	
	Athaliah		833	843	
Shalmaneser III occupations in upper Mesopotamia and regions east of the Euphrates; deportations of Medes and Persians to other areas dominated by Assyria.				837	
	Joash-S		826	837	
		Jehoahaz-N	803	816	
		Joash-N	789	801	c. 800 v.III, T.
	Amaziah		787	800	
Shalmaneser IV ruler of Assyria.				782 (to 772)	
		Jeroboam II	772	785	c. 785?" v.III, T.
	Uzziah		745	770	c. 780 " " "
750 - 600 b.c.e., Greek colonies planted in Asia Minor.		Zechariah ⁷	707	747-746	
		Shallum	706	746	
		Menahem	706	746	c. 745 v. III, T.
Tiglath Pileser III ⁸ ruler of Assyria.				746/744 (to 727)	
[Camb.: Menahem paid tribute to Assyria in "738." <i>Camb.</i> v. III, p. 378.]		Pekahiah	695	737	
		Pekah	693	735	c. 735 v. III, T.
	Jotham		691	757 ⁹	754 " " "

⁶ or 840/839; see Table 2C, II, "Table of Kings," fn. 2.

⁷ See Table 2C, II, fn. 7.

⁸ One notable divergence of datings involves this Assyrian monarch, commonly taken as reigning to 727 b.c. Per *2 Kings* 15:29, it was in the "days of Pekah" of Israel that "Tiglath-pileser" took, among other areas, "Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and removed them to Assyria." Further, *2 Kings* 16:7 relates that Ahaz sought aid from "Tiglath-pileser." *1 Chronicles* 5:26 can be read to imply two separate Assyrian kings and possibly two captivities--when there was stirred up "the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgath-Pileser king of Assyria, and he exiled them" (the tribes named being east-Jordaners). Yet *2 Kings* 15:19 describes how "Pul the king of Assyria" extracted tribute from Menahem. The name Pul/Pulu was found on a dynastic tablet known as the "Babylonian King List A," while "Tiglath-pileser (Tukultiapilesharra)" appears in what is deemed a corresponding site on a second tablet chronicle. (See also fn. 14.)

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
			b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
Assyria took Damascus; Assyria ruler of Syria/Aram.	Ahaz		676	734	735 v. III, T.
Shalmaneser V ruler of Assyria. Shalmaneser began sieges of Samaria region. Samaria fell. Per biblical texts, however, the North's capital of Samaria fell to Assyria "9th year of Hoshea," "6th year of Hezekiah"		Hoshea	664	c. 732 732 726 (to 722) 725 722	c. 732 " " " 722 v.III, KL.
Sargon II ruler of Assyria; deportations. "Rise of Elam."			655?	? ¹⁰ 721 (to 705)	720-710 v.III, T.
Elamites sustained defeats by Sargon II. ¹¹ Assyria, in occupation of Samaria, advanced to Egypt's border.				721/710 720	
	Hezekiah ¹²		661/660	716	
Sennacherib ruled Assyria. (Sennacherib campaigned against Elam.)				705-704 (to 681)	705 v. III, T.
Merodach/Berodach-baladan, a "Chaldean," ¹³ rebelled against Assyria with Elamite backing, and proclaimed himself king of Babylon. Merodach-baladan sent envoys to Hezekiah for support against Assyria. ¹⁴				703 ?	? ?

⁹ Jotham co-regent with Uzziah, 757 b.c.; Ahaz co-regent with Jotham, 742 b.c.. (Jotham, alone, c. 740--*Camb.* v. III, T.)

¹⁰ Josephus, *AJ* X.IX.7, states that the "two [southern] tribes [were] carried away by Nebuchadnezzar 136 years, 6 months and 10 days after the fall of Hoshea." If the date of the south's exile is taken at 586 b.c., this date would be (586 + 136-1/2 =) 722. If the "6th year of Hezekiah" includes the three years' co-regency with Ahaz (see fn. 13), that date would be (719 - 6 =) 713 b.c. and (713 - 136-1/2 =) 577/576 b.c., or a difference of 9-10 years. *En fin*, the relative dating of the north and south falls is open to question.

¹¹ *New Century Cyclopedia*, p. 1418.

¹² Per *Camb.* v. III, T., Hezekiah co-regent with Ahaz 719-716.

¹³ See Appendix 1F, *Chaldea, etc.* (and particularly, *Ur*, in that appendix), concerning difficulties in exact defining of this term.

¹⁴ A Tiglath-pileser III inscription refers to Merodach-baladan, who ruled a Chaldean tribe put under tribute during a campaign in Babylonia and is taken to have stayed in power in Babylon approximately 12 years. (There is a discrepancy in deriving Hezekiah's term; the texts report that Ahaz was a king at 20, ruled 16 years, yet had 25-year-old "son," Hezekiah, who succeeded him.)

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
			b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
Deioces established as king in Media. ¹⁵ (53-year reign; to 647).				700	
Sennacherib won a major battle on the Tigris against Elam.				691 ¹⁶	
Babylon taken by Sennacherib; he crowned himself king of Babylon.				689	
	Manasseh		632	689	c. 692 v. III, T.
Sennacherib was slain by two of his sons. They in turn were defeated by a third son, Esar-haddon.					
Assyria ruled by Esar-haddon.				680 (to 669)	681 " " "
Assyria's empire, which included Egypt, Syria/Aram, Palestine, Arabia and parts of Turkey and Persia, decayed gradually between 680 and 630, as all frontiers became more difficult to hold.					
With the death of Esar-haddon, strife between his two sons resulted in a divide of rule--Asshurbanipal in Assyria and Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon.					
Assyria evacuated Egypt in 651; Egypt embarked on independent growth.					" " "
"Assyria" ruled by Assurbanipal.				668 (to 627)	669 " " "
Civil war in Elam.					650-630 " " "
Phraortes II (to 625) succeeded Deioces in Media.					
Asshurbanipal defeated Susa/Elam.				647/645 ¹⁷	
Egypt dominated by Ethiopia.				To 663	
Cyaxares I reign of 40 years began over Media.					634 ¹⁸
	Amon		577	642	c. 638 " " "
	Josiah		575	640	c. 637 " " "
Last record of reign of Asshurbanipal					639 " " "

¹⁵ Refer to Appendix 3A, III, "Narrative, *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*," which commences at this point. (700 b.c. as the date of commencement of Deioces commonly has been derived loosely, by subtracting "520 years" of Assyrian domination over the Medes, as reported by Herodotus, from 1275 b.c., the date commonly taken as the beginning of Assyrian regional control. Some 55 appear unaccountable. "By Herodotus' own calculations, Assyrian rule of Upper (i.e. east of the Halys) Asia would have begun c. 1220." *Herodotus*, deSelincourt trans., page 556, fn. 45 to Book One.

¹⁶ *New Century Cyclopaedia*, p. 1418.

¹⁷ These dates, respectively, from *Persians: Masters of Empire*, Time-Life Books, Alexandria, VA 1995, and *New Century Cyclopaedia*, p. 1418.

¹⁸ *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Loeb Ed., Appendix II. (A period of Scythian control over Media between 652 and 625 apparently was included by Herodotus in the regnal years of Phraortes; *Herodotus*, deSelincourt trans., Chronology, 2. Median Kings, unnumbered page following page xxxviii.)

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
[630-625, Assyrian power weakened by invasions; Scyths invaded Syria, captured Askalon; <i>Camb.</i> v. III, T.]			b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
Revolt in Assyria of Chaldaean Nabopolassar.					626 v. III, T.
Nabopolassar "Chaldaean" dynasty established.				626	626 " " "
"Assyrian"/"Babylonian" hostilities commenced; anarchy in Assyria.					625 " " "
Egypt allied with Assyria.					625 " " "
Cyaxares I ruled Media (40-year reign).			625 (to 585)		634 (to 584) ¹⁹
Nabopolassar/Babylon and Cyaxares/Media both oppose Assyria.					616 v. III, T.
Jewish military colony at <i>Elephantine</i> .					615 " " "
Media sacked Asshur, long-time capital of the Assyrian empire.					614 " " "
Media (Cyaxares I) and Babylon (Nabopolassar) united and took Nineveh in Nabopolassar's "14th year." ²¹				612	612 " " "
[612-610 b.c., Assyrian government, under Ashur-uballit, removed itself to Harran in north Syria.]					
Cyaxares I and Nabopolassar marched on Harran.					610 " " "
The Assyrians evacuated, falling back to Carchemish.					
Harran was occupied by Babylonians and Scyths, and Nabopolassar left a garrison there.					610/609 " " "
Egypt ruled by Necho II.				609 (to 593)	609 " " "
Necho II, advancing to form a juncture to aid the Assyrians, entered Palestine and captured Gaza. At Megiddo, he defeated the opposing force of Judaeen king Josiah; Josiah was killed.				609/608	
"The people of the land" made Jehoahaz/Shallum, Josiah's son, king. ²³ He reigned three months.	Jehoahaz/Shallum		544	609/608	c. 610 " " "
Necho II imprisoned Jehoahaz, placed Judah under tribute, and made Josiah's son, Eliakim, king, "and changed his name to Jehoiakim." ²⁴	Jehoiakim		544	609/608	c. 607 v. III, KL

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, *Elephantine*.

²¹ Per *Babylonian Chronicles*. "The fall of Nineveh closes the history of Assyria proper, completing the downfall of the Assyrian empire and the rise of the *Chaldeans*." *Camb.*, v. III, pp. 190; 129; 206, italics supplied. The Scythians, whose leader joined Cyaxares I and Nabopolassar in the final assault on Nineveh, subsequently were driven out of Assyria by the Medes.

²² "Came Necho to fight against Carchemish on the Euphrates and went out to meet him Josiah." *2 Chronicles* 35:20.

²³ *2 Kings* 23:29.

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
Nabopolassar by his 19th year had an army contingent under his crown prince-son, Nebuchadnezzar, who warred in the territories. Although Nabopolassar had advanced to relieve his outposts, he "was growing old and seems to have met with little success.... [He] entrusted the [full] command of his army to his son." (<i>Camb.</i> , v. III, p. 210). [-----Judith events?-----]			b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
A decisive victory at Carchemish sealed Assyria's total collapse, with Egypt and Babylonia the chief protagonists. Nebuchadnezzar drove Egypt back to its border but apparently did not then invade, in that he learned of his father's death and returned to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar now ruled Babylon, and Syria and Palestine were under his dominion. After being "a servant to Nebuchadnezzar three years," Jehoiakim rebelled.				605	607 v. III, T. c. 605 " " "
Victorious Babylonian forces swept over 'Hatti-country' (taken to be Syria and Palestine), "in the fourth year of king Jehoiakim." Media was on a westward move while Lydia held sway over Greek colonies in far west Asia minor (Lydia's cultural center was Sardes).				605/604	600 " " "
"In the seventh year...the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and encamped against the city of Judah and... he seized the city and captured the king (<i>Babylonian Chronicles</i>)." "[[I]n year the seventh..."3,023" Judaeans were exiled" (<i>Jeremiah</i> 52:28)				598/597 ³⁰	"First exile" 597 " " "

²⁴ 2 Kings 23:33-34.

²⁵ Per cuneiform inscriptions (*Aid*, p. 1212).

²⁶ Refer to Appendix 2C, VI.

²⁷ The Egyptian army with Necho is reported at Carchemish, "which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had struck in the 4th year of Jehoiakim;" *Jeremiah* 46:2.

²⁸ *Jeremiah* 46:2. Per *Daniel* 1:1 Nebuchadnezzar circled Jerusalem "the third year of Jehoiakim;" 1:2 does not specify captives taken then--see next footnote.

²⁹ "Since Jehoiakim's revolt against Babylon led to his downfall after about 11 years on the throne, the beginning of his vassalage to Babylon [i.e. in place of Egypt] must have begun toward the end of his eighth year of rule." *Aid*, p. 879. *Daniel* 1:6 reports Daniel among Nebuchadnezzar's captives; but the year remains uncertain.

³⁰ If Nebuchadnezzar's seventh year from Nabopolassar's death.

Events	Palestine Rulers		A.	B.	C.
	Judah	Israel	Dates per Text Calculations	Avg. Common Dates Given	Dates per Classic Sources
Jehoiachin, Eliakim/Jehoiakim's son, reigned for 3 months (+10 days)	Jehoiachin		b.c. 533	b.c. 598/597	b.c.
"[W]ent up the servants of Nebuchadnezzar...to Jerusalem...and besieged it." (2 Kings 24:10). Jehoiachin and queen mother Nehushta surrendered. ³¹ Nebuchadnezzar "appointed there a king of his own choice, received...heavy tribute and sent to Babylon (Babylonian Chronicles)."	[Mattaniah/] Zedekiah		533	598/597	
9th year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar again camped against Jerusalem and built a siege mound around it (Jeremiah 52:4 and 39:1; 2 Kings 25:1).			524	589/588	
10th year of Zedekiah, "which the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, he exiled 832." ³²			523	588/587	
11th year of Zedekiah, the city was breached; Zedekiah's sons were killed and he, blinded and bound, was taken to Babylon--fall of Jerusalem. Nebuchadnezzar "laid [the] temple desolate" "in the 18th year of his reign." Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i> , I.1.21. Uncertainty remains as to year sequencing of the Nebuchadnezzar conquest and "Nebuzaradan" destruction--next item.			522	587/586	586 v.III, KL
In the "19th year of Nebuchadnezzar," his captain Nebuzaradan sacked Jerusalem, took a captivity and exiled an unstated number, leaving "the poorest of the land." ³³			522	586	
<u>For the high priest continuity during ensuing years, refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, C.</u>					
Astyages (35-year reign) succeeded as king of Media. Prolonged struggles between Lydia under king Alyattes and Media				585	584 ³⁴

³¹ Nebuchadnezzar exiled, together with Jehoiachin, Nehushta, and all of the king's harem, "all the officers, and all the mighty men of valor, even 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained except the poorest people...." 2 Kings 24:12-16.

³² Jeremiah 52:29 and 32:1-2; refer to next footnote.

³³ 2 Kings 25:11. According to Jeremiah 52:30, it was in Nebuchadnezzar's "23rd" year [which would have been 582] that Nebuzaradan exiled 745 persons (see below at year 582). Jeremiah also states that "all the souls [of the three exiles there mentioned, were] 4,600." 3,023 (fn. 28) and 832 (fn. 32) plus this 745 = 4,600, which does not include the 10,000 mentioned in fn. 31.

³⁴ Xenophon *Cyropaedia*, Appendix II.

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
under Cyaxares I, over some five years c. 590, ended with a negotiated peace treaty between Alyattes and Cyaxares I's successor, king Astyages of Media. (<i>This date is fixed "with fair certainty to 585 b.c. by the mention of an eclipse."</i>)		585	585 v. III, KL ³⁵
23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan exiled 745 (<i>Jeremiah 52:28</i>).		582	
Cambyzes I of Anshan married Astyages' daughter, Mandane.			<i>Between 574-570</i> v. III, T.
Tyre (under its king Ithobaal/Ethbaal III) fell to Nebuchadnezzar after a long siege.			573 " " "
Accession of Amasis in Egypt.			569 v. IV, p.16
Unrest on Babylon's eastern frontiers.			
Nebuchadnezzar died.		562/561	562 v III, p 217
Amel/Awil-Marduk/ Evil Merodach ruled Babylon. ³⁶		562	562 v. III, T; IV, p16
Amel-Marduk at his court lifted Jehoiachin to royal status in Jehoiachin's 37th year of captivity.		561-560	562-561 v. III, T.
Amel-Marduk assassinated.		560	
Nergalsher-usur/Neriglissar ruled Babylon. ³⁷			559 v. III, T.
Neriglissar's end is not specified. ³⁷			
Labashi-Marduk succeeded in Babylon but was killed in his accession year in a conspiracy.		556	556 " " "
Nabonidus ruled Babylon.		556/555	556 " " "
Cyrus II, "king of Anshan," deposed his grandfather, Media's king Astyages. [Cyaxares II succeeded in Media, but Cyrus II quickly became <i>de facto</i> leader and combined Median and Persian forces. ³⁸]		550	550 " " "
Nabonidus of Babylon "left government in his son's hands;" ³⁹ conquered Arabian township of Teima (of most ancient Midian territory) and installed himself there by:			549 v. III, p.222
Cyrus II advanced on Lydia, whose king Croesus (who had succeeded Alyattes), looked (according to <i>Herodotus</i>) to Babylonian king			

³⁵ *Also Camb.* v. III, pp. 215 and 512.

³⁶ Historian Alexander Polyhistor and *Xenophon* appendix both show 561; *Josephus* gives Merodach an 18-year reign as opposed to 2 years.

³⁷ Refer to Appendix 3A for details of this and the ensuing period and familial relationships.

³⁸ 550 is the common date given for Cyrus II "taking over Media," however, *Xenophon* shows Cyaxares II as Media's titled ruler, with Cyrus II over the "Persian" forces, until after the fall of Babylon; see Appendix 3A, III, Herodotus/Xenophon narrative.

³⁹ Refer to Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians"—specifically, part C (2) (b), for details on Belshazzar, Daniel, etc.

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
[Labynetus]/Nabonidus ⁴⁰ for aid. Croesus had marshalled a force to confront Cyrus II. Cyrus II pushed Croesus back to Sardes. Egypt, Babylonia, Lydia, Sparta, etc. were united against the Persians, who had seized the south Babylonian coast. (<i>Camb.</i> v. III, T.)	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
Fall of Sardes to Cyrus II's combined Medo/Persian forces and their allies.			c. 546 v. IV, T.
Battle of Opis. "[B]y 540 b.c.," all Anatolia and Asia Minor's Greek colonies "obeyed...and paid duties of Cyrus" (<i>Camb.</i> v.III T; p. 526). Cyrus II prepared for a seige of Babylon.			
"Belshazzar" ⁴¹ was sitting at Babylon city's court.		539/538	
Cyrus II took Babylon but preserved the city. ⁴²		538	539/538
"In the first year of Cyrus the King of Babylon" Cyrus numbered "to Sheshbazzar the leader of Judah" 5400 vessels of gold and silver taken by Nebuchadnezzar, which items were brought up by Sheshbazzar to Jerusalem "when were led up [some of] the exiled from Babylon to Jerusalem." (<i>Ezra</i> 1:7, 11) Cyrus gave the vessels "to Sheshbazzar whose name whom governor [<i>sic.</i>] he [Cyrus] made. ... Then Sheshbazzar that came laid the foundations of the house...." (<i>Ezra</i> 5:14-16)	538-537		
<u><i>Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, "Explorative Timeline, High Priests Jeshua to Jaddua, Including Ezra/Mehemiah Involvements," for repatriation returns and other events between 538 and 433 b.c</i></u>			
Cyrus II died.		530-529	529 ⁴³
(Cyrus II-) Cambyses II ruled the greater Persia empire (7-1/2 year reign ⁴⁴). Persians defeated the Egyptians at Pelusium.		529-522	525 v. III, T.
Cambyses led his army by the coast route from Gaza to Egypt, where he won a battle against the Egyptian army, which included Ionian and Carion mercenaries. The Egyptian forces retreated to Memphis.			

⁴⁰ Uncertainties exist in "Labynetus/Nabonidus" identities-- refer to parts noted in the foregoing footnote.

⁴¹ Belshazzar as the ruling prince name is used only by *Daniel*; refer to Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians."

⁴² Cuneiform tablets give Cyrus II a rule of nine years over Babylon.

⁴³ *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, Appendix II.

⁴⁴ The first five years of Cambyses II may be off three years, if certain inscriptions count from his Egyptian conquest rather than his succession.

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
Cambyses II's successful Egyptian expedition reached Memphis, ⁴⁵ which was conquered after a siege "of some duration." "By the end of May 525 b.c. Cambyses II was recognized as king of Egypt."	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
Cambyses II died at Harran enroute home, having heard of palace takeover. ⁴⁶ A purported imposter, "Smerdis"/(Bardiya/Gaumata) ruled Persia.	516 513	525 522	525 v. IV p. 20 522 ? 522-521 v. III, T.
Darius I ruler of Persia. Darius I led a successful coup for the Persian throne, but had to spend the first year quelling revolts in many parts of the empire, including Susa and Babylon. Babylon was subdued after a 19-month siege, in which Darius had the assistance of "his father, Hystaspes," and ultimately took Ecbatana. <i>Camb.</i> pp. 176-177. "Palestine was not named among rebellious provinces;" <i>Camb.</i> v. III, p. 411.	513 (to 478)	522/521 (to 486)	
Darius I established satrapies, "the fifth, known as Abar-Nahara, i.e. Beyond-the-River, consisted of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus." ⁴⁷ Egypt, which temporarily had shed Persia's yoke, was reconquered by Darius I, <i>circa</i> : Persia under Darius I invaded and captured northern Greece and Macedonia. Darius I's construction of a 125-mile canal between the Nile and Suez opened sea commerce between Mediterranean and Red Sea.	512-510		517 v. IV, T.
Persia under Darius I invaded Greece mainland but was turned back at Marathon. Darius I died; Persia ruled by Xerxes I. "By the time of Xerxes," the Nabataeans (whose occupation of Edom, after the Babylonian captivity of the Jews a century before, enabled the Edomites to move westward into the Negeb and Judaea) were established at Petra, "where they controlled the crossing trade routes from the Gulf of Akaba to Syria and from Egypt to Babylonia." <i>Camb.</i> VI, p. 138.	478 (to 457)	500 491/490 486 (to 465)	491/490 " " "
Persia continued its attempt to conquer Greece and briefly captured Athens, but then Xerxes I retreated to Salamis where the Greeks demolished Persia's fleet.		480	480 " " "

⁴⁵ Enroute, Cambyses II spared the temple of Judaeen colonists at Elephantine.

⁴⁶ There are two different historical versions of his death--refer to Appendix 3A, III, Herodotus/Xenophon Narrative.

⁴⁷ "At times the same governor was placed in charge of two or more complete satrapies; for example, in the third year of Darius, Ushtanni (as a Babylonian contract-tablet attests) was the 'satrap' of Beyond-the-River and Babylon, i.e. satrapies V and VI....cf. *Ezra* 5:3." "[A satrap] had to maintain good relations within his own province, and... questions often arose which required reference to the king, such as made by Tattenai (?Ushtanni), the satrap of Beyond-the-River, in the matter of rebuilding of the Jewish Temple which had been associated with disputes between the Jews and Samaritans." "Within certain satrapies, older or local forms of government were in a measure and with modifications perpetuated, such as...the Jews under high-priestly government and the law-book of Ezra (to which was given the force of state-law for the Jews by Artaxerxes, in the satrapy Beyond-the-River)." *Camb.* IV, pp. 195-197. (Connected events are covered in volume three.)

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
<p>Meanwhile, revolts broke out against Persian rule in Egypt and Babylonia. Xerxes I returned from Salamis and suppressed a revolt of Babylon led by one Shamash-erba, who had assumed a full title of "King of Babylon and King of the Lands." (A revolt of Masistes, satrap of Bactria, also failed at the same time.) Xerxes I reduced Babylon from any notable position in the empire and built a new palace at Persepolis, which seems never to have been completed. Xerxes I spent the rest of his reign at Susa. <i>Camb.</i> VI pp. 2-3.</p>	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
<p>Xerxes I was murdered in his 21st year. Persia ruled by Artaxerxes I "Longimanus."⁴⁸ (<i>Camb.</i> v.VI, pp.138 and pp. 2-3.)</p>	457 (to 416)	465 (to 424)	
<p>Artaxerxes I died after a 40-year reign.</p>			424 ⁴⁹ v. VI, p. 3.
<p>Persia ruled by Ochus/Darius II, son of Artaxerxes I.⁵⁰</p>	416	423	
<p>Artaxerxes II succeeded after the death of Darius II.⁵¹</p>	397	404 ⁵²	
<p>Cyrus III, with aid that included 10,000 Greeks, sought to overthrow Artaxerxes II (the "battle of Cunaxa") but perished in the fight.⁵³</p>		c. 401	
<p>In Artaxerxes II's reign, Persia's control of Asia Minor entered a seesaw of varying alliances involving both Greece proper and Asiatic Greek satrapies, as Greek civil warring was accompanied by revolts against Persia.</p>			
<p>Athens abandoned the Asiatic Greek cities and Cyprus to Persia.</p>			386 v. VI, pp. 19-21.
<p>Artaxerxes II attacked Egypt and failed.</p>			385-383 " " "
<p>Artaxerxes II overcame a major rebellion of his Greek coastal Asia Minor satrapies.</p>			

⁴⁸ There is a major difference between sources as to the end of Xerxes I and beginning of Artaxerxes I. Persian inscriptions do not give length of rulerships, a problem compounded by possible identical kings' names.

⁴⁹ Per *Asimov*, 450; per *Aid*, 443/442.

⁵⁰ Artaxerxes I initially was succeeded by son Xerxes II, who almost immediately was killed by his half-brother, Sogdianus. Sogdianus reigned some months until half-brother, Ochus, supervened and "took the crown very early in 423 as Darius II" (whom "the Greeks nicknamed *Nothos*, 'the bastard'). *Cambridge*, v. VI, p. 3.

⁵¹ Cyrus III, Darius II's son and governor in Asia Minor, had been passed over in the succession. He became a dedicated enemy of Artaxerxes II, who on his succession had Cyrus imprisoned as a conspirator. Cyrus was saved through the influence of his mother (Parsyatis) and returned to govern his satrapy.

⁵² *Blank*.

⁵³ *Xeno Anabasis*, Miller Trans., Volume 1; *Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 4ff.

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations b.c.	B. Avg. Common Dates Given b.c.	C. Dates per Classic Sources b.c.
Artaxerxes II died within the year. 359, Macedonia under Philip II overtook Greece, defeating Athens and Thebes.			359 v. VI, pp. 19-21.
Artaxerxes III (another Ochus) succeeded after the death of Artaxerxes II. Artaxerxes III invaded Egypt (c. 351) and failed; faced new uprisings in Asia Minor; took Sidon (c. 345); re-allied with Thebes.			358 v. VI, p. 3.
Artaxerxes III finally succeeded in mastering Egypt. Mentor (commander of Egypt's mercenaries for former pharaoh Nectanebo), together with fellow-general Bagoas (the "Chiliarch"), became "most important forces in Persia—Bagoas really became Grand Vizier."			c. 343 v. VI, p. 21ff. " " "
Artaxerxes III refused support to Athens against the campaigning of Philip II of Macedonia. 342, Philip II with combined Macedonian and Greek forces, was determined to invade Persia.			
Artaxerxes III was poisoned by Bagoas, who installed (Artaxerxes III-) Arses/Artaxerxes IV as king. Bagoas poisoned Arses within two years and installed Darius III Codomannus. ⁵⁴			338 " " " 336 v. VI, p. 23.
Philip of Macedonia was assassinated and was succeeded by his son, Alexander (the Great). By 335 b.c. every Greek state except Sparta had submitted to Alexander. Alexander, as commander-in-chief of Macedonia and the League of Corinth, began his invasion of Persia.			336 ⁵⁵
Alexander routed the Persians in the first battle, at Issus in north Syria. "Darius offered to give up all Asia west of the Euphrates and pay 1000 talents, but Alexander demanded unconditional surrender. All Phoenicia, except Tyre, submitted." ⁵⁶		333	334

⁵⁴ Who in turn poisoned Bagoas. (There is no known cuneiform evidence for the dating of these events.)

⁵⁵ Alexander-related details are given in Appendix 3A, III ("Narrative, *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*") commencing at fn. 51, and in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4.

⁵⁶ *Ency.*, p. 65.

Events	A. Dates per Text Calculations	B. Avg. Common Dates Given	C. Dates per Classic Sources
<p>Darius III retreated. Alexander did not pursue Darius immediately. Instead, making for Egypt, he proceeded to capture Tyre in a seven-month siege. The Samaria region opposed Alexander, who made it a Macedonian colony. Alexander then advanced on Egypt "by the immemorial route through Palestine," first overcoming two months of resistance by Gaza. Alexander was welcomed by chief priest Jaddua at Jerusalem. Egypt's Persian satrap submitted to Alexander on his arrival in Egypt in November, 332. Alexander founded Alexandria, Egypt, <i>circa</i>. By the summer of 331 Alexander had crossed the Euphrates again resuming pursuit of Darius III. After a decisive October battle at Gaugamela (from which Darius III again fled), Alexander moved on to Babylon, which welcomed him. He next secured Persis, taking Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae. In the spring he entered Media and occupied Ecbatana, to which Darius III had retreated. Death of Darius III⁵⁷ and the commencement of Alexander the Great's reign as "King of the Lands."</p>	b.c.	b.c.	b.c.
			332
		332-331	332
		331	
		330	

⁵⁷ Alexander's tenacious pursuit ended midsummer when two of Darius' co-fugitive officers stabbed Darius as Alexander was descending on them.

Book Three
Introductory Summary

**PERSIAN SUZERAINTY, REPATRIATION, MACEDONIAN SUZERAINTY,
SELEUCID SUZERAINTY AND MACCABAEAN INDEPENDENCE
To the Assassination of High Priest Simon Matthes.**

Book three covers roughly 586 b.c. to 134 b.c. Its length and numerous appendices, etc. reflect the larger amount of ancient and classical written detail available for its timeframe.¹

- I. Overview.**
- II. Female Data, Suzerain Dynasties.**
- III. Female Data, Hebrew Dynasties.**
- IV. Summary of Period Events.**

I. Overview.

- (1) 50 years of Babylonian domination ending c. 538 b.c.
- (2) 200 years of Persian rule beginning with Cyrus II and ending with Darius III c. 332 b.c..
- (3) 10 years of Macedonian rule under Alexander the Great, to his death in 323 b.c.
- (4) 150+ years of alternating hegemonies during warrings of Alexander's empirical generals and their dynasties.
 - (a) Ptolemies, established in Egypt, were dominant the first 125 years.
 - (b) About 200 b.c. the guardians of young Ptolemy V secured Roman intervention to ward off Seleucid king Antiochus III's attempted conquest of Egypt. The peace accord between Antiochus III and Ptolemy V was sealed by the marriage of [Laodice #3 + Antiochus III-) Cleopatra [I] to Ptolemy V. Her dowry included revenues from Phoenicia and "Coele-Syria," which included Judaea and Samaria, but the territory appears to have remained a Seleucid possession.

In 172/171 b.c. Ptolemy VI, son of Cleopatra [I] and Ptolemy V, warred with his brother-in-law, Antiochus IV, to recover the provinces of "Palestine and Coele-Syria." *Josephus* reports that Ptolemy VI and his wife, Cleopatra II, relied completely on a Hebrew-commanded army. Antiochus IV briefly gained the upper hand on the Ptolemies.

Rome conquered Perseus, the last of the Macedonian Antigonid contenders. Rome forced Antiochus IV to abandon all designs on Egypt. Retreating from Egypt, he wrought vengeance on the Palestine area, which was seized by civil strife between Ptolemaic and Seleucid factions. On pain of death for resisters, Antiochus IV proscribed all local customs, laws and circumcision, and took steps to convert both the Jerusalem and Gerizzim temples to 'hellenistic' gods. Circa 168 b.c., a forceful refusal to submit by a priest named Mattathias began the (Asmonaeen/

¹ The summary is not encumbered with citations available in book three's segments. Uncited data is drawn primarily from Appendix 3A, III (Narrative, *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*; Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, E (additional Alexander III data); Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, High Priests Jeshua to Jaddua and Ezra/ Nehemiah Involvements); Appendix 3A, V (Repatriation and Reformation Source-Quoted Narratives); Appendix 3A, VI (From Death of Alexander the Great to Assassination of High Priest Simon Matthes); Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline); and Appendix 3B, II (Chief/High/Levite Priesthoods), and related descendency charts.

Hasmonaean/) "Maccabaeen" rebellion.

Over the next approximate 25 years, sons of Mattathais, who served both as commanders and high priests, warred with heirs and usurpers of the Seleucid dynasty, at times individually being drawn into tenuous, sometimes fatal alliances with one or other foe. Those struggles culminated roughly 141 b.c., when Seleucid ruler Demetrius II granted independence to Mattathais' last surviving son, high priest Simon. Per *Josephus*, Simon "freed the Jews/[Hebrews] from the dominion of the *Macedonians*, after 170 years of the empire," which statement (a) reflects the 'Macedonian' origins of territorial dynasties established by Alexander's generals and (b) appears to count the years beginning with Seleucus I's conquest of Babylon c. 312 b.c.

(5) When Demetrius II, shortly thereafter, was taken captive on a Parthian expedition, Simon was threatened by another Seleucid contender, Tryphon. Simon turned over command to his eldest sons, John Hyrcanus I and Judas [#2], and entered league with Seleucid Antiochus VII against Tryphon. Once Antiochus VII had ejected Tryphon, however, he turned coat--on threat of war he demanded Simon make restitutions of tributes received from districts outside of the territory of Judaea. Simon invoked a league previously established with Rome. Rome returned a directive confirming Simon's authority.

About 134 b.c. Simon and two of his sons were assassinated by one "Ptolemy, son of Abubus, governor of the plain of Jericho," who was married to a daughter [unnamed] of Simon. It appears that said Ptolemy anticipated support from Seleucid Antiochus VII to take over the country. Ptolemy sent soldiers to kill Simon's son, John Hyrcanus I, and to seize Jerusalem and its temple.

(John Hyrcanus I, forewarned, saved himself, commencing the period of book four.)

II. Female Data, Suzerain Dynasties.

A number of wives and mothers are identified, of the Hebrew people's suzerain dynasties through this period, although uncertainty remains in some descendancies, due mainly to successive marriages of some queens and their frequent identical names.

Referring to the respective dynastic charts, briefly summarized it appears that:

Median and Babylonian dynasties joined via Amytis, after which is found: ?/Lydia - Media/Astyages - Mandane + Cambyses I/Anshan/Elam - Cyrus II/Persia - Atossa + Darius I/Persia - Xerxes I/Persia [time of Esther + Xerxes *and/or* Artaxerxes I] - Darius II/Persia + ? - Arsanes/Persia + Sysigambis (lineage not given) - Darius III/Persia, who was conquered by Alexander III the Great.

The Macedonian line from Alexander III's father, Philip II, passed into Egypt via Arsinoe [#1]. Arsinoe #1 may have been in a line from Aetolia in Greece, where is found a legendary Cleopatra of Aetolia. Arsinoe #1's son by Philip II, Ptolemy I (born posthumously of Philip II), commenced the Ptolemaic line.

The Seleucid line issued from Laodice #1 (possibly a derivative from Pontus): Laodice #1 + Antiochus 'A' - Seleucus I + Apame (lineage not given) - Antiochus I + ? - Antiochus II (whose marriage with and son by Berenice II, daughter of Ptolemy II, was obliterated by Laodice #2) + Laodice #2 - Seleucus II + Laodice #3 - Antiochus III [+ Laodice #3?] - Cleopatra I.

The name, Cleopatra, in this period progresses: Cleopatra I + Ptolemy V - Ptolemy VI

+ [? + ? -] Cleopatra II - Cleopatra III. Cleopatra III suffered changing Ptolemaic/Seleucid alliances by being given as a wife first to contender Bala and then Demetrius II, descending respectively from contending brothers Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, sons of Antiochus III. Of those Cleopatras, II was forced to flee the barbarism of Ptolemy VIII to her eldest daughter, Cleopatra III, who subsequently rejected Demetrius II and (book four) retrieved Antiochus VII (of indefinite parentage) out of exile, to be her husband and her kingdom's savior.

III. Female Data, Hebrew Dynasties.

Nebuchadnezzar's captives from Jerusalem between 598 and 584 b.c. included bearers of Hebrew royal and sacerdotal lineages. After queen mother Nehushta, female data is absent entirely for both priesthood and royal lines, with the exceptions of Susanna and Esther (detailed elsewhere), to whom no children are ascribed. Many the post-exilic descendancies, paternally as given, do not appear to hold, absent unspecified unions via unnamed daughters and reflect instances where the term, "fathered," may represent *step-fathered*.

Royal bloodline on the record is shown conveyed across the exilic period via Jehoiachin/Jeconiah, young in age when queen mother Nehushta surrendered at Jerusalem c. 598/597 b.c. Jehoiachin, the son of Nehushta and Eliakim/Jehoiakim, had several children born to him while living in exile. In mid-life, some 37 years after his capture, he was elevated to formal position at the court of Amel/Awil-Marduk/Evil Merodach (Merodach ruled at Babylon c. 562/560 b.c. Zerubbabel, "leader/prince of Judah," is identified as grandson of Jehoiachin in the monarchical line.

Chief priesthood lineage paternally was conveyed from Jehozadak to Jeshua, "son of Jehozadak," who also inferrably was young when captured c. 584 b.c. (at which time chief priest Seraiah, who "fathered Jehozadak," was executed).

Zerubbabel and Jeshua together led the return(s) that followed Cyrus II's edict and its confirmation by Darius I. (*Haggai* and *Zechariah* refer to Jeshua as *Joshua*.) Per *1 Esdras*, Zerubbabel and Jeshua were accompanied by "Joacim, the son of Zorobabel [Zerubbabel];" *Nehemiah* shows "Joiakim, the son of Jeshua." Both references could apply if Joacim's mother was a daughter of Jeshua. A "Joacim" appears also as the son or son-in-law of a Zerubbabel son named Meshullam.

How or when Zerubbabel's governorship ended, and his and Jeshua's deaths, are not reported.

The record resumes with the Ezra commission. For discussion purposes, c. 458 b.c. ("alternate two") is employed, as the most useful year of three potential chronologies. Ezra is shown in the priesthood line at *Ezra* 7:1 and *2 Esdras* 1:1, as a son of (...Azariah/Azarias - Hilkiah/ Helchias -) Seraiah/Seraias. At the time of Ezra's appearance on the scene, "a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was high priest." It is unknown if he also was the individual named Joacim who was husband in exile of one Susanna, and is described as one of the most honored elders in Babylon.

Ezra solicited repatriatees out of Media as well as Babylon. In the ensuing Ezra/ Nehemiah re-formation of the state of Temple, certain men were "expelled out of the number and honor of the priests." Some returning son-priests were rendered illegitimate due to unacceptable motherblood. Some were denied status because they could not produce a wife of acceptable genealogy; but a polygamist with one acceptable wife had the option of

putting away the others and their offspring.

The form of proof of acceptable ancestry at that time is not described. A general policy summarized by *Josephus* implies that the rule of requisite motherblood never was broken:

"[O]ur forefathers...made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure...[and that]...he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation...make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live...for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing...and signify who are the witnesses also. *But if any war falls out...those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives...* [T]he strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is...that we have the names of our high priests *from father to son* set down in our records of the interval of two thousand years..." (*Against Apion*, 1.7; italics supplied.)

Among the first excommunicated priests were "sons of Jeshua/Jesus, the son of Jozadak/Josedec, and...brothers." Clusters of particular proper names suggest a major reformation schism. Among other listed excommunicants--presumably, together with any daughters they may have had--were Jehiel/Hiereel of Immer[/Harim/ Annas/Hananiah]; Elioenai/Elionas of Pashur/Phaisur; Mattaniah, Zechariah and Jehiel of Elam; Elioenai, Eliashib, and Mattaniah of Zattu, etc. It reasonably can be assumed that practicing Hebrews would know their own clan's genealogy and, apart from any then-requisite administrative proof, know themselves or other family members to be lineally legitimate under The Law as they received it.

There are allusions to two involved females during the Ezra/Nehemiah period and what appear to be ongoing factions:

(a) "Many [were] sworn to [Joseph] Tobiah because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah...and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah."

(b) "[O]f the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the priest high [seemingly unnamed--Johanah/Jonathan/Johanah?--] son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite...I [Nehemiah] chased him away." The Sanballat daughter is not identified.

In the chief priesthood line, an unnamed daughter of (Mattathias -) Simon Matthes is the only female reference which remains at close of the within approximate 400-year epoch. Her fate, similar to that of the daughters of king Mattaniah following Nebuchadnezzar's conquest, is untold.

In the royal line, the seven sons of (Zerubbabel-[Hananiah]-Jehiel-[Shecaniah]-) Elioenai appear to be the last descendants of king David directly identified as such. However, the lineage lists for Jesus of the *New Testament* given by *Luke* 3:23ff. and *Matthew* 1:6ff. are very different (from book four of this work):

(a) *Luke's* list proceeds (. . . Jesse-David-) *Nathan*; *Matthew's* list proceeds (. . . Jesse-David-) *Solomon*.

(b) *Luke*, which lists no king names other than David's, shows 18 generations between (Neri-Shealtiel-) Zerubbabel and (Heli/Eli-) Jesus. One consensus is that Heli/Eli was the name of the father of Mary [A], mother of Jesus; her father's name is given by the *Gospel of Mary* as "Joachim."

(c) *Matthew's* list shows all but two known Judah kings between Solomon and Jehoiachin and nine generations between (Jehoiachin-Shealtiel-) Zerubbabel and Joseph, "the husband of Mary, out of whom was generated Jesus."

To the same extent that maternally-conveyed lineages are unavailable, female perpetuation of Davidic and Aaronic bloodlines in accordance with The Law over time, together with potential transmission to future generations, cannot be disproved.

IV. Summary of Period Events.²

Globally, Cyaxares II of Media bowed to the charismatic genius of his nephew, Cyrus II, who gradually knit Mede and Persian forces into an army totally loyal to him. Cyrus II multiplied allies as he went and culminated Persia's domination of Asia Minor with the taking of Sardes in 546 b.c. Cyrus II then took his army to Babylonia city. There, his captains took its palace without a major battle. *Daniel's* report of intrigue at the Babylon court suggests that a favorable palace faction may have been prepared for the conqueror's arrival, basis being afforded that the unnamed queen-mother at Babylon's court--she who summoned Daniel to read the foreign writing at "Belshazzar's feast"--was Amytis, Cyrus II's middle-aged aunt, the dead Nebuchadnezzar's only named wife.

Cyrus II commanded the greatest Asian empire yet, as suzerain over all of the fertile crescent. "[I]n year first of Cyrus [taken as 538 b.c. when he gained Babylon]...he made a proclamation...: 'Thus says Cyrus, the king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the Earth has given to me the God of the Heavens, and He has appointed me to build to Him a house in Jerusalem. Who among you of all His people...let him go up.'" "[R]ulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin went in haste, yet did many [then] stay at Babylon, not willing to leave their possessions."

An initial return briefly is described as being led by one "Sheshbazaar," whose identity remains unsettled.³ *Ezra* and *1 Esdras* sequence it directly after Cyrus' edict, without specifics as to number or composition of repatriatees. *Josephus* reports after the edict that Cyrus sent an epistle "to the governors that were in Syria...Sisinnes and Sathrabuzanes," informing them that he had sent his "treasurer, Mithridates, and Zorobabel/[Zerubbabel], the governor of the Jews," with authority to rebuild Jerusalem and its temple, and that being returned with them were "the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged." *Josephus* states 42,462 persons accompanied the return.

Cyrus II died c. 529 b.c. and was succeeded by his son, Cambyses II.⁴ Following Cyrus II's death, 'Samaritans'/persons from the Samaria district⁴ brought pressure to bear on Persia's regional governors about the restorations underway at Jerusalem. The governors wrote to Cambyses, the new Persian monarch, and he ordered a stop to the work.

Cambyses II was succeeded c. 522 by Darius I. Whether or not Zerubbabel either was or was with "Sheshbazaar" for the initial repatriation, when the altar only was built and before work was stopped by Cambyses II, it does appear that Zerubbabel was twice at Jerusalem. *Josephus* relates that "Zorobabel/[Zerubbabel]... governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king; [he came]...with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and [he] obtained that honor which he hoped for." According to *Josephus* and *1*

² Due to the sheer amount of data, detail summarized here from book three's many segments is more condensed than in the introductory summaries of books one and two.

³ It has been considered that "Sheshbazaar" was a Persian name for Zerubbabel.

⁴ Refer to paragraph at fn. 13.

Esdras, Darius granted Zerubbabel authority to restore Jerusalem after holding an oratory competition, which Zerubbabel won (thenceforth Darius would “call him “cousin”).

Generationally, Zerubbabel (grandson of Jehoiachin), could have been on the Jerusalem scene c. 537 b.c. and again, c. 520/519 b.c. as Darius I’s sub-satrap of the district of Judah. Day-to-day involvements of local sub-satraps with Persia’s regional satraps only can be conjectured. There is some description in the Zerubbabel period (not to the extent as later with Ezra/ Nehemiah) of hostilities between repatriates and regional residents, and resulting entanglements with provincial administrators. It is not known of the region’s residents how many were descendants of families that had not been exiled and how many, descendants of earlier Assyrian and Babylonian colonizations. Differences cannot be relegated completely to ‘north’/‘south’ and ‘establishment priests’/‘rural priests’ competitions, nor is it possible in the Zerubbabel period to discern influence at a distance by hierarchical elders/blueblooded descendants in the exilic communities in Babylon and Elam.⁵

Both the scriptures and *Josephus* next give a full account of a Zerubbabel-led return in Darius I’s second year, c. 520/519. *1 Esdras*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* list eight repatriatee categories and the numbers of persons in each; *Josephus* lists six. The sources contain variations, but they tally in some subtotals while presenting odd correlations in others.⁶ The temple foundation is reported as laid in “the second year” after Darius I’s commission, or c. 518/517 b.c., at which time regional contentions heightened. ‘Samaritans,’ who had asked leave of Zerubbabel to help with restoration and been denied, caused regional governors to write about the matter to Darius I. The governors cited Cambyses II’s epistle forbidding rebuilding, and they questioned Zerubbabel’s authority. A copy of the original Cyrus II edict was uncovered at the Ecbatana palace; and Darius I, in his second year, rededicated its content and ordered cooperation of regional administrators. The temple was “finished...in the sixth year of Darius,” c. 516/515 b.c.

“[I]n general it is sufficiently clear that the subjects of Persia were far more favourably placed than [those under] Assyria.” “Both “Cyrus [II] and Darius [I] permitted not merely the rebuilding of the...temple..., but laid the cost of it on the[ir] royal treasury.” Persia’s kings also provided the cost of sacrifices offered on behalf of themselves and their sons. Darius I refined the territorial administrative organization begun by Cyrus II, employing policies under which “great regard was paid...to the traditional life and custom of the many diverse peoples gathered into the vast empire. ... [F]rom the early years of Darius [I] onwards...the Persian proved a peaceful [and] tolerant government. ... [T]he Persian kings were ready to continue the forms and the religious associations of conquered monarchies...[and]... actively supported the temple-worship of the gods of their subjects, or contributed to the building of their temples, and conferred special privileges on priesthoods and religious institutions.”⁷

The Persian empire under Darius I was formed of 20 provinces (“satrapies”), subdivided further into districts and governed by appointed governors (“satraps”) and sub-governors.⁸ “The fifth satrapy (V) known as Abar-Nahara, *i.e.* Beyond-the-River, consisted of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus.” “At times the same [regional] governor was placed in charge of two or more complete satrapies: for example, Ushtanni [Tattenai?], as a Babylonian contract attests, was, in the third year of Darius...’satrap’ of Beyond-the-River and

⁵ An earlier example of elders in exile interacting with local affairs is the Jeremiah correspondence relative to priests Shemaiah and Zephaniah—Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.” (*Refer to Appendix 3A, V, B for the events of Esther.*)

⁶ *Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III.*

⁷ Cf. Ezra 6:4, 8, 10. Non-scriptural quoted material in these and following paragraphs is from Cambridge, vol. IV: ch. VII.III, pp. 187-188; ch. VII.IV, pp. 194ff.; ch. VII.V, p. 200.

⁸ Cambridge suggests that the prophet Zechariah (1:11) recognized Darius I’s settling of the empire in the phrase, “behold, all the earth sits and is at peace” (vol. IV, ch. VII.II, p. 181).

Babylon, [being] satrapies V and VI.... The satraps were men of high births...in some cases members of the royal family by birth or marriage, appointed for indefinite periods...[with] functions and powers...widest in civil administration and wide also in military matters.”

A regional satrap appointed by Persia was “the highest judicial authority within the province, which in Aramaic was termed *medinah*, judicial district. ... He had to maintain good relations within his own province [where] questions often arose which required reference to the king, such as was made by Tattenai (?Ushtanni), the satrap of Beyond-the-River, in the matter of the rebuilding of the...Temple...associated with disputes” between districts. “An important function of the satrap...was the control of finance [and] the duty of raising the specified amount [of taxation] from his province.” “The household of each satrap was provided for by his own province, and that of each sub-satrap by the district under his charge.”

Irreconcilables posed by the extant formats of the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *1* and *2 Chronicles* anchor a belief that they originally consisted of a single scroll, the natural sequencing of which was lost. Related Persian monarch tenures have been derived primarily from incomplete or damaged archeological inscriptions, where generic ‘throne titles’⁹ may substitute for proper names. Identification is complicated further by unusual renditions of monarchical names in some of the related scriptures, and contradictions between them and *Josephus*. Therefore, indecision persists as to which Persian rulers are referenced in the pertinent narratives of *Esther*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*. As a result, alternate potential chronologies exist for the Ezra/Nehemiah period.¹⁰

Ezra/Esdras, “principal priest of the people in Babylon...determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews [/Hebrews] that were in Babylon.” Ezra also notified “all those of his own nation that were in Media.” Ezra varyingly is described as ‘scribe’ and ‘priest’ and Nehemiah, as ‘governor.’ There is confusion as to the order of their sojourns and related events, but biblical texts clearly name Ezra and Nehemiah together at the same time in Jerusalem at least once. The major problem with striking a chronology is the uncertainty of under which Persian monarch each actually served. *Josephus* designates simply “Xerxes,” as the monarch under whom all of both Ezra’s and Nehemiah’s works occurred. *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *1 Esdras* designate “Artaxerxes.” (Theorizing that the references are to the same monarch appears precluded in that *Josephus* seems to make a distinction.) As to Ezra’s commission, “All the main traditions converge upon the reign of Artaxerxes I.”¹¹

Apart from the question of actual years of Ezra and Nehemiah commissions, correlating names of individuals reported present at various times yields some contradictions in the sequencing of their administration(s)--particularly as regards persons named as present during the wall building, *vis-a-vis* the ‘excommunications’ of men with ‘foreign’ wives and offspring and persons ultimately named as submitting to that covenant. Associated elements are (a) the diminution of the priesthood division/line of (Jehiel-) Shecaniah/Shemaiah of the

⁹ Latin Darius and Greek Dareios derive from the Persian root *dara* = a king; equated in Herodotus with the Greek *herxeies* = keeper or ruler; the Hebrew form of Darius, *daryawesh*, derives from a similar root = to raise or make high.

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, from which “Alternate Two” is employed in this discussion.

¹¹ (a) Nehemiah 8:9 and 12:367ff.; (b) After concluding, “Now [all] this was done in the days of Xerxes,” the next chapter of *Josephus*, which tells the story of *Esther*, commences, “After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes;” (c) “There is a growing consensus of opinion that the...work of Ezra presupposes that of Nehemiah.” However, “It is very generally agreed...that Ezra did not return before Nehemiah, though it is disputed whether to place the priestly scribe between the first and second visits of Nehemiah.” Cambridge, v.VI, p. 174-175. (b) refer also to Appendix 3A, IV timeline.

sons of Elam;¹² (b) Nehemiah conflicts with descendants of Elioenai; (c) conveyance of the high priest line from Joiada/Jehoiada to Johanan/Jonathan/Jehohanan/John; (d) the tenure of Persian governor, Sanballat/Sanaballat; and (d) the tenure of one Bagoas/Bagoes/Bagohi--all of which fall within unspecified tenures of six named high priests.

The language of the assembled descriptions allows that the formal proceedings resulting in the expulsion of certain lines could have occurred after the dedication of the wall, when Nehemiah as well as Ezra was present. After *Nehemiah* 12's description of the wall inauguration, 13:1 states that, "On *that day* they read in the book of Moses.... And it was found written in it that not should come the Ammonite and the Moabite into the assembly of [Tet.].... And was it [then], when they had heard the Law, that they separated all the mixed races.... And before this, Eliashib the priest...who was related to Tobiah" had established himself at temple. (Coincidentally, *Ezra* 9's account which commences, "[A]t the end of these things," does not follow from the chapter preceding it.)¹³

Fundamental causes for differences between the areas of Judah and 'Samaria' remain clouded. A major difficulty advanced in framing "a consistent...reconstruction of the course of events and of the relations"¹⁴ between Judah and 'Samaria' is generalization of the terms, "Samaria" and "Samaritans" in scriptural descriptions. Actual territorial line(s) of 'Samaria' are not drawn (e.g. Sanballat, "the Horonite," may have been from Beth-horon, under 20 miles from Jerusalem). 'Samaritan' could describe district residents, without distinguishing individuals who privately may have counted themselves as legitimate temple subjects under The Law.

During Persian rule, the chief priest appears to have been second to the suzerain's local governor: "Within certain satrapies, older or local forms of government were in a measure... perpetuated, such as...the Jews under high-priestly government and the law-book of Ezra, to which was given the force of state-law by Artaxerxes, in the satrapy of Beyond-the-River." "[The] men [who] offered the largest sacrifices..., used great magnificence in the worship..., and dwelt in Jerusalem...made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs."¹⁵ "Certain smaller countries and city-states that had submitted voluntarily to the Persians retained their monarchies, in vassalage to Persia."¹⁶ "Definite instances of the exemption of priests or

¹² Refer to Appendix 2A, *Elam*. "Philologists have not been able successfully to relate" the Elamite language, which appears on the "Behistun" inscription of Darius I, "to any other known tongue." Aid, p. 501. Jeremiah was "against Elam," 49:34. Elamite mention ends c. 33 a.d./c.e.: "There was then in Jerusalem resident Jews, men representing all of the nations under heaven, who, at occurrence of [a preceding loud report], gathered in a crowd and were confused--because each one heard his own language spoken [by a group of particular gentlemen]--and beside themselves were wondering aloud, 'Don't all these persons speaking look like Galilaeans? How is it, then, each of us is hearing our own language, in which we were generated?--Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and those inhabiting Mesopotamia, Judaea and also Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Asia, Phrygia and also Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya on down to Cyrene, and those sojourning Romans, Jews/[Hebrews] ...Cretans and Arabians....'" Acts 2:8-11.

¹³ Although the proceedings as reported by Josephus and Ezra focus on Ezra's presence, Cambridge remarks: "Nehemiah's last step--the purging of the priesthood ["]instigated by the leading men"--appears to have some reference to the great Samaritan [north/south] schism, when the intermittent hostility between [the two regions of] Judah and Samaria led to the subsequent enmity of two closely-related though rival sects." Vol. VI, pp. 169, 171; italics supplied. Cf. differences among the three main repatriatee listings (Ezra, Nehemiah and 1 Esdras; Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1)--examples being (a) 1 Esdras alone includes sons of "Ananias/[Hananiah]," vis-a-vis the lineage strings Zerubbabel-Hananiah-Shecaniah/Sons of Shecaniah-Shemaiah-Neariah-Elioenai and [Berechiah-]Meshullam-[Tobiah-]Jehohanan (Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3); and (b) where 1 Esdras names the representative chief of the sons of David as "(Sechenias-) Lettus" vs. Ezra's "Hattush." In this connection, it is noted that, at Ezra 4:9 of the interlinear text referenced in this work, the Hebrew is translated interlinearly as "the men of Susa, that is, the Elamites" (concerning those who complained to the Persian king during temple rebuilding), but at the margin is rendered "the men of Sosa, the Dahavites, who were Elamites."

¹⁴ Cambridge, v. IV, p.171.

¹⁵ *AJ* XI.IV.8.

¹⁶ Concern of the Sanballat and Tobiah parties (discussed later) that Nehemiah had such ulterior motives at Jerusalem may have prompted their remark to him, that "prophets you have set up to preach about you, at Jerusalem, saying, 'A king in Judah!'"

sacred classes from taxation...[was a] decree of Artaxerxes forbidding tribute, impost or toll to be levied on the priests and on the temple personnel at Jerusalem. (Ezra vii. 24).”

Apart from a text statement that Ezra and high priest Joacim died at about the same time, there is no direct data as to years or lengths of tenure of high priests. For the first 206 years of this 404-year period--from a 538 b.c. repatriation to Alexander III the Great's arrival at Jerusalem c. 332 b.c.—six high priests only are identified: Jeshua, Joacim/Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada/Judas, Johanan/Jonathan, and Jaddua/Jaddus.¹⁷ Related uncertainties involve the *Elephantine* correspondence and a seeming second “Sanballat” at a different time. The several connected vagaries could lend credence to a third alternate chronology that has been conjectured for the Ezra/Nehemiah period¹⁸ --as examples, Manasseh “was sent into Samaria by Darius, the last king [III of Persia, conquered by Alexander III];” and a “Sanballat” told Alexander “that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest, Jaddua.” One female name is found about this time: a Sanballat daughter named Nicasio who became a wife of Jaddua’s “brother, Manasseh.”¹⁹

Alexander III's father, Philip II of Macedonia, had died in 336 b.c., four years before Alexander entered Jerusalem. In the preceding decades Philip II had consolidated Macedonian power over mainland Greece and, after his death, son Alexander apparently set his own cap for the world. By 335 b.c. every Greek state except Sparta had submitted to Alexander III as commander-in-chief of Macedonia and the Grecian League of Corinth. By 332 b.c. he had put Persia's Darius III on the run and was advancing toward Egypt, along “the immemorial route through Palestine.” High priest Jaddua (after some hesitation out of loyalty to his former Persian suzerain) submitted peaceably to Macedonian hegemony.

Once Alexander had control of Egypt he resumed pursuit of Darius III and finished the conquest of Persia. The canon and apocrypha contain a few references to forces of ‘Hellenism,’ as Asia Minor and the mid-East assimilated cultural ‘modernities’ introduced by Macedonian rule. Alexander III was planning to take his imperial expedition ever eastward, but within a year he died. His death unleashed dynastic succession issues and competitions among the generals and captains left in key territorial control of different parts of the empire. During the following century and a half ‘Coele-Syria’ and Palestine regions would be subjected politically and militarily to conflicts between Alexander's major contending successors and their descendants, in varying alliances.

In the ensuing period, territories formerly encompassed by the Davidic empire--north to south, west and east of the Jordan--become referenced in various configurations of mixed provinces and districts, e.g. ‘Coele-Syria,’ upper and lower Galilee, Samaria, Judaea, Idumaea, etc. (In contrast is *Herodotus'* earlier statement, that “Phoenicia...that part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name Palestine.”) It cannot be generalized that differing political affiliations amongst the people were confined to their districts of residence, or that loyalties and popular factions were confined to specific areas. As an example, support garnered toward the end of Persia's rule by would-be (or actual) high priest Manasseh--brother or son-in-law of high priest Jaddua--resulted in Alexander III authorizing construction of the Gerizzim temple.

How long Jaddua remained as high priest after welcoming Alexander III is not known. Sequentially, Jaddua is the last chief priest of lineage mentioned in the *Old Testament* canon, after whom data rests with *Josephus* and *Maccabees*. When Jaddua was dead, “Onias [I] his son took the high priesthood;” no detail is offered on Onias I. “When Onias [I] the high priest was dead, his son Simon [“the Just”] became his successor.” “When he was

Nehemiah 6:7.

¹⁷ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail B, High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua.

¹⁸ See Appendix 3A, VI.

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail B.

dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias [II], Simon's brother, Eleazar...took the high priesthood."

Following a decisive battle in 301 b.c. among post-Alexander III contenders, Ptolemy [I] obtained "Coele-Syria," which in the context of the time embraced Judaea as well as the 'Samaria' and Galilee regions.²⁰ *Josephus* reports that Ptolemy I was a liberal hegemon, and that Hebrews in Alexandria received equal privileges with the Macedonians. "However, there were disorders among [the Hebrews'] posterity [descendants]...those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices [money] there; but [those in the Samaria region] were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim."

Territorial claims persisted, however, on the part of the Seleucids, as to their share of Alexander's former empire. Their Antiochus I lost Miletus, Phoenicia and western Cilicia to Ptolemy II (Ptolemy I's successor) in the "First Syrian War" (276-272 b.c.). Ptolemy II lost a "Second Syrian War" (260-255) to Antiochus II, who was supported by Antigonos II; the Seleucids regained Ionia, 'Coele-Syria' [in its greater or lesser context is not clear], and western Cilicia.

Ptolemy II and Antiochus II finally put an end to warring c. 252 b.c. They "made a friendship...and a league." Antiochus II's queen, Laodice [#2] was deposed, and Ptolemy II's daughter, Berenice II, became Antiochus II's new queen. It is not said whether Ptolemy II and High Priest Eleazar at Jerusalem were related by marriage, but good relations are apparent between them. Eleazar responded with grace to Ptolemy II's request for a translation of the Temple codices into Greek; Eleazar sent scholars to produce it. Accord between Ptolemies and Antiochii lasted, however, only until Ptolemy II died, at which time Antiochus II recalled queen-mother Laodice [#2]. Laodice soon killed her husband, Berenice II, and Berenice II's infant-heir.

High priest Eleazar's death is not reported. "[A]fter Eleazar's death his uncle Manasseh, took the priesthood." Warring of Ptolemies and Seleucids, after reinstatement of queen Laodice, persisted through the reign of Ptolemy III and into that of Seleucus II, with various losses and acquisitions, until regional hegemony was taken firmly into Seleucid hands under Antiochus III c. 195 b.c., in the "Fifth Syrian War."²¹

It is not until the advent of Antiochus III that high priest detail recommences. "[A]fter he [Manasseh] had ended his life, Onias [II] received that dignity." Precisely when Onias II's term began cannot be determined, but it appears to have coincided at some point with that of Ptolemy III. Onias II, described reluctant as to high priest duties, failed to pay taxes to Egypt as had "his forefathers,..out of their own estates." Ptolemy III threatened to confiscate land. One Joseph, son of Tobias, whose mother was Onias II's sister, outbid all other "principal men of dignity" and obtained "the farming"/collecting of Ptolemy III's taxes. Ptolemy III gave Joseph Tobias an army of 2,000 foot soldiers to enforce collection in 'Syria' and Phoenicia. Joseph did not hesitate slaying principal men of Askelon and Scythopolis when met with refusals to pay, quickly bringing the more northern cities into line. Joseph Tobias maintained his lead position for some 22 years.

In renewed warring between respective dynastic successors, Ptolemy IV (222-205 b.c.) and Antiochus III (223-187 b.c.), Antiochus III seized Judaea. The next Ptolemy, V (by his general Scopas), briefly regained Judaea and many Coele-Syrian cities; but Antiochus III supravened, regained the lost cities and took Samaria as well. Then he and Ptolemy V effected a reconciliation, in which Antiochus III's daughter, Cleopatra I, became wife and queen to Ptolemy V. Antiochus III yielded up, as his daughter's dowry, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Samaria, and Judaea. (There is a contradiction as to whether the land itself, or only its

²⁰ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 13.

²¹ During that interim, Ptolemy III (Berenice II's brother) invaded Asia ("Third Syrian War"/"War of Berenice"), and obtained surrender from Seleucus II (Laodice #2's son with Antiochus II) of the Syrian coasts and south Asia Minor.

revenue, was bestowed.) Onias II is reported as high priest at the time of the accord.

Subsequently, local politics reflect exacerbation of factioning of Ptolemaic and Seleucid supporters, reminiscent of the Eliashib/Tobiah differences with Nehemiah. “[T]he Samaritans were in a flourishing condition” and “making incursions into Judaea.” Onias II, opposed by one “Simon of Bilgah,”²² was seen as supporting the Seleucids.

Meanwhile, Joseph Tobias--“hindered from going by old age”--had sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus [designated herein as Hyrcanus Tobias], to a celebration at the Ptolemaic Alexandrian court. Hyrcanus charmed the court, bestowed extravagant gifts, and was dispatched home with high honors. Envy caused a confrontation prior to Joseph’s death--Hyrcanus killed two of his “brethren” and “many others of those that were with them, but the rest escaped to Jerusalem to their father.” Hyrcanus “retired beyond the river Jordan,” and there established himself in the vicinity of Heshbon.

One Simon/Simeon, “of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple,” is depicted in contention with high priest Onias II. An appeal by Simon/Simeon to the Coele-Syrian and Phoenician governors resulted in an investigation of Temple wealth by Seleucus IV, who succeeded Antiochus III c. 187 b.c. Onias II explained to Heliodorus, the Seleucid official, that part of the temple money was a care fund for widows and orphans, and part was the property of Hyrcanus Tobias. Heliodorus insisted the “money must be confiscated for the royal treasury,” which caused great distress “throughout the city.” A mysterious attack on Heliodorus and his bodyguards aborted their intent and Heliodorus returned to his king; but it is reported that henchmen of Simon/Simeon, who believed Onias II responsible for contriving the attack, resorted to murdering their opponents.

“Seleucus [IV] died...[and] his brother Antiochus [IV]...took the kingdom,” becoming “king in year 137 [175/174 b.c.] of the kingdom of the Greeks.” The ensuing dozen or so years were again a period of major changes, globally as well as locally. Cleopatra I, mother of Ptolemy VI, had taken governance of Egypt, as regent for her young son by Ptolemy V, who had died c. 180 b.c. When she died soon thereafter, Ptolemy VIII Physcon contended with Ptolemy VI. Meanwhile, Rome declared war against Perseus c. 172/171, heralding the last of Macedonia.

In Jerusalem, one Menelaus[/Onias III], gave some of the temple’s gold vessels to Andronicus, Antiochus IV’s man-in-charge.²³ High priest Onias II withdrew to “an inviolable sanctuary at Daphne, near Antioch,” and made his protests public. At Onias III’s instigation Andronicus lured out Onias II and killed him.²⁴ Joseph Tobias (Onias II’s nephew) also had died. Onias II left the priesthood to his son Simeon/Simon (referenced also as a son of “Jochanon” and seemingly a second Simon/Simeon). Hyrcanus had considerable support, however.²⁵ “[T]he multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders [of Joseph’s sons; half-brothers of Hyrcanus] in this war; as did Simon, the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them.” The people “grew seditious” ...[for] the elders [of Joseph’s sons] made [civil] war against Hyrcanus.”

Antiochus IV made an expedition against Egypt and captured and confined Ptolemy VI. Ptolemy VIII *Physcon* briefly held Egypt’s throne, and then “was expelled by Antiochus

²² Given in some translations is a “certain Simon, of the priestly course of Bilgah, who had been appointed superintendent of the temple.”

²³ Some uncertainty/overlap of events is found in the reigns of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV vis-a-vis local events; Josephus, in reporting that “Seleucus IV succeeded Antiochus III and “reigned over Asia [c. 187 b.c.],” the phrase, “At that time,” leaves a question as to this sequencing of events.

²⁴ A timing uncertainty relative to Andronicus is posed by 2 Maccabees verses 34-38: “When the king returned from the region of Cilicia, the Jews of the city, together with the Greeks who detested the crime, went to see [the king] about the murder.” Antiochus IV humiliated Andronicus publically and put him to death.

²⁵ Hyrcanus, on his territory “beyond the Jordan” “not far from the country of Heshbon,” had built a strong castle with impressive grounds and appointments, over which he ruled “for seven years,” including a period of Seleucus IV’s reign.

[IV], who restored Philometor [Ptolemy VI] but kept Pelusium (“the key to Egypt”) for himself.” Ptolemy VI, wanting to free himself from the Seleucids, recalled Ptolemy VIII to reign jointly and help repel Antiochus IV.

“[W]hen Simeon/Simon was dead, Onias [III/Menelaus] succeeded.” Notwithstanding confusion as to Simeons/Simons, the tenure of “high priest” Simon/Simeon appears to have been brief; and Onias III did not succeed immediately. “[U]pon the death of Onias [II]...they [who, is not designated] gave the high priesthood to Jesus/[Jason] his brother; for that son [Onias IV], which Onias [II] left, was yet but an infant.”

“[G]reat sedition fell among the men of power in Judea...about obtaining the government.” Antiochus IV, who “had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria,” “took measures for his own security” and made an excursion into Jerusalem. He was received with great pomp “by Jason/[Jesus] and the people of the city,” and Jesus/Jason promised a large tribute. “Three years later,” Antiochus IV replaced Jesus/Jason with Onias III, who “outbid Jason by 300 talents of silver.”

Contention between Jesus/Jason and Onias III continued, with “the multitude...divided between them.” Although “the greater part of the people assisted Jason,” “the [elder] sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus [/Onias III];” and Jason...was driven out as a fugitive to the country of the Ammonites.” Onias III then cast out the “sons of Tobias,” who appealed to Antiochus IV “to make an expedition into Judea.” Antiochus IV complied and sacked the city. “As for Hyrcanus Tobias, when he saw that Antiochus [IV] had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught...he slew himself with his own hand, while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.”²⁶

Subsequently, Antiochus IV began a second expedition to Egypt. Upon false rumor that he had died, Jason tried an attack,²⁷ failed, and retreated once again “to the country of the Ammonites.” Antiochus IV was forced by the Romans to abandon his attempt on Egypt, after which Ptolemy VI banished Ptolemy VIII. “Utterly humiliated,” Antiochus IV turned on Jerusalem, “took the city, the 143rd year (168 b.c.) of the kingdom of the Seleucidae,” and “slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy [VI].” (It was that same year that Perseus/Perseus lost against Rome, which divided Macedonia into four unrelated republics.)

Antiochus IV left Onias III as high priest and one “Philip, a Phrygian by birth,” as governor at Jerusalem, and left Andronicus at Mount Gerizzim. Two years later, Apollonius, Antiochus IV’s Mysian commander of the cities of Judah, with a 22,000-man force, entered Jerusalem, ostensibly peaceably. Instead, he attacked the city in a great onslaught, fortified the City of David with a massive wall and towers and made it a Seleucid citadel.

Antiochus IV proscribed all local customs, laws, and circumcision, and ordered that his own temples, altars and idols be erected in every city and village. Those who did not comply “every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments,” including crucifixion. A general Bacchides, who was sent to the region by Antiochus IV “to keep up the fortresses,...indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness.” “But Judas Maccabeus and about nine others withdrew to the wilderness...,” and lived in caves.

“Not long after this” Antiochus IV sent an Athenian senator to enforce compliance with his edicts and to dedicate the Jerusalem and Mount Gerizzim temples to hellenistic gods. By decree, all neighboring Greek cities also were ordered to enforce compliance and kill anyone who did not comply. Some persons discovered observing the sabbath in secret were burned to death; several other tortures and cruelties are told.

²⁶ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, fn. 8, concerning the lack of origin of the name “Hyrcanus.” While no connection becomes apparent between this Hyrcanus Tobias and (Mattathais - Simon Matthes -) John Hyrcanus I, introduced below, possibility exists that the latter was son of a Tobias descendant-daughter.

²⁷ Which attack included the burning of gates referred to in one of the letters quoted in 2 Maccabees 7ff.—see at Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 35.

Judas Maccabeus' father was Mattathais, "son of John, son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus of the Order of Joiarib." (From *Asamoneus* came the versions "Hasmonean," and from Judas *Maccabeus*, "Maccabees.") Mattathais was "a priest...citizen of Jerusalem," who had retreated to his native village of Modein/Modin, about 17 miles northwest of Jerusalem.²⁸

A company charged with enforcing Antiochus IV's edicts attempted to induce Mattathais to exemplify compliance and "be numbered among the King's Friends." Mattathais refused. Then, when "a certain Jew/[Hebrew]" did comply, Mattathais "killed him upon the altar...[and] also killed the messenger of the king." Joined by others, Mattathais "thereupon...fled to the mountains [where] many of the people followed him" and made dwellings in caves with their wives and children. Officers and soldiers "who were in the City of David, in [the garrison at] Jerusalem" went in pursuit, and used fire to cause about a thousand people to smother and die in the caves.

Mattathais' followers looked to him as both commander and chief priest. Exhorting them to fight "even on the sabbath day," he proceeded to collect an army from "all those who were fleeing from the [Jerusalem] disaster [being also] joined by a group of Hasideans." Within the year he fell ill, however, and died, "whereupon his son Judas [Maccabeus] took upon him the administration of public affairs in the 146th year [165 b.c.]." Before dying Mattathais ordained his first son, Simon Matthes, family patriarch.

While "Judas...gathered an army out of his own countrymen," Antiochus IV began to assemble his own, "to go against Maccabeus the following spring;" but a depleted treasury (taxes not being paid during the uprising) decided him first to make a Persian expedition, hoping to sack Elymais["Persepolis"²⁹], where reportedly Alexander the Great had left much gold. In 164 b.c. Antiochus IV left Lysias, a nobleman "of royal blood who governed the provinces of Coelesyria and Phoenicia," in charge of all Seleucid territory between the Euphrates River and Egypt's frontier." Meanwhile, Judas and his companions entered villages secretly, summoned their kinsmen, and by also enlisting faithful others...assembled about 6,000 men." They made surprise attacks on villages, captured strategic positions, killed many of the enemy and put a large number to flight. Apollonius, "general of the Samaritan forces," himself was killed in an early battle. Seron, Seleucid general in Coele-Syria, also fell in battle, in a next engagement at Beth-horon.

"When therefore the [opposing] generals had been beaten so often," Judas spurred his people to go up to Jerusalem, where they refurbished the deserted temple and held a celebration and rededication in the "148th year [163 b.c.]," on the same day of the same month three years after its desolation by Antiochus IV. "[T]hey built high walls and strong towers around Mount Zion...and a garrison there to protect it." Judas also fortified Bethsur, "that the people might have a stronghold facing Idumea." An enemy garrison, however, still occupied the Jerusalem citadel.

Antiochus IV, routed at Persepolis and in retreat at Ecbatana, heard of the Maccabean victories and was determined to go to Judaea himself; but illness or injury overtook him. Antiochus IV died "in Persia in the year 149 [162 b.c.]." Before dying he entrusted his "companion"/"foster brother," Philip, with guardianship and education of the minor heir, Antiochus [V], and to preserve the kingdom for him. But before Philip could discharge his duties, Lysias took control of the young king and seized power as commander-in-chief of Coelesyria and Phoenicia. Philip withdrew to Ptolemy VI in Egypt.

²⁸ According to an article bylined "Leon Jaroff reported by Eric Silver/Jerusalem," which appeared in *Time* magazine, vol. 146, No. 22, Nov. 1995, Israeli road construction 30 kilometers NW of Jerusalem uncovered caves where archaeologists subsequently discovered *ossuaries*/stone boxes containing bones, upon one of which was inscribed "the partly obliterated Hebrew word Hasmonian.... .the first that that word has been found on archaeological evidence. Other of the ossuaries "were inscribed with such names as Sarah, Mariama, Eliezer and Elazar, all in Greek letters, and Simon in Hebrew. The cave also held coins and oil lamps unique to Hasmonian times."

²⁹ Lempriere, 1826 ed.

Surrounding “nations...uneasy at the revival of their [the Maccabaeans’] power” marshalled forces against them, including local rulers of Ptolemais/Acco; gentile Gileadites and Ammonites under one Timotheus/Timothy (joined by Bacchides) and “posterity of Esau” in Idumaea. Judas split his army into three forces, one under (Zechariah-) Joseph and Azariah to guard Judaea and one under brother Simon Matthes into the Galilee, while Judas and brother Jonathan crossed the Jordan east into Gilead, from where particular appeal for aid had come from “Toubiani.”

In “the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae [161 b.c.]” Judas resolved to take out the opponent garrison in the Jerusalem citadel, “called all the people together,” and prepared to besiege it. The following year “151,” Judas “learned that Demetrius I, son of Seleucus IV had set out from Rome to halt usurpation of the Seleucid dominions. The Ptolemaic soldiers at Acco received Demetrius I as their lawful sovereign.

Meanwhile, Onias III joined Lysias/Antiochus V and marched with an enormous mercenary army into Idumaea, where Maccabaeans did battle many days at Bethsur. In Jerusalem, the siege of the citadel was started, and Judas took his own forces out to meet the foe head-on. Two battles later, brother Eleazar was dead and Judas had “retired to Jerusalem,” prepared to endure a siege there. Concomitant with their taking of Beth-Sur, news reached the camp of Lysias/Antiochus V that Philip, the originally-designated guardian of Antiochus V, was heading a rebellion at Antioch.

“Dismayed,” general Lysias was forced to abandon a Jerusalem siege and instead “parleyed with the Jews.” An agreement was effected by which “Judas Maccabeus [was] left as military and civil governor of the territory from Ptolemais to the region of the Gerrenes.” (The people of Ptolemais were angered over the peace treaty, but Lydias won them over “by persuasion.”) Onias III--made scapegoat as being “the origin of all the mischief”--was executed by order of Lysias/Antiochus V; Onias III “had been high priest ten years.” One Jacimus/Alcimus was appointed to replace him. Lysias/Antiochus V then returned “in haste” to Antioch, took control and killed Philip.

High priest Jacimus/Alcimus courted king Demetrius I. Eventually--abetted by some of the king’s “friends”--he specifically accused Judas, Judas’ kin, those “called Hasideans led by Judas Maccabeus,” and the “whole ‘nation’” as seditious warmongers depriving him of his high priesthood dignity and hindering peace. Demetrius I was stimulated to send Jacimus/Alcimus back with a contingent under general Bacchides, to enforce Jacimus/Alcimus as high priest.

Judas distrusted and rejected a Bacchides’ offer to negotiate. Bacchides searched out and punished partisans around the countryside, and then retired from the region. Judas retaliated by killing all he found of the opposing party. Jacimus/Alcimus renewed his accusations, which caused Demetrius I to appoint general Nicanor as governor of Judaea, with a force believed sufficient to destroy Judas and “set up Alcimus/[Jacimus] as high priest.” Simon Matthes suffered a slight repulse in a first engagement with Nicanor, who was indisposed to shedding blood over the issue. Nicanor sent an embassy to Judas; formal negotiations were held and an agreed peace was established.

Judas and Nicanor proceeded to develop a friendship. Meanwhile, Jacimus/Alcimus went to Demetrius I with the treaty, told him that Nicanor had designated Judas to be Alcimus’ successor, and accused Nicanor of plotting against the state. Nicanor was sent orders from the king to negate the treaty, arrest Judas immediately and extradite him to Antioch. “Nicanor was dismayed.... However, there was no way of opposing the king, so he watched for an opportunity.” Judas, reading the signs, gathered a large number of men and went into hiding. When Nicanor demanded Judas’ surrender, the temple priests denied they knew his whereabouts, despite Nicanor’s threat to level the shrine if Judas wasn’t handed over.

Nicanor learned that the Maccabaeans were in Samaria territory and made a plan to

attack them on a day of rest. Those “Jews who were forced to follow Nicanor” pleaded against it. He dismissed their godliness, saying, “I, on my part, am ruler [here], and my orders are that you take up arms and carry out the king’s [Antiochus V’s] business.” Judas filled his troops with fresh courage. “Those who remained in the city suffered a like agony, anxious as they were about the battle in the open country. Everyone now awaited the decisive moment,” as the enemy advanced in battle line, with their troops, elephants and cavalry “to the sound of trumpets and battle songs.” But Judas and his men “laid low at least 35,000.... When the battle was over...they discovered Nicanor lying there in all his armor. Then, Judas...ordered Nicanor’s head and whole right arm to be cut off and taken to Jerusalem. When he arrived there, he assembled his countrymen, stationed the priests before the altar, and sent for those in the citadel. He showed them...Nicanor’s head and arm,...cut out the tongue of ...Nicanor, saying he would feed it piecemeal to the birds....[and] hung up Nicanor’s head on the wall of the citadel.”³⁰

“High priest Jacimus was resolved to pull down the wall of the sanctuary,” but “in the year 153” he was smitten and “at length, died, when he had been high priest four years; and when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who, [then] hearing of the power of the Romans...entered into a league of assistance with them. (Judas asked for the league, “when [he]/Judas was high priest of the nation and Simon [Matthes] his brother was general of the army.”)

Demetrius I now sent out Bacchides again. Bacchides first did battle in the Galilee, and then encamped near Jerusalem in “the year 152 [159 b.c.]” Judas died at the end of a day-long battle with Bacchides at Beth-zur/“Bethzetho.” Dissension in Judaea continued; a famine induced some to “apostatize” and assist Bacchides, while resisters gravitated to Judas’ brother, Jonathan, as their general. Bacchides supervened, restored Jerusalem’s walls and placed garrisons in several Judaeian cities. Jonathan and his brother Simon had escaped; but Bacchides shut up the sons of “principal Jews...in the citadel [garrison].” After securing all Judaea with garrisons, Bacchides “returned to the king.”

“[T]he affairs of Judea were quiet for two years,” until opponents of Jonathan convinced Demetrius I to send out Bacchides a third time. Instead of an easy capture of Jonathan as had been intimated, Jonathan’s and Simon’s combined forces felled many of Bacchides’ men and laid waste to his war engines. The situation put Bacchides in mind to end the siege “after a decent manner. When Jonathan understood [that], he sent a proposal for a mutual league and restoration of captives by each side,” and Bacchides accepted. Bacchides and Jonathan swore to desist from making further war against the other, Bacchides returned to Antioch, and he “never came into Judea again.” Jonathan went to live in Michmash, “and from there governed the multitude.”

In “the year 160³¹ [151 b.c.],” Alexander Bala,³² son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, laid claim to the Seleucid crown. Demetrius I was at Ptolemais/[Acco], which was given over to Bala “by the [Ptolemaic] soldiers,” who deserted him because they had not been recompensed as formerly they had. Bala was supported by Ptolemy VI, Attalus II of Pergamum, and Rome. A treaty between Ptolemy VI and Bala was sealed by marriage to Bala of Cleopatra III, the daughter of Cleopatra II. The nuptials took place at Ptolemais “in the year 162 [149 b.c.]”

Jonathan supported Bala, who recognized Jonathan as high priest--“Jonathan put on the pontifical robe/sacred vestments “four years after” the death of brother Judas. Demetrius I then countered with a phenomenal offer to Jonathan for alliance: Jonathan would receive

³⁰ 2 Maccabees’ writer closes with, “Since Nicanor’s doings ended in this way, with the city remaining in the possession of the Hebrews from that time on, I will bring my own story to an end here too....” 15:37. (By public vote it was unanimously decreed never to let [that] day pass unobserved, but to celebrate it on the 13th day of the 12th month, called Adar in Aramaic, the eve of Mordecai’s Day.”)

³¹ Also found as the year “165.”

³² Frequently (and occasionally also in this work) found as Alexander Balas.

the citadel and religious freedom; all “Jews...captives... slaves... and inhabitants” would be set free, and Jonathan could decree Jerusalem the temple of Jewish worship. Further, Demetrius I would remove the greatest part of tributes and taxes formerly payable to his predecessors, forgive the salt tax, relinquish entitlement to one-third of the fruits of the field and half of the fruits of the trees, relinquish to Jonathan the head tax payable in Judaea plus the three adjoining toparchies (Samaria, Galilee and Perea), let Jonathan fortify any Judaeian town he wished at Demetrius’ expense, *and* Demetrius would pay--out of his own revenue--150,000 drachmae toward expenses connected to temple sacrifices.

In 149 b.c. in the Roman arena, Macedonia became a Roman province upon defeat of a last contender, Andriscus. In 148, Rome made war against the Achaeans; it was finished within a year. In 147, Rome declared new war on Carthage [the “Third Punic War”], declaring, “Carthage must be destroyed,” it was, by Scipio, while Mummius destroyed Corinth.

East of the then-western world, Bala “raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius [I].” The left wing of Demetrius’ force held, but he in the right wing suffered a falling horse. There he died from many dart wounds, “when he had reigned eleven years.” In the “165th year [146 b.c.]” his son, Demetrius II, sailed from Crete to Cilicia with a mercenary army--“[I]n the hundred threescore and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers.”

In Egypt, Onias IV solicited and obtained permission from Ptolemy VI to build a temple at Heliopolis. Onias IV assured Ptolemy VI that it would cause the Jews to be “so much readier to fight” against the Seleucids, and that they “would then come to Ptolemy with greater good will.” “Onias [IV] had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem...[and] thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself.”³³

“The Alexandrian Jews, and those...who paid their worship to the temple...at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed...before Ptolemy [VI] himself: the Jews saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be...at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be...at Gerizzim.” Ptolemy VI held a formal council to hear the matter; according to a pre-agreement, the loser-representatives would pay with their lives. (Messalamus-) Andronicus presented the case for Jerusalem. Ptolemy VI decided that the temple be restored at Jerusalem, and northern speakers Sabbeus and Theodosius were put to death.

At Heliopolis, Onias IV “built a fortress and a temple.” Ptolemy VI “also gave him a large country for a revenue in money.” Onias, however, “did not do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself.”³⁴

Civil strife began anew. Bala hastened from Ptolemais in Phoenicia to Antioch to prepare for the contention with Demetrius II. His general Apollonius, governor of Coelesyria was enroute to Jamnia with a large army and sent Jonathan a written challenge. Jonathan and Simon Matthes took 10,000 soldiers and pitched camp outside of Joppa, where Apollonius had a garrison. Joppa’s people opened the city gates for them. While Balas confronted Demetrius II at Antioch, the Maccabaeian force under Jonathan and Simon won a resounding victory over Apollonius. Afterward, Bala claimed that Apollonius’ actions had been unauthorized, paid Jonathan honors and increased tributes to him.

³³ It now had been some 17 years since Onias IV, “son of the high priest [Onias II], who...was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king [Antiochus V/Lysias] had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[Onias III] and given the high priesthood to Alcimus/[Jacimus]...fled to Ptolemy [VI].” (Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Heliopolis.)

³⁴ BJ VII.X.3.

Next, Ptolemy VI led his army to Ptolemais to support Bala, who was absent, dealing with a revolt in Cilicia. But at Ptolemais Ptolemy VI became convinced that Bala was plotting against his life. Ptolemy VI abandoned his alliance with Bala, repossessed Cleopatra III, and sent an immediate offer to give her to Demetrius II in a league to restore Demetrius II to “the principality of his fathers.” Ptolemy VI easily persuaded the people of Antioch to reject Bala. Antioch’s leaders and army would have made him king of Antioch, but Ptolemy--wary of Roman envy, should he wear Asia’s crown as well as Egypt’s--persuaded them to receive Demetrius II, pledging not to permit him to usurp his rule.

“In the hundred and threescore and ninth year [“169th year”/142 b.c.], “the Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea” wrote to “the Jews...throughout Egypt,” and told about all the “trouble...in those years, from all time that Jason[/Jesus] and his company revolted, and burned the porch, etc.”

Bala soon came out of Cilicia into Syria with another army, burning and pillaging. Ptolemy VI and new son-in-law Demetrius II battled with Bala, who finally fled into Arabia. “Alexander...Balas reigned over Asia five years,” and “Demetrius II became king in the year 167 [144 b.c.]” Ptolemy VI, however, received mortal wounds in a last battle. “Three days later [from when is not said exactly], king Ptolemy [VI] himself died, and his men in the fortified cities were killed by the inhabitants of the strongholds.” Cleopatra II, Ptolemy VI’s widow, laid claim to the Egyptian crown for Ptolemy VII, her infant son by Ptolemy VI. Ptolemy VIII (*Physcon*), a son of an undesignated mother by Ptolemy V, rose up as a contender.

Cleopatra II had the support of the ‘Jews’. She and Ptolemy VI “[had] committed their whole kingdom to the Jews.... ...Onias [unspecified; IV?] and Dositheus, both Jews...[were] generals of their whole army.” And when “Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there...he did rightly...; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco[n], upon the death of...Philometer came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra [II] as well as her sons out of their kingdom [and]...Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra’s account.”

“All Egypt revolted when the king [Ptolemy VIII/*Physcon*] had basely murdered all the young men of Alexandria.” (“[W]hen Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias’ army and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria],” he partially was prevented from causing further harm by the supplication of his concubine, Ithaca/Irene.) Generals Onias and Dositheus are reported as deserving “thanks for saving Alexandria....[for] when [certain unspecified] Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war.”

Ptolemy VIII fled to Cyprus. Fearing that “the Alexandrians should...place the crown on the head of his son by his ‘sister Cleopatra,’³⁵ he sent for the young prince, Memphitis “and murdered him as soon as he reached the shore. It was “at last agreed that Cleopatra [II] would marry Physcon,” on condition that at his death Ptolemy VII would be heir. However, after the ceremony Physcon “murdered Cleopatra’s son in her arms,” that very day. Physcon “repudiated Cleopatra [II]” and “married her daughter by Philometor, called also Cleopatra [IV] ... Soon after...he obtained a victory over the forces of Cleopatra [II] ...[who] fled to her eldest daughter Cleopatra [III], who [now was] married [to] Demetrius II, king of Syria.”

Jonathan appealed to Demetrius II to clear the garrisons in his territory and in Jerusalem’s citadel. Demetrius II, who knew Jonathan was levying an army, requested an audience with him at Ptolemais. Jonathan laid preparations for besieging the Jerusalem garrison and went to Ptolemais. There he pacified Demetrius II “and received from him confirmation of his high priesthood,” together with written confirmation of his dominions: Judea, Perea, Galilee, and three toparchies/prefectures in Samaria, together with all remittals

³⁵ The identity of this Cleopatra/ [C?] is unclear--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6 (2). The following sequencing of events, leading to Ptolemy VIII’s ultimate accession, is indefinite.

previously conferred by Demetrius I.

Demetrius II had established peace in his kingdom around himself, but he retained only his mercenary soldiers from Crete and discharged others, despite the mutual league. This raised hatred in the Ptolemaic soldiers--the king's predecessors had paid them in peace as well as war. Subsequently, Demetrius II suffered a revolt of his remaining troops (their full composition is not detailed; it is reported that Ptolemaic soldiers returned to Alexandria). Demetrius II was confined to his castle, while the populace ("120,000 strong") massed and rioted in the streets. He appealed to Jonathan for aid, promising grants greater than before; Jonathan responded with 3,000 men, who "killed about 100,000," saved the king's life and restored peace. Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with much plunder. Once Demetrius II was restored, however, "he broke all his promises and became estranged from Jonathan," threatening to make war if tribute was not paid to *him*.

Meanwhile, Diodorus Tryphon,³⁶ a pretended or actual son of Bala, emerged with young Antiochus VI from Arabia, where the boy had been reared. Tryphon--bent on raising Antiochus VI to the Seleucid throne--was joined by "the whole forces that had left Demetrius II, because they had no pay." While Demetrius was battling and winning several victories over Mithridates I of Parthia, Tryphon occupied Antioch. Demetrius retired into Cilicia.

Jonathan pledged alliance to Antiochus VI. Jonathan's high priesthood was reconfirmed by the new Antioch regime, and brother Simon Matthes was made "general over the forces from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt." Jonathan was authorized "to raise...a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia, and to make war against Demetrius' generals." He scoured Coele-Syrian cities exhorting support of Antiochus VI, going "over all the country, as far as Damascus." Cities received him warmly and promised assistance but gave no troops. Provoked, Jonathan despoiled land around Gaza until it agreed to the league and took hostages to secure performance.

Jonathan got word that a Demetrius II force was at Cadesh/Kadesh, confident of drawing out Jonathan by calculating that Jonathan "would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them." Jonathan went, leaving Simon Matthes in Judaea. (In Jonathan's absence, Simon would raise a force and obtain surrender of Beth-sur, the strongest garrison in the region.)

Jonathan pitched camp near the waters of Gennesaret (Sea of Galilee/Lake Tiberias), where, unknown to him, an informed Demetrius force stood ready in ambush on the plain of Asor/Hazor. Trapped, all but 50 men and two commanders³⁷ of Jonathan's company disbursed. A remaining small group fought valiantly until fleeing soldiers saw the tide turning and rejoined. Jonathan's force emerged victorious.

On his return to Jerusalem, Jonathan sent selected men to Rome and obtained a confirming decree of mutual friendship from the Senate, which issued to his ambassadors letters of safe conduct addressed "to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities." Jonathan also sent diplomatic regards to the Spartans and Lacedaemonians.

In the interim, Demetrian generals had gathered greater forces. Jonathan was resolved to keep them out of Judea. Intelligence work enabled him to elude a surprise attack in the vicinity of Hamoth, and he drove the retreating foes back into their own territory. Jonathan "then went into Arabia, fought against the Nabateans...[and] took captives;" at Damascus he "sold off what he had taken." Simon fortified strongholds "over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon," and took Joppa, where he placed a garrison. Jonathan and Simon together, on their return, organized restoration of Jerusalem's walls and towers and had a wall built in the middle of the city, to weaken the still-existing opponent garrison by cutting off the citadel from the market-place.

³⁶ Frequently (and occasionally also in this work) found as Trypho.

³⁷ (Absalom-) Mattathias and (Chapseus-) Judas.

Bala re-entered 'Syria' from Cilicia with another army and battled Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II. Bala finally was forced to flee to Arabia, where he soon met death at the hands of an Arabian prince, who sent his head to Ptolemy VI.

Then Tryphon, "determined to become king of Asia...and do away with King Antiochus [VI]," laid a plot against Jonathan. Jonathan, anticipating a fight, took 40,000 men to a meeting with Tryphon at Scythopolis/Beth-Shan. Tryphon, however, chose deceit and treachery over battle. Through assurances and gifts he convinced Jonathan that he intended to give him Ptolemais. Duped, Jonathan dismissed almost all of his own army, proceeded to Ptolemais with only 1,000 men, and fell into a prearranged trap. Tryphon took Jonathan captive.

Great fear arose among the people upon Jonathan's capture; formerly quiescent neighbors also began to rise up against them, as Tryphon's force prepared to make war on Judaea. Simon Matthes held an inspiring assembly and obtained overwhelming endorsement from the multitude, who made him their governor. Then Simon "got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war," and hastened to strengthen the city walls and erect new high towers. He sent a company under friend (Absalom-) Jonathan to "eject the inhabitants out of [Joppa]...lest they should deliver up the city to Tryphon," while Simon, himself, held fast at Jerusalem.

Tryphon had Jonathan in bonds when the armies faced off at Adida, on a hill above the Judaeian plains. Tryphon demanded 100 talents of silver and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, in exchange for Jonathan. Simon did not trust Tryphon but had no real choice. He complied, on the slim chance Jonathan could be saved. Once Tryphon had the money and hostages he simply changed course to invade Judaea via Idumaea. The garrison at Jerusalem's citadel expected Tryphon that night; but an unusually heavy snowfall made passage impossible for the cavalry and Tryphon removed his army to Coele-Syria. He fell "vehemently upon the land of Gilead" and there he killed Jonathan. Jonathan had been high priest and governor for "four years."

Simon Matthes "was made high priest by the multitude [and] on the very first year...set his people free...and permitted them to pay tribute...no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years." Simon continued to fortify Judaea; and "in the year 171 [140 b.c.]" he besieged and starved the last resisters out of the citadel. (Afterward he caused it and the hill on which it stood to be demolished.)

"In the year 172 [139 b.c.]," Demetrius II marched to Mesopotamia/Media, "looking for resources to fight Tryphon," and also "to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom," including Babylon. "Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there" had sent promises that they would aid Demetrius II against Parthian king Arsaces/Phraates ("king of Persia and Media," per *Maccabees*). Demetrius planned to overthrow the Parthians and then, with an increased army, eject Tryphon out of Syria. Demetrius II lost the fight with Arsaces, was captured, and was imprisoned.

"[I]n the year 172, that is, the third year under Simon the high priest...in a great assembly of priests, people, rulers of the nation, and elders of the country," a proclamation was issued and an inscription was engraved on a bronze tablet in the temple precincts (copies being deposited also in the treasury), which decreed Simon "as high priest, governor general, and ethnarch...to exercise supreme authority over all."

The people of Gazara capitulated; Simon did not destroy them but made them leave the city, where he "settled men who observed the law. He improved its fortifications and built himself a residence." He granted peace to Gadara, and son John was stationed there as governor and army commander. Rome and Sparta sent Simon missives of condolence for Jonathan's death and reaffirmed the pacts established under Judas and Jonathan. In return, Simon sent to Rome a "great gold shield weighing 1,000 minas, to confirm the alliance."

"[A] little while after Demetrius II had been captured" by Arsaces, young Antiochus VI died (reputedly at the hands of Tryphon), after a reign of "four years." Tryphon assumed "the crown of Asia," securing himself through shrewd artfulness with the populace and promises of great wealth to the military. Once in firm power, however, he reverted to his true nature; and "the soldiery, [who] hated him, revolted from him to Cleopatra III, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children.

Meanwhile, Antiochus VII, the brother or half-brother of Demetrius II, had been in exile from Tryphon. Cleopatra III now sent to Antiochus VII "and invited him to marry her and take the kingdom." Antiochus VII wrote to high priest Simon Matthes of their intentions and, in return for a mutual assistance league, offered Simon cancellation of all debts, freedom for the temple and its citizens and the significant authority to strike coinage. Simon readily accepted and provided supplies and money.

At first, Antiochus VII "concealed himself; but he soon obtained the means of destroying his enemy." In the "year 174 [137 b.c.]" he ejected Tryphon from Upper Syria into Phoenicia. Tryphon fled to Dor/Dora, where he fell under continuous assault. Simon had provided 2000 elite troops, gold, silver and much equipment; but Antiochus VII now refused his aid. "[I]n fact, he broke all agreements...with Simon" and threatened war, unless Simon either paid him a considerable amount of money, or relinquished Joppa and Gazara and the tribute of all "districts outside the territory of Judea" of which Simon had taken possession. Simon offered 100 talents but refused to return territory.

Antiochus VII was enraged. Before personally pursuing Tryphon he made "Cendebeus" commander of the seacoast, gave him forces and ordered him to move against Judaea. Cendebeus arrested many people at Jamnia, killed and took captives in other incursions into Judaea, fortified Kedron, and patrolled the roads. Tryphon (who had escaped from Dor) ultimately either was captured by Antiochus VII at Apamia and put to death, or, "hemmed up...[was] forced to kill himself." "[H]e had reigned three years."

John (Hyrcanus I), a son of Simon Matthes, went from Gazara to Jerusalem to inform his father of Cendebeus' acts. Simon, advanced in years, turned over primary defense command to John (/Hyrcanus I) and Judas, "his oldest sons." Hyrcanus I "mustered in the land 2000 warriors and horsemen." In a battle near Modein/Modin, "Cendebeus and his army were put to flight." Judas was wounded; but John chased Cendebeus back to Kedron and put fire to enemy towers on the plain, killing about 2000 of the enemy there. Afterward, "John [Hyrcanus I] then returned to Judea in peace." In the interim, Simon had envoyed an appeal to Rome for assistance. Rome returned a directive to all surrounding regions that any troublemakers were to be handed over to Simon.

In "year 177" [134 b.c.] high priest Simon Matthes and two of his sons, Mattathias [#2] and Judas [#2], on a routine inspection of their cities, were deceitfully welcomed and feasted by one "Ptolemy, son of Abubus," Simon's son-in-law, governor of the plain of Jericho. When Simon and his sons were sufficiently drunk, Ptolemy Abubus and his men killed all three guests and their attendants. This Ptolemy "also caught Simon's [unnamed] wife, and two [other] of his sons, and kept them in bonds"/"put them in prison." "He sent men to Gazara to kill John [Hyrcanus I], and others to seize Jerusalem and temple mount." He also sent a written report of Simon's death to Antiochus VII, requesting troops and that the country be turned over to him.

At Gazara, Ptolemy Abubus's men were seized and put to death. Hyrcanus I had received advance notice of the turn of events, which placed the high priesthood mantle and command now upon his shoulders.

APPENDIX 3A, I

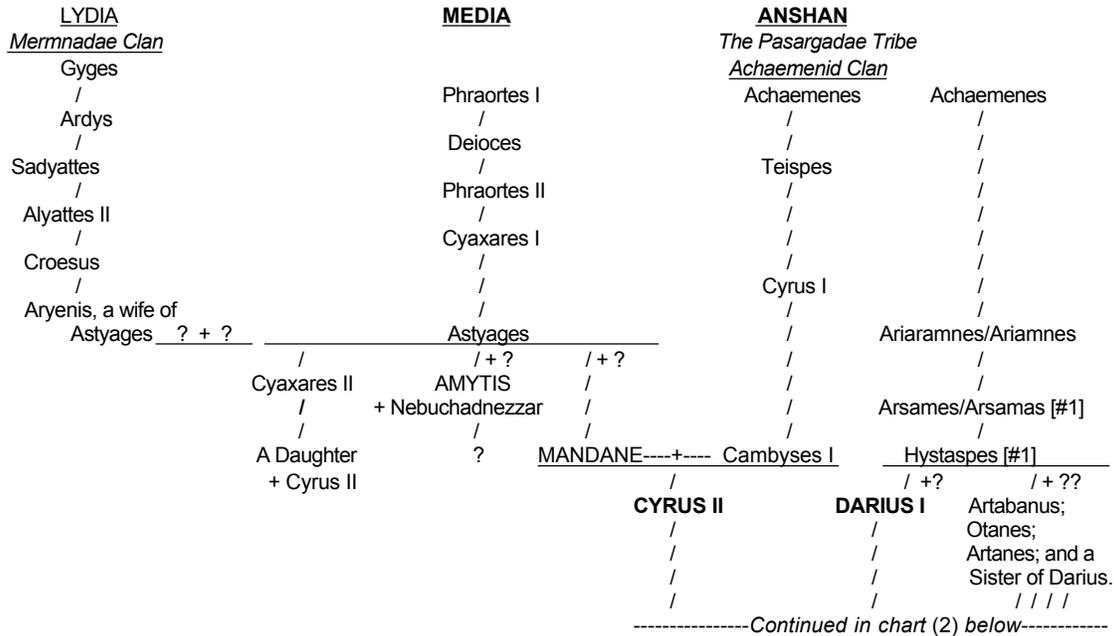
**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF
FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS, MEDIA/PERSIA**

Primary sources of familial data are *The History of Herodotus* (whose lifetime is estimated at 484-425 b.c.) and *Xenophon Cyropaedia* (Xenophon's birth is estimated between 429 and 444 b.c.). General references include *Cambridge Ancient History*, volumes III, IV and VI, and *Lempriere* (L). (Refer to *Lempriere* for citations of its sources, which include numerous ancient historians, e.g. Pausanias and Justin, as well as Thucydides, Strabo and Plutarch.)

Quotations beneath each chart give primary relationships and minor historical data; additional personal data is drawn from the Appendix 3A, III narration and its references. Certainty of relationships in some cases may be precluded, in that children frequently are attributed only to one parent, and ancient historians did not designate *half* as opposed to *full* siblings, compounded further by the apparent young age at which females began child-bearing and their progression through various unions.

An effort has been put to include on the charts all individuals pertinent to events; not all potential children of all the individuals necessarily will appear.

Chart (1).



Refer to Appendix 3A, Attachment 3, Lydia, for circumstances of the origination and regnal years of the Gyges line.

Teispes of the Achaemenids was “the first to be called king of Anshan, evidently...he absorbed the kingdom of Elam.... “From him sprang the double line of descent Cyrus I [to Cyrus II and Darius I lines] through his two sons, Cyrus I and Ariaramnes,” Darius I’s line relying on his own (Behistun) inscription, which states the kings were to rule “in two lines” (*Camb.* v. III, pp. 219-220).

Astyages succeeded to the Mede throne after his father’s, Cyaxares I’s death. The only mentioned wife of Astyages was Aryenis, daughter of king Croesus of Lydia, which marriage accompanied a peace treaty between Lydia and Media c. 585 b.c. *Herodotus* 1.73-74.

“Cambyses [I], a person of obscure origin, to whom king Astyages gave his daughter Mandane in marriage.” L 122 citing *Herodotus*.

“Astyages had a daughter...Mandane.... [H]e gave her in marriage to Cambyses [I]....”

¹ See Bibliography for editions. Emphases in quotations are supplied.

Herodotus 1.107. "The father of Cyrus [II] is said to have been Cambyses [I] [of] the stock of the Persidae... [Cyrus'] mother, it is generally agreed, was Mandane, and this Mandane was the daughter of Astyages...." *Xenophon Cyropaedia* I.ii.1, I.iii.1 - IV.1.

Cyrus II's antecedents as they appear on the "Cylinder of Cyrus:"

"I am Cyrus...son of Cambyses [I], the great king, King of Anshan;
grandson of Cyrus [I], the great king, King of Anshan;
great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, King of Anshan... .."

Cambyses [I], "Cyrus's father," was pleased when he heard about teen-aged Cyrus' leading participation with uncle Cyaxares II ("brother of Cyrus' mother"), against an Assyrian hunting foray, while Cyrus was staying with "his grandfather" Astyages. *Xenophon Cyropaedia* I.iv.16. (It is not said whether the "uncle" relationship of Cyrus II to Cyaxares II was paternal or maternal.)

Cyaxares II, "brother of Cyrus' mother," sent for assistance to "his brother-in-law, Cambyses [I]" and to [young] Cyrus," upon word of war preparations by the "king of Assyria" (*refer to* Appendix 3A, III narrative). *Xenophon* I.v.

"Two sources, Berossus (quoted by Eusebius) and Abydenus, say that Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar, married the daughter of the Median king, her name being Amytis (or Amuhia according to Abydenus)." *Aid*, p. 1128. (The Neo-Babylonian Dynasty chart is in Appendix 3A, II.) "[T]he Medes...allies of Babylonia, whose princess, Amyhia, Nebuchadnezzar married...." *Camb.* v. III, p. 212. (*Josephus* reports that , among Nebuchadnezzar's many projects, "He also erected what was called a pensile paradise [the hanging gardens], because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media" (*AJ*, X.XI.1); in the building of Babylon's palace, Nebuchadnezzar erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what he called a *pensile paradise*...with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation." *Josephus*, "Against Apion," I.I.19).

Amytis, Cyrus II's aunt, has been confused with the Cyaxares II daughter that Cyrus married after conquering Babylon (see quotation below, *Xenophon* VIII.v.17ff.). An editorial note at *Xenophon* VII.v.17ff., states, "But some historians say that he married his mother's sister [Amytis]. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid." Perhaps the confusion stems from the fact that Cyrus received Amytis with the royal Babylonian harem, when, as Herodotus remarks the "harine lay down before him" after his victory. *Refer to* Appendix 3A, III narrative.

"Darius [I],² the eldest son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames...of the race of Achaemenidae" (*Herodotus* 1.209-210).

Josephus AJ, X.XI.4 states, "Darius [I] was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks," which has left confusion. (Some take it that Josephus erred and intended *Hystaspes* (--or, was Darius I's mother also an Astyages' daughter?)

"Darius the Mede took over the kingdom when a son of sixty years and two" (*Daniel* V:31).

Chart (2).

Mandane + Cambyses I		Hystaspes [#1]			
/	/+ ?	/	/	/	/
Cyrus II	Darius I	Sister of	Artabanus	Otanus	Artanes
/	/	Darius	[A]	/	/
/	/		/	/	Phratagune
/	/		Tritantaechmes	/	+ Darius I
/	/			/	
-----continued next page-----/				/	Smerdomenes

² Presumably, and as shown at fn. 5, Darius I was the 62-year-old 'Darius the Mede' of whom *Daniel* spoke in Darius I's accession year; see discussion of Daniel's age vis-a-vis the Persian monarch reigns, Appendix 3A,II, (C)(2)(b). *Lempriere*, page 182, notes that "Cyaxares, another prince...the son of Astyages," has been "supposed by some to be the same as Darius [I] the Mede, the son of Hystaspes."

(Phaedima was in the royal harem appropriated by the imposter). Herodotus quotes Otanes, “If thou does not know...ask queen Atossa who it is with whom ye both live--she cannot fail to know [if it is] her own brother [Taxaoxares--] the true Smerdis.” Phaedima replied, “I can neither get speech with Atossa, nor with any of the women who lodge in the palace. For no sooner did this man, be he who he may, obtain the kingdom, he parted us from one another, and gave us all separate chambers.” *Herodotus* 3.68.

Darius I includes himself in the statement, “Consider that we Persians are governed by a Median Magus...” [this, after Cambyses II’s pre-death plea not to let the kingdom revert to the Medes].” *Herodotus* 3.73.

“Son of Hystaspes [#1],” said Otanes, “thou art the child of a brave father.”⁵ *Herodotus* 3.71. (“Otanés, a noble Persian, one of the seven who conspired against the usurper Smerdis.” L 421.)

“Artabanus, son of Hystaspes [#1], was brother to Darius I.” L 81.

On his succession, “Darius I contracted marriages of the first rank...to wit, with two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa [#1]⁶ and Artystone; of whom, Atossa had been twice married before, once to Cambyses [II], her brother, and once to the Magus/“Smerdis”, while the other, Artystone, was a virgin. He married also Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus; and he likewise took to wife the daughter of Otanes [Phaedima] who had made the discovery about the Magus.” *Herodotus* 3.88.

“Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus [II], who was one of the wives of Cambyses [II], of Smerdis, and afterwards of Darius [I], by whom she had Xerxes [I].” L 92.

“Darius, before he obtained the kingdom, had had three sons born to him from his former wife, who was a daughter of Gobryas; while, since he began to reign, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, had borne him four. Artabazanes was the eldest of the first family, and Xerxes of the second.” *Herodotus* 7.2.

“Hystaspes[#2], the son of Darius [I] and of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.” *Herodotus* 7.64.

“Arsames [#2 was] the son of Darius [I] and of Artystone, daughter of Cyrus [II]. This Artystone [came to be] the best-beloved of all the wives of Darius [I].” *Herodotus* 7.69. “Gobryas [#2], the son of Darius and Artystone.” *Herodotus* 7.72.

“Masistes, son of Darius [I] and Atossa.” *Herodotus* 7.82. (“Xerxes [I] had a brother named Masistes.” Refer to Appendix 3A, III narrative.)

“One of the daughters of Darius [I]” was married to one Artochmes.” *Herodotus* 7.73. “Artochmes, a general of Xerxes [I], who married one of the daughters of Darius [I].” L 83.

Mardonius, “commander of the armies of Darius [I] in Europe,” and later “general of Xerxes [I].” “He was son-in-law of Darius.” L 346.

“Xerxes [I]...was sprung from Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.” *Herodotus* 7:2.

Xerxes gave his heritage “Achaemenes-Teispes-Ariaramnes-Arsames[#1?]-Hystaspus-Darius-” Xerxes. *Herodotus* 7:11.

“Mardonius the son of Gobryas...being [Xerxes’s] own cousin, the child of a sister of Darius [I].” *Herodotus* 7.5, 82.

Xerxes had a brother named Masistes (see Appendix 3A, III narrative).

Xerxes “was preferred to his older brother, Artabazanes,” who was born before Darius was king. *Lempriere* p. 654.

There fell during battles of Xerxes I’s battles with the Greeks, “two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, his children by Phratagune, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was a brother of King Darius, being the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames; and when he gave his daughter to the king, he made him heir likewise of all his substance, for she was his only child.” *Herodotus* 7.224.

⁵It is said by Ctesias that Hystaspes wished to be carried to see the royal monument which his son had built between two mountains. The priests who carried him, as reported, slipped the cord with which he was suspended in ascending the mountain, and he died in the fall. *Lempriere*, page 285.

⁶Queen mother Atossa apparently had some influence over Darius I; he later is depicted submitting to her preference that he attack Greece before carrying war into Scythia. According to Herodotus, Atossa’s subtle enforcement of that strategy was to repay a promise to one Democedes, a leading physician from Croton, for his curing her of a breast ailment. *Herodotus* 3.130ff.

Chart (3).

				? + ?			
				/			
				XERXES I			
/+ ?		/+ ?		/+ ?		/+ Amestris [#A]	
"daughter"		a Darius		Hystaspes [#2]		Artaxerxes I Longimanus (aka "Cyrus," per <i>Josephus</i>)	
(an Amytis? ⁷)		+ Araynta					
/+ ?						/+ ?	
Autoboesaces						Xerxes II	
and Mitraeus						Sogdianus	
						/+ ?	
						/	
						/	
						Darius II/ ⁸	
						Ochus[#1] ⁸ ---+---Parysatis	
						<u>Continued below</u>	
				? + ?			
				/			
				DARIUS II			
/+ ?		/+ ?		/+ ?		/-----/ + Parysatis-----/-----/-----	
Oxathres		Arsanes		Atossa [#2]		Amestris [#B]	
[B]		+ Sysigambis		Oxathres/		Cyrus III	
/+ ?				Oxyathres [A]		+ Terituchmes	
Amestris [C],							
Wife to		Statira [B],					
Lysimachus?		(Half-sister					
		of Darius II) +		Darius III <i>Codomanus</i>		Hydarnes/Hydranes II of Armenia	
						/+ ?	
		Statira [C]		A Daughter		/+ ?	
		(a wife to Alexander III)				Tissaphernes and	
						Terituchmes	
				Mnemon/			
				Artaxerxes II Mnemon			
/+ ?		/+ ?		/+ ?		/+ ?	
a Darius		Ochus [#2]/		Arsames [#3]		[+ ?--	
		Artaxerxes III		Ariaspes		[Barsine?]	
		/+ ?				/---+ Statira [A]-----/	
						Apame	
						Rhodogune	
		/					
		Arses/Artaxerxes IV					

Darius I had decided his successor as he was preparing for expeditions against Athens and Egypt--whether to appoint Xerxes or Artabazanes [B]. Artabazanes [B] argued it ought to be him as eldest of all sons; Xerxes, that he should have preeminence because "he was sprung from Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus." Undecided, Darius finally was convinced by one Demaratus (a self-exile at Susa after being deprived of his crown at Sparta) that Xerxes [I] was the more logical choice in that he had been born after Darius I became king, while Artabazanes had been born when Darius I "was a mere private person." (Herodotus remarks that, for his part, he believed "that, even without this, the crown would have gone to Xerxes; for Atossa [#1] was all-powerful.") *Herodotus* 7.2-3.

"Amestris [A], queen of Persia, was wife to Xerxes [I]. L 37.

"Amytis, a daughter of Xerxes, who married Megabyzus, and disgraced herself by her debaucheries." *Lempriere*, pp. 42-43, citing no source.

Of Xerxes I's army commanders...Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Tritantaechmes, son of Artabanus [A]...Smerdomenes, son of Otanes--these two were the sons of Darius' brothers, and thus were cousins of Xerxes--Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa....: *Herodotus* 7.82.

"Artabanus [B]...brother to Darius [I]," assassinated Xerxes [I] "in his 21st regnal year," "with the hopes of ascending the throne." L 81.

"Darius, a son of Xerxes [I], who married Artaynta, and was killed by Artabanus." L 192. Xerxes' son named Darius "was murdered in a similar manner" as his father." L 81.

"Artaynta, a Persian lady whom Xerxes [I] gave in marriage to his son Darius. She was one of the mistresses of her father-in-law [Xerxes I]." L 83. Artaynta, the daughter of the wife of

⁷ *Herodotus* 7:73; see quotation below, *Lempriere*, pp. 42-43.

⁸ /*Nothus*, "bastard," nickname purportedly applied to him by "Greeks."

⁹ Also + a Parysatis, wife to Alexander III--see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, at fn. 18.

Xerxes [I's] brother, Masistes. *Herodotus* 9:108ff.

Artabanus [B] "reigned 7 months, was recognized in Egypt, and defeated Xerxes [I]' second son, Hystaspes." *Cambridge*, VI, p. 138.

Artaxerxes [I] discovered the snares of the assassin [Artabanus B] and punished him with death." L 81.

"Artaxerxes I succeeded to the throne of Persia after his father, Xerxes [I]. One of his hands was longer than the other, whence he has been called *Macrochir* or *Longimanus*." L 82.

"After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son, [another] Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes [I/Longimanus]." *Josephus AJ*, VI.1.

"Artaxerxes [I] showed a tolerant wisdom in his dealings with the Jews" (*Cambridge* VI, p. 2), but "in domestic affairs, he was not strong enough to resist his mother, Amestris [A], Xerxes' widow...." *Cambridge* VI, p. 2-3, based on *Plutarch*.

"Parysatis, daughter of Artaxerxes [I] Longimanus. L 82.

Artaxerxes I "reigned 39 years and died B.C. 425." L 82.

Artaxerxes I's "sole legitimate heir succeeded him as Xerxes II, but was promptly murdered by his half-brother, Sogdianus," "son of Artaxerxes Longimanus. He was but seven months in possession." *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 3; L 574.

Sogdianus' "brother Ochus [#1] conspired against Sogdianus and suffocated him." L 574.

Ochus [#1] took the throne as Darius II. L 574.

Darius II was called "Nothus, because he was the illegitimate son of Artaxerxes [I] by a concubine." L 191.

"Arsanes, the son of Ochus [#1/Darius II]and father of Codomanus." L 81.

Darius [II]'s daughter Amestris [B] "married Tissaphernes' brother, Terituchmes." *Cambridge* VI, p. 3. (Amestris [B] may be she mentioned later as "the Achaemenid Amestris," ruling Heraclea as the widow of one Dionysius, where, between 323-311, Lysimachus took quarters and married her, "thus secured a fine base." *Cambridge* VI, pp. 503-4.)

Parysatis "brought Darius [II] four sons, the eldest Artaxerxes [II], the next Cyrus [III], and two younger than these, Ostanes and Oxathres." *Plutarch*, p. 846. *Plutarch* (p. 847) refers to Ostanes and Oxathres as Artaxerxes II's "younger brothers."

Darius [II] married his half-sister Parysatis, "by whom he had Artaxerxes [II] Memnon, Amestris [B], and Cyrus [III] the younger." L 191.

Cyrus III "married a beautiful and virtuous wife [--however,] king Darius [II], having put her brother to death...purpos[ed] likewise to destroy her," but Cyrus III prevailed upon his mother to prevent her death and also a divorce. *Plutarch* 846.

Darius [II] "died B.C. 404, after a reign of 19 years, and was succeeded by his son [Arsaces/] Artaxerxes [II/Memnon/Mnemon]." L 191.

"Artaxerxes the Second...who had the surname of the Mindful[/Memnon], was the grandson of the former Artaxerxes [I], by his daughter Parysatis." "Artaxerxes [II] was at first called Arsicas [or Oarses]." *Plutarch*, p. 846. He was "surnamed Memnon [/Mnemon, and] son of Darius II by Parysatis." L 82. (Arsaces/Artaxerxes II Mnemon was "Darius' [II's] eldest son [by Parysatis];" his name is rendered also as Arsicas/Oarses. *Cambridge* VI, p. 3.)

Artaxerxes II "had three brothers, Cyrus [III], Ostanes, and Oxyathres. His name was Arsaces, which he changed to Artaxerxes when he ascended the throne." L 82.

Artaxerxes II's wife was queen Statira [A?--formerly wife of Cyrus III?]. Artaxerxes II's "wife, Statira." *Plutarch* p. 847. Her [unnamed] brother had been put to death by Darius II. *Plutarch*, 847-48, 852-53. Artaxerxes II married Statira [A], "sister of Tissaphernes...of the house of Hydarnes." *Cambridge* VI, p. 3.

"[? + Hydranes I of Armenia-] Stateira[/Statira], wife of Artaxerxes II of Persia; mother of Rodogune[/Rhodogune] and Apame." <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com>; obtained 6/13/03.

Darius II's widow, Parysatis, perceived that Artaxerxes II "was desperately in love with Atossa, one of his own two daughters," who Parysatis "persuaded him to marry.... ... Some historians further affirm, in which number is Heraclides...that Artaxerxes [II] married not only this one, but a second daughter, also, [another?] Amestris [D?]" *Plutarch*, p. 855.

("Parysatis'...favorite... son [was] Cyrus [III]" *Cambridge* VI, p. 4.)

Artaxerxes II "married two of his own [step-?] daughters, called Atossa [#2] and

Amestria/[Amestris B].” L 82; cf. *Plutarch* pp. 855, 857.

Artaxerxes II had “many daughters/[step-daughters?],” including Apama, Rhodogune, and Amestris, and Atossa, of whom he himself married Amestris and Atossa. *Plutarch*, p. 857.

Artaxerxes II “had 150 children by his 350 concubines, and only four legitimate sons.” L 82.

“Little importance need be attached to [Alexander III’s] passing connection with Barsine, daughter of Memnon, after the capture of Damascus. (Plut. Al. 22).” *Bury*, p. 898, not to p. 796.

Artaxerxes II Mnemon “died in the 94th year of his age...B.C. 358.” L 82.

“Darius, a son of Artaxerxes [II], declared successor...as being the eldest prince...conspired against his father’s life, and was capitally punished.” L 192. Said Darius, Artaxerxes II’s “eldest son was put to death by his father for conspiring against him.” L 82.

Artaxerxes III, “surnamed Ochus [#2],” was one of Artaxerxes II’s “younger sons, called also Artaxerxes, [and] made his way to the throne by causing [the deaths of] both his elder brothers Ariaspes and Arsames [#3],...and by murdering 80 of his nearest relations.”¹⁰ L 82.

Artaxerxes III had cultivated Atossa #3 with promises of her sharing the kingdom as his wife. *Plutarch* 856.

“Statira [A], wife of Artaxerxes [II] Memnon, [was] poisoned by her mother-in-law, queen Parysatis.” L 579. (Stateira/Statira, daughter of Hydranes II, son of Hydranes I, of Armenia; <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com>; obtained 6/13/03). [“Hydarnes, one of the seven who conspired against Smerdis. *Herodotus* 3 and 6--Strabo 11.” L 282.]

“Bagoas...in the court of Artaxerxes [III] Ochus [#2]...poisoned Ochus . He placed on the throne Arses, the youngest of the slaughtered prince’s children.” L 101.

“Arses [Artaxerxes IV], the youngest son of Ochus [#2], whom the eunuch Bagoas raised to the throne of Persia, and destroyed with his children, after a reign of three years. L 81.

Codomanus [Darius III] “was soon after made king by the people...he reigned under the name of Darius III.” L 82.

“Sysigambis/Sisigambus, the mother of [Codomanus] Darius [III] the last king of Persia.” L 587.

Darius III, “the last king of Persia, surnamed Codomanus.” He was “the son of Arsanes and Sysigambis, and descended from Darius [II] Nothus. The eunuch Bagoas raised him to the throne, though not nearly allied to the royal family, in hopes he would be subservient.” L 191.

“Oxathres, a brother of Darius [III], greatly honored by Alexander [III], and made one of his generals.” (“A Persian who favored the cause of Alexander.”) L 423.

“Amestris [C?], a daughter of Oxyartes, wife to Lysimachus.” L 37.

Darius III, who had fled from defeat at Issus and assembled another force, met Alexander III again in a decisive last encounter at Arbela, 331 b.c., from which after a long battle Darius III fled to Media, where (according to L 192) “Bessus the governor of Bactriana took away his life, in hopes of succeeding him.”

“Darius [III’s] mother and wife and two unmarried daughters were taken with the rest of the prisoners.”¹¹ *Plutarch* 550.

Statira [B], “a [half-] sister of Darius [III] the last king of Persia. She also [was] his wife.... She was accounted the most beautiful princess then living.” “She died after an abortion, in Alexander [III]’s camp, where she was detained as a prisoner.” (Darius said, “How great the calamity of the Persians! Was it not enough that the King’s consort and sister of a prisoner in her lifetime, but she must, not she is dead, also be but meanly and obscurely buried?” But the eunuch who escaped to tell Darius of her death assured him that she had been given an honorable burial.” L 579.

Sysigambis/Sisigambus, Darius III’s mother, “was taken prisoner at the battle of Issus, with the rest of the royal family.”¹²

¹⁰ See fn. 14.

¹¹ “Alexander...sought no intimacy with any other woman before marriage, except Barsine, Memnon’s widow, who [had been] taken prisoner at Damascus.” “Memnon, the best commander Darius [II had] had, upon the seacoasts.” *Plutarch* 550, 548.

¹² L 587, 581. “Alexander [III] treated her with [such] uncommon tenderness and attention...[and] saluted her as his own mother.” Her regard for Alexander was uncommon...she no sooner heard that he was dead than she killed herself.” (Previously she had “lost, in one

Statira [C], daughter of Darius III; *Plutarch* p. 573.¹³ “Alexander III married Darius’ [III’s] daughter, Statira [C], “at Susa.” *Loc. cit.*

day, her husband and 80 of her brothers, whom Ochus [#2/Artaxerxes III] had assassinated to make himself master of Persia.” L 587, 581.

¹³ Also found is a “Statira, sister of Mithridates the Great.” L 579.

(b) Two sources, Berossus (quoted by Eusebius) and Abydenus, reported that Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar, married the daughter of "the Median [unnamed] king, her name being Amytis per Berossus or Amuhia per Abydenus" (*Camb.* v. III, p.212). *Cambridge* accepts Astyages as Amytis' father (v. III, King's List). One school has considered Amytis may have been Cyaxares I's daughter (*Aid* p. 1128).⁴

(c) Per cuneiform tablets of Nebuchadnezzar's "8th year," one Nabu-naid/Nabonidus, was "over the city." "He was the son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi who he called *rubu emga*, 'wise prince' (*Camb.* v. III, p. 218).

(d) "[Amel-Marduk's] sister had married...Neriglissar, the son of Bel-shuma-ishkun. His [Neriglissar's] name appears on contracts as early as the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar (about 596 b.c.), so that by the time Amel-Marduk came to the throne Neriglissar must have been well past middle-age...[he had] already been...in the operations against [king] Zedekiah [of Judah]..." [And, after Jerusalem was breached, "in came all the rulers of the king of Babylon and sat in the middle of the gate: Neriglissar, etc...." (*Jeremiah* 39:3).]

"Neriglissar suddenly led a revolution...and Amel-Marduk was killed." "Neriglissar ...even re-captured from Gutium [Gobryas' province] a statue [of a goddess]" (*Camb.* v. III, pp. 217, 218, 223).

[Amel-Marduk]"Evilmerodach...had a plot laid against him by Neriglissar, his sister's husband" (*Josephus Against Apion*, I.20).

Neriglissar is referred to as Amel-Marduk's "brother" rather than "brother-in-law" in the *Loeb Xenophon*, Appendix II.

(e) "[One] Assyrian monarch [--Neriglissar?] was slain" in the Cyrus II-led battle at the "first Assyrian camp" (*Xenophon* IV.ii.3).

(f) "Neriglissar's son, Laborosoarchod [Labashi-Marduk], obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine months" (*Josephus Against Apion*, I. 20).

(g) "[T]he priests succeeded in raising...revolt against [Neriglissar's] son [Labashi-Marduk], whom they killed, and, in turn, supplanted by Nabonidus" (*Camb.* v.III, p. 208). "...Nabu-na'id (Nabonidus) was elected to the throne shortly after the revolution" (*Camb.* v. III, p. 218). A business tablet from the first year of Nabonidus mentions a "Belshazzar," but not with the words, "son of the king" (*Camb.* v. III, p. 219).

(h) (1) "Labosordacus...continued...in all but nine months; and when he was dead, [the kingdom] came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus...make war."⁵ Per Josephus, it was "Baltasar/Naboandelus" who, "when he was besieged in Babylon...saw a hand proceed" and write on the wall. (*Josephus AJ*, X.xi. 2). "Balthasar, his [Nebuchadnezzar's] son" (*Baruch* 1:11).

(2) "Belshazzar...son of Nebuchadnezzar;" "Nebuchadnezzar [his] father" (*Daniel* (5:2; 5:11). A second Nebuchadnezzar daughter has been postulated that would make "Belshazzar" a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, to explain *Daniel's* references to

⁴ Among Nebuchadnezzar's many projects, Josephus reports that "He also erected what was called a pensile paradise [the hanging gardens], because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media" (*AJ*, X.xi.1).

⁵ The *Josephus* referenced in this work adds the following editorial note: "It is here remarkable that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king whom he himself here...[like *Baruch* and *Daniel*] styles Beltazar, or Belshazzar, from the Babylonian god Bel, Naboandelus also, and in the first book against Apion, sect. 19, vol. iii., from the same citation out of Berosus, Nabonnedon from the Babylonian god Nabo or Nebo. This last is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, Nabonadius; for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by all. ... But then what Josephus's present copies say presently, sec. 4, that it was only within no long time after the hand-writing on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was the same night." (*AJ*, X.XI.2 footnote.)

Nebuchadnezzar as “Belshazzar’s”/ [Baltasar’s?/ Naboandelus’?] father and “Belshazzar” as Nebuchadnezzar’s “son.” Another theory is that *Daniel* used “father” in the sense of “grandfather.”

(3) The expedition of Cyrus was undertaken against the son of this princess [Nitocris], who [which son] bore the same name as his father, Labynetus, and was the king of the Assyrians.” *Herodotus* 1:188.

(4) A. A contract tablet taken as dated to Nabonidus II’s fifth year cites Belshazzar as a “son of the king” (*Camb.* v. III, p. 219).

B. “The king” at Babylon the night of its entry by Cyrus’ forces was the prince son--son of the “old”⁶ king-- who killed Gobryas’ son; the “king” replied to the message Gobryas sent into the city, “I do not regret that I killed your son.....” (Belshazzar was old enough to have been that earlier murderous prince-son.)

C. “And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with dagger in his hand” (*Xenophon* VII.v.29). “And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also” (VII.V.30).

D. “In that night was killed Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans” (*Daniel* 5:30).

E. “Now, after a little while, both himself [“King Baltasar”] and the city were taken by Cyrus...for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years.” (*Josephus AJ*, X.xi.4) Ptolemy’s canon assigned Nabonidus 17 years. If Josephus here correctly meant the commonly-accepted “Belshazzar,” the ‘accepted’ chronology would need to be adjusted about two years to allow for “Belshazzar’s” co-regency to extend to 17 years from the commonly-reached 15 years of 553 to 538 b.c. [refer to part (C)(2) below].

F. “And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too” (*Xenophon* VII.v.33).

G. The “Cyrus/Nabonidus Chronicle” [see part (C)(4) here] states that Nabonidus was arrested in Babylon “afterwards...when he returned....”

H. Then, “On the night of the 11th day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas [who, when a vassal of the “old king,” had suffered the death of his own son at the hands of the “old king’s” son] against...[*lacunae*]...he killed the son of the king.” (*Cyrus/Nabonidus Chronicle*). It has been theorized that the missing words were to the effect, “against *the wishes of Cyrus.*”

J. Possibility exists that Gobryas, not satisfied with the death of ?the once-prince, then-king (“Belshazzar”?), who had killed his son, killed another, unidentified prince-son (“Belshazzar” was old enough to have sons of his own).

I. Tablets indicate that Cyrus gave Carmania to King Nabonidus, to rule. (*Camb.* v. III, p. 224)

C. EXPLORATION OF ISSUES:

- The ‘Assyrian’ Kings “snarl.”
- Was Neriglissar the monarch slain at the First Assyrian Camp battle?
- Identity of the Queen Mother called to Belshazzar’s Feast.
- *Daniel* Chronology.

(1) Considerations.

(a) Logic appears to be on the side of two Labynetuses/Naboniduses, one of whom became prince by marrying Nitocris, mediated the Media/Lydia treaty in 585 b.c., became a king after Labashi-Marduk, and fathered a son who bore his name, a Nabonidus II. In such case it would be Nabonidus I who, as said, mediated the Media/Lydia treaty in 585 b.c., and Nabonidus II, as king under whom the Babylonians were bound to Lydia and

⁶ Nabonidus’ age would qualify him for such a reference--refer to part (C)(1) here, while it also is possible that by “old” was intended “former.”

Croesus--thus in accord with Herodotus' statement, "the Babylonians under their King Labynetus" looked for assistance (c. 555 b.c.), and also in keeping with king Nabonidus [II] referring to his father as the "wise prince." If so, "Nabu-balatsu-ikbi" of the tablet cited at (B) (c) above would need to be an alternate name for Nabonidus I.

(b) It further can be postulated (a) that it was Neriglissar that was slain in the battle at the first Assyrian camp and to whom Gobryas referred as the "old" king; and (b) that Gobryas' statement, "that young fellow who has just come to the throne," meant Labashi-Marduk, given the lapse of but six years for both reigns *vis-a-vis* the time consumed, by all of Cyrus' prior actions plus preparations to enter Babylon.

(c) The following words have survived on an ancient memorial which appears scribed on behalf of the mother of king Nabonidus (blank spaces indicate *lacunae*, missing parts):

" the king of Assyria whose I was born: under Ashurbanipal, etillu-ilani, his son ssar, 43 years under Nebuchadnezzar 4 years under Neriglissar, rs of his godhead, his clouded face to my prayers, the angry command o the temple e'hul-hul, the temple, his heart's delight the le, Sin, the king of said : Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, the son make en in the temple e'-hul-hul! I care obeyed the orders which the king of the gods had pronounced . I did see myself Nabonidus the king of Babylon, the offspring of my womb, reinstated completely the forgotten rites of Sin."

Further along, the woman of the memorial credits Sin for her long life, "lasting from the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, to the sixth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the son of my womb for 104 happy years."

(d) Herodotus, in his writing about princess Nitocris (she who earlier had caused construction of major defensive works around Babylon, in anticipation of Median assaults [see sub-part (3), Ancestry of Nitocris]), did not say that Nitocris still was living at the time of the Babylon conquest. Herodotus reported only that it was her son against whom Cyrus II had marched. If the Nitocris of whom Herodotus wrote was the woman of the memorial, she could not have been present at Belshazzar's feast, in that she died apparently some 12 years before ("in the sixth year of Nabonidus").

(e) The timetable allows that the queen mother summoned to "Belshazzar's" feast could have been Amytis, the Median aunt of Cyrus II. That queen mother nowhere is referred to as "Belshazzar's" mother. (Possibility exists also that Amytis was mother of other Nebuchadnezzar sons; *Daniel* states, "the king...and his wives" already were present before said queen was called. (5.2; italics supplied.)

C. (2) (a) Explorative Timetable With Regard to the Within Issues.⁸

*Suggested
Year B.C./B.C.E.*

*Suggested
Year B.C./B.C.E.*

654 Suggested date of birth of the woman of the memorial
--Nitocris? If so,
? Princess Nitocris could have wed Labynetus/ Nabonidus I.
608 Date at which a second Labynetus/Nabonidus II
could have been born to Nitocris, in her early to mid-
forties. Such son would have been about 70 years old
at the time Cyrus took Babylon.

620 Estimated date of birth of Astyages.

616 Cyaxares I-----allied with -----Nabopolassar

605 Astyages would have been 15 years old.

605 Nebuchadnezzar became king at Babylon.

600 Amytis could have been born when Astyages was 20.

⁷ The situation at the Babylon court could have been similar to Xerxes I's later household (and, half-millennium later, to Herod the Great's), *i.e.* two opposed queen-mother camps--in this instance, the 'Assyrian/Babylonian' and the 'Median/Babylonian.'

⁸ Refer also to Calendar Year Comparison Timeline in Appendix 2D,

Suggested
Year B.C./B.C.E.

585 Astyages ascended the Median throne;
He would have been age 35.

539/38 Cyrus took Babylon and its court.
Per the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, "The harine lay down before him." Amytis would have been 62 or 61 years old. If Cyrus II did receive her with the Babylonian harem [see Nabonidus Chronicle, C(4)], that might underly the editorial remark at *Xenophon* VIII.v.28—that, after taking Babylon, "[S]ome historians say that he [Cyrus] married his mother's sister. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid."

⁹ Blank.

Suggested
Year B.C./B.C.E.

- 598/97 Third year of vassalage of king Jehoiakim of Judah; Nebuchadnezzar took certain sons of Judah into exile, including Daniel. (*Daniel* 1:1, 6)
- 597 One Nabu-na'id/Nabonidus [I?] was "over the city [of Babylon]" in Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year (per cuneiform tablet).
- 596/95 [?] "Second year" of the reign [over Jerusalem?] of Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel (who was called "Belteshazzar" by Nebuchadnezzar) interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream. (*Daniel* 2:1, 19ff.)
- ? At a second, unspecified time Daniel interpreted another Nebuchadnezzar dream. Nebuchadnezzar then made Daniel "great...and ruler over all the province of Babylon and Chief Prefect over all the wise men of Babylon." (*Daniel* 2:49)
- 586 Nergal-sha-rezer/Neriglissar sat with other Babylonian princes at Jerusalem's gate, after the fall of the city.
- 585 *This date is fixed by an eclipse*: "Labynetus the Babylonian" mediated peace between Medes and Lydians. (An older Labynetus/Nabonidus I, at this point, would have been in his mid- to late-forties if in his twenties when/if a Nabonidus II was born.)
- ? Nebuchadnezzar married Amytis.
- 562 End of Nebuchadnezzar; Amel-Marduk succeeded as Babylon's king.
- 560 Neriglissar disposed of brother-in-law Amel-Marduk and took the Babylon throne.
- 560 A "Belshazzar" is mentioned as "chief officer of the king" on a tablet of Neriglissar's accession year.
- 556/55 An "Assyrian monarch" (Neriglissar?) was slain at "first" Assyrian camp battle.
Assassination of Labashi-Marduk, Neriglissar's son.
"Nabonidus" [I?/II?] took Babylon's throne.
A business tablet of the first year of "Nabonidus" mentions a "Belshazzar" but with the title, "son of the king."
- 553 A cuneiform text of the third year of "Nabonidus" [I?/II?] says, in part, he "entrusted a camp to his eldest, his firstborn son: the troops of the land he sent with him. He freed his hand,...entrusted the kingship to him. Then he himself undertook a distant campaign;...toward Tema in the midst of the Westland he set his face." (*Aid* p. 211)
- 553 First year of "Belshazzar" (as co-regent at Babylon), Daniel had a dream.... (*Daniel* 7:1)
- 550 Third year of the reign of "Belshazzar:" Daniel had a vision; after Daniel's distress passed, he "arose and did business the king's." (*Daniel* 8:1)⁹
- 550 The mother of "Nabonidus" [I/II?] died at age 104 ("sixth year of Nabonidus").
- c. 550 Fifth year of Nabonidus [I?/II?], a "Belshazzar" was named as "son of the king" in a contract tablet. (*Camb.* v.
- 546 Croesus of Lydia looked for assistance to "the Babylonians under their [then-] king Labynetus/[Nabonidus I?/II?]," which assistance did not materialize.

539/38 "Nabonidus" returned to Babylon and was arrested.
 [If a Nabonidus II had been born c. 608, he here
 would have been some 70 years old.]
 c. 535 Third year of Cyrus [at Babylon]: Daniel had a
 revelation. (*Daniel* 10:1).
 c. 522 First year of Darius [I] the Mede, Daniel stood as a
 supporter for him.

C. (2) (b) Speculative Calculations.

	Nabonidus" Appearances		"Belshazzar" and Daniel	
	If only I	If a II	Years Derivable	
Possible birth date	626		Suggested date of birth	611
Possible birth date		608	Daniel captured at estimated age 13/14	598/97
			Daniel reared "three years" before coming before Nebuchadnezzar (at age 17/16?)	595
"Over the city" of Babylon	597		[Birth of Darius I, 584--"Darius the Mede took the kingdom when a son 62 years." <i>Daniel</i> 5:30.]	
Mediated peace	585		"Belshazzar" mentioned on a tablet	560
"Officer of the king"	560	560	"Belshazzar" mentioned on a tablet	556
Took throne	556	556	"Belshazzar" year 1	553
			Daniel dreamed (age 58?)	553
			"Belshazzar" year 3	550
			Daniel had a vision (age 61?)	550
Croesus looked for aid	546	546		
Cyrus II took Babylon	538	538	"Belshazzar" killed? <i>This would have been (560 - 538 =>) 22 years after his first mention on a tablet.</i> ¹⁰	538
<i>Projected age of "Nabonidus.:"</i>			Year 3 of Cyrus II, Daniel had a revelation	535
626 – 538 =	88		<i>Daniel would have been (611 – 535 =>) 76 years old.</i>	
608 – 538 =		70	Year 1 of Darius I, Daniel stood as his supporter.	522
			<i>Daniel would have been (611 - 522 =>) 89 years old.</i>	

(1) Daniel Supplementary Notes.

Nebuchadnezzar took into custody, in addition to Daniel, three other young offspring from Judah's royal house--Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, who Nebuchadnezzar renamed, respectively, as Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. No ages at capture are given.

A first appearance of a youthful Daniel in exile may be in the apocryphal *History of Susanna*.¹¹ A later appearance of Daniel in events during a friendship with the conqueror, Cyrus II, are recounted in the also-apocryphal *Bel and the Dragon*, wherein Daniel and Cyrus are presented in discourse as to whether the Babylonian Bel was a "living" god. Paraphrasing a portion of that text, Cyrus II asked Daniel, "You don't think so? But see how much He eats and drinks every day." Daniel replied, "Don't be fooled. This image, nothing but clay inside and brass outside, never ate or drank anything!"

King Cyrus summoned the priests, who were "threescore and ten, beside wives and children." On pain of death either for them or Daniel, Cyrus demanded to know who, if *not* Bel,

¹⁰ "Belshazzar" (of an age to be a chief officer in 560 b.c.) could have had children of his own before 538 b.c.

¹¹ See Appendix 3B, I, *History of Susanna*.

was consuming "these expences." The priests assured Cyrus it was the god, and for proof proposed that Cyrus, himself, set out the meat and wine and seal the sanctuary door shut with his signet. Unknown to the priests, Daniel had the sanctuary floor strewn with ashes. The priests entered the sanctuary by night, as they secretly always had by a hidden entrance underneath Bel's table; and it was they who emptied the food and wine vessels. When Cyrus personally opened the door the next day, saw that the offerings were gone, and began to hail Bel, Daniel held him back with a cautioning laugh: "Mark the footsteps in the ashes!"

Daniel was given a similar challenge relative to a dragon god-image of brass. Cyrus II permitted Daniel to prove a claim that he could slay the dragon "without sword or staff." Daniel stuffed the image with a seething mixture of pitch, fat and hair until it burst.

Cyrus abandoned Bel, finally, and put the Babylonian priests to death. Indignant subordinates of Cyrus rose up and alleged that he, the King, "was becoming a Jew." Nonetheless, Daniel rose to become one of the presidential triumvirate that shared administration of 120 scattered "satraps" (protectorates) of the Persian realm.

A third reported 'trial' of Daniel is reported in the canon, in the presence of Darius I--an attempted 'legal' entrapment devised by Daniel's foes in Persia's government. Daniel was charged with breaking, by his personal prayers, an edict that king Darius had been gulled into signing as a purported means of establishing himself in his new reign. The edict had ordered that, for 30 days, no one could "make any petition to any god or man," other than king Darius. (Neither the canon nor apocryphal report states exactly how Daniel escaped being attacked by the lions in the den into which he was placed; only that food was provided to them by one Habbucuc.)

C. (3) Ancestry of Nitocris: Queen Sammu-rabat/Semiramis of Assyria.

Herodotus was moved to mention that of all the sovereigns who ruled over Babylon "and lent their aid to the building of its walls and the adornment of its temples...two were women...the earlier, called Semiramis, held the throne *five generations* before the later princess.... [T]he later of the two queens [was] Nitocris, a wiser princess than her predecessor." (1.184-85; italics supplied)

As *Cambridge* reports, "The government of Assyria from 811 to 808 was actually conducted by the queen-mother, Sammu-ramat.... On a stele found in a corner of the wall of the city of Ashur...her name is recorded as the wife of Shamshi-Adad, the mother of [King] Adad-nirari, the daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser."

(a) Explorative Timeline.

811-808 b.c./b.c.e.

Sammu-rabat/Semiramis served as regent for an infant son.

/			
?	<i>Generation one</i>	of Herodotus' 5 generations	Mid-700's b.c.?
/			
?	<i>Generation two</i>	" "	to end of 700's b.c.?
/			
?	<i>Generation three</i>	" "	to mid-600's b.c.?
/			
?	<i>Generation four</i>	" "	to latter part of 600's b.c.?
/		Assurbanipal dead?--	
/		"Assyrian sources cease" c. 639.	

/	Emergence of Nabopolassar dynasty.	
/	<u>Nabopolassar reign commenced</u> ¹²	626
/		/
/	Medes took Nineveh, 14th yr. Nabopolassar	612
/		/
<u>Nitocris</u>	<i>Generation five</i> from Semiramis	/
	Nitocris caused truly formidable developments at and surrounding Babylon, especially “defensive” works—causing the river to take a highly circuitous course that hindered advance of foes and creating piers and removeable bridgeworks between the two portions of Babylon city that were divided by the river—which bridges were up during the day for business but down at night.	/
	“Nitocris...observing the great power of the Medes, who had taken so large a number of cities, and among them Nineveh, and expecting to be attacked in her turn, made all possible exertions to increase the defences of her empire.” (<i>Herodotus</i> , 1:185.)	/
		/
	<u>Nebuchadnezzar reign commenced</u> ¹³	605

C. (4) “Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle”/”Nabu-naid Chronicle”/”The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus.”

This tablet’s Babylonian cuneiform has been considered to be a copy of an earlier document, in that the *style* appears to date it some two centuries later. The text also has been taken to be Persian-slanted ‘propaganda,’ because it glorifies Cyrus II while presenting “Nabonidus” disparagingly. Nonetheless, its contents have been considered reliable and offer the most complete cuneiform record of the fall of Babylon.

Column 1, line 8 of the inscription states that Nabonidus had entrusted the kingship to his “son” but lacks the son’s name.

Two renderings of the tablet’s details related to the taking of Babylon city are as follows:

“On the 14th day Sippar was taken without battle. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples, and no standard was advanced. On the third day of Marcheshvan Cyrus entered Babylon. The harine lay down before him. Peace was established for the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. He appointed Gobryas, his governor, governor in Babylon.... On the night of the 11th day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against...[*lacunae*]...he killed the son of the king.”¹⁴

“[Year missing]¹⁵...in the month of Tashritu, when Cyrus attacked the army of Akkad in Opis on the Tigris, the inhabitants of Akkad revolted [to Cyrus] but he (*Nabonidus*) massacred the confused inhabitants. The 14th day, Sippar was

¹² A reign of 21 years per deducted common chronology.

¹³ A reign of 43 years per memorial described below.

¹⁴ *Cambridge*.

¹⁵ “17th year” is supplied by some scholars.

seized without battle. Nabonidus fled. The 16th day Gobryas (*Ugbaru*), the governor of Gutium, and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Afterwards Nabonidus was arrested in Babylon when he returned...[*lacunae*]. In the month of Arahshammu, the third day, Cyrus entered Babylon, green twigs were spread in front of him--the state of 'Peace' (*sulmu*) was imposed upon the city."¹⁶

¹⁶ James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1955), p. 306, as quoted in *Aid*, p. 1197.

APPENDIX 3A, III

NARRATIVE *Herodotus and Xenophon*

Notes:

Citations at regular intervals are *Herodotus*, italicized *book.paragraph*, and *Xenophon*, underscored *book, chapter.paragraph*. The citations when they occur refer to preceding paragraphs. Supplementations from *Cambridge Ancient History* are cited volume and page(s).

The narration presents primary historical highlights and relationships. Battle strategies and national cultures, as well as secondary events described by *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, are not summarized.

Bracketed numbers or letters following proper names correspond with Appendix 3A, I (Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia). Refer to Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," for chronological orientation.

Herodotus states that the "Assyrians"¹ dominated upper-Asia 520 years before the Medes consolidated and revolted. Circa 700 b.c. Mede leaders, determined to corral anarchy in their regions, appointed a king--Deioces, "a man of much wisdom [and] ambition, [an] arbiter." Deioces collected a nation of Median tribes, including the Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii and the Magi, and caused construction of "Agbatana" as a central Mede city. Deioces reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son, Phraortes II, under whom Media came to dominate some neighboring Persian provinces as well.²

When Phraortes II succeeded Deioces, the Ninevehite Assyrians, "former...lords of Asia," internally were "as flourishing as ever," but had lost allies and stood alone. Phraortes II battled the Ninevehite Assyrians once, at the end of his 22-year reign; but he and the greater part of his army perished in the attempt. Phraortes II was succeeded by his son, Cyaxares I.
1.96-102, 140

Cyaxares I reigned for 40 years. Initially, after one successful battle against the Ninevehite Assyrians and while laying siege at Nineveh, itself, the Medes were overrun by Scythians from the north. The Scythians were pursuing their Cimmerian foes but conquered the Medes, also, in the process. Scythian leaders kept the Medes under tribute some 28 years, until at a banquet Cyaxares I and his party massacred "the greater part of them." "The Medes then recovered their empire to the same extent of dominion as before. They took Nineveh...and conquered all Assyria except the district of Babylonia."
1.103-106

Subsequently, hostilities broke out between Cyaxares I and King Alyattes of Lydia.³ Their warring came to an end in its sixth year, when an eclipse which occurred at the height of their last battle induced them to negotiate a peace. As part of their pact Alyattes gave his daughter, Aryenis (sister of Alyattes' successor, Croesus) in marriage to Astyages, Cyaxares I's son. The Media/Lydia treaty was mediated by "Syennis of Cilicia and Labynetus of Babylon,"⁴ who...brought about the exchange of espousals...that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages....
1.16; 1.74-75

Astyages, who succeeded his father, reigned as Media's king for 35 years. Astyages

¹ Particular use(s) of the term *Assyrian* by the ancient historians will be noted as the narrative progresses. "By Assyria, Xenophon means the land [later] governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia." *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, v. II, p. 465; see also Appendix 2A, *Assyria*.

² (a) According to *Herodotus*, the Magi were "a very peculiar race/[breed?]"--different entirely from the Egyptian priests. ["Astrologers (Greek, *magoi*; "Magi," AS margin, *Confraternity*, Weymouth; "magicians," *Diaglott*).] (b) According to *The Imperial Bible Dictionary* (Vol. II, p. 139, as *Aid*, p. 155, supplies): "...the magi...professed to interpret dreams, and had the official charge of sacred rites;...in short, the learned and priestly class having, as was supposed, the skill of deriving from books and the observation of the stars a supernatural insight into coming events." (c) *Agbatana*: biblical "Ecbatana;" *Old Persian* "Hagmatana," *Syrian* "Achmetha" (*Ezra* 6:2); present-day Hamadan, Iran--see Appendix 2A, *Ecbatana, etc*

³ 1.73; refer to Appendix 3A, I, "Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia."

⁴ "Labynetus" long has been taken as Herodotus' manner of writing "Nabonidus"--refer to fn. 7.

gave his daughter, Mandane, in marriage to the “Persian,” Cambyses I of ‘Anshan.’⁵ Astyages, when he learned Mandane was pregnant, fetched her back to Media. Mandane’s child was a son, Cyrus II. Cyrus II was, via his father, a prince of the “noblest tribe, the Pasargadae, from which sprang all the Persian kings,” in the line of the *Achaemenidae*.

1.125

It appears from ensuing text that at some point after Cyrus II’s birth Mandane returned to her husband. Meanwhile, grandfather Astyages (influenced by a “dream” which he interpreted as prophesying the loss of his kingdom) arranged for baby Cyrus to be killed by one Harpagus. Harpagus, however, fearing Mandane’s revenge if/when her father should die, sloughed off the job onto a herdsman. The herdsman’s wife convinced her husband to preserve the baby’s life, and they secretly raised Cyrus II in place of their own recently-
stillborn son.⁶

1.107-113; 1.130; 1.46; 1.75; I.ii.1; III.i.10

Astyages discovered that Cyrus II still was alive when the boy was 10 years old. Reassured by favorable Magian counsel, Astyages at that point sent Cyrus II to Persia to his parents. (He nonetheless inflicted dreadful punishment on Harpagus for not following orders).

1.114ff.; 1.123

Cyrus II’s earning of the appellation, “the Great,” began early in his life. An [unnamed] son of the “king of the Assyrians”⁷ made an armed hunting foray into Median territory, when Cyrus was about 16 and Astyages still was Media’s king. Cyrus with a Mede contingent attacked and defeated the Assyrian party.

I. iv.16 ff.

According to Herodotus, one Harpagus, apparently associated with Astyages’ court, hatched a plot to dethrone Astyages in favor of the prince, Cyrus II. Said Harpagus paved the way with Media’s nobility, who opposed Astyages’ “harsh rule.” The roads between Media and Persia were guarded, but Harpagus managed to get a confirming message to Cyrus: he had it sewn inside a dead, unskinned hare and delivered by a slave disguised as a hunter, who whispered a quick message to Cyrus that he, himself should paunch the hare and only when he was alone. Cyrus assembled the principals of the Median tribes/clans disposed to revolt.

Astyages got word of the plot, armed his forces and appointed Harpagus as general, not knowing that he was set to throw the battle. “[W]hen the two armies met and engaged, only a few of the Medes, who were not in the secret, fought; others deserted openly to the Persians [Anshanites]; while the greater number counterfeited fear and fled.” Astyages impaled his Magian interpreters, armed the Medes who remained loyal to him and fought; but he was “utterly defeated” and captured. “Thus, after a reign of 35 years, Astyages lost his crown, and the Medes...were brought under the rule of the Persians.” Cyrus “took Astyages prisoner 559 b.c.,” although, “Xenophon...relates a different story...that Cyrus and Astyages lived in the most undisturbed friendship together” afterwards, and Astyages was done no injury.

1.123-30; *Lempriere*, p. 88.

“In the course of time Astyages died in Media, and Cyaxares [II], the son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus’ mother [Mandane], succeeded to the Median throne.”

I.v.2

“At that time the [unspecified]⁸ king of Assyria had subjugated all Syria, a very large nation...had made the king of Arabia his vassal...already had Hyrcania under his dominion, and was closely besetting Bactria.” He now sought to conquer the Medes, and “sent around

⁵ See Appendix 2A, *Elam*.

⁶ *Xenophon* does not relate the Harpagus matter.

⁷ See Appendix 3A, II, “Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians,” concerning what *Xenophon*’s editor terms the “inextricable snarl” posed by the ancient historians’ insufficient references, involving identification (among others) of Labynetus/Nabonidus and Belshazzar. (One timeframe allows this “Assyrian king” to have been Neriglissar.)

⁸ Possible Neriglissar; see preceding footnote.

to all under his sway”⁹ for an alliance against the Medes and Persians, who “had intermarried with each other and were united in common interests.”

Cyaxares II, advised of war preparations against him and Media, sent a request for aid to the Persian “state”--“both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king [of Anshan] ...and to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men.” Persia’s elders did choose Cyrus II to lead an expedition and authorized him to organize an army. Cambyses I accompanied son Cyrus and his men as far as the frontier.

On arrival in Media, Cyrus II became the prime strategist for his uncle Cyaxares II (his mother’s brother), and proceeded to administer and train their joint armies. I.v.2-5ff.

One important preparatory task was to deal with Armenia, previously a vassal of Media under Astyages. Armenia had ceased paying tribute to Cyaxares II, and, banking on a gathering “Assyrian” invasion of Media, was building itself a fort at the northern frontier. Cyrus II took a force there, cornered the Armenian king and put him on trial for non-compliance. Tigranes, Armenia’s crown prince¹⁰ and a past hunting friend of Cyrus’, argued his father’s case. Cyrus was lenient and forgave the offense in exchange for a new, firmer alliance. Cyrus returned the Armenian king’s wife and children, as well as Tigranes’ wife (Tigranes was “newly married”) and bade them all live in peace and prosperity.

Cyrus II then immediately set about to settle the differences between the Armenians and their northern neighbors, referred to as “Chaldeans.”¹¹ He and his force backed an Armenian march into the mountains, where the Chaldean force was overtaken and disbursed. After taking possession of the heights, Cyrus forged agreements between the parties to share tillage and pasturage of land, under Median protection; and a joint protective garrison under a Mede commander was established on the heights.

Cyrus II returned to Media, reinforced by funds obtained from Armenia and with certainty of that quarter as a source for more aid if/when needed. He proposed to Cyaxares II that they not wait for an attack but instead immediately take the offensive and themselves invade ‘Assyria.’ Cyaxares approved. He and Cyrus advanced together to meet the foe, crossing the boundary into Assyrian land.¹² III.iii.24ff., 57-70

King Croesus of Lydia had “made himself master of all the Greek cities in Asia [Minor], and forced them to become his tributaries;” and, “in the course of many years, brought under his sway almost all the nations west of the Halys.” Croesus took his army across the river Halys, “entered the district of Cappadocia...began to ravage the field of...and brought ruin on the Syrians, who were guilty of no offence towards him.” Cyrus II then marched against Croesus, “increasing his numbers at every step by the forces of the nations that lay in his way.” “The combat was hot and bloody, and upon both sides the number of the slain was great; nor had victory declared in favour of either.” 1.27-28; 1.76

The exact locations of two major engagements are not given, and only “the [unspecified] Assyrian king” and Croesus are mentioned as being with the ‘Assyrian’ army. By the end of the encounter at the first Assyrian “camp,” where the Assyrians had built a rampart and breastworks, they had sustained a heavy slaughter and were beaten back to their defenses. Cyrus, cautious in the face of his weary and still outnumbered men, called a

⁹ Including Lydia (Croesus), Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, India, Caria, and Celicia.

¹⁰ “Tigranes” reappears as a name in Armenia’s monarchy in *New Testament* times; see Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(1).

¹¹ *Chaldean* here is distinguished from Nabopolassar and his descendants, who are found referred to as “Chaldean” biblically and “Assyrian” by *Xenophon*, who makes reference to “...Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria.” II.i.5. Refer to Appendix 1F, Chaldaea/Chaldaeans.

¹² The status of two albeit allied but still-distinct entities, Median and Persian, was caught in Cyaxares statement, “Do not let yourselves imagine, Cyrus and the rest of you Persians, that I am embarrassed at having to support you. As for invading the enemy’s country at once, however, I too consider that the better plan from every point of view.” III.iii.20.

temporary retreat.

III.iii.24ff., 57-70

The Assyrians had lost their general;¹³ many of their men deserted in the night. “[C]roesus and the rest of their allies...too lost heart...quitted their camp, and departed under cover of the night.” Cyrus proposed pursuit. Cyaxares II preferred savoring the current victory but on Cyrus’ supplication gave leave for Cyrus to pursue the enemy with what troops he could get to volunteer. Cyaxares expected the Mede troops also would rather make merry than continue warring at that time and did not realize the full extent of loyalty Cyrus had come to command. IV.i.8ff.

Cyrus engaged himself with preparations for pursuit. Meanwhile, seeing panic in the Assyrian ranks and desertion of their discouraged allies, and since “*the Assyrian monarch was now slain,*”¹⁴ the Hyrcanians (“neighbors of the Assyrians”) decided to revolt against the ‘Assyrian’ overlord and join Cyrus. The Hyrcanians assured Cyrus that, if a march began immediately, the enemy (marching slowly due to a large entourage) could be overtaken before reaching its “strongholds.” “The result was that all came out—even the Medes, [only] excepting those...feasting with Cyaxares.” Cyrus entrusted the Hyrcanians to lead the way; and the second Assyrian camp, caught by surprise, fell into great disassembly. Lydian king Croesus and the Phrygian king retreated early; but the kings of Cappadocia and Arabia stood ground and were cut down, while “the majority of the slain were Assyrians and Arabians.” IV.ii.1-31

While part of the Medes dealt with seized supply wagons, “others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought along; these also they captured and brought in.” Hystaspas, “one of the Persian peers” at Cyrus’ camp, agreed with Cyrus as to how soldiers should comport themselves.¹⁵ Cyrus counseled his Persians that it was prudent to entrust division of the spoils of battle to the Medes, Hyrcanians and Tigranes, emphasizing that the Persians, through continence and by taking only what voluntarily was shared, would ensure the loyalty of their new allies. (However, when Cyrus witnessed the abundant collection and transport of spoil by Mede and Hyrcanian horsemen, he determined it was time for the Persians to establish their own cavalry and develop themselves as horsemen.) IV.ii.46; IV.III.4ff.

Cyrus spared and put at liberty all captives who voluntarily surrendered their arms and pledged allegiance to him. IV.iv.9-13

Back at his camp a vexed Cyaxares II, who had found himself nearly depleted of men after Cyrus’ departure, was doubly angry when he learned of the Hyrcanian involvement. He sent a 100-man cavalry to Cyrus’ camp with a message that the Mede soldiers return with or without Cyrus, in which latter case Cyrus would be left with only infantry. Cyrus, prior to his audience with Cyaxares’ attache, dispatched a message to Persia [presumably to his father, Cambyses I], to send reinforcements if they/he desired “to have control of Asia and the revenues accruing therefrom.” IV.v.10-25

Next, Cyrus set the Hyrcanian king to convincing Cyaxares’ cavalry officer of the logic that the officer and all the Medes should remain with Cyrus. Then Cyrus sent a conciliatory but fully disclosing message back to his uncle, pointing out that the Medes undoubtedly would turn against Cyaxares if he insisted that they return, while on the other hand if they remained Cyrus would guarantee that his Persians also would be at Cyaxares’ service, and that all efforts would be jointly toward their common benefit. IV.v.27-33

Meanwhile, for the Persians’ share of the spoils, Cyrus only asked for and received

¹³ This may be a reference to the [unspecified] Assyrian monarch who Xenophon reports in the next paragraph.

¹⁴ Italics supplied. (Was this monarch Neriglissar?; see fn. 8.)

¹⁵ Hystaspas/Hystaspes also is the name of the father of later Darius I (at *Herodotus*, 1.204-215, below.).

captured horses for his men. Among other interim acts, Cyrus “ordered proclamation to be made that if there were any one from Media or Persia or Bactria or Caria or Greece or anywhere else forced into service as a slave in the army of the Assyrians or Syrians or Arabians, he should show himself. And many came forward gladly.” These Cyrus made part of a supporting infantry for his developing cavalry. [IV.v.55-58](#)

Finally, Cyrus put the matter straight to the Mede soldiers, whether the campaign against the ‘Assyrians’ ought to be abandoned or continued. Artabazus (a commander), Tigranes, and the Hyrcanian king were leading enthusiasts, as “all the Medes” pledged to follow Cyrus until he deemed it time to lead them home. [V.i.23-29](#)

Cyrus sent to Cyaxares II to come for a war council, to inspect the army and decide disposition of captured forts--although, if Cyaxares so preferred and commanded, Cyrus instead willingly would go to him. Cyaxares both felt it best to keep the army at the frontier and to transfer out of Media 40,000 Persian bowmen and peltast reinforcements (assembled earlier at Cyrus’ request), who were a drain on Median land. Cyaxares released their commander to take them to Cyrus, and he personally set out with the Median cavalry that originally had remained with him.

On arrival, Cyaxares turned away from Cyrus’ kiss, at first, upon seeing the great and valiant company Cyrus had assembled compared to his own small escort. After a long discourse--in which Cyaxares complained and Cyrus explained and assuaged--Cyaxares to the relief of both Mede and Persian soldiers allowed himself to be reconciled. [V.i.1-37](#)

The next day, while Cyaxares II was preparing to hold court at the camp, Cyrus’ allies gathered around him, at once jokingly and dead serious about wanting him not to disband as he had intimated he might. At the assembly before Cyaxares, Cyrus explained that he had suggested disbanding the army because he expected his plan would be seen as too bold. The only way he saw to victory, Cyrus said, was for them to get possession of as many enemy forts as quickly as possible while at the same time build their own. At the end of the speeches, Cyaxares II stood up and declared the Medes would be glad to cooperate. The decision to continue the war was unanimous.

Babylonian deserters reported that the “Assyrian king”¹⁶ had gone off in the direction of Lydia with many talents of gold and silver. Cyrus deduced correctly that the “Assyrian king” had gone to form a coalition and immediately set himself to issues of strategy and equipment, including construction of chariots modified for greater battle efficiency. [VI.i.25-7](#)

Cyrus needed someone to infiltrate the enemy. He privately nailed one Araspas, a longtime friend, for the job.¹⁷ With Araspas off on his mission, Cyrus prepared for battle; among his counselors were Hystaspas and King Abradatas of Susa.¹⁸ Spies that Cyrus sent to the enemy camp reported back that “[M]any Thracian swordsmen had already been hired and that Egyptians were under sail to join.... [T]he Cyprian army [and] the Cilicians were all present already...as were also the contingents from Phrygia, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Arabia, and Phoenicia; the Assyrians were there *under the king of Babylon*; the Ionians also, and the Aeolians and almost all the Greek colonists in Asia had been compelled to join Croesus, and Croesus had even sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate an alliance. This army, they said, was being mustered at the River Pactolus, but it was their intent to advance to Thymbrara, where even to-day [remarked Xenophon] is the rendezvous of the king’s

¹⁶ Nabonidus?--refer to fn. 7 and cross-references.

¹⁷ Cyrus previously had assigned Araspas to guard Panthea, beautiful wife of King Abradatas, King of Susa, while Abradatas went on an emissarial mission. Araspas was unable to refrain from making advances to Panthea; eventually he became so intimidating that Panthea reported his behavior to Cyrus. Cyrus now pointed out to Araspas that his transgression would be a convincing cause for the enemy to accept him as a “defector,” by which mission Araspas would restore himself in Cyrus’ good graces. [VI.iii.35](#); [V.i.3ff.](#)

¹⁸ See Appendix 2A, [Elam](#).

barbarians from the interior.”¹⁹

VI.ii.9

Croesus “meant to call on the Egyptians to send him aid, according to the terms of the alliance which he had concluded with Amasis,” and “also to summon to his assistance the Babylonians, under their King Labynetus,²⁰ for they too were bound to him by treaty.” 1.77-84

Cyrus began his march and arrived within “two parasangs” (7-1/2 miles) of the enemy, where an informant told him that “Croesus, himself” was marshal,²¹ and that with him was “a Greek and someone else--a Mede; the latter, however, was said to be a deserter from your side [Araspas].” It was not until Araspas’ return that Cyrus revealed to his coalition that Araspas in fact had not defected. Araspas reported fully on the foe’s battle array, and Egyptian participation also was confirmed. VI.iii.11ff.

The battle engaged, and Cyrus’ forces prevailed.²² Croesus fled to Sardis/Sardes, the Lydian capital. Cyrus conquered Sardis after a 14-day siege and captured Croesus. (He chastized his “Chaldean” contingent for running haphazardly for spoil.) In an audience with Cyrus, Croesus offered Cyrus all of Lydia’s treasures. Cyrus distributed bounty among his men and restored Croesus²³ to his household. Cyrus now had the substantial vassalage of Croesus and the Lydians.

Among ensuing events, Cyrus’ emissary Adusius quelled a civil war in Caria and established peace between factions there. The Greeks “who dwelt by the sea [in Asia Minor] gave many gifts and secured an agreement to...pay tribute and serve under Cyrus in the field wherever he should direct.” Cyrus started from Sardis in the company of Croesus, with “many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort.”

Cyrus’ ultimate goal was Babylon.²⁴ On the way he subdued greater Phrygia and Cappadocia, reduced the Arabians to submission, and secured armor from the Arabians for 40,000 Persian horsemen. The many horses that fell to his lot he distributed among his army’s divisions. He also armed and included in his march such Lydians as he felt he could trust. Those he did not trust were branded as slaves, given slingshots, and marched as infantry. To VII.iv.12-16; 1.86

From among the surrendered enemy there had arrived one Gobryas,²⁵ “an ‘Assyrian,’ a man well advanced in years, [who] came up on horseback with a calvary escort” and asked an audience with Cyrus. Gobryas, “governor of Gutium²⁶” told Cyrus his reasons for wanting to join, and why he hated the ‘new’ Assyrian king: Gobryas had been vassal to the “old” ‘Assyrian’ king, who had offered to give a daughter in marriage to Gobryas’ only son, and

¹⁹ (a) The river Pactolus, that “[F]amous river with its golden sands (now only a small brook), rising in Mt. Tmolus and flowing through Lydia past Sardis” (*Xenophon Cyropaedia*, p. 474, Index); (b) Thymbrara, a city of Lydia on the Pactolus not far from Sardis (*Ibid.*, p. 477); (c) Ety. [barbarian:] *barbaroi* = “people speaking an incomprehensible language;” a word used by the Greeks” (*Atlas of the Classical World*, VanDerHeyden, A.A.M. and Scullard, H.H., Eds.; London, etc.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1959, p. 31).

²⁰ Refer again to fn. 7. It is believed that the Babylonian king failed to respond.

²¹ It was Cyrus’ deposal of Astyages, Croesus’ brother-in-law, which “formed the ground of quarrel between Cyrus and Croesus.”

²² Early in the battle Cyrus spared Egyptians willing to join him; they asked, however, not to be put to fight where they could be seen by Croesus, with whom they were “acquainted.” (The defectors “have continued loyal subjects even to this day [of writing],” and also received cities called “even to this day Egyptian cities.”)

²³ Cyrus learned Abradatas of Susa had been killed in battle; he found Panthea at her husband’s dead body. After Cyrus left she killed herself. Her three eunuchs also killed themselves; Cyrus had a monument reared over all of them.

²⁴ The alliance of Lydia, Egypt and Babylonia “sharpened the intention of Cyrus to deal with the remaining members of it. ... Yet the attack on Babylon was not made for a few years after the fall of Lydia.” *Cambridge*, v. IV, pp. 10-11.

²⁵ Possibly *Gubaru* or *Ugbaru* of the “*Nabonidus Chronicle*.” The name, Gobryas, would be among the seven men who, according to *Herodotus*, later raised Darius I to the throne.

²⁶ See Appendix 2A, Gutium.

who had invited the young man to his court. While together on a hunt, Gobryas' son was murdered by the "old" Assyrian king's prince-son: that "young fellow," Gobryas said, "who has just come to the throne."²⁷

Gobryas further had told Cyrus II, "I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the [old] Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you...and offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger." Cyrus subsequently went with a Persian contingent to visit Gobryas at his fortress. Gobryas offered Cyrus his daughter in marriage and his palace whenever Cyrus chose to use it, vowing he would fight for Cyrus and pay tribute regularly to him. Cyrus confirmed the pact; but he left both the daughter and a proffered dowry with Gobryas, to keep until the day of an actual marriage (which Cyrus later arranged but not to himself--to a different man acceptable to Gobryas). IV.vi.1-2

Cyrus asked Gobryas for a tour through his country, "so that we may know what we have to consider as belonging to our friends and what...our enemies," and consulted with both Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king as to what to do about the "Assyrian king." Cyrus asked, "[D]oes the Assyrian king believe that you are the only ones who are hostile to him, or do you know of any one else who is his enemy?" Hyrcania's king assured Cyrus that many clans (including the Cadacians and Sacians) would be eager to join Cyrus "in an attack upon the Assyrian." Gobryas mentioned another leader certain to join--a man named Gadatas. Gobryas related that Gadatas, now king in his province, had been castrated when a prince by order of "the Assyrian."

To reach Gadatas' territory, however, meant marching "along the very walls of Babylon." Gobryas felt Cyrus' army wasn't big enough to go by Babylon, given the potential size of the force that might come out to meet it; but Cyrus was confident that the winning attitude of his now-enlarged allied army would stand the test, and that they should approach openly. In four days they left "the boundaries of Gobrya's domains...and...[entered] the enemy's country." V.ii.21-30-iii

The sequencing cannot be fixed exactly of (a) Gobryas' appearance, (b) Cyrus' reconnaissance of Gutium, and (c) the enlistment of Gadatas *vis-a-vis* two battles that preceded the conquest of Babylon. However, "Cyrus set his army in motion...and about the beginning of Tishri (September-October) in 539 b.c. he fought a battle at Opis [near the SW border of Gutium], and this action was the signal for a general revolt in Akkad. By the 14th of the month Tishri he had appeared before the walls of Sippar [SE of Opis] which threw open its gates to the invader. The wretched king, Nabonidus, now at the eleventh hour back in his land, fled to Babylon...." *Cambridge*, v. III, p. 224.

Cyrus II approached Babylon and, "as the Assyrians did not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say, 'If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors.'" The Assyrian king²⁸ sent back, "This is your sovereign's response to you, Gobryas: I do not regret that I killed your son, but only that I did not kill you, too. And if you and your men wish to fight, come back a month from now. Just at present we have no time to fight, for we are still busy with our preparations." When Gobryas returned the message to Cyrus,²⁹ Cyrus drew back and proposed to Gobryas that they proceed to enlist Gadatas. V.iii.5-8

²⁷ Refer to fn. 7, etc. regarding the "inextricable snarl" involving which *Babylonian* ("Assyrian") kings were meant. Appendix 3A, II(C)(2) offers an exploratory timeline and reasonings based on available data.

²⁸ Here, again, is involved the "snarl" of 'Assyrian' kings referenced at fn. 7, etc.

²⁹ As Gadatas would note, things presently were quite different from the time when "we were friends to the Assyrian king. [M]y father's estate seemed to me the finest in the world; for it was so near to the mighty city of Babylon that we enjoyed all the advantages of a great city but could come back home and be rid of all its rush and worry. But now that we are his enemies, it is obvious that with your departure we ourselves and our whole house shall be the victims of plots, etc." V.iv.33-39

Cyrus drew a scheme whereby Gobryas secretly would obtain Gadatas' alliance. Then, Gadatas would 'happen to appear' at "the Assyrian's" frontier fort, just as Cyrus commenced a mild attack. Gadatas, who would be taken by the fort commanders to be still an Assyrian vassal, would feign to assist their defense and gain position at the fortress to help Cyrus win it. The plan succeeded; and "a base of operations [was] established in the north-east."
V.iii.13ff.; (the last quote is an editor's note).

Word arrived that the angered Assyrian king, having heard events, was on his way to invade Gadatas' territory. Gadatas took leave of Cyrus to return home. The Assyrian king gained possession of Gadatas' fortress and laid an ambush, into which Gadatas fell and was wounded; but just when it looked like all was lost Cyrus appeared with his men and saved the day. The Assyrians were routed and many were slain; others "had time to reach a large city of Assyria, in which the king himself with his horsemen and chariots also took refuge."
V.iv.4-9

Gadatas worried he would not be able to hold ground against possible further attacks once Cyrus and his men departed. Cyrus proposed they leave a garrison and that Gadatas go into the field with him. Gadatas agreed.
V.iv.33-39

This time when Cyrus marched his army by Babylon city he "constantly kept the part [of it] just passing the city the strongest," continuing his march until in the "usual number of days" he came to "the place on the boundaries between Media and Syria" from which he had originally started.³¹ There, he and Gadatas took over three Syrian forts. "Cyrus in person" assaulted one and took it by storm and by intimidation he obtained surrender of a second; Gadatas persuaded capitulation of the third.
V.iv.50-51

Herodotus relates how, of all of Babylon's sovereigns who contributed to its building, two were women, Semiramis and Nitocris.³² "The expedition of Cyrus was undertaken against the son of [the latter] princess, who bore the same name as his father, Labynetus/[Nabonidus], and was the king of the Assyrians." 1.188

Cyrus planned to lay a long siege at Babylon. The river ("two stadia across") posed problems. He "spent an entire summer having his army dig 180 trenches to drain the Gyndes stream after one of his sacred white horses was drowned in trying to cross it."
1.189

One battle, a short distance from city, the Persians won; the Babylonians retreated inside their well-fortified and provisioned walls.
1.190

"[With] the first approach of the ensuing spring, he [Cyrus II] marched forward against Babylon [the city]." He "arrived before Babylon with a great host of calvary, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers beyond number." Cyrus dug trenches either side of the city and built towers. Babylonians laughed at him from the walls, "in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than 20 years." But when Cyrus opened the heads of the trenches the bed of the river where it traversed the city became passable for men.
VII.iv.16; VII.v.7-16

The Babylonians remained seemingly unconcerned within their well-provisioned city. "Had the Babylonians...noticed," they would not have been caught in his trap. "But...the Persians came upon them by surprise and so took the city." According to *Herodotus*, later the "Babylonians declare[d]" that the city was so big its "inhabitants of the central parts...long after the outer portions of the town were taken, knew nothing..., but as they were engaged in

³⁰ Gadatas said "I should like to take my mother with me," and did, along with "many of his own loved and trusted friends and many also of those whom he distrusted, compelling some to bring along their wives, others their brothers and sisters, in order that he might keep them under control..." V.iv.33-39

³¹ "Used erroneously for Assyria;" *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, p. 477. (From 312/311 b.c., the beginning of the era of Seleucus, "as it truly is observed by Dr. Hudson..., the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin,...that the Assyrians were afterward called Syrians." Whiston *AJ*, note to XIII.VI.7.)

³² Refer to Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians," for detail of these queens.

a festival, they continued dancing and revelling until they learnt the capture but too certainly. Such, then, were the circumstances of the first taking of Babylon.” (Darius I would be required later to resubdue Babylon when he took the Persian throne.) 1.189-91

“All the city is feasting this night” was the word, when Cyrus’s force advanced to the Babylonian palace. “Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops” attacked the palace guard; and the uproar being heard within, “at the king’s command, to see what the matter was, some opened the gates and ran out.” Gobryas and Gadatas fought their way “into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand...overpowered him; and those about the king perished also.”³³ VII.v.25ff.

“Gadatas and Gobryas...did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves upon the wicked king....” VII.v.32

Cyrus graciously negotiated with Gobryas that, instead of to Cyrus, Gobryas give his daughter in marriage to Hystaspas. VIII.iv.16, 24-26

In Cyrus’s subsequent march homeward, when he “came near Media, he turned aside to visit Cyaxares II, who gave his [unnamed] daughter to Cyrus to marry, saying, “[M]y own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father’s daughter, whose son you are. This [maid] is she whom you used to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. ... And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue.” VIII.v.17

Cyrus continued to the Persian capital of Persepolis where his father, Cambyses I, still was alive. Cambyses I said, “As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me.” VIII.v.21-26

Herodotus (1) and *Xenophon* (2) differ as to the description of Cyrus II’s death, respectively:

(1) “Of the many different accounts...this...appears...most worthy of credit:” that he died battling the Massagetae, who inhabited the greater portion of the vast plain stretching east of the Caspian Sea. Cyrus made an expedition against them, failed to entice its queen, Tomyris, and caused capture of her son, who killed himself out of shame. Tomyris gave Cyrus a fierce battle, in which he fell, after a reign of 29 years.

Cyrus purportedly had had a dream or premonition that “Darius, the eldest son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames...of the race of Achaemenidae”--then scarcely 20 years old, was plotting against him and his crown. Hystaspes, who was with Cyrus at the time, heartily demurred that Darius had any such notion, but he “hastened back to Persia to keep a watch on his son, Darius.” Nonetheless, before the Massagetae engagement, Cyrus sent his own son and appointed successor, Cambyses II, back to Persia. 1.204-215

(2) Cyrus, “now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and mother were in the course of nature long since dead....” While there, Cyrus entered the final days of his own life and is described in discourse with his two sons, Cambyses II and Tanaoxares. The kingdom he committed to Cambyses II, “the first born. To Tanaoxares he gave the satrapies of Media, Armenia and Cadusia.” “[A]s soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate.” VIII.vii.1-2, 8-12

³³ (Yet again, the “Assyrian king” snarl, referenced in fn. 7, etc.) See description translations of Babylon’s taking in Appendix 3A, II(C)(4), “Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle”/“The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus.”

Regardless the manner of Cyrus II's death or final words, it is clear that matters between his sons were not yet in agreement prior to Cambyses II embarking on an expedition to conquer Egypt. (Per rumor, Cambyses II suffered from epilepsy; some of his acts outraged both allies and Persians alike.) Reportedly, prior to his departure, he made arrangements for the murder of a brother or half-brother, around whose name revolves some confusion. According to Darius I, on his later *Behistan/Behistun* inscription:

“When Cambyses slew *Bardiya* [/Bardes] it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain: afterwards Cambyses went to Egypt: when Cambyses had departed into Egypt [he is reported to have been away from Persia three years] the people became hostile...afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, Gaumata by name...he lied to the people ‘I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses’: afterwards all the peoples rose in revolt, and from Cambyses they went over to him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces: he seized on the kingdom...afterwards Cambyses died.” (*Cambridge* VI, vii.)

According to Herodotus, the leading magi of Persia kept ‘Bardiya’ ostensibly alive by substituting for him the brother of the comptroller of the royal household, said to have borne a striking resemblance to the dead man (both the imposter and Tanaoxares are found referred to as ‘Smerdis’). The imposter was kept from public view; and with the commonweal ignorant as to the true circumstances, the magi declared ‘Bardiya’ (some sources say ‘Tanaoxares’) indeed was on the throne, and issued proclamations--everywhere, Egypt included--that Persia's troops thenceforth were to be loyal to him as king, not Cambyses II.

Cambyses II had taken with him on his expedition his [unnamed] full sister. She died there, reportedly at his hands, assaulted by him in fury over her laments of her murdered, full or half brother's fate. She happened also to be pregnant, “miscarried and died.” 3.32.

Cambyses II “conquered Egypt and...plundered their temples. ...He afterwards sent an army of 50,000 men to destroy Jupiter Ammon's temple, and resolved to attack the Carthaginians and Aethiopians.” (*Lempriere* 121.) Cambyses “advanced even as far as *Meroe* [Ethiopia]; [the] name was given by him to both the island and the city, it is said, because his sister, *Meroe*--some say, his wife--[fn. 1, “Diodorus Seculus (1.33) says his mother”]--died there.” (*Strabo*, vol. VIII, page 19.)

Cambyses II got the news of the fake ‘Bardiya’ [/Smerdis] accession on an arrival with his army at “Agbatana in Syria,” and thought that his assassin had failed him. Cambyses--jumping hastily to his steed--accidentally wounded himself on his sword and the wound gangrened. He died there, ending his reign of approximately seven and one-half years. Before dying he exhorted his men, especially “those of you as are Achaemenids,” not to let the kingdom “go back to the Medes.”

Cambyses II's “death happened 521 years before the birth of Christ. He left no issue to succeed him, and his throne was usurped by the magi.”

Lempriere 122, citing *Herod.* 2, 3, etc., *Justin*, 1, c.9, and *Val. Max.* 6,c.3.

After Cambyses II's death, the imposter took possession of the royal wives but kept them apart from each other. Otanes--a nobleman and father of Phaedima, one of the royal wives, Phaedima--grew suspicious when several months had passed yet the new king continued avoiding public appearance. The ears of the imposter-Smerdis previously had been cut off on command of Cambyses II.³⁴ Otanes asked Phaedima to contrive to confirm a deception. Eventually the fake Smerdis did bed Phaedima, who was able to verify that the man was earless, and she informed her father. 3.34ff.;3:61ff.

³⁴ The identical deed would be performed on Hyrcanus II by Antigonus II of Judaea, to prevent him from meeting the unmaimed qualification for a high priest, c. 40 b.c.--refer to Appendix 4B, I, at fn. 50.

Otanes collected a group of seven collaborators, which included Darius I, son of Hystaspes/Hystaspas, governor of Susa. Darius I “arrived at Susa from Persia” and told his collaborators, “I can say that I just have come from Persia [with] a message to deliver to the king from my father.” Darius then led a surprise palace attack, killing all the magi encountered.³⁵ The seven collaborators drew a plan for sharing the new government, and how a king from among them would be chosen (Darius won the competition by contriving for “his horse to neigh first”). “Thus was Darius, son of Hystaspes, appointed king [and] all of Asia was subject to him...except the Arabians.” 3.70-72; 84-88

Darius I “contracted marriages” with Cyrus II’s two daughters, Atossa and Artystone, and with (Smerdis-) Parmys and (Otanes-) Phaedima. He organized the Persian empire into 20 “satrapies [regions and districts]” and set their tributes and/or taxation. The satrapies included territory “reaching from the city of Posideum (...on the confines of Syria and Cilicia) to the borders of Egypt...,[and] all Phoenicia, Palestine Syria [*sic.*] and Cyprus were herein contained. This as the fifth satrapy.” A district that belonged to Arabia was free from tax. (The Arabians were “never subject as slaves to the Persians,” having aided Cambyses on his expedition to invade Egypt.³⁶)

Darius also unified coinage, established a ‘pony express’ postal system between Susa and Sardis, and added Persepolis in Persia-proper to his capitals of Susa in Elam, Ecbatana in Media, and Babylon. 3.88-91

“The fifth satrapy known as Abar-Nahara, *i.e.* Beyond-the-River,” consisted of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus. At times the same governor was placed in charge of two or more complete satrapies. A Babylonian contract-tablet attests, for example, that in the third year of Darius one “Ushtanni was ‘satrap’ of Beyond-the-River and Babylon, *i.e.* satrapies V and IX....” A satrap, as regional or district governor, “had to maintain good relations within his own province and...questions often arose which required reference to the king, such as was made by Tattenai (?Ushtanni), the satrap of Beyond-the-River, in the matter of rebuilding of the Jewish Temple which had been associated with disputes between the Jews and Samaritans.” “With certain satrapies, older or local forms of government were in a measure and with modifications perpetuated, such as...the Jews under high-priestly government and the law-book of Ezra (to which was given the force of state-law for the Jews by Artaxerxes, in the satrapy of Beyond-the-River).” Cambridge, vol. IV, p. 195-6 (*cf.* Ezra 5:3), and p. 197.

During the distracting circumstances of the fake-Smerdis period, the Babylonians had undertaken major defensive preparations for revolt from the Persians.³⁷ They went so far as to kill many women so as to have fewer mouths to feed if under siege: each man was allowed to keep only one woman in addition to his mother; the rest were strangled.

In the interim, Darius I had made moves on Greece and netted Samos. 134-49

Darius I marched on Babylon. Gaining no headway after 19 months of siege, Darius I endorsed the plan of one Zapyrus. Zapyrus, according to his plan, mutilated his own face, feigned desertion to the Babylonians, eventually gained their total trust and a generalship to boot. As part of the strategy, Darius allowed the Babylonians under Zapyrus to win first three victories, in order that Zapyrus could set the stage to admit the main Persian force to conquer the city. Darius tore down Babylon’s walls, crucified 3000 leading citizens, and put an historical end to the city’s regional significance. 3.150-59

Herodotus recounts (a) many Persian expeditions (*Book 4*); (b) dealings with Ionia, Sythia and others (*Books 5-6*), and (c) Darius I’s attempts to absorb Greece into the Persian

³⁵ “The Persians observe this day...keep it strictly...great festival, Magophonia. No magus may show himself abroad during the whole time....”

³⁶ *New Cent. Cyclopedia*, p. 1190.

³⁷ Babylon’s uprising has been purported as led by descendants of Nabonidus; *loc. cit.*

empire. When news reached Darius of the Persian force's defeat by Greece at Marathon, it fueled his anger against the Athenians, "roused by their [prior] attack on Sardis." He determined he would lead an army into mainland Greece, and he began imposing fresh levies upon, and raising provisions and equipment from his satrapies. "[A]ll Asia was in commotion by the space of three years." In year four, "Egypt, which Cambyses [II] had enslaved, revolted."

To 7.1

Contention broke out among the sons of Darius I, as to which of his sons would rule in his absence and possible death, just as he was ready to lead forces against both Athens and Egypt. Darius appointed son Xerxes [I]. Darius died before he could proceed on his planned campaign, within a year of Egypt's revolt. His reign had lasted 36 years.

7.2-4

Xerxes I, who succeeded his father, first subdued Egypt, placed it under a hard yoke and its government under his brother, Achaemenes. Then he informed his nobles of a plan to march on Greece and eventually to gain all Europe. (Hystaspes-) Artabanus [A], Xerxes' uncle, exhorted reconsideration; (Gobryas-) Mardonius favored the expedition. Xerxes, who at first had been adamant about going, found himself of two minds. Then, after Xerxes and Artabanus had experienced similar dreams, Artabanus had a change of heart. With the magi endorsing Xerxes' ambition, he redetermined to proceed.

7.5-19

Xerxes I spent four years assembling his host. "Was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece?" Enormous projects involved in the undertaking included twice building a bridge across the Hellespont (the first failed). A solar eclipse that marked the spring in which Xerxes began his march toward Abydos caused him prophetic alarm. The magians reassured him, claiming that it foreshadowed the fall of Greece, not Persia. The crossing of the foot army, horses, and chariots took seven days and seven nights, while Xerxes' ships filled the coastline. (Artabanus expressed major concern over the potential for storms, and dangers to the Persian fleet in the face of Grecian resolve.)

7.21-37ff.

Herodotus names and describes the form of dress, armor, etc. of the nations that joined the Persians in the massive expedition against Greece, among them: Medes, Cassians, Hyrcanians, Assyrians ("called by the Greeks, 'Syrians'"); the "Chaldeans who served in the [Assyrian] ranks;" Bactrians, Indians, Arians, Parthians, Casians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Libyans, Paphlagonians, Syrians ("Cappadocians as they are called by the Persians"); Phrygians, Armenians ("who are Phrygian colonists"); Lydians, Mysians, Thracians...etc. Also listed are the Persian fleet commanders and the supplies and equipment provided by the various allies. "The triremes amounted in all to 1207, and were furnished by the following nations:.... The Phoenicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished 300 vessels.... This [Phoenicia] part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine."

7.61; 89

Xerxes' land army marched upon Greece through Thrace and eventually did reach Athens, but in the ensuing sea battle his outmaneuvered fleet was trapped and defeated.

Herodotus provides much detail about the various Greek tribes and confrontations and unions effected along the way. He tells also of Artemisia, who gave Xerxes the soundest counsel of all of his allies. Artemisia (daughter of a Halicarnassian father and Cretan mother) retained sovereign power after she was widowed, and she held sway over the Dorian cities of Halicarnassia, Cos, Nisyros and Calydna ("was queen of a few Carian cities"). The five triremes that she furnished Xerxes were, "next to the Sidonian, the most famous in the fleet." Artemisia's participation in the attack on Greece moved Herodotus to "special wonder" in that, although she had a grown son, "yet her brave spirit and manly daring sent her forth to the war."

7.99; (*Greek Dict.* p. 811).

After the Salamis defeat, Xerxes I initiated preparations to give the appearance he

³⁸ Xerxes I's lineage here is given by *Herodotus* as (Achaemenes-Teispes-Ariaramnes- Arsames-Hystaspes- Darius-) Xerxes.

intended to stay and fight, but afforded himself an avenue of escape as well. He raised a mound at the channel and strung boats together--a wall of defense that also would serve as a bridge of retreat. Mardonius offered to take full command, if Xerxes was wont to return to Persia. Xerxes sought the counsel of Artemisia,³⁹ as to whether Persia ought do as Mardonius counseled--remain and "attack the Peloponnese." Artemisia responded, "if Mardonius fall, it matters nothing--they [the Greeks] will have gained but a poor triumph--a victory over one of thy slaves! Remember, also, thou goest home having gained the purpose of thy expedition; for thou hast burnt Athens!" Her words pleased Xerxes "well; for she had exactly uttered his own thoughts." Xerxes "gave praise to Artemisia, and entrusted certain of his children to her care, ordering her to convey them to Ephesus; for he had been accompanied on the expedition by some of his natural sons."⁴⁰ 7.105; 8.101-3

Xerxes I retreated to Asia Minor. Lingered at Sardis, he hatched a plot to gain his brother's, Masistes' wife, who had been spurning Xerxes' advances. Xerxes proposed that Masistes' wife's daughter, Artaynta, marry one of Xerxes' sons, another-named Darius. Once Artaynta was received as the intended wife of son Darius, however, Xerxes developed a passion for her instead. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wreaked savage vengeance, but not on Artaynta. Amestris saw Masistes' wife as "cause of all the mischief," and had her horribly mutilated. Masistes fled. Xerxes had him pursued, and Masistes, his sons and his soldiers all were killed."⁴¹ 9.108ff.

"Xerxes built himself a new palace at Persepolis, which was never completed; otherwise he seemingly spent the rest of his reign in idleness and sensuality at Susa...until, some time before April 464, in the 21st year of his reign, he was murdered by a courtier, Artabanus."⁴² Artabanus also murdered Xerxes' eldest son, a Darius, ostensibly with the aid of a third son, Artaxerxes. Artabanus reigned for seven months, being recognized even in Egypt; and he defeated Xerxes' second son, another-named Hystaspes. "But Artaxerxes [I] outwitted him; he bided his time, allowed Artabanus to remove those who stood between him and the throne, and then turned on the usurper and defeated and killed him." Cambridge, vol. VI, p. 2.

Artaxerxes I ("Longimanus") first was faced with a revolt, which he suppressed although not without concessions. "In the West, however, he [/Persia] suffered a definite [/temporary] setback. "[A]t the so-called Peace of Callias in 449-8 Persia [/Artaxerxes I] definitely abandoned the Aegean and the cities on its seaboard." Artaxerxes I's death after a 40-year reign was followed by "the usual struggle" between contending sons.

Son Xerxes II succeeded his father but was promptly murdered by half-brother, Sogdianus, who reigned some months and was then defeated by another half-brother, Darius II/Ochus, who secured the crown (and who "Greeks nicknamed *Nothos*, 'the bastard'"). Afterward, another brother, Arsites, rose in revolt, was overthrown, and put to death. (The Darius II and Arsites confrontation was the first time in Persian warring that both sides employed Greek mercenaries.)

A subsequent revolt in Lydia was defeated by one (Hydarnes-) Tissaphernes, whose sister, Statira [A], was married to Darius II's son, Arsaces, and whose brother, Terituchmes, was married to Darius II's daughter, Amestris [B]. Evidently, Darius II's government was influenced strongly by his half-sister and wife, Parysatis, and especially plagued by intrigues stemming from familial relationship competitions.

In reward for his services, Tissaphernes had been made satrap of Lydia. Terituchmes

³⁹ See preceding paragraph.

⁴⁰ Xerxes' descendency is in Appendix 3A, I.

⁴¹ Cambridge succinctly states, "Xerxes' brother Masistes, satrap of Bactria...failed in an attempt to revolt." Vol. VI, p. 2.

⁴² One and the same with (Darius I + [Darius I sister and Gobryas -] Daughter -) *Artabanus*?-- refer to Appendix 3A, I, "Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia."

plotted to overthrow Darius II, was betrayed and killed.⁴³ Darius II then made son Cyrus III (Parysatis' favorite) satrap of Phrygia, Cappadocia and Lydia--of the latter, in place of Tissaphernes who was restricted to Caria and the Greek Ionian cities. Tissaphernes was to show himself thenceforth as an "irreconcilable enemy" of the king, as well as of Cyrus III who then held supreme Persian command of all of Asia Minor. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

After Darius II died and Arsaces, who reigned as Artaxerxes II, was on the throne, Cyrus III was imprisoned briefly, in that Tissaphernes accused him of plotting Arsaces' murder. Intervention by Parysatis returned Cyrus III to his satrapy, where he commenced secretly to collect a Greek force to conquer Persia's empire for himself. In time, all of the Ionian cities save Miletus revolted from Tissaphernes to Cyrus III. In the spring of 401 he and his army, largely composed of Greek mercenaries, marched from Sardes ostensibly to confront a regional problem.⁴⁴ Tissaphernes, however, rightly guessed Cyrus III's true intent and went to warn Artaxerxes II at Susa.

The battle between Cyrus III and king Artaxerxes II was met near the village of Cunaxa, some 45 miles north of Babylon city. At battle's end, Cyrus, deficient in cavalry and inept in strategy, brazened through to the king and managed to inflict a wound before he himself was killed. Cyrus III's death precipitated desertions and retreat of his forces. In the ensuing post-battle negotiations at the Persian court (where most of Cyrus III's Asiatic allies were pardoned), Tissaphernes received Cyrus' satrapies and command of Asia Minor, with full power to deal with the captured Greek soldiers who, unequipped to recross the Mesopotamian desert, accepted a truce. Tissaphernes pledged to return them safely; at the greater Zab river, however--perhaps under order from Artaxerxes II --he seized the leading Greek general, Clearchus, and 20 other Greek company commanders, all of whom were sent back to Artaxerxes and executed.⁴⁵

Thus began the legendary "Return of the 10,000," as the Greek force (with Xenophon as one of its two new generals) made its way past friendly and unfriendly satraps and tyrant principalities, and through treacherous mountain passes, alternately securing its advance in major battles and minor skirmishes, sacking villages and/or extracting assistance through intimidation, until it reached Byzantium.⁴⁶ Camping nearby, many men deserted; perhaps 6000 remained. By the end of a winter spent sacking villages for a Thracian prince, 'international' politics had taken a new turn. Sparta had declared war on Tissaphernes, in that after Cunaxa he had begun attacking Greek cities. Sparta sent its general Thibron to Asia Minor; there, in the spring of 399, he and Xenophon joined forces.

"[T]he one lesson taught by Cyrus [III]'s expedition was that no one need hope to conquer Persia without a cavalry force very different from any which Greece had yet envisaged. That was the lesson which Alexander [the Great] was to apply."

Foregoing four paragraphs, *Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 4-19, *en passim*; also Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vol. 1.

"The internal history of Persia from 401 to 335 b.c. is [one of] struggle between the central government and its outlying provinces. ... Meanwhile, a great change was proceeding in Greece--perpetual wars, the large number of exiles, and the absence of any outlet by colonization for the surplus population--had enormously increased the class of Greeks ready to serve as mercenaries; these tended to form a world by themselves, and Persia came to depend too much upon them." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴³ In consequence of which Queen Parsyatis did not rest; eventually she precipitated the extermination of all of Hydarnes' house (Appendix 3A, I, shows relationships.)

⁴⁴ The account of Cyrus' expedition was written first by the Grecian, Sophaeetus. It is believed that Xenophon, who accompanied the venture, kept a diary but that, in writing his account, *Anabasis*, he drew in large amounts from Sophaeetus.

⁴⁵ Or possibly simply due to growing tension between the Greek mercenary army and the accompanying Persian one--the actual cause never stated.

⁴⁶ Later, Constantinople; now, Istanbul, Turkey--which city Xenophon reportedly persuaded the mercenaries to spare.

Within a short time after Sparta's declaration of war against Tissaphernes, the Spartans overran Lydia and defeated him.⁴⁷ "After much intriguing" Sparta secured Persian support, "and in 386 Athens was compelled to abandon the Asiatic Greek cities and Cyprus to Persia." Between 385 and 383 b.c. an expedition commissioned by Artaxerxes II to attack Egypt (then ruled by Nectanebo I) failed. By 367, Persia had foregone its Spartan alliance in favor of one with Thebes. The following year, revolts (secretly supported by Caria) began in certain Asia Minor satrapies--initially Phrygia and Armenia, followed by revolts in most of the Greek coastal Asiatic cities from Syria to Lydia. As Persia became more and more cut off from the sea, Egypt (now under Nectanebo I's successor, Tachos) supported the rebel provinces, which also were aided by Athens and Sparta. Disunity among the revolting satraps, however, worked for Artaxerxes II's advantage: by 359 b.c. the Greek revolt was lost, while a revolt in Egypt saw Tachos replaced by Nectanebo II. Artaxerxes II died within the same year.⁴⁸

Ibid., pp. 19-21.

Artaxerxes II initially had proclaimed his son, another Darius, to be his successor. This Darius requested one Aspasia as his heir-apparent boon. Ionian-born Aspasia had belonged to Cyrus III and been "taken among the spoils of his camp" when he was defeated. Besides Aspasia, Artaxerxes II had "360 concubines selected for their beauty." At first Artaxerxes II had given Aspasia to son Darius, but then he had repossessed her and "consecrated her a priestess to Diana/Anaitis of Ecbatana," to "spend the remainder of her days in chastity." Said Darius, giving in to persuasion of other plotters, had joined a scheme to kill his father, but the latter, warned, trapped him. Darius was brought to trial and beheaded.⁴⁹

Plutarch 856-858.

Artaxerxes II was followed on the Persian throne by his son, another-named Ochus, who succeeded after putting two remaining half-brothers death.⁴⁹ Ochus reigned as Artaxerxes III. Artaxerxes III gained some control over earlier empire weaknesses by ordering disbanding of private satrap-armies. Two satraps refused: Orontes of Mysia and Artabazus of Hellespontine Phrygia--the latter being related to Egypt as brother-in-law of Mentor, the commander of Nectanebo II's mercenaries. At first Athens supported Orontes but withdrew on an ultimatum from Artaxerxes III. Artabazus, helped by Thebes, initially realized some success but, eventually beaten, he and Mentor's brother, Memnon, took refuge with king Philip II of Macedonia.

Artaxerxes III invaded Egypt c. 351 and failed, only to face new uprisings in Asia Minor--primarily Salamis, Cyprus and part of Phoenicia. Once more he secured an alliance with Thebes "and possibly [one with] Philip of Macedonia...and somehow isolated Orontes, who apparently lost Mysia but managed to retire to Armenia." In 345, Artaxerxes III himself took Sidon; however, all of Phoenicia (excepting Tyre) and much of Cyprus were disaffected of Persia and continued to hamper it by sea. In 343 Artaxerxes III prepared to again attack Egypt; in return for subsidies. Thebes gave 1000 men, Argos 3000 and the Asiatic Greeks 6000; Athens insisted on remaining neutral and not help either side. Artaxerxes III "mastered the country, but outraged Egyptian sentiment by violating temples.... Nectanebo II vanished into Ethiopia.... The conquest of Egypt made Mentor and his fellow-general Bagoas the Chiliarch,⁵⁰ who worked together, the most important forces in Persia; the Chiliarch, commander of the Guard, had now really become Grand Vizier."

⁴⁷ Parsyatis was able to carve another notch in her revenge for Cyrus III by achieving Tissaphernes' execution.

⁴⁸ *Plutarch* ascribes Artaxerxes II with the age of 94 years at the end of his 62-year reign. (Page 858.)

⁴⁹ According to *Plutarch*, Artaxerxes II first proclaimed as successor his first son, another Darius, who, as heir-apparent, requested as his own from the royal harem the Ionian-born Aspasia, who had belonged to Cyrus III and been taken from the spoils of his camp. Besides Aspasia, Artaxerxes II had "360 concubines selected for their beauty." He gave Aspasia to said son Darius but then repossessed her and instead "consecrated her a priestess to Diana/Anaitis of Ecbatana...to spend the remainder of her days in chastity." This Darius, giving in to persuasion of other plotters, joined a scheme to kill his father but the latter, warned, set a trap. This Darius was brought to trial and beheaded. (Pages 856-858.)

⁵⁰ "Bagoas and Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch in the court of Artaxerxes Ochus, so powerful that nothing could be done without his consent. He led some troops against the Jews, and profaned their temple." *Lempriere*, p. 101. See *others* at Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Bagoas/Bagoases/ Bagohi/Bigvai*.

It appears that Artaxerxes III blundered politically versus the long-range plans of Philip II of Macedonia. Artaxerxes refused a request from Athens for a subsidy for its war against Philip and let both Athens and Thebes fall unsupported. "Whatever his grievance against Athens for her [neutrality in Artaxerxes' Egyptian campaign] in 343, Thebes was his friend, and...he had had the power to intervene, had he desired." Meanwhile, "Mentor had procured the recall of Artabazus and Memnon;" and, when Mentor died c. 338, brother Memnon took over Mentor's mercenaries.... In the summer of that year Bagoas poisoned Artaxerxes III and made king Artaxerxes' son Arses ["the youngest of the slaughtered prince's children"]. ... In 336 Bagoas poisoned Arses, and set up as king a collateral, Darius III Codomannus, who promptly poisoned Bagoas ["in 335"], the best thing he did."

Ibid., pp. 21-24; [Lempriere, p. 101.]

In 336 b.c. Alexander III, the son of king Philip II of Macedonia, was 20 years old when his father was assassinated.⁵¹ Despite the "usual confusion consequent on a change of ruler," Philip's generals (Antipater and Parmenion) declared for Alexander, and he acted quickly to secure the army and dispose of any potential conspirators who did not escape. Establishing himself outside Macedonia, however, loomed a heavy task. Alexander's father had not had time to consolidate the League of Corinth that he had achieved, and its members considered their treaties with Philip nullified by his death. "Athens was rejoicing over [Philip's] murder, Ambracia expelled [Macedonia's] garrison, Aetolia recalled her exiles, there was excitement in Thebes and the Peloponnese.... [I]n Thessaly the anti-Macedonian party...seized power, [and] northward the Balkan people were flaming up...."

Alexander concentrated first on Greece. In his accession year he regained control of Thessaly with its enviable cavalry and was elected in Philip's place as head for life of her league. He "overawed Thebes, forgave Ambracia and Athens, and at a congress at Corinth of League states he was elected general of the League in Philip's place, for the invasion of Asia." He proceeded to subdue Ilyria; but was forced to return to Thebes when false reports that he was dead circulated in Greece, where Theban democrats previously exiled by king Philip had returned and were commencing to seize power and fuel defections. Alexander hastened to Thebe's wall, collecting contingents from Phocis and Boeotia along the way. It soon became obvious that "the Thebes meant to fight;" however, the Thebans that did "sally forth" incurred double defeat-- the city, itself, subsequently was razed.⁵² "[T]he blow produced its effect; every Greek state [excepting Sparta] hastened to submit...."

Cambridge, vol. VI, pp. 352-356.

In 335 Alexander, as commander-in-chief of the army of Macedonia and the League of Corinth, began to prepare to invade Persia;⁵³ in the spring of 334 his army crossed the Dardanelles, "with something over 30,000 foot and over 5000 horse"--12,000 Macedonian infantry and 12,000 infantry of combined Greek allies and mercenaries (the majority of horsemen being some 2000 of the Macedonian upper-class and 1800 Thessalians). Alexander's equipment and personnel included a siege-train, engineers for constructing pontoons and siege-machines, surveyors and well-sinkers; a baggage train, commissariat, secretaries to keep expedition journals, and a watch corps for Alexander's sleeping quarters. Geographers, botanists, several philosophers and literary men also accompanied the expedition.⁵⁴

While general Parmenion brought the army across, Alexander went to Ilium, declared

⁵¹ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4 charts, for familial relationships of Macedonian monarchs and relatives.

⁵² "Alexander nominally left Thebes' fate to the League, but the only delegates with him were Thebes' enemies; Phocis and Boeotia indeed voted the city's destruction, but the responsibility lies with Alexander."

⁵³ "The primary reason...was, no doubt, that he never thought of *not* doing it.... Doubtless, too, adventure attracted him; [but] weight must also be given to the official reason...shown by the political manifesto which he afterwards sent to Darius [III].... [T]he invasion to-be [constituted] that Panhellenic war of revenge which Isocrates had preached...."

⁵⁴ The scientific men collected information and specimens for the philosopher Aristotle, retired at Athens, who sent in his stead his nephew--philosopher and historian, Callisthenes.

it free and restored to democracy, and abolished Persian tribute. Back with the army, he confronted the opposition of coastal satraps, including those of Phrygia, Lydia and Cappadocia. “The Persian leaders...meant if possible to strangle the war at birth by killing Alexander;” such explanation often is given for the illogical manner in which they massed their cavalry--on a steep bank of the lower Granicus river--and waited with their Greek mercenaries behind them. “In the ensuing battle... the Persian leaders concentrated on Alexander and threw away their lives freely in a desperate attempt to kill him.... Finally the Persians broke; their men, armed only with javelins, were unequally matched with Alexander’s heavy cavalry of lances and short spears.... Alexander surrounded the [Persian army’s mercenary] Greeks and killed all but 2000, who he sent in chains to forced labour in Macedonia as traitors to the League; among them were some Athenians.” *Ibid.*, pp. 357-362

The Persian mode of ruling its Greek vassals had been by means of tyrants or friendly oligarchies interspersed with garrisons. “Alexander in Asia adopted the opposite method, the support of free democratic government. Partly this was due to circumstances: Persia’s foes were his friends. But it must also have been due to conviction, for he never altered his policy when he could have done so.” In Greece, however, Alexander’s general Antipater [B] used the former method. “[T]he opposition between the two ways of treating Greek cities, the way of Antipater and the way of Alexander...was to divide the Macedonian world till 301.”

“[I]n city after city the democrats overthrew the pro-Persian government. Alexander himself occupied Ephesus; Priene admitted [general] Antigonos; troops were detached to secure the Aeolian towns; Sardes was surrendered by the governor.... Alexander... garrisoned Sardes; but he restored to the Lydians the right to be judged by their own native laws. ... Miletus he took by assault.” However, the Persian fleet, of which half belonged to coastal Grecian vassal cities, still had command of the Aegean Sea.

Alexander focused on a strategy relative to Greece proper. He decided that, should Memnon (Persia’s commander-in-chief of the Asiatic coast and its fleet) try to raise Sparta to Persia’s aid, general Antipater would deal with him;⁵⁵ and Alexander was confident that Memnon never could raise Greece itself. “To raise Greece meant first winning Athens, the only city which might form a large combination;” and Alexander correctly judged the situation, both the politics at Athens and the logic of conquering the Persian fleet “on land.” True, Alexander held as hostage 20 Athenian ships, along with the Athenian prisoners he had taken, and at the same time he had in his collected troops virtual hostages for every state in the League. “But there was more...: [H]is proclamation of democracy had shaken the Greek half of the fleet to its foundations [in that] each city’s squadron was manned from the poorer democrats, and would slip away home when its city was freed.” Further, thanks to Darius III’s predecessor, the Cyprians and all the Phoenicians except Tyre were disaffected. “Memnon’s hands were tied--possibly Tyre’s was the only really loyal contingent he had. Alexander judged that if he secured the coast cities the fleet would die of dry rot; and it did.” *Ibid.*, pp. 362.

Caria’s princess more than welcomed Alexander; she adopted him as her son and put her fortress into his hands. Caria’s satrap accompanied Alexander to Halicarnassus (where Memnon himself commanded Persia’s garrison), which they took by force. At battle’s end, Memnon, who had been present, escaped to the fleet.⁵⁶ Alexander spent the winter campaigning in the mountains of Lydia and Pisidia and then proceeded south again. He received surrender of Lycia’s towns and was welcomed in Pamphylia, where he established a garrison in the seaport of Phaselis to protect it from Persia’s fleet. Northward of Phaselis he split his forces between himself and Parmenion. When they rejoined in the spring, farther north at Gordium, Alexander had “received the adhesion of Perge, Aspendus, Side, Sargalassus and Celaenae.”

Newly-married soldiers who had been released on furlough for the winter now returned with reinforcements (3000 Macedonians and 650 horse). Ambassadors from Athens

⁵⁵ Alexander had left with Antipater, his general in “Europe,” 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse.

⁵⁶ Several places held by Persia in Caria were not reduced fully, however, until 332.

requested return of Alexander's Athenian prisoners, but "Alexander would not part with his hostages while the Persian fleet was in being; he told the Athenians to ask again when things were more settled." Meanwhile, Memnon and the fleet still had partisans in every city and, up along the north coast, "the oligarchs had put Chios into his hands, and he was besieging Mitylene." It is believed that Memnon's plan was to capture the far northern bridgehead at Abydos; whatever his plan, Memnon then died. Memnon's successor, his nephew Pharnabazus, initially saw some success: Mitylene surrendered to Pharnabazus, which with other Persian recoveries in the region necessitated counter-measures; Alexander commissioned collection of ships from allied cities in the Dardanelles. Circumstances were changed, however, by Darius III, himself. Darius, who finally was assembling an army, sent for the fleet's mercenaries, leaving Pharnabazus crippled. *Ibid.*, pp. 363-365.

Alexander moved north from Gordium to Ancyra/Angora, where ambassadors of Paphlagonia submitted formally to him. There he turned south, leaving Cappadocia on the east largely undisturbed; Alexander's main goal was to confront Darius III. He pushed on to the Cilician Gates, an impregnable pass if properly held, but in a surprise approach he captured the Gates without losing a man. Descending into Cilicia, he hurried on to Tarsus, which he reached in time to save from a reported Persian intent to destroy it.

Alexander was temporarily waylaid at Tarsus by a bout with fever. After he recovered he overtook the Cilician cities and secured the Taurus foothills, while Parmenion went to occupy the passes--"Kara-kapu," which led from Cilicia onto a little plain at Issus and the "pillar of Jonah" which led out of the plain toward Syria. At that point Alexander believed, per earlier intelligence reports, that Darius III and his army still was at Sochi,⁵⁷ Syria. Although Darius had waited there some time, he had decided to go looking for Alexander. Darius had sent his war chest and other encumbrances to Damascus and himself moved on to Issus. That report hastened Alexander in securing the Jonah pass; the next morning he advanced toward Darius.⁵⁸

In the afternoon battle, Alexander was able to make his decisive charge when one of his flanks succeeded in driving the Persian light-armed division out of action up a hill. The Persian archers before him "crumpled.... Darius III turned his chariot at the sight and fled. But his guard stood," and the battle "of the two peoples" persisted until, as Darius' flight became known, the Persian forces retreated. Part of Darius' army escaped into Cappadocia; the main segment (Greek mercenaries) marched to Tripoli from where they would sail away. Alexander occupied the Persian camp, at which Darius had abandoned his mother, wife and two daughters.

Darius' "splendidly appointed tent gave the Macedonians their first glimpse of oriental luxury. 'This, I believe, is being a king,' said Alexander...." He had Darius' weeping women reassured that Darius was not dead and that they, themselves, would be safe and enjoy "the same rank and treatment as heretofore. He himself never set eyes on Darius' wife, or allowed her beauty to be alluded to before him; but he showed kindness to Darius' mother, and ultimately married one of the daughters."⁵⁹

Alexander now controlled "the central plateau west of Cappadocia and the south and west coastlands, with the through route into Cilicia," but his conquest of Asia Minor was only half-finished. "[T]he north was open for an Iranian reaction, which duly came." *Ibid.*, pp. 366-369.

"It probably was after Issus that Alexander III first thought definitely of conquering the Persian empire"--the alternative being a defensive war to hold Asia Minor, which Persia was bound to try to recover for its sea provinces. In response to a Darius III letter asking

⁵⁷ Exact location unknown; believed to have been in northeast Syria.

⁵⁸ The number of men in their respective armies was not recorded, but it is believed that "Darius' army at Issus was somewhat larger than Alexander's."

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix 3A, I.

friendship, alliance and release of his family, Alexander returned a “political manifesto” which cited, among reasons additional to Philip’s assassination, the wrongs of Xerxes I against Macedonia and Hellas.

Alexander did not go then in pursuit of Darius; Alexander’s immediate objective was Phoenicia, and ruin of the Persian fleet. Subsequently, “he received the surrender of Byblos and a hearty welcome from Sidon.” Tyre envoys offered Alexander “a general form of submission” but refused him entry to their city, satisfied that its position on an island half-a-mile from shore made it impregnable. Alexander devoted considerable time and men in an effort to build a mole out from the mainland, before finally he “went personally to Sidon to collect ships. His success at Sidon surpassed his hopes. The news from Phoenicia had finally disintegrated the Persian fleet, and Pharnabazus was stranded in the islands. Alexander was joined at Sidon by all the Phoenician squadrons except the Tyrian, and some ships from Rhodes, Lycia and Cilicia; soon after came the Cyprians...in all he collected 220 warships, from quinqueremes to small vessels.”

Tyre’s capture (July 332) “was possibly Alexander’s greatest feat of arms.”⁶⁰ Before its fall, Darius III replied to Alexander’s manifesto with an offer of 10,000 talents ransom for his family, and peace in exchange for his daughter’s hand and everything west of the Euphrates. Alexander returned a refusal to negotiate. Although this latest Darius offer included Egypt, Alexander knew Persia could not save it in any case. He left Parmenion at Damascus to supervise Syria (which altogether was not settled yet) and advanced toward Egypt “by the immemorial route through Palestine.”⁶¹

The Persian satrap submitted to Alexander on his arrival in Egypt in November 332. Alexander proceeded to Memphis, where he was accepted as Pharaoh. On the coast near a village named “Rhacotis,” he traced out his plans for a new city, Alexandria, and received his Aegean commanders carrying news that the last Persian resistance in the Grecian islands had been settled. Returning to Memphis, “he arranged the government of Egypt on enlightened lines,” together with a reasonable structure of military occupation. He returned to Tyre in the spring of 331, settled Syria under a Macedonian satrap, withdrew his garrisons from Chios and Rhodes, and granted Athens the return of her prisoners (“it was politic to conciliate her, with Sparta threatening war”). Meanwhile, Parmenion and his army had been ordered to bridge the Euphrates at Thrapsacus (approximately 100 miles SE of Issus), where the farther bank was being held by a Darius advance-guard under the command of the ex-satrap of Cilicia, one Mazaeus. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-379

Darius III had done his best to form an army that might stand against Alexander’s, but certain obstacles simply could not be overcome. A battle could not be won with cavalry alone, and there was insufficient time to train drivers of scythed chariots, Persia’s only weapon against the phalanx. “In July 331 Alexander joined Parmenion and crossed the Euphrates at Thrapsacus, Mazaeus falling back.... Alexander crossed the Tigris unopposed, turned southward, and moved towards the village of Gaugamela, 18 miles N.E. of Mosul, where, as he had learnt from prisoners, Darius had taken position” on a perfectly flat plain to best serve the chariots. The night of November 30 the Persians remained at arms all night, while Alexander and his army had a good dinner and slept; and on October 1 Alexander led his army out.⁶²

Once again, Darius III fled mid-battle, when Alexander III charged through a gap in the Persian line. The fighting continued, but as Darius’ flight became known among them the Persian forces gradually broke up. Alexander “kept up pursuit till dark, rested till midnight, started again, and never drew rein till he reached Arbela, 56 miles from the battlefield. He

⁶⁰ *Cambridge’s* summary of the details of strategical manoeuvres of both sides takes up two full pages.

⁶¹ *Refer to* note at the end of this appendix.

⁶² *Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 380-382 describe (a) the Persian companies, including allies and their weaponries (“a larger army than that at Issus,” with Darius and 1000 Persian cavalry at center); (b) Alexander’s companies and estimates of their numbers; (c) battle formations; and (d) progress of the battle.

was determined that the enemy should never re-form as an army.”

Ibid., p. 379-82.

Alexander advanced to Babylon. “The Babylonians welcomed Alexander; he reversed Xerxes’ acts [and] restored all native customs.” Mazaeus, who had taken refuge at Babylon, was made a satrap (Alexander’s first appointment of a Persian) but did not receive military command—a rule Alexander would hold in every satrapy, along with a policy of dividing civil, financial and military powers. Alexander moved on to secure Persis, the main battle taking place against satrap Ariobarzanes at the Persian Gates pass. After Ariobarzanes gave way, “Alexander pushed on with all speed for Persepolis, and reached the great palaces on their rock terrace before Ariobarzanes had time to carry off the treasure. Between Susa [where Alexander deposited Darius’ family and appointed another Persian satrap], Persepolis and Pasargadae, he secured probably 180,000 talents in coin and bullion...beside vast booty in kind, such as gold and silver plate and purple dye; such wealth seemed fabulous to the Greek world. At Persepolis, against Parmenion’s advice, he deliberately fired Xerxes’ palace, as a sign to Asia that E-sagila⁶³ was avenged and Achaemenid rule ended.” Alexander stayed at Persepolis until the spring of 330, when he received news of Sparta’s defeat. He then entered Media and occupied Ecbatana.

Darius III, who initially had escaped to Ecbatana and been joined there by various of his allies (2000 Greeks still were with him) retired toward Bactria upon Alexander’s approach. “Eastern Iran had always been somewhat distinct in feeling from western. It did not recognize Gaugamela as decisive,” and Darius was receiving reinforcement. Midsummer of 330 b.c. Alexander began a tenacious pursuit, covering long distances in legendary time. Four hundred miles NE of Ecbatana, at the Caspian Gates, he learned that certain of Darius’ companions led by one Bessus had deposed Darius, and were holding him prisoner. Alexander pushed on, found an empty camp and heard that Bessus had been deserted by some companies, including the 2000 Greeks. After another night, during which Alexander covered 50 miles, he caught up with the fugitives, who were in no condition to fight. Two of them stabbed Darius III before they fled, and Darius “died before Alexander came up. It was Alexander’s one piece of mere good fortune; he was saved the embarrassment of dealing with his rival. He covered the body with his purple cloak, and sent it to Persepolis for burial.”

Ibid., pp. 382-386.

Note: For local high priesthood events during this time, some of which involved Alexander, *resume at* Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua). For personal details of Alexander III, and events following his death, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4 (Descendancies, Macedonia Monarchs/Relations), and its sub-part E (Narration).

⁶³ Cf. reference to “Esagila” in the “Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle,” Appendix 3A, II, C(2)(4).

APPENDIX 3A, IV

EXPLORATIVE TIMELINE HIGH PRIESTS JESHUA TO JADDUA, Including Ezra/Esdras/[Azariah/Azarias] and Nehemiah Involvements

Insufficient data makes impossible a concrete relation of events over the period from Cyrus II's repatriation to high priest Jaddua's submission to Alexander III at Jerusalem: (a) Persian monarch tenures obtain on sparse archeological tablets; (b) generic 'throne titles' may have been used on inscriptions; and (c) ancient written histories, including the Scriptures, contain contradictory and/or incomplete identifications.¹

Part A explores the two main chronologies that have been offered. Parts B and C explore related issues further.

A. Explorative Timeline.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	598/597		King Jehoiachin deposed by Nebuchadnezzar. (The captivity included Mordecai; <i>Esther</i> 2:5-6.) ²
SERIAIH	c. 586		Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's captain, demolished Jerusalem, and high priest Seraiah was executed. Seraiah's son, Jehozadek/Jozadak/Josedec was carried captive to Babylon (his age at the time is not known).
[JEHOZADEK] Cyrus II	538		Began his reign at Babylon.
[JESHUA?]	538		?Return of some exiles under "Sheshbazzar"--"whom governor [Cyrus] made." <i>Ezra</i> 1:8, 11; 5:14.
			(a) Zerubbabel is included in the Cyrus edict quoted by <i>Josephus</i> but not mentioned in the canon's Sheshbazaar-related verses. ("Sheshbazzar" is found suggested as a Persian name of Zerubbabel.) (b) Per <i>Josephus</i> (<i>AJ</i> XI.IV.6), Cyrus' edict addressed "Sanabassar, the governor and president" of Syria and Phoenicia." <i>1 Esdras</i> 11-12, 15 states that Cyrus' treasurer delivered the vessels to "Sanabassar, the governor of Judea." Reference could be to the then-governor of Persia's "Beyond-the-River" province.
Cambyses II --?"Ahasuerus" --?"Artaxerxes"	529/528 ³	c. 528/527	Cambyses II succeeded Cyrus II as Persia's monarch. A written warning from "the [then] governors of Syria and Phoenicia, etc.," caused Cambyses II to stop the rebuilding; "the works were hindered 'till the second year of the reign of Darius [I], for nine years more, for Cambyses reigned six years and within that time overthrew Egypt." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.II.2.
			<i>Ezra</i> has, first, "Ahasuerus in the beginning of his reign," immediately followed by "in the days of Artaxerxes, to whom Mithredath, et al wrote a charge;" and rebuilding "stopped until the year second of the reign of Darius [I]." 4:6-24. <i>1 Esdras</i> has, "in the time of Artaxerxes," Mithridates, et al wrote the warning to

¹ E.g., the word 'Jew' first appears in *Kings*, initially designating one of the tribe of Judah and/or of the southern kingdom. "[A]fter, it was applied to any Israelites/[Hebrews] returning and, finally, to all Hebrews;" [e.g., "Where is the one born king of the Jews?" *Matthew* 2:1.] *Aid*, p. 933.

² Daniel was taken at the same time?--refer to Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," at and including fns. 28 and 28; also Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians," part C(2)(b), for speculative Daniel calculations based on an estimated age for him at captivity.

³ Cambyses' term could be off three or four years, to 525 b.c., if certain inscriptions count from his Egyptian conquest rather than his succession.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
[JESHUA?] Darius I	522		<p>Artaxerxes, who commanded that rebuilding stop. 2:16ff.⁴ After Cambyses' death and Darius' coup, "[T]he Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king." <i>Josephus AJ</i>, XI.III.1.</p> <p>The "people of the land weakened the [builder's] hands...and hired against them counselors to frustrate their purpose <i>all the days of Cyrus.even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia [i.e. after Cambyses II].</i>" <i>Ezra</i> 4:1-5, paralleled at 1 <i>Esdras</i> 5:68, 72-73.</p> <p>(a) <i>Darius the Mede</i> (b) <i>Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes</i> (c) <i>Darius, "son of Astyages"</i></p> <p>"Took the kingdom when a son of sixty and two." <i>Daniel</i> 5:31. "In the first year of Darius, <i>the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed the Medes,</i>" Daniel "understood by the books...the number of the years...for the desolations of Jerusalem--70 years."⁵ <i>Daniel</i> 9:1.</p> <p><i>Josephus AJ</i>, X.XI.4.</p> <p>(a) <i>Daniel's</i> stated accession age 62 of Darius does not agree with the age derivable from <i>Herodotus</i>; i.e. that, just prior to Cyrus II's death c. 529, Darius was them "scarcely 20 years old" (<i>Herodotus</i> 3::70-71 and 84-88; <i>Xenophon</i> 1:209-210.) If true, ,when Darius gained the throne he would have been about age 30.⁶ (b) <i>Daniel's Ahasuerus</i> could refer to Cambyses II, if "of the seed of the Medes" refers to Cambyses II's paternal grandmother, Mandane. daughter of Median king Astyages. Or, married statements of <i>Josephus</i> and <i>Herodotus</i> could imply that Darius was son of an Astyages daughter and one <i>Hystaspes</i>.⁷</p>
Darius I		522/521	<p>"Zorobabel...governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king." [he came]...with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honor which he hoped for." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.III.</p> <p>Darius held an oratory contest which Zorobabel won (thenceforth Darius I would call Zorobabel "cousin"). Darius authorized Zorobabel to restore Jerusalem. <i>Ibid.</i> and 1 <i>Esdras</i> 3 and 4.</p>
JESHUA		520/519	<p>Second year of Darius, Zerubbabel led a large return. In the returning company (besides [Jehozadak/Josedec] Jeshua) was "Joacim, <i>the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, who spake wise sentences before Darius.in the second year of his reign.</i>" 1 <i>Esdras</i> 5:1-7.</p> <p><i>Ezra</i> 2's enumeration of "sons who went up from the captivity...with Zerubbabel," which does not state in whose reign it occurred, textwise immediately follows the "Sheshbazaar" report (above at 538 b.c./b.c.e.). If Jeshua did return initially with the first-mentioned "Sheshbazaar"/Zerubbabel return, he may have remained in Jerusalem in the interim.</p>

⁴ Cambyses (per *Josephus*) being *Ahasuerus* (of *Ezra* and 1 *Esdras*) works in this instance, while his reign as it presently is fixed would be too short to meet the "12th year" of *Ahasuerus* of *Esther* (*Alternatives One and Two*, below).

⁵ Daniel would have been 89 years old. "70 years" is reconcilable only if *Daniel* marked the "desolation" as commencing with a Daniel capture c. 592 (earlier in Jehoiakim's ascribed reign), for a full 70 years to Darius I's year one of 522--contrasted with a period from the fall of Jerusalem to the Zerubbabel+Jeshua return in Darius year two--(586 - 520/519 =) 66/65 years (or 67/66 if counted to sacking of the city by Nebuzaradan). Daniel's projected age negates theorizing that his involvement was with the later Darius II.

⁶ Further, based on Darius' established reign of 36 years, if 62 on accession he would have had to be 98 when succeeded by Xerxes I. Conversely, if per *Herodotus* calculations Darius I was about 30 in 522, he would have been 66 when he reportedly died c. 486 b.c.

⁷ Astyages and Hystaspes could not be the same person as some have theorized, in that *Herodotus* speaks individually of each man, by his respective name.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	520(to 516)		Zerubbabel and Jeshua led the temple rebuilding. (Cambridge v.III, T.)
JESHUA, continued Darius I, continued		c. 520	Prophets Zechariah and Haggai spoke and wrote during year two of Darius. ⁸ <i>Zechariah</i> 1:1ff./7ff.; <i>Haggai en passim</i> . "In the second year of the reign of Darius, Aggeus and Zacharias the son of Addo[<i>Iddo?</i>]...prophesied." <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1.
		518/517	"In the second year of his coming," Zerubbabel and Jeshua oversaw the laying of the temple foundation. "In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem" "they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that year." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.2. "Then stood up Zorobabel...and Jesus...and began to build the house. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:2. "Aggeus and Zacharias" spurred the work. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1-3.
			<i>Ezra</i> 3:2 refers to building of an altar and, at 3:8 and 10, the laying of the foundation "in the second year of their coming" but does not specify in which monarch's (Cyrus or Darius) reign.
			"[W]hen the Samaritans...perceived [the] rebuilding of the temple, they came to Zorobabel...[et al]...and desired...leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them..." but were told "that it was impossible.... When [they] heard this...they...persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.IV.4.
			Sisnnes, Sathrabuzanes, et al then wrote to Darius, and they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.IV.3-6.
			(a) "Sisnnes, the [then] governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others," questioned the authority of Zorobabel and Jeshua. <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.IV.3. (b) "Sisnnes, the governor of Syria and Phenice, Sathrabuzanes, and companions, confronted Zorobabel and Jesus/Jeshua. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1-3. (c) "Sisnnes," et al wrote to Darius questioning the matter. <i>Esdra</i> 6:7. (d) "Tatnai, the governor of Beyond the River, and Shetharboznai, and their associates" questioned the authority. <i>Ezra</i> 5:1-4. (e) "Tatnai, governor of Beyond the River and Shetharboznai," et al, wrote to Darius, <i>Ezra</i> 5:7-6:12.
	518		"In the fourth year of King Darius," Zechariah spoke/wrote. <i>Zechariah</i> 7:1ff. Although the people were afraid the king might change the resolution, they were encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and "applied themselves earnestly to building, did not intermit one day." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.5. [The "Samaritans," who had "governors favourable to them," continued their "mischiefs," specifically, refusing to make payments to the temple out of their tribute according to royal order. So "Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers (including Ananias and Mordecai) went as an 'embassage' to Darius. Darius gave them an epistle to "Tanganas and Sanbabas, the governors of the Samaritans...and the rest," commanding compliance. <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.9.]

⁸ A difference between the two prophets may have existed as to preferred type of leadership, despite mutual encouragement toward continuation of the work. Haggai in his "revelation" of [Tef's] ordination says that Zerubbabel would be made "like a signet; for [him] I have chosen" (2:23); Zechariah (ch. 3) envisions Joshua/Jeshua with a new turban and directs that there be taken "from the exiles, from Heldai, from Tobijah, and from Jedaiah... silver and gold, and make a crown; and set on the head of Joshua."

⁹ This has a hint of parallel with the reported earlier journey of Zerubbabel to see Darius at the time of Darius' accession (when the

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
JESHUA, continued <u>Darius I</u> , continued		518/517	Cyrus II's authorizing scroll was found, and Darius issued a reconfirming decree. <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.7. The confirming scroll was found at Ecbatana palace, and Darius I redecreed its intent and cooperation of regional authorities. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:23ff. The scroll was found, etc. <i>Ezra</i> 5:7-6:12.
	516		The temple was "finished...in the sixth year of Darius." <i>1 Esdras</i> 7:5. Temple construction was completed and it was dedicated in Darius year six. <i>Ezra</i> 6:15.
		515	"[T]he temple was built in <i>seven years' time</i> ." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.IV.7.
			The possibility has been raised that the temple walls, if also not reconstituted somewhat at this time, later suffered additional damage in a later local conflict—see (2)(b) of notes below at year 509.
		513	"Ninth year of the reign of Darius," sacrifices were offered. <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.7.
		509	(1) Estimated date for the statement of <i>2 Esdras</i> 3:1: "In the thirtieth year after <i>the ruin of the city</i> I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed." (a) If "the ruin of the city" does refer to the destruction by the Babylonians, the "thirtieth year" would reconcile timewise with <i>2 Esdras</i> 5:16's appearance of "[Jehoiachin/Neri-] Salathiel/[Shealtiel—one of the two "fathers" named for Zerubbabel ¹⁰], captain of the people;" i.e. it would be possible for a Zerubbabel father still to be alive in 509 b.c./b.c.e. (2) <i>Nehemiah</i> 1's abbreviated prayer in "the twentieth year" has similarity with <i>2 Esdras</i> 3:1ff. (a) Equating (1) and (2) would require a vast reordering of the period chronology. (b) It has been theorized, however, that <i>Nehemiah</i> 1:3's reference to the broken Jerusalem wall and burned gates may not be to the Babylonian destruction, but the result of local conflict, as noted below following year 474 in <i>Alternative One</i> .
<u>Xerxes I</u>	486		Xerxes I succeeded Darius I. ¹¹ "Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.V.1.
JOACIM		486	"About this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest;" and, "Esdras...principal priest of the people in Babylon...determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews ¹² that were in Babylon." <i>Ibid</i> .

Alternative One

Josephus AJ XI.V, places the Ezra and Nehemiah involvements all "in the days of Xerxes" after which XI.VI relates the *Esther* story in the reign of "Xerxes' son, Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes."
If the biblical reference, *Artaxerxes* of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, was to be taken as Xerxes I and such Xerxes/Artaxerxes in turn was equated with the biblical *Ahasuerus*, then:

483	"Year third," Persian queen Vashti was dismissed by the Persian king. <i>Esther</i> 1:19.
479	"Seventh year," Esther made Persian queen. <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.VI.2; <i>Esther</i> 2:16-17. "Seventh year," Ezra, "a scribe," was commissioned and arrived at Jerusalem. <i>Ezra</i> 7:1-9. "[W]hen Artaxerxes...reigned...Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe." <i>1 Esdras</i> 8:1ff.
474	"Twelfth year," Esther foiled the Haman plot. ¹³ <i>Esther</i> 3:1ff.

"oratory contest" is described).

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, "Names/Relations/Places," Zerubbabel.

¹¹ Darius died c. age 66 or 98?—refer to fn. 6.

¹² Refer to fn. 1 concerning this term.

¹³ Esther's "uncle," Mordecai, removed "from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there" (*Josephus, AJ*, XI.VI). This year, a projected age of Esther's kin, Mordecai, would already be [598/597 - 474 =] 124/123 years plus his age at captivity.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
			Was there an intervening "disaster" involving Judahites and Edomites due to "a distinctive semi-Edomitic phase...after the [Babylonian] disasters to Judah (597 and 586 b.c.) and <i>before</i> the separative policy of those exiles who returned to Babylonia?" ¹⁴ [Judah/Edom conflict resulted in additional damage to the walls and gates?] ¹⁵ [Xerxes I's reign currently is fixed at only 21 years: ¹⁵
	462		However, according to Josephus: "Twenty- <i>fifth</i> year of the reign of Xerxes," Nehemiah went to Jerusalem "to raise up the wall, and finish what was wanting of the temple." ¹⁶ AJ XI.V.7.
ELIASHIB	?		Eliashib helped rebuild the walls. It is impossible to reconcile (a) high priest Eliashib's reported help rebuilding the wall, and an Ezra present at the finish to read The Law, with (b) <i>Josephus'</i> report of Ezra's death prior to Eliashib's accession: "At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joacim the high priest, and his son, Eliashib, succeeded." AJ, XI.V.5.
		458	The wall was completed "in the twenty- <i>eighth</i> year of the reign of Xerxes" [<i>refer to footnote 15</i>]. AJ XI.V.8. Ezra and Nehemiah are related as present together when Ezra read The Law; <i>Nehemiah</i> 8:2; 9.
		?	"[W]hen Nehemiah had done [all his] excellent things, he came to a great age, and then died. ... <i>Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.</i> " AJ, <i>Op. cit.</i>
<u>Artaxerxes I</u>	465/464		Artaxerxes I succeeded to the Persian throne.

Alternative Two

Biblically, the Persian monarch under which the Ezra and Nehemiah involvements occurred is referred to as *Artaxerxes*. If the biblical reference is taken to be Artaxerxes I and he in turn is equated with both *Josephus'* "Xerxes" and biblical *Ahasuerus*, then:

	462		"Year third," Persian queen Vashti was dismissed by the Persian king. <i>Esther</i> 1:19.
	458		"Seventh year," Esther made Persian queen. AJ XI.VI.2; <i>Esther</i> 2:16-17. "Seventh year," Ezra, "a scribe," was commissioned and arrived at Jerusalem. <i>Ezra</i> 7:1-9. "[W]hen Artaxerxes...reigned...Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe." (<i>1 Esdras</i> 8:1ff.)
	453		"Twelfth year," Esther foiled the Haman plot. <i>Esther</i> 3:1ff. ¹⁷
<i>See note following year 474 in Alternative One:</i>			[Judah/Edom conflict resulted in additional damage to the walls and gates?]
	445/444 ¹⁸		"Year 20 th , <i>Artaxerxes</i> " commissioned Nehemiah, his cupbearer at Shushan/Susa, to rebuild Jerusalem's walls. <i>Nehemiah</i> 1:1. 2:1ff.
	440		Nehemiah went to Jerusalem in the "twenty- <i>fifth</i> year of the reign of <i>Xerxes</i> [<i>Artaxerxes?</i>]" ¹⁹

¹⁴ --per "historical criticism of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*...inaugurated by the Dutch scholar, Kusters (1894), [in] most definitive form in Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (1910)" (and as may be indicated in the *Book of Obadiah*), *Cambridge*, vol. VI, page 199; also as detailed in that Chapter VII, "The Inauguration of Judaism."

¹⁵ *Cambridge* notes the indecision relative to this and connected issues; vol. III p. 413.

¹⁶ *Nehemiah's* biblical "32nd year" of "*Artaxerxes*" (13:6) would not fit a Xerxes 21-year reign.

¹⁷ This year, the projected age of Esther's kin, Mordecai, would have been [598/597 - 453 =] 145/144 years plus age at captivity.

¹⁸ *Cambridge*, vol. III, p. 413.

¹⁹ See above at fn. 16.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
ELIASHIB		?	High Priest Eliashib helped rebuild the walls--"[R]ose up Eliashib the high priest, and they built the Sheep Gate." <i>Nehemiah</i> 3:1.
			It is impossible to reconcile high priest Eliashib's reported help rebuilding the wall and an Ezra present at the finish, reading The Law, with <i>Josephus'</i> report of Ezra's death prior to Eliashib's accession: "At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joacim the high priest, and his son, Eliashib, succeeded." ²⁰ AJ XI.V.5.
		437	The wall was completed "in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes [<i>Artaxerxes?</i>]." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.V.8.
[Death of Eliashib unknown.]		437	Ezra was present to read The Law.
		c. 436	Nehemiah placed Hanani, his brother, over the city, before leaving Jerusalem.
JOIADA/JUDAS <u>Artaxerxes I, continued</u>		433	Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem, the "32nd year of <i>Artaxerxes</i> ." His arrival was unwelcomed by Sanballat and Tobiah. Unhappy with what Eliashib "had done," ²² Nehemiah ejected Tobiah and "chased away" Yehohanan. "[W]hen Nehemiah had done [all his] excellent things, he came to a great age, and then died." <i>Ibid</i> .
	424	?	Artaxerxes I died after a 40-year reign. (<i>Lempriere</i> p. 82 gives 425 b.c.)
[Death of Joiada unknown]			
<u>Darius II</u>	423 ²³		Darius II, son of Artaxerxes I, commenced to reign.
YEHOHANAN/JOHANAN		409	"14th year" of Darius II's reign, "Yehohanan, the high priest," and "Ostanes, the brother of Anani," were addressed in the first <i>Elephantine Papyri</i> ²⁴ appeal, with a copy to "Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria." Yehohanan failed to reply. ("Ostanes" was the name of one of Darius II's sons.)
		406	"17th year," second <i>Elephantine</i> appeal, in which "Lord Bagothi, the governor of Judah," was addressed.
			If Anani = Hanani, Nehemiah's brother, and he was at least 35 at the time Nehemiah left him over Jerusalem, Anani/Hanani at the time of this second Elephantine appeal would have been (436 - 409 = 27 + 35 =) 62 years old.
			[Here occurs a potential <i>Alternative Three</i> . ²⁵]
<u>Artaxerxes II/Arsaces</u>		404	Artaxerxes II/Arsaces succeeded Darius II.
<u>Artaxerxes III.</u>	358 ²⁶ c. 343		Succeeded Artaxerxes II. After one failed invasion he successfully conquered Egypt. General (Commander/Chiliarch) Bagothi/Bagoas had status of "Grand Vizier" of Persia after Artaxerxes III took over Egypt. ²⁷
<u>Artaxerxes IV/Arses</u>	338 to 336 ²⁸		Artaxerxes IV/Arses became Persia's monarch when

²⁰ See Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, C.

²¹ On further premises as also have been suggested, (1) that all of Ezra's involvement preceded Nehemiah's--i.e. that Ezra may have been commissioned by Xerxes I (*Alternative One*), and Nehemiah, by the successor Artaxerxes, and (2) that Ezra had been about age 30 when first commissioned and was in Jerusalem the entire interim, he would have been about (479 - 437 = 42 + 30) 72 years old when, under this *Alternative Two*, the walls were finished.

²² It not being stated whether at that time Eliashib was alive still.

²³ *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 3.

²⁴ See Appendix 3B, I, "Names/Relations/Places," Elephantine.

²⁵ Refer to sub-part C(5).

²⁶ *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 3; *Lempriere*, page 82.

²⁷ "Bagothes, the general of Artaxerxes' army, knew that John, the high priest, ... had slain his own brother Jesus, in the temple"--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua) and see also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Bagoas/et al.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	336		Bagohi/Bagoas ²⁹ murdered Artaxerxes III. Philip II of Macedonia was assassinated. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III the Great.
Darius III/ Codomanus	336 (to 331/330)	c. 336	Darius III/Codomanus became Persia's monarch when Bagoas murdered Artaxerxes IV. Darius III murdered Bagoas.
JADDUA	334/333		Alexander the Great commenced an Asian expedition.
Alexander III	332		Alexander the Great, advancing on Egypt, received an honorable welcome from high priest Jaddua at Jerusalem.
	331		Alexander founded Alexandria. At some point in this timespan, rebellion in the Samaria region caused Alexander to make it a Macedonian colony.
	331		In the third and last Macedonian/Persian battle, Alexander occupied Babylon, Susa and Persepolis.
	330		Darius III, at the end of his battles with Alexander, was killed by his last two remaining officers. Alexander became "King of the Lands." Alexander spent the next several years conquering eastward Persian stretches. Then, abandoning a quest into India, he returned to Babylon.
	323		Alexander died. (He "reigned 12 years, and then he he died." 1 Maccabees 1:7.)

B. Exploration of Year Reconciliations.

The (520 – 332 b.c. =) 188 years beginning with Jeshua and ending with Alexander's arrival at Jerusalem, if it is assumed Jaddua by then had been in office some eight years, accommodates an average 36 years of tenure for the preceding five high priests (188 – 8 = 180 divided by 5 = 36). That average is used at the outset of the exploration below, which employs *Alternate Two* of the Timeline.

High Priest	[Alternate Two] Estimated or Assignnable Year	Calculations
Jeshua	520 - 36 = <i>end of avg. estimated Jeshua term:</i> 484 b.c.	
Joacim	489 - 36 = <i>end of avg. estimated Joacim term:</i> 453 b.c.	
Eliashib	<i>Estimated beginning of Eliashib's term:</i>	453
Eliashib	Nehemiah's first commission: Sanballat was allied with Tobiah: <i>When Nehemiah left, Anani was over the city:</i> <i>Nehemiah second return:</i> 440 b.c. c. 436 b.c.? 433?	440
Joiada	<i>No data.</i> [Nehemiah "chased away" 'Jehohanan/Jonathan?']	
Yehohanan	The first Elephantine appeal ³⁰ was sent to high priest Yehohanan and Ostanes ("brother of Anani"), et al. Yehohanan did not reply. <i>Elapsed time, Eliashib to Yehohanan:</i> The second Elephantine appeal was addressed to Bagohi, "governor of Judah." <i>A similar letter also had been written to</i> "Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria." <i>Elapsed time allowed for Sanballat to have had sons:</i> Bagohi/Bagoas was alive <i>at the time of installation of Darius III:</i> <i>Elapsed time for one Bagohi/Bagoas:</i>	409 b.c. <u>-409</u> 44 yrs. <u>406</u> <u>-406</u> 34 yrs. <u>-336</u> 70 yrs.
Jaddua	Greeted Alexander the Great: <i>Elapsed time between the first Elephantine appeal and Jaddua greeting Alexander III:</i> -332 b.c. 77 yrs.	

²⁸ Cambridge, vol. VI, p 23.

²⁹ See fn. 27.

³⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.

C. Notes.

(1) One Bagohi/Bagoas would have had to live an exceptionally long life, against the current standard dating of Persian monarch reigns.

(2) Equating *Josephus'* "Xerxes" with Artaxerxes I for the timespan of Ezra and Nehemiah, *vis-a-vis* connected events, does meet better with data on high priest progressions. It also would negate an otherwise contradiction—that the tenure of the actual Xerxes I seemingly was not long enough to accommodate the biblical "32nd" monarch year of Nehemiah's second mission.

(3) Conversely, *Josephus'* references to a "twenty-fifth" and "twenty-eighth" year of "Xerxes" [I] may indicate Persian monarch tenures have been fixed incorrectly—particularly in that the *Josephus'* account of Esther and "Artaxerxes" begins, "After the death of Xerxes."

(3) However, only under a third alternative (D below) would Nehemiah's eviction of Jehohanan/Jonathan[Yehohanan?] coincide timewise with the standard dating applied to the *Elephantine* appeal.

(4) A suggestion³¹ for settling Ezra's arrival year has been to consider the number of generations separating one "Hattush" from his apparent ancestor, Zerubbabel, by equating "Hashabniah, father of Hattush" with a Zerubbabel descendant named "Hashubah." The referenced lineage string to Hattush (*1 Chronicles* 3:19ff.) is not clear-cut, however. Zerubbabel's son, Meshullam, appears to lapse (his line may have been perpetuated via a daughter); descendants of a second son, Hananiah, are listed, while descendants of a sister, Shelomith, are not; "Hashubah" appears as one of five names following Shelomith. "Hattush" also appears as a son of Shemaiah, conflated with Shechaniah, and connecting antecedents are not given between them and Zerubbabel.³²

(5) A third calendaring theory suggests a timeframe of Darius II through Artaxerxes II, for Zerubbabel, Ezra, etc. "Van Hoonacker is inclined to identify the *Artaxerxes* of chapter VI with the second of that name, and so would place the return of Ezra to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II in 404, contrary to the view of most commentators...[while] Nehemiah...returned under Artaxerxes I in 444."³³ That theory would accelerate all related circumstances some 61 years and would require a different reconciliation of the high priest tenures and the *Elephantine* appeal. Nehemiah's second return, "32nd year of Artaxerxes"—if Artaxerxes II—would be placed c. 372 b.c. On first analysis, the reference in the *Elephantine* appeal to its composition in the "17th year of Darius" would not correlate with Darius III.

³¹ Asimov, p. 451.

³² Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3.

³³ *Catholic Encyclopedia, Biblical Chronology*; On-line.

Appendix 3A, V

Repatriation and Reformation Source-Quoted Narratives¹

Books of:

- A. *Esdras*
- B. *Esther*
- C. *Ezra*
- D. *Haggai*
- E. *Josephus*
- F. *Nehemiah*
- G. *Zechariah*

A. I ESDRAS

Mithridates, *Cyrus'* treasurer, "delivered [the vessels] to Sanabassar, the governor of Judea ...[and they] were brought back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem." 2:11-12, 15.

"[W]hen *Darius* reigned...three young men, that were of the guard that kept the king's body [of whom one was Zorobabel/Zerubbabel]," agreed to each place a written statement where it would be found by king Darius, beneath his pillow. They anticipated that the wisest would bring to its writer royal gifts, and the "victory" of being called "cousin" by Darius. Upon reading the statements, Darius had the three men summoned to give an oration concerning their respective propositions, at a dominion feast attended by all the Median and Persian princes and the governors, captains and lieutenants from 127 provinces from India to Ethiopia.

Zorobabel's reasoning of the proposition, "What is strongest?--wine, the king, or woman?," in which he subtly transformed Woman into Truth, was found to be the wisest. Darius arose, kissed Zorobabel, and said, "Thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin," and granted Zorobabel's request that Darius make good on an earlier vow to rebuild Jerusalem once he had become king, and return "all the vessels...*which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon...to send them again thither.*" Zorobabel reminded Darius, "Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, *which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.*"

Darius wrote letters of conveyance and instruction to his "lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, etc.," ordering further that the Edomites should give over the villages" they had taken. "He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem." 3-4; 4:42-50, 57.

"After this were the principal men of the families chosen...to go...: Jesus, the son of Josedec..., *Joacim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares of the tribe of Judah, who spake wise sentences before Darius...*in the second year of his reign, in the month of Nisan, which is the first month." With Zorobabel came "Jesus, Nehemias and Zacharias, and Reesaias, Eneuius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, Aspharasus, Reelius, Roimus, and Baana." (Accompanying individuals and their groups are

¹ Italicized portions of quotations are supplied, unless noted otherwise. The narrative summaries are given in the same sequence as in the texts (e.g. *Esdras'* mention of Esdra/Ezra and *Nehemiah* at fn. 2)—although, as explored elsewhere in this volume, the true chronology is elusive. (The *Ezra* report appears to shift forward in time with chapter eight, while *Nehemiah's* appears to shift backward at its end. Per *Cambridge* VII.vii.1, "The Jewish Canonical History ended with...reforms...aimed at Samaritans and other non-Jews [meaning, non-Hebrews, or non-Judahites?]. *But at a much later time the series of documents, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, was artificially divided and the halves transposed...*[and] *Chronicles now stands after its sequel in Ezra-Nehemiah.*")

enumerated. Certain men assuming the office of priesthood could not show by their families or stock how they were of Israel; and “unto them *said Nehemias and Atharias*, that they should not be partakers of the holy things, till there arose up an high priest clothed with doctrine and truth.”²)

5:1-7ff; 28-40.

“When the seventh month was at hand...then stood up Jesus the son of Josedec and his brethren the priests, and Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, and his brethren, and made ready the altar.... .. And they laid the foundation of the house...in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to...Jerusalem,” after which they held a celebration.

5:47-57.

“[W]hen the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it...they went to Zorobabel and Jesus...and said unto them, ‘We will build together with you;’” but they were turned aside. Then the spurned persons “of the land...hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived: so *they were hindered from building for the space of two years, until the reign of Darius.*”

5:68, 72-73.

In the second year of Darius, with Aggeus/[Haggai] and Zacharias spurring them on, Zorobabel and Jesus proceeded with the building. They then were confronted by “Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phenice, with Sathrabuzanes and his companions.” Zorobabel, et al maintained that the authority to rebuild originally had been granted by Cyrus. Sisinnes, et al sent written inquiry to Darius, who made a search. The referenced scroll was found in the Ecbatana palace, and Darius redecreed that the work proceed.

6:1-3, 7ff., 23, 34.

“[T]he holy house finished in the three and twentieth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians.”

7:5.

“But in the time of *Artaxerxes* king of the Persians...Belemus, and Mithridates, and Tabellius and Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and Samellius the secretary, with others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places,” wrote to Artaxerxes, warning that building taking in place in Jerusalem signified future danger to Persia’s control of and access through the region. King Artaxerxes commanded his officials to “hinder those men from building the city, and...no more [be] done in it.”

2:16ff.

“After these things, when *Artaxerxes* the king of the Persians reigned, came Esdras [who] went up from Babylon, as a scribe.” (Chief sons and their accompanying men are enumerated.³) On the third day of the congregation’s arrival at Jerusalem, the gold and silver⁴ was weighed and delivered at the temple “unto Marmoth the priest the son of Iri. And with him was Eleazar, the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabad the son of Jesu and Moeth the son of Sabban....”

8:1ff, 62-63.

[Some] ruling priests complained to Esdras about the *mixed marriages of some of “the princes, the priests and Levites.”* A proposition was advanced by one “Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel,” that all who had “taken of the heathen” put away their wives and children. After Ezra meditated in the chamber of Joanan the son of Eliashib, a proclamation was issued for a compulsory gathering at Jerusalem; “And in three days were all they of the Tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together.” Esdras declared the transgression, and a time was set for review--“[L]et them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed.” “Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechihus the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them; and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbathus helped them.” “And Esdras the priest chose unto him the principal men of their families, all by name; and in the first day of the tenth month they sat...to examine the matter.”

² (a) For the listed groups, names and numbers of the Returns, refer to Appendix 3B, II, “Chief/ High Priesthood.”

³ Refer to preceding footnote.

⁴ *Josephus* describes less (fn. 6) than does *1 Esdras* in these verses as 650 talents in silver, 100 talents in silver vessels, 100 talents of gold, 20 golden vessels, and 12 vessels of brass.

Priests, priest-sons and individuals found guilty of the transgression are enumerated.⁵
8:68-9:37.

“And the priests and Levites, and they that were of Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, in the first day of the seventh month; so the children of Israel were in their habitations;” and Esdras brought the law unto the whole multitude “in the first day of the seventh month.” “[H]e read it in the broad court...from morning unto midday...upon a pulpit of wood which was made for that purpose.” Those who stood at his right hand were Mattathias, Sammu, Ananias, Azarias, Urias, Ezeccias, Balasamu.⁶ Those at his left hand were Phaldaius, Misael, Melchias, Lothasubus and Nabarias.⁶
1 Esdras 9:40ff.

B. ESTHER

Efforts to sequence the two sources, Esther and The Rest (of the Chapters) of Esther, ultimately insists acceptance that, originally, one familiar and unconfusing account must have related the ascendancy at the Persian imperial court of Mardocheus/Mordecai, the Hebrew, over Aman/Haman, the Macedonian, and the accession of Esther, in place of “Vashti,” as Persia’s queen. Certain issues go begging due to insufficient data concerning successions and identifications in Persia’s monarchy (e.g. was the same Persian monarch involved throughout?—Esther events resemble the factioning and palace conspiracies typically surrounding dynastic changes, with statements in its chapter 10 adding fodder to much wider speculation .

(Benjamin-Cisai-Semei-Jairus-/Benjamin-Kish-Shimei-Jairus-) Mardocheus/Mordecai (a Jew/[Judaean/('Judahaeon')]) was transplanted in the Nebuchadnezzar captivity of queen Nehushta and young king Jechonias/[Jehoiachin?]. Mardocheus/Mordecai is reported as being a “great” man, in the Persian capital of Susa where lived he and his considerably younger cousin, Esther, his father’s brother’s daughter, orphaned when she was a child. Esther and her foster father, Mardocheus/Mordecai, became involved with the Persian royal court in the reign of *Ahasuerus*.⁷
The Rest of Esther, 11:2, 3, 4; *Esther* 2:5, 6.

King Ahasuerus in his third year had a feast at Shushan Palace, over which his queen Vashti’s willful refusal to participate is reported the cause for her subsequent deposal.⁸ Esther was one of the young virgins recruited by the king’s servants to provide a new harem for the king, from which some of the king’s unnamed servants suggested the king could select a new queen. Mordecai commanded that Esther’s ethnicity be kept secret. *Esther* 2:10.

The rules of consort provided that, once the king had been with a virgin (having before been granted by him a gift of that which she wished), she was taken to the house of concubines, from which she again would join the king only if he deemed it. In year seven of Ahasuerus, Esther, the daughter of Abihail, the uncle of Mordecai, gained complete favor with the king; and she was made queen.
Esther 2:13; 2:17.

Mardocheus at an undesignated time reported to king *Artaxerxes* that certain of the king’s servants were plotting his murder, having learned it while he “took his rest in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king, and keepers of the palace“. In those days, while Mordecai was sitting at gate the king,” two angry eunuchs, Bigthan and Teresh, “sought to stretch forth a hand against king *Ahasuerus*. And was known the matter to Mordecai. And he told to Esther the queen and declared [it] Esther to the king in the name of Mordecai.” The matter was investigated, the two eunuchs were strangled/hanged, and “it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king.” “So the king commanded Mardocheus to serve in the court, and for this he rewarded him.” The act also gained for Mordecai/Mardocheus the animosity of (Amadathus-) Aman (a Macedonian), highest servant of the king.
The Rest, 12; *Esther* 2:21-23.

⁵ See Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV (Excommunications).

⁶ Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, Explorative Timeline.

⁷ Cf. *Tobit*’s use of “Assuerus”—Appendix 2C, V at fn. 9.

⁸ At this time, the “seven the eunuchs ministering in the presence of King *Ahasuerus*” were Mehuman, Biztha, Harbana, Bigtha, Abagtha, Zethar and Carcas. *Esther* 1:10.

(Hammedatha the Agagite/Amadathus-) Haman/Aman seemingly served as prime minister, above all the royal princes and servants; everyone was to bow before him. When Mordecai/Mardocheus continued to refuse to pay Haman homage, other of the king's servants asked Haman whether "matters Mordecai" were to stand; Mordecai had told them that he was a "Jew."⁹ Haman is reported as wanting to rid the entire kingdom of the "Jews"/[Hebrews].

Esther 3:1-6.

During King Ahasuerus' twelfth year, "they cast Pur,¹⁰ that [being] the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, to the twelfth...." Haman counseled that "a certain people" scattered throughout the empire kept their own laws instead of its, and that to tolerate them was not to the empire's advantage. Haman counseled King Ahasuerus that they should be eradicated, and that "10,000 talents of silver I/[Haman] will weigh out to the hands of those doing the work to bring to treasuries the king's." The King agreed and gave Haman his ring to use for sealing an edict.¹¹

Esther 3:7ff.

Aman/Haman's edict ordained his full authority over all satrapies in pursuing extermination from the empire of all of "certain malicious people" who persisted in following their own laws contrary to the union of the empire. Mordecai secretly sent all his information on Aman/Haman and a copy of the edict to Esther, via her trusted harem eunuch, Hatach, with an order to make a supplication to the king. Esther replied that it had been a month since the king had asked for her company and reminded Mordecai that, under Persian law, if a person entered the king's presence without his summons it was on pain of death. Mordecai responded that she had a duty--perhaps a 'divine' one--to attempt to intercede.

The Rest 13; Esther 4:4ff.

Esther agreed. On the following "third day," Esther, after preparing herself, appeared in her royal garb in the inner court of the king's house and gained the King's attention. According to the parallel report, Esther after preparing herself "passed through all the doors" unsummoned to the king on his throne; and, when her fright and anxiety caused her to be faint, the King reassured her: "You shalt not die, though our order be general!"¹² He asked what wish she would be granted, "even to half of the kingdom." Esther requested the King's and Haman's presences at banquet with her in her chambers.

Esther 5:1-4; The Rest 15:10.

At home, Haman, exultant over the invitation, took it as confirming his superior status. Fueled by his wife and supporters, it was decided a gallows would be built on which they hoped to see Mordecai hanged.

Esther 5:11-14.

On "that night" the troubled, sleepless king had the royal chronicles brought to him and found the record of Mordecai. He asked his servants what honor and dignity Mordecai had received and was told "Not has been done for him a thing."¹³

Esther 6.1-2.

Haman, unaware, went "to speak to the king to hang Mordecai." Following a somewhat taunting prologue, the king commanded Haman to have Mordecai royally dressed and that Haman, himself, lead Mordecai's horse as he rode through the public streets, proclaiming before him, "In this way shall be done to the man whom the king delights in honoring him." Afterward when at home Haman told of the turn of events, "his wise men and Zeresh, his wife," said, "If of the seed of the Jews, Mordecai, whom you have begun to

⁹ "Jew" anciently at its least must denote one of the Hebrew race, but not necessarily a native of Judah (even if inclusion of Mordecai in Nebuchadnezzar's captivity suggests he was taken there).

¹⁰ See Appendix 3B, I, *Pur*.

¹¹ From verse 11 it would seem *vice-versa* that Haman received silver from the king for the undertaking. The latter may have been to subsidize the former, *i.e.* the intended "sum of money which said Haman to weigh to treasuries...for the Jews...." being slave market profits.

¹² More in keeping with Esther's message to Mordecai concerning unsummoned approaches.;

¹³ This is not in keeping with *the king, himself, rewarding Mordecai* per *Esther 2:21-23*, above.

fall before, not you against him shall prevail but surely shall fall before him.”¹⁴ At that point the “King’s eunuchs arrived and hastened to bring Haman to the [Esther’s] banquet.”

To Esther 6:4-14.

At Esther’s “banquet of wine,” the king asked Esther what was her “petition.” She asked for her life and that of “her people” and revealed Haman’s treachery. The king went into the garden to first cool his wrath. When he re-entered he saw Haman “falling on the couch which Esther was upon.” The king exclaimed--would Haman “also ravish the queen with me in the house?” At that point Harbonah, a eunuch, told the king of Haman’s plan to hang Mordecai on the gallows. “[S]aid the king, ‘Hang *him* on it!,” and they hanged Haman.”

Esther 7:2-10.

“[T]hat day gave king Ahasuerus to Esther the Queen the house of Haman,” and Esther set Mordecai over it. Whether before or after conferral of Haman’s estate, Esther pleaded with the king concerning Haman’s Jew-killing edict; and Ahasuerus gave to Mordecai and to queen Esther authority to “write to the Jews” in the name of the king, for what good they desired, and gave to Mordecai the signet ring that had been retrieved from Haman. Accordingly, the king’s scribes wrote “all that commanded Mordecai to the Jews, and to the satraps, and governors, and the princes of the provinces, which from India to Ethiopia,” Mordecai sealed it “in the name of king Ahasuerus;” and the order went out from Shushan palace.

Esther 8:1-10.

The retracting proclamation, sealed in the name of *Artaxerxes*, (a) reversed the prior edict; (b) informed the empire that Aman the Macedonian was found to be a betrayer and been hanged at Susa’s gate (“having by manifold and cunning deceits sought of us our destruction, as well of Mardocheus, [and by such] means he thought, finding us destitute of friends, to have translated the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians;”) (c) that the “Jews” were to freely live after their own laws; and (d) they were entitled to receive aid to avenge, “on them...who shall set upon them.”

Rest, 16.

The retracting proclamation granted the Jews “in every single city to be assembled, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all the power of the people and province, ones opposing them...and to plunder them for a prize, on day one in all the provinces of King Ahasuerus, on the 13th of the month twelfth, the month of Adar.” A copy of the writing was “to be given a law in every individual province was announced to all the peoples; and to being the Jews ready for day this to avenge themselves on their enemies. ... [A]nd the law was given at Shushan palace.” “And Mordecai went out from before the king in clothing royal of violet and white, and with a crown gold great, with a garment of fine linen and purple.” Joy was in Shushan and every province. “[A]nd many of the people of the land became Jews, for fell the fear of the Jews on them.”

Esther 8.

On the said 13th day of Adar, “when drew near the word of the king and his law to be done, on the day that hoped the enemies of the Jews to have power over them,” “all the princes of the provinces and the satraps and the governors, and those doing the business which was to the king, were helping the Jews; for fell the fear of Mordecai upon them. For great Mordecai in the house of the king.... And struck the Jews against all their enemies....” Five hundred men were destroyed in Shushan the palace; the 10 sons of Haman were slain; 300 other men of Shushan were killed; and in the provinces, 75,000.

Esther 9.

“And set King *Ahasuerus* a tax on the land and isles of the sea. And all the acts of his authority and his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whom made him great the king, are not they written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia? For Mordecai the Jew was second to King Ahasuerus....”

Esther 10.

¹⁴ This statement appears inexplicably to imply that confirmation of Mordecai’s heritage would be to his advantage(?).

C. EZRA

In the year first of Cyrus [II] the king of Persia,...he made a proclamation that the temple in Jerusalem be rebuilt and exhorted any exiles who desired to return. 1:1-3.

Cyrus had his treasurer, Mithredath, bring forth the precious vessels that had been confiscated and taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus “counted them out to Sheshbazzar, the leader of Judah. ...[A]ll brought up Sheshbazzar when were led up the exiled from Babylon to Jerusalem”--Sheshbazzar, “whom *governor* he [Cyrus] made.” 5:14; 1:7-8; 1:8-11.

“And they [the exiles] returned to Jerusalem and Judah...with Zerubbabel.” With Zerubbabel came “Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah.”¹⁵ 2:1-2.

“[W]hen come the month the seventh...Jeshua the son of Jozadak and his brothers the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and his brothers...built the altar” and feasted and celebrated. “But temple...not was founded.” 3:1-6ff.

“[I]n year second of their coming” Zerubbabel and Jeshua oversaw the laying of the foundation of the temple, after which they celebrated. 3:8-13.

Adversaries of Judah and Benjamin asked, “Let us build with you, for like you...we have sacrificed not since the days of Esar-hadden king of Assyria who brought up us here.” But Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the rest of chiefs” declined their assistance, saying they would build as “has commanded us King Cyrus, the king of Persia. Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah...and hired against them counselors to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus...even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.” 4:1-5.

“[I]n the reign of *Ahasuerus*, in the beginning of his reign, they wrote a charge against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the days of *Artaxerxes* wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his associates to Artaxerxes...in Aramaic and translated Aramaic Rehum, governor in charge, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their associates the judges, and the emissaries, the consuls, the officials, the Erechites, the Babylonians, the man of Susa, that is the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom exiled Osnapper...and settled them in the cities of Samaria, and the rest of Beyond the River.” The letter warned that if the city was rebuilt and the walls completed, the king would lose revenues and “a portion Beyond the River not will be to you.” The king place a ban on the work, which “stopped until the year second of the reign of Darius.” 4:6-24.

Prophets Haggai and Zechariah (son of Iddo) spurred Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who then “began to build the house.” “At that time came to them Tatnai, the governor of Beyond the River, and Shethar-boznai, and their associates,” and asked under what authority they were working. Tatnai, et al. wrote to “Darius the king,” asking for confirmation of the answer they had received, that Cyrus had authorized the building, and that Sheshbazzar had been commissioned to return the treasures and laid the foundation. Darius found the scroll in “Echatana/Achmetha, in the palace that is in the province of the Medes,” and redecreed to Tatnai, et al, to both let the work proceed and provide expenses from the king’s taxes from the satrapy of Beyond the River.” 5:1-7ff.; 17; 6:1ff.

“And was finished house this on day the third of the month of Adar, which in year the sixth of the reign of Darius.” 6:15.

¹⁵ Accompanied by a congregation of “42,360” individuals, together with 7,337 of “their male servants and their female servants” *Ezra* 2:64; refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns).

“Now after things these, in the reign of *Artaxerxes* king of Persia, Ezra ¹⁶...went up from Babylon.” Ezra was “a scribe skilled in the law.” 7:1-6ff.

“And went up of the sons of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, and the gatekeepers, and the temple-slaves to Jerusalem in the year seventh of Artaxerxes. And he [Ezra] came to Jerusalem in the month fifth which in the year the seventh of the king,” having begun to go up on the first day of the first month. [Artaxerxes’ letter of decree commanded cooperation of Persia’s rulers and provisions of funds by its treasurers of the Beyond the River province, and gave Ezra authority to appoint judges and magistrates in the province.] 7:7-9.

[Here appear lists of chiefs and sons who went up from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes, the stop at the Ahava River rest camp-rest (from where Ezra sent out a commission to collect ministers).¹⁷ There, Ezra separated out 12 chiefs of the priests, and weighed out the gold and silver. 8:1-28.

Ezra and his assembly “departed from the river of Ahava on the 12th of the month first to go to Jerusalem and...came to Jerusalem and...on the day fourth [after their arrival] were weighed the silver and the gold and the articles in the house...by the hand of Meremoth the son of Uriah the priest, and with him Eleazar the son of Phinehas, and with them Jozabad the son of Jeshua and Noadiah the son of Binnui the Levites.” “And they delivered edicts the king’s to the satraps the king’s and to the governors of Beyond the River.” 8:31-33; 36.

“[A]t the end of these things,” leaders came to Ezra alleging improper mixed marriages and that the hand of “the leaders and the chief’s has been, in treachery this, foremost.” 9:1ff.

Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, proposed cutting “a covenant...to eject all the [foreign] wives, and those born from them.”¹⁸ After Ezra meditated in the room of (Eliashib-) Jehohanan a call went out for all men of Judah and Benjamin to gather to Jerusalem in three days time. 10:2-7.

On a heavily rainy day of “the month ninth, on the twentieth,” with “all the people in the square of the house,” it was declared that “all who in our cities have married wives foreign, let come at an time appointed, and with them the elders of every city and its judges.” “Only Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah, stood against this, and Meshullam and Shab-bethai the Levite supported them.” 10:9, 14-15.

“And were set apart Ezra the priest, men heads of the fathers for the house of their fathers, and all of them by name, and they sat down in the day first of the month tenth to examine the matter. And they finished with all men who had married wives foreign by day first of the month first. ...¹⁹ And they gave their hand to expel their wives, etc.” 10:16-17, 19.

D. HAGGAI

In the second year of *Darius*...word came from Haggai to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the governor of Judah, and to Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, saying it was time to build the house. The spirit was stirred in Zerubbabel, Joshua and “all

¹⁶ Uncertainty persists as to when precisely Ezra was commissioned, and by which monarch. Refer to Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, High Priests Jeshua to Jaddua).

¹⁷ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns); see also Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 11.

¹⁸ Although Shechaniah said, ‘We’ have sinned...and have married foreign wives from the peoples of the land,’ his name does not appear in the list that follows of those men/priests/Levites determined to be transgressors.

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II (“Chief/High Priesthood”), sub-part IV (Excommunications).

the remnant of the people [who] came, and they did work on the house...in the day 24th of month the sixth in the year second of Darius.” 1:1; 14.

In the seventh month on the 21st of the month, word again came from Haggai for Zerubbabel, Joshua and the remnant of the people, saying, be strong and work. 2:1-4.

In the ninth month on the 24th of the month in the second year of Darius, the word came from Haggai to the priests [of] the law to “set your heart from day this and onward.” (And a second word went from Haggai to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, on the 24th of the month, ordaining that Zerubbabel would be “like a signet,” because it was Zerubbabel that [Tet.] had chosen.”) 2:10; 23.

E. JOSEPHUS²⁰ ANTIQUITIES

When Cyrus reigned, he “called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and...gave them leave to go back...to rebuild their city, and the temple.... ... “[T]he rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste...; yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions....” ... “Cyrus also sent back...the vessels...which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged.... [He] committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer...with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built.... Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria,” which said, in part, “I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple....’ ... Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem were 42,462.”²¹ XI.I.

“When the foundations of the temple were laying...the neighbouring nations, and especially the Cutheans [*i.e.* ‘Samaritans’]...besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetæ, he ended his life. But when *Cambyses* [II], the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom [of Persia], the governors²² in Syria, and Phoenicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria,” wrote a warning to Cambyses that the “Jews [were] building their city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls and raising up the temple,” and eventually would rebel from paying tribute and hinder Persian passage to adjacent regions. Cambyses [II] returned his order that “the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city. ... Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years and within that time overthrew Egypt....” XI.II.

“After the slaughter of the Magi [who after Cambyses seized Persia’s government for a year], the Persians appointed *Darius*, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. ... [I]t so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king.” Darius decided to listen to orations of the three “guards of his body”—one of whom was Zorobabel; and he who was best would be promoted, receive certain riches and thenceforth be called Darius’ “cousin.” Zorobabel won, and he used his new position of eminence to request Darius to restore Jerusalem. Darius sent letters of safe conduct, for “Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple,” to Persia’s “toparchs and governors” together with various orders, to “those rulers that were in Syria and Phoenicia” to supply cedar and prohibiting “his deputies and governors to lay any king’s taxes upon the

²⁰ See Detail A to this Appendix 3A, V, for Josephus’ lineage and personal details.

²¹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns), regarding paralleledly and subsequently enumerated groups.

²² Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest” that were Cyrus’ “judges in Syria and Palestine;” *loc. cit.*; (a “Beeltethmus” also was among those to whom Cambyses replied; XI.II.2).

Jews;...that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes, [and] enjoined the Idumaeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews....”

“[W]hen Zorobabel had obtained these grants...he came to Babylon and brought the good news to his countrymen...: they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle...who travelled to Jerusalem...under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them.... ... And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families....”²³ “[T]he governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers.”

XI.III.

In “the seventh month” after departure from Babylon, “Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers...and gathered those that were in the country,” to Jerusalem.... He then built the altar,” which “did not please the neighboring nations, who all of them bare ill-will to them. ... They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and carpenters.... The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus....”

XI.IV.1.

“In the second year...the building of the temple went on apace; and...they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that year.” Among the Levite overseers were “Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple...was finished sooner than any one would have expected.” “But when the Samaritans...perceived [the] rebuilding of the temple, they came to Zorobabel and Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them....” but were told “that it was impossible....”

XI.IV.2-3.

“When the Cutheans²⁴ heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they... persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, *in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards*, to put a stop to the building....” Sisinnus, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others,” asked by what authority the temple was being built “in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple.” Zorobabel and Jeshua replied that it had been Cyrus who initially committed the gifts and vessels to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; “and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; ...and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations, [but] *although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies.*” Zorobabel and Jeshua concluded by advising Sisinnus, et al to write to Darius, if they needed confirmation and they immediately did write to Darius to search out the “records of the kings.” Although Zorobabel and company feared the king might change his resolutions, they were encouraged by prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and they “applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.”

XI.IV.4-5.

Sisinnus, et al, In their application to Darius, also “*showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade*” the rebuilding. Darius nonetheless made search and “a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media.” It contained Cyrus II’s edict, in which he had entrusted the care of the vessels to “*Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia*, and his associates,” who also were commanded not to interfere with the building of the temple but to assist with the work.

²³ Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, A provides *Josephus’* generalized enumeration.

²⁴ Refer to Appendix 3A.VI, Attachment 3, *Cutheans*.

Darius issued a confirming decree, and “Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, [and] resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. *So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrin;*²⁵ *and the structure of the temple was...brought to a conclusion.... Now the temple was built in seven years’ time. And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius...*” sacrifices were offered and porters were set at every gate. “*The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.*”

The Samaritans, however, continued to wreak mischief and would not pay for sacrifices out of their tribute in accordance with the royal order. “They had also the governors favourable to them....” So an embassy was sent from Jerusalem to king Darius “in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers.” Darius gave them an epistle “to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria...to Tanganas and Sanbabas, the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadraes and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants...in Samaria.” It stated that the king had received complaint from “Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews” of the obstruction of the building of the temple and lack of payment of expenses, and re-commanded that they comply with payment “out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire,” toward the offering of daily sacrifices at the temple. XI.IV.6-9.

“Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom.... Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras/[Ezra]. ... He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon.” “[T]he king wrote an epistle to the governors of Syria,” advising that as many “as hath a mind to go” had leave to do so; that they take with them “those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians;” forgiving payment of any tribute; and authorizing Esdras to “appoint judges” according to his wisdom, “*that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia;*” and that transgressors would be punished by death. XI.V.1.

Esdras kept the original epistle but “sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media,” of whom many “took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem.” Esdras gathered them together “beyond Euphrates, and staid there three days,” from where they left on the 12th day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year.” Esdras delivered the king’s epistle “to the king’s officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phoenicia,” and delivered the money and vessels²⁶ to the temple treasurers, “who were of the family of the priests.” XI.V.2.

“But some time afterward there came *some persons* to him and *brought an accusation against certain* of the multitude, and of the *priests and Levites, who had transgressed* their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, *by marrying strange wives...*, [which] *brought the family of priests into confusion.* ... [O]ne whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem...said that they had sinned...and he persuaded [Esdras] to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them. So Esdras...made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib....”

A time was set for those men with foreign wives to make themselves present on a

²⁵ Rare early use of this term.

²⁶ Consisting of gifts “made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that staid at Babylon,” including 650 talents in silver, 100 talents in silver vessels, 12 talents in brass vessels.

certain day, and that “the elders of every place...estimate the number of those that have thus married” and also be present. “[T]hey began the inquiry...on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, *and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites...who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them....* [B]ut it does not seem to me [Josephus] to be necessary to set down the names of these men.”

A feast of tabernacles was held in the “seventh month,” at which Esdras read “the laws of Moses” from morning to noon at the “gate which looked eastward.” There was much weeping; Esdras exhorted the people not to weep but proceed immediately to feasting.

“[I]t came to pass, that after he [Esdras/Ezra] had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried...at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son Eliashib succeeded in the high priesthood.”
XI.V.3-5.

“Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah.” Nehemiah, “walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians,” received information from men speaking the Hebrew tongue, who had come from Judaea, that Jerusalem and its people were “in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief...in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that no a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men.”

Encouraged by the king, who noticed his sadness, Nehemiah asked that he be allowed to go to Jerusalem “and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple.” “[T]he king...gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria...to supply him with what he wanted for his building.” When Nehemiah “was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes.” There he exhorted a gathered assembly “to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple,” acknowledging that they should expect their ill-willed neighbouring nations to come upon them and “contrive many ways of obstructing” the work. He then ordered the rulers to measure the wall and “part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one’s ability should require.”

“[W]hen the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace...they proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. ... But none of these things could deter Nehemiah,” who “took care of his own safety” and “also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks...that their shields should lie very near them...that they might fight in their armour,” with trumpeters at every 500 feet to sound alarms, if necessary. He, himself, patrolled the city at night. “And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month.”

When the walls were finished, and sacrifices had been offered and feasting done, “Nehemiah saw that the city thin of people, [and] he exhorted the priests and Levites that they would leave the country and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes...by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. “So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things...he came to a great age, and then died. ... Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.”
XI.V.6-8.

“After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks called *Artaxerxes*.” “In the third year” of Artaxerxes’ reign he arranged a first costly feast for his friends and the governors of his satrapies, and a second feast “for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan. ... In like manner did Vashti the queen gather *her* guests together and made them a feast in the palace.” Vashti refused Artaxerxes’ command that she come to his feast, wherefor he accused his wife, to the “seven who had the interpretation of the laws,” and asked their advice. One of them, Memucan, counseled that Vashti’s affront had been not to the king alone, but to all the Persians, and that she should be punished severely and notice of it be published “to the nations.” “So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation; so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do.”

Artaxerxes “friends” consoled him to cast Vashti from his memory and “to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for a wife,” in order that he might transfer “the kindness he had for Vashti...on her that was with him.” “[W]hen a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon”--Esther--niece of one Mordecai, of the tribe of Benjamin, who was a principal person among the Jews. After a six-month purification of all the collected virgins, the eunuch in charge “sent one to be with the king every day...and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife...on the 12th month of the seventh year of his reign.” “Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there.” XI.VI.1-2.

“Some time after this, Bigthan and Teresh plotted against the king.” “Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to ...Mordecai [who] by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king.” At that time the king gave no reward to Mordecai but had his name inscribed in the royal records and kept him at the palace as an intimate friend.

One Haman, son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite,²⁷ was a close associate of king Artaxerxes, who commanded that Haman be honored by both “the foreigners and Persians.” Mordecai, however, refused to “worship” Haman, who bore animosity for Mordecai and all his nation for their ancient destruction of the Amalekites. Haman made dire accusations against the Jews to Artaxerxes and lobbied for their utter destruction, pledging to pay any resulting loss of tribute from his own funds into the king’s coffers. The king refused any payments by Haman but nonetheless granted him “to do what he would.” Haman “immediately issued a decree, as from the king, to all nations,...to the rulers of the 127 provinces from India to Ethiopia...that all these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children.” The execution was to take place on the “14th day of the 12th month of this present year,” and the decree “was brought to the cities, and to the country; all were ready for the destruction...and they were very hasty about it in Shushan, in particular. [T]he king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.” XI.VI.3-6.

Mordecai arranged for a copy of the decree to be carried to Esther and “charged her to petition the king about this matter.” Esther first replied to Mordecai of her inability to approach the king independently, for a royal law forbade anyone, on pain of death, to come to the king unless summoned by him. Mordecai returned a message that, while “she should provide for her own preservation...if she now neglected this opportunity...she and her father’s house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised.” Esther sent a message back to Mordecai “to go to Shushan” and gather their people to a fast, and promised “that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.”

²⁷ (Elon the Hittite - Adah + Esau - Eliphaz + Timna -) Amalek or (Elon - Adah + Esau - Eliphaz - Timna + ? -) Amalek; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 2 (Descendants, Esau Wives) at fn. 6.

Esther adorned herself most regally and approached the king, who, at first observing her “somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger,” responded with kindness when her legs gave out from under her in dread. When she was recovered by his good wishes, Esther asked that he and his friend Haman attend a banquet she wished to give for them. Haman was flattered by the invitation to sup with the king and Esther; but the presence at court of his opponent, Mordecai, had become intolerable. Goaded by his wife, Haman had a gallows built, intending to ask the king the next morning for permission to hang Mordecai.

That night the king suffered insomnia. His [unnamed] scribe helped him pass the time in reviewing royal chronicles; and there emerged the facts of Mordecai’s earlier, loyal revelation of a conspiracy, and that Mordecai at that time had received no reward. The next morning, Haman --believing himself the man most beloved by the king--arrived early and gave a prologue to Artaxerxes about the riches and honors that the king might bestow on one of his truly honored servants and friends. Artaxerxes was pleased with the advice, but he did not have Haman in mind. Artaxerxes instead commanded Haman to do for Mordecai all that Haman had suggested--lead Mordecai, dressed in a kingly garment with a gold chain about the neck, around the city on horseback, and proclaiming his honor for having preserved the king’s life. Haman bitterly complied. XI.VI.7-10.

That night Esther’s eunuchs collected Haman to come to her supper. One of them, Sabuchadas, saw the gallows and on inquiry of Haman’s servants learned what Haman’s real intentions had been. Over supper, the king encouraged Esther to ask of him what she would. She then gingerly referred to Haman’s edict, as if it had been the king’s, lamenting the danger her people were in--that “she and her nation were given up to be destroyed”--and that she would not trouble him, “if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction.”

Upon the king’s inquiry as to who was the perpetrator of her misery, she openly accused Haman. The king, in great distress, went out into the garden. Meanwhile “Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him.... And as he had fallen upon the queen’s bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in,” and seeing it, became more provoked. At that moment Sabuchadas, the eunuch, entered and informed the king of the gallows Haman had prepared for Mordecai. The king immediately ordered that Haman be hung upon it himself. “Wherefore, Haman...was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai (for Esther informed him that she was akin to him) and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman’s estate to Mordecai.” The king also bid Esther to compose whatever order she desired, to be circulated throughout the kingdom under his seal. The king’s resulting epistle declared Haman’s deceit and conspiracy to “take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther...brought to destruction. ... Accordingly, I have hanged up the man...with his family, before the gates of Shushan.” The epistle also charged that the Jews throughout the kingdom be permitted to live peaceably under their own laws, and that Persia’s governors assist them, “the very same day...the 13th day of the 12th month” from unjust violence,” and to “let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may revenge themselves upon their enemies.”

“[A]s for Mordecai...he assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and...the chain about his neck,” and “went forth in a public procession...at Shushan;” and “the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai....” “[M]any even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby....” “Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies” on the 13th day of the 12th month. The king asked Esther what more she desired. She asked that the Jews “might be permitted to treat

their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the 10 sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews to do so, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the 14th day of the month...and slew about three hundred of their enemies.... Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the 13th day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival.”

“And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.”

XI.VI.11-13.

Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (AJ XI.VII and VIII).

F. NEHEMIAH

Nehemiah was the son of Hacaliah.²⁸ Hanai, one of Nehemiah’s “brothers,” came to Nehemiah at Shushan palace, “in the month Chisleu in the twentieth year,” and informed him that the remnant “who had escaped, who were left of the captivity there in the province, [were] in affliction great...; also the wall of Jerusalem broken down, and its gates burned with fire.” Nehemiah was the Persian king’s cupbearer.

1:1-3, 11; 10:1.

In the month of Nisan of the 20th year, Nehemiah supplicated king *Artaxerxes*, with “the queen sitting beside him,” to send Nehemiah to Judah to rebuild the city. The king gave Nehemiah permission and letters of access to the governors Beyond the River, and to Asaph, keeper of the king’s forest, for timber to make beams for “the gates of the palace which for the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house.” The king also sent captains of the army and horsemen with Nehemiah.

2:6-9.

Nehemiah’s arrival “was evil...very much” to Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah...the Ammonite.”

2:10.

Nehemiah spent three low-profile days in Jerusalem, examining the condition of the city by night, before revealing his presence and purpose to the “rulers.” He then revealed his commission from king Artaxerxes, “And they said, ‘Let us rise up to build!’”

2:11-18.

Sanballat and Tobiah, together with “Geshem, the Arabian,” scoffed, thinking Nehemiah, et al. were rebelling against the Persian king. Nehemiah essentially ignored them, maintaining they had no portion or right in Jerusalem.

2:19.

Eliashib the high priest and his priest brothers built the Sheep Gate, sanctified it and set up its doors and to the Tower of Meah...and to the Tower of Hananeel.

Next to them built the men of Jericho.

Next to them Zaccur the son of Imri.

The sons of Hassenaah built the Fish Gate, laid its beam and set up its doors, locks and bars.

Next to them Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz repaired.

Next to him Meshullam the son of Berechiah the son of Meshezabeel repaired.

Next to him Zadok the son of Baana.

Next to him the Tekoites, but their nobles not did bring their necks to the work.

The old gate was repaired by Jehoiada the son of Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah--they laid its beams and set up its doors, locks and bars.

Next to them, Melatiah of Gibeon and Jadon of Meron, the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah, repaired to the throne of the governor Beyond the River.

Next, Uzziel the son of Harhaiah of the goldsmiths, repaired.

Next to him, Hananiah the son of the perfumers; and “they left Jerusalem to the Wall

²⁸ Only use of *Hacaliah*.

Broad.”

Next to [him?] repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.

Next to their hand repaired Jedaiah the son of Harumaph even beside his house;

Next to him repaired Hattush the son of Hashabniah; “piece a second repaired Malchijah the son of Harim and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab and the Tower of the Furnaces.

And next to him, repaired Shallum the son of Halohesh the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters.

The Valley Gate repaired Hanun and the people of Zanoah; they built it and set up its doors, locks and bars, and a thousand cubits in the wall to the Dung Gate.

The Dung Gate was repaired by Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of a part Beth-haccerem; he built it and set up its doors, locks and bars.

The Fountain Gate was repaired by Shallum the son of Colhozeh the ruler of a part of Mizpah; he built it and covered it and set up its doors, locks and bars, and the wall of the Pool of Shelah by the King’s Garden and to the stairs that go down from the city of David.

After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, in front of the tombs of David and to the pool that was made, and to the house of the mighty men.

After him repaired the Levites, Rehum the son of Bani.

On his hand repaired Hashabiah, the ruler of half part of Keilah in his part.

After him repaired their brothers, Bavai the son of Henadad the ruler of the half part of Keilah.

And repaired on his hand Ezer the son of Jeshua the ruler of Mizpah, piece a second before the ascent to the armory at the corner.

After him was repaired Baruch the son of Zabbai piece a second from the corner to the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest.

After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz a piece second from the door of the house of Eliashib even the end of the house of Eliashib.

And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain.

And after them repaired Benjamin and Hashub across from their house.

After them repaired Azariah the son of Maaseiah the son of Ananiah by his house.

After him repaired Binnui the son of Henadad piece a second from the house of Azariah to the corner even to the tower.

Palal the son of Uzai across from the corner and the tower which goes out from house the king’s high that was by the court of the prison.

After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh.

And the temple-slaves were dwelling in Ophel across from the Water Gate toward the east, and the tower that goes out.

After him repaired the Tehoites a piece second opposite the tower great that goes out even to the wall of Ophel.

From above the Horse Gate repaired the priests each before his house.

After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer across from his house.

And repaired after him Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah the keeper of the East Gate.

After him repaired Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the son of Zalaph sixth piece another.

After him repaired Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, across from his room.

After him repaired Malchiah the son of the goldsmith to the place of Nethinim, and at the merchants, before Gate the Miphkad and to the ascent of the corner.

And between the ascent of the corner to the Sheep Gate repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants.

3.

As work progressed, an angry Sanballat, Tobiah, “and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites...conspired” to fight against Jerusalem. Nehemiah, alerted by informants, set watches and stationed “the people according to their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows.” When an attack did not come, Nehemiah had half of the people work and the other half in battle array stand at the ready.

4:7-13, 16.

“And there was a cry of the people and their wives great against their brothers the Jews,” from those who suffered from famine, their sons and daughters being forced into bondage, their houses and lands taken from them due to mortgages and interest exacted by “the nobles and the magistrates.” The latter were taken to task by Nehemiah, at a “great assembly;” he admonished them: “We have redeemed our brothers, the Jews, who were sold to the nations, according to our ability; and yet you will sell your brothers? And they shall be sold to us?” Then he “called the priests and took an oath of them that they should do according to” an agreement of restoration. Nehemiah stressedly relates that, “from the day that one [sic] appointed me to be their governor...from year the twentieth even to year the thirty-second of *Artaxerxes* the king--years twelve,” he did not take advantage of his position; whereas, the “governors former ...were too heavy on the people, and had taken from them bread and wine...silver shekels.... Also their servants ruled over the people, but I not did do thus.... I worked hard and a field not did we buy. ... And the Jews and judges a hundred and fifty men, and those who came to us from the nations which around us at my table.”

5.

At some point when the wall was finished but the doors not set yet on the gates, Sanballat, Tobiah, Geshem, etc. sent four requests to Nehemiah to “meet together in the villages on the plain of Ono,” which invitation Nehemiah rebuffed. Sanballat then sent a fifth message stating that he had word that behind the rebuilding was the intent of rebellion and that Nehemiah planned to set himself up as king. Nehemiah avoided what he believed was a Tobiah and Sanballat plot, when one Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel suggested he meet him in the temple (Nehemiah mentions a “prophetess Noadiah” among prophets who would have him be afraid).

6.

So Nehemiah remained circumspect in all matters, and “was finished the wall in the 25th of Elul, on the 52nd day.”

6:15.

Nonetheless, “were increasing the nobles of Judah their letters going to Tobiah, and which of Tobiah were coming to them. For many in Judah were sworn to him because the son-in-law he was of Shechaniah the son of Arah, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah. Also his good deeds were being spoken before me, and my words were going out to him; letters sent Tobiah to make me afraid.”

6:17.

Nehemiah “set Hanani [his] brother and Hananiah the ruler of the palace over Jerusalem,” with instructions not to open the city gates until the sun was up and set guards. “Now the city wide on both hands and great, but the people few and in its midst were no houses being built.” He then determined to gather the nobles, judges and people together to enroll them by family, and he found a register of the genealogy of those *who went up at first*.²⁹ “The whole assembly together was 42,360.”

7:1-66.

“And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the word: the governor gave to the treasury gold darics a thousand; basins, fifty; garments of the priests, thirty and five hundred. And the chiefs of the fathers gave to the treasury the work gold darics, twenty thousand; and silver pieces, two thousand two hundred. And what gave the rest of the people gold pieces two ten thousands; and silver pieces, two thousand; and garments of the priests, sixty-seven. And lived the priests and the Levites and the gatekeepers, and the singers and from the people, and the temple-slaves and all Israel in their cities. And arrived the month seventh and the sons of Israel in their cities.”

7:70-73.

“And gathered all the people as...one into the plaza that was before Gate the Water;” and Ezra brought and read to them the Book of the Law “on the day first of the month seventh. ... And stood beside him Mattithiah and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiyah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, and Meshullam. ... And Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah,

²⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (lists of “sons”).

Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites made to discern the people of the Law.... And said Nehemiah, who the governor, and Ezra the priest the scribe... 'Today holy....' And the people who were weeping were exhorted not to weep, "and he said to them, 'Go, eat of the fat, and drink of the sweet,' etc. "And on the day second" was found in the Law the commandment for the tabernacle feast of the seventh month, which "they should publish and cause to pass the call in all their cities, and in Jerusalem...." And booths were made on roofs, in courts, in the temple courts, in the plaza of the Water Gate, and in the plaza of the Ephraim Gate, to celebrate the feast of the tabernacles. ³⁰ 8.

"And on the day twenty-fourth of month this," a gathering was held, in which the long history of the people, which had brought them to that moment, was repentally reviewed, concluding with the words that the people, "in the land large and rich which [Tet.] gave... 'Behold, we today slaves. And it yields much increase to the kings... set over us... and over our bodies. They are ruling and over our livestock at their pleasure, and in distress great we. And in all this we cutting a covenant and writing, and upon the sealing our rulers Levites, priests. And the ones being sealed: Nehemiah the governor, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah, Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah, Pashur, Amariah, Malchijah, Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch, Harim, Meremoth, Obadiah, Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch, Meshullam, Abijah, ³¹ Mijamin, Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah: these were the priests." [followed by list of the Levites]

All entered "into a curse and into an oath" (among other things: to keep the Law; not permit intermarriage of their children with "the people of the land;" cast lots among the priests, Levites and people for the wood offering; to bring to the priests ministering at temple their "firstfruits [of all types]," "the firstborn of our sons , and of our livestock," to tithe; etc. 10.

"And lived the rulers of the people at Jerusalem, the rest of the people cast lots to bring one of the tenth to live in Jerusalem, the holy city and nine parts in [other] cities. ... And these the heads of the province, who lived in Jerusalem--but in the cities of Judah lived a man in his possession in their cities--Israel [sic.], the priests, and the Levites, and the temple-slaves, and the sons of servants of Solomon." 11.

"And Ezra the scribe was before them" (12:37); "and I after them" (:38); and "even I and half of the rulers with me" (:40). 12.

"On that [?sic.] they read aloud in the book of Moses...it was found written in it that not should come the Ammonite and the Moabite into the assembly.... And it was, when they had heard the Law, that they separated all the mixed races from Israel. And before this, Eliashib the priest, who was set over the rooms of the house...who was related to Tobiah...had made himself a room large and there they were formerly giving the food offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of grain, the new wine, and the oil.... But in all this not I was in Jerusalem; for in the year thirty-second of Artaxerxes king of Babylon, I came to the king. And at the end of days I asked leave from the king.

"And I came to Jerusalem and understood [that] which did Eliashib for Tobiah in preparing for him a room in the courts of the house.... And was evil to me...and I threw all the stuff of household Tobiah's outside from the room. ... And I was aware that the portions of the Levites had not been given and had fled a man to his field, the Levites and the singers, doing the work. And I contended with the judges and said, 'Why is forsaken the house....' And I gathered them and stood them on their place. And all Judah brought the tithe, the grain, and the new wine and the oil into the treasuries. And I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and Pedaiah of the Levites; and on their hand Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah for faithful they were counted and

³⁰ Part of this parallel in *Esdras* appears as following the excommunication proceedings.

³¹ Verse 9:38 seems actually to be a verse one of chapter 10 of *Nehemiah*. (*Cambridge* [vol. VI, VII.], discusses the chronological difficulties, *vis-a-vis* text divisions and possible transpositions, of "the series of documents, *Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah*," and refers to "the incomplete First *Esdras* of the Apocrypha--which breaks off in the middle of a sentence....")

on them to distribute to their brothers.” And “I” saw work on the Sabbath, and the purchasing of wares from men of Tyre who “also lived in it. ... And I contended with the nobles of Judah” as to the “defiling day the Sabbath,” and “ordered that should be shut the gates...until after the Sabbath...” “Also in days those I saw the Jews who had married wives Ashdod, Ammon, Moab. And their children half speaking of Ashdod.... And I contended with them, and cursed them, and struck of them men and I plucked their hair, and I made them swear,” reminding them that even Solomon had been caused to sin by women of foreign lands.

“And of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the priest high, [was] son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite; and I chased him from me.” 13.

G. ZECHARIAH³²

“Zechariah, son of Berechiah, son of Iddo the prophet,³³ prophesied in the eighth month of the second year of Darius, and again on the 24th day of the 11th month (Shebat) of the second year of Darius. “Do not be as your fathers,” he admonished; among his visions was a Jerusalem of open country, “for the multitude of men and cattle in her midst, and high priest Joshua, wearing a fresh turban, inviting “man to his neighbor to under the vine and under the fig tree.” 1:1, 4, 7; 3:5, 10.

Following a description of a vision (four groups of different-colored horses--“the four spirits of the heavens who go forth”), is the remark, “those who go forth to country the north have set at rest my Spirit in country the north. And was the word.., ‘Take from the exiles, from Heldai, from Tobijah, and from Jedaiah, and go you in day that and enter the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah who have come from Babylon; and take silver and gold and make crown; and set on the head of Joshua the son of Jehosadak the priest high....” 6.

In the fourth year of Darius in the fourth of month the ninth, in Chislev, the word from Zechariah was, “Now had sent Bethel Sherezer and Regem-melech and his men to seek favor...to speak to the priests who to the house of [Tet.]....” 7:1-3.

³² Zechariah's historical reviews and in-depth prophecies are not summarized; items given relate directly to chronology or living individuals.

³³ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Berechiah and Iddo.

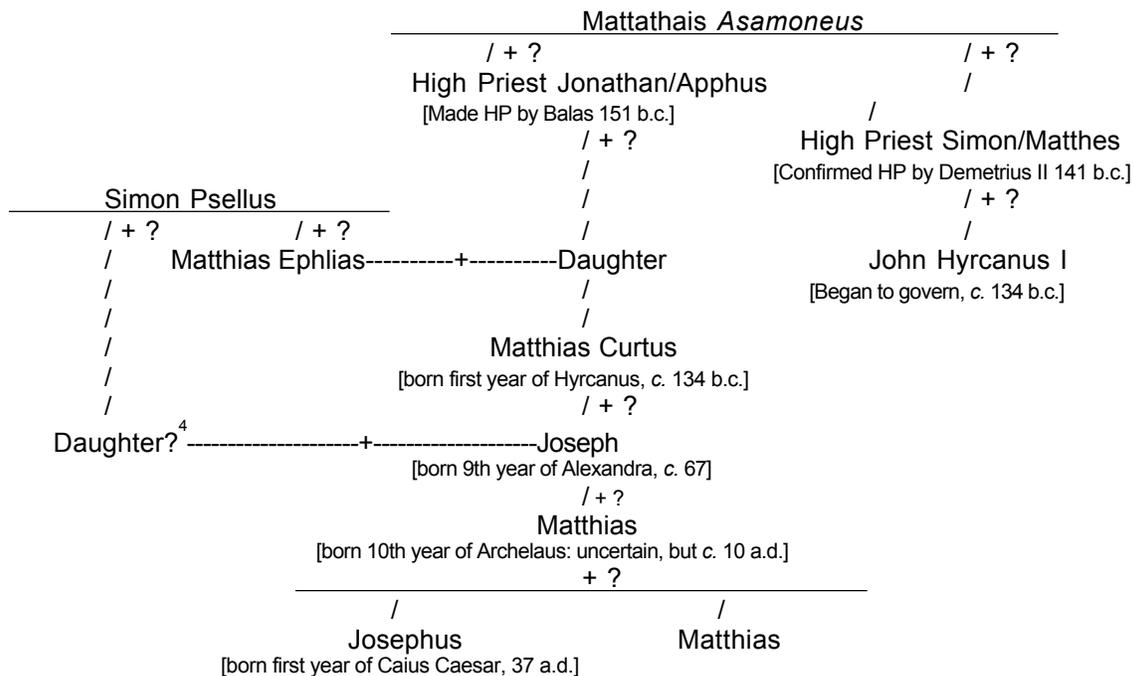
Appendix 3A, V, Detail A.

JOSEPHUS LINEAGE¹

"Now I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first [*Jehoiarib*] of the twenty-four courses; ...I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, further, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order.

"My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus; he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of [Mattathais] Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as I was born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar."

"I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother."



Notes:
 (1) Josephus' reference, to Simon Psellus as "my grandfather's [Joseph's] father," in light of the two-generation paternal difference between Simon Psellus and Joseph (whereby Psellus would be Josephus' great-great-great-grandfather), would appear accountable by maternal generations, e.g. if Josephus' grandmother's father were Psellus.
 (2) Josephus was one of the "great many generals" appointed by persons who "had got together in great numbers in the temple," in preparation for all-out war with the Romans.

¹ Josephus, "The Life of Flavius Josephus," paragraph 1; italics supplied.
² Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A, (1), "King David's Divisions."
³ Josephus, op. cit., paragraph 2.
⁴ See Note (1) below chart.

(BJ II.XX.3.) "Josephus the son of Matthais" was made governor/commander "of both the Galilees [upper and lower]. Gamala, also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command." *Ibid.* 4

(3) Josephus' last battle was a 47-day defense of the fortress of Jotapata. Debate has flourished whether Josephus preferred subduing the revolt rather than leading it. Josephus surrendered personally to the ambitious Roman general Vespasian, who maintained Josephus with him instead of sending him to emperor Nero. While prisoner of Vespasian, Josephus "saw the subjugation of Galilee and Judea. Subsequently freed, he adopted Vespasian's name, Flavius. "Accompanying...Vespasian's son, Titus, he witnessed Titus's siege of Jerusalem in 70 [a.d./c.e.]. Thereafter, enjoying imperial patronage under Titus and...Domitian, Josephus lived until his death in Rome and devoted himself to his writing." ("Josephus, Flavius," *Microsoft [Registered] Encarta [Registered] Online Encyclopedia* 2000.)

Appendix 3A, VI

The Period of High Priests ONIAS I TO TO THE DEATH OF SIMON MATTHES According to *Maccabees* and *Josephus*

Notes: This source-quoted narration resumes from Appendices 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests, Eliashib to Jaddua) and 3A, VI, Attachment 4 (Descendancies, Macedonia, etc.), E (Narration). A chronological summary of regnal periods and their events is provided in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline).

Descendancy charts in Appendix 3A, VI attachments 4, 5 and 6 give details of Maccabean, Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers and relatives. Only sporadic information is available over this period for high priests, and for placing their tenures within specific dates.

Source citations given at intervals refer to preceding paragraph(s). Italicized material in quotations is supplied unless noted otherwise.

When Alexander III the Great died, the immediate control of his territories fell among his generals; and, while the princes and generals that survived Alexander III “ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars...and the cities were sufferers....” AJ XI.1.1.

During the reign in Egypt of Ptolemy I Lagus (Alexander’s half-brother), Ptolemy I “had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizzim,” and distributed many men into garrisons. However, “[T]here were not a few...who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy.” Alexandrian Hebrews received “equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves.... However, there were disorders among their posterity....those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but [those in the Samaria region] were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim,” the temple Alexander III had allowed to be built c. 332/331 b.c. AJ XII.1.1.

Ptolemy I’s successor, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, is depicted as a beneficent suzerain who granted the plea of one Aristeus, a closest of the “Friends of the King,” to free captives enslaved in Egypt; Aristeus’ plea included the statement, “These people, and we also, worship the same god, [who] we call ‘Jupiter.’” Concomitantly, Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ court librarian solicited the king to arrange translation of the Hebrew codices into Greek. (Alexandria’s library reportedly held 995 books, the world’s then literary wealth.)

The *Josephus* text reflects, but with little detail, that the high priest office had progressed from Jaddua (who had greeted Alexander III), to Onias I, Simon (#1), and then Eleazar.¹ Ptolemy II’s epistle to high priest Eleazar informed him of the release of captive slaves and asked that he send “six of the elders out of every tribe [to]...obtain an accurate interpretation” of the books. In his epistle Ptolemy II stated, “There are many Jews/[Hebrews] who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captive. These were honored by my father [Ptolemy I]; some he placed in the army....to others...he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to [our subjects,] the Egyptians.”

High priest Eleazar graciously accepted and notified Ptolemy II that “six elders out of every tribe” had been chosen and sent, “and the law with them.” The tribes names are not supplied; but “Philadelphus took care that [for] those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, all things should be prepared for them according to [their] custom.”² Ptolemy II subsequently contributed many items of great value to furnish and

¹ Refer to chart in 3B, II, sub-part II, C(2).

² This language suggests representatives from cities outside Judah; the total number, 70, may indicate a makeup different than simply the Levite and 11 other tribes (which would total 72; and, where *Josephus* states, “[I]t does not seem to me to be

adorn the temple.

AJ XII.II.1, 4, 6, 11-12.

High priest detail recommences with Eleazar's successor, Onias II, in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who succeeded Ptolemy II. Onias II, described as a high priest who "did not care for his authority..., ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood," provoked Ptolemy III by not paying taxes as had "his forefathers...out of their own estates." Ptolemy III threatened to confiscate land if Onias did not pay. One "Joseph, young in age but of great reputation among the people"--whose "father's name was Tobias; and his mother...the sister of Onias [II], the high priest"--outbid all other "principal men of dignity" who sought "the farming"/collecting of Ptolemy III's taxes. Ptolemy III gave Joseph an army of 2,000 foot soldiers to enforce collection in Syria and Phoenicia. Joseph did not hesitate slaying principal men of Askelon and Scythopolis when he met refusal to pay, which prompt reaction (*Josephus* notes) quickly brought the more northern cities into line. Joseph Tobias thus acquired a lead position between temple and suzerain, a "good fortune he enjoyed for 22 years."

AJ XII.III.1-6.

Josephus reports that the first Seleucid kings "of Asia" also were tolerant toward their Hebrew populations. Seleucus I Nicator had made them "citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks." Seleucid monarchs, over the approximate one hundred years of Ptolemies I - III, had proceeded Seleucus I Nicator, Antiochus I Soter, Antiochus II Theos (whose wife, Berenice II, was a daughter of Ptolemy II), Seleucus II Callinicus.

Major warring commenced between the Ptolemaic and Seleucus dynasties in the next generation, c. 223/222 b.c., when Antiochus III the Great and Ptolemy IV Philopater succeeded at about the same time. Antiochus III battled with Ptolemy IV and seized Judaea. Palestinian and Coele-Syrian territories suffered through conflicts that continued into the reign of Ptolemy IV's son and successor, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, whose army (under a general Scopas) briefly retook Judaea and many Coele-Syrian cities. However, "not long afterward...Antiochus overcame Scopas...subdued those cities of Coele-Syria which Scopas had gotten...and Samaria with them." "[T]he Jews⁴ of their own accord, went over to him [Antiochus III], received him into the city...and readily assisted him when he besieged the [Ptolemaic] garrison which was in the citadel." Subsequently, Antiochus III issued epistles of restoration and religious freedom in gratitude for the "friendship of the Jews."

AJ XII.III.1-4-5; XII.III.12.

Antiochus III and Ptolemy V subsequently reconciled. Antiochus III gave "his daughter Cleopatra [I] to wife" to Ptolemy V "and yielded up to him Coele-Syria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry." At that time, "the Samaritans, [who] were in a flourishing condition," were making incursions into Judaeian land. "This happened when Onias [II] was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his [Eleazar's] uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after Manasseh had ended his life, Onias [II] received that dignity. Onias was the son of Simon, who was called The Just; which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as...said before."⁵

AJ XII.IV.1.

In the meantime, the aforementioned (Tobias + Onias II Daughter-) Joseph--already "father of seven sons by one [unnamed] wife"--had had another son, Hyrcanus, by the [unnamed] daughter of Joseph's "brother/[half-brother], Solymius." Hyrcanus Tobias, who

necessary to set down the names of the seventy elders," the editor has inserted "seventy [two]"--AJ XII.II.7. (For listing of tribes, refer to Volume One introductory summary at and in cross-references given in fn. 38.)

³ For this term, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 13.

⁴ General use of this term, textwise, prevents knowing when it is meant to describe an adherent to Hebrew law who resided in the province of Judaea or one residing elsewhere--as here, also in the Samaria region.

⁵ Refer to chart in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, which reflects Onias descendants and associated confusions.

was precocious, ambitious and resourceful, still was very young when Joseph (himself “hindered from going by old age”) sent Hyrcanus Tobias to a celebration at the Ptolemaic Alexandrian court. While Hyrcanus was gone, “his brethren wrote to all the king’s friends, that they should destroy him.” Hyrcanus, however, charmed Alexandria’s court with his wit and exorbitant gifts and was dispatched home with high honors. His “brethren,” hearing of the favor Hyrcanus earned, “went out to meet...and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at the sum of money bestowed.” Hyrcanus killed two of his “brethren” and “many others of those that were with them; but the rest escaped to Jerusalem to their father.” Hyrcanus “retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode.”

“At this time Seleucus [IV Philopator] who [also] was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus [III] the Great.”
AJ XII.IV.6; AJ XII.IV.7-10.

“[O]ne Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple,⁶ fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city” and contended with high priest Onias II about supervision of the city market. “Since he [Simon] could not prevail against Onias, he went to [Menestheus-] Apollonius of Tarsus, who at that time was governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia.” Said Apollonius reported the riches to Seleucus IV and suggested that they all could be brought under his control. Seleucus sent his “minister,” Heliodorus, to investigate. Onias II explained that part of the temple money was a care fund for widows and orphans and a part was the property of Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, a man who occupied a very high position. Heliodorus insisted the “money must be confiscated for the royal treasury,” which caused great distress throughout the city.
2 Maccabees 3:1-14.

When Heliodorus and his bodyguards attempted to inventory the temple bank, three regally dressed and armored men miraculously fell upon them as they approached the treasury. Heliodorus, once he had recovered from the attack, returned to his king. Simon of Benjamin/ Bilgah believed high priest Onias II had been guilty of contriving the opposition. “Simon’s hostility reached such a point that murders were being committed by one of his henchmen, and Onias II made recourse to Seleucus IV to intervene. “But Seleucus [IV] died. ... When he was dead, his brother Antiochus [IV], who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom.” Antiochus IV, “once a hostage at Rome,” “became king in year 137 of the kingdom of the Greeks.”
1 Maccabees 1:1; 2 Maccabees 4:1-7; AJ XII.IV.11.

Ptolemy V had died approximately midway through Seleucus IV’s reign. “He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called Philometer/[Philomater],” who succeeded as Ptolemy VI.
AJ XII.IV.11.

Hyrcanus Tobias, “seated...beyond the Jordan, and...at perpetual war with the Arabians,” had built “a strong castle...entirely of white stone to the very roof [with] animals of prodigious magnitude engraven upon it...a great and deep canal...caves of many furlongs [and] large rooms, [and] introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. ... He built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. [H]e named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond [east of the] Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon.” Hyrcanus ruled over “those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus [IV] was king of Syria.”
AJ XII.IV.11.

“While [these] things were taking place,” the people of Tarsus and Mallus revolted because the king [Antiochus IV] had given their cities as a gift to his [unnamed] mistress. While the king was off taking care of that--having left Andronicus, one of his nobles, in charge--one Menelaus⁷ “stole some gold vessels from the temple and presented them to Adronicus.” Onias II withdrew to “an inviolable sanctuary at Daphne, near Antioch,” and

⁶ Given in some translations as “[A] certain Simon, of the priestly course of *Bilgah*, who had been appointed superintendent of the temple;” *Bilgah*, the 15th house in king David’s divisions/ courses--refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A(1).

⁷ Cf. at fn. 9.

made a public protest. At Menelaus' instigation Andronicus lured out Onias II and killed him.⁸
2 Maccabees 4:30-38.

"[Tobias-] Hyrcanus' father, Joseph, died. ... His [Joseph's] uncle also, Onias [II] died, and left the high priesthood to his son, Simeon/[Simon]." "[U]pon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. [T]he elders [of the sons] made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons; the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon [*sic.*/ Simon/Simeon #2] the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them."
AJ XII.IV.10.

Note: The reason(s) why the priesthood legacy seems to have been short-lived by Simeon/Simon, and his fate, are not given, *i.e.:*

"[U]pon the death of Onias [II] the high priest, they [who, is not designated] gave the high priesthood to Jesus/[Jason] his brother; for that son [Onias IV] which Onias [II] left was yet but an infant." When "Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes succeeded...Onias' [II's] brother Jason/[Jesus] obtained the high priesthood," promising a large tribute to Antiochus IV.

AJ XII.V.1; 2 Maccabees 4:7.

When Apollonius went to Egypt for the coronation of Ptolemy VI, Antiochus IV learned that Ptolemy VI was opposed to his policies, "so he took measures for his own security. After going to Joppa, he proceeded to Jerusalem. There he was received with great pomp by Jason and the people of the city....following this he led his army into Phoenicia."

2 Maccabees 4:21-22.

"Three years later Jason/[Jesus] sent Menelaus/[Onias III], brother [in-law?⁹] of the aforementioned [Bilgah/Benjamin] Simon," to deliver tribute to Antiochus IV and to obtain other decisions, during which time Menelaus obtained the royal commission to be high priest in place of Jesus/Jason, "outbidding Jason by 300 talents of silver." "Jesus/[Jason], who was the brother of Onias [II], [then] was deprived of the high priesthood by the king who...gave it to his [Jason's/Jesus'] younger brother, whose name also was Onias [III/Menelaus]; for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader.¹⁰ This Jesus changed his name to Jason [and] Onias [III] was called Menelaus."

2 Maccabees 4:23-26; AJ XII.V.1

"Antiochus [IV], who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy [VI] about his right to the whole country of Syria/[Palestine]."¹¹

Josephus BJ I.1.1.

"Jesus/[Jason] raised a sedition against Menelaus/[Onias III].... [T]he multitude were divided between them...[and] the sons of Tobias [apparently, *initially*] took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason." "Jason/[Jesus]...was driven out as a fugitive to the country of the Ammonites."

AJ XII.V.1; 2 Maccabees 4:10ff.

Confusion surrounding the Jesus/Menelaus/Tobias involvements also includes the following

A. *Maccabees* reports:

(1) that it was Jesus/Jason who "immediately initiated his countrymen into the Greek way of life" (setting aside concessions granted through the mediation of John, father of Eupolemus—that Eupolemus who would later go on an embassy to the Romans to establish a treaty of friendship); and

(2) that it was Jesus/Jason who "abrogated the lawful institutions and introduced customs contrary to the law."

⁸ A timing uncertainty relative to Andronicus is posed by *2 Maccabees* verses 34-38: "When the king returned from the region of Cilicia, the Jews of the city, together with the Greeks who detested the crime, went to see [the king] about the murder." Antiochus IV humiliated Andronicus publically and put him to death." (*Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, for Antiocheia/Antioch and Daphne.*)

⁹ *Refer to chart in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5.*

¹⁰ The *Josephus* editors note (page 362), "We have hitherto had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable." ("These three sons" being Onias II, Jesus/Jason, and Onias [III]/Menelaus; *refer to chart in 3B, II, Attachment 5.*)

¹¹ *Refer to fn. 3.*

B. *Josephus* reports:

"Menelaus and the sons of Tobias...retired to Antiochus IV, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly, they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations." *Loc. cit.*

"Antiochus [IV], upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned [Ptolemy VI] as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequences; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor/[Philomater VI] by treachery, and seized upon Egypt." Antiochus took places about Memphis and proceeded to Alexandria, which he hoped to take by siege. "But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone." *AJ XII.V.2.*

At some point, Menelaus/Onias III was summoned before Antiochus IV for non-payment of promised tribute, along with Sostratus, the commandant of the citadel whose duty it was to collect taxes. Onias III left a general, Lysimachus, "his brother...as his substitute in the high priesthood while Sostratus left Crates, commander of the Cypriots, as his substitute." *2 Maccabees 4:28-29.*

"Many sacrilegious thefts had been committed by Lysimachus in...connivance with Menelaus/[Onias III]." People assembled in protest against him; a riot broke out; the people put Lysimachus' men to flight, and him "they slew near the treasury. Charges about this affair were brought against Menelaus," and the cause brought before the king. Menelaus, who had bribed one (Dorymenes-) Ptolemy to plead his case privately with the king, was acquitted of all charges; "those who had prosecuted the case for the city...quickly suffered unjust punishment," while "Menelaus...remained in office." *2 Maccabees 5:43-50.*

Now "a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government...each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias [III/Menelaus]...got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city." They fled to Antiochus IV "and besought him to...make an expedition into Judea."

"About this time Antiochus [IV] sent his second expedition into Egypt," and for a period the city was traversed by imposing army companies in full battle array, which the people received as a good omen. But when a false rumor circulated that Antiochus was dead, Jason gathered fully a thousand men and suddenly attacked the city. As the defenders on the walls were forced back and the city was finally being taken, Onias III took refuge in the citadel. Even so, he [Jason/Jesus] did not gain control of the government ...received only disgrace...and once again took refuge in the country of the Ammonites."¹² *BJ I.I.1; 2 Maccabees 5:1-9.*

Antiochus IV, when he received report of the activities surrounding Jason's attack, thought Judaea was in revolt. Enraged, returning out of Egypt, he "made an expedition against the city Jerusalem," and "in the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him." He "slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy." "He insolently invaded the altar...stripped everything...and took away the gold and silver and precious vessels.... Taking all this, he went back to his own country, after he had spoken with great arrogance and shed much blood." Antiochus returned to Antioch, leaving (a) Onias III/Menelaus as high priest, (b) "Philip, a Phrygian by birth," as governor of Jerusalem, and (c) "Andronicus at Mount Gerizim."

AJ XII.V.3; BJ, I.I.1; 2 Maccabees 5:11-27; 1 Maccabees 2:20.

¹²At length he met a miserable end. Called to account before Aretas, king of the Arabs, he fled from city to city...[was] driven into Egypt [and] crossed the sea to the Spartans.... There he... perished in exile...."

“As for Hyrcanus Tobias, when he saw that Antiochus [IV] had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught...and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, ...he slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.”

AJ XII.IV.10.

“Two years later, the king [Antiochus IV] sent [Apollonius] the Mysian commander to the cities of Judah, and he came to Jerusalem with a strong force [22,000 men] ...spoke... deceitfully, and won their trust. Then he attacked the city suddenly, in a great onslaught, and destroyed many of the people in Israel. He plundered the city and set fire to it...took captive[s]...and cattle. Then they built up the City of David with a high, massive wall and strong towers, and it became their citadel.”

1 Maccabees 1:29ff.; 2 Maccabees 5:21.

Parallel: “[A]fter two years, in the 145th year...in the 153rd olympiad,”¹³ Antiochus IV entered Jerusalem “pretending peace” but took “possession of the city by treachery.” Seeing the temple’s wealth, “he ventured to break the league he had made.” He stripped the temple... pillaged the whole city; some of the inhabitants he slew...captives that were taken alive amounted to about 10,000. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high and overlooked the temple,” fortifying it “with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel [there came to dwell] “the impious and wicked part of the multitude. Antiochus IV proscribed all local customs, laws, and circumcision, and ordered his own temples, altars and idols erected “ in every city and village. Those who did not comply “every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments,” including crucifixion. A general Bacchides sent to the region by Antiochus IV “to keep up the fortresses,...indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness...”

AJ XII.V.4; BJ, I.I.2.

“But Judas Maccabeus and about nine others withdrew to the wilderness...,” to live in caves.

2 Maccabees 5:27.

“Not long after this” Antiochus IV sent an Athenian senator to force the Jews to abandon the customs of their ancestors,” and to dedicate the Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim temples to hellenistic gods. “At the suggestion of the citizens of Ptolemais,” a decree was issued ordering all neighboring Greek cities to enforce compliance, and that anyone who did not comply was to be put to death. (Some persons discovered observing the sabbath in secret were burned to death; several other tortures and cruelties are told.) 2 Maccabees 6:1-42.

[Unidentified] ambassadors from the Samaria region sent a “memorial” to Antiochus IV, claiming that they, who did “live at Shechem,” were originally of Sidonian stock (“as evident from public records”), and would be wrongly included among those liable for the behavior of the “Jews.” They requested that the Mount Gerizim/Shechem temple be renamed “the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius” and that orders be given to Apollonius, “the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the [king’s] procurator,” to leave them undisturbed, all of which would permit quieter circumstances that would “bring in a greater revenue” to the king. Antiochus IV sent to Nicanor a copy of that “memorial” from “the Sidonians who live at Shechem,” and granted the requests. A like epistle was sent to Apollonius. This occurred in the “46th year” (146th year would appear intended). AJ XII.V.5.

Judas Maccabeus’ father (Asamoneus-Simeon-John-) Mattathais,¹⁴ was “a priest of the order of Joarib, a citizen of Jerusalem,” whose family village of Modein/Modin lay about 17 miles northwest of Jerusalem. There, a Seleucid company charged with enforcing Antiochus IV’s edicts attempted to induce Mattathais to exemplify compliance and “be numbered among the King’s Friends.” Mattathais refused. When “a certain Jew”¹⁵ did comply, Mattathais “killed him upon the altar...[and] also killed the messenger of the king.” [“Mattathais...with his sons, who had swords, slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and *Apelles*, the king’s general,

¹³ See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 14 regarding date conversions.

¹⁴ The Asamoneus descendency chart is given in Appendix 4B, Attachment 1.

¹⁵ Refer to fn. 19.

who compelled them.”¹⁶] Joined by others, Mattathais “thereupon ... fled to the mountains [where] many of the people followed him” and made dwellings in caves with their wives and children. Officers and soldiers “who were in the City of David, in Jerusalem [the Seleucid garrison]” went in pursuit, and used fire to cause about a thousand people to smother and die in the caves.

Mattathais’ followers looked to him as commander and chief priest. Exhorting them to fight “even on the sabbath day,” he proceeded to collect an army from “all those who were fleeing from the [Jerusalem] disaster,” being also “joined by a group of Hasideans.” Within the year, however, Mattathais fell ill and died. “Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs in the 146th year.” First-son Simon Matthes was ordained family patriarch by his dying father. “Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus [IV] would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen.” *AJ XII.VI.1-4; BJ I.I.3; 1 Maccabees 2:1-36.*

When Antiochus IV got word, he began to assemble his own army, along with many mercenaries “whom he hired from the islands,” to go against Maccabeus the following spring;” but his treasury was depleted--especially in that taxes were not being paid due to the uprising. He decided first to make a Persian expedition, hoping to sack Elymais (“Persepolis,” *Lempriere*, 1826 edition), where reportedly Alexander the Great had left much gold. Antiochus IV left Lysias, “a nobleman of royal blood,” who governed the provinces of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, in charge of all Seleucid territory between the Euphrates River and Egypt’s frontier; and “in the 147th year Antiochus [IV] passed [eastward] over the Euphrates....” *AJ XII.VII.2; 2 Maccabees 10:10.*

“Judas Maccabeus and his companions entered villages secretly, summoned their kinsmen, and by also enlisting faithful others...assembled about 6,000 men. ... Coming unexpectedly upon towns and villages he would set them on fire. He captured strategic positions, and put to flight a large number of the enemy. He preferred the nights as being especially helpful to such attacks.” Many foe were killed in an early battle in which Apollonius, himself--“general of the Samaritan forces”--was killed. (Judas took Apollonius’ sword for his own.. A next engagement was at Beth-horon,¹⁷ against Seron, Seleucid general in Coelesyria, who made an expedition against Judas. Seron, too, fell in battle, after which his force disbanded. Judas “pursued them unto the plain [”down the descent of Beth-horon into the plain”] and slew about 800 of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea” [”to the country of the Philistines”]. *AJ XII.VII.1; BJ I.I.4; 2 Maccabees 8:1-7.*

Antiochus IV heard about Judas’ victories when he retreated to Ecbatana after being routed at Persepolis.¹⁸ He was determined to go to Judaea himself, but illness overtook him (he either fell into a distemper, sick with grief over the state of his kingdom and took to his bed; or, he suffered a violent fall from his chariot). Dying, he called for his “companion”/”foster brother,” Philip, “gave his his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son, Antiochus [V]; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him;” [*paralleled by*: “summoned Philip, one of his Friends, and put him in charge of his whole kingdom”]. *AJ XII.IX.1; 1 Maccabees 6:14.*

Antiochus IV died “in Persia the year 149.”¹⁹ Lysias seized power and himself declared the king’s death and succession of Antiochus IV’s young son, Antiochus V Eupator, and kept control of the young king. Lysias took charge of the government as commander-in-chief of Coelesyria and Phoenicia. *AJ XII.IX.2; 1 Maccabees 6:16; 2 Maccabees 10-11.*

¹⁶ *AJ XII.VI.2.* From a summary paragraph at *Josephus’ BJ I.I.3* it first would appear that it was *Bacchides* who was slain; he, however, was involved in later events with both Judas and Jonathan Maccabeus (*AJ, XII.X-XIII.1, 1 Maccabees 7:1ff. and 2 Maccabees 8:30ff.*).

¹⁷ Approximately 10 miles NW of Jerusalem; *Aid*, page 222. (Given locations are from *Aid*, where they are found alphabetically, if not noted otherwise.)

¹⁸ It is uncertain whether *2 Maccabees 1:13-16* relate to Antiochus IV in their reference to “Antiochus” and/or his party being stoned in “the temple of Nanea” by its priests.

¹⁹ See next footnote.

At some point, Philip, after settling matters in Persia, “brought Antiochus IV’s body home; but fearing Antiochus’ son[and Lysias], he later withdrew into Egypt, to Ptolemy Philometor [VI].”
2 Maccabees 9:28; 1 Maccabee 6:55-62.

In the events following the onset of Antiochus IV’s final illness—as Philip sought to maintain the regency conferred on him against an ultimately successful power play by general Lysias—emergence of two Seleucid factions inhibits knowing precisely who first ordered certain battles against Judas Maccabeus. It appears that Nicanor and Gorgias initially were commissioned via Philip (Antiochus IV’s “foster brother”):

(a) Philip wrote to Ptolemy [VI], governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia,²⁰ to come to the aid of the dying king’s government. “Ptolemy promptly sent” (Patroclus-) Nicanor, one of the Chief Friends, with a force of 20,000 and Gorgias, a military professional. Nicanor sent word to the “coastal cities” that he soon would have many Jewish slaves to sell. Some of Judas’ men deserted when they heard of Nicanor’s approach, but Judas boldly exhorted his remaining 6,000 and divided them into four companies, each under one of his brothers—Simon Matthes, *Joseph*²¹ and Jonathan. Judas’ army routed Nicanor’s. Nicanor, who had brought 1,000 slave dealers to buy captives, fled across country alone until he reached Antioch.
2 Maccabees 8:8-29, 34.

(b) “Lysias” sent generals (Dorymenes-) Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nicanor (a Seleucid procurator), against Judea with 40,000 foot soldiers and 7,000 horsemen. The forces included “auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the *runagate*²² Jews.” They also were accompanied by merchants carrying bonds to bind, and silver and gold to pay for captive prisoners. (Nicanor planned to raise 2000 talents by selling captives as slaves, to enable him to pay a tribute he owed to Rome.) The troops gathered in the plain country near Emmaus.²³ Gorgias with part of his unit embarked on a night attack on the Maccabean camp, but Maccabeus circumvented them. The next morning, while Gorgias was off searching for Judas in the mountains, Judas fell upon and decimated the company Gorgias had left at his camp. Judas pursued the rest “as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of them there fell about 3,000.” The troops returning with Gorgias also disbursed when on approach they saw what had happened at the camp. Judas was able to seize the spoils without a fight and he “then returned home with joy.”
AJ XII.VII.3-4; 1 Maccabees 3; 2 Maccabees 8:8.

“Lysias...got together 60,000 chosen men...[and]...5000 horsemen and...went up to the hill country of Bethsur,²⁴ a village of Judea.” Judas with 10,000 men met the Lysias force and, after about 5000 of it went down, Lysias--in the face of the desperate determination of Judas’ fighters--retreated to Antioch, “where he listed foreigners into the service and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.”
AJ XII.VII.5.

“When therefore the [opposing] generals had been beaten so often,” Judas spurred his people to go up to Jerusalem, where they found the temple deserted. They refurbished the temple and held a celebration and rededication,²⁵ in the “148th year” on the same day of the same month three years after its desolation by Antiochus IV. “[T]hey built high walls and strong towers around Mount Zion...and a garrison there to protect it.” An Antiochan garrison, however, still occupied the citadel.²⁶ Judas also fortified Bethsur, “that the people might have a stronghold facing Idumea.”
AJ XII.VII.6; 1 Maccabees 4:60; 2 Maccabees 10:1-8.

²⁰ Cf. above at AJ XII.VII.2, etc. where Lysias is given as Antiochus IV’s governor of those provinces.

²¹ *Maccabees*’ editors state that this “Joseph” in fact was brother John of *1 Maccabees* 2:2; 9:36-38; nothing, however, negates the possibility that (Zacharias-) Joseph (another of Judas’ generals; *AJ*, XII.VIII.6) was Judas’ half-brother.

²² It is not always clear that this term frequently used by *Josephus* denote persons who were Seleucid supporters.

²³ Several sites have been suggested for Emmaus. (a) *Luke* would place it seven miles W/NW of Jerusalem just north of the Judea border; (b) a site advanced by fourth century writers was in the same direction but three times the distance.

²⁴ Bethsura/Beth-zur--placed about four and one-half miles north of Hebron (*Aid*, page 227).

²⁵ The eight-day celebration became the traditional Hebrew “Festival of Lights.”

²⁶ It is not clear whether Menelaus/Onias III still was in the citadel, where Jason had chased him.

Lysias mustered an 80,000 infantry and all his cavalry and marched toward Jerusalem. "His plan was to make Jerusalem a Greek settlement, levy tribute on the temple (as he did on sanctuaries of other occupied nations), and to put the high priesthood up for sale every year." Lysias and Antiochus V launched an initial attack against Bethsur, "about 20 miles from Jerusalem." Maccabeus exhorted his men to help "their kinsmen." Their morale was taken to a peak when they were joined at the head by a brilliantly-clad and armed horseman. They laid low 11,000 foot soldiers and 1600 horsemen and put the rest of Lysias' force to flight. "Lysias himself escaped only by shameful flight." *2 Maccabees 11:1-12; AJ XII.IX.4.*

Lysias sent a proposal to Maccabeus that they negotiate a settlement, promising to induce Antiochus V to become the "Jews" friend. "Maccabeus ...agreed...and the king...granted...all the written requests of Maccabeus to Lysias." Accordingly, Antiochus V sent a confirmation to Lysias: "Now that our father has taken his place among the gods,²⁷ we wish the subjects of our kingdom to be undisturbed in conducting their own affairs. We understand that the Jews do not agree with our father's policy concerning Greek customs but prefer their own way of life. They are petitioning us to let them retain their own customs. Since we desire that this people should be undisturbed, our decision is that their temple be restored to them and they live in keeping with the customs of their ancestors. Accordingly, please send them messengers to give them our assurance of friendship, so that, when they learn of our decision, they may have nothing to worry about but may contentedly go about their own business." *2 Maccabees 11:13 ff.*

A letter from the young Antiochan king to the Sanhedrin said: "King Antiochus sends greetings to the Jewish senate and to the rest of the Jews. If you are well, it is what we desire. We too are in good health. Menelaus/[Onias III] has told us of your wish to return home and attend to your own affairs. Therefore, those who return by the thirtieth of Xanthicus will have our assurance of full permission to observe their dietary laws and other laws, just as before, and none of the Jews shall be molested in any way for faults committed through ignorance. I have also sent Menelaus to reassure you. Farewell. In the year one hundred and forty-eight, the fifteenth of Xanthicus."

Roman legates also sent a letter to the Sanhedrin: "Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius, legates of the Romans, send greetings to the Jewish people. Whatever Lysias...has granted you, we also approve. But the matters on which he passed judgment should be submitted to the king. As soon as you have considered them, send someone to us with your decisions so that we may present them to your advantage, for we are on our way to Antioch. Make haste, then, to send us those who can inform us of your intentions. Farewell. In the year one hundred and forty-eight, the fifteenth of Xanthicus." *2 Maccabees 11:27-38.*

Local rulers of the northern coastal city of Ptolemais/Acco were indignant over the agreement and wanted it annulled. "But Lysias...defended the treaty...and won them over by persuasion. After calming them down and gaining their good will, he returned to Antioch," and the Jews went about their farming. But other "local governors"--"Timothy and Apollonius, son of Gennaesus, as also Hieronymus and Demophon, to say nothing of Nicanor, the commander of the Cyprians"--"would not allow them to live in peace." "Some people of [the coastal city of] Joppa also committed this outrage:" they offered boats to take families of Hebrews who lived among them back by boat and then, getting them out at sea, drowned about 200. When Maccabeus heard of the barbarity he made a night attack on the harbor, burned boats and "put those who had taken refuge there to the sword." Then, hearing that the city of Jamnia planned a like act, he attacked Jamnia by night and set fire to its harbor and fleet ("...the glow of the flames was visible as far as Jerusalem, 30 miles away"). *2 M 12:1; 5ff.*

"The Gentiles in Gilead assembled to attack and destroy the Israelites who were in

²⁷ Below it will be noted that the documents are dated the "148th" year. It appears necessary that (a) a discrepancy exists in dating, since Antiochus V refers to his father's death; and (b) some of the battling under Lysias and Antiochus V took place while Antiochus IV lay dying.

[that] territory, these then fled to the stronghold of Dathema.”²⁸ The leader of the enemy army was one Timotheus/Timothy. 1 Maccabees 5:9.

“Nations round and about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, rose up together, and destroyed many of them,...gaining advantage...by laying snares...and making secret conspiracies....” Maccabeus “made perpetual expeditions....” moving quickly against the strongholds of the Idumeans.” At Akrabattene/[Attabene] in Idumaea he slew a great many of the “posterity of Esau,” “because they were blockading Israel,” and carried the spoils to Jerusalem. He also forced the “sons of Baeon” to take refuge in towers...and burned down the towers along with all the persons in them. In Ammon territory he battled and routed an army led by Timotheus, seized Jazer²⁹ and its villages and burning the city, he returned to Judea, taking captive wives and children.

The Maccabaeans killed “more than 20,000” of the forces of Timothy and Bacchides³⁰ ...and captured some very high fortresses. They divided an enormous plunder... collected the enemies’ weapons and carefully stored them in suitable places; the rest of the spoils they carried to Jerusalem. They also killed the commander [here unnamed/Callisthenes?] of Timothy’s forces While celebrating the victory in their ancestral city, they burned both those who had set fire to the sacred gates and Callisthenes, who had taken refuge in a little house....” AJ XII.VIII.1; 1 Maccabees 5:3-8; 2 Maccabees 8:30-33; 10:14.

Upon hearing that Judas had returned to Jerusalem, foes continued to assemble in Gilead and against all borders, while inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon and “strangers of Galilee” went against Hebrews in their midst. The previously-defeated Timothy returned, leading “a tremendous force of foreign troops and...a large cavalry from Asia.” The Gileadite Hebrews who had taken refuge in Dathema sent a letter to Judas and his brothers, saying, “The gentiles around us have combined against us [and] are preparing to come and seize this stronghold.... Timothy is the leader of their army. Come at once and rescue us.... All our kinsmen who were among the Tobiads have been killed; the gentiles have carried away their wives and children and their goods, and they have slain about a thousand men.” Maccabaeus split his army. He sent Simon and 3,000 to Galilee. He left (Zechariah-) Joseph and Azariah, “leader of the people,” to guard Judea, and he and Jonathan crossed the Jordan east into Gilead with a division of 8,000. 1 Maccabees 5:9-20.

Note: Some of the following-described battles may be repetitious between sources.

Three days’ journey across the Jordan, Judas and Jonathan were met peaceably by Nabataeans who told them how things stood in Gilead, that many were cornered “in Bozrah, in Bosor near Alema, in Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim.” Judas changed direction, marched across the desert to Bozrah and captured that city. Per *Josephus*, he fell first upon Bosor, beat the inhabitants, destroyed all the males able to fight and burnt the city. By night he marched to the stronghold at Dathema--“journeyed...to the garrison where the Jews happened to be shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army,” besieging the walls. When Timotheus’ men saw Judas’ force falling upon their backs they were put to flight; Judas followed and slew about 8,000. “He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city.... He then...overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the Gilead.” 1 Maccabees 5:24-36; AJ XII.VIII.3.

“Not long after...Timothy prepared a great army” that included many auxiliaries, inducing also some of the Arabians with a promise of reward, on an expedition “beyond the brook, over against the city of Raphon, intending to hinder Judas’ forces “from passing over.” Judas took all his own army...and...passed over the brook.” AJ XII.VIII.4.

²⁸ Not all involved villages can be located.

²⁹ The precise location of Jazer east of the Jordan is not known; see, however, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Jasher/et al.*, for connection to “Jasher.”

³⁰ General Bacchides reappears during later Maccabaeon campaigns.

When Maccabeus' force had gone "about a mile from there" at some point in the Timothy campaign, they clashed with nomadic Arabs (a unit of at least "5,000 foot soldiers and 500 horsemen") who succumbed after a hard fight. The nomads begged to make peace and promised cattle and other aid. Then Judas and his men proceeded to capture a city called Caspin, "a fortified city with earthworks and ramparts and inhabited by a mixed population of gentiles." They "inflicted such indescribable slaughter on it that the adjacent pool, which was about a quarter mile wide, seemed to be filled with the blood that flowed into it." Some 90 miles further they reached Charax, where there were certain Jews known as Toubiani. But Timothy already had departed the region, leaving a garrisoned stronghold. "Dositheus and Sosipater, two of Maccabeus' captains...destroyed the force of more than 10,000 men that Timothy had left at Charax, where there were certain Jews known as Toubiani." Timothy, learning of Judas' approach, retreated "to a place called Karnion, which was hard to besiege and even reach because of the difficult terrain of that region." Timothy had sent his "his women and children" to Karnion; others of his force also escaped to "what was called the Temple of Carnaim."

2 Maccabees 12:10-23; AJ XII.VIII.4.

Maccabeus and his men took up arms "a considerable distance from the city...." As soon as dawn broke, the armies joined battle. The enemy scattered; the Maccabaeans took the city, slew 25,000-30,000 men, and burnt the temple. Timothy himself fell into the hands of the men under Dositheus and Sosipater; but "...because he had in his power the parents and relatives of many of them...[and pledged] to restore them unharmed, they let him go." Timothy fled to the stronghold of Gaza/Gazara where his brother, Chaereas, was in command. Maccabeus besieged that fortress four days, on the fifth breached the walls, put the towers to the torch, broke down the gates and took possession. Timothy and his brother, who had hidden in a cistern, were killed.

2 Maccabees 10:24-38; 12:22-26.

Judas had gathered Jews together with children, wives, and all that belonged to them, to bring them back to Judaea. At Ephron, a city "that lay upon the road," the inhabitants refused his request to open their gates and permit passage through the city. The Maccabaeans besieged the city, "slew every male in it["25,000"], and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through." Judas' entourage then crossed the Jordan to the great plain "over against which [was] situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis, some 75 miles north of Jerusalem."³¹ Judas and his assembly finally arrived in Jerusalem shortly before the feast of Weeks.

AJ XII.VIII.5; 2 Maccabees 12:29-31.

Meanwhile, Simon had fought many battles in the Galilee, felling about 3000 of the enemy and gathering their spoils. He also took back with him to Judaea the "Jews who were in Galilee and in Arbatta, with their wives and children, and all that they had."

1 Maccabees 5:21-23.

While "Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead," and "at the same time when Simon was in Galilee," (Zacharias-) Joseph and Azarias unilaterally had decided to take their division out of Judea to Jamnia. There, Gorgias came out to battle them, killed 2000 of the Maccabean contingent and pursued them back to Judaea's frontier. (Following the succession of Antiochus V, and Lysias' assumption of power, certain of the "King's Friends" had brought accusations before Antiochus V against one "Ptolemy surnamed Macron," who had treated the [Hebrew] people fairly and endeavored to have peaceful relations with them." "Since [Ptolemy Macron] could not command the respect due to his high office, he ended his life by taking poison"--it being inferrable from connected text that Ptolemy Macron had been governor of the Idumaea region. Gorgias [Lysias' general of the Jamnia forces; *AJ XII.II.3*] had then become governor, and "he employed foreign troops and used every opportunity to attack the Jews.")

AJ XII.VIII.6; 2 Maccabees 10:9-14.

After the festival of weeks Judas lost no time marching against Gorgias, "who opposed them with 3,000 foot soldiers and 400 horsemen.... A few of the Jews were slain." Maccabeus charged Gorgias' men when they were not expecting it, put them to flight and

³¹ Where "the Jews/[Hebrews] who lived there testified to the good will shown by the Scythopolitans and to their kind treatment even in times of adversity."

burned the city. Dositheus got hold of Gorgias, but a Thracian horseman attacked Dositheus and cut off his arm. Gorgias fled to Marisa/Marissa in Idumaea. Afterwards, Maccabeus went to Adullam,³² purified himself, observed the sabbath, and collected money from his men to send for an expiatory sacrifice at Jerusalem. In their continuing their fight for control of Idumea, the Maccabeans eventually took Hebron, demolished its fortifications, and laid waste to Ashdod.³³ They then returned to Judea.

AJ XII.VIII.6; 2 Maccabees 12:32-38.

Judas long had been “resolved to destroy” “the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates....” “At this time it was that th[ose] men in the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem...did a great deal of harm....,” unexpectedly rushing out and killing persons going to temple. After a certain number of such attacks, “in the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae,” Maccabeus “resolved to destroy the garrison,” “...in the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae;”³⁴ which adjoined and overlooked the temple, and commenced building war engines and bulwarks in preparation.

AJ XII.IX.3.

A band of “runagates” informed Antiochus V (who “was but a child”) of the situation. He ordered formation of a mercenary army, “with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about 100,000/[100,000/110,000] footmen, 20,000/[20,000/5,300] horsemen, and 32/[32/22] elephants.” Judas learned “in year “149”³⁵ that a large force of Antiochus V and Lysias, “guardsman and Kinsman of the king, were preparing to invade Judaea at the head of a “Greek”/[Hellenist] army of “about 100,000 footmen”/“110,000 foot soldiers,” “20,000 horsemen”/“5300 horsemen, and “32 elephants”/“22 elephants.”³⁶

Lysias’ plan was to make Jerusalem a *Greek*/[*Hellene*] settlement; levy tribute on the temple (as he did on sanctuaries of other occupied nations); and to “put the high priesthood up for sale every year.” Judas “made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel.” A number of the “runagates” went out by night, collected more men, went to Antiochus V/Lysias, and informed them of the threat to their garrison. “Menelaus/ Onias III also joined them, urging Antiochus on.” Lysias commanding, they marched into Idumea, with Menelaus/Onias III accompanying them, and camped before Bethsur. For many days they attacked Judas’ garrison there, which “fought bravely.”

AJ XII.IX.3; 2 Maccabees 13:1-3; 18-20; 1 Maccabees 6:28-31.

Judas began the siege of Jerusalem’s garrison when he first heard of enemy army’s approach. He and “the elders” held a private meeting, at which it was decided that--instead of awaiting the enemy’s arrival--“the Jews should march out.... ... [They] pitched camp near Modein/[Modin];” and a chosen force “made a night attack on the king’s pavilion...and killed about 2000 in the camp.” Judas “moved his camp to Beth-zachariah/[“Bethzachariah”], on the way to the king’s camp (“a distance of 70 furlongs from the enemy”). When the king heard, he withdrew from Bethsur and “moved his force hastily along the road.” Upon a morning attack by Lysias’ imposing forces, Judas “received the enemy with great courage, and slew about 600 of the first ranks.” Brother Eleazar--believing that the tallest elephant, armed with royal breastplates, was carrying the Seleucid king--made a valiant attack on the elephant’s underbelly but was crushed to death, when the elephant fell upon him. Seeing the enemy’s vast strength, Judas “retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege.”

1 Maccabees 6:28-43; 2 Maccabees 13:9-18; AJ XII.IX.4-5.

Antiochus V/Lysias, “having had a taste of the Jews’ daring, tried to take their

³² See Volume One Introductory Summary, fn. 24.

³³ Blank.

³⁴ See next footnote.

³⁵ A one-year difference between sources frequently is noted, a result of use of either years “of Greeks” or years “of Seleucidae--refer to fn. 13.

³⁶ *2 Maccabees* adds “300 chariots armed with scythes.” *1 Maccabees* 6:28-31 has 100,000; 20,000; and 32. A parallel in *Josephus BJ* 1.1.5 appears to consolidate this and following paragraphs regarding Bethsur, and also gives different numbers of the foe’s divisions.

positions by a stratagem,” divided their army and sent part of it back to renew the Bethsur siege while they “established camps in Judea and at Mount Zion.” The Bethsur garrison, out of provisions and terrified by the foe’s strength, “delivered themselves, upon the security of oaths” of leniency on the part of the enemy: the king “made peace with the men of Beth-zur, and they evacuated the city, because they had no food there to enable them to stand a siege, for that was a sabbath year in the land.” Antiochus V thus took the city, placed in it a garrison of his own, and “for many days he besieged the sanctuary (“lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it....”) But then their provisions failed them...because it was the seventh [the uncultivated] year.... [S]o many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.” (“Few men remained in the sanctuary; the rest scattered, each to his own home, for the famine was too much for them.”) *AJ XII.IX.5; 1 M 6:47-54.*

About this time the news reached the Seleucid camp that Philip (the dying Antiochus IV’s designee-regent of the Seleucid kingdom) was heading a rebellion at Antioch. Dismayed, Lysias, “the general of the army, and Antiochus [V] the king,” were forced to abandon Jerusalem to take on Philip. They “parleyed with the Jews ...swore to observe their rights..., approved of Maccabeus, and left him as military and civil governor of the territory from Ptolemais to the region of the Gerrenes.” Lysias covered up the true reason for abandoning the siege, telling his soldiers it seemed best--in view of the opposition’s strength and their own dwindling provisions--to make a league with the Maccabeans and “become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers....” (Despite the peace treaty, when Antiochus V entered and saw how fortified Mount Zion was, he had his men tear down the wall before retiring his army.) The people of Ptolemais were “angered by the peace treaty...so indignant that they wanted to annul its provisions.” Lysias won them over by persuasion.” *AJ XII.IX.6; 2 Maccabees 13:9-26; 1 Maccabee 6:55-62.*

Antiochus V “also carried with him Onias [III] the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father [Antiochus IV] to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers.” Menelaus was sent to Berea, a city of Syria, and...put to death when he had been high priest 10 years.”

“[D]riving away driving away the son of [³⁷],” Antiochus V put one Jacimus/[Alcimus] in the position of high priest. Jacimus “was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias.” “[A]s to Onias [IV], son of the high priest [Onias II]... when he saw that the king had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[Onias III], and given the high priesthood to Alcimus/[Jacimus]..., [having been] induced by Lysias to translate that dignity...to another house..., he [Onias IV] fled to Ptolemy, King of Egypt...”³⁸

Antiochus V “in haste...returned to Antioch, where he found Philip in possession of the city. He fought against him and took the city by force”/[W]hen king Antiochus found that Philip already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him.” *1 M 6:63; AJ XII.IX.7.*

“Three years later, Judas and his men learned that Demetrius [I Soter], son of Seleucus [IV Philopater and brother or half-brother of Antiochus IV],” had re-occupied [Seleucid] country. On denial by the Roman Senate of Demetrius I’s petition to assume his dead father’s kingship, Demetrius had fled Rome and made his way to the Seleucid “Syrian” coast, where he gathered a mercenary army and was joyfully received at “the royal palace of his ancestors.” Lysias and Antiochus V (who had reigned two years) were apprehended and immediately put to death, “in the year 151.”

³⁷ *AJ XX.X.1*, where *Whiston* has inserted in the brackets *Onias the third*. Confusion exists in identifying the Oniases--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, for a definitive chart.

³⁸ Some 17 years later Onias IV would obtain permission to build a temple at Heliopolis, Egypt--see at fn. 43.

Alcimus, with many of the “wicked runagates,” went to King Demetrius, courted him and eventually was invited to address the Seleucid council. They accused “the whole nation,” but specifically Judas and his brethren of ejecting them and slaying friends and members of the pro-Seleucid party. When asked about the “dispositions and intentions” of the Jews, Alcimus replied: “Those...called Hasideans, led by Judas Maccabeus, are warmongers who stir up sedition, etc. etc,” and claimed that he had been “deprived of his ancestral dignity, that is to say, the high priesthood,” and that, “as long as Judas is around, it is impossible for the state to enjoy peace. Other of the King’s Friends who were hostile to Judas quickly added fuel....”

2 Maccabees 14:1-11; 1 Maccabees 7:1; AJ XII.X.1.

Convinced, Demetrius sent his general Bacchides out of Antioch with the army, to restore order and establish Alcimus as high priest. Bacchides forwarded a message that he desired to establish a new league of friendship with the Maccabeans--an offer Judas didn’t credit, seeing that Bacchides had brought such a big army. One group of scribes asked for a negotiated agreement: “The Hasideans were the first among the Israelites to seek peace... saying, ‘A priest [Alcimus] of the line of Aaron has come with the army, and he will not do us any wrong.’” A number of men voluntarily went over, believing an assurance that they would not be punished for their prior affiliation; however, sixty were arrested and killed in one day.

Bacchides chased around the country searching out and punishing partisans, enjoining all to submit to Alcimus. Then he handed the province over to Alcimus, leaving part of the army under his command, and returned to Antioch. Alcimus sought to secure his dominion by behaving most diplomatically toward the people but meanwhile getting together “a great body of men,” who went over the countryside killing anyone thought to be connected with the Maccabean party. Judas retaliated by killing all he found of the opposing party. When Alcimus saw he wasn’t gaining ground, he returned to Demetrius with new accusations. Demetrius I immediately chose his general Nicanor, who had been in command of the elephants, and appointed him as governor of Judaea. He sent Nicanor with a force thought sufficient to conquer the Maccabeans, bidding his general to not spare the nation, “to put Judas to death, disperse his followers, and to set up Alcimus as high priest of the great temple.” “The gentiles of Judea, who would have Judas banished, came flocking to Nicanor....”

AJ XII.X.2-3; 2 Maccabees 14:12-15; 1 Maccabees 7:19.

The “Jews,” upon hearing of Nicanor’s advance, and “At their leader’s command...set out at once and came upon the enemy at the village of Adasa.” Judas’ brother, Simon, engaged Nicanor “but...suffered a slight repulse. Nicanor shrank from forcing the issue by bloodshed. “So he sent Posidonius, Theodotus and Mattathias to arrange an agreement.” Following a long discussion of terms, each leader communicated the terms to his troops, a general agreement was expressed that elicited mutual assent, and a day was set for the leaders to confirm the treaty. Thrones were set in place and a chariot came forward from each side. Judas “posted armed men...at suitable points...for fear that the enemy might suddenly carry out some treacherous plan. But the conference was held in the proper way.” “Nicanor stayed on in Jerusalem, where he did nothing out of place...got rid of the throngs of ordinary people around him...[and] always kept Judas in his company, for he had a cordial affection for the man. He urged him to marry and have children; so Judas married, settled down, and shared the common life.”³⁹

2 Maccabees 14:15-25.

Alcimus went to Demetrius I with the treaty, told him that Nicanor had designated Judas to be Alcimus’ successor, and accused Nicanor of plotting against the state. Nicanor was sent a message from the king negating the treaty and ordering him to arrest Judas immediately and extradite him to Antioch. “Nicanor was dismayed.... However, there was no way of opposing the king, so he watched for an opportunity.... But Judas noticed that Nicanor was becoming cool...acting with unaccustomed rudeness...[and] concluded [it]

³⁹ *Josephus* relates otherwise, that “When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace....” However, as they stood talking, Judas noticed Nicanor giving a certain signal to his soldiers; Judas ran back to his own soldiers and fled away with them. “Nicanor determined to make open war,” and a first battle was joined at a village called Capharsalama (the outcome of it being unclear--the translators suggest a corruption of the original source). *AJ*, XII.X.4-5.

betokened no good.” So Judas gathered a large number of men and went into hiding.

“When Nicanor realized that he had been outwitted...he went to the ...temple” and ordered the priests to surrender Judas Maccabeus. They swore they didn’t know where he was, despite Nicanor’s threat to level the shrine if Judas wasn’t handed over. Nicanor learned the Maccabeans were in Samaria territory and made a plan to attack them on a day of rest. Those “Jews who were forced to follow Nicanor” pleaded against it. He dismissed their godliness, saying, “I, on my part, am ruler [here], and my orders are that you take up arms and carry out the king’s [Antiochus V’s] business.”

2 Maccabees 14:26ff. and 15:1-5; AJ XII.X.5.

Maccabeus filled his troops with fresh enthusiasm, fueled by “a kind of vision” (that of a praying “Onias, the former high priest, a good and virtuous man, modest in appearance, gentle in manners, distinguished in speech, and trained from childhood in every virtuous practice, approached by the prophet Jeremiah, who presented Judas with a gold sword). The troops gained courage to face the dreaded hand-to-hand combat to come, while “Those who remained in the city suffered a like agony, anxious as they were about the battle in the open country. Everyone now awaited the decisive moment,” as the enemy advanced in battle line, with their troops, elephants and cavalry, “to the sound of trumpets and battle songs.” But Judas and his men “laid low at least 35,000.... When the battle was over...they discovered Nicanor lying there in all his armor. Then Judas...ordered Nicanor’s head and whole right arm to be cut off and taken to Jerusalem. When Judas arrived there, he assembled his countrymen, stationed the priests before the altar, and sent for those in the citadel. He showed them...Nicanor’s head and arm.... He cut out the tongue of ...Nicanor, saying he would feed it piecemeal to the birds.... ... Judas hung up Nicanor’s head on the wall of the citadel.... By public vote it was unanimously decreed never to let [that] day pass unobserved, but to celebrate it on the 13th day of the 12th month, called Adar in Aramaic, the eve of Mordecai’s Day.”⁴⁰

2 Maccabees 15:6-37; 1 Maccabees 7:26; AJ XII.X.5.

“But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary...he was smitten suddenly.... This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who hearing of the power of the Romans...he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them.”

AJ XII.X.6.

“Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans...[their] great valour...[and] of acts which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them and brought them under tribute. And what they had done in the country of Spain, and winning of the mines of silver and gold which is there;...how they had discomfited Philip, and Perseus, king of the Citims, with others...and had overcome them. How also Antiochus the great king of Asia...having 120 elephants with horsemen and chariots, was discomfited by them...and of the country of India, and Media, and Lydia...which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes; moreover, how the Greeks had determined to come and destroy them [the Romans]; and that they...took possession of their lands.... ...yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby; moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, wherein 320 men sat in council...and committed their government to one man every year....” “[I]n consequence of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league.

1 Maccabees 8:1-18.

Judas’ ambassadors addressed the Roman senate “to make a confederacy and peace, [which] matter pleased the Romans well.” The treaty which the Senate “wrote...in tables of brass...to Jerusalem” confirmed (a) that “if there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates...the people of the Jews shall help them, as the time

⁴⁰ *2 Maccabees*’ writer closes with, “Since Nicanor’s doings ended in this way, with the city remaining in the possession of the Hebrews from that time on, I will bring my own story to an end here too....” 15:37. The composers of *2 Maccabees* state (at 2:23), “We will try to condense into a single book” all “which Jason of Cyrene set forth in detail in five volumes.”

shall be appointed, with all their heart;" (b) "Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon...or give [aid of any kind]" to any who made war against the Romans; (c) "In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them;" (d) "Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think it meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified;" (e) And as touching the evils that Demetrius [I] doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land."

1 Maccabees 8:19-32.

When Demetrius I heard of Nicanor's defeat and death, he again sent out Bacchides with an army. Bacchides first pitched camp opposite Arbela in the Galilee and besieged and took those those there in caves, where many people had fled. In the year "152"⁴¹ he made for Jerusalem, learning that Judas' camp was pitched at "Bethzetho," only 1,000/[3,000] men to face Bacchides' 20,000 footmen and 2,000 horsemen. Frightened, all but 800 of his force ran. "Both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset," when Judas broke Bacchides' right wing which retreated, pursued by the Maccabaeen force, as far as a mountain called Aza. Bacchides' left wing, however, came up behind Judas and his men, surrounding them. "[N]ot being able to fly, encompassed [by] enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions."

Having lost their general, Judas' remaining men fled. Brothers Simon and Jonathan received Judas' body and buried him at Modin. *Josephus* does not give a year, stating only that Judas had "retained the high priesthood three years" before he died. *AJ XII.XI.1-2.*

After Judas Maccabeus' death, dissension sprang up again in Judea, intensified by a famine. The result was that more Hebrews "apostatized," to whom Bacchides "committed the care of the country," and who seized and delivered to him members of the Maccabaeen party for execution. "[W]hen this calamity...was become so great," the remaining freedom fighters went to Judas' brother, Jonathan. Aided by brother Simon, Jonathan took up their cause and "was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army." The Maccabaeans pitched camp not far from Jerusalem in desert area on the west side of the lower Jordan. Jonathan prepared for an assault, sending brother John/Gaddis to lodge supplies and baggage with Arab Nabataeans. Enroute, "sons of Ambri" ("Jambrians from Medaba") laid an ambush, killed John and his companions, and plundered the supplies and equipment.

AJ XIII.I.1-2; 1 Maccabees 9:23-36.

Bacchides and his men attacked the Jonathan force on the sabbath. The Maccabaeans, although killing 2,000 of the enemy, were outnumbered. Jonathan, who barely avoided a death-strike by Bacchides, escaped by swimming the Jordan to the east side with some companions. (Jonathan and Simon revenged the attack on John by attacking and destroying the Jambrians as they celebrated the marriage of "one of the great princes of Canaan from Nadabath," as they brought the bride from "Gabatha--the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians.")

Bacchides did not pursue Jonathan. He instead returned to Jerusalem and proceeded to restore demolished walls, build new towers and place garrisons in several Judean cities, among them Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Timna, and Tekoa.⁴² He made Jerusalem's fortifications strongest of all. "He also took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel," while "Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river and abode there. ...Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two

⁴¹ *1 Maccabees 9:3; Josephus* does not give this year.

⁴² See Appendix 2A for Tekoa/Tekoah and other locations not previously given.

years.”

AJ XIII.1.1-4; 1 Maccabees 9:37-42.

Once again, Jonathan’s opponents, seeing him and his supporters living in peace and vulnerable, re-excited Demetrius I to send Bacchides to seize Jonathan, assuring him it could be done in a wink. Bacchides returned Judea and pressed “his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries,” to capture Jonathan. As Jonathan continued to elude capture, Bacchides killed 50 of the leaders of Jonathan’s opposition for the new troubles they had brought on himself and the king (per *Josephus*); Jonathan rounded up 50 ringleaders and killed them (per *Maccabees*).

Jonathan and Simon proceeded to fortify a wilderness village (Bethagla/Bethbasi), against which Bacchides laid a siege with “his own army...and his Jewish auxiliaries.” Jonathan left Simon to handle its the defense while he recruited a body of supporters, and they fell on Bacchides’ camp by night. Joined by Simon’s force, they felled many of Bacchides’ men and laid waste to his war engines. The situation put Bacchides in mind to end the siege “after a decent manner. When Jonathan understood [that], he sent a proposal for a mutual league and restoration of captives by each side. Bacchides accepted; both he and Jonathan swore to desist from making further war against the other. Bacchides returned to Antioch and “never came into Judea again.” Jonathan went to live in Michmash “and there governed the multitude....” *AJ XIII.1.5-6; 1 Maccabees 9:58-78.*

“In the 160th year” Alexander (called “Balas”), son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came into Syria, and took Ptolemais/Acco, “the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius.” Demetrius I, wanting to get the drop on Balas, sent ambassadors to Jonathan for an alliance with an order that Jonathan be allowed to raise an army, have armor made, and receive back the hostages Bacchides had shut up in the citadel--all of which terrified the “wicked men/runagates and deserters” occupying the citadel. Jonathan received back the [unnamed] hostages and returned them to their parents. Leaders of almost all the Antiochan garrisons in Judea fled to Antioch, but those at Jerusalem and Bethsura held firm. Meanwhile, Alexander Balas--aware of what the Maccabaeans had suffered on the part of Demetrius I, was confident he could enlist them as his own allies. He sent an epistle, purple robe and gold crown to Jonathan, ordaining him high priest. This occurred “four years after the death of his brother, Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made.”

AJ XIII.11.1; 1 Maccabees 10:1-21.

Demetrius I followed up with a phenomenal offer to Jonathan, if he would continue as Demetrius’ ally. Jonathan would receive the citadel and religious freedom; all “Jews...captives... slaves... and inhabitants” would be set free, and Jonathan could decree Jerusalem the only temple of Jewish worship. Further, Demetrius I would remove the greatest part of tributes and taxes formerly payable to his predecessors, forgive the salt tax, relinquish entitlement to one-third of the fruits of the field and half of the fruits of the trees, relinquish to Jonathan the head tax payable in Judaea plus the three adjoining toparchies (Samaria, Galilee and Perea), let Jonathan fortify any Judaeans town he wished at Demetrius’ expense, *and* Demetrius would pay--out of his own revenue--150,000 drachmae toward expenses connected to temple sacrifices. It appears, however, that Jonathan chose at that time to support Balas.

AJ XIII.11.2-3; 1 Maccabees 10:21-46.

It is at this point that Josephus relates the solicitation by, and permission of Ptolemy Philometor VI and Cleopatra II to Onias [IV], to build the Heliopolis/Leontopolis temple.⁴³ Meanwhile, “the Alexandrian Jews/[Hebrews], and those...who paid their worship to the temple...at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed...before Ptolemy [VI] himself: the Jews[of Judaea] saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans [Samaria Hebrews] saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim.”

Ptolemy VI held a formal council to hear the matter, on conclusion of which (according

⁴³ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, preceding fn. 34.

to a pre-agreement) the loser-representatives would pay with their lives. (Messalamus-) Andronicus presented the case for the Jerusalem site, noting its perennial eminence, the successions of its priests, and the honors paid it by kings of Asia. persuaded the king to order that the temple be restored at Jerusalem. Ptolemy VI decided that the Jerusalem temple be restored.⁴⁴ Gerizzim proponents Sabbeus and Theodosius, of whose presentation no account is given, were put to death. *1 Maccabees 10:48-50; AJ, XIII.II.4 to III.1-4.*

Balas proposed to Ptolemy VI that circumstances were worthy of a marriage alliance, to which Ptolemy agreed.⁴⁵ Ptolemy personally brought his daughter, Cleopatra [III], to Ptolemais for the wedding and bestowed on her “much silver and gold.” After the wedding Balas invited Jonathan to Ptolemais, where both Ptolemy and Balas received him honorably. Balas “compelled him take a purple garment...[and] sit with him in his throne...as a principal of his friends,” and proclaimed that none should accuse or oppose Jonathan. “So Jonathan returned in peace and happiness to Jerusalem.” *AJ XIII.IV.1-2; 1 Maccabees 10:51-66.*

Subsequently, Balas “raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius [I].” The left wing of Demetrius’ force held, but he in the right wing suffered a falling horse. There he died from many dart wounds, “when he had reigned eleven years....” *1 Maccabees 10:48; AJ XIII.II.4.*

In the “165th year,” Demetrius I’s son, Demetrius II (“who became styled Nicator”), sailed from Crete to Cilicia with a mercenary army. Balas hastened from Ptolemais in Phoenicia to Antioch, to prepare for the contention. Balas’ general, Apollonius, governor of Coelesyria, enroute to Jamnia with a large army, sent a written challenge to Jonathan. Jonathan and Simon took 10,000 soldiers and pitched camp outside of Joppa, where Apollonius had a garrison, and Joppa’s people opened the city gates for them.

Apollonius had 3,000 horsemen and 8,000 footmen. Coming out of Ashdod, his and Jonathan’s forces engaged in a long battle on the plain. The tight, armored formation of the Maccabean cohort withstood Apollonius’ horsemen’s “darts from morning to night,” until weariness scattered the Apollonius force. Jonathan and Simon pursued them, slaying many, while others fled to the temple of Dagon at Ashdod. Ultimately the Maccabeans took Ashdod, burned the city and temple, and felled 8,000 of the enemy. When Balas “heard that Apollonius...was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it because he [Apollonius] had fought against directions, with Jonathan his [Balas’] friend and ally.”⁴⁶

Jonathan proceeded to Askelon where, once he had pitched his camp, the city opened its gates, received him honorably and gave gifts. Jonathan returned to Jerusalem; Balas sent him rewards and a testimonial, and gave him Ekron and its toparchy as his own. *AJ XIII.IV.3-4; 1 Maccabees 10:67-88.*

“About this time,” Ptolemy VI led an army (part by sea and part by land) along the coastal region to Ptolemais, to assist his son-in-law, Alexander Balas. Although Ptolemy VI received much complaint at Ashdod about Jonathan, he was not moved by it. At Joppa he and Jonathan had a most hospitable meeting. At Ptolemais, Ptolemy VI discovered a plot against his life, which appeared to be led by one Ammonius, a friend of Balas. When Balas did not punish Ammonius, Ptolemy VI became certain that Balas, himself, had been behind the plot. Ptolemy VI dissolved his relations with Balas, took daughter Cleopatra away, and sent an immediate offer to give her to Demetrius II as part of a league to restore Demetrius II to “the principality of his fathers.” (According to *Maccabees*, Ptolemy VI’s “real reason for

⁴⁴ *Josephus* editors note, “worldly policy and interest prevailing, the court gave sentence...on the stronger side;” *Josephus* notes, “[T]he Jews that were in Alexandria were in great concern...for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that [Jerusalem] temple....”

⁴⁵ The Seleucid kingdom now comes generally to be referred to in the texts as “Syria.”

⁴⁶ Whether Apollonius’ act indeed was a unilateral one is not clear. (Ekron, once a leading Philistine city, is thought to have been 12 miles E/NE of Ashdod.)

accusing Alexander [Balas was] that he coveted Alexander's kingdom;" and "plotting evil against Alexander...took possession of the cities along the seacoast as far as Seleucia-by-the-Sea.") Demetrius II was well pleased, but Ptolemy VI still had to convince the people of Antioch to accept Demetrius.

AJ XIII.IV.5-7; 1 Maccabees 11:8-11.

It was not difficult; the people of Antioch hated Balas for having sabotaged their prior Ptolemaic alliance. They easily were persuaded by Ptolemy VI to expel Balas, who was off dealing with a revolt in Cilicia. At Antioch, Ptolemy VI was made its king by the leaders and army, "and assumed the crown of Asia," so as thus "forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt." Ptolemy, however, was "determined to avoid the envy of the Romans." He called Antiochans to an assembly, and by sincere assurances persuaded them to receive Demetrius II and that he, himself, both was content with the kingdom of Egypt and would not permit Demetrius II to usurp his rule.

Balas did not give up easily. Soon he came out of Cilicia into Syria with another army, burning and pillaging. Ptolemy VI and new son-in-law Demetrius II battled with him until finally Balas fled into Arabia. But it happened in the battle that Ptolemy VI was thrown from his horse and the enemies fell on him. Mortally wounded, he lingered four days before dying; before he died, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing Balas' severed head, which had been cut off and sent to him by an Arabian prince named Zabdiel. "Alexander, who was called Balas, [had] reigned over Asia five years...." "Thus Demetrius II became king in the year 167."

AJ XIII.IV.7-8; 1 Maccabees 11:14-19.

Once Demetrius II had his kingdom, with peace established around him, he kept only his mercenary soldiers from Crete and discharged his own men to return to their homes. This raised the hatred of those Ptolemaic soldiers who had served under Demetrius II's predecessors--not only in view of the mutual league but, especially, in that prior kings had paid them during peace as well as war--and they fled back to Alexandria. One Diodotus, also called Trypho/Tryphon, previously of Balas' party, went to "Imalkue [/Malchus] the Arab, who was bringing up Balas' young son Antiochus, told him of the hatred Demetrius' soldiers had for him, and persuaded Amalkue "to hand over the boy...that he might make him king."

AJ XIII.V.1; 1 Maccabees 11:38-40.

Jonathan appealed to Demetrius II to clear the Jerusalem citadel ("held by a garrison of Macedonians") along with other garrisons in his territory. Demetrius II, who learned that Jonathan was levying an army, commanded an audience with him at Ptolemais. Jonathan nonetheless laid the Jerusalem citadel siege before leaving. His embassy included "elders of the people, and the priests," carrying a great number of presents--gold, silver and garments. Jonathan thereby "pacified the king's anger..., was honored...and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood." Jonathan was given written confirmation of his dominion: Judea, Perea, Galilee and three toparchies/prefectures in Samaria (Apherima, Lydda, and Ramatha), together with all remittals previously conferred by Demetrius I.

AJ XIII.IV.9, V.2; 1 Maccabees 11:20-37.

Demetrius II's troops then revolted, and he sent a message promising that, if Jonathan assisted in suppressing the uprising, he would receive all that was granted and more. Jonathan responded with 3,000 men. Demetrius II was confined to his castle, as the populace ("120,000 strong") massed and rioted in the streets.

Jonathan's force "killed about 100,000," saved the king's life, restored peace, and returned to Jerusalem with much plunder. When the outnumbered Jonathan force first entered battle it was expected they quickly would lose; but, having the superior archery position from the palace roof, they were able to kill many and set on fire adjoining houses, flames from which quickly spread over all city buildings, "because they were generally built of wood." When the Antiochans became "very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer," they were fallen upon in narrow passages and a great number, slain.

Once Demetrius II was restored, however, "he broke all his promises and became

estranged from Jonathan,” threatening to make war if tribute was not paid as required always in the past.

AJ XIII.V.2-3; 1 Maccabees 11:41-53.

Trypho now emerged from Arabia with Balas’ young son and contender, Antiochus (VI). Joined by “the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay,” he made war upon Demetrius II. Demetrius retired into Cilicia; Tryphon occupied Antioch. The new regime sent an epistle to Jonathan, reconfirming his high priesthood and making brother Simon “general over the forces from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt.” Jonathan responded with ambassadors, pledging alliance against Demetrius II. “Antiochus [VI] gave Jonathan leave to raise...a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia, and to make war against Demetrius’ generals.” Jonathan scoured the Celoesyrian cities (“traveled through West-of-Euphrates and its cities”), exhorting their support of Antiochus VI. The cities received him warmly and promised assistance but then gave no troops. Gaza shut its gates, which provoked Jonathan to despoil their surrounding land until they agreed to the league. Jonathan took hostages to secure performance and sent them to Jerusalem, “while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.”

AJ XIII.V.4-5; 1 Maccabees 11:54-62.

Jonathan got word “that the generals of Demetrius [II] had come with a strong force to Kadesh [“Kadesh...(between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee/Kadesh)”⁴⁷], supposing they might draw Jonathan out, in that “he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them.” Jonathan did go out to meet them, leaving brother Simon in Judaea. (Simon himself raised a force and laid seige at Bethsura, the strongest garrison in the region; it surrendered without a fight, and Simon installed his own men.)

Jonathan pitched camp near the waters of Gennesaret (Sea of Galilee; Lake Tiberias). He did not know, arriving on the plain called Asor/Hazor, that the Demetrian army had prior word of his movements and had a troop waiting. Caught in an ambush, his company, “...afraid,..ran away,” leaving Jonathan with but 50 men; but commanders Mattathias son of Absalom and Judas son of Chapseus, who had been “commanders of the whole army,” stayed with Jonathan. With valiant effort they fought off the foe, until the soldiers who had run--seeing the tide turning--rejoined. The opposition was pursued back to Kadesh; and Jonathan, “having thus gotten a glorious victory and slain 2000 [“3000”] of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem.”

AJ XIII.V.6-7; 1 Maccabees 11:63-74.

“When Jonathan saw that the times favored him, he sent selected men to Rome to confirm and renew his friendship with the Romans. The Roman Senate issued a confirming decree and gave the ambassadors safe conduct letters “to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities....” Jonathan also commissioned his ambassadors to stop on the way back and remind the Spartans “of their friendship and kindred.” His letter to the Spartans referenced an earlier epistle, from Spartan king Areus to high priest Onias, which mentioned kindred between the Lacedemonians and Jews, in which kindred Jonathan believed “from the sacred writings.”⁴⁸ Jonathan told the Spartans, “It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed....” The Lacedemonians returned a decree of friendship and mutual assistance.

“At this time, there were three sects...Pharisees...Sadducees and...Essens.” The Pharisees said “that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. [T]he Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. ...[T]he Sadducees...take away fate, and say there is not such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1F, Kadesh.

⁴⁸ *1 M* 12:9 renders this “the holy books of Scriptures.” Per an editor’s note in the referenced *Josephus* (p. 387), if the original *Old Testament* writings did acknowledge kinship between Lacedemonians and Jews, that part of the Bible was lost, “for we find no such assertion in our present copies.”

evil from our own folly.”

AJ XIII.V.8-9; 1 Maccabees 12:1-23.

In the interim, Demetrian generals had gathered a greater army. Jonathan, resolved to keep them out of Judea, met them in the country of “Hamoth.”⁴⁹ Intelligence work enabled Jonathan to elude a planned surprise attack. The Demetrians feared an open battle and retreated. Jonathan, finding their camp empty, pursued them until they had retreated well into their own territory. Jonathan “then went into Arabia, fought against the Nabateans, drove away a great deal of their prey, and took captives, and came to Damascus, [where] he sold off what he had taken.” “About the same time,” Simon fortified strongholds “over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon,” took Joppa (whose people were indisposed to Demetrians) and established a garrison there. On their return, Jonathan and Simon organized restoration of Jerusalem’s walls and towers and the building of a wall in the middle of the city, to weaken the opponent’s garrison through want of provisions by cutting off the marketplace from the citadel. Simon then returned to securing fortresses.

“In the year 172,” Demetrius II marched into Mesopotamia/Media, “looking for resources to fight Trypho,” being desirous also “to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom” and retain both that country and Babylon. The opportunity arose when “Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there” sent Demetrius II promises that, if he went, they would aid him against Parthian king Arsaces/Phraates (*per Maccabees*, “king of Persia and Media”), by which Demetrius II might recover all lost Seleucid territories. Demetrius II planned on overthrowing the Parthians and then, with an increased army, eject Trypho out of Syria; but he lost the fight with Arsaces, was captured, and imprisoned. *AJ XIII.V.10-11; 1 Maccabees 14:3.*

“Trypho was determined to become king of Asia, assume the crown, and do away with King Antiochus [VI];” “the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus’ son, laid a plot against Jonathan.” First, however, he had to get Jonathan, who had made a league with and was friend to Antiochus, out of the way. Trypho went from Antioch to Scythopolis (Bethshan), where Jonathan, expecting a fight, met him with 40,000 men. Trypho, however, chose deceit and treachery over battle. Through assurances and gifts he convinced Jonathan that he intended to give Ptolemais to him. Duped, Jonathan dismissed almost all of his own army and went up to Ptolemais with only 1,000 men, where he fell into a prearranged trap as the city gates shut behind them. Trypho took Jonathan captive, slew all those who were with him, and sent soldiers to take care of the 2,000 men Jonathan had left in the Galilee (but they were able to evade the execution). *AJ, XIII.VI.1-2; 1 Maccabees 12:39-53; BJ, I.II.1.*

Great fear arose among the people upon Jonathan’s defeat and capture, as formerly quiescent neighbors also began to rise up against them while Trypho’s force prepared to make war on Judaea. Simon held an inspiring assembly and obtained overwhelming support from the multitude, who made him their governor. He “got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war,” and hastened to strengthen the city walls and erect new high towers. He sent a company under friend (Absalom-) Jonathan to “eject the inhabitants out of [Joppa]...lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho,” while Simon, himself, held fast at Jerusalem. *AJ, XIII.VI.3-4; 1 Maccabees 13:1-11.*

Trypho had Jonathan, in bonds, with him when he came out of Ptolemais with his army, and faced Simon’s at Adida on a hill above the Judaeian plains. Trypho sent a message to Simon: if he wanted Jonathan back alive, he was to send 100 talents of silver with two of Jonathan’s sons as hostages. Simon, well aware Trypho could not be trusted, had no real choice; he complied, on the slim chance Jonathan might be saved. Once Trypho had the money and Jonathan’s sons, he changed course to enter Judaea via Idumaea; but unseasonably heavy snowfall made passage impossible for his cavalry. Trypho instead removed his army to Celeosyria. From there he fell “vehemently upon the land of Gilead,” where he killed Jonathan. Jonathan had been high priest and governor for “four years.” Trypho then returned to Antioch. *AJ XIII.VI.5-6; 1 Maccabees 13:12-24, 36ff.; BJ I:II.1.*

⁴⁹ If “Hamath, in the vicinity of the Orontes River some 175 miles north of Damascus.

Simon retrieved Jonathan's remains and buried him at Modein. Over the tomb of his father and brothers he erected a polished stone monument high enough to be seen at a distance, and also erected carved pyramids set on large columns, to be "seen by all who sailed the sea." (The fate of Jonathan's sons is not told.) *1 Maccabees 13:25-30.*

Simon, "who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from...the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years." He continued to fortify Judaea. "[I]n the year 171" he beseiged and starved the last resisters out of the citadel, and afterward caused the people to demolish it and the hill upon which it stood."⁵⁰ Simon, who had supported Demetrius II, drove the last Seleucids out of Jerusalem, and was granted independence. *AJ XIII.VI.7; 1 Maccabees 15:1ff.*

"[I]n the year 172, that is, the third year under Simon the high priest in Asaramel,⁵¹ in a great assembly of priests, people, rulers of the nation, and elders of the country," a proclamation was issued, and an inscription engraved on a bronze tablet in the temple precincts (as well as copies deposited in the treasury) that decreed Simon "as high priest, governor general, and ethnarch...to exercise supreme authority over all."

The people of Gazara capitulated to Simon; he did not destroy them but made them leave the city, where he "settled men who observed the law. He improved its fortifications and built himself a residence." "Simon...took Gadara, and Joppa, and Jamnia." He granted peace to Gadara,⁵² where he stationed son John as governor and army commander. Rome and Sparta sent Simon missiles of condolence over Jonathan's death and reaffirmed the pacts established under Judas and Jonathan. Simon sent to Rome a "great gold shield weighing 1,000 minas, to confirm the alliance with the Romans."

AJ XIII.VI.7; 1 M 13:43-53; 14:18-49; BJ I.II.2.

"In the year 172 Demetrius II was [had been] captured by and imprisoned by Arsaces, king of Persia and Media." *1 Maccabees 14:1.*

Meanwhile, young Antiochus VI died, after a reign of "four years" (reportedly, his death was caused by Tryphon, "though he gave it out that the king died under the hands of surgeons"). This occurred "a little while after Demetrius II had been captured" by the Parthians. Tryphon, "putting on the crown of Asia," secured his position by shrewd artfulness with the populace and promises of great wealth to the military. However, once he had full power, he reverted to his true self. "[T]he soldiery, [who] hated him, revolted from him to Cleopatra [III], the wife of Demetrius [II], who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as [the exiled] Antiochus [VII], the brother of Demetrius [II]...was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Tryphon, Cleopatra [III] sent to Antiochus [VII] and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom." "The reasons why she made this invitation were these: that her friends persuaded her to do it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Tryphon." *AJ XIII.VII.1.*

Antiochus VII wrote to Simon that he intended to come from "the islands of the sea," to reclaim his ancestral kingdom. In exchange for a mutual assistance league, Antiochus VII's ambassadors offered Simon the cancellation of all debts, freedom for the temple and its citizens and--most significant--the authority to strike coinage. Simon readily accepted and provided supplies and money. In the "year 174," Antiochus VII arrived in Seleucia, marched against Trypho; "ejected him from Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dor/Dora, a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled." (Simon was "an

⁵⁰ This project "cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought [the site] to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city."

⁵¹ This term is elusive.

⁵² Tentatively placed a short distance S/SE of the Sea of Galilee.

auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before [Antiochus VII] went on his expedition against the Medes [as reported below].”

Antiochus VII encamped before and assaulted Dor continuously. Simon sent 2000 elite troops, gold, silver and much equipment; but Antiochus VII now refused the aid. “[I]n fact, he broke all agreements...with Simon,” and sent his Friend, Athenobius, to Jerusalem, to demand that Simon return Joppa and Gazara--“cities of my kingdom” Antiochus claimed--and that Simon return tribute “of the districts outside the territory of Judea” of which Simon had possession, or pay to Antiochus a considerable amount of money. “If you do not do this,” Antiochus VII threatened, “we will come and make war on you.” Simon refused to return any territory, claiming what he possessed was his people’s ancestral land; but he was willing to pay 100 talents. His reply enraged Antiochus VII. *AJ XIII.VII.2; 1 Maccabees 15:1-9; 25-36; BJ I.II.2.*

Trypho had escaped Dor and fled to Apamia/Orthosia.⁵³ Antiochus VII, before going in pursuit, made one Cendebeus commander of the seacoast, gave him an infantry and cavalry, and ordered him to move against Judaea. From Jamnia, where Cendebeus arrested the people, he made incursions into Judaea, killing many and taking captives. Further acting on Antiochus’ orders, Cendebeus fortified Kedron, from where their men patrolled the roads. Meanwhile, Trypho was captured at Apamia and put to death; “he had reigned three years.”

1 Maccabees 15:37-41; AJ XIII.VII.2.

John (Hyrcanus I) went from Gazara to Jerusalem to inform father Simon of Cendebeus’ actions. Simon, advanced in years, turned over primary defense command to John and Judas (“his oldest sons”). John “mustered in the land 2000 warriors and horsemen. Setting out against Cendebeus, they spent the night at Modein, rose early, and marched onto the plain,” where a stream separated them from the foe’s frighteningly large army. John divided his infantry--who, fearful, would begin to cross over only when John, himself, went first--in two corps with the cavalry between, “for the enemy’s horsemen were very numerous.” In the battle that followed, “Cendebeus and his army were put to flight; many of them fell wounded, and the rest fled toward the stronghold.” Judas of Chapseus was wounded; but John chased Cendebeus back to Kedron and also put fire to enemy towers on the plain, killing about 2000 of the enemy there. “John then returned to Judea in peace.”

1 Maccabees 16:1-10; AJ XIII.VII.2.

In the interim, Simon had envoyed an appeal to Rome for a league of mutual assistance. Rome returned a directive to all surrounding regions that any troublemakers were to be handed over to Simon. Letters went to “Kings Demetrius, Attalus, Ariarthes and Arsaces; to all the countries--Sampsames, Sparta, Delos, Myndos, Sicyon, Caria, Samos, Pamphylia, Lycia, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis, Cos, Side, Aradus, Gortyna, Cnidus, Cyprus, and Cyrene.”

1 Maccabees 15:15-24; AJ XIII.VII.3.

Simon’s end, after a rule of eight years, came about at the hands of his “son-in-law, Ptolemy, son of Abubus,” then governor of the plain of Jericho. “Ptolemy, son of Abubus, had been appointed governor [by whom is not said] of the plain of Jericho, and he had much silver and gold, being the son-in-law of the high priest; but he became ambitious and sought to get control of the whole country.” In the “year 177 [134 b.c.]”, Simon and two of his sons, Mattathias and Judas, while on a routine tour of their cities, were deceitfully welcomed and feasted by said Ptolemy at “a little stronghold called Dok” that he had built. When Simon and his sons were sufficiently drunk, Ptolemy “son of Abubus” and his men sprang out and killed all three and their attendants.

Ptolemy, son of Abubus, then wrote a report of Simon’s death to Antiochus VII, “asking that troops be sent to him and that the country be turned over to him. He sent men to Gazara to kill John [Hyrcanus I], and sent other men to seize Jerusalem and temple

⁵³ Uncertain?--Antiochus I had founded a city which he called Apame after his mother [Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, (1); “Orthosia, [1] a town of Caria; [2] a town of Phoenicia” (*Lempriere*, page 419).

mount.” Hyrcanus, however, had received advance notice of what had transpired at Dok. When Ptolemy’s men arrived he arrested them and had them put to death, “for he knew what they meant to do.” (According to *Maccabees*, the people of Gazara--in that they hated Ptolemy--admitted Hyrcanus in one gate while driving away the foe at another.)

Meanwhile, Ptolemy, son of Abubus, “also caught Simon’s [unnamed] wife, and two [others] of his sons, and kept them in bonds”/”put them in prison.”

⁵⁴
AJ XIII.VII.4; *1 Maccabees* 16:11-17; *BJ* I.II.3.

-----Resumed in Appendix 4B, I-----

⁵⁴ Here, verses 16:23-24, *1 Maccabees* ends with, “Now the rest of the history of John [Hyrcanus I], his wars and the brave deeds he performed, his rebuilding of the walls, and his other achievements--these things are recorded in the Chronicle of his pontificate [“in some Greek copies, ‘The Fourth Book of Maccabees’,” *Whiston*, n.*, XIII.VII.4], from the time that he succeeded his father as high priest.”

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1

CALENDAR YEAR COMPARISON TIMELINE

After the Death of Alexander III to the Assassination of High Priest Simon Matthes

Prefatory Notes:

Sources: Uncited data is drawn from cited internal segments, e.g. Detail A, further supplemented from the *Encyclopedia of World History*, pages 30-32 and 80-84, *Lempriere* (L), pages xviff. (chronological table); additional sources are noted. Personal details of familial relationships, dates of death, etc. for monarchs, dynastic relatives, and high priests are given in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachments 4, 5 and 6 and Appendix 3B, II, and those segments there referenced, all of which contain additional historical detail.

Associated internal references are (a) Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4 (E, Narrative) summarizes events related to Macedonian rule from the death of Alexander III the Great to the supravention of Macedonia by Rome; (b) primary historical events of the reigns of Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers following Seleucus I and Ptolemy I are included here; (c) cf. Appendix 3A, VI, "Period of High Priests Onias I to the Assassination of Simon Matthes According to *Josephus* and *Maccabees*," from which data relative to this timeline also is drawn.

Sub-part B summarizes the different imperial calendars involved in dating events of the second century, b.c.

Sub-part C contains brief data on regional hegemony during the period of this calendar's timeline.

A. Calendar.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

Commencement year of Greek Olympiad calendaring:

776 b.c.²

Commencement year of the A.U.C (Roman) calendaring:

753 b.c.³

317-298
(to 297)

Cassander/
Kassandros

307/5-280
(to 281)

Seleucus/Seleukos I
Nicator

c. 323⁴-284 Ptolemy I
Lagus/Soter
(to 282)

Cassander died of dropsy three years after the victory at Ipsus after a reign of 18 years.

Seleucus I secured Babylon; commencement of the "kingdom of the Seleucidae."

312 b.c.⁵

¹ It is worth reiterating that minor variations frequently are encountered in the standardly assigned years of events and monarchical tenures. (Some contrast is provided in the parenthetical dates from *Burstein*.)

² Refer to sub-part B concerning the use of this year to associate ancient dating references with current standard calendaring.

³ Follow preceding footnote.

⁴ This figure apparently includes his initial governorship.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

Seleucus I is reported as benevolent and a founder of at least 34 cities throughout his empire (also as restoring to Athens its library and statues confiscated by Xerxes I). He "was murdered 280 years before the christian era, in the 32nd year of his reign, and the 78th, or according to others, the 73rd year of his age, as he was going to conquer Macedonia." L 554-555.

298/7

Philippus/Philip IV

298/7
296-294

Antipater [C]
Antipater [C] and
Alexander V

296/295
294

Demetrius I took Athens after a year siege. L xvi.
Either Alexander V or Demetrius I murdered Antipater [C].
Demetrius I murdered Alexander V and took Macedon.

294-c. 288 (to 287)

Demetrius I [-M⁶]

Seleucus I "about 291 b.c." had "built about 40 cities in Asia, which he peopled with different nations." L xvi.

288
286

A coalition of Lysimachus and the King of Pyrrhus of Epirus drove Demetrius out of Macedon.
"Pyrrhus was expelled from Macedon by Lysimachus." L xvi.

286 to ?

Lysimachus [#1]

? to 280

Seleucus I

Seleucus I gained the Macedonian throne for a brief time c. 281, after defeating Lysimachus (battle of Corupedium). ("Lysimachus defeated and killed by Seleucus [I]." L xvi.)
An attempted campaign in Asia Minor by Demetrius I failed. He was captured by Seleucus I and died in captivity in 283, leaving a son, Antigonus [III/Gonatas] in Greece.

280-279 ("18 mos.)

Ptolemy *Ceraunus*

280-261 Antiochus I
(281-261) *Soter*

285-246 Ptolemy II *Philadelphus*
(282-246)

Antiochus I fought and defeated the Galatians between 279 and 275 and finally defeated them; but Ptolemy II took Miletus, Phoenicia and western Cilicia from Antiochus I in the Damascene (280-279) and First Syrian (276-272) wars. *Ency.* 80-81.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, fought for the Tarentines in Italy after Rome broke its treaty.

277-c. 274
(283-...)

Antigonus II *Gonatas*

⁵ Follow fn. 2.

⁶ "M" = Macedonia, to distinguish from later Seleucid Demetrii.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarc

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

c. 274-272
273

Pyrrhus (restored)

"An embassy from [Ptolemy II] *Philadelphus*...concluded] an alliance with Rome." "AUC 481" [= 271 b.c.]
"The foremost powers of the East at this time were Egypt, Macedonia, and the Seleucid empire; of the west, Carthage and Rome." *Botsford* 65.

272-243

Antigonus II *Gonatas*

268

"Athens taken by Antigonus Gonatas, who keeps it 12 years." L xvi.

264

"Commencement of the First [23-year] Punic War [Rome v. Carthage]." "AUC 490" [= 262 b.c.].

263

Pergamum under Eumenes I became "virtually independent" of the Seleucids.
Ptolemy II quelled a seditious revolt by his brother, Magas (Cyrene's dependent king), who had been encouraged by Antiochus I. After Magas was killed, Ptolemy II and Antiochus I entered into a treaty of alliance.

262

"Antiochus [I] Soter defeated at Sardis by Eumenes of Pergamus." L xvi.

261-246 Antiochus II *Theos/Theus*

Antiochus II had support of Antigonus II in the Second Syrian War against Egypt (260-255), which resulted in restoration to the Seleucids of Ionia including Miletus, Coele-Syria,⁷ and western Cilicia.

256

"Athens restored to liberty by Antigonus [II]." L xvi.

c. 252

Antiochus II and Ptolemy II put an end to warring; Antiochus II accepted Ptolemy II's daughter, Berenice II, in marriage, requiring him to put aside wife Laodice [#2], "a marriage that appears to have been one of the conditions" for ending the war, as further detailed in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6.

250

"The Parthians under Arsaces and Bactrians under Theodotus revolt from the Macedonians."⁸ L xvi.

248(249)-247

Arsaces I of the nomad Pami established himself in the province of Parthia.⁸

Ptolemy II's reign in Egypt had coincided with that of High Priest **Eleazar**, who provided Ptolemy II with the Temple Code and scholars to produce its translation into Greek.⁹

High Priest **Manasseh** served after high priest Eleazar.

246-226 Seleucus II
(246-225) *Callinicus*

246-222/221 Ptolemy III
Euergetes I

⁷ See fn. 13.

⁸ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Parthia.

⁹ Ptolemy II had "the 70" asseble on Pharos Island in Alexandria harbor. Translation proceeded under strict criteria. L 243-244.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

High Priest **Onias II** succeeded Manasseh at some point.
(Tobias-) Joseph became primary liaison between the Jerusalem temple and the suzerain; he served as such for 22 years.

Ptolemy III, Berenice II's brother, had early engaged in a war against Antiochus II ("The Third Syrian War"/"Laodicean War"/"War of Berenice"), Ptolemy III invaded Asia and ultimately forced Seleucus II to surrender the coasts of Syria and southern Asia Minor. After conquering Syria and Cilicia, Ptolemy III advanced as far as the Tigris."

"[T]he third of [the] Ptolemies, who was called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to Him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory." *Josephus, Against Apion, II.5.*

"The last years of Ptolemy III's reign were passed in peace, if except[ed is] the refusal of the Jews to continue to pay the tribute of twenty silver talents which their ancestors had always paid to the Egyptian monarchs."

241

Seleucus II recognized Antiochus Hierax as ruler of Asia Minor..
Roman defeat of Carthage's fleet put it out of the first Punic war.

239-229

Demetrius II [-M¹⁰] *Gonatas*

c. 235

Arsaces II of the Parthi seized an opportunity, conquered Parthia and Hyrcania, and founded the Parthian kingdom." "An expedition of Seleucus II against him was ineffective. Arsaces...converted Armenia into an independent kingdom."

229-228

Attalus I of Pergamum drove Antiochus Hierax out of Asia Minor.

227

Seleucus II in turn drove Attalus I to Thrace, where he died. *Ency.* 81.

Seleucus II, who had tried unsuccessfully to make war against Ptolemy III, was taken prisoner by one Arsaces--"an officer who made himself powerful by the dissensions...between the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus."

229-221

Antigonos III¹¹ *Doson*
'regency' for Philip/Phillipus V

226-223 Seleucus III
(225-223) *Ceraunus*

¹⁰ See fn. 6.

¹¹ Referred to as "the Second" by *Lempriere*.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)¹²
b.c./b.c.e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

224-221 Seleucus III was murdered "by two of his officers, after a reign of three years, B.C. 223 [L 555]." He died "in the early stages of a war of the Seleucids and Pergamum" ("during a war with Attalus I"). *Ency.* 81.
Antigonus III "Doston conquered Cleomenes, king of Sparta...because he favored the Aetolians against the Greeks."

221-178
(221-179)

Philip V

223-187 Antiochus III
the Great
"King of Syria and Asia" L 53.

222/221 - 205/203 Ptolemy IV
Philopater

Ptolemy IV warred with Antiochus III, invaded his territory, and was victorious at "Rapeia"/"Raphia." L 53. On Antiochus III's return:
Antiochus III visited Jerusalem, "but the Jews prevented him forcibly from entering their temple." In retaliation, Antiochus III prepared to have an "immense number" trodden to death by elephants, but the animals turned...upon the Egyptian spectators," instead, which "circumstance terrified Philopater, who subsequently "behaved with more than common kindness to [that] nation." L 512.

220
218
214

"The Social war between the Aetolians and Achaeans, assisted by Philip [V]." L xvii.
Commencement of renewed war between Rome and Carthage (Second, 17-year Punic War). "AUC 536," L xvii and 167. (Time of Hannibal.)
"The Romans begin the auxiliary second war against Philip [V] in Epirus, which [continues] by intervals for 14 years." (This is referred to by some sources as the "First Macedonian War, and appears to have been settled c. 206 b.c.) L xvii.
Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV subsequently reconciled.
Although Antiochus III initially had regained most of the territory lost to Pergamum in preceding decades, all that the Seleucids retained on Syria's coast by the end of the Fourth Syrian War (221-217 b.c.) was Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

209-204

"Antiochus III reduced the Parthian Arsaces III/Priapatus to vassalship [and] made an alliance with [one] Euthydemus who had usurped the Bactrian throne of Diodotus II, and even secured the submission of the Indian rajah Sophagasenus. Thus he restored the Seleucid kingdom to its former extent." *Ency.* 81.
In 203 b.c. Philip V of Macedonia allied with Antiochus III against Egypt. In 201 b.c. Philip V began operations in the Aegean. Philip V sought league with Annibal/[Hannibal] against Rome but ultimately was forced into a humiliating peace.
Antiochus III made war against Persia and took Sardes. He conquered "the greatest part of Greece," but some cities obtained Roman aid. Antiochus was forced to abandon his quest and accept his boundary as east of mount Taurus, besides paying Rome a yearly fine." L 54.
Antiochus III had been defeated by Rome, but they had allowed him to retain Judea, which he had taken from the Ptolemies, and the Egyptians wanted it back." *Asimov*, vo. 2, p. 51.
Rome, weakened by its war with Carthage, renewed a treaty of alliance with Egypt toward the last of Ptolemy IV's reign.

202

Hannibal was defeated by Rome's Scipio at Zama in Carthagina; Spain was ceded to Rome.

¹² It is worth reiterating that minor variations frequently are encountered in the standardly assigned years of events and monarchical tenures. (Some contrast is provided in the parenthetical dates from *Burstein*.)

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

205/203 - 181 Ptolemy V
(204-180) *Epiphanes*

Antiochus III won a Fifth Syrian War (201-195), "victory of Panium."¹³

c. 200 "Letter of Antiochos III grant[ed] privileges to the Jews for their aid during the Fifth Syrian War."¹⁴

200 Rome declared war on Philip V. (This war, which continued some four years, *Lempriere* terms "the first Macedonian" war (L xvii); others, "the second.")
Eumenes II of Pergamum (197-159) convinced Roman general Flaminius to order Antiochus III out of Asia Minor; Antiochus ignored the order and instead confirmed his conquests by making peace with Egypt in 195 b.c.
After Ptolemy IV Philopater died. Antiochus III sought to conquer Egypt's then-weakened government/"endeavoured to crush" Philopater's infant son Epiphanes;" but guardians of the new child-king solicited Roman aid and Antiochus III was compelled to desist. L 53.

Circa this time, "Samaritans...in a flourishing condition" were making incursions into Judaeen territory. The party of Simon 'of Bilgah' overtly opposed Onias II, who was seen as abetting the Seleucids.

Antiochus III gave his daughter, Cleopatra [I] in marriage to Ptolemy V as part of a peace accord which included, by way of dowry, Phoenicia and Coele-Syria (including Judaea and Samaria).¹⁵ "This happened when **Onias II** was high priest."
(Appendix 3A, VI; *AJ* XII.IV.6.)

197 Rome defeated Philip V; by a treaty in 196 all of his Greek possessions were ceded to Rome.

192 "AUC 562, the war of Antiochus [III] the Great begins [the "Asiatic War"], and continues three years." L xvii.
Antiochus III invaded Greece and in 190 was defeated by the Romans, who took his son, young Antiochus IV, as a hostage to Rome to guarantee the effected peace treaty. ("The luxuries of Asia brought to Rome in the spoils of Antiochus." L xvii.) Antiochus III ceded all his possessions west of Mt. Taurus, part of which Rome bestowed on Pergamum and Rhodes. Rome's protectorate extended over all Asia Minor.

¹³"Panium, a place at Coele-Syria, where B.C. 198 Antiochus [III] defeated Scopas," "an Aetolian who raised some forces to assist Ptolemy [V] Epiphanes...against his enemies, Antiochus [III] and his allies." L 431, 551. *Koile Syria*: "That portion of 'southern Syria' and northern Palestine occupied by Ptolemais I in 301 [but] claimed by the Seleucids until re-conquest by Antiochus III following his victory at Panion in 200." *Burstein*, page 54, fn. 3; *see especially* fn. 20 here, regarding the term *Coele/Koile]-Syria*.

¹⁴The letter mentions a "Ptolemais. probably to be identified with Ptolemaios, son of Thraseas, a phalanx officer of Ptolemaios IV in 219...who later defected to Antiochus III and was rewarded with an appointment as general and high priest of Koile Syria." *Burstein*, p. 47, fn. 2, citing references.

¹⁵With regard to a Ptolemaic claim that Kleopatra/Cleopatra I's dowry when she married Ptolemy V included Koile Syria [Coele-Syria], *Josephus* reports that she received only its revenue [*i.e.* territorially it remained a Seleucid possession]. *Burstein*, page 54, n. 3.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year¹⁶
b.c./b,c,e,

188/187

Antiochus III's "revenues being unable to pay the [Roman] fine, he attempted to plunder the temple of Belus in Susiana, which so incensed the inhabitants, that they killed him with his followers, 187 b.c." L 54. ("AUC 566, Antiochus the Great defeated and killed in Media." L xviii.)

187-175 *Seleucus IV Philopator*
["Soter" per Josephus]

The Seleucid empire under Seleucus IV was weakened further by the heavy yearly tribute required by Rome.

180/179

Ptolemy V died "B.C. 180" after a reign of 24 years, being poisoned by ministers from whom he threatened to take funds for a war chest. Philip V died "in the 42nd year of his reign, 179 years before the Christian era." ("AUC 572 [=182 b.c.,] Death of Philip." L 168.)

175

"Seleucus IV was poisoned after a reign of 12 years, B.C. 175." His son, Demetrius I Soter, previously had been given by his father to be maintained as a hostage by Rome. Brother Antiochus [IV] Epiphanes "usurped" the throne. L 555.

175

"Perseus sends his ambassadors to Carthage." L xviii.

179-167 Perseus/Perses
(179-168)

175/174-163 Antiochus IV
(175-164) *Epiphanes*

181-146/145 Cleopatra I--during Ptolemy
(180-145) VI's minority; then
Ptolemy VI *Philometer*/
Philometor

During Ptolemy VI's minority, Cleopatra I governed. When she died, he was "under a eunuch who...was one of his favorites." As shown in what follows, Ptolemy Physcon assumed the reign briefly in this period, during a capture of Ptolemy VI.

Antiochus IV "became king in the year 137 of the kingdom of the Greeks." *1 Maccabees* 1:10.

174¹⁷

"Antiochus the Fourth,...destroyed Jerusalem [etc.], as is minutely recorded in the book of the Maccabees."

Onias II withdrew to a sanctuary near Antioch. Menelaus[/Onias III], in league with Andronicus, Antiochus IV's man in charge, lured out Onias II and Andronicus killed him. When Onias II died, "he left the priesthood to his son, **Simeon**."

One Hyrcanus,¹⁸ youngest son of (Tobias-) Joseph, had come to be established in, and ruled over territory east of, the Jordan, *circa* Heshbon. Hyrcanus--having built a "great castle"--ruled over the territory "seven years, even all the time" that Seleucus IV reigned. (Appendix 3A, VI at *AJ* XII.IV.11.)

¹⁶ See sub-part B for the methods of converting text year references to our standard b.c. dating.

¹⁷ This would have been the third year in the 151st olympiad (776 b.c. - [150 olympiads x 4 =] 600 = 176 b.c. as year one of the 151st).

¹⁸ See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, fns. 13 and 14., and other references there given, concerning this name.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year¹⁹
b.c./b,c,e,

High priest "**Simon[/Simeon]**" appealed to the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, which caused Seleucus IV to send a minister to investigate and confiscate temple riches, which pilferage was prevented by a mysterious attack. (*Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, 2 Maccabees 3:1-14 and paragraph following.*) Although it is not clearly stated that "Simeon" and "Simon" were one and the same, it appears that high priest Simon's tenure was brief.

(Tobias-) Joseph also died. The people "grew seditious," being divided between young Hyrcanus and the elder sons of Tobias who were supported by Simeon/Simon. "The elder sons made war on Hyrcanus [Tobias]." "[T]he greater part joined with the elders...as did Simon [*sic.*] the high priest, by reason he was kin to them."

At some point "they" gave the high priesthood to Onias II's "brother," **Jesus[/Jason]**, apparently as regent of Onias II's young son, Onias IV. *Josephus* reports it was when "Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes succeeded ["year 137" = 174 b.c. that] Onias' brother Jason obtained the high priesthood." c. 174

"Three years later" Jason was supplanted by **Onias III/Menelaus**, brother of (Bilgah-) Simon, who outbid Jason and "obtained the royal commission from Antiochus IV to be high priest," promising Antiochus IV large tribute. [Suggested: c. 171]

171

Rome declared war against Perseus, with whom some Greeks had begun to bond.

A "sedition" arose, in which Jason was supported by "the greater part of the people." The faction of the [elder] sons of Tobias took the part of Onias III/Menelaus, and Jason was driven out.

Onias III/Menelaus had a brother [in-law?], Lysimachus; together, they had committed "many sacreligious thefts." Onias III, summoned to Antiochus IV, left Lysimachus in his place.

During Onias III's absence a riot broke out; Lysimachus was killed "near the treasury."

Onias III contrived to escape punishment by Antiochus IV and remained as high priest, but "those who had prosecuted the case for the city" suffered.

Ptolemy VI warred "against Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, to recover the provinces of Palestine and Coelesyria."²⁰ "Ptolemy Philometer

¹⁹ See sub-part B for the methods of converting text year references to our standard b.c. dating.

²⁰ *Williamson* remarks that, "when Antiochus Epiphanes was disputing the control of Palestine ["literally, 'the control of all Syria'"] with Ptolemy VI," Palestine--"clearly meant--was one of the three areas at various times called *Koile* (Coele) 'hollow,' Syria. It appears that through similarity of sound *koile* was erroneously rendered into Aramaic as *kol*, 'whole,' which was then translated back into Greek as 'the whole of Syria.'" Page 33, fn. 2 at page 410.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

[sic.] and his wife Cleopatra [II]...committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews...were the generals of their whole army." *Josephus*, Against Apion, II.5.
Antiochus IV made an expedition against Egypt. Ptolemy VI "fell into the hands of his enemy, who detained him in confinement."
172/171 Rome declared war against Perseus, "AUC 582.: L 168, ("The second [referenced by some as "Third"] Macedonian War." L xviii.)
171 "Ptolemy [VI]'s generals defeated by Antiochus in a battle [in the territory] between Pelusium and Mount Cassius." L xviii.
During Ptolemy VI's captivity, "the Egyptians raised to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy *Euergetes* or *Physcon*."

Ptolemy VIII *Physcon*

Ptolemy VIII "Physcon was expelled by Antiochus [IV], who restored Philometor but kept Pelusium ("the key to Egypt") for himself."
Ptolemy VI, wanting to free himself of Antiochus IV's rein, recalled Physcon, to reign conjointly and help repel Antiochus IV.

Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII

(According to *Lempriere*, this joint reign lasted six years.)

Antiochus IV invaded Egypt; the Romans forced him to retire. Afterward, hostilities resurfaced between the two Ptolemies; Ptolemy VI banished Physcon, who "immediately repaired to Rome." The Romans separated them, "giving the government of Libya and Syrene to Physcon and confirming Philometor in...Egypt and the island of Cyprus." (*Lempriere* gives this date as 169 b.c.)

Ptolemy VI

A "great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea...about obtaining the government."
Onias III prevailed and cast out the Tobiads/"sons of Tobias." They then went to Antiochus IV "and besought him to make an expedition into Judea."

"About this time" Antiochus IV began a second expedition to Egypt.

Upon a false rumor that Antiochus IV was dead, Jason tried an attack²¹ but failed and retreated once again "to the country of the Ammonites."

Antiochus IV's attempt at Egypt was foiled, when "a Roman envoy from Alexandria faced the Seleucid monarch in front of his troops and ordered him to withdraw;" Antiochus IV was "utterly humiliated." *Asimov*, vol. 2, p. 52. (Antiochus IV "defeated Egypt in the year 143."²²) On his return²³ he "took the city [Jerusalem], "the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidae." *1 Maccabees* 1:20; *AJ* XII.V.3. 168

²¹ Which attack included the burning of gates referred to in one of the letters quoted in *2 Maccabees* 7ff.--see below at fn. 35.

²² Difficulty remains in fixing times of Antiochus IV's Egyptian endeavors.

²³ This would have been the first year of the 153rd olympiad.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

Antiochus IV, returning from his aborted Egypt invasion, heard of Jason's attack, and "enraged...made an expedition against the city Jerusalem in the year 143 of the Seleucidae." He took the city without a fight, "those of his own party opening the gates to him." He killed many of the Ptolemaic supporters and plundered the temple.

Antiochus IV left **Onias III** as high priest; "Philip, a Phrygian" as governor of Jerusalem and Andronicus at Mount Gerizzim."

Hyrchanus Tobias, seeing Antiochus IV's great army, feared being brought to punishment "for what he had done to the Arabians, [and] slew himself with his own hand." All of his substance was taken by Antiochus IV.

"Two years later [after Antiochus IV's sacking of Jerusalem]," in "the 145th year ...the 153rd olympiad [AJ XII.V.4]," Antiochus IV's army under a Mysian commander²⁴ entered Jerusalem feigning friendship, then unexpectedly attacked, destroyed many, took captives, and pillaged and plundered the city.

166²⁵

Antiochus' men then built up the "City of David" into massive-walled, towered citadel and installed a garrison (*Josephus* refers to it as "a garrison of Macedonians").

Antiochus IV proscribed all local customs, laws and circumcision. A general named Bacchides was sent to maintain the region's fortresses.

"But Judas Maccabeus and about nine others withdrew to the wilderness" and lived in caves.

168

Perseus, last of the Antigonid rulers, again marshalled himself against the Romans. "The battle of Pydna, and the fall of the Macedonian empire." L xviii. "Perseus fled from battle at Pydna "b.c. 168," He retreated to and was captured at Samothrace, was humiliated at Rome, and either died a natural death in prison or was put to death. ("AUC 586," Perseus was defeated and taken prisoner by co-consul Paulus. L 168.)

167

Rome made Macedon into four unrelated republics under moderate tributes.

An Athenian senator was sent by Antiochus IV to enforce the edicts and dedicate the Jerusalem and Mount Gerizzim temples to 'hellenistic' gods. Neighboring 'Greek- controlled ' cities had to enforce compliance, on pain of death for resisters. (Some persons discovered secretly observing sabbaths were burned to death, and other cruel events transpired.) (Asamoneus-Simon-John-) Mattathais, the father of Judas Maccabeus, was "a priest of the

²⁴ Josephus here differs from *Maccabees*, in that he reports Antiochus IV as heading this attack.

²⁵ This would have been the third year of the 153rd olympiad.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

order of Joiarib [and] a citizen of Jerusalem." He retreated to Modein, his hometown, about 17 miles northwest of Jerusalem. Mattathais refused to comply with the conqueror's edicts and openly rebelled; he and his sons killed one or more hegemon representatives and fled with other rebels to the mountains.

In the year following Antiochus IV's conquest unnamed ambassadors from Shechem secured Antiochus' recognition that they who lived in Shechem were originally of Sidonian stock, and not liable for the behavior of the "Jews." In return, the temple at Mount Gerizzim was renamed "the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius."

Derivable is year 146: 165

Before Mattathais died, he directed Judas to take "upon him the administration of public affairs" and command of the army and ordained another son, Simon Matthes, to be patriarch. Judas' ultimate army was collected from "all those who were fleeing from the disaster, joined also by a group of Hasideans."

Mattathais died that same "year 146." *1 Maccabees* 2:69. 165

Antiochus IV intended to go against the Maccabaeans the next spring, but his depleted treasury decided him to undertake a Persian expedition. He left one "Lysias" in charge at Antioch "in the year 147." 164

Based on their successes, Judas and his followers moved into Jerusalem and refurbished the deserted temple. Judas held a dedication of the temple "on the 148th year, and on the 154th olympiad"--"three months to the day" and "three years after" "its desolation by Antiochus IV." *AJ* XII.VII.6; *1 Maccabees* 4:52. 163²⁶

Judas and his people fortified "Mount Zion" with high walls and established their garrison there; meanwhile, the Seleucid's garrison still occupied the Jerusalem citadel. Antiochus IV in Persia heard "that the armies sent into the land of Judah had been put to flight [and]...Lysias driven back, etc." *1 Maccabees* 6:5ff. Language and sequencing here indicates that news reached Antiochus IV in the year of his death, "149."

Antiochus IV was routed at Persepolis. Word of Maccabean victories reached him on his retreat, but illness aborted his intent to proceed immediately to Judaea. Lysias negotiated a settlement with Judas, confirmed in writing by "the king," which rescinded all prior proscriptions, "in the year 148." *2 Maccabees* II:21ff. 163

²⁶ This would have been the second year of the 154th olympiad. ("Three years" after desolation by Antiochus IV in the "145th year:" 166 - 3 = 163 b.c.)

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

<u>MACEDONIAN</u> <u>Years/Monarchs</u>	<u>SELEUCID</u> <u>Years/Monarch</u>	<u>PTOLEMAIC</u> <u>Years/Monarch</u>	<u>"Converted" Year</u> b.c./b,c,e,
Antiochus IV died "in Persia" "in the 149th year." <i>1 Maccabees</i> 6:14; <i>AJ XII.IX.2.</i>			162
Lysias seized power over the Seleucid kingdom, keeping control of young Antiochus V Eupator, and assuming command over Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.			
	164/3-162 Antiochus V <i>Eupator</i> (163-162) with Lysias as Regent		
In the "year 149 Judas...learned that Antiochus [V] Eupator was invading Judea... with Lysias, his guardian, who was in charge of the government." <i>2 Maccabees</i> 13:1.			162
<i>Note: Refer to Appendix 3A, VI for details of battles in which Judas' forces thwarted opposing generals and went on to capture strategic positions.</i>			
The dying Antiochus IV, whose successor-son still was a child, had given his signet ring to one "Philip," his companion/foster brother." Philip solicited the aid of a Ptolemy. Said Ptolemy sent (Patroclus-) Nicanor and Gorgias against Judas. (A parallel says Lysias sent generals (Dorymenes-) Ptolemy, Gorgias and Nicanor). ²⁷			
Regional "nations...uneasy at the revival of their [the Maccabaeans] power]" marshalled forces against them, including local rulers of Ptolemais/Acco; gentile Gileadites, and Ammonites, under one Timotheus/Timothy (joined by Bacchides); and "the posterity of Esau" in Idumaea. Judas split his army into three forces, one under (Zechariah-) Joseph and Azariah left to guard Judaea, one under Simon into the Galilee, while he and Jonathan crossed the Jordan east into Gilead, from which particular appeal for aid had come from the Tobiads/Toubiani.			
<i>Note: Again, refer to Appendix 3A, VI, for details of their battles and successes.</i>			
In "the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae" Judas resolved to take out the opponent garrison in the Jerusalem citadel; he "called all the people together" and prepared to besiege it "in the year 150." <i>AJ XII.IX.3, 1 Maccabees</i> 6:20.			161
Informants alerted Antiochus V and Lysias, who formed an enormous mercenary army. Joined by Onias III/Menelaus they marched into Idumaea, where they fought the Maccabean force many days at Bethsur.			
In Jerusalem, the siege of the citadel was begun as Judas took his force out to meet the			

²⁷ Philip (at some point), having settled matters in Persia and brought Antiochus IV's body home, and "fearing Antiochus' son...withdrew into Egypt, to Ptolemy Philometor [VI]."

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

foe head-on. Two battles later, and after brother Eleazar had been killed, Judas "retired to Jerusalem" to endure a siege there, while the Seleucid force took Beth-sur and continued a siege against hold-outs in the sanctuary there.

News reached the Seleucid camp that Philip was again at Antioch, heading a rebellion.

"Dismayed," general Lysias was forced to abandon a siege at Jerusalem, "parleyed with the Jews," and an agreement was effected, in which "Judas Maccabeus [was] left as military and civil governor of the territory from Ptolemais to the region of the Gerrenes." (The people of Ptolemais were angered over the peace treaty, but Lydias won them over "by persuasion.")

High priest **Onias III/Menelaus** was carried away by Lysias, et al. Lysias counseled Antiochus V that Onias III had been "the origin of all the mischief" by his persuading Antiochus IV to proscribe the Hebrews their religion. Onias III was executed at "Berea, a city of Syria... when he had been high priest ten years." *AJ* XII.IX.7. Suggested year: [c. 161]

Antiochus V put one **Jacimus/Alcimus** in the high priest position²⁸ and returned "in haste... to Antioch, took control of the city from Philip and killed him.

Judas "learned that Demetrius [I Soter], son of Seleucus [IV], "was returning" (*2 Maccabees* 14:1)--"In the year 151, Demetrius, son of Seleucus, set out from Rome" to 'Syria,' to halt usurpation of what he claimed to be his rightful dominions. The soldiers received him as their lawful sovereign. 160

"AUC 592, Demetrius [I] [flew] from Rome and was made king of Syria." L 168.

Demetrius I apprehended Lysias and Antiochus V and put them to death, "in the year 151." 160

162-150 Demetrius I [-S²⁹] Soter

Subsequently, high priest Jacimus/Alcimus with "wicked runagates" courted king Demetrius I; eventually (abetted by some of the king's "friends") he accused, specifically, Judas, his kin, and those "called Hasideans, led by Judas Maccabeus," and the "whole nation" In general, as seditious warmongers who deprived him of his high priesthood dignity and

²⁸ Jacimus "was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias." "[A]s to Onias [IV], son of the high priest [Onias II]... when he saw that the king had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[Onias III], and given the high priesthood to Alcimus/[Jacimus]..., [having been] induced by Lysias to translate that dignity...to another house..., he [Onias IV] fled to Ptolemy [VI], King of Egypt...."

²⁹ Distinguishing 'Seleucid' Demetrii from 'Macedonian.'

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

hindered peace.
Demetrius I Soter sent a force under general Bacchides with Jacimus/Alcimus, to enforce Jacimus as high priest. Judas distrusted and rejected a Bacchides' offer to negotiate. (A group of scribes/Hasideans "were the first among the Israelites to seek peace," and voluntarily went over; sixty of them, however, were killed in one day.)
Bacchides searched out and punished partisans around the countryside, attempting to gain their submission to Jacimus/Alcimus, and then retired from the region. Judas retaliated by killing all he found of the opposing party.
Jacimus/Alcimus returned to Demetrius I with new accusations; Demetrius appointed his general Nicanor as governor of Judaea and sent him with a force believed sufficient to destroy Judas and "to set up Alcimus as high priest of the great temple." "The gentiles of Judaea, who would have Judas banished, came flocking to Nicanor."
Simon suffered a slight repulse in a first engagement with Nicanor, who was indisposed to forcing the issue by bloodshed and sent an embassy instead. Formal proceedings were held and an agreed peace established, in which, apparently, Jacimus/Alcimus was accepted. ("Nicanor stayed on in Jerusalem...did nothing out of place...always kept Judas in his company, for he had cordial affection for the man. He urged him to marry and have children; so Judas married, settled down, and [apparently temporarily] shared the common life."
At some point, Judas sent ambassadors to solicit a league with Rome.
Meanwhile, Jacimus went again to Demetrius I, alleging that Nicanor was plotting against the state, in that he had designated Judas to be Jacimus' successor as high priest.
Demetrius I ordered that Nicanor arrest Judas and forcing him to turn on Judas.
Judas, noting the change in Nicanor's attitude, gathered a large number of men and went into hiding. After the temple priests denied knowing Judas' whereabouts when Nicanor demanded his surrender, Nicanor learned that the Maccabaeans were in Samaria territory. In an ensuing major battle, in which Nicanor was killed, Judas' forces emerged victorious. On hearing on Nicanor's defeat, Demetrius I again sent out Bacchides, who first invaded and did battle in the Galilee.
Bacchides encamped at Jerusalem in "the year 152." *1 Maccabees* 9:3. 159
Alcimus ordered the tearing down of the sanctuary wall, then suffered a stroke, in the "year 153" (*1 Maccabees* 9:54). Both a three-year (*Maccabees*) and four-year (*AJ XII.X.6*) tenure is given for Alcimus. c. 158
When Alcimus was dead, "*the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas.*"
Suggested: 158

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year³⁰
b.c./b,c,e,

Judas entered the Roman League, "when [he]/Judas was high priest of the nation and Simon his brother was general of the army."

Bacchides finally conquered the Maccabaeans in a day-long battle at "Bethzetho" that ended when Judas was killed and his remaining forces fled.

Judas had "retained the high priesthood three years" before he died.

155

Dissension in Judaea continued; a famine induced some to "apostatize" and assist Bacchides, while resisters gravitated to Judas' brother, Jonathan, as their general. Bacchides supervised in their battle, following which he proceeded to restore Jerusalem's walls and placed garrisons in several Judaeian cities. Jonathan and his brother Simon had escaped; but Bacchides shut up the sons of "principal Jews...in the citadel. After securing Judaea with garrisons, Bacchides "returned to the king; and...the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years."

Opponents of Jonathan caused Demetrius I to send out Bacchides again. Instead of the easy capture of Jonathan that had been intimated, Jonathan and his men wasted Bacchides' camp in a surprise night attack. Bacchides proposed that he and Jonathan strike a truce and returned to Antioch. Jonathan went to live in Mishmash "and there governed the multitude."

In "the year 160," Alexander Balas, son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, laid claim to the Seleucid crown, and Ptolemais/[Acco] was given over to him by 'the soldiers...for they were at enmity with Demetrius I.'" ("Four years after the death of...Judas...[and] no high priest [yet] had been made.") 151

Both contenders for the Seleucid throne--Demetrius I and Alexander Balas--courted Jonathan for his support; Jonathan accepted Balas' offer. Balas recognized **Jonathan** as high priest in the "year 160;" Jonathan "put on the pontifical robe/sacred vestments in the year 160," "four years after the death of brother Judas."³¹ *1 Maccabees* 10:20-21; *AJ* XIII.II.1. 151

Jonathan's appointment made him "able to take up residence in Jerusalem [from Mishmash] and suppress the pro-Seleucid faction which had been in power since the death of Judas...."

Asimov, vol. 2, p. 79.

152

In Macedonia, one Andriscus, "pretending to be" son of Perseus, began the "Fourth Macedonian War." ("Andriscus the Pseudophilip assumes the royalty of Macedonia." L xviii.)

Demetrius I was defeated and killed in battle by Balas in the 12th year of his reign.

150

³⁰ *Blank*.

³¹ This agrees with the time stated by Josephus--that, after Alcimus, "the city continued seven years without a high priest"--if meant was an official high priest, not including Judas' tenure of appointment by the people.

<u>Commonly Assigned Year(s)</u> b.c./b,c,e,	<u>MACEDONIAN Years/Monarchs</u>	<u>SELEUCID/'SYRIA' Years/Monarch</u>	<u>PTOLEMAIC Years/Monarch</u>	<u>"Converted" Year</u> b.c./b,c,e,
		150-146/145 Alexander Balas (150-145)		
149-148 148			Ptolemy VI gave his daughter, Cleopatra III, to Bala; the wedding took place at Ptolemais "in the year 162." <i>1 Maccabees</i> 5:57. On Andriscus' defeat, Macedonia was changed into a Roman province. Rome made war against the Achaeans. L xviii.	149
			"AUC 605," Rome declared new war on Carthage (the "Third Punic War"), declaring, "Carthage must be destroyed." L 168. "In the year 165," Demetrius [II] son of Demetrius [I] , came from Crete to Cilicia with a mercenary army, to repossess his homelands. "[I]n the hundred threescore and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers." <i>AJ</i> XIII.IV.3, <i>1 Maccabees</i> 10:67.	147
147/146			In the Seleucid contention, Balas was supported by Ptolemy VI of Egypt, Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum, and Rome. Ptolemy VI had sealed a treaty with Balas by giving his daughter, Cleopatra III, in marriage to Balas, Ptolemy VI led an army to Ptolemais ostensibly to support Balas against Demetrius II. There, however, he discerned that Balas was party to a plot against his life. Civil warring had begun anew, and the Jews were deeply involved. While Balas hastened to confront Demetrius II at Antioch, general Apollonius, Balas'governor of Coele-Syria, challenged Jonathan. The Maccabaeen force under Jonathan and brother Simon won a resounding victory. Balas claimed Apollonius' actions had been unauthorized, honored Jonathan, and increased his tribute. Ptolemy VI easily persuaded the people of Antioch to reject Balas (who meanwhile was dealing with revolt in Cilicia). Seleucia's leaders and army declared Ptolemy VI king of Antioch; however, Ptolemy VI--wary of Roman envy should he wear Asia's crown as well as Egypt's--persuaded them to receive Demetrius II, and pledged not to permit him to usurp his rule. Ptolemy VI 'divorced' Cleopatra III from Balas and gave her to Demetrius II.	146
			"Carthage destroyed by Scipio, and Corinth by Mummius." L xviii. The Romans (under Mummius) defeated the Achaean army, entered Corinth, and destroyed it. Rome became master of Greece via partisan aristocracies; "politically the Greeks were dead." "AUC 608," [L 168], a Roman army under Scipio Aemilianus forced passage into Carthage, utterly destroyed it, and exterminated its populace. (Carthage surrendered all of its armor and hundreds of hostages. When Rome further ordered its citizens to abandon the city, they dug in and had continued to defend it, "like heroes," another three years.) Carthage's territory became the Roman province of Africa.	144
		146/145-141 Demetrius II [-S] <i>Nicanor</i> ³² (145-140) (First tenure)	Became king "in the year 167." <i>1 Maccabees</i> 9:18.	144
			Although Demetrius II established peace around himself, his failure to support Ptolemaic soldiers to the same extent as his predecessors lost their loyalty and they returned to Alexandria. Diodorus Tryphon, a pretended- or pretender-son of Balas, retrieved young Antiochus VI/ <i>Entheus</i> from the Arabian Imalkue/Malchus, who had been rearing him, with the intent to raise Antiochus VI to the Seleucid throne in opposition to Demetrius II.	

³² See fn. 29; the use of *Nicaṭor* also has been seen.

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

Tryphon emerged from Arabia with Antiochus VI (joined by "the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay") and made war upon Demetrius II. While Demetrius won several victories over Mithridates I of Parthia, Tryphon occupied Antioch; Demetrius retired into Cilicia.

145 Antiochus VI *Entheus*
with Tryphon, at Antioch

Ptolemy Physcon (secretly supported by the Romans, who wanted Egypt's power lessened) made a claim on Cyprus. In return, Ptolemy VI had seeded a rebellion in Cyrene to draw off Physcon's advances.

In and about this time, "the Alexandrian Jews, and those...who paid their worship to the temple...at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed ...before Ptolemy [VI] himself,"³³ the Jews/[Judaean] saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the [main] temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the [Hebrew] Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim." Ptolemy VI decreed that the temple be restored at Jerusalem.

Onias IV solicited and obtained approval from Ptolemy VI to build a temple in Egypt at Heliopolis. Onias IV assured Ptolemy VI that it would cause the Jews to be "so much readier to fight" against the Seleucids and that they "would then come to Ptolemy with greater good will." "Onias [IV] had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem...[and] thought by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself."³⁴

Jonathan meanwhile appealed to Demetrius II to clear the Jerusalem citadel and other garrisons in his territory. Demetrius II, knowing that Jonathan was levying an army, called a meeting at Ptolemais. Jonathan, with "elders of the people and the priests," bestowed splendid gifts on Demetrius II. Jonathan's high priesthood was confirmed and he received written confirmation of his dominion: Judaea, Peraea, Galilee and three toparchies/ prefectures in Samaria territory.

Demetrius II's troops revolted and confined him to his castle. Jonathan and his army responded, suppressed the riotous uprising, freed Demetrius and restored peace. Once restored, however, Demetrius II "broke all his promises and became estranged from Jonathan," threatening to make war if tribute was not paid as required in the past.

³³ As hegemon?--the seemingly mixed 'authorities' of Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II in the Palestine/Coele-Syria regions during this period is not altogether clear; see sub-part C.

³⁴ It now being some 17 years since he went in exile to Ptolemy VI, following the murder of his uncle Onias III (see Converted Year c. 161; refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Heliopolis, and Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI, for additional detail.)

Commonly
Assigned
Year(s)
b.c./b,c,e,

MACEDONIAN
Years/Monarchs

SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

The Roman Senate ordered its general Mummius in Greece "to abolish the leagues, substitute oligarchies for all democracies, sack Corinth, and place Greece under the supervision of the governor of Macedon. This marked the end of Greek and Macedonian independence, though some Greek states retained autonomy for a long time." *Ency.* p. 80.

The Tryphon regime sent Jonathan an epistle reconfirming him as high priest, and Jonathan pledged allegiance. Jonathan's "governorship" appears to date from this point.

Antiochus VI gave Jonathan leave to assemble a large army out of Syria and Phoenicia to war against Demetrius II's generals. Jonathan scoured the Coele-Syrian cities, traveling "through West-of-Euphrates and its cities" "as far as Damascus," exhorting support for Antiochus VI. (He met with varying success--*refer to* Appendix 3A, VI narrative.)

Jonathan and his generals battled Demetrian forces (primarily at Kadesh/Cadesh in the region of the Galilaeans who, when war was made on them, he "would not overlook [as they] were his own people"), and at the Bethsura garrison where Simon installed one of his own--*refer to* Appendix 3A, VI.

Jonathan sent selected men to Rome to confirm and renew Roman friendship and also sent diplomatic regards to the Spartans and Lacedemonians.

"At this time there were three sects...Pharisees...Sadducees and...Essens."

Jonathan with his force routed a large Demetrian army in the country of Hamoth; fought against the Nabataeans in Arabia and at Damascus sold off captives and confiscated goods. At the same time, Simon took Joppa and fortified strongholds "over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon."

Returning to Jerusalem, Jonathan and Simon organized restoration of Jerusalem's walls and towers, and the building of a wall in the middle of the city to cut off supplies to the opponent garrison in the citadel.

Balas re-entered 'Syria' from Cilicia with another army and battled Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II. Ptolemy Philometor conquered Alexander Balas "in the plain of the Antiocheians...on the banks of the Oenoparas River," but Ptolemy received a serious wounding. Balas finally was forced to flee to Arabia, where he soon met death at the hands of an Arabian prince, who sent his head to Ptolemy VI.

Ptolemy VI died of wounds received in the final battle with Balas. "Three days later [from when exactly is not said], king Ptolemy [VI] himself died, and his men in the fortified cities were killed by the inhabitants of the strongholds." *1 Maccabees* 11:18. Year 167 is inferred: 144

"The Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea" in "what time as Demetrius [II] reigned, in the hundred and threescore and ninth year ["169th year"] wrote to "the Jews

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Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
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...throughout Egypt” about that “trouble...in those years, from all time that Jason and his company revolted, and burned the porch, etc.”³⁵ *2 Maccabees* 1:7. 142

Cleopatra II (supported by the ‘Jews’) laid claim to the Egyptian crown for Ptolemy VII, her son by Ptolemy VI; Ptolemy Physcon of Cyrene became a contender.

146/145 Cleopatra II
(145/144) as regent for
Ptolemy VII³⁶
Neos Philopater

“Ptolemy [VI] Philometer and his wife Cleopatra [II]...[had] committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when [an] Onias and Dositheus, both Jews...were the generals of their whole army,” who ought to be returned “thanks for saving Alexandria....; for when these [unspecified] Alexandrians were making with with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war.” And when “Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there...he did rightly...; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco[n], upon the death of...Philometer came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra [II] as well as her sons³⁷ out of their kingdom...it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra’s account.” *Josephus*, Against Apion, II.II.5.

“[W]hen Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias’ army and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria],” he partially was prevented from causing further harm by the supplication of his concubine, Ithaca/Irene.” *Against Apion*, II.II.5.³⁸

Ptolemy Physcon fled to Cyprus; and, fearing “the Alexandrians should...place the crown on the head of his son, by his sister [a] Cleopatra, he sent for young prince Memphitis “and murdered him as soon as he reached the shore.”

“Alexandrians abandoned their habitations, and fled” from his [Physcon’s] barbarism. (Finally, “all Egypt revolted when the king [Ptolemy Physcon] had basely murdered all the young men of Alexandria.”)

It was “at last agreed that Cleopatra [II] would marry Physcon,” on condition that at his death her son Ptolemy VII would be heir; but after the ceremony Physcon “murdered Cleopatra’s son in her arms,” that very day.

³⁵ (a) This writing is referenced in the introductory paragraphs of the later-written *2 Maccabees* epistle bidding remembrance of the 25th day of the ninth month, Chasleu/Casleu (date of the Jason attack/burning at the temple-- fn. 20). Referenced also is another earlier writing, of the “188th” year (*refer to* Appendix 4A timeline at converted year 125 b.c.). *2 Maccabees* itself proceeds to submit a summary of the five books of “Jason of Cyrene,” relating events from Onias II to Judas Maccabeus’ victory.

³⁶ Confusion related to the numbering of Ptolemies VII and VIII has resulted in VII generally being omitted from charts; however, “sometimes” (as *Asimov* remarked) VII is reserved *as it is here*, for the young son of Ptolemy VI.

³⁷ This is as unclear as is Ptolemy Physcon’s son, Memphitis, “by his sister, Cleopatra;” *refer to* Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6.

³⁸ See preceding footnote.

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Years/Monarch

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Physcon "repudiated Cleopatra [II]" and "married her daughter by Philometor, called also Cleopatra [IV] ... Soon after this he invaded Egypt with an army, and obtained a victory over the forces of Cleopatra [II] ...[who] fled to her eldest daughter Cleopatra [III], who [was] married [to] Demetrius, king of Syria."

146/5-116³⁹ Ptolemy VIII
Physcon

Demetrius II was in alliance with the Jews.

Tryphon, in occupation and having taken title of king at Antioch--"determined to become king of [all] Asia"--laid a plot to first eradicate Jonathan, an ally of Antiochus VI, before doing away with Antiochus VI,

Tryphon succeeded in duping Jonathan with an offer to give him Ptolemais; when Jonathan arrived with only a small force Tryphon annihilated it and took Jonathan captive.

In Jerusalem, Simon (a supporter of Demetrius II) held an assembly, was appointed governor/commander by the people, and immediately began preparations for war...

Tryphon extracted money and sons of Jonathan, as hostages, on promise to free Jonathan; but Tryphon retained Jonathan and embarked on entering Judaea from Idumaea. Snow caused Tryphon to change course; he removed to Coele-Syria and fell on Gilead, where he killed Jonathan.

Jonathan had been high priest and governor "four years" (taken from Jonathan's later appointment as governor.)

141

Simon (a) drove the last opponents out of Jerusalem; (b) sent a large force to Joppa under "Jonathan, son of Absalom," who drove out the occupants and remained there;" (c) received capitulation of and fortified Gazara (where he built himself a residence); (d) granted Gadara peace under John as governor/commander; (e) received condolences (for Jonathan's death) from Rome and Sparta, who reaffirmed pacts established under Judas Maccabeus and Jonathan; and (f) sent a great shield of gold to Rome in confirmation of his alliance.

Demetrius II granted **Simon** independence and confirmed Simon as high priest--

"In the year 170,..the people began to write in their records and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon, High Priest, Governor, and Leader of the Jews'."

1 *Maccabees* 13:41.

141⁴⁰

³⁹ 146-127 b.c. per *Strabo* index.

⁴⁰ Simon, "when he had been conqueror, he was made high priest; and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after 170 years of the empire ["of Seleucus" is added by *Josephus* editors]." *BJ* I.II.2. "...which liberty and freedom...they obtained

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SELEUCID/'SYRIA'
Years/Monarch

PTOLEMAIC
Years/Monarch

"Converted" Year
b.c./b,c,e,

"In the year 171," "the very first year of his high priesthood," Simon "set his people free...from the Macedonians,...[with] liberty and freedom from tribute...after 170 years;" he besieged and starved the last resisters out of the citadel, and afterward caused the people to demolish it and the hill upon which it stood." 140

"Greeks and Macedonians dwelling in the Mesopotamia/Media/Babylon regions sent word to Demetrius II pledging support if he aided them against king Arsaces [and/or Phraates] (per *Maccabees*, "king of Persia and Media"). Looking for resources to fight Tryphon, Demetrius II marched east, where he was taken captive by Phraates/Arsaces "king of Parthia"/"king of Persia and Media;"⁴¹ "in the year 172." 141
"Before Antiochus VI had been a year on the throne, Tryphon murdered him and reigned in his place for three years." (Antiochus VI's death occurred "a little after Demetrius II had been captured.")

To 139 Tryphon

Tryphon sent a force against Judaea under a general Cendebeus. Simon, advanced in years, envoyed Rome for regional authority and turned over command of defenses to his eldest sons, John Hyrcanus I and Judas [#2], whose forces prevailed (*refer to Appendix 3A, VI, narrative, for details*).

"In the year 172," "the third year under **Simon**, the high priest...who Demetrius [II] had "confirmed in the high priesthood," a proclamation was issued and a tablet erected decreeing Simon "as high priest, governor general and ethnarch...to exercise supreme authority over all." 139

Trypho's soldiery revolted from him to Demetrius II's wife, Cleopatra III.

Cleopatra III sent to Antiochus VII *Sidetes* "and invited him to marry her, and to take the [Seleucid] kingdom."

Antiochus VII in "the year 174" wrote to Simon of his intent to come from "the islands of the sea" to reclaim his ancestral kingdom. Among promises for a mutual assistance league he offered Simon cancellation of debts and authority to strike coinage. Simon accepted and provided 2000 elite troops and much gold, silver and equipment. 137

At first, afraid of Tryphon, Antiochus VII "concealed himself; but he soon obtained the means of destroying his enemy, invaded the land of his ancestors ["Syria"] and marched against Tryphon, "in the year 174." 137

Tryphon, "hemmed up in a certain place by Antiochus [VII]...[was] forced to kill himself."

170 years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus...Nicator got the dominion over Syria." *AJ XIII.VI.7.*

⁴¹ Due to year discrepancies, it is unclear which Parthian ruler(s) had possession of Demetrius II; e.g., per *Ency.*, p. 82, "Mithridates...captured Demetrius [II] by treachery in 139 b.c."

<u>Commonly Assigned Year(s)</u> b.c./b,c,e,	<u>MACEDONIAN Years/Monarchs</u>	<u>SELEUCID/'SYRIA' Years/Monarch</u>	<u>PTOLEMAIC Years/Monarch</u>	<u>"Converted" Year</u> b.c./b,c,e,
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139/8-128/7 Antiochus VII
(138-129) *Sidetes*

After Antiochus VII had "ejected Tryphon from Upper Syria into Phoenicia," and while he had him blockaded, Antiochus VII refused further aid from Simon. Antiochus VII "in fact broke all agreements" and threatened war on Simon, unless Simon returned Joppa and Gazara to him and made restitution of all tributes received from "districts outside of the territory of Judaea."

Simon refused to comply.

Simon called upon his league of assistance with Rome; Rome returned a directive that any troublemakers in the region were to be handed over to Simon.

136 "The famous embassy of Scipio, Metellus, Mummius, and Panaetius, into Egypt, Syria and Greece." L xviii.

134 High priest Simon and two of his sons (Mattathais [#2] and Judas [#2]) were deceived and treacherously assassinated by Simon's son-in-law, one "Ptolemy, son of Abubus," the "governor of the plain of Jericho," while ostensibly being feasted by him during a tour of their cities, "in the year 177." 134

Ptolemy Abubus captured and imprisoned Simon's [unnamed] wife and two others of his sons, and then sent a report to Antiochus VII, requesting troops to secure the country. He also sent some men to kill John Hyrcanus I at Gazara and sent others to seize Jerusalem and temple mount.

Hyrcanus I, forewarned, saved himself with the aid of the people of Gazara and put Antiochus VII's agents to death.

-----Timeline resumes in Appendix 4A-----

B. Calendrical Conversions.

1. Ancient Calendar References.

Josephus and *Maccabees* date events according to years "of the Seleucidae" and Greece's olympiads. Where possible, b.c./b,c,e, conversions to our current calendar have been reconciled with years of Rome.

(a) Years “of the kingdom of the Seleucidae.”

Year One of this primary reference used by *Josephus* and *Maccabees* is 312 b.c., which has been scholastically fixed as the date that Seleucus I secured Babylon following the death of Alexander III the Great. Reckoning relative years of the Seleucidae is not a matter of simple subtraction--our 300 b.c. would not be the 12th year of the Seleucidae (312 -12 = 300) but would be the “13th,” as follows: Year 1, 312; 2, 311; 3, 310; 4, 309; 5, 308; 6, 307; 7, 306; 8, 305; 9, 304; 10, 303; 11, 302; 12, 301, 13, 300. An additional one, therefore, is required in the subtraction, e.g. the “143rd year of the Seleucidae” converts to (312 - 144 =) 168 b.c.

Josephus supplies the “143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidae” at *AJ* XII.V.3; in the next paragraph 4, “the 145th year” is given without the same designation; in paragraph 6, “the 148th year,” etc. Consequently, *Josephus* references for the period all are understood as to the years “of the kingdom of the Seleucidae.”

(b) “Years of the Greeks.”

Scholarship has fixed 776 b.c. as the year of the first olympiad of the ensuing epoch.⁴² However, actual references to individual “Greek” years do not appear, except for a *1 Maccabees* “year 137 of the *kingdom of Greeks*,” which in the overall reckoning fits year 137 of the Seleucidae.⁴³ All references are to *olympiad periods*, e.g. “the 145th year [understood, ‘of the kingdom of the Seleucidae’]...*in the 153rd olympiad*.” *AJ* XII.V.4, 6.

An *olympiad* was equal to “A period of four years reckoned from one to another of great national festivals celebrated on the plain of Olympia in Peloponnesus, by which periods ancient Greek time has been computed from the...Olympiad of 776 b.c.”⁴⁴ *Josephus* relates years to olympiads, but does not designate *which year* of the given olympiad. For example, *AJ* XII.V.4 mentioned above at (a) gives the year 145 simply “*in the 153rd olympiad*.” The “145th year” of the Seleucidae converts to (312 - 146 [see above at (a)] =) 166 b.c., or *year three* of the 153rd olympiad, as follows:

First year of first olympiad	776
Olympiads preceding the “153rd,”	
152 x 4 =	<u>-608</u>
First year of 153rd olympiad	168 b.c.

⁴² According to some, the first Olympiad was observed in 1453 b.c., but “more probable,” 1222 b.c. The olympiads were reinstated in 884 b.c. after a first lapse and re-reinstated in 776 b.c. after a second lapse. (L, page 410.)

⁴³ The term “of the Greeks” may have been employed with reference to the Seleucidae in the same general sense that, in describing high priest Simon’s expulsion of the last resisters from the Jerusalem citadel, etc., the term “Macedonians” appears, *i.e.* reflecting on legacies following Alexander III.

⁴⁴ *New Webster Encyclopedia Dictionary*, page 580.

Second	“	“	“	167
Third	“	“	“	166
Fourth	“	“	“	165
First year of 154th olympiad				164 ⁴⁵
Second	“	“		163
Third	“	“	“	162
Fourth	“	“	“	161
First year of 155th olympiad				160
Second				159
Third				158
Fourth				157
First year of 156th olympiad				156
Second				155
Third				154
Fourth				153
etc.				

(c) Roman “A.U.C.” (*Anno Urbis Condita*) Years.

The “traditional founding date of Rome, 753 b.c. [L 532]” is taken as Year One AUC. The same manner of conversion subtraction utilized is as described above for the years of the Seleucidae, e.g. AUC year 490 converts (753 - 491 =) 262 b.c. The AUC dates appearing in the timeline all are from *Lempriere*, pages 162ff. and are given for comparison purposes. (It will be noted, if calculations are made, that the supplied AUC dating may be off by one or two years. Also noted is that the AUC year roster in *Lempriere* does not agree always with *Lempriere*’s chronological table.)

C. Regional Hegemony Briefly Summarized--

From the Death of Alexander III to Commencement of the Maccabean Rebellion.⁴⁶

Initially in the division of the provinces of Alexander III’s (the Great’s) empire, Ptolemy [I] received as his share “Egypt, Libya and part of the neighboring territories of Arabia”⁴⁷ (the Palestine region is not mentioned specifically there). However, in “the division of spoils [following the battle of Ipsus, 301 b.c.]...Ptolemy [I]...seized Coele-Syria.”

⁴⁵ It should be noted that *AJ* XII.VII.6 *Josephus* states, “on [not in] the 154th olympiad; however, as that follows the use, “ on [not in] the 148th year” (312 - 149 = 163 b.c.), it need not be taken that intended was the year of that olympiad’s commencement (164 b.c.).

⁴⁶ Sources: Sub-part A of this appendix and Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, or as otherwise noted.

⁴⁷ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, (E).

(It is not altogether clear what constituted “Coele-Syria” at all times.⁴⁸)

“Coele-Syria” was restored to the Seleucids (Antiochus II) as a result of the Second Syrian War (260-255) against Egypt (Ptolemy II).

“Egypt...lost control of Palestine when Syrian king Antiochus III defeated the army of Ptolemy V.” *Aid*, page 499.

C. 200 b.c. Antiochus III was defeated by Rome but they had allowed him to retain Judea. (Antiochus III granted privileges to the ‘Jews’ in return for their aid during the Fifth Syrian War.)

Antiochus III gave his daughter, Cleopatra [#1] in marriage to Ptolemy V as part of a peace accord, which included, by way of dowry, Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, including Judaea and Samaria (but according to *Josephus*, Cleopatra [#1] was granted their revenues only).

Ptolemy VI warred with Antiochus IV to recover the provinces of Palestine and Coelesyria, marked by power struggles between regional factions and a “great sedition...among the men of power in Judea...about obtaining the government [Onias III vs. sons of Tobias].”

Antiochus IV took Jerusalem in 170 b.c., killing many Ptolemaic supporters. By 168 b.c. he had a garrison in the citadel, proscribed all local customs and laws, etc., and appointed his governors for Jerusalem and Mount Gerizzim, with general Bacchides in the field to enforce compliance.

The Maccabaeen (Mattathais’) rebellion occurred the following year, 167 b.c.

Dates under the various hegemony, as standardly given, are as follows:⁴⁹

<u>b.c./b.c.e.</u>	
586 - 538	Babylonian rule
538 - 332	Persian rule
332 - 323	Rule of Alexander III/Macedonia
323 - 198	Rule of Ptolemies
198 - 168	Seleucid rule
168 - 164	Maccabaeen rebellion
164	Religious freedom achieved
143	Political freedom attained, under leaderships of Jonathan (161)/[151] and Simon (143)/[141]. [Bracketed dates are according to the within calendar’s converted dates.]

⁴⁸ See fns. 13 and 20.

⁴⁹ According to *Ency.* page 32.

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2

GLOBAL EVENTS, ADDITIONAL DETAIL 272 - 133 B.C. Macedonia, Greece and Rome

Note: (a) Highlights and quotations if not noted otherwise are from *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 34, 63-66, and 74-90; (b) some data is drawn from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, Calendar Year Comparison Timeline; (c) occasional detail is supplied from *Asimov*, vol. I, pp. 42; vol. II, pp. 76, 79, and 535; (d) place definitions not given here may be found in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3. (Some repetitions occur between internally- referenced segments.)

Macedonia: Earlier Macedonian-related events are contained in the narrative portions of Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4.

Greece: Mainland, peninsula and island territories, like in other ancient regions, began with fragmented tribal kingdoms that formed gradually over time into numerous city-states. During Macedonia's rise to power Greece's population embraced four main named groupings--*Aetolians, Achaeans, Dorians and Ionians*--whose respective districts of domination were not all contiguous, and amid which varying group affiliations existed. *Spartans* occupied the southern Peloponnesus.¹ Between 290 and 280 b.c. there emerged two militarily federate Leagues: in western Greece, the *Aetolian*; in the Peloponnesus, the *Achaean*. (Additional items related to Greece during the advent of Alexander the Great of Macedonia are contained in Appendix 2D, Timeline.)

Rome: Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2, Detail A provides "A Brief Full History of Rome to 133 b.c.," which resumes in Appendix 3A, Attachment 1, "Roman Imperial Rulers and Associated Data." As Detail A reflects, Rome's rise to power began long before both its ultimate imperial supravention and the *New Testament* period (Book Four). By 287 b.c. Rome was in control throughout central Italy and beginning to hold sway in the Mediterranean, where various treaties drew her into quarrels among rival powers.

By approximately 272 b.c. Macedonia's king Antigonus II had "established tyrants² in several cities of the Peloponnesus and made peace with the Aetolian League." In 268, he took Athens, which he would keep for 12 years. Between 266 and 262 b.c. he fought and won the "Chremonidean War" against Athens and Sparta, who had been abetted by Ptolemy II of Egypt. Antigonus II repelled Ptolemy II, 258-256 b.c., and took the Cyclades; but in 252 his Peloponnesian governor (an Alexander, undesignated) revolted and held the peninsula until he died c. 246. Spartan upheavals ensued due to economic crises, and in 241 "Antigonus [II] sent the Aetolian League to ravage the Isthmus."

An alliance of Demetrius II, Antigonus II's successor-son, with Epirus caused Aetolia to break with Macedon and ally with Achaea. "Argos expelled its pro-Macedonian tyrant...and joined the Achaean League [229 b.c.], while Athens asserted her independence." In 227 b.c. Antigonus III Doson (usurper of legitimate heir Philip V) "made peace with Aetolia and drove the 'barbarians'³ out of Macedon."

Circa 229/228 b.c. a Roman fleet assisted in suppressing piracy in the Mediterranean. In appreciation, the Grecians "admitted the Romans to the Isthmian Games and the Eleusinian Mysteries,⁴ and thus recognized her as a civilized power." The following year, the

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 686-87.

² Usurpers of ruling power without the people's consent.

³ The word as used by the Greeks was *barbaroi*, people who spoke a language incomprehensible to them; see Appendix 3A, III, fn. 19 for cite.

⁴ The Isthmian Games were held every other year in first and third olympiad years. The annual "Eleusinian Mysteries" ritual was the most revered of all of ancient Greece's celebrations (possibly as early as the Mycenaean period), originating in Eleusis, about 16 miles west of Athens. It included a holy pilgrimage between the two cities, and 'secret' ceremonies involving initiates (a few were Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Aristophanes, and Plutarch.) The nature of "the Mysteries" remains shrouded (it was a capital offense for participants to break their pledge to not divulge what took place in the temple's inner sanctum (*telesterion*)). (Source: Copyright © 1995, Edward A. Beach; on-line.)

Achaean League's general Aratus was defeated by Sparta's Cleomenes,⁵ and Aratus appealed to Macedonia's Antigonos III Doseon for aid. In 222, "Antigonos III formed a new Hellenic League and crushed Cleomenes [who] fled to Egypt." Antigonos III abolished the monarchy in Sparta and forced Sparta into the League.

Philip V finally acquired Macedonia's throne in 221 b.c. He called on the Hellenic League to declare war against the Aetolians "because of the latter's piracy." The Aetolians allied with Elis and Sparta (one faction sought to re-employ Cleomenes, but he was slain in Egypt; nonetheless the Spartans restored their monarchy). Between 219 and 218 b.c., Macedonia's Philip V "ravaged Elis...molested the Aetolian sanctuary of Thermum, and laid waste Laconia." In 217 Rhodes and Egypt negotiated a peace between the Aetolians and Philip V, "who wanted freedom to act against Rome."

In 201 b.c. Philip V initiated operations in the Aegean and initially was suppressed by Pergamum and Rhodes. Philip V refused to keep peace however; and all the Greeks, fearful of homeland invasion, allied with Rome. The next year the Roman Senate declared war. Philip V was defeated in Thessaly in 197 b.c. Forced to make peace, he accepted the following terms: surrender of power in Greece; payment of 1000 talents over 10 years; reduction of his forces to 5000 men and five ships; and the promise not to declare any war with anyone absent permission of Rome.

"At the ensuing Isthmian Games, Roman general Flaminius proclaimed the independence of the Greek cities." ("Rome sought to balance the Achaean League by curtailing but not destroying the power of...Sparta.") In and about that same year after Philip V's defeat, Eumenes II of Pergamum (successor-son of Attalus I), against Antiochus III's determination to take all Asia Minor, appealed to Rome for aid.

The first decade of the second century b.c. embraced the "Fifth Syrian War." Antiochus III won a victory c. 195 b.c. over general Scopas, "an Aetolian who raised some forces to assist [Egypt's monarch], Ptolemy [V] Epiphanes...against Antiochus and his allies." The Aetolians invited Antiochus III the Great to invade Greece, but he was routed from there in 191. After Rome won two naval victories assisted by Rhodes, it dispatched an army (under L. Cornelius Scipio/ "Asiatus") that crossed the Hellespont in 190. Eumenes II of Pergamum fought alongside the Romans, and Antiochus III was defeated near Smyrna.

Antiochus III was forced to accept terms of peace that included "surrender of all European and Asiatic possessions as far as the Taurus Mountains; payment of 15,000 talents in 12 years; and surrender of Hannibal who [previously] had fled from his enemies at Carthage."⁶ Antiochus III's Anatolian territory was divided between Pergamum (which placed Pergamum at its peak power, receiving Lycia, Mysia and Lydia⁷). Pergamum, Rhodes and Antiochus III specifically were proscribed from making war on the Ptolemies in Egypt. (Antiochus IV later would try and be halted by Rome.) Rome subjected Greece's Aetolians, but the other cities were left free.

Macedon's Philip V was succeeded in 179 b.c. by his son, Perseus (who previously had persuaded Philip V to execute Perseus' pro-Roman brother.) Eumenes II of Pergamum laid charges against Perseus at Rome, and there ensued the "Third Macedonian War" (171-168 b.c.). After several unsuccessful campaigns, a Roman legion under L. Aemilius Paullus "utterly defeated Perseus. ... Macedonia was broken up into four wholly distinct confederacies," which were to pay a moderate yearly tribute. "Illyria was reduced to three

⁵ Cleomenes had become king of Sparta in 235 when he married the widow of its prior king, Agis IV, after the latter had been killed by dominant landowners, when he tried to redistribute land.

⁶ Hannibal once more escaped, however; refer to Detail A to this appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2.

⁷ 1 Maccabees 8:8.

tributary confederacies, and Epirus was devastated.” Five hundred anti-Romans were slain in Aetolia; and 1000 chief citizens from the Achaean cities (including the historian, Polybius) were taken and kept hostage in Italy for 16 years. Perseus died in captivity. Thus, “the Antigonids [to observation] came to an end.”⁸

A “Fourth Macedonian War” (149-148 b.c.) was initiated by one “Andriscus, who claimed to be son of Persus.” On his defeat, Rome made Macedon a province of four separated regions --unrelated republics--under moderate tributes.

Between 219 and 146 b.c., the rule of Sparta had proceeded: (a) King Cheilon (219b.c.); (b) Machanidas, regent of a young king Pelops (to 207 b.c., when Machanidas was slain by the Achaean League under Philopoemen); (c) Nabis (first as new regent; then deposing Pelops); and (d) Callicrates, Philopoemen’s successor in the Achaean League. “Callicrates was subservient to Rome and allowed Sparta to revive.” In 146 b.c., after the death of Callicrates, the Achaean League attacked Sparta. The insurgence was put down by Roman general Mummius, who was ordered by Rome “to abolish the Leagues, substitute oligarchies for all democracies, sack Corinth, and place Greece under the supervision of [Rome’s] governor of Macedon. This marked the end of Greek and Macedonian independences, although some Greek cities retained autonomy for a long time.”

In 133 b.c., the last will of Attalus III of Pergamum left his kingdom to Rome. By 132 b.c. Rome possessed eight provinces: Sicilia, Sardinia with Corsica, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Gallia Cisalpina, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Achaea.⁹

-----Resumed in Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, “Roman Imperial Rulers and Associated Data”-----

⁸ The name, *Antigonus*, continued however--refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, “Descendancies/ Familial Relationships, Asamonaean/Maccabees/Hasmonaean.”

⁹ Pertinent ensuing Roman involvements are included in the 3A, VI (narrative) and 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (timeline).

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2, Detail A

A Brief Full History of Rome¹ (To 133 b.c./b.c.e.)

753 b.c.² traditionally is taken as Rome's founding date. "[N]o one knows by whom or under what circumstances Rome was founded," it being "merely one of several Latin towns" that gradually united with other populated districts in its vicinity. Its earliest history mostly has been garnered from legendary stories. The government was monarchical, tempered by form of senatorial organization responsive to *curiae*.³ Political power was exercised by the nobles, from whom were drawn the senators, who elected the kings. The *curiae* met in assemblies at which the king appeared when deemed necessary, and no one was denied voice. The commoners were called *plebeians* and they naturally constituted the greatest number.

"The last royal dynasty of Rome undoubtedly was named Tarquin." Among Tarquin legacies (apart from impressive public works) were (a) the formation of four districts in Rome city and some 16 in the rest of its territory; and (b) the replacement of the former local, ill-prepared military companies with specialized divisions drawn from all combined tribesmen. By the end of the Tarquin dynasty "Rome's territory [and population] had increased four or five fold--chiefly at the expense of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins[/*Latin*]," with a correspondent increase in military strength.

As Rome added to its territory, it "compelled many of the dispossessed peoples to settle on her own hills, and admitting all to citizenship, bestowed the patriciate⁴ on the nobles." "The allied Latin towns...concluded with Rome a perpetual peace." They looked to Rome as the strongest regional community, "which could support them amongst Latium's enemies--the mountainous Sabellians, the southern Etruscans in Campania, and the Carthaginians."⁵

Botsford 11, 13, 24-25, 33-36.

According to myths and legends, the last Tarquin king was a "haughty tyrant" in whose reign "matters came to crisis." According to *Livy*, the Tarquin monarch's son "did violence to the honor of one Lucretia." Her husband, Collatinus Tarquinius, and Lucius Junius Brutus, "both kinsmen of the king," led a revolt of nobles and commons[commoners], by which the king was banished. "Brutus persuaded the people to swear that they would never suffer a king to rule [again] at Rome. In place of a single lifelong sovereign, the people thereafter elected annually two consuls as chief magistrates with equal power." The consuls, however, could nominate an interim 'dictator' to a term of six months, if circumstances deemed it necessary.

Botsford 37.

A treaty with Carthage⁶ in 509 b.c., the "Republic's first year,..implies that Rome was [then] supreme in Latium." However, a continuing threat by a 'Latium League' for restoration of the monarchy produced a treaty in 493 b.c. which secured to the League a sharing of military command, conquered lands, and spoils. The alliance also provided defense against

¹ The primary purpose here is to provide global continuity salient to the within work. *Botsford*, the summarized source text, contains extensive details for the desiring reader.

² "AUC year 1"--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B (1)(c), "Calendrical Conversions."

³ Brotherhoods, each composed of several families.

⁴ *Patricians* = aristocrats; those "qualified by birth [descent] to be senators, magistrates, and priests." *Botsford* 24. (For a complete summary of the types of offices in the "republic," and of the system's elements, see *Botsford* chapter IV.)

⁵ The Etruscans and Carthaginians at times formed alliances.

⁶ Carthage, on Africa's coast opposite Sicily, had been colonized by Phoenicians--early explorers of the Mediterranean islands and shores--and was an advantageous site for east/west trade. Various Phoenician colonies were gathered under Carthage's rule--on Africa's north and northwest coasts, in western Sicily, Sardinia and even Spain. *Botsford* 95.

yearly incursions by Sabine, Aequian and Volscian tribes (“rude mountaineers”).⁷

Rome sustained many years of warring with the Aequians and the Volscians. The Roman phalanx⁸ “was more than a match” for unorganized lowland bands raiding in open fields. Defeating highlanders, however, “seemed like beating the air--[as] light as the wind they withdrew...and as lightly swept down again.” One illustrious victory over Aequians is reported under nominated dictator, Cincinnatus; but it was not until dictator Posthumius stormed the foes’ camps in 431 b.c. that the Romans began to gain an upper hand. Before that winter’s end they had recovered lost ground. Under dictator Camillus they proceeded to take Veii, an Etruscan city nearly as large as Rome. *Botsford 39-41.*

Rome’s battles with immediate neighbors had caused it to lose contact with the greater Mediterranean world for some half-century. Then, c. 390 b.c., it suffered disastrous invasion and defeat by Gauls, led by a chief named Brennus. They entered Rome and wrought great slaughter, pillage and destruction. The Romans finally offered “a thousand pounds of gold” if Brennus would withdraw. He was holding out for more when dictator “Camillus...appeared with an army...and drove the Gauls away without their gold.”⁹ Rome rebuilt itself within a year, and Camillus was recognized as the new city’s founder.

At this time a Roman legion ordinarily consisted of “3000 heavy-armed troops and 1200 light-armed. The number of legions varied according to the requirements of war...[and] there were regularly 300 knights to a legion.” During the Veii war the senate had begun giving pay to soldiers, who previously both had served without pay and equipped themselves with their own funds. Now further reforms were made. Soldiers were ranked in divisions according to their experience and skill. Their armor was strengthened; cavalry knights received “heavier and better Greek weapons.” Rome’s neighbors continued rising in arms against her; “but their combined strength could not overwhelm the city; for Camillus, ‘the life and soul of Rome,’ everywhere led his legions to victory.” “Rome formed new tribes¹⁰ on lands she had taken in war and settled with her own citizens.”

Civil rights and rule were not uniform, however, among towns and colonies in Rome’s domain. The standard ‘Roman’ colony was a garrison of 300 exclusively Roman men and families, usually settled in a maritime town as coastal defense, who possessed full citizenship privileges equal to their mother city. A ‘Latin’ colony, which might be totally inhabited by allied subjects or shared with some Romans, enjoyed only the privileges of older Latin towns. Lastly, there were other town “termed *municipia*,” among which privileges varied. For example, “the people of Tusculum, admitted to the Roman state in 381 b.c., enjoyed full citizenship and self-government,” while those of Caere...though citizens, could neither vote nor hold office at Rome, and...their local freedom was restricted by the presence of a...prefect, sent from Rome to administer justice among them.”

“One hundred years of warfare with the mountaineers...weakened” the Latin allies. Over time they had lost ground again in relation to Rome, which “now furnished all the commanders, and...claimed the lion’s share of spoils and conquered land.” While Rome was gaining in its supremacy over Latium and gradual control of southern Etruria, the Samnite people--“the most powerful [tribal] nation in the interior” of Italy--were migrating south “through a brilliant career of conquest.” Samnites were accepted, ostensibly in friendship, into the rich Etruscan city of Capua; they then “massacred its inhabitants and took possession” and proceeded to conquer the Greek city Cumae in, and to occupy all of, Campania. “[S]warms

⁷ Interference from Etruscans gradually would diminish as they became ensnared by Gauls.

⁸ Which system had found its way from Sparta through Greece, into Italy and Sicily, and been copied by the last Tarquins.

⁹ According to *Botsford* the Romans “undoubtedly” did pay the ransom, with the story of Camillus’ appearance being an historian’s embroidery. Page 45.

¹⁰ “There were 20 tribes in the regal period, and one was added in the early republic.” Page 48.

of Samnites under the name of Lucanians [also successfully] assailed cities of Magna Graecia.”

Botsford 42 - 49.

Subsequently, c. the mid-fourth century b.c., Samnium possessed nearly all lower-Italy and an alliance was struck between it and Rome. The coastal Samnites gradually assumed the life style of their Etruscan and Greek subjects and became disconnected from their own “mother nation.” They “trembled before their brave kinsmen of the hills; and though many Capuans were ready to serve for pay in foreign armies, few were willing to defend their own city. When therefore fresh tribes from Samnium [proper] ravaged their fields,” they turned over Capua to Rome as a possession, “in return for protection.”

The Romans proceeded to yield to the prospect of possessing all of rich Campania, breeched their treaty with the entire Samnium nation, and “brought upon themselves the First Samnite War.” The “poor but brave” Samnite mountaineers--unpossessed of wealth, king or aristocracy--“looked greedily” on the well-cultivated plains on their western border; only one of their cities opposed taking up arms against Rome.

“No other country in Italy was so thoroughly centralized” as Samnium; and its peasant militia “had taken lessons of the Greeks; their legion...[was] an improvement on the Greek phalanx [and] better adapted to fighting in the hills.” On the other side, the “Latins and Romans entered...with one soul...a national war for home and country, for the wealth and civilization of the plain.” “So great was [their] success in this short war that the Carthaginians...sent...as a gift a golden crown of 25 pounds weight, which was placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline [mount].” A Roman garrison was installed at Capua to protect it and surrounding towns from incursions. Complaints were raised, however, its soldiers and military tribunes (staff officers)-- the former, that commanders often deprived privates of pay and booty by deleting names from the rolls; the latter, that commanders were degrading them to the rank of centurion (captain).

Disgruntled personnel of the Capua garrison “plotted to massacre the Capuans, seize their wealth and marry their wives.” The plan was aborted by arrival of consul Gaius Marcius Rutilus, “who quietly dismissed from the army the most turbulent spirits.” The dismissed soldiers, joined by others, marched 20,000 strong and encamped near Rome. There they met with appointed dictator, Marcus Valerius Corvus, “a great favorite of the soldiers.” He persuaded the mountaineers to desist; and, upon his motion, “the senate and assembly passed a law...[which gave] pardon for the mutiny,...cancell[ation of] all debts, and forbade...erasure of a soldier’s name...and the degradation of a tribune.”

In 341 b.c. Rome and Samnium abruptly made peace, possibly due to a mutually-suffered threat by the king of Lacedaemon (who with his army came to Italy, to aid the Spartan colony of Tarentum against its natives). Rome immediately withdrew its army from the field, leaving the Latins and other allies “in the lurch” *vis-a-vis* Samnium. The Latins persevered without help. Then, “at the head of a powerful alliance of neighboring states, [they] demanded equal representation with the Romans in the consulship and senate.... [T]hey wished to be Romans.” At Rome, the demand “was rejected with scorn...[as] ’an insult to the supreme god of...state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy.”

Botsford 49-52.

Although Romans and Latins “were of one blood and speech...[with] the same arms, military organization and discipline,” in the new war that followed Rome had the advantage of being a cohesive single entity opposite a loose confederacy. The war ended after only “one or two fierce battles;” the Latin league was dissolved; and all Campanian towns and all Latin towns save four¹¹ received the form of citizenship that carried neither right to vote nor right to hold office at Rome. “Two new tribes were made of the lands taken in this war.” Latin communities retained self-administration; those in Campania were ruled by prefects.

¹¹ The “faithful,” who received full Roman citizenship.

In the same year of the Latin league's dissolution, Lacedaemon's king (Archidamus) fell in struggles at Tarentum. The Tarentines called for assistance from "Alexander [A],¹² uncle and brother-in-law of Alexander [III] the Great, and king of the Molossians (a tribe of Epirus)." Alexander [A] "came with an army organized like that of his famous relative...[and dreams] of building up as great a power in the West as his namesake was then creating in the East." The mountaineer Samnites assisted their southern relatives (now termed Lucanians and Bruttians), while Rome (irregardless of nearer obligations) made a treaty with Alexander [A and with the Tarentines], and with the Gauls, as well.¹³

Rome provoked Samnium by erecting a fortress at its border, heralding the "Second Samnite War [326-304]." For a time "the fortunes of war varied," the tide turning from one side to the other. The free Greek city of Naples in Campania was besieged, by Roman forces under Publilius Philo (a "plebeian consul"¹⁴). On surrender, Naples became Rome's naval ally, exempt from military service on land, in exchange for supplying warships and crews. The favorable terms of that alliance "soon brought Rome other maritime allies." *Botsford 53-55.*

In 321 b.c., however, 40,000 of Rome's men, with their consuls, were forced to surrender in an ambush at an Apennine pass named Claudine. The captured consuls were forced to accept Samnite terms of peace; but upon appointment of new consuls "the government repudiated the treaty on the ground that it had not been ratified by the people, and delivered to the enemy the ex-consuls who were responsible for it."

"After the disaster at the Claudine Pass, the war dragged on from year to year." Frequent border raids by each party rarely ended in a battle. The Samnites wanted peace; the Roman Senate was willing to grant it. But the Roman people, "who found in conquest their only remedy for overpopulation, would have nothing short of submission."¹⁵ Rome's policies aroused new enemies. "First the Etruscans and the Umbrians joined Samnium; several lesser tribes followed; all Italy seemed aflame with war."

When rumors spread that forces deployed under both of Rome's consuls were in danger, the government appointed Lucius Papirius as dictator. "To the Samnites, the struggle with Rome had become a holy war in defence of their homes and their altars," and their army when it appeared for battle was glitteringly armored and plumed. "The fight was sharp; and, as [Rome's] enemy fell, 'the plains were quickly filled with heaps of bodies and of splended armor.'"

There now progressed general weakening of opposition to Rome. Succeeding consuls "gained fresh victories, ravaged Etruria, and captured the strongholds of Samnium." Warring ended in 304 b.c. The original treaty was renewed, and the Samnites "remained free." Rome was content with the terms; its primary interest was to organize newly-won land.

Rome "aimed to cut Samnium off from Umbria and Etruria by a network of military roads and to strongly fortify Latin colonies...through central Italy." Those plans soon were cut short--the "whole Celtic race was in commotion; hordes...invaded Greece, Asia Minor, and

¹² Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, B(3).

¹³ Alexander [A], who met "marked success" at first, "found it impossible to conquer the Italians," and finally "was slain by treachery."

¹⁴ "In early Rome the barrier between the two ranks [plebeian and patrician] was not impassable; with the consent of the assembly the king could ennoble any plebeian whom he considered sufficiently marked by wealth or personal merit." Page 24. (A senate decision to continue Philo in office a second year "was of the greatest importance; for we shall see that it was chiefly the proconsuls who conquered the world for Rome and who then overthrew the republican government.")

¹⁵ "When Rome subdued a neighboring city she...seized a third or perhaps a half of the conquered land;" and her policy was to "settle and organize every foot of conquererd ground, and to hem in her enemy by establishing fortress colonies on the border. In 312 b.c. Appius Claudius Caecus...bound Campania fast to the imperial city by a military road from Rome to Capua, named after him the Appian Way." Page 57.

Italy at nearly the same time...[and] swept with them...the earlier Gallic settlers in the Po valley.” Gauls proceeding south also gathered support from commoners of Etruria in revolt from “harsh masters,” “for it had been the policy of Rome to attach...allies...by upholding the rule of their nobles;” and “the aristocrats in the allied cities...had become intolerably proud and oppressive.”

Lucanians, Umbrians and other lesser tribes joined in the warring, a “grand democratic uprising against Rome, the stronghold of aristocracy,” spearheaded by the Samnites “who occupied the citadel of the peninsula.” Samnite commander Egnatius “broke through the Roman barrier...across central Italy, and reached Etruria at the head of a great army. ... Never had Italy seen armies so great or a military spirit so stubborn as in this war, which was to determine the fate of the peninsula. The decisive battle was fought at Sentinum in Umbria, 295 b.c.” Rome’s forces were commanded by consuls Decius (against the Gauls) and Fabius (against the Samnites); and they emerged victorious. Rome’s victory “broke the league.” The Samnites, however, held out some five years more, until Manius Curius Dentatus (“a peasant who by personal merit had raised himself to the consulship”) convinced them to appeal for peace. The Samnites became dependent allies of Rome. But after the half-century conflict between plains and mountains, in which thousands of soldiers had fallen, Italian cities and villages were in ruin and pastures and cornfields destroyed. “Thousands more once-free men, women and children had become slaves of the Romans...the curse of ancient society.”

Botsford 57-60.

Rome now focused on controlling all southern Italy. A colony of 20,000 men was established at Venusia (“where Samnium, Apulia and Campania met”), to control local tribes and cut off Tarentum from the interior. “Then she [Rome] openly broke her treaty with the Tarentines.” The Tarentines “called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus,¹⁶ for help.” Pyrrhus, “a brilliant military genius...with a small but strong body of troops...skilled in the arms and tactics of the Macedonian phalanx...first met the enemy at Heraclea. Pyrrhus’ elephants (called “gray oxen” by the Romans) breached the Romans’ lines, and his “hedge of spears” repulsed them time and again. Rome’s losses were heavy, and “a sudden dash of the Thessalian horse completed their ruin.”

In that Pyrrhus’ invasions of Italy and Sicily “menaced Rome and Carthage alike,” “they made a defensive alliance.” “[B]ut fear and jealousy prevented them from calling upon each other for help.” More allies joined Pyrrhus, and he “pushed on, till he came within 40 miles of Rome.” His own heavy losses, however, prompted him to offer peace to the Roman senate; and Cineas, his ambassador, was eloquent. The “commons, too, preferred peace, that they might settle the lands acquired in the Samnite wars.” But venerate senator Appius Claudius pronounced, “Let Pyrrhus return home and *then* we may make peace with him,” thus setting forth the principle that thereafter Rome would take care of the interests of Italy.”

Pyrrhus won a subsequent battle (at Asculum) but at a cost so dear that he remarked to his friends, “Another such victory will ruin us.” He then crossed to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians; but despite “brilliant successes...he failed to dislodge the enemy from the island.” “Returning with a few veterans to Italy, Pyrrhus was defeated at Beneventum [in 275 b.c.]...and thereupon withdrew to his home.” Although “noble and generous,” Pyrrhus’ genius was only for war: he knew not how to complete or to organize his conquests, [failing] to attach to himself the peoples he had come to assist.” The Greeks of Italy and Sicily wanted “none of the discipline to which he subjected them,” which left them with nothing but submission to Rome. Tarentum surrendered after Pyrrhus departed; and “soon Rome became mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon.”

There were “various grades of Roman citizenship,” and different ranks of citizen communities. At this time, 35 tribes with full citizenship occupied much of the country

¹⁶ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, C(2).

between the Apennines and the sea; they lived on farms or in villages and had a few large, self-governed towns--the highest class *municipia*. Coastal colonies that protected the seaboard had privileges equal to the former. Citizens in second-class *municipia* had self-government but neither could vote nor hold office at Rome. Third-class *municipia* (*prefectures*) were ruled by prefects sent from Rome; such usually were constituted as "punishment for rebellion or for other grave misconduct."

"Of the allied communities, the nearest to the Romans in race, in privileges, and in friendship were the Latins." Primary ones, such as Tibur and Praeneste, were enduring, original Latin towns. Next in order were variously-situate Latin colonies, "usually in the interior," in which the colonists (Romans or Romanized Latins) "prided themselves on their near relations with the mother city...[and] held the country about them in allegiance to the central government." They served also to advance the Latin language, and were connected with each other and Rome by a network of military roads. "Inferior to the Latins" were those called simply Italians. Every allied state, while exempt from taxation, furnished troops for Rome's army (excepting, as said, the naval allies that provided ships and crews).

"Rome reserved to herself the right to declare war, to make peace, and to coin money;" and she allowed the allies to trade with her, but generally not with each other. Although the gradation of civil rights gave hope of betterment to even the lowest communities, it "isolated the allies from one another and bound them singly [individually] to the central power." "The system here described extended northward only to the Aesis River; for the Senones, a tribe of Gauls occupying the Umbrian coast, now under Roman rule, were not allies but tributary subjects. Indeed it was chiefly in opposition to the Gauls that the Italians, led by Rome, had come to look upon themselves as one people.... This federal system, based upon Italian nationality and directed by Rome, assured to the peninsula domestic peace and to the leading city a place among the great states of the world. The foremost powers of the East at this time were Egypt,--with which Rome allied herself in 273 b.c.,--Macedonia, and the Seleucid empire; of the West, Carthage and Rome."

Botsford 61-65; 95.

[*Botsford* here concludes the years referred to as the "first period of the Republic." Chapter V commences the period referred to as the "second" period of the Republic.]

The governments of Carthage and Rome "both were aristocratic, that of Rome...in its fullest vigor,...that of Carthage...beginning to decay." Still, Carthage's great navy controlled the sea while Rome had only a few ships. "The immediate cause" of war between Carthage and Rome--the "First Punic War [264-241 b.c.]"--was Rome's decision to aid the a people called "Mamertines," who possessed Messana [Messina], a wealthy Sicilian city on Italy's straits. Previously, the Mamertines ("some Campanian mercenaries") had driven away Messana's men "and divided the women, children and property among themselves." Now, threatened by both Carthaginians and Greeks, the Mamertines "appealed to Rome for aid on the ground of kindred blood." Whether Rome should intervene pitted justice against gaining trade and other benefits; the senate referred the issue to the people. Consul Appius Claudius Caudex,¹⁷ "by promising them lands in Sicily, persuaded them to vote aid."

Rome drove away the Carthaginians and took from them Agrigentum, a town in Sicily on Mount Agragas. Hiero, the king of Syracuse (Sicily's chief city), was "induced...to make a treaty...to supply the Roman armies in Sicily with provisions." "The cities of the interior [of Sicily] readily yielded," also, seeing their security better insured by Rome than Syracuse or Carthage.

Rome now hoped to expel the Carthaginians altogether and concentrated on building a fleet, using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme¹⁸ as a model. In 260 b.c. the respective

¹⁷"[T]he commercial spirit of the Claudian family had already seized nearly the whole aristocracy. *Botsford* 98.

¹⁸Containing five banks of oars; until then its allies furnished only triremes.

fleets met off Mylae, where the Romans won a “great victory.” Superior Carthaginian naval tactics were offset entirely by Roman employment of a “drawbridge” contrivance called “a crow,” which bore an iron spike at its end to grapple the enemy ship’s deck.

Rome next proceeded to develop an enormous fleet--a “great armament...of 330 vessels carrying nearly 140,000 men.” *Circa* 256 b.c. the new Roman fleet defeated a larger Carthaginian one. It then “conveyed an army to Africa,” and warring continued in Libya. Rome’s army managed to seize some African towns until one Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian, taught the Carthaginians “to offer battle in the plain, where they could use their elephants.” Rome’s force was destroyed and its leader, consul Regulus, was captured.

Elephants in battle had “wrought such havoc that the Romans dared not face them again for several years.” Nonetheless, in the continued warring on sea, “Rome lost two large fleets and thousands of lives.” Then, in 250 b.c., a Roman victory at Panormus under Caecilius Metellus gained nearly all of Sicily; and Lilybaeum--one of Carthage’s two last cities in Sicily--was placed under siege. Carthage sent the captive consul, Regulus, to Rome to negotiate peace, “promising him liberty if he should succeed. He, however, urged the senate to persevere...”¹⁹

The next year, consul Publius Claudius attempted a surprise attack on Drepana, Carthage’s second remaining city in Sicily, and sustained “an overwhelming defeat.” While Romans continued besieging Lilybaeum, Carthage sent out general Hamilcar Barca--the “Lightning”--“who was to prove, in himself and in his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met.” Barca occupied Sicily’s Mount Ercte (above Panormus, which the Romans held). There Barca “raised corn to support the handful of troops, who performed wonders under...his genius,” while he occupied his “eagle’s perch,” from which his troops would “swoop down...and as easily retire.” “From the little harbor beneath...his light ships harassed Italy’s coasts.”

After three years above Panormus, Barca moved suddenly to the side of Mount Eryx--“more difficult to hold,” but near to Drepana. His force was too small to accomplish much, yet “the Romans failed to dislodge him.” Both Carthage and Rome were at a point with “no longer the means of supporting a fleet or a strong army in service.” Rome was on the verge of bankruptcy, her currency nearly worthless, while Barca stood poised still to recover Sicily. It fell to wealthier Roman citizens to fund the cause, whereby a navy of some 200 ships was re-established. With it, consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus in 241 b.c. intercepted a new Carthaginian fleet on its way to Sicily with supplies, handed it a total defeat, and put Carthage out of the war.

The Carthaginians empowered Barca to make peace as he thought best. “[H]e showed great good sense...[and] Lutatius was ready enough to listen...[being] fully aware that the resources of Rome were at their lowest.” Under the peace treaty, the Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, release all prisoners without ransom, and pay the Romans “3200 talents of silver--over three and a half millions of dollars--within ten years.” *Botsford 97-103.*

Carthage’s unpaid mercenaries mutinied against her, joined also by revolting Libyans. The ensuing struggle, the “Mercenary War,” 241-237 b.c., was ferociously cruel. “After four years of pitiless strife, Hamilcar Barca destroyed the mercenaries and reduced the insurgents.” Meanwhile, with Carthage thus involved, the Romans seized Sardinia c. 231 b.c. and made it and Corsica, together, its second province.

Libya was bereft. Barca, seeing the weakness of the mercenary system, determined to create a province in Spain as a source of troops and provisions.²⁰ He spent nine years

¹⁹ Regulus is said to have returned to Carthage and suffered a torturous death; but “in fact no one knows how Regulus died.” *Botsford 101.*

²⁰ “Hamilcar’s soul burned with hatred of [Rome].... To him, the existing peace was to be a preparation for war, which in turn

forming a Carthaginian province in Spain, demonstrating great diplomacy in a peaceful rule of native tribes as they developed their natural resources. “[H]is skill and money created a new political party at Carthage,--a vigorous democracy, which opposed [Carthage’s routinely] peace-loving capitalists and supported its leader in his far-reaching plans. ‘Then he died...in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery.’”

The Carthaginians appointed as Barca’s successor his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who had fleet commander. Hasdrubal was as adept as Barca at winning tribes and adding territories. However, “after eight years of such service he was murdered by a Celt.”

Hannibal, Barca’s son, now was proclaimed Carthage’s commander. The “Second Punic War [218-201 b.c.]” was sparked by his attack on Saguntum, a city in Spain allied with Rome. Rome began preparations “to invade both Spain and Libya,” but the plan was diverted unexpectedly: Hannibal had “crossed the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul,” leading 50,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry and a number of elephants. Northern Italy’s Celts, whom Rome only recently had conquered, “eagerly supported Hannibal in his march.”

Hannibal and his soldiers endured remarkable ordeals. In their ascent of the Alps many men and beasts of burden fell to attacks by mountaineers; there was want of provisions. After the steep descent, through snow and ice, Hannibal arrived at the plain (only a brief five months after leaving Spain) with only half of his original army--in tatters, sick, and feeble. “And yet it was to be no one-sided contest,” and Hannibal’s appearance in the Po valley was a rude awakening: Romans “suddenly realized that the war was to be waged for...homes and...country.”

In 218 b.c. Hannibal easily routed (and wounded) consul Scipio in a light cavalry battle. Consul Tiberius Sempronius joined his forces with Scipio’s and took command, only to meet a resounding defeat in a battle on the Trebia river the same year. That “wintry morning in December,” Hannibal gave his men a good breakfast “and plenty of oil for their bodies,” and then had a cavalry band tempt the Romans across the river. “Sempronius...readily led his army out before breakfast, through the swollen Trebia. Hungry and numbed with cold, the Romans were doomed.” A long struggle ended in a “complete overthrow of the Romans. Ten thousand...escaped. Nearly all the rest were killed or captured, and Hannibal held their camp.” Hannibal’s “great success led the Gauls, who had hitherto wavered, to cast their lot with [him,] the victor.” *Botsford 103-108.*

Subsequently, consuls Gaius Flaminius and Servilius lay with their armies at, respectively, Arretium in Etruria and Ariminum, “guarding the two principal roads which connected the Po valley with central Italy.” Hannibal instead took an uncommon route, as once again he and his troops underwent severe hardship. They crossed the marshes north of the Arnus River “on a continuous march of four days and three nights through a route which was under water.” Reaching Etrurian dry ground, Hannibal passed Flaminius--“still guarding Arretium--without deigning to notice him, and took the highway for Rome, plundering as he went.” Flaminius, compelled to follow, “fell into a trap at Lake Trasimene, where he was killed and his army annihilated [217 b.c.]” When the news reached Rome, the people on senate advice elected²¹ Quintus Fabius Maximum dictator.

Hannibal, instead of then attacking, crossed to the Adriatic coast “gathering vast booty,” and moved south gradually while he refreshed his men and beasts. Fabius dogged Hannibal’s footsteps, engaging in small encounters to cut off foraging, but avoided risky major battling. Meanwhile, Roman troops were being levied and trained for the following summer.

should make Rome feel the terrors of invasion. ... The story is told that when he was about to set out...he led his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years, to the altar and made him swear undying enmity to Rome.” *Botsford 104.*

²¹ The surviving consul not being there to make the customary appointment of a dictator.

Consuls Aemilius and Varro met Hannibal in the “battle of Cannae [216 b.c.; on the Aufidus river in Apulia].” The Romans, including allies, had an 80,000-man force--“the largest single army Rome had ever put into the field.” Hannibal’s force, which included Iberians, Celts, Gauls and Libyans, numbered some 30,000 fewer; but his superior cavalry was more than compensation. “[T]he Romans fell like sheep under the knives of butchers. Seven-eighths of their army, including Aemilius, eighty senators, and many other eminent men, perished. Varro, who survived, collected...the remnants, amounting to scarcely 10,000 men.” Every household in Rome mourned; “all feared for the city and for their own lives.” The senate “exhorted the people to fresh exertions, strengthened the city with guards, and deliberated....”

Hannibal knew that with his current forces he couldn’t take Rome “by storm nor by siege;” but his victory at Cannae changed the character of the war. [N]early all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, including...Capua and Tarentum, revolted.” Hannibal seized Tarentum city but failed to take its citadel. King Hiero of Syracuse had died, and “Sicily also forsook Rome. Philip V, king of Macedonia,²² who watched jealously the interference of the senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with the victorious Carthaginian.” Hannibal hoped that Rome would be undermined by its revolting allies and felt bound to protect them, despite their giving no material help. Fortified Latin colonies distributed over Italy continued their allegiance to Rome.

Rome sought “no more pitched battles with Hannibal;” it divided its forces into smaller armies to defend its faithful allies and attack the enemy at weak points. A great effort was made to regain Sicily. Marcellus, “the ‘Sword of Rome,’ besieged Syracuse by land and sea. Initially he was “baffled” by war engines designed by Archimedes, the famous mathematician/goemetrician.²³ But c. 211 b.c. the Romans took Syracuse at last, plundering and killing many people including Archimedes.²⁴ Three Roman armies then surrounded Capua; Hannibal was unable to repel them. Abruptly he marched toward Rome and pitched camp three miles from it. New recruits poured in from the country to man the city walls, while Rome kept up its siege at Capua.

Capua fell. The Romans “scourged and beheaded the senators and dispersed the people among the Latin colonies or sold them into slavery.... Tarentum was afterward taken and suffered a similar punishment.” But the Romans continued to avoid open battle with Hannibal, and he realized other successes--Marcellus allowed himself to be surprised and killed, which left Fabius--“now old”--as Rome’s chief commander in Italy.

Meanwhile, in Spain, Hannibal’s brother Hasdrubal, with reinforcements from Carthage, “overwhelmed and destroyed the separate Roman armies of the brothers, Publius and Gnaeus Scipio.” Hasdrubal “was in a fair way to win all Spain back to Carthage, when the Romans sent thither as proconsul Publius Scipio [/P. Cornelius Scipio], son of the deceased general.” The young Scipio captured New Carthage, chief city and arsenal of the Carthaginians in Spain. Hasdrubal eluded him, however; and “[w]ith a large army and abundant treasure, he set out for Italy to reenforce his brother.” *Botsford* 108-113.

In 207 b.c. Hasdrubal descended the Alps, “drawing in his train a host of Gauls and Ligurians” to unite his army with Hannibal’s. Rome’s “country was desolate from end to end;

²² Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, D.

²³ Archimedes’ war machines “suddenly raised up in the air the ships of the enemy from the bay before the city, and let them fall with such violence into the water they they sunk. He set them on fire also by his burning glasses.”

²⁴ Archimedes “was so deeply engaged in solving a problem” he failed to note that the enemy had entered the city. Although the Roman general had given strict orders that Archimedes not be harmed, even offered a handsome reward for his person, “a soldier, without knowing who he was, killed him, because he refused to follow him, B.C. 212.” (“Some suppose that Archimedes raised the site of the towns and villages of Egypt, and began those mounds of earth by means of which communication is kept from town to town during the inundations of the Nile.”) “So true is it that one man and one intellect properly qualified for a particular undertaking is a host in itself.” L 68.

her best generals had perished; her faithful colonies, exhausted by war, were beginning to refuse aid; her last armies were in the field. Fortunately for her," the messengers bearing news to Hannibal of Hasdrubal's approach were captured by Gaius Claudius Nero, now Rome's commander in southern Italy. The joined forces of consul Claudius and his colleague, Marcus Livius Salinator, "surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal with his army on the Metaurus River. As Claudius returned southward he carried with him the head of the defeated Carthaginian, which he directed to be thrown into the camp of Hannibal."

Over the next two years "Hannibal still maintained himself in southern Italy," while Publius Scipio, continuing his campaign, made himself "master of Spain...returned to Rome [and] as consul he invaded Africa and threatened Carthage. Hannibal quitted Italy in obedience to his country's call and attempted to negotiate, but in vain. Adding raw recruits to his small veteran force, in 202 b.c. he met Scipio at some distance from Zama, a town south of Carthage. Scipio was favored by both lucky placement of divisions against the enemy's elephants and a "cavalry superior to that of Carthage," supplied by allied Numidians. "For the first time Hannibal suffered defeat in a pitched battle"--"the last battle of the long war,"--a defeat which made further resistance hopeless."

"By the terms of treaty which followed, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, and to pay Rome 200 talents of silver a year for 50 years; to give up all her elephants and all her war-ships except 10 triremes; to wage no war outside of Libya and in Libya none without the consent of Rome," which latter "left her helpless against Rome's ally, Masinissa, king of Numidia." Hannibal, forced into exile by the senate, went to the court of Seleucid king Antiochus III. Carthage's Italian allies were forced to cede land, and Rome founded its own colonies in southern Italy. Scipio was triumphantly hailed; "Rome named him Africanus after the continent he had subdued." "[T]he battle of Zama foretold the progress of victorious Roman legions through the whole circle of Mediterranean countries; in Scipio Africanus [is seen] the first of a succession of brilliant generals who, while subduing the world, overthrew the government of the republic." *Botsford 114-116; 118.*

At the end of that, the Second Punic War, "there were in the East three great kingdoms, remnants of Alexander's [III's] empire: first, that of the Seleucidae, in western Asia, including a part of Asia Minor; second, Macedonia, which through garrisons controlled Thessaly, Corinth, and various other states of Greece; and third, Egypt, whose kings claimed Phoenicia and a few possessions in Asia Minor and in Thrace. In addition to the great powers, there were two Grecian leagues,--the Aetolian and the Achaean,--and many lesser independent states, as the republic of Rhodes...and the kingdoms of Pergamum, Bithynia, and Pontus. In the tangled international relations we find this guiding thread: in self-defence Egypt sought peace; the smaller states, especially those engaged in commerce, as Rhodes and Athens, following the same policy, looked to Egypt for support; on the other hand, Antiochus III,²⁵ the Seleucid, and Philip V of Macedonia...tried to extend their power."

From 215 b.c. forward Rome had been an auxiliary to the "First"²⁶ Macedonian war, which was not marked by any notable battles but "brought Rome into alliance with Aetolia, Athens, Pergamum, and other Eastern states, and thus prepared the way for future complications." Greece and Philip V of Macedonia had come to terms in 206 b.c. but that peace would be of short duration. Philip became allied with Seleucid king Antiochus III in 203 b.c. In 201 Philip began harassing operations in the Aegean, and Pergamum and Rhodes appealed to Rome for assistance. In 200 b.c. the Roman senate declared war (the "Second" Macedonian war); all Greeks--fearful of homeland invasion--joined with her.

The first army that Rome sent into Greece consisted mainly of volunteers interested chiefly in plunder, and little was accomplished. But in 197 b.c. an able young consul named Flaminius led 25,000 Italian and Greek allies against Philip V's force of equal number (of

²⁵ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, (2).

²⁶ *Lempriere* refers to this as an "auxiliary" war, not "First."

whom, however, “most...were boys”). Philip V was defeated in a low range of hills in Thessaly (the “battle of Cynoscephalae”). The 196 b.c. terms of peace required that Philip V cede all his Greek possessions to Rome, pay 1000 talents to Rome over 10 years, reduce his forces to 5000 men and five ships, and promise not to declare war with anyone without Rome’s permission.

Plebeians still opposed Rome’s aggression in the East, where Antiochus III remained a threat, and the senate knew what opposition would arise, if it was to place garrisons in Greek cities. Accordingly, “Rome decided to be magnanimous. ...[A]t the Isthmian festival of the following spring, by the direction of Flaminius and his colleagues...a herald proclaimed...the freedom of all the Greeks who had been ruled by Philip [V].”

In 192 b.c. Seleucid king Antiochus III initiated the “Asiatic War.” “Fearing Roman aggression” and encouraged by Hannibal, Antiochus III “invaded Greece and, in his turn, played the game of freeing that country.”²⁷ Circa 190 b.c. Antiochus III “suffered an overwhelming defeat at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, at the hands of Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus. As a result...he gave up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus. ...Rome bestowed a part of the ceded territory upon Pergamum and another part upon Rhodes, leaving several small states independent and keeping nothing for herself, she extended her protectorate over all Asia Minor.”

“Hannibal fled to Bithynia, where he died by poison to escape [delivery over to] the Romans. Antiochus [III] was stoned to death by his own people; and his great empire rapidly dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria.” Rome steadily became more and more involved with settling disputes between Greek states, requiring frequent dispatch of commissions to guard the republic’s interests. “Their respect for Greek culture, however did not prevent them from fostering disunion [and] from undermining the Achaean League.”

Macedonia’s Philip V was succeeded in 179 b.c. by his son, Perseus.²⁸ Perseus “cherished the noble ambition of championing Hellas against ...Rome,” and his “clever diplomacy...[and] national aspirations of the Greeks” was re-establishing bonds between Greece and Macedonia. “Rome, to prevent this dreaded combination, declared war against Perseus in 171 b.c.,” after the senate’s receipt of charges against Perseus, laid by Eumenes II of Pergamum.

The “Third” Macedonian war lasted the better part of four years. It attracted ample recruits, for “it was now well known that service in the East enriched the troops with booty.” Moreover, during the first three years of the war, the republic’s generals themselves plundered Greece. Rome finally appointed as commander the son of the Aemilius who died at Cannae. In 168 b.c.²⁹ Lucius Aemilius Paulus “met and conquered Perseus at Pydna, a city of Macedonia.” King Perseus escaped but was taken later. He and his young children were forced to march in the conqueror’s triumphal procession at Rome, after which Perseus died in prison (either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer).

Illyria was reduced to three tributary confederacies and Rome imposed on it an annual tribute, for having aided Perseus.³⁰ Macedonia was divided into four republics/[wholly distinct confederacies], Rome prohibited any intercourse one with the other, and required to pay a moderate tribute. “The cities yielded...shiploads of furniture, precious metals, and works of art. In addition, the troops plundered Epirus for having sided with the king

²⁷ “Had the great Carthaginian [instead] been given the direction of affairs, he might again have invaded Italy...by means of the boundless resources of the East. But jealousy and littleness of mind prevented Antiochus from...so magnificent a scheme.”

²⁸ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, D. (Perseus had caused his pro-Roman brother to be executed by their father.)

²⁹ This being concomitant with the time of rebellion of Matthathais Ashemon against Seleucid dictates; refer to Timeline.

³⁰ Illyrians had warred on and off with Rome the preceding half-century. Rome’s acquisition of Greek allies had begun c. 228 b.c. when it formed alliances with two Illyrian cities.

[Perseus]; they carried thence vast spoil and a 150,000 inhabitants, who were sold into slavery.” Five hundred anti-Romans were slain in Aetolia; and 1000 chief citizens from the Achaean cities (including the historian, Polybius) were taken and kept hostage in Italy for 16 years. *Botsford 116-121; Ency.*

“The [Roman] senate of this age was the ablest of ancient councils...on the pinnacle of power and glory.” “For Greece there was to be no more freedom. In all the chief states, the commission for the settlement of Macedonia received complaints from the Romanizing party against those who sympathized with Perseus; and the accused were sent to Rome for trial. A thousand from the Achaean League, alone...were carried into captivity” without trial, and “detained 16 years among the towns of Etruria.” Among them was statesman and historian Polybius, who eventually influenced the release of a remaining 300 exiles.

Returning exiles excited renewed quarrels among the Greeks. In the mid-second century b.c. the senate sent commander Metellus to deal with an outbreak in Macedonia, which he then made into a province. In 146 b.c. “Mummius defeated the Achaean army...entered Corinth...killed most of the men he found...enslaved the women and children...[and] burned the city to the ground. As Corinth’s “wealth and her art sank into ruin, the Greeks...realized that while they still retained the form of liberty, the Roman senate was their master. It ruled them indirectly through partisan aristocracies in the towns and through the governor of Macedonia. Politically the Greeks were dead.”

Meanwhile, Numidia’s king Masinissa (Rome’s secretly-supported ally) was able to continue plunder of Carthage, in that the Second Punic War treaty forbade warring on Carthage’s part. Carthage’s days grew numbered, as the commercial designs of Roman capitalists gave force to influences of statesman Cato--that Carthage remained a menace to Rome, and should be destroyed. “Accordingly, consuls sailed for Utica with an immense army,” while, to avoid war, the Carthaginians were ready to make any and all concessions. First they handed over 300 children as hostages.³¹ They then surrendered all armor--“enough for 200,000 men, besides 2000 engines for throwing missiles and stones”--all to no avail. “Now,” the consuls continued, “yield Carthage to us and settle [elsewhere,] wherever you like within your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city.”

The Carthaginians “settled down to a fixed resolve to defend their city to the last drop of blood.... ...[Needing] to make new weapons, they converted even the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. ...[F]or three years they defended themselves like heroes. At last Scipio Aemilianus³² forced a passage into the city, where ‘All places were filled with...every kind of agony’” and endless “scenes of horror [as...] fire spread...carried everything down,” and the populace was “exterminated,” without pity.

The territory that Carthage had ruled became the Roman province, Africa. Rome’s conquests of Greece and Carthage “illustrate the character of Roman warfare during the half century which followed the peace with Hannibal,” a period during which also occurred Ligurian, Gallic and Spanish wars: “...[W]ars with the Ligurians and the...Celts of northern Italy ended in the thorough conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. Spain, subdued in the Second Punic War and made into two Roman provinces, heaved a last gasp. The Romans, in addition to violating treaties, increased their cruelties and perfidities (e.g. conniving murder of Spanish leaders; massacres of surrendered troops). The siege of Numantia in Spain was a replay of the siege of Carthage; it revealed “the immorality and weakness of the common soldiers, the baseness and incompetence of the generals, and...the alarming degradation of the senate.” Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, [also] had the honor of stamping out this rebellion, 133 b.c.”

³¹“The mothers...clung to the little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away.”

³²“Son of Aemilius Paulus...but adopted into the family of the Scipios.”

“The Romans now ruled most of the territory along the Mediterranean between Mount Taurus and the Pillars of Hercules.” They had seven or possibly eight provinces;³³ and, “under governors sent from the capital, many subject states, and many allies in various stages of dependency.”

In 133 b.c./b.c.e.,³⁴ Rome’s “province of Asia--in western Asia Minor--was formed.”
Botsford 122-127.

-----Continued in Appendix 4A, Attachment 1-----

³³“Cisalpine Gaul, conquered in 191 b.c., may not have been organized as a province before 81 b.c. Illyricum, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, was subdued in 167 b.c. and became a province at some unknown time afterward. ...[O]ther provinces already mentioned...were Sicily and Sardinia with Corsica 227 b.c., the two Spains, 197 b.c., and Africa and Macedonia, 146 b.c.”

³⁴This is concomitant with the time of the assassination of high priest Simon Matthes.

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3

NAMES/PLACES¹

Acarnania

“A country of Epirus, at the north of the Ionian sea, divided from Aetolia by the Achelous [river].” (L 3.)

Achaia/Achaei²

“A country of Peloponnesus at the north of Elis on the bay of Corinth” known also as *Hellas*. Originally called Ionia, it became “Achaia” when the Achaei dispossessed the Ionians who had settled there.

The Achaei, one of four main Grecian population distinctions, first resided at and near Argos. Some 80 years after the Trojan war they were driven out by the Heraclidae and retired among the Ionians, whose 12 cities they seized. The confederacy known as the *Achaean League* (284 b.c. to approximately 150 b.c.) resisted the Aetolians for three years. Assisted by Philip II of Macedonia, the Achaeans gained power and freedom, “extended their borders by conquest, and even planted colonies in Magna Graecia,”³ “till at last they were attacked by the Romans, and, after one year’s hostilities, the Achaean league was totally destroyed, B.C. 147.” (L 4.)

Achaians of Phthiotis [see *Phthiotis*] were distinguished from Achaians of the Peloponnesus.

Aecides

A patronymic of descendants of Aecidus/Aecidas, such as Achilles, Pyrrus (and Alexander the Great via his mother, Olympias). (L 10.)

Aequi/Acquicoli - see *Latium*.

Aeolia/Aeolis

“A country of Asia Minor near the Aegean sea [with] Troas at the north, and Ionia at the south,” colonized by Grecians c. 1124 b.c. or some 80 years before colonization of Ionia. (L 17.)

Aetolia/Aetolians

The region of Greece occupying the west-central mainland. “A country bounded by Epirus, Acarnania, and Locris, supposed to be about the middle of Greece.” Its inhabitants initially were little known in Greece but “after the ruin of Athens and Sparta they assumed consequence in the country, and afterwards made themselves formidable as the allies of Rome [till] as its enemies...they were conquered by Fulvius.” (L 20.)

Aetolians, one of the four main Grecian population distinctions, predominantly inhabited Aetolia and the north Peloponnesus (Elis), and nearby islands to the west.

Antiochia/Antioch

“A city of Syria, once the third city of the world for beauty, greatness, and population. It was built by Antiochus [A] and Seleucus Nicanor.” (L 53, with seven other lesser cities known as “Antiochia” also described.)

“The name of a Syrian province, *Mela*.” (L 53.)

Apamea/Orontem - see Appendix 2A, *Apamea/Orontem*.

¹ Primary source is *Lempriere* (L, at page number shown), supplemented from *Greek Dictionary*, “Appendix of Proper and Geographical Names, pp. 807-35.

² “The name of *Achaei* is generally applied to all the Greeks, indiscriminately, by the poets.” L 4.

³ “*Graecia Magna*,” that part of Italy colonized by Grecians, “of uncertain boundaries but believed to have embraced Compagna and Lucania and possibly both extending southward and including Sicily. L 255.

Apulia/Puglia

"A country of Italy...part of the ancient Magna Graecia, and generally divided into Apulia Daunia and Apulia Peucetia. ... Some suppose that it is called after Apulus, an ancient king of the contry before the Trojan war." (L 64.)

Arcadia

"A [landlocked] country in the middle of Peloponnesus, situate between Achaia, Messenia, Elis, and Argolis." (L 66.)

Argolis

"[A] country of Peloponnesus between Arcadia and the Aegean sea. Its chief city was called Argos." (L 72.)

Argos

"An ancient city, capital of Argolis in Peloponnesus, about two miles from the sea on the bay called *Argolicus sinus*." Agamemnon was its king during the Trojan War; "some 80 years after, the Heraclidae seized the Peloponnesus." (L 73.)

Aria

"A country of Asia, situate at the east of Parthia." (L 74.)

Ariminum/Rimini

"An ancient city of Italy, near the Rubicon, on the borders of Gaul, on the Adriatic, founded by a colony of Umbrians." L 75.

Armenia

Country of Asia lying between Asia Minor and the Caspian Sea, divided into Armenia Major and Armenia Minor, the latter being the portion east of the Euphrates River. (The Harpasus: an Armenia Major river flowing south into the Araxes.)

"Armenia, a large country of Asia, divided into Upper and Lower Armenia. Upper Armenia, called also Major, ha[d] Media on the east, Iberia on the north, and Mesopotamia on the south. Lower Armenia, or Minor, [was] bounded by Cappadocia, Armenia Major, Syria, Cilicia, and the Euphrates." The Armenians were long dominated by Medes and Persians before the Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia; eventually their territory became a Roman province.

(Armenia Major and Minor also have gone, respectively, under the names "Turcomania" and "Aladulia.") (L 80.)

Asia

"One of the three parts of the ancient world, separated from Europe by the Tanais, the Euxine, Aegean, and Mediterranean seas." "Asia was generally divided into Major and Minor. Asia Major was the most extensive, and comprehended all the eastern parts; and Asia Minor was a large country in the form of a peninsula, whose boundaries may be...draw[n] from the bay of Issus, in a northern direction, to the eastern part of the Euxine sea. ... Asia Minor was tributary to the Scythians for upwards of 1500 years, and was a long time in the power of the Lydians, Medes, etc., [its] western parts...the receptacle of all the ancient emigrations from Greece, and peopled by Grecian colonies. The Romans generally and indiscriminately called Asia Minor by the name of Asia." (L 85-86.)

Asia alone first was used by the Greeks as the name of the district of Lydia, but later sometimes used either to designate more widely what now is known as Asia Minor or as a general name for the country east of Greece proper. (*Greek Dictionary*, p. 812.)

Asia Minor

Now the territory essentially occupied by Turkey and embraced on the north, west and south, respectively, by the Black, Aegean and Mediterranean seas. Older regional Grecian district names along the west-to-south coasts were *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Caria* and *Lycia*.

Northern districts bordering the Black Sea west-to-east were Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus.

Attica

Denotes roughly Greece's southeast mainland (initially settled by Ionians and called Ionia), Athens being its best-known city (*Attic* and *Athenian* being largely interchangeable).

"Attica, a country of Achaia or Hellas, at the south of Boeotia, west of the Aegean sea. Famous for gold and silver mines; divided into 13 tribes...whose inhabitants were numbered in the 116th olympiad, at 31,000 citizens and 400,000 slaves in 174 villages." (L 93.)

Augures

"Certain officers at Rome who foretold future events...[initially] three. Servius Tullius added a fourth, and the tribunes of the people, A.U.C. 454, increased the number to nine; and Sylla added six more during his dictatorship. They had a particular college.... There were generally five things from which they drew omens"--"observation of phenomena of the heavens.... The second...from the chirping or flying of birds. The third was from the sacred chickens'...eagerness or indifference in eating the bread which was thrown to them.... The fourth was from quadrupeds, from their crossing or appearing in some unaccustomed place. The fifth was from different casualties, which were called *Dira*, such as spilling salt upon a table, or wine upon one's clothes, hearing strange noises, stumbling or sneezing, meeting a wolf, hare, fox or pregnant bitch. ... The sight of birds on the left was always deemed a lucky object...." (L 95-96.)

Bactria/Bactriana

A district/province of on the west side of the Himalyas, "once part of the Persian empire, on the eastern parts of which it [was] situated. Zoroaster was the most ancient king of this country, who taught his subjects the arts of magic and astrology." (L 101.)

"Afghanistan [was] called Bactria in classical antiquity." (Porada, Edith, "Comments on Style and Iconography," in Pittman, Holly, *Art of the Bronze Age*, NY, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, 1984, p. 91.)

Territory once known as *Bactria/Bactriana* embraces southeastern Turkestan and northeastern Afghanistan. (*Greek Dictionary*, p. 813.)

Berenice

A city of Cyrenaica priorily known as Euhesperides, or Hesperides, renamed Berenice by Ptolemy III in honor of his wife, Berenice [III]. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911 Ed.; obtained online.)

Bithynia

In Asia Minor, "bounded by the Euxine on the north, on the south by Phrygia and Mysia, on the west by the Propontis, and the east by Paphlagonia." (L p. 107.)

Black Sea - see [Euxine/Euxinus Pontus](#).

Boeotia

District of Greece south of Thessaly; its chief city was Thebes.

"A country of Greece, bounded on the north by Phocis, south by Attica, east by Euboea, and west by the bay of Corinth." (L p. 107.)

Bubastis

"Bubastis, a city of Egypt, in the eastern parts of the Delta, where cats were held in great veneration, because Diana Bubastis, chief deity of the place, is said to have transformed herself into a cat when the gods fled into Egypt." The Greek goddess Diana "was supposed to be the same as Isis of the Egyptians, introduced into Greece with the worship of Osiris as Apollo." (L 112, 201.)

Byzantium

City of Thrace on the Bosphorus Strait (see Hellespont); later known as Constantinople; now, Istanbul.

Calabria

“A country of Italy in Magna Graecia.” (L 117.)

Calchedon - see Chalcedon.

Campania/Campanians

“A country of Italy, of which Capua was the capital, bounded by Latium, Samnium, Picenum, and part of the Mediterranean.” (L 122.)

Cappadocia

A country of Asia Minor between Pontus and Cilicia, the boundaries of which diminished over time.

Situate in Asia minor “between the Halys, Euphrates and Euxine;” separated from Galatia by the small river Cappadox. An independent kingdom during the time of Alexander the Great, under Ariarathes I, who Perdiccas [A] crucified in 322. It successively was ruled by Eumenes, Antigonus [I], Lysimachus [#1] and Seleucus [I]. It became again a separate kingdom c. 260 under Ariarathes II. In 17 a.d. emperor Tiberius reduced it to a Roman province. (L 124.)

Caria

Country on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, “the boundaries of which have been different in different ages. Generally...it was at the east and north of the Icarian sea, and at the west of Phrygia Major, and Lycia.”

Caria “has been called Phoenicia, because a Phoenician colony first settled there; [it] afterwards received the name of Caria from a king, Car.”

The chief town of Caria was Hallicarnassus.” (L 126.)

[Of similar sound are (a) *Carrhae*, a Graeco-Roman name for Haran; (b) *Kareah*, Appendix 2C, VII, at fn 22.]

Jehoiada was served by a “Carian” troop/bodyguard; *2 Kings* 11:19 (some texts also give *Carian* in place of “Cherethite” for the name of a troop/bodyguard which served David and Solomon; *2 Samuel* 20:23).

Carmania

“A country of Asia, between Persia and India.” (L. 126.)

Casius

“A mountain at the east of Pelusium, where Pompey’s tomb was raised by Adrian,” and site of Casius Jupiter temple. Other *Casius* mountains: “near the Euphrates” and “in Syria.” L 127.

Chalcedon

“Chalcedon and Chalcedonia [also known as] *Kadi-Keni*, a Greek city of Bithynia opposite Byzantium,” colonized from Megara [a city of Achaia] BC 685. “It was first called Procerastis and afterwards Colpusa.” L 140, 357; *Greek Dictionary* 820.

Chalcis

The chief city of Euboea [“in that part which is nearest to Boeotia”], separated from Boeotia by the strait of Euripus. “The island [of Euboea] is said to have been anciently joined to the continent in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. There were three other towns of the same name, in Thrace, Acarnania [on the coast of Aetolia near the mouth of the Evenus], and Sicily, all belonging to the Corinthians.” (L 141.)

Cilicia

“A country of Asia Minor, on the sea coast, at the north of Cyprus, the south of mount Taurus, and the west of the Euphrates [next to ‘Syria’].” (“Part of the country between Aeolia and Troas [was] also called Cilicia. *Strab.* 13 calls [that] Trojan, to distinguish it from the other.”) (L 147.)

Colchis

In Asia, east of the Euxine, north of Armenia, and west of Iberia. (L 158.)

Commagene/Comagena

A part of Syria, above Cilicia, extending on the east as far as the Euphrates. Its chief town was called Samosata. (L 159.) See *also* page 609, fn. 41.

Corinth/Corinthus

“An ancient city of Greece...situated on the middle of the isthmus of Corinth, at the distance of about 60 stadia on either side from the sea.” (L 171.)

Corsica

“A mountainous island in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Italy,” north of Sardinia. (L 174.)

Cos/Coos/Co

Island, one of the Cyclades, in the Aegean Sea near the coast of Asia opposite Caria, and about 15 miles from the town of Halicarnassus,⁴ a maritime city of Caria; with a city of the same name. (L 157.)

Cuth/Cuthah/Cutheans

Josephus mentions “the nation of *Cutheans* who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem”⁵ A],” and remarks that “Samaritans have that appellation.”⁶

Cutheans has been taken as a reference to the “original home of a people moved by...Assyria to cities in the region of Samaria,” and/or the strain formed, “by the intermarrying, of ‘the people of [a place known as] Cuthah’ and [possibly] other nations, with the remaining Israelites [in the region, which strain] came generally to be called ‘Samaritan.’” (*Aid*, p. 405.)

Ancient contract tablets were found at Tell Ibrahim, 20 miles NE of Babylon, “containing the name *Kutu* (the Akkadian equivalent of Cuth), [which] has led most geographers to identify Tell Ibrahim as biblical Cuthah [cf. *2 Kings* 17:29, 30].” Tell Ibrahim probably was quite extensive an area, based on the ruins, where an ancient temple appears to have sat.

Cyclades, The

Group of islands southeastly of Athens and north of the large island of Crete--those island “particularly that surround Delos as with a circle...about 53 in number.” (L 182.)

Cyprus

“A large island in the Mediterranean sea, at the south of Cilicia, and at the west of ‘Syria’.... ...celebrated for giving birth to Venus surnamed *Cypris*...chief deity of the place, ...[and] anciently divided into nine kingdoms.” (L 184.)

Cyrene/Cyrenaica

Continued next page.

⁴ Halicarnassus, “celebrated for having given birth to Herodotus;” and “where the mausoleum, one of the seven wonders of the world, was erected.” *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Gerizzim?--see Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI, A.

⁶ *BJI*.II.6.

“Cyrene, a celebrated city of Libya” situate about 11 miles from the Mediterranean, “to which Aristaeus, who was the chief of the colonists [who] settled there, gave his mother’s name.”

“Cyrenaica, a country of Africa, of which Cyrene is the capital.” (L 184.)

Cyzicus

An important city on the island of the same name in the Propontus, close to Mysia. (*Greek Dictionary*, p. 822.)

Daphne

“Lying above Antiocheia, at a distance of forty stadia [was] Daphne, a settlement of moderate size [with] a large, thickly-shaded grove [“80 stadia in circuit”] intersected by fountain streams, in the midst of which there [was] an asylum-precinct and a temple of Apollo and Artemis;” there, “neighboring peoples...held a general festival.” (*Strabo* 16:2.6.)

Dorians/Doris

Dorians, from “Doris, a country of Greece between Phocis, Thessaly, and Acarnania.” “The name of Doris [was] common to many parts of Greece;” Dorian is one of the four main Grecian population distinctions.

Dorians were early inhabitants of Phthiotis, which they exchanged for Histiaeotis; then, driven out by Cadmaeans, moved onward, finally passing into the Peloponnesus where Aegimius (being driven out temporarily by the Lapithae) was re-established as king of Phthiotis or Doris by Hercules.

“The Dorians [colonized in] many colonies in different places.... The most famous...is *Doris in Asia Minor*, of which Halicarnassus was once the capital”--see *Caria*. (L 212.)

Egypt

“Aegypt is divided into lower, which lies near the Mediterranean, and upper, which is towards the south.” “[L]ower Aegypt was the most peopled, and contained the Delta, a number of large islands.” (L 14.)

“Before Menes [“first king of Egypt,” L 363], the Delta (Lower Egypt) and the valley (Upper Egypt) formed two distinct kingdoms. “In the earliest period each town had its own deity.” (*Ency.* p. 21.)

“The principal cities of Lower Egypt [“the Delta”] were Tanis, Bubastis (*i.e. house of Bast*), Busiris (*house of Osiris*), Sais, On (Greek: *Heliopolis*), and Memphis (near Cairo).” “Those of Upper Egypt...were: Heracleopolis, Siut, Abydos, Thebes, Jeb (Greek: *Elephantine*), Philae.” (*Ency.* p. 21.)

Elephantis/Elephantine/Jeb/Yeb

“Elephantis, an island in the river Nile, in upper Egypt, with a town of the same name... often called *Elephantina* by authors.” (L 217.)

See also this appendix, *Yeb*, and Appendix 3B, I, *Elephantine*, with regard to discovered ancient papyri documents.

Elis

District of Greece bordering the west coast of the Peloponnesus.

Epirus

District of northwest Greece; bordered on the south and east, respectively, by Aetolia and Thessaly.

“A country situate between Macedonia, Achaia, and the Ionian Sea.” (L 224.)

Etruria/Hetruria

“A country of Italy at the west of the Tiber,” north of Rome, and reaching on its west to the Tyrrhenian sea. It “originally contained 12 different [tribal] nations: Veientes, Ciusini, Perusini, Cortonenses, Arretini, Vetuloni, Volaterrani, Rusellani, Volscinii, Tarquinii, Falisci, and Caeretani.” (L 274; *Botsford* map of Italy.)

Etruscans/Etrusci

"Inhabitants of Etruria." (L 228.)

Euboea

A large Grecian island lying along Greece's east coast--opposite Locris, Boeotia and Attica.

Euxine/Euxinus Pontus/"Black Sea"

"A sea between Europe and Asia, partly at the north of Asia Minor, and at the west of Colchis." It was fed by more than "40 tributaries," and called the "Black sea, from the thick dark fogs which cover[ed] it." (L 236.)

Galatia⁷ or Gallograecia

Territory between Phrygia, the Euxine, Cappadocia and Bithynia. "It received its name from Gauls who migrated there after the sacking of Rome."

Gaul/Gallia, "a large country of Europe, called Galatia by the Greeks." Its inhabitants called themselves *Celtae*; by Greeks they were called *Galatae*. (L 244.)

Gaul/Gallia - see Galatia.

Georgia - see Iberia.

Graecia Magna

A part of Italy of "very uncertain boundaries," where Greek colonies were planted. "[S]ome say that it extended [completely] on the southern parts of Italy, while "others suppose it comprehended only Campania and Lucania [which was south of Campania]. To these some add Sicily, which was likewise peopled by Greek colonies." (L 255.)

Halicarnassus - see Dorians/Doris in Asia Minor, Phthiotis, Caria, and at fn. 4 here.

Halys

Chief Asia Minor river which flows north to the Black Sea.

Heliopolis⁸ - see *first*, On; see also Leontopolis.

Heliopolis (Greek for *City of the Sun*)--the "On" of the Bible--"lay on the right bank of the Nile a little to the north of present-day Cairo/[El Qahira]."

(a) "Heliopolis [later *Maturea*], a famous city of Lower Egypt," in which was a temple sacred to the sun. The inhabitants "worshipped a bull called Mnevis, with the same ceremonies as the Apis of Memphis. Apollo had an oracle there." (L 263.) (b) "*Atum* [was worshipped] at Heliopolis.... Most of the [ancient Egyptian] gods were conceived as animals...Atum as bulls." On/[Heliopolis] is said to have been famous for its obelisks. "According to Strabo...On [Heliopolis] evidently suffered a...blow when Cambyses II conquered Egypt." (*Aid* 1253; *Ency.* 21.)

Circa 144 b.c. Onias IV obtained authorization from Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VI to build a Hebrew temple at Heliopolis similar to that at Jerusalem. (*Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, at fn. 43*).

Said to have been famous for its obelisks, "little is left of that site which has also been referred to as 'Tel e-Yehudieh,' *the mount of the Jew*." (*Aid* 1253.)

Hellespont/Hellespontus/"Dardanelles"

A narrow strait between Europe and Asia leading from the Aegean Sea through the tiny Sea of Marmara and on through the Bosphorus Strait to the Black Sea. The country

⁷"The name of ancient Gaul among the Greeks." *Loc. cit.*

⁸*Refer also to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI, C, Heliopolis, Egypt.*

along Asia's side also was referred to as Hellespontus. (L 264.)

Heraclea

"An ancient town of Sicily," colonized, legendarily, by Minos; known early as *Minoa* after Minos and later as Heraclea after Hercules. (L 265.)

Heraclidae

Very anciently, Hercules ruled over the Peloponnesus. Over time, his descendants, the "Heraclidae," were subjected to the competing monarchy of Argos and abandoned the Peloponnesus and resettled in Athenian territories. Three ensuing attempts to secure repossession failed; but at the end of some 120 years a successful expedition made Heraclidae once again "masters of all the peninsula." ("The recovery of the Peloponnesus by the descendants of Hercules forms an interesting epoch in ancient history, [and] is believed to have happened 80 years after the Trojan war, or 1104 years before the christian era.") (L 266.)

Herakleion

"[L]ong-lost Egyptian port city [north of the later established Alexandria], often mentioned in classical writings and described by Herodotus, [who] visited it in 450 B.C. and toured a temple dedicated to the mythic strongman Hercules." Herakleion's "economic importance waned after Alexander the Great founded Alexandria in 332 B.C.," but it "remained an influential cultural center, the goal of many religious pilgrims, until the 8th century A.D., when it was suddenly destroyed by a powerful earthquake that...submerged the entire city." *Time Magazine*, June 19, 2000; page 59.

Hernicans/Hernici

"A people of Campania celebrated for their inveterate enmity to the rising power of Rome." (L 27.)

Hetruria - see Etruria.

Hyrkania/Hyrcanium

(Refer first to Appendix 2A, Hyrkania.)

A large, very mountainous country of Asia, at the north of Parthia, and at the west of Media. (L 284.)

It is unclear whether the castle complex built by Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, was referred to also as "Hyrcanium"--see Appendix 3A, VI, at AJ XII.IV.11.

Hyrcanium Mare

The large sea known as *Caspian Sea*. (L, *loc cit.*)

Iberia

In Asia between Colchis on the west and Albania on the east. Later called *Georgia*. (L 287.)

Icarian Sea/Mare

"A part of the Aegean sea near the islands of Mycone and Gyaros." (L. 287.)

Illyricum/Illyris/Illyria

"A country bordering on the Adriatic sea opposite Italy...[of] different boundaries at different times," variously forming "part of Croatia, Bosnia, and Sclavonia." (L. 290.)

Ionia/Ionians

Ionia occupied a strip of the west coast of Asia Minor and was bounded by Aeolia on the north, the Aegean and Icarian seas on the west, Caria on the south, and part of Caria and Lydia on the east. Ionia was so named because of its founding by colonies of Ionians ("subjects of Ion") from Greece, "particularly Attica," and was inhabited chiefly by Ionian

Greeks, who also predominantly inhabited Attica, Euboea, and smaller islands of the mid-Aegean. Ionians were one of the four main Grecian population distinctions. (Most anciently, they resided at Hellas/Achaia, and it at that time was referred to as *Ionía*.)

Ionía's 12 small states (which included the capitals Samos and Chios, and Miletus, Ephesus and Smyrna) early formed a confederacy and first lost their freedom to Croesus of Lydia. Although the Athenians assisted in freeing them of Asian hegemony, they later joined Xerxes I when he invaded Greece. Subsequently, Alexander III freed the Ionians from Persian rule, ultimately to be made subject to the Romans by Sylla.

One of the four main Grecian population distinctions. They predominantly inhabited Attica, Euboea, smaller islands of the mid-Aegean, and Asia Minor west coast colonies. (L 293.)

Ipsus

"A place of Phrygia, celebrated for the battle fought there, about 301 [b.c.], between Antigonus [I] and his son [Demetrius 1], and [vs.] Seleucus [I], Ptolemy [I], Lysimachus [#1], and Cassander" [who had] "above 64,000 infantry, besides 10,500 horse, 400 elephants, and 120 armed chariots. Antigonus and his son were defeated." (L 295.)

Issus

A town of and on the southeastern extremity of Cilicia "on the confines on Syria," famous for the October 333 b.c. battle there between Alexander the Great and Darius [III] of Persia.

Isthmus, "The"

An eminent reference to the isthmus of Corinth (known later as *Hexamili*), which joins Peloponnesus to Greece. (L 298.)

Italy/Italia

That "country of Europe bounded by the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas, and by the Alpine mountains...compared [in shape]...to a man's leg." Among the different names it bore in antiquity are Saturnia, Oenotria, Hesperia, Ausonia and Tyrrhenia; its final name is taken as derived either from a king named Italus or from the Greek word *italos*, an ox, which animal was common to the territory. (L 298.)

Jeb - see Yeb.

Lacedaemon/Lacedaemonians

Largely used as equivalent with Laconians; see below.

Laconia/Laconica (and Lacedaemon); Laconians

In south parts of Peloponnesus, with Argos and Arcadia on the north, Messenia on the west, the Mediterranean on the south, and the bay of Argos at the east; its extent north to south was about 50 miles. (The brevity of speech of Laconians has "become proverbial...by the epithet *Laconic*.)

Laconia's capital was Lacedaemon, and both names were alternates for Sparta and southeast country of the Peloponnesus; *refer to* this appendix, Sparta.

Latium/Latini

"A country of Italy south of Rome and the river Tiber," bordered on the west by the Tyrrhenian sea, and "originally extending only from the Tiber to Circeii [at the south of the Pontine marshes]." Later it "comprehended the territories of the [tribes of] Volsci, Aequi, Hernici, Ausones, Umbri and Rutili." The first inhabitants "received the name *Latini* from Latinus, the first king [although differing legends exist]." (L 314.)

Leontopolis

"A town of Egypt" "where lions were worshipped." (L 319.)
"60 miles from Memphis"--see Appendix 3B, II, fn. 83.

Libya

"A name [once] given to Africa [but] only a part of Africa, bounded on the east by Egypt, and on the west by that part called by the moderns the kingdom of Tripoli." (L 322.)

Locris

"A country of Greece...at the north of the bay of Corinth, and extended above 12 miles northward. On the west it was separated from Aetolia by the Evenus [river], and it had Phocis at the east." (L 326.)

Lucania - see Graecia Magna.

Lycia

"A country of Asia Minor, bounded by the Mediterranean on the south, Caria on the west, Pamphylia on the east, and Phrygia on the north." It was taken over by king Croesus of Lydia and afterwards by Cyrus II; although subject to Persia they paid a tribute yearly and were governed by their own monarchy. Lycia "became part of the Macedonian empire when Alexander came...and afterwards were ceded to the house of the Seleucidae. The country was reduced into a Roman province by the emperor Claudius." (L 332.)

Lydia [later, Pergamum/the acropolis of Troy]

In Western Asia Minor between Ionian cities on the Aegean coast and Phrygia, bordered by Mysia in the north and Caria in the south ((situate in present-day Turkey).

Lydia once belonged to the "Heraclides" dynasty, which ruled it 22 generations over 505 years. Its last king, Candaules, purportedly made an indecent arrangement for his bodguard (one Gyges of the "Mermnadae" clan) to observe Candaules' (unnamed) queen naked in her chamber (ostensibly to corroborate Candaules' assertions of her supreme beauty). The queen discerned the scheme and confronted Gyges--to the effect, "your life or the King's." Gyges murdered Candaules and so gained the Lydian throne "about 718 years before the christian era." *Herodotus*, 1.8-16. (L 256.)

"Ardys reigned Lydia 49 years;" Sadyattes, "12 years, after his father Gyges;" Alyattes I, "father of Croesus...reign[ed] 35 years...an eclipse of the sun terminated a battle between him and Cyaxares [I of Media--refer to Appendix 3A, I]." (L 70, 538, 35.)

Continued, this appendix, Pergamum.

Macedonia

Region of SE Europe/central Balkin peninsula, between the Adriatic and north Aegean seas. ("coast of the Aegean from Thessaly to Thrace").

Some believe the Macedonians were descended from Noah's son, Japheth, through perhaps "Kittim, son of Javan" (*Genesis* 10:2, 4, 5). Although primarily associated with the island of Cyprus, "Kittim" also anciently was used to refer to other areas (Josephus reported that mid-east Hebrews used "Cethim" in reference to the islands and most of the seacoasts (*AJ* I.VI.1); *First Maccabees* (1:1) refers to Macedonia as "Cethim.")

In (standardly assigned) year 149/148 b.c. (3A, VI, Attachment 1 calendar), Macedonia became an imperial province joined with Achaia (to south) and Moesia (to north).

Magna Graecia - see Graecia Magna.

Mallus/Mallos.

"A town of Cilicia." (L 342.)

Mantineia

"A town of Arcadia in Peloponnesus." Mantineia became famous for the c. 363 b.c. battlefought between "Epaminondas at the head of the Thebans, and the combined forces of Lacedaemon, Achaia, Elis, Athens, and Arcadia." General Epaminondas was killed, "and from that time Thebes lost its power and consequence among the Grecian states." (L 344.)

Margiana/Marginia

"A town and country...to the east of Hyrcania." (L 346.)

Memphis

"A celebrated town of Egypt, on the western banks of the Nile, above the Delta, [which] contained many beautiful temples, particularly those of the god Apis." (L 361.)

Messenia

"A province of Peloponnesus, situate between Laconia, Elis, Arcadia, and the sea," the chief city of which was Messena.

Miletus

"A celebrated town of Asia Minor, the capital of all Ionia, situate about 10 stadia south of the mouth of the river Meander, near the sea coast on the confines of Ionia and Caria. (L 370.)

(Miletus also was the name of an ancient city in Crete.)

Moesia

A country of Europe that was divided into 'Upper' and 'Lower.' "Lower Moesia was on the borders of the Euxine and contained the tract of named Pontus [from its vicinity to the sea], and which [at the time of *Lempriere*] part of *Bulgaria*. Upper Moesia [lay] beyond the other, in the inland country, [then] called *Servia*." (L 378.)

Mylae/Myle/Mylas

The name of both a town and small river on the east of Sicily. (L 383.)

Mysia

In Asia; divided into Major and Minor. Mysia Major was bordered by Aeolia on the south, the Aegean sea on the west, and Phrygia on the north and east. Mysia Minor was bordered on the north and west by the Propontis and Bithynia, and on the south and east by Phrygia.

On

This principal city of Lower Egypt first appeared biblically as the domain of one Potiphara,⁹ whose daughter, Asenath, became wife of (Rachel's and Jacob's son) Joseph and tribal mother of Ephraim and Manasseh (volume one). "According to Strabo" "On (later to be known as Heliopolis) evidently suffered a...blow when Cambyses II conquered Egypt." (*Aid* 1253.)

Continued at Heliopolis.

Orontem

- see Appendix 2A, Apamea/Orontem.

Parthia¹⁰

A "country of Asia, bounded on the west by Media (Appendix 2A, Media), south by Carmania, north by Hyrcania, and east by Aria, etc. ... According to some authors, the Parthians were Scythians by origin who made an invasion on the more southern provinces of Asia, and at last fixed their residence near Hyrcania." They successively fell tributary to the empires of Assyria, Media and Persia; submitted to Alexander III "like the other dependent provinces of Persia; and subsequently under power, respectively, of Eumenes [Pergamus--3A, VI, Attachment 4, Detail A], Antigonus, Seleucus, Nicanor, and Antiochus, until the rebellion of Agathocles," which spawned "Arsaces, a man of obscure origin...with great military powers...[who] laid the foundation of the Parthian empire, about 250 b.c."

⁹"In the Cairo museum...a stele...discovered in 1935 has on it the name 'Potiphare.'" *Aid*, p. 1322.

¹⁰Sources: *Ency.*, p. 83; L 437.

249-247	Arsaces I	At first <i>Parthia</i> included only the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, between "the Seleucid kingdom in the west and the Bactrian kingdom in the east."
247-212	Arsaces II	Defeated by Seleucus II in 238 but able to establish Parthian independence.
212-171	Arsaces III	Withstood Antiochus III the Great in 209. "Arsaces II was followed by Arsaces IV (Priapatius) and Arsaces V (Phraates I)." Apparent intermixings of the dynasties of Parthia with Pontus obscures reigns at this point, to some degree: "Parthia remained a kingdom till the reign of Artabanus, who was killed about the year 229 [b.c.] from [which] time it became a province of the newly re-established kingdom of Persia, under Artaxerxes."
171-138	Mithridates I	Mithridates took Babylonia and Media from the Seleucids. "[L]ater he added to his kingdom Elam, Persia and parts of Bactria, thus founding the Parthian Empire. Ctesiphon-Seleucia became the capital."
138-124	Phraates II	"Defeated Antiochus VII in Media (129) and as a result the Seleucids were permanently excluded from the lands east of the Euphrates." Phraates II fell to the Tochari/Scythians; likewise his successor, Artabanus I. The Mithridite kingdom temporarily was devastated.
124 - 88	Mithridates II the Great	defeated the Scythians and the king of Armenia Major, and made a treaty with Rome in 92 b.c.
88 - 70		"Parthia suffered collapse and was greatly reduced in territory by Tigranes of Armenia."
70 - 57	Phraates III	Restored order but was not able to withstand the advances of Roman generals Lucullus and Pompey.
57 - 37	Orodes I	"[D]efeated Roman general Crassus...and regained Mesopotamia."
37 - 32	Phraates IV	"[D]efeated Antony in 36, but could not prevent him from conquering Armenia in 34."

Note: The name, Mithridates/Mithradates, also occurs in the Pontus dynasty (Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A.)

Peloponnesus.

The "celebrated peninsula which comprehends the most southern parts of Greece... separated from Greece by the narrow [five-mile broad] isthmus of Corinth." Anciently it embraced six provinces (Messenia, Laconia, Elis, Arcadia, Achaia propria, and Argolis, to which some add Sicyon), all of which bordered the sea. "Some time" after the Trojan War, it was conquered by the Heraclidae. Its inhabitants "rendered themselves illustrious, like the rest of the Greeks," and especially for the 27-year "Peloponnesian war they carried on against Athens. (L 446.)

Pelusium

"A town of Egypt, situate at the entrance of one of the mouths of the Nile. It [was] about 20 stadia from the sea...[and] the key of Egypt on the side of Phoenicia, as it was impossible to enter the Egyptian territories without passing by Pelusium, and therefore on that account it was always well fortified and garrisoned...for the security of the country." (L 447.)

Pergamum

See *first* this appendix, Lydia.

A city in southwestern Mysia.

The acropolis of Troy, on a hill to the southeast of the city (a branch of Mount Ida).

Refer also to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, Detail A.

Persia

The Persian kingdom "extended from the Hellespont to the Indus, above 2800 miles, and from Pontus to the shores of Arabia, above 2000 miles."

The province of Persia, "according to the description of Ptolemy...was bounded on the north by Media, west by Susiana, south by the Persian gulf, and east by Carmania.

Pharnabazus

(a) A Persian satrap of Lesser Phrygia and Bithynia; son of a person of the same name, B.C. 409." (L 450). (b) An officer under Eumenes (of Pergamum; see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, Detail A). (c) A king of Iberia. (L 459.)

Phocis

"A country of Greece, bound on the east by Boeotia, and by Locris on the west." (L 470.)

Phrygia

Country of fluctuating extent but eventually situate primarily in central Asia Minor, where Phrygia 'Major' (usually referred to simply as 'Phrygia') denoted the west part of Asia Minor's great central tableland. Early Phrygian dominions included Phrygia 'Minor,' a region about the principal seaport of Troas some 20 miles south of the Hellespont (the traditional site of ancient Troy being 10-12 miles north of Troas).

See also Lydia.

Phthiotis/Phthia

"Phthiotis, a district in south Thessaly, bordering on the Pagasean Gulf...the *Achaians of Phthiotis*" were distinguished from the Achaians of the Peloponnesus." *Greek Dictionary*, p. 834.

"Phthiotis, a small province of Thessaly...was also called Achaia."

Phthia (where Achilles, often called *Phthius heros*, was born) was "a town of Phthiotis, at the east of mount Othrys." (L 474.)

See also Dorians/Doris and Hallicarnassus at fn. 4.

Picenum/Picenus ager

"A country of Italy near the Umbrians and Sabines on the borders of the Adriatic." (L 474.)

Piraeus, The

"The harbor of Athens...about three miles distant from the city. ...most capacious of all the harbors of the Athenians," capable of holding a fleet of 400 ships and joined to the town by two 60-foot walls, seven miles in circumference. (The walls "were demolished when Lysander put an end to the Peloponnesian war by the reduction of Attica.") (L 477.)

Pontus

"A kingdom of Asia Minor, bounded on the east by Colchis, west by the Halys, north by the Euxine/[Black] sea, and south by part of Armenia," anciently divided into three parts, each with its own capital (e.g. Trapezus was the capital of Pontus *Cappadocius*).

Pontus' first king was an "Artabazes, either one of the seven Persian noblemen who murdered the usurper Smerdis or one of their descendants--see Appendix 3A, III, preceding the citation for *Herodotus* 3.32.

Pontus reached its greatest flourish under Mithridates [VII] the Great (see 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A for that Mithridates dynasty); it became a Roman province when conquered by Julius Caesar. (L 499.)

Refer also to Propontis and Moesia, this appendix.

Pontus Euxinus

Black Sea--see Euxine/Euxinus Pontus.

Propontis

"A sea ["now called the sea of *Marmora*...about 175 miles long and 62 broad"] which has a communication with the Euxine/[Black sea], by the Thracian Bosphorous, and with the Aegean by the Hellespont...[which] received its name from its vicinity to Pontus." (L 508.)

Rapeia/Rhaphia/Raphia

"After Gaza, one comes to Rhaphia, where a battle was fought between Ptolemaeus the Fourth and Antiochus the Great." *Strabo* 16.2.31.

Rhodes/Rhodus

Rhodus, the celebrated Island in the Carpathian sea...south of Caria [some] 20 miles." Rhodes, a principal city, "was famous for the siege which it supported against

Demetrius [I, “one of Alexander’s [III’s] generals,” “c. 305-304 b.c.”].” Rhodes lost independence under Alexander III, reasserted its maritime power over the course of his successors, and assisted Pompey against Julius Caesar, until Cassius defeated them and they became dependents of the Romans. (L 531; [Asimov, vol. 2, p. 414].)

Sabellians/Sabelli

“A people of Italy descended from the Sabines, or, according to some, from the Samnites. They inhabited that part of the country which lay between the Sabines and the Marsi.” (L 537.)

Sabines/Sabini

Of unknown origin (perhaps by a Lacedaemonian colony). Their relatively small territory was near Rome between the rivers Nar and Anio. It was “bounded on the north by the Apennines and Umbria, south by Latium, east by the Aequi, and Etruria on the west.” The greatest part of surrounding tribal nations (e.g. Umbrians, Campanians, Sabelli and Samnites) are considered to have descended from them. “The Sabines are celebrated in ancient history as being the first who took up arms against the Romans, to avenge the rape of their females at a spectacle where they had been invited.” (L 537.)

Sacae

“A people of Scythia, who inhabited the country that lies at the east of Bactriana and Sogdiana, and towards the north of mount Imaus. The name of Sacae was given in general to all the Scythians, by the Persians. They had no towns, according to some writers, but lived in tents.” (L 538.)

Salamis/Salamins/Salamina

“An island in the Saronicus sinus, on the southern coast of Attica...originally peopled by a colony of Ionians, and afterwards by some of the Greeks from the adjacent islands and countries.”

Salamis “is celebrated for a battle fought there between the fleet of the Greeks and that of the Persians, when Xerxes [I] invaded Attica...B.C. 480.” (Xerxes lost 200 ships and “an immense number” also were taken, with all the ammunition they contained; the Greeks lost 40 ships.)

(L 539.)

Also Salamis/Salamina, a town at the east of the island of Cyprus.

Samaria, Samaritans

“Samaria” -- 2 uses: *Samaria City, Samaria Region*.

“Samaritan” -- 2 uses: a citizen [not native, necessarily] of *Samaria City*; a native resident of a region referred to as “Samaria” but citizen of a different city.

But see also Cuth/Cuthah/Cutheans.

Samaria, ultimate translation of “belonging to the clan Shemer”¹¹ --city first mentioned as “Shemer” or “Shamir,”¹² believed originally sited some 30+ miles N of Jerusalem and 7, NW of later Shechem/Sy’chem, later “Sychar”--now thought to be *Nablus*--“...near the center of a basin about six miles in diameter and surrounded by high hills. ... [situate at the east end of a narrow valley running between Mt. Gerizim/Gerizzim and Mt. Ebal]. [A] region...strong for defense,” which appears first to have been territory of Manasseh¹³ (one of two brothers, sons of [Rachel + Jacob -] Joseph + [Potiphar- + ? -] Asenath; volume one).

¹¹ *Aid*, p. 1435, supplemented.

¹² See at Appendix 1D.II, fn. 39; see also Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 27.

¹³ *Aid* p. 1483. (Jeroboam, the first northern king, apparently ruled from Shechem; *1 Kings* 12:25; “[I]n 607 b.c., after destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, men from Shechem came to Jerusalem to worship.” *Jeremiah* 41:5.)

Samaritan sometimes occurs with reference to areas of the northern kingdom occupied by strands of Assyrian colonization. The term, “king of Samaria” is employed before and after the fall of the Northern Kingdom c. 740 b.c. (Period of the Kings; volume two); that term is taken to denote a leader over the 10 northern tribes, their various villages/cities being scattered disparately in the region.

See also Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI, A, Temple Sites, Shilo/Shechem/Mount Ebal/Mount Gerizim/Gerizzim.

“Samaria”--recognized as a district; subdued into a Macedonian colony by Alexander III the Great (Appendix 3A, VI, c. 331 b.c.). Afterward, “Samaria [city was] rebuilt and fortified by Ptolemies...,” and Macedonian/Greek mercenaries inhabited it, while “Samaritans” settled around Shechem and Mount Gerizim/Gerizzim (Appendix 3B, VI, A; supplemented by www.crystalinks.com/samaria.html).

John Hyrcanus I and his sons, Judas/Aristobulus I and Antigonus I, took Samaria City after a year siege, during which estranged Ptolemy IX sent soldiers to support Antiochus IX against Hyrcanus et al (Appendix 4B, I, preceding and following AJ XIII.X.1-2; Wars I.II.7; Appendix 4A Timeline following 111 b.c.). Its population was divested of residence and the city recolonized by Hyrcanus/by the [then Temple] government.

Samaria appears included when general Pompey conquered Syria, and created a Roman province (Appendix 4A following 65/64 b.c.). The boundaries of the Roman “district” of “Samaria” are not definitely known.” (One source describes it as lying “between Galilee and Judea” and embracing “for the most part...territory once belonging to the tribe of Ephraim [the second son of Asenath and Joseph] and half the tribe of Manasseh [Ephraim’s brother].”

Subsequently, “Samaria [was] restored and rebuilt as a Roman city by Roman governor Gabinius.” (www.crystalinks.com--op. cit.)

“Roman emperor [Octavianian/] Augustus grant[ed] Samarity [city] to Herod the Great.” Herod rebuilt it and renamed it *Sebaste* (Greek for Augustus) “after his patron,” and erected “a massive temple dedicated to...Augustus; AJ 15.246.” (www.crystalinks.com--op. cit.)

Herod the Great resided at *Sebaste/Semaria City* c. 28/27 b.c. (Appendix 4A); all of the public work, which included new city walls, was not completed until c. 13/12 b.c.

(Miriam/Mary [A] -) Jesus is reported as “traversing through midst of Samaria” (*Luke* 17:11); that “it was necessary [for] him to be traversing through the Samaria” when he “went away again into the Galilee,” and that he stopped to rest “into city of the Samaria, being said Sychar, and spent “two days” in a/that city of “Samaria” (*John* 4:35, 39ff.)

When Stephen was tried and then killed (*Acts* 7:54ff.), there occurred but in that day persecution great upon the ecclesiae in Jerusalem; all but were dispersed down the regions of the Judea and of Samaria besides the apostles.”

Samnites

“A people of Italy who inhabited the country situate between Picenum, Campania, Apulia, and ancient Latium. They distinguished themselves by their implacable hatred against the Romans, in the first ages of that empire, till they were at last totally extirpated, B.C. 272, after [warring for] 71 years. Their chief town was called Samnium, or Samnis.” (L 542.)

Samnium

“A town and part of Italy inhabited by the Samnites.” (L 542.)

Sardinia

“The greatest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily, [and] situate between Italy and Africa, at the south of Corsica.” (L 543.)

Sardis/Sardes

“[T]he capital of Lydia...celebrated for many sieges...and for the battle in which, B.C. 262, Antiochus [I] Soter was defeated by Eumenes, king of Pergamus.”

Saronicus sinus

“A bay of the Aegean sea, lying south of Attica, and on the north of the

Peloponnesus.” (L 544.)

Scythia

A large territory situated in the northernmost parts of Europe and Asia, the boundaries of which (its large tracts of land being unpenetrated) were “unknown to the ancients” but more modernly “comprehended...kingdoms of Tartary, Russia in Asia, Siberia, Muscovy, the Crimea, Poland, part of Hungary, Lithuania, the northern parts of Germany, Sweden, Norway, etc.”

The several Scythian “nations or tribes” were nomadic, without cities; their government was monarchical “and the deference they paid to their sovereigns was unparalleled.” At times they irrupted into more southern provinces of Asia (“especially B.C. 624, when they remained in possession of Asia Minor for 28 years.”) (L 553.)

Scythini

A people on the west border of Armenia. (*Greek Dictionary*, p. 831.)

Seleucia

“A town of Syria, on the sea-shore, generally called *Pieria*, to distinguish it from other Seleucias,” of which there were at least eight others, “which had all received their name from Seleucus Nicator/[Nicanor; #1], being “situate in the kingdom of Syria, in Cilicia, and near the Euphrates.” (L 554.)

Seleucia was Antioch’s seaport, situated on the Mediterranean 16 miles SW of Antioch. (The then-navigatable Orontes River “flowed past Antioch and emptied into the Mediterranean Sea a few miles south of Seleucia.”) Seleucia was situated “just N of modern-day Suveydiye or Samandag in Turkey.” (*Aid* 1467-68.)

Sogdiana

“A country of Asia, bounded on the north by Scythia, east by the Sacae, south by Bactriana, and west by Margiana.” (L 574.)

Sparta (aka Lacedaemon)

The “celebrated city of the Peloponnesus and the capital of Laconia, situate on the Eurotas [river]...about 30 miles from its mouth.” It received its name most anciently from Sparta, daughter of Eurotas, who married Lacedaemon. (L 577.)

Stadium/Stadia

The ancient Roman *stadium* was equal to 606.95 English feet [although “various ancient Greek units ranged in value from 607 to 738 feet”]. *Webster*, p. 851.

Stratonice

“A town of Caria, made a Macedonian colony.”

“Another, in Mesopotamia.”

“A third, near mount Taurus.”

(L 581.)

Syene

“Syene, now *Assuan*, a town of Thebais, on the [southern] extremities of Egypt. ... It was famous for its quarries of marble.” (L 584.)

Syene, some 430 miles south of Cairo, on the east bank of the Nile, was opposite the island of Elephantine. (Its southernmost location is reflected by the breadth of then-Egyptian domination denoted in *Ezekiel*--“from Migdol [north/Galilee; south] to *Syene*.” (29:10, 30:6.)

“In the time of Xerxes (465)...among the troops at *Syene*, [were] such names as...Meshullam, son of Hosea;” *Cambridge* Vol. 1, p. 143, fn. 1.

The *Elephantine Papyrii* were discovered at Syene/Aswan--refer to Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.

See also this appendix, Yeb.

Syracuse

Chief city of Sicily.

Syria - See Appendix 2A, supplemented by:

Herodotus has been asserted as the first to use the term, "Syria," which over time has incorporated references to variously constituted territory.

According to *Strabo* (16.2.2):

"We set down as parts of Syria, beginning at Cilicia and Mt. Amanus, both Commagene and the Seleucis of Syria, as the latter is called; and then Coele-Syria, and last, on the seaboard, Phoenicia, and, in the interior, Judaea. Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coelo-Syrians and Syrians and Phoenicians, and say that four other tribes are mixed up with these, namely, Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazaeans, and Azotians, and that they are partly farmers, as the Syrians and Coelo-Syrians, and partly merchants, as the Phoenicians."

In one wide sense 'Syria' might refer to the whole of that region south of the Taurus mountains between the east Mediterranean coasts and the Euphrates River extending into Palestine. (Beyond the timeline of this work--in the second century a.d.--Hadrian as Roman emperor created three distinct provinces, Palestine, Phoenicia and 'Syria' in the narrower sense.¹⁴)

Principal cities of ancient 'Syria,' moving southward, were Sam'al, Carchemish (present Jerablus, about 63 miles NE of Aleppo), Antioch, Kadesh, Hamath, Palmyra, Damascus. ("Syria" was, "at one time, in a general way, the land of the Aramaeans"--refer to Appendix 1A.)

Ency. pp. 34-35.

"Coele-Syria"--see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 20, and Appendix 4A, fn. 15.

Tarentum/Tarentus/Taras

"A town of Calabria [Italy], situate on a bay of the same name, near the mouth of the river Galesus...founded, or rather repaired, by a Lacedaemonian colony about [1300 b.c.]" "Long independent, it maintained its superiority over 13 tributary cities." Tarentum is known best for the 10-year Tarentine war (c. 281 b.c.), commenced by Rome "to avenge the insults the Tarentines had offered to their ships when near their harbour," in which war the Tarentines were assisted by king Pyrrhus of Epirus. (L 590-591.)

Tarsus (aka Tarasso)

"A town of Cilicia, on the Cydnus, founded [according to two schools, either] by Triptolemus and a colony of Argives, or, as others say, by Sardanapalus, or by Perseus. It once was the rival of Alexandria and Athens in literature, and the study of the polite arts. The people of Tarsus wished to ingratiate themselves into the favour of J. Caesar, but it was soon lost." (L 592-593.)

Taurus, Mount

"The largest mountain of Asia as to extent. One of its extremities is in Caria, and it extends not only as far as the most eastern extremities of Asia, but it also branches in several parts, and runs far into the north. Mount Taurus was known by several names...in [its] different countries. In Cilicia, where it reaches as far as the Euphrates, it was called Taurus;...*Amanus*, from the bay of Issus as far as the Euphrates;...*Antitaurus* from the western boundaries of Cilicia up to Armenia; etc., *Caucasus* between the Hyrcanian[Caspian] and Euxine[Black] seas;...*Hyrcania Montes* near Hyrcania;...*Imaus* in the more eastern parts of Asia."

"The word Taurus was more properly confined to the mountains which separate Phrygia and Pamphylia from Cilicia." Its passes were called *Pylae*...hence frequent mention is

¹⁴ The latter part of Hadrian's reign (117-138 a.d.) would be concomitant with a revolt led by a priest, Eleazar, and Simon-Bar-Cocheba. ("The suppression of [that] revolt all but depopulated Judea and thereafter [the Romans allowed that] Jews could enter Jerusalem but once a year...[culminating] the denationalization...begun by Vespasian." *Ency.*, p. 111.)

made in ancient authors of the Armenian Pylae, Cilician Pylae, etc.”

(L 594.)

Thessaly/Thessalia

“A country of Greece, whose boundaries have been different at different periods” (lying south of Macedonia, mostly plain, and the largest district of Greece). “Properly speaking,” it was bounded by, “on the south, by the northern parts of Greece (“*Graecia propria*”); east, by the Aegean; north, by Macedonia and Mygdonia; and west, by Illyricum and Epirus.” Its “celebrated” mountains and cities included Olympus, Pelion and Larissa. (L 609.)

Thrace/Thracia

“A large country of Europe, at the south of Scythia...the Aegean sea on the south, on the west Macedonia...and on the east the Euxine/[Black] sea, the Propontis, and the Hellespont.” (L 611.)

Troas

Anciently called *Dardania*. A country of Phrygia in Asia Minor, of which the capital was Trojas/Troy, which territory during King Priam’s reign included both Minor Phrygia and Mysia. (L 627.)

See also Lydia and Pergamum.

Umbria

“A country of Italy, separated from Etruria by the Tiber, bonded on the north by the Adriatic sea, east by Picenum and the country of the Sabines, and south by the river Nar.” (L 648.)

Volscians/Volschi - see Latium.

Yeb

Yeb/Jeb, named by *Lempriere* as a principal city of Upper Egypt (see Aegypt/Egypt), has been connected with the site called “Elephantine” by the Greeks. (Elephantine was the site of discovery of ancient papyri correspondence between its priests and the Persian governor of Judaea--refer to Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.)

The fortress of Yeb housed a “temple of Yahu the god” “which had been built in Yeb the fortress of old before Cambyses [II]. Cambyses II, when he conquered Egypt, “found this temple already built and [although] the temples of the gods of Egypt they wholly destroyed...no one [with Cambyses] did aught of harm” to it; thereafter, however, Egyptian forces “destroyed it to the ground.” (Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.)

“[T]he Jewish colony at Syene...first founded as a military colony under the 26th dynasty, when...Jewish mercenaries often were hired and stationed in Egypt, [was] first mentioned under Darius I in 494 b.c. (*Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 143.)

See also this appendix, Elephantis/Elephantine and Syene.

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4

DESCENDANCIES, MACEDONIA MONARCHS/RELATIVES and NARRATIONS Amyntas to Philip II Philip II Through Post-Alexander III Events

Source References:

B = *Bury*; C = *Cambridge Ancient History*.

L = *Lempriere*, two editions--the unpaginated L 1826 edition is so noted. *Lempriere's* entries are accompanied in those volumes by numerous references to classical sources;¹ refer to *Lempriere* for those citations, which are not included here. (Further, *Lempriere* data about a particular individual frequently are found in the *Lempriere* definition of another individual who is associated with the specific quotation--e.g. data about an Antigone may exist in the category of Pyrrhus.) All of the citations given by *Lempriere* for each definition are not included with the quotations, although occasionally there had been added data directly from *Plutarch* (also one of *Lempriere's* many ancient sources.)

O = *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, followed by page number(s).

Ency. = *Encyclopedia of World History*

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3 provides geographical descriptions.

"Macedonia, a celebrated country, [anciently was] situated between Thrace, Epirus, and Greece. Its boundaries have been different at different periods," containing also Thessaly and part of Thrace. Macedonia was "first founded B.C. 814, by Caranus...[which] family remained in possession of the crown until the death of Alexander the Great."

The order of Macedonia's rulers and/or temporary possessors were: Caranus (28 years); Coenus ascended 786; Thurimas, 774; Perdicas [I], 729; Argaeus ("son of Perdicas," L 70; 449), 678; Philip [I] ("son of Argaeus...reigned 38 years," L 462), 640; Aeropas, 602; Alctas or Alectas ("8th king of Macedonia," L 28), 576; Amyntas ("the first of that name") L 41-42), 547; Alexander [I]² ("10th king; reigned 43 years and died B.C. 451," L 31), 497; Perdicas [II], 454 (died 413 B.C. after a long reign, L 449); Archelaus [A]³, 413; Amyntas ["II," L 31; designated "A" on the chart], 399; Pausanias [A], 398⁴ [L 440]; Amyntas [A], 397; Argaeus the tyrant, 390; Amyntas [A] (restored), 390; Alexander II, 371; Ptolemy Alorites, 370; Perdicas III, 366; Philip son of Amyntas [A], 360; Alexander [III] the Great, 336; Philip Aridaeus (with [Orontes-] Perdicas as "protector"), 323; Cassander, 316; [Philip V/Phillipus, four months]; Antipater [C] and Alexander V, 298; Demetrius [Poliocetes] king of Asia, 294; Pyrrhus,⁵ 287; Lysimachus, 286; Ptolemy Ceraunus, 280; Meleager, two months; Antipater the Etesian, 45 days; Antigonus Gonatas, 277; Demetrius [II], 243; Antigonus [III] Doson, 232; Philip [V], 221; Perseus, 179; and conquered by the Romans 168 B.C. at Pydna. L 338.⁶

Charts.

Quotations beneath each chart give primary relationships and some historical data, with additional personal data and the fates of individuals included in the event narratives. The narration at A(2) covers a period to the advent of Philip II. Narration E covers the period from the ascension of Philip II c. 359 b.c./b.c.e. to the Roman defeat of Perseus/Perses, 168 b.c./b.c.e.

Certainty of relationships in some cases is precluded, in that children frequently are

¹ The apparent cause for occasionally conflicting data.

² "498-454 b.c.," related to "Persian noble Bubares," O 57. "Bubares, a Persian general" went to avenge Alexander I's murder of ambassadors of Persia's Megabyrus by Alexander I, son of [Alctas-] Amyntas. Instead, Bubares married the king's [Amyntas', unnamed] daughter and became his defender. L 42. "Bubaris, a Persian who married the daughter of Amyntas, against whom he had been sent with an army." L 112.

³ Archelaus [A], Perdica II's successor, "was but a 'natural' child [of Perdicas II, and] he killed the legitimate heirs to gain the kingdom"-- single quotes supplied as an example of an ancient manner of distinguishing royal offspring.

⁴ "A king of Macedonia, deposed by Amyntas after a year's reign."

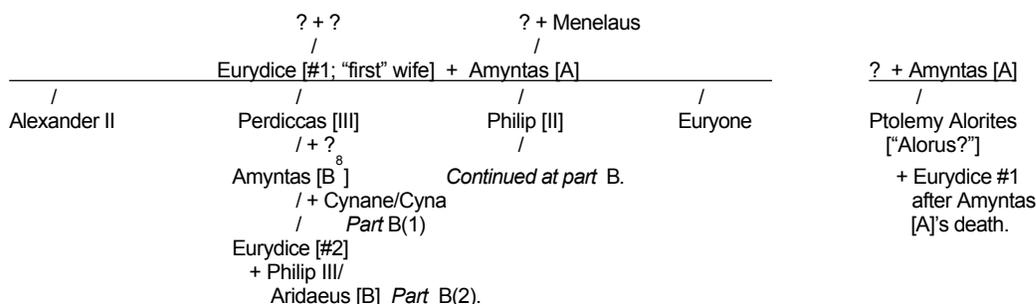
⁵ See fn. 29.

⁶ Variations in datings are found in other sources.

attributed only to one parent and ancient historians did not designate *half* as opposed to *full* siblings, compounded further by the apparent young age at which females began child-bearing and their progression through various unions.

An effort has been put to include on the charts all individuals pertinent to events, whereas not all potential children of all the individuals will appear. Inserted bracketed letters and numbers, to avoid confusion in distinguishing same-named individuals, follow through in this work; the few instances are noted, where designations do not correspond to those variously given by others.

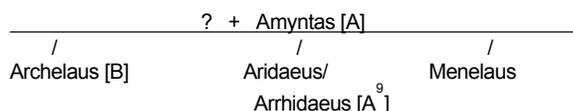
A. (1)(a) There is some confusion relative to the various *Amyntases*.⁷ The chart commences per *Lempriere* with “the *second of that name* [here designated Amyntas A], son of *Menelaus*.”



Amyntas [A] “had Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, Alexander the Great’s father, by his first wife.” L 42.

“Philippus the Second was the fourth son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia.” L 462.

(b)



Amyntas [A], “by the other [wife...] had Archelaus, Aridaeus [A], and Menelaus.” L 42.

Amyntas [A]’s “wife, Eurydice [Eurydice #1], conspired against his life; but her snares were seasonably discovered by one of his daughters by a former wife.” L 42.

“Eurydice [#1] had a criminal partiality for... and [at some point had] offered her hand and the kingdom to...her [an unnamed] daughter’s [unnamed] husband.” “Euryone discovered it,” but Amyntas subsequently “forgave” his wife. L 234.

(Another-mentioned Archelaus was “a man set over Susa by Alexander [III] with a garrison of 3000 men.” *Curt.* 5,c.2.” L 67.)

(Archelaus [B] is distinguished from Archelaus [A]--see preceding list of rulers at 419 b.c.)

(“Lyncestes, a son of Amyntas [A?], in the army of Alexander [III]. L 336. “Lyncestes Alexander, a son-in-law of Antipater [B?], who conspired against Alexander and was put to death. *Loc. cit.* This Alexander is not shown on the chart,)

A. (2) Narration.

Amyntas [A] (who in his life was expelled by the Illyrians, restored by Thessalians and Syrians, and made war against the Illyrians and Olynthians) “lived to a great age.” He “reigned 24 years;” the date of his death is not noted. L 42.

Macedonia became “involved in a domestic struggle” after Amyntas [A]’s death. “One

⁷ e.g. L 153 cites, without additional designation, a “Cleopatra, a daughter of Amyntas, of Ephesus. *Paus.* I, c. 44.”

⁸ Nothing else is apparent about this “Amyntas,” apart from the sole reference in quotation re Eurydice #2 in sub-part B (unless this: “There is another king of Macedonia of the same name [Amyntas], but of his life few particulars are recorded in history.” L 42).

⁹ No further direct mention is found of this Aridaeus.

Perdiccas, by whom she had Eurydice [#2].” L 183. (It is unconfirmable that ([Cynane + Amyntas B-] Eurydice [#2] is the same individual referenced as, “a daughter of Amyntas” at L 42.)

Eurydice [#2] quotations continue below in (2).

(2) Philinna, a Larissaeon + Philip II
/
Philip III/Aridaeus [B]
+ Eurydice [#2]

“Philinna, a courtesan, mother of Aridaeus [B] by Philip the father of Alexander.” L 462.

“Philippus, a brother of Alexander the Great, called also Aridaeus.” L 464.

“Philippus the Third, brother of Alexander the Great.” L 1826 Ed.

“Eurydice [#2], a daughter of Amyntas, who married her [paternal] uncle Aridaeus, the illegitimate son of Philip.” L 42. (L also cites an unclear *Pausanias*’ reference to a “Eurydice, a daughter of king Philip. 5.c.17.”)

(Philip III/Aridaeus [B], who “reigned some time after Alexander’s [I’s] death” [L 463] is discussed in continuing narrations.)

(3)

<u>Neoptolemus [A] “king of the Molossi” of Epirus</u>				<u>? + Menon of Thessaly</u>	
/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/	/
/	(Arymbas/Arybas? ¹⁵)	/	(Neoptolemus [B?])	Aecidas + Pthia ¹⁶	? + ?
/		/		/	/
<u>Olympias + Philip II</u>		/		Pyrrhus 2 Daughters, At C(2). Deidamia and Troas	Pleistarchus + sister of Cassander?
d. 316 /	/	/			
/	Cleopatra [A]---+---Alexander [A] (married 336)	/			
/	+---Perdiccas [A] (subsequently)	/			
/	Artabazes	/			
<u>Alexander III d. 323</u>	/				
/ + ?	/ + Roxane	/ + Barsane	+ Statira [C]	/ + a Parysatis	
Philippus/ Philip III	Alexander IV -----See Narrative	Hercules E-----	/	?	
			“None”		

“Philip [II] married Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossi.” L 462.
“Olympias, daughter of a king of Epirus...married Philip king of Macedonia, by whom she had Alexander the Great.” L 411.

“Alexander [A], king of Molossus in Epirus; brother of Olympias.” L 32 “He grew up at the court of Philip II.” O 60. “Alexander of Molossia, the uncle of Alexander the Great.”¹⁷

Philip II was the father of Cleopatra [A] by Olympias. L 463.

“Cleopatra, a sister of Alexander the Great, who married Perdiccas [A].” L 153.

Perdiccas [A] “married Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, to better support his claims to the throne.” L 449.

Legendary and earlier uses of the name, Cleopatra, are:

(Neptunus/Neptune + [Eurynome?/Libya?] - an Agenor [one Agenor was king of Phoenicia] + ? -) Cleopatra. L 391, 153.

(Orithyia + Boreas -) Cleopatra. L 168, 153.

A daughter of Tros and Callihoe. L 153.

¹⁵ “Arybas, a king of the Molossi, who reigned 10 years” (L 84); “Alexander [“surnamed Molossus”], a king of Epirus, brother of Olympias, and successor to Arymbas” (L 1826 Ed.).

¹⁶ *Pthia*, “a town of Phthiotis, at the east of Mount Othrys in Thessaly, where Achilles was born.” L 474; see also 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Phthiotis*.

¹⁷ The Molossus dynasty claimed descent from Achilles; *Green*, p. 5. Alexander [A] (who “banished Timolaus to Peloponnesus, and made war in Italy against the Romans... observed that he fought with men, while his nephew, Alexander the Great, was fighting with an army of women (meaning the Persians).” L 32. An ancient coin shows “Alexander, son of Neoptolemos;” B 680.

One of the Danaides. *Loc. cit.*

A daughter of Amyntas of Ephesus. *Loc. cit.*

(Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, king of Aetolia + Ides -) Cleopatra + (Althea, daughter of Thestius, king of Pleuron, a city in Aetolia + King Oeneus of Aetolia -) Meleager. L 153 *et seq.* (See: ? + Meleager A -) Arsinoe [#1] in part 6, below.)

“Alexander III, surnamed the Great, was son of Philip and Olympias. He was born B.C. 355.” L 31.

“Statira [C], a daughter of Darius [III--3A, VI, Attachment 1], who married Alexander [III]. The conqueror had formerly refused her, but when she had fallen into his hands at Issus, the nuptials were celebrated with uncommon splendor. ...Statira [c] had no children by Alexander. She was...put to death by Roxane, after the conqueror’s death.” L 579.

Alexander “wedded...the princess of Sogdiana,..and...another royal lady, Parysatis, daughter of Ochus.”¹⁸ *Bury*, page 815.

“Barsane, Memnon’s widow, who was taken prisoner at Damascus...by her father, Artabazus, royally descended.” *Plutarch* p. 550.

“Roxane, daughter of the Bactrian noble, Oxyartes, was captured during Alexander the Great’s Sogdian campaigns of 328/7.” Alexander “married her...in the spring of 327. Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2, no. 688.”

“At Susa, Alexander married Darius’s [III’s] daughter Statira.” *Plutarch* 573.

“Philippus, a son of Alexander the Great, murdered by order of Olympias.” L 464.

“Roxane, with her son Alexander, and Barsane, the mother of Hercules, both wives of Alexander, shared the fate of Olympias with their children [*i.e.* all murdered by Cassander--*refer to later narration*].” L 128.

“Alexander [IV], a son of Alexander the Great, by Roxane, put to death, with his mother, by Cassander.” L 32.

“Aecidas, king of Epirus who married Pthia, “daughter of Menon of Thessaly, [who] had by him two daughters and a son, Pyrrhus.” L 1826 Ed.¹⁹

“Aecidas, a king of Epirus, son of Neoptolemus, and brother to Olympias.” L 10. (L 28 cites an “A/cetas, king of the Molossi,” and “A/cetas, a general of Alexander’s [III’s] army, brother to Perdicas.”²⁰)

“Aecidas, at death left a two-year-old son, Pyrrhus.” L 10.

“Pyrrhus [continued at C(2)]...son of Aecides and Phthia.” L 521.

Deidamia, “while she was but a child, had been in name the wife of Alexander IV, son of [Alexander III and] Roxana, but their affairs afterwards proving unfortunate, when she came to age, Demetrius [I] married her.” *Plutarch*, p. 315.

Pyrrhus, “brother-in-law” of Demetrius [I].” L 521.

Neoptolemus [B?], “an uncle of the celebrated Pyrrhus.”²¹ L 390.

Pyrrhus’ “brother, Pleistarchus.” *Ency.I* p. 78.

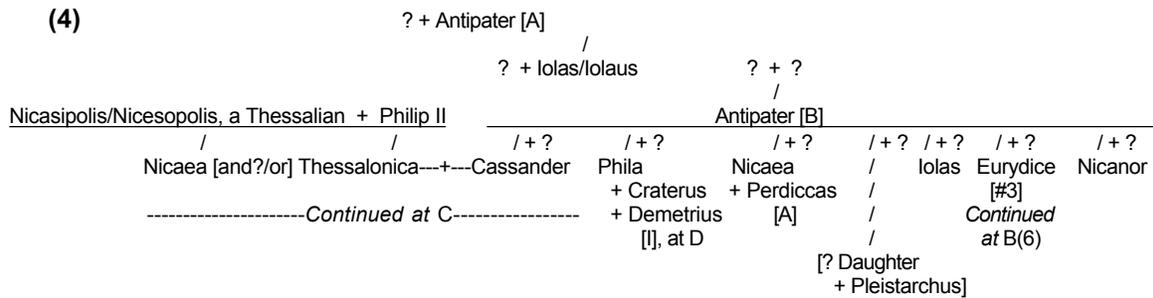
“Pleistarchus, a brother [in-law?] of Cassander.” L 486, with no source.

¹⁸ Timewise, this would be Ochus #2/Artaxerxes III?--Appendix 3A, I.

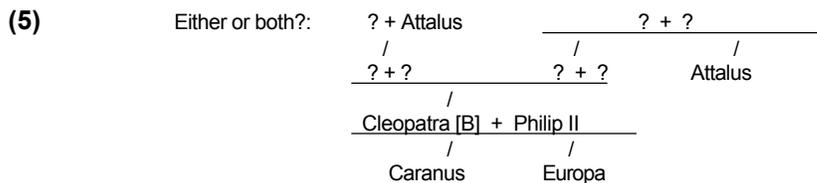
¹⁹ *Aecidas*, “patronymic of descendants of Aecus, from which line descended Achilles and Alexander the Great, among others.” L 1826 Ed. “A patronymic of the descendants of Achilles, Peleus, Telamon, Pyrrhus, etc.” L 30.

²⁰ A “Manumission of slaves [on a marble stele, Beroia, Macedonia] either about 280 or 235 [depending on whether the Seleucid reign referenced is of Demetrius I or II]” certified future freedom for named individuals after the death of their mistress, “Attinas, daughter of Alketas.” *Burstein*, p. 73.

²¹ Another Neoptolemus was “a relation of Alexander [III, and] the first to climb the walls of Gaza when...taken by Alexander.” He was killed fighting Eumenes [A] with Craterus in 321 b.c. L 390.



lolas, “a son of Antipater [A], cupbearer to Alexander.” L 293.
 Antipater [B], a soldier under Philip II; made a general by Alexander III.” L 55.
 Philip had a daughter, “by Nicasipolis, a Thessalian, Nicaea.” L 463, 610.
 “Nicaea, a daughter of Antipater, who married [Orontes-] Perdiccas [A];” L 395.
 “Cassander, son of Antipater.” L 128. Antipater [B]’s sons were “Cassander and lolas.” L 1826 Ed.
 [Nicasipolis + Philip II?–] “Nicaea...married Cassander.” L 463.
 “Thessalonica, a daughter of Philip, king of Macedonia, by Nicasipolis, and sister of Alexander the Great.” L 1826 Ed.
 Cassander “married Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great.” L 128;
 “Thessalonica, a wife of Cassander.” L 610.
 “Phila, the eldest daughter of Antipater, who married [first became wife to] Craterus.” L 461.
 “Eurydice [#3], the sister of Phila.” *Plutarch* 744.
 “Eurydice [#3], a daughter of Antipater [B], who married one of the Ptolemies.” L 234.
 “Cassander’s brother, Nicanor.” L 1826 Ed.
 “Craterus, one of Alexander’s [III’s] generals.” L 176.
 “Perdiccas [A], one of Alexander’s [III’s] generals.” L 449.
 “Pleistarchus, a brother [in-law?] of Cassander.” L 486, with no source.



“Cleopatra [B], the niece of Attalus.” L 463. “Her uncle, Attalus.” *Plutarch* 544.
 “Cleopatra [B], the granddaughter of Attalus, betrothed to Philip of Macedonia, after he had divorced Olympias.” L 153.]
 “Attalus, an officer in Alexander’s [III’s] army.”²² L 93.
 “At the wedding of Cleopatra [and Philip II]--she being too young for him....” *Plutarch* 544.

(6) Arsinoe #1, while pregnant by Philip II, was “received in marriage by one Lagus,” who eventually ‘adopted’ Ptolemy I. (Quotations are beneath Chart, next page.)

²² Besides the seeming contradictions in the Attalus/Cleopatra [B] relationship, it is not known whether this earlier general Attalus was related to the Philetærus-Eumenes-Attalus dynasty of Pergamum--refer to Detail A to this 3A, VI, Attachment 4.

? + Meleager [A?]			
/			
Arsinoe [#1] + Philip II			?Antigone [A] of Macedonia ²³
/ + Lagus /			+ Lagos of Macedonia? ²³
/ [After death /			/
/ of Philip II. /			Berenice I + Philip [A], officer of Alexander III
Other /			/ / /
children? /			Magas Antigone [B] Theoxena
(Posthumously / of Philip)			(King of Cyrene) + Pyrrhus + Agathocles
/			/+ ?
Ptolemy [I/Egypt]/			Berenice III
Soter /Lagus			+ Ptolemy III
-----continued below-----			[3A, VI, Att. 6, (1)]

-----Ptolemy I Soter/Lagus-----				
/ + ? [Arsinoe #1?]	/ + ?	+ Eurydice [#3, B(4)]	/ + ?	/ + Berenice I
Arsinoe [#2] ²⁵	Lysandra	/ /	Meleager [B?] ²⁶	Ptolemy II
+ Lysimachus [#1;also C, (1)]	+ Agathocles	/ Ptolemy Ceraunus		/Philadelphus
/ /	[#2]	(+ Arsinoe [#2],	Resumed in 3A, VI, Att. 6	
Lysimachus [#2] a Philip		after Lysimachus [#1]		
		(a female)		
		and before she was		
		assumed by Ptolemy II—		
		resumed in 3A, VI, Att. 6.)		

Arsinoe [#1] “was...pregnant by king Philip [II]” at the time that he was assassinated. L 309.

Arsinoe [#1] “was the daughter of (? +) Meleager. *Loc. cit.*

“Meleager [A], a general who supported Aridaeus [B] when he [was] made king after the death of his brother, Alexander the Great.” L 359--refer to fn. 27.

Lagus was “a Macedonian of mean extraction [“but opulent and powerful”].” *Loc. cit.*

Lagus “received in marriage Arsinoe [#1], the daughter of [? +] Meleager”, while she still was pregnant by king Philip. L 309.

[“Lagus married Arsinoe, a concubine of Philip.” *Strabo*, vol. III, page 202, fn. 2.]

Ptolemy [I/Lagus/Soter], “son of Philip [II] of Macedonia” and “Arsinoe [#1] who “married Lagus.” L 511; 463. (“Soter, a surname of the first Ptolemy...also common to other monarchs.” L 577.)

When the child of Philip II and Arsinoe #1 was born, Lagus “exposed the child in the woods;” but the infant was preserved. Later, when the child’s “uncommon preservation was divulged by Lagus, [he] adopted the child as his own, and called him Ptolemy.” L 309.

“Ptolemais the First, surnamed *Lagus*...son of Arsinoe [#1], who, when pregnant by Philip of Macedonia, married Lagus.” L 1826 Ed. “Ptolemais, son of Lagus. *Strabo*, vol. VIII, page 35; vol. III, page 202.

Arsinoe [#2], “daughter of Ptolemy [I] Lagus and sister of Lysandra...was married by [first became wife to] Lysimachus [#1], king of Macedonia, in his old age [“Arsinoe, the wife of Lysimachus; *Strabo*, vol. VI, page 165].”²⁷ L 81. (Secondly, wife to her half-brother, Ceraunus--see narration in E; lastly to Ptolemy II/*Philadelphus*.)

“Lysandra, a daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, who married Agathocles [#2], the son of Lysimachus [#1].” L 336.

Demetrius [I] at Miletus “was met there by Eurydice [#3], the sister of Phila, who brought along with her Ptolemais, one of her daughters by King Ptolemy [I], who had before

²³ See at fn. 30.

²⁴ Ptolemy I Lagus received the “appellation *Soter*” “from the assistance he gave to the people of Rhodes.” L 1826 Ed.

²⁵ “Dedication of Arsinoe (II [#2]) to the Great Gods; Samothrace, about 300-218 b.c. Marble fragments of six blocks.... Queen Arsinoe [*Iacuna*] Ptolemaios the daughter of King [*Iacuna*] the wife [*unknown number of missing letters*]....” Additions supplied by footnotes suggest, “Queen Arsinoe, of King *Lysimachus* [“about 300 b.c.]; the daughter of *Ptolemaios I and Berenike I* [“316-270”].” *Burstein*, page 4.

²⁶ These may be one and the same, given the absence of data on ages of individuals *vis-a-vis* times of involvements.

²⁷ This Arsinoe “founded the city of Arsinoe, formerly the village, Conopa, in Aetolia, which was near the city of Lysimachia, earlier called Hydra and near the lake also named Lysimachia.” *Strabo*, vol. V, page 65.

“Lysimachus...married...one daughter [Arsinoe #2] of King Ptolemy [I], and his son Agathocles another [Lysandra].” *Plutarch* 738.

“Cassander, son of Antipater [B].... He married Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great.” L 128.

“Lanassa, a daughter of Agathocles, who married Pyrrhus.” L 311.

“Arsinoe [#3], a daughter of Lysimachus.” L 81.

“Alexander [V], a son of Cassander.” L 32.

[The connection, '(Iolsos-Cassander-Antigone of Macedonia + Lagos of Macedonia -) Berenice,'³⁰ has been seen.)

Antipater [C], “son of Cassander...and son-in-law of Lysimachus.” L 55.

“Phillipus, a son of Cassander.” L 464.

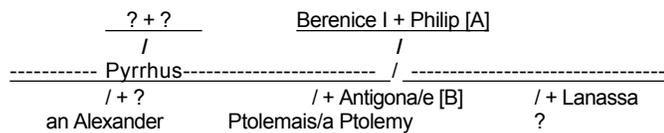
“Philippus the Fourth succeeded his father, Cassander, and [would reign] one year.” L 1826 Ed.

Cassander and Thessalonica’s “son called Antipater [C]...put her [his mother] to death.” L 610. [Antipater C’s “mother, Thessalonica.” *Plutarch* 739.

“Lysandra, a daughter of Ptolemy Lagos, who married Agathocles [#2], the son of Lysimachus [#1].” L 336.

(Not shown on the chart is an “Alexander, son of a Lysimachus.” L 33.)

(2)



“Pyrrhus, a king of Epirus.” L 521.

Pyrrhus was “saved when an infant...from the enemies of his father, who had been banished...he was carried to the court of Glautias king of Illyricum, who educated him with great tenderness.” L 521.

“Pyrrhus married many wives, and all for political reasons; besides Antigone [B], he had Lanassa the daughter of Agathocles, as also the daughter of Autoleon, king of Paeonia.” L 522.

“Antigona [B], daughter of Berenice [I], was wife to king Pyrrhus.” L 52.

When Pyrrhus “went over as a hostage...into Egypt,” under an agreement between him and Demetrius [I] after the battle of Ipsus, “among all the young princes then at court he was thought most fit to have Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenice [I] by Philip [X], before she married Ptolemy [II].” *Plutarch* 315-16.

“Ptolemy, a son of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, by Antigone [B] the daughter of Berenice [I].” “He was left as governor when Pyrrhus went to fight in Italy, and later killed in the expedition of Pyrrhus against Sparta and Argos.” L 515.

Lanassa, “a daughter of Agathocles, who married Pyrrhus, whom she soon after forsook for Demetrius [I].” L 311.

(L 32 cites an “Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, “ who at some point conquered Macedonia, was expelled by [a] Demetrius but subsequently recovered it by the assistance of the Arcarnanians.”)

³⁰ This has been placed with a question in B(6).

D.	? + Corraeus	[? + Philip II? ³¹]	[? + ?]	? + ?
	/	/	/	/ (of Phila?)
	Stratonice [#1] ³²	Antigonus I-M ³³ /Monophthalmos/Cyclops	Sibling of Antigonus I	"Krateros"
	/	/	/ + Cassander?	/ + ?
	/	a Philip	Ptolemais]	an Alexander ³⁴
	/			of Corinth
³⁵	----- Demetrius I (M) ³⁶ /Poliorcetes-----			
	/ + Deidamia	+ Phila [B(4)]	/ + Ptolemais [B(6)]	/ + Eurydice [#3]
an Alexander	/	/	Demetrius of Cyrene	?Corrhabus?
	/	/		a Demetrius
	Stratonice [#2]	Antigonus II/Gonatas		??
	[+ Seleucus I]	/ + ?		/ + ?
	[+ Antiochus I/Soter]	Demetrius II(M)	Antigonus III/Doson	
	Continued on 3A, VI, Att. 5.	/ [+ widow of Alexander	+ "widow of Demetrius [II]	
		/ of Corinth]		
		/ + ?		
		-----Philip V-----		
	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + "a concubine"	
	Antigonus [IV]	Demetrius [A]	Perses/Perseus-----	
			/ + ?	/ + ?
			Philip	Alexander
				A Daughter

Antigonus I, "one of Alexander's [the Great's] generals. L 52.

"Ptolemais, a nephew of Antigonus, who commanded an army in the Peloponnesus...revolted from his uncle [by marriage?] Cassander, and some time after attempted to bribe the solders of Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt, who had invited him to his camp; he was put to death by Lagus for treachery." L 1826 Ed.

"Stratonice [#1], the wife of Antigonus [I], mother of Demetrius [I] Poliorcetes." L 581.

"Her father's name was Corraeus."³⁷ L 1826 Ed. ["Antigonus had by his wife, Stratonice, the daughter of Corrhaeus, two sons: the one of whom, after the name of his uncle, he called Demetrius, the other had that of his grandfather, Philip, and died young. ...although some have related that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but of his brother; and that his own father dying young, and his mother being afterwards married to Antigonus, he was accounted to be his son." *Plutarch* 726.]

"Demetrius [I], son of Antigonus [I] and Stratonice [#1], surnamed *Poliorcetes*, *destroyer of towns*." L 196.

"Antigonus I died in the 80th year of his age, 301 b.c." L 52.

"Eurydice [antecedents?], a wife of Demetrius [I?], descended from Miltiades. *Plut. in Demetr.*" L 234. (A descendant of the ancient Miltiades, [she] had been married to Opheltas, the ruler of Cyrene, and after his death had come back to Athens." *Plutarch* 731.)

"Demetrius was very free in these [marital] matters, and was the husband of several wives at once; the highest place...retained by Phila, who was Antipater's [B's] daughter, and had been the wife of Craterus.... Antigonus had obliged him to marry her, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, Demetrius being quite a youth, and she much older." *Plutarch* 731.

Deidamia, "while she was but a child, had been in name the wife of Alexander IV, son of [Alexander III and] Roxana, but their affairs afterwards proving unfortunate, when she came to age, Demetrius [I] married her." *Plutarch*, p. 315.

Demetrius "had also, by Deidamia, a son, Alexander, who lived and died in Egypt."

³¹ Refer to B(7).

³² It appears that Stratonice #1 was inherited by Demetrius I?--unclear is a discourse of one Agatharchides, related by Josephus, of "how she came out of Macedonia and Syria, and left her *husband* Demetrius...stirred up a sedition about Antioch [and, spurned by Seleucus I] she fled to Seleucia...to sail away...[but] was caught and put to death." *Josephus*, Against Apion, I.22.

³³ Designations in this chart for the Antigonii commence with Monophthalmos as "I" (*Lempriere* refers to [II] Gonatas as "the first"). (These 'Macedonian' Antigonii are to be distinguished from the Hasmonaean Antigonii, Appendix 4B, Attachment 1.)

³⁴ When this Alexander, "viceroys of Corinth and Euboea," died c. 245, "his [unnamed] widow accepted [Antigonus I-] Gonatas' son, Demetrius [II], in marriage." O 60.

³⁵ Blank.

³⁶ M=Macedonia, to distinguish from "Syrian" Demetrii, Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5.

³⁷ "Stratonice, a town of Caria, made a Macedonian colony." L 581. ("Corrhagium, a town in Macedonia." L 174.)

Loc. cit.

“A letter of Epicurus about 282-277” mentions a “Krateros...half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, and his representative at Corinth.” *Burstein*, page 19, fn. 6.

When Alexander, “viceroy of Corinth and Euboea,” died c. 245, “his [unnamed] widow accepted [Antigonus I-] Gonatas’ son, Demetrius [II], in marriage.” O 60

“Stratonice [#2], daughter of Demetrius [I] by Phila.” *Plutarch* 738.

“Stratonike [#2], daughter of Demetrius [I] Poliorketes.” *Burstein*, page 21, n. 8.

“Stratonice, a daughter of Demetrius Poliorketes, who [would be] married [first to] Seleucis [I], king of Syria.” L 581. (“Antiochus [I/Soter], her husband’s son by a former wife, then [would become] enamoured of her and married [to] her by his father’s consent”--Antiochus I would marry “Stratonike [#2]...about 294/3.” L 581; *Burstein*, p. 21, fn. 8; Appendix 3A, VI, Att. 5.) [Stratonice #2 was “proclaimed Queen of Upper Asia” upon her marriage to Antiochus I. *Plutarch* 740.]

Demetrius [I] at Miletus “was met there by Eurydice [#3], the sister of Phila, who brought along with her Ptolemais, one of her daughters by King Ptolemy [I], who had before been affianced to Demetrius, and with whom he [then] consummated his marriage.” *Plutarch* 744.

“Demetrius left no other children by his wife Phila but Antigonus [II] and Stratonice [#2].” *Plutarch* 747.

Demetrius “had two other sons, both of his own name, one surnamed the Thin, by an Illyrian mother, and one who ruled in Cyene, by Ptolemais.” *Loc. cit.*

“[S]ome say Demetrius had a son by Eurydice [#3], named Corrhabus.” *Loc. cit.*

“Antigonus II died after a reign of 34 years...B.C. 243.” L 52.

Demetrius [II], “a prince who [would] succeed his father Antigonus [II/Gonatas] on the throne of Macedonia,...reign 11 years [and be] succeeded by Antigonus [III] Doson.” L 197.

After Demetrius II died, Philip V being very young, “the chief men of Macedon, fearing³⁸ great confusion might arise in his [Philip V’s] minority, called in Antigonus [III], *cousin-german* to the late king, and married him to the widow, the mother of Philip.” At first he acted as regent and general, but ultimately they gave him the title of king. “This was he that was surnamed Doson.” *Plutarch* 216.

“Antigonus [“the Second”--III on chart], the guardian of his nephew Philip [V], the son of Demetrius [II].” He “married the widow of Demetrius and usurped the kingdom. He was called *Doson*.... He conquered Cleomenes king of Sparta, and obliged him to retire to Egypt.... He died, B.C. 221, after a reign of 11 years, leaving [the] crown to the lawful possessor, Philip, who distinguished himself by...the war which he made against the Romans.” L 52-53 [1826 Ed.].

Philip [V], “Phillipus the Fifth/Philhellen,” “[s]on of Demetrius.” “His infancy, at the death of his father, was protected by Antigonus [III/Doson], one of his friends, who [would] reign for 12 years with the title of independent monarch.” When said Antigonus died, Philip [V] [would] “recover his father’s throne, though only 15 years of age.” L 463.

“Demetrius [A], son of Philip [V]...given up as a hostage to the Romans.” As his father’s ambassador, he gained much popularity. On his return to Macedonia, “he [would be] falsely accused by his brother, Perseus...and his father too credulously [would consent] to his death.” L 197.

“Antigonus [IV], son of Philip [V]; “ Philip V [would] attempt to make him successor, after the murder of Demetrius, but [be] prevented by death “in the 42nd year of his reign, 179 years before the Christian era.” L 464.

Perses/Perseus, “the eldest of Philip’s [V’s] sons by a concubine, [would raise] seditions against his brother Demetrius.” L 464.

“Demetrius [A], son of king Philip [V] of Macedonia,” initially a hostage of the Romans. Later, as his father’s ambassador, he would gain much popularity, resulting in false accusations against him by his “brother Perseus,” convincing Philip [V] to put this Demetrius to death “B.C.180.” L 1826 Ed.

Perseus/Perses “had two sons, Philip and Alexander, and one daughter whose name is not known.” Son Alexander, “apprenticed to a Roman carpenter, later rose to be made

³⁸“Cousin-german”, “the child of one’s aunt or uncle.” (*Webster*.) Doson would have had to be the son of a brother or sister of Antigonus II.

secretary of the senate.” L 1826 Ed.

(“Philippus, a man who pretended to be the son of Perses, that he might lay claim to the kingdom of Macedonia. He is called *Pseudophilippus*.” L 464.)

E. Narration.

Alexander III/the Great was born B.C. 355. At age 16 (c. 339 b.c.) he governed in Philip II's absence and defeated a Thracian uprising; at 18 (c. 337 b.c.) he was commander for Philip II.

Strained court relations erupted in 337 b.c., after Philip II's union with Cleopatra [B]. Olympias and Alexander III (“19” at the time) together went into self-exile in Illyria. “Demaratus of Corinth acted as peace-maker, persuading Philip to recall his son, and Alexander to return.” C, vol. VI, 353-54.

Ties between Epirus and Macedon were strengthened [“in 336] when Alexander III's sister, Cleopatra [A], became wife to her [maternal] uncle, Alexander [A].” O 60.

In 336 b.c. king Philip II was assassinated “in the 47th year of his age and the 24th of his reign, by one “Pausanias” (variously, “one at the court of King Philip;” “one very intimate with Attalus”.³⁹ L 440; 463.

Philip II “was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egae by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Oreste, and his [Philip's] son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom.” *Josephus AJ*, XI.VIII.1.

After Philip's murder, “Cleopatra [B] was seized by order of Olympias, and put to death” (L 153); and at some ensuing point hers and Philip's offspring, Caranus and Europa, also “were both murdered by Olympias.” L 463.

Philip II was succeeded by Alexander III (the Great).

Upon the death of Alexander [A], Olympias' brother, “Epirus [became] a protectorate of Macedon” [“in 331”]. O 60.

In Alexander III's expeditionary absence, “when he went to invade Asia,” he left his general Antipater [B] “as supreme governor of Macedonia, and all of Greece. L 55; L 1826 Ed.

When Alexander III “invaded Asia, Lagus [Ptolemy I] the son of Arsinoe [#1] attended him as one of his generals [and] behaved with uncommon valor.” L 511.

Antipater [B] successfully subdued rebelling Greeks and killed the king of Sparta. His “successes” are reported as disturbing to Alexander III, who summoned him to Babylon. L 1826 Ed.

Those of Alexander III's soldiers who accompanied his lengthy eastern campaign and had acquired foreign children, concubines and/or wives were required to leave them behind to avoid friction at home; but Alexander promised that boys would receive a good Macedonian education. There were 10,000 of these children. *Green*, page 457.

Alexander III “died at Babylon on the 21st of April, in the 32nd year of his age, after he reigned 12 years and eight months..., 323 b.c.” Alexander's death has been “attributed to the machinations of the offended general [Antipater B].” (Antipater's sons, Cassander and Iolas, “were in [Alexander's] camp, and it is said by some historians that...they administered poison to the unsuspecting king.”) L 1826 Ed.

At Susa, Alexander III had married “Roxana, a Persian woman...daughter of Darius [III], or, according to others, daughter of one of his satraps [“the Bactrian noble, Oxyartes”]. After the conquest of Darius III, Alexander III had “ultimately married one of the daughters of Darius III.” L 536; *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 369.

“Roxana...with child [at the time of Alexander's death, on which] account much honoured by the Macedonians...sent for Statira...as if Alexander had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, killed her and her sister,” burying their bodies in a well, “not without the privity and assistance of Perdikkas, who in the time immediately following the king's death,

³⁹ Said Pausanias was “dispatched by Attalus, Perdikkas, and other friends of Philip—it also being reported: a) that Pausanias was motivated both by revenge (for Philip's disregard of Pausanias' complaint that he had been “grossly and unnaturally abused by Attalus”) and by desire to “render himself illustrious;” and (b) “some support” Pausanias acted at instigation of Olympias and Alexander III. L 440; refer to fn. 12 for additional “Pausanias” as described.

⁴⁰ Refer to Appendix 3A, Attachment 1.

under cover of...Arrhidaeus, whom he carried about him as a sort of guard to his person, exercised the chief authority." *Plutarch* 576.

Perdiccas [A], "son of Orontes," was one of Alexander III's generals, and "one of [his] friends and favorites." Perdiccas [A] received Alexander's ring "from the hand of the dying Alexander." L 449.

"The officers [of Alexander III] wished to make the unborn son of Alexander and Roxana king, but the privates preferred a Macedonian, the imbecile Philip III Arrhidaeus." *Ency.*, page 66.

"Aridaeus [B--/Philip III]⁴¹ ...was made king of Macedonia till Roxane, who was pregnant by Alexander, brought into the world a legitimate male successor. Aridaeus [B] had not the free enjoyment of his senses; and therefore Perdiccas [A]...declared himself his protector. "Perdiccas [A] wished to be supreme regent as Aridaeus wanted capacity and, more strongly to establish himself, he married Cleopatra [A], Alexander's [III's] sister." L 42, 75, 449.

When Alexander IV was born, "a joint rule was established under the regents Craterus and Perdiccas [A]." *Ency.*, page 66.

In 322, the infant "Alexander IV was elevated by Perdiccas [A] to join...Arrhidaeus [/Aridaeus B] as joint ruler." O 59.

Polyperchon was "the oldest of all the generals and successors of Alexander." L 52.

Ptolemy [I/Lagus/Soter] had been one of Alexander III's major generals." L 1826 Ed.

Antigonus [I] ("supposed to be the natural son of Philip, Alexander's father") was another "of Alexander's generals." L 52. Seleucus [I/Nicanor-'Syria'⁴²] was "one of the captains of Alexander the Great, surnamed *Nicanor* or *Victorious*." L 1826 Ed.

Eumenes [A]⁴³ was "the most worthy of all of the officers of Alexander to succeed after the death of his master." L 230.

Eumenes [A] of Pergamus/Pergamum "conquered Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, of which he obtained the government.." L 230. Antipater [B] with reinforcements from Craterus conquered the Athenians at Cranon in Thessaly. Antipater [B] and Craterus next conquered the Aetolians in Boeotia and granted a humiliatingly-conditioned peace to the Athenians. L 1826 Ed.

Polyperchon gave Eumenes [A] command of the troops in Cilicia." *Ency.* 77.

Antipater [B] and his son[in-law], Craterus, "were the first to make hostile preparations against Perdiccas [A]." L 52.

Eumenes [A] "joined his force with those of Perdiccas [A]." L 230.

Antipater [B], Craterus, Antigonus [I] and Ptolemy [I] all united against Perdiccas [A] and Eumenes [A]. L 176.

Perdiccas [A]'s "general Eumenes [A] defeated and slew Craterus in Asia Minor (321);" "Craterus was killed in a battle against Eumenes [A], B.C. 321." *Ency.* 77; L 176.

Phila, Craterus' widow, subsequently became wife of Demetrius [I], son of Antigonus [I]. L 461.

Perdiccas [A] "endeavored to deprive Ptolemy [I] of Egypt." In the process, Ptolemy [I] hemmed up Perdiccas "in a desert island." With Perdiccas were "the kings...both Aridaeus [B] and the children of Alexander [III] and also Roxane, Alexander's wife." *Strabo*, vol. VIII, pages 35-37.

Perdiccas [A] "was defeated in battle by Seleucus [I] and Antigonus [I] on the banks of the river Nile, and assassinated by his own cavalry." L 42, 75. ("[A]fter much bloodshed on both sides, Perdiccas was totally ruined, and at last assassinated in his tent in Egypt, by his own officers, about B.C. 321." L 449.)⁴⁴

After Perdiccas was slain, "...Aridaeus [B] and the children of Alexander [III] and also Roxane, Alexander's wife, departed for Macedonia [*sic*]." *Strabo*, vol. VIII, pages 35-37.

⁴¹ Here referred to as "an illegitimate son of Philip [III]."

⁴² Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5.

⁴³ Refer to Detail A to this attachment.

⁴⁴ "[T]he body of Alexander was carried off by Ptolemy and given sepulture in Alexandria." *Strabo*, vol. VIII, pages 35-37; however, according to *Strabo* editor's note, page 35, fn. 6: Aridaeus/Arrhidaeus [B] spent two years making elaborate preparations for removal of Alexander's body, and Ptolemy I sent as far as Syria to meet him. Reportedly, Ptolemy I buried Alexander first, at Memphis, and Ptolemy II later transferred the body to Alexandria.

Perdiccas [A]'s wife, Cleopatra [A] (Alexander III's sister) was killed by Antigonus [I] "as she attempted to fly to Ptolemy in Egypt." L 153.

After Perdiccas [A]'s death, "Antipater [B] and Ptolemy [I] at Triparadeisus in Syria agreed that Antipater [B] should be regent." *Ency.*, page 77.

"Ptolemy [I] in Egypt, Antipater [B], and Lysimachus in Thrace formed a coalition against Antigonus [I]. *Loc. cit.*

Antigonus [I] seized Phrygia and Lydia. *Ency.* 77. ("In the division of the provinces after Alexander's death...Antigonus [I] received Pamphylia, Lycia, and Phrygia." L 52.)

Initially In the division of the provinces of Alexander's empire, Ptolemy [I] received as his share "Egypt, Libya and part of the neighboring territories of Arabia" and "Seleucus [had] received Babylon as his province." L 1826 Ed.; L 554.

"Antipater sent Antigonus to dislodge Eumenes [A], who took refuge in the hills (320)." *Ency.* 77.

Antipater [B] died "B.C. 319" and left ["the elderly"] Polyperchon master of all his possessions ["in preference to Cassander"]. L 55, L 1826 Ed. "But Ptolemy [I] defied him and annexed Syria." *Ency.* 77. ("Antipater [B] [had] left son Cassander "in a subordinate situation under Polyperchon." Cassander, however, "was too aspiring to obey." L 55.)

"Cassander, seized the Piraeus, garrisoned it, and left Demetrius of Phalerum⁴⁵ as virtual dictator of Athens (317)." *Ency.* 77.

Aridaeus [B] was totally governed by the intrigues of his wife [Eurydice #2], who called back Cassander and joined her forces with his to march against Polyperchon and [queen] Olympias." L 42.

Eurydice [#2] "was forsaken by her troops." Aridaeus [B], who had been "seven years in nominal possession of the sovereign power...was put to death, with his wife, Eurydice [#2], by Olympias;" and, by order of Olympias, Aridaeus [B] was shot through with arrows and Eurydice [#2] was forced to kill herself. L 75. (When Olympias seized the government, she put to death Aridaeus, his wife Eurydice, and Cassander's brother Nicanor. 1826 Ed.)

"Olympias the mother of Alexander [III] wished to keep the kingdom of Macedonia for Alexander [III]'s young children; and therefore she destroyed the relations of Cassander." L 1826 Ed.

"Cassander took Macedon from Polyperchon (317)." Cassander "recovered ["made himself master of"] Macedonia, and made himself absolute." L 55, 128.

Alexander [IV] and his grandmother Olympias "fell into Cassander's hands in spring 316." O 59. Olympias surrendered to Cassander who besieged her in Pydna,⁴⁶ where she was "massacred by those whom she had cruelly deprived of their children, about 316 b.c." "[T]he relations of Cassander...besieged Olympias in the town of Pydna, and put her to death." L 128. "Cassander put her [Olympias] to death." L 1826 Ed. "Alexander [IV], a son of Alexander the Great, by Roxane, put to death, with his mother, by Cassander." L 32. "Roxane, with her son Alexander, and Barsane, the mother of Hercules, both wives of Alexander, shared the fate of Olympias with their children." L 128.

Antigonus [I] seized Syria from Ptolemy [I] in 315 b.c. Antigonus [I] sent his son, Demetrius [I-M] (then age 22) against Ptolemy I, "who had invaded Syria." Demetrius [I] was defeated at Gaza ["312 b.c., by Ptolemy, who had already occupied the Cyclades (314) and the Peloponnese (313)]." L 196; *Ency.* 77.

"Antigonus [I]...obliged Seleucus [I] to retire from Syria and fly for refuge to [Ptolemy I in] Egypt.... [F]rom that time all friendship ceased between Ptolemy [I] and Antigonus [I], and a new war was begun. L 52. (Seleucus [I] unpopularly attempted to destroy Eumenes [A], deserted Babylon, and "fled to the court of his friend Ptolemy [I] of Egypt." L 1826 Ed.

"Ptolemy [I] then sent Seleucus to recover Babylon from Antigonus [I]," which Antigonus had seized in Seleucus' absence. *Ency.* 77.

"Seleucus [I]...soon was able to recover Babylon." L 1826 Ed. "The era of the

⁴⁵ Demetrius Phalerus/Phaleron, "a philosopher" whose eloquence and munificence caused him to be "elected by the Athenians decennial archon, b.c. 317" (so popular for his works, "360 brazen statues to his honor" were raised).

⁴⁶ Pydna, a town of Macedonia, originally called *Citron*, situate between the mouth of the rivers Aliacmon and Lydius." L 518.

Seleucidae [began] with the taking of Babylon by Seleucus [I], B.C. 312.” L 554.

“Seleucus increased his dominions by the immediate conquest of Media, and some of the neighboring provinces.” L 554.

“An attempted settlement in 311 merely allowed Antigonus [I] to continue fighting Seleucus...and Ptolemy to continue his expansion in the Aegean.” Ency. 77.

“Demetrius [I] repaired his loss...[and] with a fleet of 250 ships,” he sailed to and freed the Athenians from the power of Cassander and Ptolemy, and expelled the garrison stationed there under Demetrius Phalerus. “Antigonus [I] sent Demetrius [I] to Athens, whence [c. 309 b.c.] he expelled Demetrius of Phalerum and restored the democracy” (“freed Athens”). (Sedition of Phalerus’ enemies ended with his condemnation to death and destruction of all statues erected to him.) Phalerus, “after enjoying the sovereign power for ten years,” fled to the court of Ptolemy [I] Lagus, c. 307 b.c. L 196; L 1826 Ed., Ency. 77.

C. 307 b.c. Ptolemy [I] consulted Demetrius Phalerus “concerning the succession of his [Ptolemy’s] children; “Demetrius advised Lagus to raise the children of Eurydice [#3] in preference to the offspring of Bernice.”⁴⁷ L 1826 Ed.

“Two tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias, were created in 307/306 [among the officially recognized tribes in Athens], in honor of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrius Poliorcetes because of their role in the expulsion of Demetrius of Phaleron. “ *Burstein*, page 5.⁴⁸

[“The Athenians were the first who gave Antigonus and Demetrius the title of kings, which hitherto they had made it a point of piety to decline, as the one remaining royal honour still reserved for the lineal descendants of Philip [II] and Alexander [III], in which none but they could venture to participate.” *Plutarch* 729.]

Antigonus [I] [had] continued to war with Eumenes [A] after the death of Perdiccas [A], finally taking Eumenes prisoner and starving him to death. L 52.

Seleucus [I] “also made war against Demetrius [I] and Lysimachus [#1] though he had originally married the daughter [Stratonice #2] of the former, and had lived in the closest friendship with the latter..” L 554. “Seleucus Nicator [*sic./Nicanor*] invaded [Lysimachus’ territory]...and overthrew him.” *Strabo*, vol. VI, page 165.

When, “after 19 years [c. 304],” Ptolemy [I] “took the title of independent monarch...Cyprus [also came] under his power. He made war with success against Demetrius [I] and Antigonus [I], who disputed his right to the provinces of Syria.” L 1826 Ed.

“Antigonus [I], who had been for some time upon friendly terms with Cassander, declared war against him, and his generals also “had several engagements with Lysimachus [#1].” L 52.

Ptolemy [I] eventually “made himself master of Coelesyria, Phoenicia, and the major coast of Syria.” L 1826 Ed.

“Demetrius the son of Antigonus conquered the fleet of Ptolemy [I], near the island of Cyprus.... [T]his famous naval battle...happened 26 years after Alexander’s death.”⁴⁹ After it, “Antigonus [I] and his son assumed the title of kings, and their example was followed by the rest of Alexander’s generals.” “[D]eeply engaged in the different intrigues of the Greeks,” Antigonus I “made a treaty of alliance with the Aetolians and was highly respected by the Athenians.” L 52. (Demetrius [I] was successful in relieving Athens from four years of war (307-304) waged by Cassander.

Demetrius [I] defeated Cassander at Thermopylae. His “uncommon success,” together with the honors he received from the Athenians, “raised the jealousy of...Seleucus, Cassander and Lysimachus.” L 196.

“Cassander...made league with Lysimachus [#1] and Seleucus [I].” L 128. Seleucus

⁴⁷ Later, after Ptolemy I’s death, Berenice’s son, Ptolemy [III] Philadelphus [*refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6*], kept Demetrius Phalerus strictly confined. He reportedly committed suicide c. 284 b.c. despite the fact some claim, that he enjoyed the confidence of Philadelphus, and enriched his library at Alexandria with 200,000 volumes. “All the works of Demetrius Phalerus, on rhetoric, history, and eloquence, are lost”—one extant treatise on rhetoric attributed to him is also taken as the work of one Dionysius of Halicarnassus. L 1826 Ed., L 197.

⁴⁸ “Both tribes [would be] abolished [in Athens] in 200 because of the enmity then existing between Athens and Philippos V.” *Loc. cit.* “Antigonis, a tribe of Attica, so called from Antigonus [I].” *Burstein*, page 5; L 1826 Ed.

⁴⁹ This would yield (323 - 26 =) 297 b.c., a date, however, which would fall after the battle of Ipsus; yet in this quotation Antigonus I is alive still [?].

[I] “united with the other former generals of Alexander against Antigonus.” L 1826 Ed.; L 554.
“Seleucus, Cassander and Lysimachus united to destroy Antigonus and his son. Their hostile armies met at Ipsus B.C. 301.” L 196.

Pyrrhus “accompanied Demetrius [I] at the battle of Ipsus, and fought there with all the prudence and intrepidity of an experienced general.” (Cassander previously had “wished to despatch Pyrrhus...but Glautias not only refused to deliver him up...he even went with an army and placed him on the throne of Epirus, though [then] only 12 years of age.) About five years⁵⁰ after [there were] new commotions.” Pyrrhus “was expelled from his throne by Neoptolemus [B?], who had usurped it after the death of Aecides; and being still without resources, he [Pyrrhus, had then] applied to his brother-in-law Demetrius for assistance.” L 521.

At Ipsus, “Antigonus and his son were defeated;” “Antigonus was killed in the battle.” L 295, L 196. (Although Antigonus [I] “had several victories over” Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander and Lysimachus,” he never achieved entry into Egypt. L 1826 Ed.) After Antigonus was conquered and slain, his territories were divided among his victorious enemies. L 554.

Antigonus [I] received “so many wounds in the battle of Ipsus...he died in the 80th year of his age, 301 b.c.” L 1826 Ed.

Demetrius [I]...escaped to Corinth. *Ency.* page 78.

“By the division of spoils [following the battle of Ipsus], Seleucus [I] was given Syria, Lysimachus western and central Asia Minor, Cassander kept Macedon, but his brother,⁵¹ Pleistarchus, received southern Asia Minor. Ptolemy [I], however, seized Coele-Syria.

Cassander, who “obtained a memorable victory at Ipsus,” died of dropsy three years after the victory at Ipsus, after a reign of 18 years.” L 128. (“Cassander...died in 298;” *Encyclopedia of World History*, page 78.)

“When Kassandros [Cassander] was dead, the [Macedonian] kingdom was taken over by Philippus [Philip IV], his eldest son, who ruled four months.” *Burstein*, page 6. Philip IV “died also, so that the two younger sons, Antipater [C] and Alexander V, divided his realm.” *Encyclopedia of World History*, p. 78. Alexander [V] “reigned two years conjointly with his brother Antipater [C].” L 32.

Antipater [C] “killed his mother because she wished his brother Alexander [V] to succeed.” L 55. Alexander [V] “was prevented by Lysimachus [#1] from revenging his mother Thessalonica, whom his brother had murdered.” Peace was re-established between the two brothers by the advice of Lysimachus.” L 32, 55.

“Alexander [V], a son of Cassander, king of Macedonia...reigned two years conjointly with his brother Antipater [C], and was prevented by Lysimachus from revenging his mother Thessalonica, whom his brother had murdered.” L 1826 Ed.

Contradiction: (1) *Antipater*, son of Cassander...*killed his mother*, because she wished his brother Alexander to succeed... Alexander, to revenge the death of his mother, solicited the assistance of Demetrius; but peace was re-established between the two brothers by the advice of Lysimachus, and soon after *Demetrius killed Antipater* and made himself king of Macedonia, 294 b.c.” L 55; (2) Cassander’s “son *Antipater* killed his mother; and for his unnatural murder he *was put to death by his brother Alexander*, who...invited Demetrius the son of Antigonus from Asia. *Demetrius* took advantage of the invitation, and *put to death Alexander [V]*, and ascended the throne of Macedonia.” L 128.

“Demetrius [I], the son of Antigonus [I], put Alexander [V] to death [and] gained the Macedonian throne.” L 32; L 1826 Ed. (After the death of Antigonus [I], “Demetrius [I] lost Asia, and established himself in Macedonia after the death of Cassander.”⁵² L 52.

⁵⁰ Who “was made king of Epirus by the Epirots, who had revolted from their lawful sovereign.” He “was put to death when he attempted to poison his nephew” (*refer to fn. 21*). L 390.

⁵¹ *Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 13*, which in the context would include Judaea as well as Galilaea and Samaria.

⁵² “A Macedonian-dominated government [had] ruled Athens for Demetrius [I] Poliorcetes from 294 to 287, during which Philippides was probably in exile.” *Burstein*, page 15, n.11. (Demetrius Poliorcetes held office “of Stephanephoros at Miletos, 295-4; “reason unknown.” *Burstein*, p. 33, n. 5.

("[S]oon after" Lysimachus had established peace between Antipater [C] and Alexander [V], "Demetrius [I] killed Antipater [C] and made himself king of Macedonia, 294 B.C." L 55.

"Antiochus I ['Syria,' refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5] married Stratonike [Stratonice #2], daughter of Demetrius [I] Poliorcetes, after a divorce from his father, Seleukos [Seleucis I], about 294/293." *Burstein*, page 21, fn. 8. "Antiochus [I/Soter], Stratonice's husband's son by a former wife...became enamoured of her and married her by his father's consent." L 581.

Lanassa, "soon after" her marriage with Pyrrhus, "forsook him for Demetrius [I]." L 311. Seleucus [I] secured Cilicia from Demetrius [I] (296-295)." *Ency.* 81.

Pyrrhus, after the battle at Ipsus, had "passed into Egypt, where, by his marriage with Antigone [B] the daughter of Berenice [I], he soon obtained a sufficient force to attempt the recovery of his throne [of Epirus]. He was successful in the undertaking, but to remove all causes of quarrel, he took the usurper [Neoptolemus] to share with him the royalty [but] some time after he put him to death under pretence that he had attempted to poison him." L 521.

Pyrrhus "engaged in quarrels which disturbed the peace of the Macedonian monarchy; and he marched against Demetrius [I]. [W]hen Demetrius labored under a momentary illness, Pyrrhus made an attempt upon the throne of Macedonia...and soon after rendered himself master of the kingdom." L 521.

Demetrius [I], after seven years and continuous war with neighbor states was obliged to leave Macedonia and, after attacks of varying success on Lysimachus provinces, the decimation of his army caused him to retire to the court of Seleucis [I] for aid. A kind reception was followed by development of hostilities, and his son-in-law [Seleucus I] kept him essentially in house arrest, despite offers to Seleucus by Demetrius' son, Antigonus [II], of "all his possessions and even his person" in exchange for his father's liberty. "Demetrius [I] died in the 54th year of his age, after a confinement of three years, 286 b.c." L 1826 Ed.

Ptolemy [I] "died in the 84th year of his age, after a reign of 39 years, about 284 b.c." L 1826 Ed.

"Pergamum was a treasure-hold of Lysimachus [#1]." *Strabo*, vol. VI, page 165. Lysimachus made one "Philetaerus, a eunuch...governor of Pergamus." L 462.

Lysimachus [#1], in his old age, married Arsinoe, sister of Lysandra." L 22

Agathocles [#2]--a "son of Lysimachus [#1]" who had been a prisoner of the Getae, "was ransomed, and married [to] Lysandra daughter of Ptolemy Lagus." L 22.⁵³

Pyrrhus shared Macedonia's throne with Lysimachus [#1] "seven months, till the jealousy of the Macedonians, and the ambition of his colleague, obliged him to retire." L 521.

In 286 b.c. Lysimachus [then king of Thrace] expelled Pyrrhus and seized Macedonia." L 337. (Pyrrhus went from there to do battle for some years in Italy, for the Tarentines against Rome and, subsequently, for Sicily against the Carthaginians." L 521.)

Philetaerus of Pergamus "had differences with [the wife of Lysimachus #1] Arsinoe [#2]," broke amity with Lysimachus. In an ensuing revolt. "Lysimachus...was forced to slay his son, Agathocles [#2]." ⁵⁴ *Strabo*, vol. VI, page 165. Philetaerus "made himself master of the treasures and of Pergamus, in which they were deposited, B.C. 283, and laid the foundation for his own kingdom." (He reigned 20 more years and appointed his nephew Eumenes [I] as successor.) L 462.

"When Agathocles [#2] was dead, 283 B.C., Lysandra fled to Seleucus." L 22.

"Lysandra, persecuted by Arsinoe [#2], fled to Seleucus [I] for protection." L 336.

After Agathocles' murder, Lysimachus' subjects reverted to the Seleucids[/Seleucus I]. "Lysimachus pursued them to Asia and was killed in battle ("Battle of Corupedium"), at age 80, "281 years before Christ." L 337. (Lysimachus "cruelty rendered him odious, and the murder of his son Agathocles so offended his subjects, that the most opulent and powerful revolted.... He pursued them to Asia, and declared war against Seleucus, who had given them a kindly reception. He was killed in a bloody battle, 281 years before Christ, in the 80th year of his age." L 337.)

Seleucus [I] "got control of western Asia Minor on the defeat of Lysimachus (281)."

⁵³ "A people of European Scythia, near the Daci. ... The word *Geticus* is frequently used for Thracian." L 249.

⁵⁴ But see at fn. 54--Agathocles survived Lysimachus?

Ency. 81.

Ptolemy II succeeded Ptolemy I in Egypt 285 b.c.

"After her husband's [Lysimachus #1's] death, Arsinoe [#2], fearful for her children, attempted to murder Agathocles."⁵⁵ L 22.

"Ceraunus, a son of Ptolemy Soter by Eurydice [#3] the daughter of Antipater [A]. Unable to succeed to the throne of Egypt, Ceraunus fled to the court of Seleucus [I]...then king of Macedonia, an empire which he had lately acquired by the death of Lysimachus in a battle in Phrygia; but his [Seleucus'] reign was short, and Ceraunus perfidiously murdered him and ascended his throne, 280 B.C."

Seleucus [I] "himself was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus ." *Strabo*, vol. VI, page 165. He "was murdered 280 b.c. in the 32nd year of his reign...by one of his servants called Ptolemy Ceraunus." Seleucus was either "73 or 78 years old, and died "as he was going to conquer Macedonia, where he intended to finish his days....in that province where he was born. He was succeeded by Antiochus Soter." L 1826 Ed.⁵⁶)

"After her [Arsinoe #2's] husband's [Lysimachus #1's] death, Ceraunus, her own [half?] brother married her and ascended the throne of Macedonia." L 81.

[Ptolemy] Ceraunus "could not be firmly established in Macedonia, however, as long as Arsinoe [#2], the widow, and the children of Lysimachus were alive.... ..Ceraunus made offers of marriage to Arsinoe, who was his own [half?] sister. The queen at first refused but the...usurper at last prevailed.... The nuptials, however, were no sooner celebrated, than Ceraunus murdered the two young princes in their mother's arms." L 514. (Arsinoe [#2] "was some time after banished to Samothrace." L 81.)

"[N]ow three powerful princes claimed the kingdom of Macedonia as their own: Antiochus [I/Soter; att. 5] the son of Seleucus [I], Antigonus [II] [the son of Demetrius [I-M], and Pyrrhus the king of Epirus." L 1826 Ed.

"[Ptolemy] Ceraunus "conquered Antigonus [II] in the field of battle, and stopped the hostilities of his two other rivals by promises and money." (Not long after the Gauls attempted to impose upon him tribute. In a bloody battle with the Gauls, Ceraunus "was thrown from his elephant, and taken prisoner by the enemy, who immediately tore his body to pieces, and fixed his head on a lance in triumphant exultation." L 1826 Ed.

"Ptolemy Ceraunus had been king of Macedonia 18 months." L 514-515.

"Meleager [B?--see fn. 24], a brother of Ptolemy [Ceraunus], made king of Macedonia, B.C. 280 years. He was but two months invested with regal authority." L 359.

Pyrrhus ("after renewed warfare with the Romans and a major defeat [in Samnium] left Italy and") returned to Epirus "B.C. 274." Pyrrhus "began...by attacking Antigonus [II], who was then on the Macedonian throne." L 52; 521.

"Antigonus [II]...surnamed *Gonatas*, was son of Demetrius [I and] grandson of Antigonus [I]." He "restored the Armenians to liberty [and] conquered the Gauls," and secured Macedonia and Rhodes, c. 277 b.c. L 52.

"Pyrrhus gained some advantages over his enemy [Antigonus II], and was at last restored to the throne of Macedonia." But he afterwards "marched against Sparta, at the request of Cleonymus." where he was repelled by Antigonus II. Unable to take the capital of Laconia, Pyrrhus retired to Argos in the Peloponnesus, where he fell into battle with the Argives and was killed. "His head was cut off and carried to Antigonus [II]," who had recovered Macedonia. Antigonus [II] give Pyrrhus' "remains a magnificent funeral...272 years before the christian era."⁵⁷ L 521. (Antigonus II "established tyrants in several cities of the Peloponnesus, and made peace with the Aetolian League." *Ency.* 79.)

⁵⁵ Cf. preceding footnote.

⁵⁶ Seleucus the First is reported as benevolent, a founder of many cities throughout his empire, and as having restored to Athens the library and statues confiscated by Xerxes [I]. L 555. ("Terms of intermarriage" had been involved when certain "places alongside the Indus...held by the Persians [that] Alexander took...away from the Arians...Seleucus Nicator gave...to Sandrocottus, an Indian...who aspired to the monarchy, and after the death of Alexander made himself master of a part of the country which was in the hands of Seleucus." *Strabo*, vol. VII, page 143.)

⁵⁷ "Ptolemaeus, a son of Pyrrhus king of Epirus by Antigone, the daughter of Berenice," was killed in the expedition that king Pyrrhus made against Sparta and Argos. L 1826 Ed.

Note: Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2, "Global Events, Additional Detail," for expanded details of international events after 268 b.c.

Antigonus [II] "died after a reign of 34 years, leaving his son Demetrius [II] as his successor, b.c. 243." "Demetrius [II], a prince who succeeded his father Antigonus [II] on the throne of Macedonia. He reigned 11 years and was succeeded by Antigonus Doson." L 197.

"Antigonus ["the Second"--III on chart] was the guardian of his nephew Philip [V], the son of Demetrius [II]." He "married the widow of Demetrius [II] and usurped the kingdom. He was called *Doson*.... He conquered Cleomenes king of Sparta ["because he favored the Aetolians against the Greeks"] and obliged him to retire to Egypt.... He died, B.C. 221, after a reign of 11 years, leaving [the] crown to the lawful possessor, Philip [V], who distinguished himself by...the war which he made against the Romans." L 52-53 [L 1826 Ed.]. The infancy of Philip[V], "Phillipus the Fifth"/Philhellen; son of Demetrius [II]," "at the death of his father, was protected by Antigonus [III/Doson], one of his friends, who...reigned for 12 years with the title of independent monarch." L 1826 Ed.

When Antigonus III/Doson died, Philip [V] "recovered his father's throne, though only 15 years of age." L 463. ("Philippus the Fifth, the last king of Macedonia of that name.") Philip [V] sought league with Annibal/[Hannibal] against Rome but ultimately was forced into a humiliating peace. L 1826 Ed.

Meanwhile, Perseus/Perses, Philip [V]'s eldest son "by a concubine," raised seditions against Philip's other son, Demetrius [A]. Demetrius [A]--[previously]...given up as a hostage to the Romans"--had been his father's ambassador and had gained much popularity. On his return to Macedonia, "he was falsely accused by his brother, Perseus, who was jealous...and his father too credulously consented to his death c. 180 b.c." L 197; L 1826 Ed.

The deluded Philip [V] reconsidered his rashness. After the murder of Demetrius [A], Philip [V] decided to make another son, Antigonus [IV], Macedonia's successor-king. Philip was precluded from it, however, by his death "in the 42nd year of his reign, 179 b.c.," and Perses succeeded to the Macedonian throne. Perses renewed warring with Rome, until Macedonia's empire was destroyed and it became a Roman province. (L 464; L 1826 Ed.) Perses marshalled himself against the Romans but fled from battle at Pydna "b.c. 168." (Perses retreated to Samothrace, where he was captured and humiliated at Rome. He either died naturally in prison or was put to death.) *Loc. cit.*

Pydna is "famous for the battle which was fought there, on the 22nd of June, B.C. 168, between the Romans under Paulus, and king Perseus, in which the latter was conquered, and Macedonia soon after reduced to the form of a Roman province." L 518-519.

Rome divided Macedonia into four unrelated republics under moderate tributes, c. 167 b.c., the same year that began the Maccabean rebellion in the Palestine region--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," and the associated narrative in Appendix 3A, VI.

Additional global details between roughly 264 to 132 b.c. are given in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2.

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, Detail A

PERGAMUS¹

Pergamus/*Pergamo*/Pergamon, “a town of Mysia, on the banks of the Caycus.” “[T]he capital of a celebrated empire called the kingdom of Pergamus.”² “A Mysian city in the NW part of Asiatic Turkey (Asia Minor),...about 50 miles N of Smyrna and 15 miles from the coast of the Aegean Sea.”

Eumenes [A], “a Greek officer in the army of Alexander, son of a charioteer;” “the most worthy of all of the officers of Alexander [III] to succeed after the death of his master. He joined his force with those of Perdikkas [A].” He conquered Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, of which he obtained the government, till the power and jealousy of Antigonus [I] obliged him to retire.”

Eumenes [A] withstood a year’s siege at the fortification of Nora on Cappadocia’s border, until his weary soldiers accepted a bribe and betrayed him into the hands of Antigonus [I]. Antigonus was reluctant to kill Eumenes [A] because of the closeness they had shared while serving Alexander; however, he was executed on Antigonus’ order B.C. 315 (some imagine, without Antigonus’ knowledge). Antigonus conveyed “Eumenes ashes to his wife and family in Cappadocia.”

Following the battle of Ipsus, Lysimachus [#1] made one Philetaerus--“a eunuch”--the “governor of Pergamus,” and “entrusted [him] with the treasures which Lysimachus had obtained in the war.” Philetaerus subsequently broke amity with Lysimachus and made himself master of the treasures and of Pergamus, in which they were deposited, B.C. 283, and laid the foundation for his own kingdom, over which he himself presided for 20 years.”

Philetaerus’ tenure was 283 - 263 b.c. “His successors began to reign in the following order:”

Date of Ascension

Eumenes I, “nephew ³ of Philetaerus”	263
“Eumenes I, a king of Pergamus, who succeeded his uncle Philetaerus... B.C. 263. He made war against Antiochus [I Soter] the son of Seleucus [I]...seizing upon many of the cities of the kings of Syria. ... [A]fter a reign of 22 years, he was succeeded by Attalus.”	
Attalus I	241
“Attalus the First, king of Pergamus, succeeded Eumenes the First.” He “became a friend of the Romans [and] fought on their side against Philip [V].” He defeated the Gauls/Galatians, extended his conquests to Mount Taurus, and “strengthened himself on the throne [with] powerful assistance of the Romans against Antiochus [III].” He died in old age “after a reign of [43 or] 44 years, B.C. 197.”	

¹ Sources: L 62, 93, 105, 230, 231, 449, 462; L 1826 Ed.; *Strabo*, vol. VI, pages 165-169; *Aid*, p. 1290.

² Pergamus, “the citadel of the city of Troy. The word is often used for Troy. It was situated in the most elevated part of the town [on a hill to the SE of the city, a branch of Mount Ida], on the shores of the river Scamander.” L 449.

³ Per *Strabo*, Philetaerus had two “brothers,” Eumenes, the elder, and Attalus, the younger.

- Eumenes II [*Soter*] 197⁴
 He “fought on the side of the Romans against Antiochus [III] the Great and against Perseus, and he received from the Romans all the country this side the Taurus that had been subject to Antiochus.”
- Attalus [II] Philadelphus, brother of Eumenes II. 159⁵
 He “was sent on an embassy to Rome by his brother, Eumenes II, and at his return was appointed guardian of his nephew, Attalus [III], an infant at the time of his father’s death.” Philadelphus “ruled for 20 years”/[served “21 years” as designated guardian of Attalus III]. He helped (Antiochus IV-) Alexander [Balas] defeat (Seleucus IV-) Demetrius [I Soter II], and fought on the side of the Romans against the Pseudo-Philip/*Pseudophilippus*.
 Attalus [II] Philadelphus was “murdered [L]”/poisoned by his nephew [L]” /“died of disease [*Strabo*],” “in the 82nd year of his age, B.C. 138.”
- Attalus [III] Philopater, son of Eumenes II. 138⁶
 He “succeeded to the kingdom of Pergamus by the murder of Attalus II Philadelphus.” Attalus III “lived in great amity with the Romans, and as he died without issue by his wife Berenice [“had no children”]...the Romans interpreted [his will] in their own favor and...took possession of his kingdom, B.C. 133, and made it a Roman province.”
- Aristonikos/Eumenes III⁷ 133-129
 “The right of the Romans...was disputed by [one] who claimed the empire as his...and Aquilius the Roman general was obliged to conquer the different cities one by one [poisoning their waters]...till the whole was reduced into the form of an independent province.” L 449.

Related Citations:

“Stratonice, a daughter of Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, who married [a] Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and became mother of [an] Attalus.” L 581.
 “Appolonias, the wife of [an] Attalus, king of Phrygia, to whom she bore four children.”
 “Antiochis, the mother of Attalos I of Pergamon. Her father’s name was ‘Achaios.’”⁸
 Josephus reports that Antipater II (Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Descendants Through the Herodians) joined with and provided forces for Roman general Mithridates of Pergamus in Julius Caesar’s conquest of Egypt (Appendix 4B, I, in paragraphs following footnote 38).

⁴The dates of Eumenes II’s reign are less certain.

⁵Per *Strabo* editors, “159-138 b.c.; per *Burstein*, “160-139.”

⁶139, per *Burstein*, p. 156.

⁷*Loc. cit.*

⁸“Antiochus [also] was the mother of Laodike [Laodice #2], wife of Antiochus II.” *Burstein*, p. 25, fn. 6, citing *Strabo*.

Antiochus I Soter I continued

/ [+ Laodice?²] / + Stratonice [#2]
/ ?
/

Antiochus II Theos

-----/-----	/ + Laodice #2-----/	/ + Berenice II [3A, VI, Att. 6, (1)]	/ + ?
[Antiochia?]	Antiochus Hierax	Seleucus II Callinicus + Laodice [#3] ---Continued at (2)---	a Son Stratonice [#3] + Ariarathes IV (King of Cappadocia; see Detail A) -----Continued at (1)(a)-----

(1) (a)

Stratonice [#3] + Ariarathes IV of Capadocia

/
Ariarathes V
/ + Antiochia "daughter of king Antiochus"
or
+ ?
/

Ariarathes VI Philopater

(+ Laodice [A] "surviving wife")

/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?
5 children annihilated by Ariarathes VI's surviving wife Laodice A	Ariarathes VII (escaped annihilation) + Laodice B "sister of Mithridates [VII] Eupator" -----Continued at (2)(a)-----	An "illegitimate" brother who ultimately murdered Ariarathes VII

"Laodice [#1], the mother of Seleucus [I].... Not only the son that she brought forth, called Seleucus, but also all his successors of the house of the Seleucidae." L 312.

"Seleucus, a division of Syria, which received its name from Seleucus, the founder of the Syrian empire.... It also was called Tetrapolis from the four cities it contained"--"Seleucia, [named] after him; Antioch after his father; Laodicea after his mother, and Apamea after his wife. Strab. 16." L 554.

"Seleucus the First, one of the captains of Alexander the Great, surnamed Nicanor or Victorious, was son of Antiochus." L. 554.

"Antiochis, the name of the mother of Antiochus the son of Seleucus [I]." L 53, with no citations.

"Achaïos was the father of Antiochis, the mother of Attalos I of Pergamum...and of Laodice, [#2 who became] wife of Antiochus II."

² At least one "Laodice" as variously reflected in this chart remains in question; e.g. text as inscribed on the back of thrones of seated colossi (on the terrace of the burial monument of Antiochus I at Nemrud Dag, Turkey): "...Antiochus Theos Dikaios, [*lacuna*] an [*lacuna*], Philoromais and Philhe[*lacuna*], son of King Mithridates Kallinikos and of Queen Lao[*lacuna*]ke Thea Philadelphos, daughter of King Antiochos Epiphanes Philometer Kallinikos...." *Burstein* p. 63.

Burstein, p. 25, n. 6, citing Strabo.

“Laodice [#2], a daughter of Seleucus [I].” L 312.

“Seleucus [I]...had by Apama, the Persian, a son named Antiochus.” Plutarch 738.

“Apame, mother of Antiochus [I] Soter by Seleucus [I] Nicator.” L 59.

“ [A] Ptolemy, a son of Seleucus, killed in the battle at Issus.” L 515.

Seleucus I “made war against Demetrius [I] and Lysimachus though he had originally married Stratonice, the daughter of the former.”

L 1826 Ed.

Seleucus I [who first had acquired Stratonice #2] “willingly gave Stratonice [#2] to his son,” Antiochus I Soter I, when it was determined that his son’s life-threatening illness stemmed from the unrequited love he bore for his stepmother. L 53; L 1826 Ed. The “stepmother” of “Antiochus [I], surnamed Soter, the son of Seleucus [I],” was “Stratonice [#2].” L 53.

Antiochus [I] Soter “married Stratonice [#2], the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes , about 294/293.” Burstein, p. 21, n. 8.

Seleucus I “was murdered 280 b.c. in the 32nd year of his reign...by one of his servants called Ptolemy Ceraunus,” Seleucus was either 73 or 78 years old. He was succeeded by Antiochus Soter. L 1826 Ed.

“Antiochus I Soter died 291 b.c., after a reign of 19 years.” L 53. (Based on related data, this date appears a misprint of 261.)

“Antiochus [II], the second of that name, surnamed Theos[/Theus]...was son and successor to Antiochus [I] Soter.” L 53.

“Laodice [#2], a [half-] sister and wife of Antiochus II.” L 312.

“Seleucus Callinicus, son of Laodice [#2].” L 312. “Antiochus...brother to Seleucus [II], received the surname of Hierax.” L 274.

“Antiochus Hierax (‘falcon’)...younger son of Laodice [#2], “recognized as ruler of Asia Minor...by Seleucus [II] in 241.” Ency. 81.

“Laodike [Laodice #2], wife of Antiochos II, was divorced by him in 252 in order to marry Berenike [Berenice II], daughter of Ptolemais II, a marriage that appears to have been one of the conditions for ending the Second Syrian War.” *Burstein*, p. 32, fn. 2. (After a revolt by Ptolemy II’s “brother [by the same mother], Magas, king of Cyrene, which had been kindled by Antiochus [II] the Syrian king,” there was “re-established peace for some time in the family of Philadelphus.” L 511.)

“Antiochus II Theos married Berenice, the daughter of the Egyptian king [Ptolemy II].” His “former wife [was] Laodice [#2], by whom he had two sons.” L 53. “Antiochus [II]...married Berenice [II] the daughter of Ptolemy [II]. ...[T]hough old and infirm,” Ptolemy II conducted his daughter to...and assisted at the nuptials.” L 511.

After the death of Ptolemy II, Laodice [#2] was recalled. L 105. She poisoned her husband and suborned an imposter (“Artemon,” L 53) who, posing as Antiochus II, named her son, Seleucus Callinicus, the successor prince, after which it was announced that Antiochus II had died a natural death.

Laodice [#2] put to death Berenice II, whom her husband had married.” L 312. “Laodice [#2] dispatched Berenice and her son, 246 years before the christian era.” L 53. (“In the war of succession after Antiochus II’s death, Egypt supported Berenice’s son (‘Third Syrian’ or ‘Laodicean’ War, 246-241), though Ptolemy III’s expedition in Syria did not prevent mother and son from being killed by Laodice’s supporters.” This Laodice traditionally is recognized as helping organize the resisters, “especially in Asia Minor, which enabled her elder son to succeed as Seleucus II.” O 814.

“Laodice #2 was executed on order of Ptolemy Euergetes, b.c. 246.” L 312.

“Ariarathes IV, king of Pontus, successor of father Ariamnes...married Stratonice [#3] daughter of Antiochus Theos. L 74.

Ariarathes VI “left six children, five of whom were murdered by his surviving wife, Laodice [A].” (Detail A.)

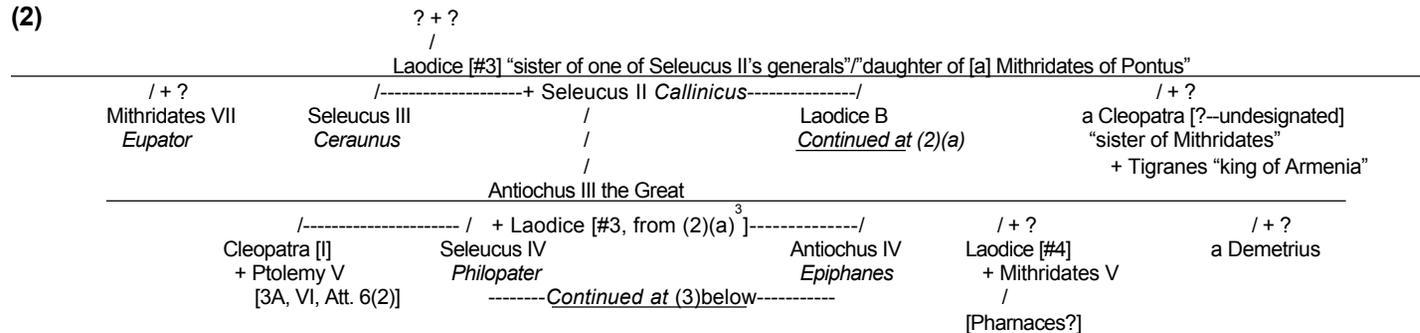
“Laodice [A], a queen of Cappadocia put to death by her subjects for poisoning five of her children.” L 312.

“Laodice [B], a sister of Mithridates [VII] who married Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and afterwards her own [half?-] brother, Mithridates [VII].” L 1826 Ed.

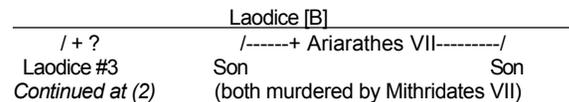
Note: Other related citations not placed here will be found in Detail A to this Appendix.

Refer also to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A concerning Mithridateses and Ariaratheses.

(2)



(2)(a)



“Seleucus II Callinicus succeeded his father, Antiochus Theos.... ... He had married Laodice [#3], the sister of one of his generals, by whom he had two sons, Seleucus [III] and Antiochus [III], and a daughter whom he gave in marriage to Mithridates king of Pontus.” L 555.

Seleucus II was taken prisoner by Arsaces, “an officer who made himself powerful by the dissensions...between the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus [presumably, Seleucus II’s sons];” and, after being a prisoner of Parthia for some time, Seleucus II was killed by a fall from a horse “b.c. 226, after a reign of 20 years.” L 555.

“Seleucus III (“Ceraunus”) succeeded his father Seleucus II.” “He was murdered by two of his officers after a reign of three years, b.c. 223, and his brother, Antiochus [III], though only 15...ascended.” L 555.

³ Antiochus III’s queen Laodike “actually was his cousin, being the daughter of Laodike [B], [who was] the sister of Seleucus II and [later] wife of Mithridates...of Pontus.” *Burstein*, page 45, fn. 6. (Derived timeframes do not allow this Mithridates to be “II.”)

Antiochus [III], the third of that name, surnamed the Great, brother to Seleucus Ceraunus. ” L 53.

“Laodice [B], a sister of Mithridates [VII] who married Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and afterwards her own [half?-] brother, Mithridates [VII].” L 1826 Ed.

“Laodice [#3], daughter of Mithridates II[VII]⁴ of Pontus, married Antiochus III...(221 b.c.).” O 814.

“Letter of Queen Laodike III [#3], wife of Antiochus III, about 197 b.c.” refers to “my brother and his house.” *Burstein*, p. 48. (The letter detailed the powerful queen’s benefactions to Iasus/Iasos in Caria, after Antiochus III had captured the city, and is “an example of the powers of a Seleucid queen.” O 815, which gives, “c. 195 b.c.”)

Antiochus [III] “had three sons, Seleucus Philopater, Antiochus Epiphanes, and Demetrius. The first succeeded him, and the two others were kept as hostages by the Romans.” L 54.

One “Tigranes” referred to as “king of Armenia” had as a wife a Cleopatra who was a “sister of Mithridates.” L 1826 Ed., citing *Justin*. 38, v.3. Other uses of “Tigranes,” refer to Appendix 4B, Att. 2, C(1).

“Of Laodice’s [#3’s] children, Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV reigned as kings, while her daughter, Cleopatra I, was married to Ptolemy V.” O 815.

See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6, for additional Cleopatra I data.

“Mithridates V [of Pontus] strengthened himself...by an alliance with Antiochus [III] the Great, whose daughter Laodice [#4] he married.” L 373.

Antiochus III “reigned 36 years.” He was killed with his followers “187 years before the Christian era,” by the inhabitants of Susiana, where he attempted to plunder its temple of Belus.” L 53; refer to 3A, VI, Attachment 1 for preceding events concerning Antiochus III.

“Laodice [B], a sister of Mithridates [VII] who married Ariarathes [VII], king of Cappadocia, and afterwards her own [half?-] brother, Mithridates [VII]. During the secret absence of Mithridates, she prostituted herself to her servants, in hopes that her husband was dead; but when she saw her expectations frustrated, she attempted to poison Mithridates, for which she was put to death.” L 312 and 1826 Ed. (If the within charts are correct, this could mean that Laodice was returned to Mithridates after the dealings with Rome, and her aid from Nicomedes II?—refer to Detail A).

Continued next page...

⁴ See preceding fn.

(3)

Seleucus IV <i>Philopater</i>		Antiochus IV <i>Epiphanes</i>		
/ + ?		/ + ?		
Demetrius I [-S] ⁵ Soter	? + ?	Alexander Bala		Antiochus V <i>Eupator</i>
/ + ?	/	+ Cleopatra [III]	/ + ?	/
Demetrius II <i>Nicator/Nicanor</i>	Antiochus VII <i>Sidetes</i> ⁶	/ (first of her marriages)	Antiochus VI ⁷	[Diodorus <i>Tryphon</i>]
+ Cleopatra [III] (second marriage)	+ Cleopatra [III] (third marriage)	?	<i>Entheus/Noble</i>	
-----Continued in-----				
Appendix 4B, Attachment 4.				

“Seleucus IV succeeded his father, Antiochus the Great.” “His son [was] Demetrius [I].” L 554. “Seleucus the Fourth...was surnamed *Philopater*, or, according to Josephus, Soter.” L 1826 Ed.

Seleucus IV was poisoned after a reign of 12 years, b.c. 175. “His son, Demetrius [I-S],” educated at Rome, “became a prince of great abilities.” L 1826 Ed.

“The fourth Antiochus, surnamed *Epiphanes* or *Illustrious*, was king of Syria after his [older] brother Seleucus [IV] and reigned 11 years.” (He had been a hostage at Rome from 189 to 176 b.c., and was living at Athens at the time of his brother’s murder.) L 54. “He destroyed Jerusalem, as is minutely recorded in the book of the Maccabees.” L 1826 Ed.

“Antiochus IV died in Iran sometime between mid-November and mid-December 164 (cf. 1 Maccabees 6:1-16).” *Burstein*, page 58, n. 3.

“Antiochus the Fifth, surnamed *Eupator*, succeeded his father *Epiphanes* on the throne of Syria, 164 b.c. He made peace with the Jews, and in the second year of his reign, was assassinated by his uncle, Demetrius [I] Soter, who said the crown was lawfully his own, and that it had been wrested from his father.” L 54. (The reference to “uncle” would indicate on the maternal side, in that, on the paternal side, they were cousins, each being a son of a son of Antiochus III.)

“Demetrius the First, surnamed *Soter*, son of Seleucus [IV] *Philopater*.” L 1826 Ed. (“Demetrius, a prince surnamed *Soter*, was son of Seleucus *Philopater*, the son of Antiochus the Great.” L 197.)

Demetrius I was initially given by his father to Rome as a hostage. When *Philopater* died and his brother had usurped the throne, Demetrius I escaped Rome to Syria, “where the troops received him as their lawful sovereign, b.c. 162.” L 1826 Ed.

⁵To distinguish from Macedonian Demetrii.

⁶Antiochus VII “the brother of Demetrius” [II]” (*AJ* XIII.VII.1) and Cleopatra III’s “brother-in-law” (L 197). If all the related statements are correct also, then Demetrius I, Bala and Antiochus VII all would have had to have the same mother, “x”?--x + Seleucus IV = Demetrius I; x + y = Antiochus VII; x + Antiochus IV = Bala.

⁷“Brother of Demetrius II” (see quotation at *Josephus* 13/L 1826 Ed.) would indicate Antiochus VI and Demetrius II shared the same mother.

Demetrius I put to death Antiochus V Eupator and Lysias and gained the crown.” L 1826 Ed.
Demetrius I was defeated in a battle in the 12th year of his reign, by “Alexander Bala, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes [IV],” [who] laid claim to the crown.” L 1826 Ed.

“A pretended son of Balas called Diodorus Tryphon.” L 197.

“Tryphon, a tyrant of Apamea in Syria, put to death by Antiochus [VII]. *Justin.* 36, c. 1.” L 629.

“Tryphon, a surname of one of the Ptolemies. *Aelian.* V.H. 14, v. 31.” L 629.

“Diodorus, a general of Demetrius. [no citation]” L 205.

“Cleopatra [III], a daughter of Ptolemy Philometor...married [first to] Alexander Bala.” L 1826 Ed.

See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6 for additional Cleopatra III data.

“Antiochus the Sixth...was surnamed *Entheus* or *Noble*. His father, Alexander Bala, [had] entrusted him to the care of Malcus, an Arabian; and he received the crown from Tryphon, in opposition to his brother Demetrius [II--this would indicate that Antiochus VI and Demetrius II had the same mother].... Before he had been a year on the throne, Tryphon murdered him, 143 b.c. and reigned in his place for three years. *Joseph.* 13.” L 1826 Ed.

“The seventh king of Syria was called Sidetes.” L 54.

Antiochus [VII], son of Demetrius [II], “wrote to high priest Simon of his embarking on reclaiming the kingdom of his ancestors,” and invaded it “in the year 174 [137 b.c.]” 1 Maccabees XV.1ff.

Descendancies resume in Appendix 4B, Attachment 3.

⁸This reference appears to further complicate their relationship?--refer to fn. 6.

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A

MITHRIDATES and ARIARATHES DYNASTIES (Pontus and Cappadocia)

Note: The purpose of this Detail only is to provide general familiarity. It demonstrates complications in tracing dynastic lines fraught with same-named individuals. Data is from *Lempriere* ("L"), pages 375-376 or other page(s) cited and from *Ency.* pages 93-96, with Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5 as an additional source.

(1) Mithridates/Mithradates

(a) Rulers

Mithridates I, "third king of Pontus;"¹ tributary of Persia (Xenophon called him a governor merely, of Cappadocia. He was conquered in battle and unable to gain freedom. He was succeeded by Ariobarzanes B.C. 363."

Ariobarzanes "II" [A], to 338 or 337 b.c.

"Mithridates I of Pontus...got control of Western Asia Minor on the defeat of Lysimachus (281)." (*Ency.* 81)
(Seleucus I died 280 b.c.)

"Mithridates II, grandson to Mithridates I...made himself master of Pontus;" he aided Antiochus Hierax against Seleucus II (Seleucus I had died 280 b.c.). Mithridates II reigned "about 26 years...died at age 84 B.C. 202," and was succeeded by his son, Mithridates III."

(In 241 b.c. Seleucus II recognized his brother, Antiochus Hierax, a younger son of Laodice [#2], as ruler of Asia Minor.)

"Mithridates III was son of Mithridates II., enlarged [his] possessions by the conquest of Cappadocia and Paphlygonia, and died after a reign of 26 years."

Using L's date of 202 as death of Mithridates II, (202 - 26 =) yields 176 b.c. as the approximate last year of Mithridates III).

"Pharnaces, a king of Pontus who made war with Eumenes [of Pergamus] BC 181." (L 459)

"Ariobarzanes [B] [son of Mithridates III per next quotation], and a satrap of Phrygia. After the death of Mithridates [III], he invaded the kingdom of Pontus, Cappadocia and Paphlygonia and kept it for 26 years. He was succeeded by the [another] son of Mithridates [III]." (L 75 and 1826 Ed.)

Using 176 b.c. as approximate last year of Mithridates III, (176 - 26 =) yields 150 b.c. as an approximate last year of Ariobarzanes [B], which does not tally with next.

"Mithridates IV succeeded his father, Ariobarzanes, who was the son of Mithridates III."

"Mithridates IV, king of Pontus since 120, made war on Rome." He absorbed Colchis...the kingdom of Bosphorus...Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia."

"Mithridates V succeeded his father Mithridates IV and strengthened himself on the throne by

¹ According to *Lempriere*, the first king of Pontus was *Artabazes* and possibly the same Artabazes of the seven noble Persians who enabled Darius I's accession. (A *Pharnaces* is suggested by some sources as preceding Mithridates I, which would fit with *Lempriere*'s reference to the latter as "third" king.)

an alliance with Antiochus [III] the Great, whose daughter Laodice [#4] he married. He was succeeded by his son, Pharnaces.”

[A *Pharnaces*?--see next.]

“*Mithridates VI* succeeded his *father Pharnaces* [and] was the first king of Pontus to make an alliance with the Romans. He furnished them with a fleet in the third Punic war and assisted them against Aristonicus who had laid claim to the kingdom of Pergamus.”² “He was called *Euergetes* and received from the Roman people the province of Phrygia Major. He was murdered BC 123.”³

“*Mithridates VII* surnamed *Eupator* and *the Great* succeeded his father Mithridates VI...at age 11.” “He [eventually] murdered his own mother, who had been left by his father as co-heiress of the kingdom,” and had to fortify himself by drinking antidotes against murderous attempts by court enemies. “He murdered the two sons whom his sister Laodice [B] had had by Ariarathes [VII], king of Cappadocia,” and he placed one of his own children, only eight years old, on the vacant throne. “These violent proceedings alarmed Nicomedes [II *Philopater*] king of Bithynia,⁴ who married Laodice [B] widow of Ariarathes. Nicomedes suborned a youth, advanced as a third son of Ariarathes, to be king of Cappadocia, and sent Laodice to Rome to impose upon the Senate and assure them that her third [such] son was still alive, and that his pretensions to the kingdom of Cappadocia were just and well grounded.” Mithridates VII made the same argument--that the youth he had on the throne was a legitimate third surviving Cappadocian son. The Romans, displeased, took Cappadocia from him and Paphlagonia from Nicomedes and offered their people freedom. The Cappadocians refused and received Ariobarzanes as king. “Such were the first seeds of enmity” between Rome and Mithridates VII.” *Continued below at (b)*.

Cappadocia

“*Ariobarzanes* [C], made king of Cappadocia by the Romans after the troubles, which the false Ariarathes [above] had raised, subsided. Rome appointed Lucius Cornelius Sulla/Sylla to the task, which he easily effected.⁵ He followed the interest of Pompey, and fought [later, with Pompey] at Pharsalia [48 b.c.] against Julius Caesar. He and his kingdom were preserved by means of Cicero.”⁶ (L 75, 586, 460.)

“*Pharnaces*, a son of Mithridates [VII] king of Pontus, who favored the Romans against his father ...and revolted...even caused his father to be put to death, according to some accounts. In the civil wars of Julius Caesar and Pompey he interested himself for neither.... Julius Caesar turned his army against him and conquered him” (from whence came the famous J. Caesar quote: *veni, vidi, vice*). Pharnaces’ reign is given by one popular source as,

² Ariarathes VI [part (2) below] also “assisted his friends of Rome against Aristonicus.”

³ *Ency.* 37 relates, concerning “Pontus and Paphlagonia, [that] Mithridates I after the battle of Ipsus (301) founded a dynasty that came to an end with the great Mithridates VI Eupator (120-64 b.c.), the implacable enemy of the Romans.” Mithridates VII would appear to be intended?

⁴ Nicomedes II reigned 59 years from the time of driving his father from the kingdom and causing the father’s assassination in 149 b.c. L 397. (149 - 59 = 90 b.c.)

⁵ Lucius Cornelius Sulla/Sylla began as a “young aristocrat and quaestor under [another ambitious Roman general] Marius.” *Botsford* 162. (Subsequent enmity and competition between Sulla and Marius led to civil strife among the Romans, c. 88 b.c.)

⁶ A last *Ariobarzanes* was “a Mede of elegant stature and great prudence, whom [Caesar] Tiberius appointed to settle the troubles of Armenia.” L 75

"Pharnaces II, 63 - 47 b.c."⁷

(b) *Mithridaticum Bellum*⁸

1. The "First" Mithridatic War.

Relentless battling, collectively referred to as the 'Mithridatic War,' between regional contenders and Roman generals, commenced "89 years B.C....one of the longest and most celebrated wars ever carried on by the Romans against a foreign power." "The duration of the Mithridatic War is not precisely known." (It is said to have lasted 40 years, by Justin, Orosius, Florus and Eutropius; in the "opinion of others, 30 years, far more credible [although], by proper calculation, there elapsed no more than 26 years from the time that Mithridates [VII] first entered the field against the Romans, till the time of his death."⁹

Mithridates VII "had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from the kings which he had driven out." His "eldest son was in the realm of Pontus and of Bosphorus.... The other also, Ariarathes, was with a great army in conquering of Thracia and Macedon." Among Ariarathes' captains was one "Archelaus, being lord and master of all the sea for the great number of ships he had, [having] conquered the Isle of Cyclades, and all those beyond the head of Malea, and specially amongst others the Isle of Euboea."

Mithridates forces "had made all the nations of Greece [save Athens] to rebel...." In 88 b.c. Rome appointed Sylla/Sulla consul to command the war for Rome. Sulla in Greece first "recovered immediately all the...cities of Greece" except Athens; "drove Mithridates VII's generals, Archelaus and Aristion, back into the Piraeus and Athens, respectively;" and in 86 b.c. conquered Athens. (Over the next year or so he served Archelaus two more defeats, at Chaeronea and Orchomenos.)¹⁰

"Sulla, supported by a fleet collected in Asia and Syria by one L. Licinius Lucullus, moved...into Asia, where Mithridates made peace." "[T]here came one Archelaus a merchant to him...who brought a secret message from th'other Archelaus, King Mithridates lieutenant," requesting a meeting. "[P]eace was concluded between them [Sylla and Archelaus] under conditions that Mithridates should depart from Asia the less, and from Paphlagonia; that he should restore Bithynia unto Nicomedes, and Cappadocia unto Ariobarzanes; that he should pay two thousand talents ["3000 talents"] to the Romans, and give them three score and ten galleys ["80 warships"]¹¹ And upon this Sylla would also assure him the rest of his realm and would cause him to be proclaimed a friend of the Romans."

Mithridates VII reluctantly agreed to the settlement. "Then Sylla saluted, embraced and kissed him, and calling for the kings Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their friend again." Mithridates "returned to his realm of Pontus." Sylla left "two legions to police Asia and to help Lucullus collect an immense fine of 20,000 talents from the Asiatic cities, while he himself returned to Italy," all c. 84 b.c. (Sylla went on to crush civil warring and associated revolts in Italy, "then had himself appointed [Roman] dictator [ostensibly] for the purpose of restoring the state," but bloodily made himself absolute. He imposed a number of reforms and then voluntarily retired. He "died... about 78 years before Christ." [L 584].)

2. The "Second" Mithridatic War.

⁷ *Wikipedia*, on-line.

⁸ Sources: *Ency.* (see next fn. for pages) and *Plutarch*, vol. I, "The Life of Sylla," pp. 732-801 *en passim*.

⁹ *Ency.* pp. 93, 95 and 128 give the following dates: "First Mithridatic War" 88-84 b.c.; "Second" 83-81; "Third" 74-64 [88 - 64 = 24 years].

¹⁰ An interested reader is referred to *Plutarch* for in-depth details of the several battles in various territories and involved individuals.

¹¹ Bracketed figures are from *Ency.* p. 94.

The second war “resulted from a Roman invasion of Cappadocia and Pontus. After [Roman] victory, peace was renewed on the terms of 84 b.c.”

By 77 b.c., a “brilliant young Roman Commander, Gnaeus Pompeus (Pompey), son of a general...and a protege of Sulla/[Sylla]” had distinguished himself highly in military service. (In his earlier years he had embraced Sulla’s cause.) Pompey became known as “the Great,” for achievements during 73 - 71 b.c. in the “Third Servile War...[which] the Thracian gladiator Spartacus and other gladiators started...seizing Mt. Vesuvius, to which rallied many fugitive slaves.” Pompey returned from service in Spain and “finished off the stragglers.” In 67 b.c. “tribune A. Gabinius secured the passage of the *lex Gabinia*, which conferred upon Pompey for three years the command of the Mediterranean and its coasts for 50 miles inland, equal to that of the governors in each province.... Thus enabled to mobilize all available resources, Pompey in three months cleared the sea of pirates and pacified Cilicia.”

3. The “Third” Mithridatic War.

“Mithridates [VII], encouraged by Rome’s troubles at home, supported his son-in-law Tigranes of Armenia¹² c. 74 b.c., in the annexation of Cappadocia and Syria.” “Nicomedes III of Bithynia bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, presumably to protect it against Mithridates, who nevertheless occupied it.” In 73 b.c. Mithridates VII was driven back by Roman consul Lucullus, who occupied Pontus while Mithridates retreated to the court of Tigranes. Lucullus won one battle with Tigranes; but mutiny among Lucullus’ troops, as they proceeded into Armenia’s mountains, forced him to retire.

In 66 b.c., the Roman *lex Manilia*, supported by orator M. Tullius Cicero, “gave Pompey a command over all Asia equal to that of the governors and valid until the conclusion of the war...(without time limit).”

A battle between Mithridates VII and Pompey near the Euphrates “resulted in a universal overthrow.” Mithridates fled to son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia, who priorly had been a consistent supporter; now, however, Tigranes refused asylum. Mithridates VII found a temporary “safe retreat among the Scythians,” where, although destitute of any true resources, “he meditated [the possibility of] penetrating into the heart of Italy by land.” That, together with others of Mithridates’ “wild projects,” were rejected by his followers; and Mithridates sued for peace, instead. Pompey responded to his ambassadors that Mithridates had to ask in-person, which Mithridates, untrusting, scorned.

Mithridates VII’s subjects and followers withdrew support and made his son, Pharnaces, king. Mithridates “obliged his wife to take poison” and she died. When he failed to die from it, he stabbed himself and still did not die: “A Gaul, who was then present...at his [Mithridates’] request, gave him the final stroke, about 63 years before the christian era, in the 72nd year of his age.”¹³

In “47 b.c., [Julius] Caesar advanced into Syria to meet the son of the great Mithridates, Pharnaces, who had invaded Pontus. On August 2, Caesar defeated him at Zela (*veni, vidi, vici*).” *Ency.* 97.

(c) Two other *Mithraditeses/Mithridateses* listed are:

- (1) *Mithridates*, a herdsman of Astyages; he preserved the life of Cyrus II.
- (2) *Mithridates*, a later king of Pergamus who embraced the cause of Julius Caesar, was made king of Bosphorus by him, and who some supposed to be the son of the great Mithridates [VII] by a concubine.

¹² Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, P.

¹³ But “according to some writers,” Pharnaces “ordered Mithridates to be put to death.”
App3A.VI.Att5.DetailA 470

(2) Ariarathes.¹⁴

Ariarathes I

“King of Cappadocia who joined Persian Darius *Ochus* in his expedition against Egypt.

Ariarathes II

Nephew of Ariarathes I; defended his kingdom against Macedonia’s Perdiccas III. Ariarathes II “was defeated and hung on a cross in the 81st year of his age BC 321.”

Ariarathes III

Son of Ariarathes II; escaped the massacre of his father and his father’s followers. “After the death of Perdiccas he recovered Cappadocia by conquering Amyntas, the Macedonian general. He was succeeded by his son Ariamnes.”

Ariamnes

“King of Cappadocia; son of Ariarathes III.”

Ariarathes IV

Succeeded his father Ariamnes, and married Stratonice [#3], daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus Theos [Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, (1)]. He died after a reign of 28 years, BC 220, and was succeeded by his son, Ariarathes V, a prince who married Antiochia, the daughter of king Antiochus.

Ariarathes V

Married to Antiochia, the daughter of the Seleucid king Antiochus. “Antiochus being defeated, Ariarathes saved his kingdom from invasion by paying the Romans a large sum of money remitted at the instance of the king of Pergamus.”

Ariarathes VI

“Son of Ariarathes V and the sixth of that name; called *Philopater*, from his piety; succeeded his father BC 166.” He allied with the Romans; was maintained on his throne by Attalus¹⁵; and was killed BC 130 in a war in which he assisted “his friends of Rome against Aristonicus the usurper of Pergamus.” (Mithridates VI, above, also assisted Rome against Aristonicus.) Ariarathes VI left “six children, five of whom were murdered by his surviving wife, Laodice [A]”—Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, (1)(a).

Ariarathes VII

“The only one who escaped [Ariarathes VII],” “was proclaimed king and soon after married Laodice [B] the sister of Mithridates [VII] Eupator, by whom he had two sons. He was murdered by an illegitimate brother, upon which his widow Laodice [B] gave herself and kingdom to Nicomedes king of Bithynia.”

Ariarathes VIII

“Mithridates [Eupator] made war against the new king and raised his [own] nephew to the throne.” “The young king, who was the eighth of the name Ariarathes, made war against the tyrannical Mithridates [Eupator], by whom he was assassinated in the presence of both armies.” Mithridates [Eupator] put his eight-year-old son on the throne.

Son of Mithridates Eupator

The Cappadocians revolted and made Ariarathes VIII’s brother, Ariarathes IX king.

¹⁴ Source, *Lempriere* 74.

¹⁵ Not Attalus I, who dates to 229 b.c.
App3A.VI.Att5.DetailA

Ariarathes IX

Mithridates Eupator expelled him and restored his son. (The exiled Ariarathes IX “died of a broken heart.”)

Son of Mithridates Eupator

Nicomedes of Bithynia “interested the Romans in the affairs of Cappadocia,” and “the arbiters wished to make the country free; but the Cappadocians demanded a king, and received Ariobarzanes BC 91 under the name of Ariarathes X.

Ariarathes X

His title was disputed by Sisenna, the eldest son of Glaphyra [A] by Archelaus priest of Comana. M. Antony umpired the contending parties and decided in favor of Sisenna/Archelaus. Although Ariarathes X “recovered it [Cappadocia] for a while...he soon after was obliged to yield in favor of Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra [A], BC 36.” (Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, P(1), “Concerning Individuals Named Archelaus.”)

Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6

**DESCENDANCIES
PTOLEMAIC MONARCHS/RELATIVES
Ptolemy II *Philadelphus* to Ptolemy VIII *Physcon***

Refer to prefaces of Attachments 4 and 5 for source information, manners of identification, etc.

(1) Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, B(6).

Ptolemy II <i>Philadelphus</i>			
/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + Arsinoe [#3] (3A,VI,Att.4,C(1))	/ + Arsinoe [#2] (3A,VI,Att.4,C(1))
/	/	/	/
Berenice [II] + Antiochus II (3A,VI,Att. 5(1))	Ptolemy III <i>Euergetes</i>	a Son	a Son
	/ + Berenice IV / <i>or</i> + Agathocleia	/ + Berenice III (3A,VI,Att.4,B(6)) / Queen of Cyrene	/ + ? a Son--
	/	?	/ + ? a Daughter--
	Ptolemy IV <i>Philopater</i> <i>Continued in part (2)</i>		"Brother," undesignated, -----of Ptolemy IV-----

Ptolemy II ultimately succeeded Ptolemy I--who "died in the 84th year of his age, after a reign of 39 years, about 284 years before Christ"--when Ptolemy Ceraunus of Macedon (son of Ptolemy I by Eurydice #3), was unable to mount the Egyptian throne. L 511; 3A, VI, Attachment 4, C(6) and narrative E.

"Laodike [Laodice #2], wife of Antiochos II [Attachment 5, (1)] was divorced by him in 252 in order to marry Berenike [Berenice II], daughter of Ptolemais II, a marriage that appears to have been one of the conditions for ending the Second Syrian War." *Burstein*, p. 32, fn. 2. (After a revolt by Ptolemy II's [half-] "brother [by the same mother] Magas, king of Cyrene, which had been kindled by Antiochus [II] the Syrian king," there was "re-established peace for some time in the family of Philadelphus. Antiochus [II]...married Berenice [II] the daughter of Ptolemy [II]. ...[T]hough old and infirm," Ptolemy II conducted his daughter to...and assisted at the nuptials." L 511.)

"Arsinoe [#2], wife [to and half-] sister of Ptolemy the Second," *Strabo*, vol. V, page 65--at some unknown point "afterwards" of Ptolemy II's marriage to Arsinoe #3, he married his [half-] sister Arsinoe [#2], previously wife of Lysimachus #1. She had been banished to Samothrace sometime after Ptolemy Ceraunus had "murdered the two young princes [of Arsinoe #2 by Lysimachus #1] in their mother's arms." L 514. Arsinoe #2 was loved by Ptolemy II "with uncommon tenderness, and to her memory he began to erect a celebrated monument." ¹ L 511.

Ptolemy II "Philadelphus died in the 64th year of his age, 246 years before the christian era. He left two sons and a daughter by Arsinoe [#3], the daughter of Lysimachus [#1]." L 511.

After Ptolemy II's death, Antiochus II of Syria recalled Laodice #2 as queen in place of Berenice II; Laodice #2 "murdered Berenice [II] and her child at Antioch where she had fled, b.c. 248." *Refer to 3A, VI, Att. 5(1).*

Strabo poses omission of Ptolemy III and raises a question as to Ptolemy IV's mother: "Ptolemy son of Lagus...in turn was succeeded by *Philadelphus*, and then he [*was succeeded*]

¹For Arsinoe [#2]'s descendancy via first husband, Lysimachus [#1], her acquisition by Ptolemy Ceraunus (and his murder of her children), *refer to 3A, VI, Attachment 4, B(6)*. "Arsinoe [#2] Philadelphus, the deified sister-wife of Ptolemais II," who had a cult in all Egyptian temples. *Burstein*, p. 120. (Papyri fragments exist "of Alexandrian sacred law concerning sacrifices to Arsinoe Philadelphus; Oxyrhynchose, Egypt, law dated about 267"--it not known whether she was deified in her lifetime or posthumously. *Burstein*, p. 119.) Dedication of Arsinoe (II) to the Great Gods; Samothrace, about 300-218 b.c. Marble fragments of six blocks.... Queen Arsinoe [*lacuna*] Ptolemais the daughter of King [*lacuna*] the wife [*lacunae; unknown number of missing letters*]...." (Suggested has been, "'Queen Arsinoe, of King *Lysimachus*; the daughter of *Ptolemais I and Berenike I* [316-270]";" *Burstein*, page 4, fn.)

by *Philopator the son of Agathocleia.*" VIII, page 43. (*Strabo* presents two other omissions in his report of Ptolemaic succession--refer to fn. 5.)

"Ptolemy III succeeded his father Philadelphus." He was called "Euergetes." L 105.

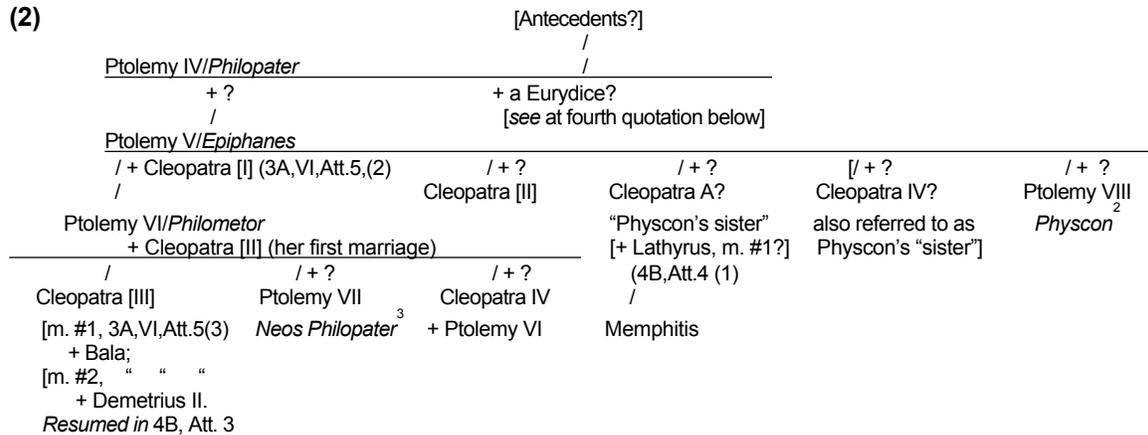
"Berenice [III], c. 273-221 b.c., queen of ancient Cyrene [modern Libya] and Egypt. She was the daughter and successor of king Magas of Cyrene [3A, VI, Att. 4, (6)]. In 247 b.c. she married Ptolemy III, thereby effectively annexing Cyrene to Egypt. According to Callimachus and Catullus, Ptolemy III named a constellation after her, Berenice's Hair (Coma Berenices) [or it was given the name by Eratosthenes, head of Alexandria's library, for a new constellation he had discovered]." *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th Ed. 2001; *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia* 2000, Columbia University Press.

Ptolemy III Euergetes "early engaged in a war against Antiochus [II] Theus, for his unkindness to Berenice [II]." L 512.

"Another Berenice [IV], daughter of Philadelphus and Arsinoe [#3], who married her own [half-?] brother [Ptolemy III] Euergetes.... Berenice [IV] was put to death by her son [or step-son], b.c. 221." L 105.

Ptolemy III "died 221 b.c. after a reign of twenty-five years. L 1826 Ed.

(2)



-----*Resumed in Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, which contains relevant quotations*-----

After Ptolemy III's death, Berenice III "ruled conjointly with her [step?-] son, Ptolemy IV, until he had her put to death." *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th Ed. 2001; *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia* 2000, Columbia University Press.

Ptolemy IV "succeeded his father Euergetes, and received the surname *Philopater* by antiphrasis, because, according to some historians, he destroyed his father by poison....and he successively sacrificed to his avarice his own mother [or step-mother, Berenice IV], his wife [Berenice III], sister and his brother." L 512. He "received the name *Tiphon* from his extravagance and debauchery." L 512.

"Berenice [III]...was put to death by her son, B.C. 221." L 105.

Ptolemy IV "disgraced himself by his licentious amours with the courtesan ["the king's mistress"] Agathoclea who, in her influence, was assisted by her brother, [an] Agathocles." L 1826 Ed. "Agathoclea, an Egyptian courtesan for whom one of the Ptolemies destroyed his wife Eurydice [undesigned?] to marry. She [Agathoclea], with her brother[/"her mother"], long governed the kingdom, and attempted to murder the king's son." Plut. in Cleom.--Justin, 30.c.1." L 1826 Ed. [*Plutarch* 669].

"Cleopatra [II], a daughter of Ptolemy [V] Epihanes, who married [Ptolemy VI] Philometor, and afterwards [Ptolemy VIII] Physcon of Cyrene." L 154; Appendix 4B,

²This Ptolemy more commonly is numbered as VII; see next footnote.

³Confusion in numbering of above Ptolemies VII and VIII has resulted in VII's omission from charts, although (as *Asimov* states) "sometimes," as it is here, "VII is reserved for the young son of Ptolemy VI." Vol. 2, p. 51.

Attachment 4.

Ptolemy IV “died in the 37th year of his age, after a reign of 17 years, 204 years before the christian era.” L 512.

Ptolemy V, “surname *Epiphanes*, succeeded his father Philopater...though only in the fourth year of his age [“under the protection of Sosibius and of Aristomenes”].⁴

Ptolemy V, after he came of age, offered to assist the Romans during their warring “against the monarch [Antiochus III] whose daughter Cleopatra [I] he had married....” L 512.

Ptolemy V died “B.C. 180” after a reign of 24 years, being poisoned by ministers from whom he threatened to take funds for a war chest.

Ptolemy VI “surname Philometor, on account of his hatred against his mother, Cleopatra [I].” He “succeeded his father Epiphanes...in the sixth year of his age...and during his minority the kingdom was governed by his mother, and at her death by a eunuch who had obtained a strong ascendancy over him, and was one of his principal favorites.” L 512.

“Cleopatra [III], a daughter of Ptolemy [VI] Philometor, married Alexander Bala, and afterwards [Demetrius II] Nicanor [and afterwards, Antiochus VII]”--refer to 3A, VI, Attachment 5.

“Ptolemy [VI] Philometor [died] 145 years before the christian era.” L 513.

“Ptolemy [VIII] Euergetes II/Physcon, a younger brother” of Ptolemy VI. L 513.

“Ptolemy VIII “repudiated Cleopatra [II] and married her daughter by Philometor, also called Cleopatra [IV].” L 513.

⁴The text of the famous Rosetta Stone celebrated Ptolemy V on his first year anniversary. (The text was engraved in three scripts--hieroglyphs, Egyptian demotic and Greek, and its discovery in 1799 opened a new era of deciphering ancient writings.)

Appendix 3B, I.

NAMES Supplemental Listing

Note: This listing primarily offers additional avenues for comparison. Many of its names are explored in other segments (e.g. citations related to post-exilic proceedings are referenced in Appendix 3B, II, Detail A). Biblical encyclopedias comparable to those employed in this work will enable locating verses for some few items not referenced elsewhere in this work.

ABIAH - see Abijah/Abijam.

ABIEL - see Jehiel/[Abiel].

ABI-EZER

- (1) (a) (Manasseh-Machir-) Gilead and Gilead's sister, Hammoleketh/Hammolecheth; (Hammoleketh-) *Abiezer*. *1 Chronicles* 7:17-18;
- (b) (Asenath + Joseph-Manasseh-Machir-Sons of Gilead-) *Jeezer/sons of Abiezer*. *Numbers* 26:28-30; *Joshua* 17:1-2;
- (c) (Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas-) *Abiezer/Abishua* in the chief priest line;
- (d) (Joash, the *Abiezrite*-) Judge Gideon; *Judges* 6:11--refer to Appendices 1C, sub-part VI, C, and 3B, II, sub-part II, A, and Attachment 1.
- (2) Ophrah of the *Abi-ezrites*." *Judges* 6:24, 8:32.
- (3) *Abiezer* "the Anethothite/[Anathothite]" "of the Benjaminites"--one of king David's 37 most valiant captains; head of a divisional force of 24,000 that served the king the ninth month of the year. *2 Samuel* 23:27; *1 Chronicles* 11:28, 27:12.

ABIJAH/ABIAH/ABIJAM

- (1) (Benjamin-Becher-) *Abiah*. *1 Chronicles* 7:8.
- (2) (*Abiah/Abijah* + Hezron -) Ashur, "father of Tekoa." Refer to Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, at fn. 20.
- (3) "[T]he name of his/[Samuel's (+ Hannah)] son firstborn Joel, and the name of his second *Abiah/[Abijah]*." *1 Samuel* 8:2; *1 Chronicles* 6:28; refer also to Elkanah, this appendix.
- (4) *Abijah*, 8th priesthood division under king David.
- (5) (a) (Maachah/Michaiah + [Solomon -] Rehoboam-) *Abijah/Abijam*, south king #2;
- (b) (? + Jeroboam -) *Abijah/Abijam*--refer to Appendices 2C, II - IV.
- (6) ([? + high priest Jehoiada -] Zechariah + ? -) *Abijah/Abi*, who became wife of king Ahaz and mother of his successor, king Hezekiah. *2 Kings* 18:2; refer to Appendices 2C, III and IV.
- (7) (a) *Abijah*, a division/individual who returned with Zerubbabel;
- (b) Zichri was head priest of the priesthood division of *Abijah* "in the days of Joacim;"
- (c) *Abijah*, a priest or division that sealed the Nehemiah covenant--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.
- (8) *Abijah*, priest house/division over which Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, was chief (book four).

ABISHUA

- (1) Benjamin-Bela-) *Abishua* (*1 Chronicles* 8:1-4), but not named among (Benjamin-) Bela descendants at *Numbers* 26:38ff. and *1 Chronicles* 7:6ff. (Refer also to Appendix 1C, VI, D, "Manasseh- Benjamin 'Shuppim and Muppim' Puzzle.")
- (2) (Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas-) *Abiezer/Abishua* in the chief priest line. Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A, and Attachment 1.

ADAIHAH

(1) *Adaiah* in a long Benjamin descendency chain seemingly involved with Manasseh; refer to Appendix 1C, VI, D, in conjunction with *1 Chronicles* 8:1ff.

(2) (Levi-Gershom-Jahath-Shimei-Zimnah-Ethan-*Adaiah*-Zerah-Ethni-Malchiah-Baaseiah-Michael-Shimea-Berachiah-) Asaph. *1 Chronicles* 6:39-43.

(3) (*Adaiah*-) Maaseiah, one of the “heads of hundreds” who covenanted with Jehoshaphat in the overthrow of queen Athaliah. *1 Chronicles* 23:1ff.

(4) (*Adaiah* of Bozkath-) Jedidah, mother of king Josiah.

(5) (a) (Malchijah-Pashur-Jeroham-) *Adaiah* “of the priests;”

(b) (Malchijah-Pashur-Zechariah-Amzi-Pelaliah-Jeroham-) *Adaiah* “from the priests;” see at Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, fn. 24.

(6) Among “sons of Judah and...Benjamin” living at Jerusalem, numbered under “sons of Perez,” was (Shiloni-Zechariah-Joiarib-*Adaiah*-Hazaiah-Colhozeh-Baruch-) Maaseiah; *Nehemiah* 11:5.

(7) *Adaiah*, found to have a foreign wife/family; named in two listings of sons of *Bani*; Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, B, Chart B, (b).

ADNAH/ADNA

(1) *Adnah*, one of seven captains of “thousands” under of Manasseh that joined David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:20.

(2) *Adnah*, who headed a company of 300,000 men of Judah under King Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:13-16, 19.

(3) “[Belonging to] Obadyo/[Obadiah] son of *Adnah*” appears on an ancient artifact --see *Obadiah*, this appendix.

(4) (a) *Adna*, head priest of the division of Harim in the “days of Joacim;”

(b) *Adna*, of the sons of Pahath-Moab, found to have a foreign wife/family; refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

ADONIKAM

(1) 666/667 sons of *Adonikam* were with the first post-Babylon repatriation group and 60/70, with the second. Appendix 3B, II, sub-parts III, A(5) and (3), and B.

(2) At the time of the Nehemiah covenant, the chief of the *Adonikam* family appears to have been listed by the name *Adonijah*. *Nehemiah* 10:16 and *Ezra* 8:13 show “from the sons of *Adonikam*...Eliphelet, Jeiel and Shemaiah.”

AHIJAH/AHIAH

- see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, sub-part II, (b).

AHIKAM

(1) One only apparent use:

(a) (Shaphan-) *Ahikam*, one of five men sent by high priest Hilkiyah to Huldah for guidance; *2 Kings* 12:12 and :14; *2 Chronicles* 34:20.

(b) (Shaphan-) *Ahikam* opposed putting the prophet Jeremiah to death; *Jeremiah* 26:24.

(c) “Gedaliah the son of *Ahikam*;” *2 Kings* 25:22.

(d) The king of Babylon appointed “Gedaliah the son of *Ahikam* the son of Shaphan” over Judah’s cities; *Jeremiah* 40:5.

AMARIAH

(1) *Amariah*, twice-named in an uncertain portion of the chief priest line, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(2) (Levi-Kohath-Of the Sons of Hebron-) “*Amariah* the second;” *1 Chronicles* 23:19, 24:23.

(3) “*Amariah* the priest chief” under king Jehoshaphat; *2 Chronicles* 19:11.

(4) *Amariah* “in [one of] the cities of the priests,” a distributor of tithes for king Hezekiah; *2 Chronicles* 31:15.

(5) (Hezekiah-*Amariah*-Gedaliah-Cushi-) Zephaniah, “in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, the king of Judah.” *Zephaniah* 1:1.

(6) (a) *Amariah*, a principal priest accompanying Zerubbabel.

(b) *Amariah*, a priest division headed by one Jehohanan in the “days of Joacim;” refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

(7) (Bani-) *Amariah*, found to have a foreign wife/family; Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, Chart B, (b).

(8) *Amariah*, a priest/division that sealed the Nehemiah covenant; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

(9) (Sons of Perez-Mehalaleel-Shephatiah-*Amariah*-Zechariah-Uzziah-) Athaiah post-exilically lived at Jerusalem; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

AMAZIAH

(1) *Amaziah*, south king #9; Section Two.

(2) (Zichri-) *Amaziah*, a military chief over 200,000 men under king Jehoshaphat. 2 *Chronicles* 17:16.

(3) Levi-Merari-Mushi-Mahli-Shemer-Bani-Amzi-Hilkiah-*Amaziah*-Hashabiah-Malluch-Abdi-Kishi -) Ethan. 1 *Chronicles* 6:44-46.

(4) *Amaziah*, priest of Bethel, who warned king Jeroboam II of the prophecy of Amos; see Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 106.

(5) (*Amaziah*-) Joshah, mentioned as a family ruler (textwise, seemingly of sons of Simeon in the days of king Hezekiah); 1 *Chronicles* 4:34.

AMOS/AMOS

(1) *Amos*, writer of the biblical book of that name.

(2) *Amos*, who ‘prophesized’ against Israel’s king Jeroboam II; see Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 105.

(3) *Amos* in the *Luke* lineage of Jesus of the *New Testament* (3:25).

(4) *Isaiah*, writer of the biblical book of that name, was “the son of *Amoz*.” *Isaiah* 1.1.

(5) King Hezekiah sent “Eliakim, who over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests...to Isaiah the prophet, the son of *Amoz*.” 2 *Kings* 19:1-2; Appendix 2C, IV at fn. 128.

ANAIAH

(1) *Anaiah*, a “head of the people” at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant;

(2) *Anaiah*, at Ezra’s right hand when he read The Law; see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

ANAN

(1) *Anan*, a “head of the people” at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

ANANI - See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Anani/Hanani.

ANANIAH

(1) Post-exilic city of Benjamin. On the basis of “Anani” as a contraction of *Ananiah*, the city is believed to have been Bethany (*i.e.* House of Anani/Ananiah’), about two miles east of Jerusalem. This site appears to have been in the vicinity of (possibly the same as) Anathoth--see below.

(2) (*Ananiah*-Maaseiah-) Azariah; *Nehemiah* 3:18.

(3) (*Ananiah*-Maaseiah-) Azariah post-exilically did repair work the wall “by his house.” *Nehemiah* 3:23.

(4) See also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Hananiah.

- (5) See also Ananias, this appendix.

ANANIAS (Greco-Roman form of *Hananiah*)

(1) (a) ("the great Samais"--the great *Ananias*-) Azarias/Raphael of *Tobit*; refer to Appendix 2C, V;

(b) *Ananias*, brother of ("the great Samais"-) Jonathas; *Tobit* 5:13.

(2) *Ananias*, who with his wife Sapphira--when followers were selling their possessions and depositing proceeds into a common fund for distribution--secretly withheld some; both met with death after apostle Peter's discernment of the deed. *Acts* 5:1ff.

(3) *Ananias*, high priest who had to answer to Rome (and was acquitted) relative to conflict between "Judeans" and "Samaritans." As presiding judge of Saul/Paul's arraignment before the Sanhedrin, Ananias with other elders and a public orator accompanied Paul to the Roman court of Governor Felix at Caesarea to answer charges.

(4) *New Testament*: Ananias, "disciple" from Damascus who baptized and commissioned Saul/Paul.

ANATHOTH

(1) A Levite city placed about three miles N/NE of Jerusalem.

(2) (Benjamin-Becher-) *Anathoth*. Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, column (3).

(3) See also Appendix 2A. Geba/Gebea/Gibeah/Gibeon.

(4) Jeremiah claimed to be "the son of Hilkiah, of the priests who in *Anathoth*; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah" (particularly, commencing at fn. 16), and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2 chart.

(5) *Anathoth*, the region of priest Abiathar who was dismissed by Solomon. Appendix 1E, fn. 88

(6) *Anathoth*, a "head" of people at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, column (5).

ANNAS

(1) Annas, who served as chief priest under Quirinius (Rome's regional governor stationed in Syria), until Jesus of the *New Testament* was about 12 years old. Annas was retired by Roman procurator Valerius Gratus. It appears that Annas remained as a chief priest *emeritus* while his son-in-law, Caiaphas, served as high priest (book four).

ASAHIAH

(1) Asahiah, * "servant¹ of the king." *2 Kings* 22:11 and 14.

ASAI AH

(1) (Levi-Merari-) Asaiah, among the men who accompanied the Ark to Jerusalem.

(2) (Simeon...-) Asaiah, a Chief involved in conquering a Gedor valley in the time of King Hezekiah.

(3) Aaiah, a "servant to the King," one of five commissioned by King Josiah to consult the prophetess Huldah.

(4) Asaiah, the "firstborn" of the sons of Perez who, with his "sons of the Shilonites" (considered descendants of Bath-Shua + Judah - Shelah), lived at Jerusalem at some point, seemingly after return from exile (Appendix 3B.II.Detail A.(C)). This *Asaiah* is taken by some scholars as being the (Shiloni-Zechariah-Joiarib-Adaiah-Hazaiah-Colhozeh-Baruch-) Maaseiah at *Nehemiah* 11:5.

ASAPH

(1) Israel-Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephanah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-Amasa-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel-Jercham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-) Heman was the brother of" (Levi-Gershom-Jahath-Shimei-Zimnah-Ethan-Adaiah-Zerah-Ethni-

¹ A term frequently used for prince-sons of a king.

Malchiah-Baaseiah-Michael-Shimea- Berachiah) *Asaph*. *1 Chronicles* 6:33 ff.

(2) *Asaph* and Heman were lead Levite "singers," *Asaph* being referred to also as a "seer" who accompanied his prophesying with the harp.

(3) *Asaph*, a Kohathite whose descendants were gatekeepers in King David's day.

(4) (Joah-) *Asaph* was among the group who went out receive the message from Assyria's King Sennacherib to King Hezekiah.

(5) "*Asaph*, the keeper of the king's forest," for whom Nehemiah had a letter of authorization to be given timber for work at Jerusalem.

ASSIR

(1) The Hebrew name/word, *Assir*, in genealogical strings generally has been taken to denote the adjective, *captive*, rather than a proper name. *Assir* appears in the following lineages:

(2) The "families of the Korahites:" "[T]he sons of Korah *Assir*, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph: these the families of the Korahites." *Exodus* 6:24.

(3) (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-) *Assir*." *1 Chronicles* 6:33ff.

(4) *Sic.*: "The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, *Assir* his son, Elkanah his son and Ebiasaph his son, and *Assir* his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uziah his son and Shaul his son." (See remainder of quotation, leading to Samuel, at Elkanah.)

(5) "[T]he sons of Jeconiah: *Assir*, Shealtiel his son, and Malchiram, and Pedaiah, and Shenazzar, Jecamiah, Hoshama, and Nebediah" (*1 Chronicles* 3:4), rendered in the *New World Translation* as "...Jeconiah the captive: Shealtiel, etc."

(6) An alternate form of *Assir* may be Azur/Azzur, below, which provides other cross-references.

AZAREL/AZAREEL

(1) (Benjamin-Bela-Uzziel [*Azarel*?]. *Exodus* 6:16ff.; *Leviticus* 10:4; *Numbers* 3:19, 30; *1 Chronicles* 6:2, 18; 23:12.

(2) *Azarel*, a mighty man who joined David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:1, 6.

(3) *Azarel/Uzziel*, head of the 11th division temple singers under King David. *1 Chronicles* 25:4, 18.

(4) (Jeroham-) *Azareel/Azarel*, chief over the tribe of Dan under King David.

(5) (Immer-Meshillemoth-Ahasai-*Azarel/Azareel*-) Amashai (with 128 men) among the priests in Nehemiah's time. *Nehemiah* 11:1, 13.

(6) *Azarel*, in the procession at the wall inauguration. *Nehemiah* 12:31, 36.

(7) (Binnui...-) *Azarel*, found to have a foreign wife/family. *Ezra* 10:19, 38-41, 44.

AZARIAH²

(1) (Judah+Tamar-Zerah-Ethan-) *Azariah*. *1 Chronicles* 2:8.

(2) "Of the sons of the Kohathites," Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-*Assir*-Tahath-Zephanah-*Azariah*-Joel-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Elieel-Jercham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-Heman the singer. *1 Chronicles* 6:33ff.

(3) Hezron-Jerahmeel-Sheshan-Unnamed Daughter of Sheshan + [Egyptian slave] Jarha-Attai-Nathan-Zabad-Ephlal-Obed-Jehu-*Azariah*-Helez-Eleasah-Sismai-Shallum-Jekamiah³-Elishama. *1 Chronicles* 2:34-39.

(4) (*Azariah*-) Hoshea, ruler of the tribe of Ephraim under king David. *1 Chronicles* 27:20.

(5) (Nathan-) *Azariah*, captain of Solomon's officers. *1 Kings* 4:5.

(6) *Azariah*, prophet son of Oded in the time of Asa. *2 Chronicles* 15:1ff.

(7) Two Jehoshaphat sons named *Azariah*; both killed when their brother Jehoram

²"Ezra" is understood to be a form of "Azariah."

³One other Jekamiah/Jecaniah, a son of King Jehoiachin born to him in Babylon.

became king. *2 Chronicles* 21:1-4.

(8) King *Azariah*, youngest son of King Jehoram and Athaliah; apparently shown also as Jehoahaz and Ahaziah. Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 77.

(9) *Azariah*, son of Obed; one of five chiefs "of hundreds," over the forces that helped enthroned Joash/Jehoash; a parallel shows Azariah, son of Jeroham, one of five chiefs, etc. *2 Chronicles* 23:1-15.

(10) *Azariah*, an alternate name of King Uzziah. Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 105.

(11) (...Aaron-Johanan..."of the house of Zadok"-) *Azariah*, high priest during reign of Uzziah; he also continued into the next reign, of King Hezekiah. Appendix 1C, IV, following fns. 110 and 122, respectively.

(12) Levi-Kohath-Amram-Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas-Abishua-Uzzi-Zerahiah-Meraioth-Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok-Ahimaaz-*Azariah*-Johanan-*Azariah*--"he who acted as priest in the house that Solomon built." *1 Chronicles* 6:1ff.

(13) (Jehohanan-) *Azariah*, a prince in Ephraim who, with other Ephraimite princes, effected release and return by Israel of 200,000 Judaeen captives. Appendix 2C, IV, preceding fn. 115.

(14) *Azariah*, high priest following Hilkiah and preceding Seraiah in the chief priesthood lineage. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(15) (Levi-Kohath...*Azariah*-) Joel, a priest of King Hezekiah's day. *2 Chronicles* 29:1-15.

(16) (Levi-Merari-Jehallelel-) *Azariah* " " " " " " " .

(17) Nebuchadnezzar, at Daniel's request, placed *Azariah*/"Abednego," Hananiah/"Shadrach," and Mishael/"Meshach" (all three taken captive taken with Daniel), "over the business of the province of Babylon." *Daniel* 2:49; 1:7.

(18) "The great Samaias"- "the great Ananias"-*Azarias*/Raphael of *Tobit*. Appendix 2C, V.

(19) See also *Jaazaniah* (4), below.

(20) Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Azariah*, for additional and subsequent uses.

AZRIKAM

(1) (Saul-Jonathan...Azal-) *Azrikam*.

(2) *Azrikam*, King Ahaz's "leader of the household," who was killed by Zichri.

(3) (Zerubbabel-Hananiah-Shecaniah/Shemaiah-Neariah-) *Azrikam*.

(4) (Sons of Merari-Hashabiah-*Azrikam*-Hasshub-) Shemaiah "of the Levites." See Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

AZUR/AZZUR

(1) (*Azzur*-) Jaazaniah. *Ezekiel* 11:1.

(2) Refer also to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah."

(3) Refer to *Assir*, above, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Hananiah #1*, concerning potentially alternate uses.

(4) *Azzur*, one of the "heads of the people" at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant.

BAGOAS/BAGOSES/BAGOHI/BIGVAI

See *Elephantine*, below, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Bagoas/etc.*

BANI

(1) (Gad-...) *Bani*, one of David's mighty men.

(2) (Levi-Merari-Mushi-Mahli-Shemer-*Bani*-Amzi-Hilkiah-Amaziah-Hashabiah-Malluch-Abdi-Kishi-) Ethan. *1 Chronicles* 6:44-47.

(3) (Of the Sons of *Bani*-) Malluch, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(4) For subsequent uses of *Bani*, see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

BARUCH

(1) (Maaseiah-Neariah-) Seraiah and *Baruch*. *Jeremiah* 36:4, refer to Appendix 2C, VI, "Jeremiah."

(2) (Chelcias-Asadias-Sedecias-Maasias-Nerias-) *Baruch*. *Baruch* 1:1.

(3) (Neariah-) *Baruch*, who scribed for Jeremiah *circa* the fifth year of king Jehoiakim. *Jeremiah* 36:5ff.; Appendix 2C, VII.

(4) See also Seals and Inscriptions, this appendix, Barekyahu.

(5) For subsequent uses of *Baruch*, see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

BERECHIAH/BARACHIAH - See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Berechiah/Barachiah.

BERIAH/BERAIAH/BERAH

(1) "The sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishuah, and Ishuai, and *Beriah*, and Serah their sister. And the sons of *Beriah*: Heber⁴ and Malchiel; he is the father of Birzavith"⁵ (Heber and Malchiel entered Egypt with Jacob); (Asher -) Jimnah, Ishuah, Isui, *Beriah*, and Serah their sister. *Genesis* 46:17.

(2) "Of the sons of Asher by their families: of Jimnah, the family of the Jimnites; of Jeshui, the family of the Jesuites; of the sons of *Beriah*, the family of the Berites/[aka Bichrites/Becherites?]" Of the sons of *Beriah*: of Heber, the family of the Heberites; of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites. And Asher's daughter's name was Sarah. These are the families of the sons of Asher, by their numbered ones, 53,400." *Numbers* 26:45.

(3) After all of Ephraim's first sons were killed at Gath, "went Ephraim in to his [unnamed] wife; and she conceived and bore a son, and he called his name *Berah*." (Berah..Tahan-Laadan-Ammihud-Elishama-Non/Nun-) Jehoshua/Joshua, Moses' successor. *1 Chronicles* 7:23-27.

(4) Sherah, daughter of Ephraim or *Beriah*/[Berah?]; built Beth-horon and Uzzen-sherah.⁶

(5) *Beriah*, one of five sons of (Benjamin...) Elpaal; he and Shema, among the chiefs of the fathers of Aijalon, drove away the people of Gath. *1 Chronicles* 8:13.

(6) (Shimhi-) *Beraiah*, a head of the fathers at Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 8:21.

(7) (Levi-Gershon-Shimei-) *Beriah*, who with his brother, Jeush, "did not have many sons" when king David instituted the priesthood divisions. *Beriah* and Jeush were placed "in one roster" of a father-house. *1 Chronicles* 23:10-11.

BETHANY - See Ananiah.

BULLAE - See Seals and Inscriptions.

COZ/KOZ - Possibly a version of Hakkoz?

ECCLESIASTICUS

Omitting the 'second' Prologue "by an Uncertain Person," that claims "this Jesus was the son of *Sirach* and grandchild to Jesus of the same name with him," data in *Ecclesiasticus* [*Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach*] are as follows: (1) "[I]n the eighth and thirtieth year coming into Egypt, when Euergetes was king [there were two *Euergetes*], and continuing there some time, "I [the writer] found a book" (original prologue); (2) "Jesus the son of *Sirach*/the son of Eleazar, son of *Sirach*, of Jerusalem hath written in this book the instruction and understanding [it contains]" (50:27/differing versions); (3) "Simon the high priest/priest, son of Onias/son of Jonathan (50:1/differing versions--see at 3B, II, Attachment 5, fn. 2).

⁴ Refer to Appendix 1D, Attachment 1.

⁵ aka "Birzaith"--some believe, a woman; others, a site near the Ephraim-Benjamin border.

⁶ ="point of Sheerah/Sherah"--an indefinitely-fixed site suggested about three miles W/SW of lower Beth-Horon.

The point from which the 38 years is measured is not supplied. However, for discussion purposes, Euergetes II's estimated first regnal year was 146 b.c. (146 + 38 = 184 b.c, coincident with reigns of Ptolemy V and Antiochus III); and Euergetes I's first regnal year, which coincides with Ptolemy II's last, was 246 b.c. (246 b.c. + 38 = 284 b.c.). It would appear more likely overall, then, that Euergetes I is the referenced monarch, taken in concert with (a) the correspondence of 284 to 285 b.c., the estimated time that Ptolemy II obtained Hebrew scholars from high priest Eleazar, to translate the Hebrew codices into Greek; (b) the considerable commentary in *Ecclesiasticus* of literary undertakings of its relatives; and (c) the different readings in some mss. of 50:27 and 50:1.

ELAH/ELA

- (1) *Continued from Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Elah.*
- (2) (Baasha-) *Elah*, a northern king; Appendices 2C.
- (3) (*Elah*-) Hoshea, a northern king; Appendices 2C.
- (4) (...-Michri-Uzzi-) *Elah*, a leading son of Benjamin living post-exilically at Jerusalem.
- (5) Sons of *Elam/Elah*, found to have foreign wives/families.

ELEAZAR/ELEASER/ELEASAH [Lazarus being a later form]

- (1) (Elisheba + Aaron-) *Eleazar/Eleasar*, who with brother Ithamar shared 'chief' priesthood after the death of Aaron.
- (2) (Abinadab-) *Eleazar*, who guarded the Ark during its 20-year maintenance at Kirjath-jearim.
- (3) Hezron-Jerahmeel-Atarah-Onam-Shammai-Nadab-Appaim-Ishi-Sheshan-Unnamed daughter + Jarha-Attai-Nathan-Zabad-Ephlal-Obed-Jehu-Azariah-Helez-*Eleasah*-Sismai/Cismai-Shallum-Jekamiah-Elishama.
- (4) (Levi-Merari-Mahli-) *Eleazar*, whose daughters became wives of their Kish cousins.
- (5) (Ner/Kish-Saul-Jonathan-) *Eleasah*--see *Ner*.
- (6) (Dodo the Ahohite-) *Eleazar*, one of David's military leaders.
- (7) (Phinehas-) *Eleazar* accompanied Ezra and assisted in weighing the temple treasures.
- (8) *Eleazar*, a Levite priest at the Ezra/Nehemiah temple inauguration.
- (9) (Parosh-) *Eleazar*, who post-exilically had a foreign family.
- (10) *Eleazar*, an ancestor in the lineage of Jesus of the *New Testament*.
- (11) For intervening *Eleazars*, see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6.

ELEPHANTINE

Aramaic papyri found c. 1904-08 at Aswan (Assuan/Syene), Egypt, have been dated from the reign of Darius II--specifically, a document sent by priests of the colony at Yeb[Jeb]/Elephantine to Begvahi or Bagohi/Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judah, and to the sons of Sanballat[/Sanaballat], "against the Persian general at Syene, for having allowed the Egyptian priests...to destroy and pillage [their local temple of Yahu] at Yeb. The Jewish Colony at Syene--first founded as a military colony under the 26th dynasty, when...Jewish mercenaries often were hired and stationed in Egypt--is first mentioned under Darius I in 494 b.c." For some reason no notice was taken of the first appeal, addressed to Jehohanan, the high-priest of Jerusalem, and to Ostanes, whose brother Anani is specially mentioned.... On the other hand, a sympathetic reply was received from one of the two sons of Sanaballat [or sons-in-law; refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachments 2 and 5]...and from the Judaeen governor Bagohi. ... Sanballat is presumably represented by his sons [or sons-in-law], and these [if sons-in-law] would be brothers-in-law of the [Johanant?--] renegade son of Joiada (the son of Eliashib, so *Neh* 13), or of Manasseh the son of Johanon (so Josephus) the leading figures in the two versions of the Samaritan schism. It is of course possible that there were two Sanballats, and certainly the name Bagohi was not a rare one." *Cambridge*, v. VI, pages 143, 171.

Two drafts of the appeal were found; they are from the same papyrus roll and contain slight variants, of which some are indicated in the following translation, where references are made to various interesting terms which recur in the Old Testament. The Aramaic dialect employed in them and the other *Elephantine* papyri has been analyzed as philologically earlier than the Aramaic of *Ezra*, and earlier still than the Aramaic of *Daniel*, which on internal grounds has been calculated at second century b.c.

Text of the Elephantine Appeals:

“To our lord Bagohi, the governor of Judah, thy servants Yedoniah and his colleagues (*Ezra* iv, 23), the priests who are in Yeb, the fortress (Neh. ii, 8 ‘castle’). ...favour [to you] before Darius the king and the members of the house.... Now thy servant Yedoniah and his colleagues thus say: In the month of Tammuz, the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames went forth and departed to the king, the *Kemarim* (2 Kings xxiii, 5, R.V. mg.) of the god Knub in the fortress of Yeb gave money and property (*var.* were in league with) Waidrang who was governor here (saying), ‘let them take away thence the temple of Yahu the god which is in the fortress of Yeb.’ Then this accursed (?) Waidrang sent a letter to Nephayan his son who was commander of the fortress of Yeb.’ Then Nephayan led the Egyptians together with other forces; and they came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons, they went up into this temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the stone pillars there they broke. [more details of the destruction/pilfering/burning] And from the days of the king (*var.* kings) of Egypt our fathers had built this temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found this temple already built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt they wholly destroyed and no one did aught of harm in this temple. [description of vengeance they saw wrought on the ?hound Waidrang] “[B]efore this, at the time when this evil was done to us, we sent a letter to our lord and to Yehohanan the high priest, and his colleagues the priests that were in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother of Anani, and the nobles (Neh. vi, 17) of Judaea (*var.* the Jews)--no letter did they send unto us. Also, from the month of Tammuz, the fourteenth year of king Darius even unto this day, we have been wearing sackcloth and fasting [fasting, etc.] Also from that time even to this day of the seventeenth year of Darius the king [offerings not able to be made in this temple]. Now, thy servants, Yedoniah and his colleagues, all citizens (*baals*) of Yeb, say thus: If it seems well to our lord, take thought concerning this temple to build it, inasmuch as they do not allow us to build it. See thy well-wishers and friends that are here in Egypt, let a letter be sent from thee unto them concerning the temple of the God Yahu [Yahweh] to built it in the fortress of Yeb according as it was built aforetime [and we shall sacrifice, etc. and pary for you etc.] and the Jews all that are here. ... And concerning the gold, in reference to this we have sent and made known. [fn. 1, Possibly a reference to another papyrus (C.33) where Yedoniah and others undertake, if the temple be result ‘as before,’ to pay ‘our lord’ (*i.e.* Bagohi or some other official) a quantity of barley.] Also all the words in a letter in our name did we send unto Delaiah and Shelemaiah the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria. Moreover, concerning this that was done to us Arsames knew nothing at all. On the 20th of Marheshwan, the 17th year of Darius the king.”

“The answer was a favourable one, and the messenger’s formal document, corresponding to the tablet of earlier days (see vol. ii, p. 335) ran as follows:

“Memorandum (record, *Ezra* vi, 1) of Bagohi and Delaiah. They said to me [fn. 2 C. 32. The opening words could be translated: Memorandum, which B. and D. said to me], Memorandum, It shall be for thee in Egypt to say to Arsames concerning the altar-house of God of Heaven which had been built in Yeb the fortress of old before Cambyses, which that accursed (?) Waidrang destroyed in the 14th year of Darius the king, to build it in its place as it was aforetime, and meal-offerings and incense-offerings may they offer upon that altar according as it formerly used to be done.”

Foregoing paragraphs, *Cambridge* v. VI, pp. 559-560.

ELIAKIM

(1) (Hilkiah-) *Eliakim*, a chief administrator under king Hezekiah.

- (2) (Zebudah + King Josiah-) king *Eliakim*/Jehoiakim.
- (3) *Eliakim*, a priest in the wall inauguration procession.
- (4) *Eliakim*, a post-Zerubbabel forefather of Jesus of the *New Testament*. *Matthew* 1:13.
- (5) *Eliakim*, a pre-Zerubbabel forefather of Jesus of the *New Testament*. *Luke* 3:30.

ELIAB

- (1) Earlier *Eliabs*, see Appendix 1A, Attachment 2, *Eliab*.
- (2) *Eliab* (alternate forms, *Elie* and *Elihu*), Leviite-Kohathite ancestor of Samuel.
- (3) *Eliab*, Jesse's (David's father's) firstborn son, who impressed Samuel but was rejected in favor of David (*Vatican* ms. 1209 does not contain *Samuel* account of hostility between Eliab and David, when the army of Saul was up against Goliath).
- (4) *Eliab*, a Gadite who became attached to David early in his break with Saul;
- (5) Per 2 *Chronicles* 11:18, David's son, Jerimoth, married a daughter of *Eliab* named Abihail; see Appendix 2A, "David, Descendancy of."

ELIEL

- (1) (Tohu-) *Elie*/*Eliab*/*Elihu*, ancestor of Samuel.
- (2) (Benjamin...Shimei...-) *Elie* (see Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, C (*Shaharaim* Descendancy).
- (3) (Benjamin...Shashak...-) *Elie*. " "
- (4) *Elie*, an early chief of the house of a Manassehite father and a mighty man of war for David.
- (5) *Elie*, a valiant chief among Gadite defectors to David at Ziklag.
- (6) *Elie*, a mighty military man of David's, referred to as "the Mahavite" at 1 *Chronicles* 11:46.
- (7) (Hebron-) *Elie*, among Levites that David selected to bring the Ark to Jerusalem.
- (8) *Elie*, one of the overseers for King Hezekiah and High Priest Azariah.

ELIEZER

- (1) See earlier *Eliezers* in Appendix 1A, Attachment 1.
- (2) (Benjamin-Becher-) *Eliezer*. 1 *Chronicles* 7:6
- (3) (*Eliezer*-) Zichri, chief of Reuben during King David days.
- (4) *Eliezer*, a priest preceding the ark to Jerusalem from the house of Obed-Edom.
- (5) (Maresha -Dodavahu-) *Eliezer*, a prophet that counseled against south-King Jehoshaphat's shipbuilding alliance with north-King Ahaziah.
- (6) (High priest Jeshua -) *Eliezer*.
- (7) *Eliezer*, one of the group sent by Ezra to obtain ministers from Iddo at Casiphia.
- (8) (Sons of Jeshua-) *Eliezer*, found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (9) (Sons of Harim/Annas) *Eliezer*, found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (10) *Eliezer* in the lineage of Jesus of the *New Testament*. *Luke* 3:29.

ELIHU

- (1) (Ram-Buzi-Barachel-) *Elihu*; present at *Job* discourse.
- (2) (Tohu-) *Elihu*/*Eliab*/*Elie*, ancestor of Samuel.
- (3) One of seven chiefs of the numerous Manassehites who deserted to David at Ziklag.
- (4) (Jesse-) *Eliab*/*Elihu*, king David's brother, chief of the tribe of Judah in David's organization. 1 *Samuel* 16:6; 1 *Chronicles* 27:18.
- (5) (Obed-edom-Shemaiah-) *Elihum*, a Korahite. 1 *Chronicles* 26:4, 7.

⁷(1) "Father of Hebron," 1 *Chronicles* 2:3, 42; (2) (Laadah/n-) Maresha; and (3) a strategic city in the Shephelah.

ELKANAH

(1) Elkanah, a son-family of (Levi-Kohath-Amminadab/Izhar-) Korah, who, with certain brothers did not share their father's fate (*Exodus* and *Numbers*).

(2) "The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son, *Elkanah* his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uziah his son and Shaul his son. And the sons of *Elkanah*: Amasai and Ahimoth. *Elkanah*, the sons of *Elkanah*: Zophi his son, and Nahath his son, Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, *Elkanah* his son. And the sons of Samuel: Vashni [Joel is substituted interlineally, in the ms. referenced in this work...] the firstborn, and the second even Abijah." 1 *Chronicles* 6:22-28.

(3) *Elkanah*, a Korahite who came with Benjaminites to David at Ziklag. 1 *Chronicles* 12:6.

(4) *Elkanah*, a keeper of the ark when king David transferred it to Jerusalem (book two).

(5) (*Elkanah-Asa*-) Berachiah, a Levite who lived "in the villages of the Netophathites." 1 *Chronicles* 9:16.

(6) *Elkanah*, a king Ahaz official ("second to the King), slain by Zichri in the time of king Pekah's reign in the north (book two).

EPHAI/[EPHAI?]

(1) Among those who went to Gedaliah (Appendix 2C, VIII at fn. 22) were "the sons of *Ephai* of Netopah." *Jeremiah* 40:8; see Netopah, below.

EUNUCH

"Eunuch, ME *eunuk*, fr. L *eunuchus*, fr. Gk *eunouchos*, fr. *eune* bed + *echein* to have, have charge of--more at *scheme*." (*Webster* p. 286.) "scheme [L *schemat-*, *schema*, arrangement, figure, fr. Gk *schemat-*, *schema*, fr. *echein* to have, hold, be in (such) a condition, akin to OE *sige* victory, Skt *sahote* he prevails." (*Webster*, p. 170.)

EZRA/EZRAH/ESDRAS

(1) "And the sons of *Ezra/Ezrah*: Jether, Mered, Epher and Jalon. And *she* [?] conceived Miriam, Shammai and Ishbak the father of Eshtemoa" (1 *Chronicles* 4:17)--consecutive to "sons of Caleb," but without antecedent for this named Ezra/Ezrah.

(2) (Chelub-) *Ezri*, king Davids head of farm labor. 1 *Chronicles* 27:2, 6.

(3) *Ezra*, a priest named in the repatriation group accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

(4) *Ezra*, of the Book of that name, who led the repatriation group "in the time of Artaxerxes;" rendered *Esdras* in *Josephus*.

(5) *Ezra/Esdras* --see High Priesthood Lineage, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(6) *Esdras*, of apocryphal books 1 and 2 of that name.

GERA/GERASENES

The "country of the *Gerasenes*" is indicated to have been on the east side of the Sea of Galilee--some have suggested, in a radius of Jerash; cf. *Mark* 5:5 and preceding verses, together with the same at *Luke* 8:40, concerning the raising of the daughter of Jair/Jairus.

HAKKOZ/KOZ/COZ

(1) For earliest *Coz*, see Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23.

(2) *Hakkoz*, seventh priesthood division in king David's organization.

(3) (*Koz-Urijah*-) Meremoth, a builder on the wall.

(4) Sons of *Koz/Accoz*, among those found to have foreign wives/families.

HANAN

(1) (Benjamin...Shashak-) *Hanan*. 1 *Chronicles* 8:23-25.

- (2) (Saul-Jonathan-Meribbaal-Micah-Ahaz-Jehoadah-Zimri-Moza-Binea-Azel-) *Hanan*. *1 Chronicles* 8:33-38 and 9:44.
- (3) (Maachah-) *Hanan*, one of David's mighty men.
- (4) (Igdaliah, "a man of God"-) *Hanan*. *Jeremiah* 35:3-4.
- (5) See Seals and Inscriptions, below ("Belonging to *Hanan*, the son of Hilqiyahu the priest").
- (6) Sons of *Hanan* were among the "Nethinim" group of returned exiles.
- (7) *Hanan*, a Levite teacher for Nehemiah.
- (8) *Hanan*, a "head of the people" at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant.
- (7) (Mattaniah-Zaccur-) *Hanan*, a Levite treasurer under Nehemiah. *Nehemiah* 13:13.

HANANEL, TOWER OF

(1) The most northerly of the four towers of the castle situated north of the Temple which constituted part of the north wall. "Hananeel" is given in the last chapter of the *Book of Zechariah*, per the interlinear *Old Testament* referenced in this work.

HANANI

- (1) (Heman-) *Hanani/Hananiah* of King David's time.
- (2) *Hanani*, "the seer/prophet," father of Jehu (possibly the same Jehu who became a northern king). This *Hanani* sent a written, warning rebuke to the north's king Baasha and also preached successfully in front of south king Jehoshaphat, Asa's successor.
- (3) *Hanani*, a "seer" relegated to the stocks for enraging King Asa toward the end of his reign, by rebuking Judah's "buying" King Ben-hadad into its conflict with Israel's Baasha, thereby courting Syrian domination.
- (4) *Hanani*, "brother" of Nehemiah who went to him at Shushan and apprised him of conditions in Jerusalem. Later, after rewalling of the city, Nehemiah set Hanani, "his brother, and Hananiah, the ruler of the palace" over Jerusalem.
- (5) *Hanani/Ananias* of Immer/*Emmer*, who had a foreign wife/family.
- (6) *Hanani*, a "head of the people" at time of sealing the Nehemiah covenant.

HARIM

- (1) *Harim*, third of David's 24 priesthood divisions.
- (2) *Harim* ("Carme" per *1 Esdras*), one of four priest groups of the Zerubbabel return, with 1,017 members; Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, part II.
- (3) Adna was head priest of the division/house of *Harim* "in the days of Joacim and Ezra."
- (4) (*Harim*-) Malchijah did repair work on the wall.
- (5) (*Harim*-) Maaseiah, found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (6) (*Harim*-) Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon, Benjamin, Malluch and Shemariah were found to have foreign wives/families. *Ezra* 10:31-32.
- (7) *Harim* was among the "heads of the people" at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant.
- (8) *Harim*, a priest or division that sealed the Nehemiah covenant.

HASHABIAH/HASHABNIAH/HASHBANEIAH - See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.

HODAVIAH/HODEVAH

- (1) "The Levites: the sons of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of the sons of *Hodaviah*. *Ezra* 2:40. ("...Jeshua the son of Jozadak.... ...together with his sons and brothers, Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah...." *Ezra* 3:8 ff.)
- (2) "The Levites: the sons of Jeshua, of Kadmiel, of the sons of *Hodevah*." *Nehemiah* 7:43.
- (3) (Benjamin...Hasenuah-*Hodaviah*-Meshullam-) Sallu. *1 Chronicles* 9:7.

HOSEA/Hebrew spelling, HOSHEA

- (1) (Nun-) Oshea/*Hoshea*/Joshua: Moses referred to “the son of Nun [as] Joshua;” *Numbers* 13:16. (*Septuagint*, “Iesous/Jesus”.)
- (2) (Azariah-) *Hoshea*, ruler of the tribe of Ephraim under king David. *1 Chronicles* 27:20.
- (3) *Hosea*, last king of record of the northern kingdom; *refer to* Appendix 2C.
- (4) (Beer⁸ -) Hosea, prophet of the Book of that name.
- (5) (Dib⁹laim*-) Gomer, mother of children by *Hosea*, prophet of the Book of that name.
- (6) *Hoshea*, a “head of the people” at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant.

HOSHAI AH

- (1) (*Hoshaiah*-) Jezaniah/Azariah; contemporary with Jeremiah.
- (2) *Hoshaiah*, a leader in the post-exilic wall dedication procession. *Nehemiah* 12:32.

IMMER

- (1) *Immer*, 16th priesthood division under king David.
- (2) (*Immer*-Meshillemith/Ahasai-Azareel-) Amashai. *1 Chronicles* 9:12, *Nehemiah* 11:13.
- (3) (*Immer* “the priest”-) Pashur, an opponent of Jeremiah. *Jeremiah* 20:1ff.
- (4) Sons of *Immer*/Meruth accompanied Zerubbabel.
- (5) (*Immer*-) Zadok did repair work on the wall.
- (6) Hanani/Ananias and Zebadiah/Zabdeus of *Immer*/Emmer were found to have foreign wives/ families.

IRA

- (1) And also *Ira* the Jairite was a priest to David.” *2 Samuel* 20:26.
- (2) (Ikkesh the Tekoite-) *Ira*, one of David’s mighty men.
- (3) *Ira*, “an Ithrite, one of David’s mighty men.

JAAZANIAH/JEZANIAH

- (1) *Jaazaniah* appears in a list of names on Lachish letter #1--see Lachish Letters, below.
- (2) (a) An onyx seal inscribed, “*Jaazaniah*, Servant of the King,” was found at Tell-en-Nasbeh, “probable site of ancient Mizpah, atop an isolated hill about five miles north of Jerusalem.”
(b) The onyx seal’s incised fighting cock emblem and Hebrew letters (“assigned to late 7th century b.c.”) are the same as on a red jasper seal inscribed “Belonging to Jehoahaz,¹⁰ Son of the King,” that seal being of “unknown provenance.”¹¹
--see *also* Seals and Inscriptions.
- (3) (Rechab-Jonadab/Jehonadab-Habbazziniah*-Jeremiah-) *Jaazaniah*, leader of the house of Rechabites, “tested” by prophet Jeremiah and found worthy. *Jeremiah* 35:3;

⁸ One other *Beer* was the father of Esau's wife, Judith.

⁹ A second Gomer (one of Japheth’s four children) was a grandchild of Noah. Of that Gomer’s descendancy, *Gomer* - Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah, the latter is connected by some to the Armenians, in that they traditionally claim descendancy from “Haik, son of *Thorgom*,” while *Ezekiel*-- speaking of Tyre--mentions Togarmah as a source of horses, steeds and mules, for which Armenians were noted.

¹⁰ A name rendered “Jehoash” by some texts, which name *cf.* Lachish Letters, below; *refer also* to Appendix 2C, I concerning that name’s variations.

¹¹ McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.:Biblical Archaeological Society 1996, pp. 144, 146.

see Rechab, below.

(4) Chief “*Jaazaniah*, the son of Azzur.” *Ezekiel* 11:1; refer to Assir and Azzur, above. This Jaazaniah also appears to be (Hoshaia-) *Jaazaniah*/Azariah (*Jeremiah* 42:1, 43:2)--see next.

(5) “*Jaazaniah*, son of Hoshaiah,” a military chief who (in the retreat after king Mattaniah/Zedekiah’s defeat and after Gedaliah’s assassination) pursued Ishmael, recovered the captives, and, contrary to Jeremiah’s advice, led the survivors into Egypt rather than put trust in Babylon/”Chaldea.” *Jeremiah* 42:1; refer to Appendix 2C, VII.

(6) “*Jezaiah*/*Jaazaniah*, the son of the Maachathite.” *Jeremiah* 40:8; *2 Kings* 25:23.

(7) (Shaphan-) *Jaazaniah*. *Ezekiel* 8:11.

JACHIN

(1) (Leah + Jacob-Simeon-) *Jachin*.¹² *Genesis* 46:10; *Exodus* 6:15; *Numbers* 26:12.

(2) *Jachin*, 21st priesthood division under king David. *1 Chronicles* 24:7, 17.

(3) *Jachin*, the name of the southernmost of the twin pillars before king Solomon’s temple. *1 Kings* 7:15:22.

(4) *Jachin*, “of the priests,” but named without lineage as opposed to others in his group--see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

JAHAZIEL/JAHZEEL/JAHZIEL¹³

(1) *Jahaziel*, third-listed son of (Levi-Kohath-) Hebron. *1 Chronicles* 23:19, 24:23.

(2) *Jahzeel*/*Jahziel*, first-listed son of Naphtali. *Genesis* 46:24; *Numbers* 26:48; *1 Chronicles* 7:13.

(3) *Jahaziel*, one of David’s mighty men at Ziklag.

(4) *Jahaziel*, priest stationed before the Ark at Jerusalem where king David had it brought. *1 Chronicles* 12:4.

(5) (Of the sons of Asaph-Mattaniah, the Levite-Jeiel-Benaiah-Zechariah-) *Jahaziel*; prior to a battle with Moabites he exhorted courage to king Jehoshaphat and the congregation. *2 Chronicles* 20:14-17.

(6) See also [Jehiel]/*Jahaziel*?--Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, at Jehiel (2).

JAHLEEL

(1) *Jahleel*, third-listed son of Zebulun; founder of the Jahleelite family.

JAIR - see Appendix 4C.

JAKIM

(1) *Jakim*, 12th priesthood division under king David. *1 Chronicles* 24:3, 5, 12.

(2) (Benjamin...*uncertainties*...-Shimhi-) *Jakim*, one of the “heads of the fathers, by their generations” who lived in Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 8:1, 19-21, 28.

JECONIAH/JECHONIAH/Jeconias/”Coniah” - See Jehoiachin, below, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Joacim.

JEDIAEL

(1) (Benjamin-...) *Jediael*/"Ashbel." *1 Chronicles* 7:6; Appendix 1C, Attachment 2.

(2) (Benjamin-*Jediael*-Bilhan-) Jeush. *1 Chron.* 7:10; Appendix 1C, Attachment 2.

¹² Some take this Jachin to be the “Jarib” at *1 Chronicles* 4:24; that, however, may be due to taking the priest list at *1 Chronicles* 9:4ff. as post-Babylon, confused with (Joarib-) Jedaiah at *Nehemiah* 11:10.

¹³ McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.:Biblical Archaeological Society 1996, pp. 144, 146.

(3) (Manasseh...-) *Jediael*, captain of a force that joined with David at Hebron. *1 Chronicles* 12:20.

(4) (Shimri-) *Jediael*, one of David's mighty men.

(5) (Of the sons of Asaph: Kore-Meshelemiah-Zechariah-) *Jediael* "of the division of gatekeepers of the Korahites." *1 Chronicles* 26:1 ff.

JEHIEL/JEHIELI/JEIEL

(1) (Abiel/*Jeiel*-) Ner-Abner and Kish; see Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of," concerning the rendering of *Jehiel* as *Abiel*, and contradictions between related parallels.

(2) *Jehiel*, accompanier of the Ark to Jerusalem, assisted by his son, chief Joel, and 130 "brothers."

(3) (Gershon...Ladan-*Jehiel/Jehieli*-) Joel and brother, Zetham, were temple treasurers for part of king David's reign. *1 Chronicles* 23:6-8, 26:22 and 29:8.

(4) (Hachmoni-) *Jehiel* "was with the king's [David's] sons." *1 Chronicles* 27:32.

(5) (King Jehoshaphat-) *Jehiel*, slain by brother Jehoram after being passed over by Jehoshaphat, who made Jehoram his successor. *2 Chronicles* 21:1-4, 12, 13.

(6) (Heman-) *Jehiel* helped king Hezekiah purify the temple; a Levite in charge of temple contributions. *2 Chronicles* 29:12, 14-19 and 31:12-13.

(7) (Joel-Shema-Ahaz-) Bela, whose families (with a chief *Jeiel* and a Zechariah) occupied territory far into the east/Gilead. *1 Chronicles* 5:7ff.

(8) "Hilkiah, and Zechariah, and *Jehiel*, rulers in the house of God;" generous contributors to king Josiah's legendary Passover. *2 Chronicles* 35:8.

(9) For subsequent *Jehiels*, see Appendix 3B, Attachment 4, [Jehiel, etc.](#)

JEHOHANAN/JEHONATHAN/JOHANAN/JONATHAN

- See Appendix 2A, [Jonathan/Jehohanan/Johanan](#), and

Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, [Johanan/Jonathan/Jonathas¹⁴ Jehonathan/Yehohanan/John/Joanan](#).

JEHOIACHIN

(1) *Jehoiachin*, son of (Elnathan-) Nehushta and ([Adaiah-] Jedidah + Amon-Josiah-) Jehoiakim, the 19th and penultimate king of Judah before its fall to Nebuchadnezzar. Appendix 2C, III and related.

(2) *Jehoiachin* is rendered as *Jeconiah* at *1 Chronicles* 3:16, *Jeremiah*, 24:1; and *Esther* 2:6; and it is rendered as *Jeconias* (in exile) in *Baruch* 1:3.

(3) *Jehoiachin* contracted to *Coniah*; *Jeremiah* 22:24, 37:1.

(4) "The sons of (Josiah-) *Jeconiah*, Assir,¹⁵ Shealtiel/[Salatiel] his son, and Malchiram, and Pedaiah, and Shenazzar, Jecamiah, and Nebediah." *1 Chronicles* 3:16.

(5) "After the deportation of Babylon, *Jeconiah* generated Shealtiel, Shealtiel but generated the Zerubbabel." *Matthew* 1:12 (lineage of Jesus of the *New Testament*).

(6) *Jehoiachin* rendered as *Joacim* in *1 Esdras*.

(7) In the subsequent form, [Joacim](#), see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.

JEHOIAKIM

(1) *Jehoiakim*, substitute name given to Eliakim, son of (Pedaiah-) Zebidah and ([Adaiah-] Jedidah + Amon-) Josiah; 18th king of Judah; succeeded briefly by his young son, Jehoiachin; refer to Appendix 2C.

(2) *Jehoiakim* is rendered *Joacim* by *1 Esdras* 1:37 and *Baruch* 1:3.

(3) In the subsequent form, [Joacim](#), see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.

¹⁴ Tobit said, "I know Ananias and *Jonathas*, sons of that great Samais." *Tobit* 5:13

¹⁵ In re this term denoting "captive," see [Assir](#), above.

JEHORAM

- (1) *Jehoram*, a priest-teacher of the Law for king Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:8.
- (2) (Jezebel + Ahab-) *Jehoram*, ninth king of Israel; *refer to* Appendix 2C and related.
- (3) (? + Jehoshaphat-) *Jehoram*, fifth king of Judah; *refer to* Appendix 2C and related.

JERAHMEEL

- see Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Jerahmeel.

JEREMIAH

- (1) *Jeremiah*, among the mighty brothers of (Benjamin...-) Saul who joined David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:4.
- (2) *Jeremiah*, a leader of Gadites; a mighty man of David's at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:13.
- (3) An undesignated *Jeremiah* who also joined David at Ziklag. Appendix 2B, part I.
- (4) *Jeremiah*, head of a house in Manasseh-east during Assyrian Pul's exile. *1 Chronicles* 5:24.
- (5) *Jeremiah*, of the priestly city of Libnah; father of king Josiah's wife, Hamutal.
- (6) "...[T]hese two prophets [Ezekiel and *Jeremiah*] were priests by birth, but of them *Jeremiah* dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. ...[A]s to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place." *Josephus AJ*, X.V.1.
- (7) The head of the division of *Jeremiah* "in the days of Joacim" is shown as Hananiah; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A).
- (8) *Jeremiah*, prophet of the Book of that name; "son of Hilkiah." *Jeremiah* 1:1. (*Refer to* Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah," and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2 chart, concerning the 'redemption' which may have yielded Jeremiah's relationship to Hilkiah.)
- (9) Prophet *Jeremiah* 'reclaimed' the Rechabites after testing and finding worthy one (Rechab-Jonadab/Jehonadab-Habbazziniah¹⁶-*Jeremiah*-) Jaazaniah, leader of their house. *Jeremiah* 35:3.
- (10) *Jeremiah*, among the priests/divisions named as accompanying Zerubbabel (Appendix 3B.II, Detail A).
- (11) *Jeremiah*, a head priest/division "in the days of Jeshua" (Appendix 3B, II, Detail A).
- (12) *Jeremiah*, a head priest or division that sealed the Nehemiah covenant.
- (13) *Refer also to* Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah" narrative.

JEREMOTH/JERIMOTH

- (1) *Jeremoth/Jerimoth*, (a) son of (Benjamin-) Bela and/or Becher; (b) son of (Husham + Shaharaim- Elpaal-Beriah-Shema; *refer to* Appendix 1C, Attachment 2 (I, A and C).
- (2) *Jerimoth* of the Korahites who joined David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:5, 6.
- (3) *Jeremoth* of the sons of Merari-Mushi. *1 Chronicles* 24:30.
- (4) (Of the Kohathites-Heman-) *Jeremoth*. *1 Chronicles* 6:33, 25:4.
- (5) (Azriel/Asriel-) *Jeremoth*, ruler of Naphtali during king David's rule. *1 Chronicles* 27:19.
- (6) (+ ? David -) *Jerimoth*, whose wife, Abihail (daughter of David's oldest brother, Eliab) bore Jerimoth's child, Mahalath,¹⁷ who became king (Solomon-) Rehoboam's first named wife. *Refer to* Appendix 2A, Attachment 3; see also Jeush (5), below.

¹⁶ Only use of this name.

¹⁷ "Mahalath" being also the name of an Esau wife (Appendix 1A, Attachment 2).

(7) *Jerimoth*, one of a group appointed by king Hezekiah and high priest Azariah to oversee temple functions. *2 Chronicles* 31:13.

(8) *Jeremoth*, son of Elam, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(9) *Jeremoth*, son of Zattu, “ “ “ .

(10) *Jeremoth*, son of Bani, “ “ “ .

JEROHAM

(1) (Levi-Kohath...*Jeroham*-Elkanah-) Samuel. *1 Chronicles* 6:22:33.

(2) (*Jeroham* of Gedor-) Zebadiah, who joined David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:7.

(3) (*Jeroham*-) Shamsherai, Shehariah, Athaliah, Jaresiah, Eliah, and Zichri, among "heads of the fathers by their generations." *1 Chronicles* 8:26-8.

(4) (Benjamin-...*Jeroham*-) Ibneiah.¹⁸ *1 Chronicles* 9:7-8.

(5) (*Jeroham*-) Azareel/Azareel, ruler of Dan under king David. *1 Chronicles* 27:22.

(6) (*Jeroham*-) Azariah, an army chief who supported High Priest Jehoiada. *2 Chronicles* 23:1.

(7) (Malchiah-Pashur-Zechariah-Amzi-Pelaliah-*Jeroham*-) Adaiah, post-exilically lived at Jerusalem (*Nehemiah* 11:12); given at *1 Chronicles* 9:10-12 as (Malchijah-Pashur-*Jeroham*-) Adaiah, "of the priests."

JESHAIAH/JESIAH

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Uzziel...) *Jesiah*, a keeper of temple treasure under king David. *1 Chronicles* 23:12, 20.

(2) (Of the sons of Jeduthun-) *Jeshaiah*, who drew eighth of the 24 musical lots for service under king David. *1 Chronicles* 25:15.

(3) (Zerubbabel-Hananiah-) *Jeshaiah*. *1 Chronicles* 3:19-21.

(4) (Sons of Merari-) *Jeshaiah*, who brought 20 ministerial brothers and sons from Casiphia to Ezra's camp at the Ahava River, in answer to Ezra's request to Iddo. *Ezra* 8:19.

(5) (Sons of Elam-Athaliah/Gotholias-) *Jeshaiah/Josias*, one of the "chiefs" who, with 70 men, accompanied Ezra. *Ezra* 8:7/1 *Esdras* 8:33.

(6) (*Jeshaiah*-Maaseiah-Kolaiah-Pedaiah-Joed-Meshullam-) Sallu, a post-exilic resident of Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:7.

JEUSH

(1) (Oholibamah + Esau -) *Jeush*; Appendix 1A, Attachment 2.

(2) (Benjamin-Jediael-Bilhan-) *Jeush*. *1 Chronicles* 7:10.

(3) (Levi-Gershon-Shimei-) *Jeush* and Beriah, who, not having "many sons," were combined into one paternal house in David's Levite divisions. *1 Chronicles* 23:6-10.

(4) *Jeush*, who appears to have been the first named of Mahalath's sons by king Rehoboam. However, *2 Chronicles* 11:18 is unclear [*sic.*]: "Rehoboam took for himself a wife, Mahalath, the daughter of Jerimoth, the son of David, Abihail the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse. And *she* (who?) bore sons to him: Jeush, and Shamariah, and Zaham."

(5) (Benjamin...Saul-Jonathan-Meribbaal-Micah-Ahaz-Jehoadah-Zimri-Mozea-Binea-Eshek-) *Jeush*. *1 Chronicles* 8:33ff.

JOACIM - see Appendix 3B.II, Attachment 4, Joacim.

JOEL

(1) (Issachar-Tola-Uzzi-Izrahiah-) chief *Joel*. *1 Chronicles* 7:4.

(2) *Joel*, a ruler (seemingly sequentially of Simeon), either stands alone or is a son of (Asiel- Seraiah-) Josibiah. *1 Chronicles* 4:35.

(3) (*Joel*-Shema-Ahaz-) Bela, whose families (with a chief Jeiel and a Zechariah) occupied territory far into the east/Gilead. *1 Chronicles* 5:7ff.

(4) *Joel*, chief of the sons of Gad, who lived "across from" the groups above in (3).

¹⁸ Only use, unless an alternate spelling for (Benjamin...*Ibnijah*-) Meshullam.

1 *Chronicles* 5:11-12.

(5) (*Joel* [no antecedent specified] -) Shemaiah; ensuing verses are unclear whether all named sons there were carried away by Assyria's Tiglath-pileser. 1 *Chronicles* 5:4ff.

(6) (Pedaiah-) *Joel*, ruler of the half-tribe of Manasseh under king David. 1 *Chronicles* 27:20.

(7) (Sons of Gershom-) chief *Joel*, helped bring the Ark to Jerusalem. 1 *Chronicles* 15:7.

(8) (Sons of Gershon-Laadan-Jehieli-) Zetham and *Joel*, who were treasurers. 1 *Chronicles* 26:21 -22.

(9) "And the sons of [Hannah +] Elkanah...: [...omission/*Joel* is added interlineally in parentheses] the firstborn [?], and the second even Abijah." 1 *Chronicles* 6:22:28.

(We find "Of the sons of the Kohathites," Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephanah-Azariah-*Joel*-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah-Zuph-Toah-Eliel-Jercham-Elkanah-Samuel-[*Vashni*¹⁹] *Joel* -) Heman, the singer of David's time [1 *Chronicles* 6:33ff.], while 2 *Chronicles* 29:12 includes, among the Levites that cleansed the temple for King Hezekiah, (Azariah-) *Joel*, (Amasai-) Mahath, and (Heman-) Jehiel.)

(10) (Pethuel-) *Joel* of the Book of that name of unknown date--although the book's reference to "the low plain of Jehoshaphat" has taken it not as written *before* Jehoshaphat's reign.

(11) "*Joel* the brother of Nathan," among David's mighty men. 1 *Chronicles* 11:38.

(12) (Gershon...Ladan-Jehiel/Jehieli-) *Joel* and brother, Zetham, were temple treasurers for part of king David's reign. 1 *Chronicles* 23:6-8, 26:22 and 29:8.

(13) (Azariah-) *Joel* helped king Hezekiah purify the temple. 2 *Chronicles* 29:12-16.

(14) (Zichri-) *Joel*, an overseer in Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:9.

(15) (Sons of Nebo-) *Joel*, found to have a foreign wife/family. *Ezra* 10:43.

JOIAKIM

(1) "Jeshua fathered Joiakim, and Joiakim fathered Eliashib, and Eliashib fathered Joiada, and Joiada fathered Jonathan, and Jonathan fathered Jaddua." *Nehemiah* 12:10, 12, 26.

JOKIM

(1) (Shua, the Canaanitess + Judah -) Shelah; "The sons of Shelah:...*Jokim*." 1 *Chronicles* 2:3; 4:21, 22.

(2) *Jokim* also possibly as a contraction of *Jehoiakim*.

JONATHAN

See Appendix 2A, Jonathan/Jehohanan/Johanana, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Johanana/Jonathan/Jonathas²⁰/Jehonathan/Yehohanan/John/Joana.

JOSEPH/JOSIPHIAH

(1) (Rachel + Jacob-) *Joseph* of the original tribal fathers.

(2) (Issachar...-*Joseph*-) Igal, one of Moses' "spies."

(3) "Came out the lot first for Asaph of *Joseph*," of king David's musicians. 1 *Chronicles* 9.

(4) *Joseph*, head priest/division of Shebaniah "in the days of Joacim;" Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

¹⁹ The appearance in the *Masoretic* (and some translations) of "Vashni" as the name of Samuel's first son, rather than *Joel*, has been explained potentially as resulting combinedly from the dropping of the name and erroneous translation of following wording; *Aid*, page 944.

²⁰ Tobit said, "I know Ananias and *Jonathas*, sons of that great Samais." *Tobit* 5:13

(5) (Sons of Shelomith-*Josiphiah* -) [omitted name?], a chief who accompanied Ezra.

(6) (Bani...-) *Joseph*, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(7) *Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.*

KORAH/KORE

(1) All earlier *Korah* citations are given in Appendix 1A, Attachment 1.

(2) *1 Chronicles* 6:33ff. show the following *Korah* descendency to David's time: Israel-Levi-Kohath-Izhar-*Korah*-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Zephanah-Azariah-Joel-Elkanah-Amasai-Mahath-Elkanah- Zuph-Toah-Eliel-Jercham/Jeroham-Elkanah-Samuel-Joel-Haman.

(3) *1 Chronicles* 6:1, 22 is a mixed read: "The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, *Korah* his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son, Tabath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziah his son, and Shaul his son. And the sons of Elkanah: Amasai and Ahimoth. Elkanah, the sons of Elkanah: Zophi his son, and Nahath his son, Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son," and then switches to sons of Samuel.

(4) *Korah*-Ebiasaph-Kore-Shallum. *1 Chronicles* 9:19.

(5) Imnah-Kore ("gatekeeper to the east" in King Hezekiah's day).

(6) Differences occur in two parallels concerning gatekeepers: [*Korah*-Ebiasaph-] *Kore*- Meshelemiah (of the sons of Asaph) - Zechariah-[Shallum (and his brothers) - Zechariah [-Jediael, Zebadiah, Jahniel, Elam, Johohanan, Elioenai]. *1 Chronicles* 26:1ff. and *1 Chronicles* 10:19.

LACHISH LETTERS

(1) The ruins of *Lachish* generally have been identified as Tell ed-Duweir, a mound/hill some 15 miles west of Hebron.

(2) A king of *Lachish* was one of a group of five kings battled by Joshua; Appendix 1D, I, at fn. 8.

(3) King Amaziah fled to *Lachish*; *Lachish* was besieged by Assyria's Sennacherib during king Hezekiah's time; Appendix 2C, IV, preceding fn. 127.

(4) *Lachish* and Azekah appear to have been the last two fortified cities that fell before Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar (*Jeremiah* 34:6, 7). Twenty-one pottery fragments known as the "Lachish Letters," discovered at Tell ed-Duweir, have been related to that period. (One, a message from a military outpost to the Lachish command, indicates an absence of signals from Azekah.)

MAACHAH/Maacah

Refer to Appendix 1A, sub-part I, A and B, and Appendix 2A, Attachment 3 (particularly, sub-part IV).

MAASEIAH/MAHSEIAH/MAAZIAH

(1) *Maaziah*, 24th priesthood division under king David. *1 Chronicles* 24:18.

(2) *Maaseiah*, accompanied the Ark when king David moved it to Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 15:18.

(3) *Maaseiah*, one of high priest Jehoiada's "heads of hundreds" in the overthrow of queen Athaliah. *2 Chronicles* 23:1.

(4) *Maaseiah*, an officer in king Uzziah's military. *2 Chronicles* 26:11.

(5) *Maaseiah*, "son of the king...a mighty one of Ephraim" during the Pekah/Syria war in king Ahaz's reign, and among those killed by Zichri. *2 Chronicles* 28:7.

(6) *Maaseiah*, "head of the city" under king Josiah. *2 Chronicles* 34:8.

(7) Zedekiah, "the son of *Maaseiah*." *Jeremiah* 29:20.

(8) (*Maaseiah*-) Zephaniah, the priest sent by king Zedekiah to obtain counsel from Jeremiah. *Jeremiah* 21:1, 37:3.

(9) (*Maaseiah*-) Zephaniah, the priest who with "all the priests" received letters from "Shemaiah the Nehelamite [in exile?]," asking why, since Zephaniah had been made priest instead of Jehoiada, Jeremiah had not been "reproved." *Jeremiah* 29:24ff.

(10) (*Maaseiah*-*Neria*h-) *Seraiah*, “quarter-master,” to whom *Jeremiah* gave words to speak in *Babylon*, when *Seraiah* accompanied king *Zedekiah* there in *Zedekiah*’s “fourth year.” *Jeremiah* 51:59.

(11) (*Chelcias*-*Asadias*-*Sedecias*-*Maasias*-*Nerias*-) *Baruch*. *Baruch* 1:1.

(12) (*Maaseiah*-*Neria*h-) *Baruch*, to whom *Jeremiah* gave the witnessed document of purchase related to the redemption of the *Anathoth* field. *Jeremiah* 32:12; see also Appendix 2C, VII.

(13) (*Shallum*-) *Maaseiah*. *Jeremiah* 35:4.

(14) (*Zechariah* of the son [*sic.*] of *Shiloni*-*Joiarib*-*Adaiah*-*Hazaiah*-*Colhozeh*-*Baruch*-) *Maaseiah*. This *Maaseiah* has been equated with *Asaiah*, the “firstborn,” of the sons of *Perez*, who, with his “sons of the *Shilonites*” (considered descendants of [*Bath-Shua* + *Judah*] - *Shelah*), lived at *Jerusalem* at some point, seemingly after return from exile.

(15) (*Jesaiah*-*Ithiel*-*Maaseiah*-*Kolaiah*-*Pedaiah*-*Joed*-*Meshullam*-) *Sallu* of the sons of *Benjamin* lived post-exilically at *Jerusalem*.

(16) (*Ananiah*-*Maaseiah*-) *Azariah* repaired the wall “by his house.” *Nehemiah* 3:23.

(17) *Maaseiah*, at *Ezra*’s right hand when he read The Law. *Nehemiah* 8:2, 4.

(18) *Maaseiah* assisted in explaining The Law to the people. *Nehemiah* 8:7.

(19) (*Sons of Pashur*-) *Maaseiah*/*Massias*, son of a priest/priest, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(20) (*Sons of Harim*-) *Maaaseiah*, son of a priest, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(21) (*Sons of Jeshua*/*Jesus*-) *Maaseiah*, son of a priest/priest, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(22) (*Sons of Pahath-Moab*-) *Maaseiah*, son of a priest, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(23) *Maaseiah*, a priest at the dedication of the wall. *Nehemiah* 12:41.

(24) *Maaseiah*, a “head of the people” at the sealing of the *Nehemiah* covenant.

(25) *Maaziah*, a priest or division that sealed the *Nehemiah* covenant.

MACCABIAH

(1) *Maccabiah* does not appear in the texts.

(2) Athletic games known as the *Maccabiah* games have been held in *Israel* during the past decade. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, August 11, 1997, page A6.)

(3) Relationship, if any, of the name *Maccabiah* with that of *Maccabees* is not explored in this work.

MALCHIAH/MALCHIJAH/Melchi/Melchei

(1) See *Beria*h (1), “*Malchiel*.”

(2) *Malchijah*, fifth priesthood division under king *David*.

(3) (*Levi*-*Gershom*-*Jahath*-*Shimei*-*Zimnah*-*Ethan*-*Adaiah*-*Zerah*-*Ethni*-*Melchiah*-*Baaseiah*-*Michael*-*Shimea* -*Berachiah*-) *Asaph*. 1 *Chronicles* 6:39-43.

(4) (*Melchiah*-) *Pashur*, who accompanied (*Maaseiah*-) *Zephaniah*, the priest sent by king *Zedekiah* to obtain counsel from *Jeremiah*. *Jeremiah* 21:1, 37:3; 38:1.

(5) (*King Zedekiah*-) *Malchiah*, into whose “pit...in the court of the guardhouse” *Jeremiah* was placed. *Jeremiah* 38:6; Appendix 2C, VII.

(6) (*Harim*-) *Malchijah* built on the wall.

(7) (*Rechab*, prince of the District of *Beth-haccherem*²¹) *Malchiah* built on the wall.

(8) *Malchiah* of the goldsmith built on the wall.

(9) *Malchiah* stood at *Ezra*’s left hand when he read The Law.

(10) (*Parosh*-) *Malchiah*, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(11) (*Parosh*-) *Malchijah*, found to have a foreign wife/family (*Ezra* 10:25), is given in the *Septuagint* as *Hashabiah* (Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4) and by 1 *Esdras* (apparently)

²¹ Of two sites considered, the most likely might be about four miles W of *Jerusalem*, a fertile section where stone mounds on the summit suggest sites of signal fires (*Jeremiah* mentions *Beth-haccherem* as a suitable place for raising a signal to warn of enemy advances).

as "Asibias."

- (12) (*Malchijah*-Pashur-Jeroham-) priest Adaiah. *1 Chronicles* 9:12.
- (13) (*Malchiah*-Pashur-Zechariah-Amzi-Pelaliah-Jeroham-) Adaiah. *Nehemiah* 11:12.
- (14) *Malchijah*, a priest who took part in the wall inauguration ceremonies. *Nehemiah* 12:42.
- (15) *Malchijah*, a priest that sealed the Nehemiah covenant.

MALLUCH/MALLUCHI/MELICU

- (1) (Levi-Merari-Mushi-Mahli-Shemer-Bani-Amzi-Hilkiah-Amaziah-Hashabiah-*Malluch*-Abdi-Kishi-) Ethan. *1 Chronicles* 6:44-47.
- (2) *Malluch*, a priest who accompanied Zerubbabel.
- (3) Jonathan was head of the division of *Malluch* "in the days of Joacim."
- (4) (Of the Sons of Bani-) *Malluch*, found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (5) (Of the sons of Harim-) *Malluch*, found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (6) *Malluch*, a "head of the people" at the time of sealing of the Nehemiah covenant.
- (7) *Malluch*, a priest or division that sealed the Nehemiah covenant.
- (8) *Melicu*--an alternate form?--see Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, Malluch.

MATTAN

- (1) A northern (?) priest slain before the altar when H. P. Jehoiada deposed Athaliah.
- (2) Father of Shephatiah who opposed Jeremiah.

MATTANAH

An Israeli encampment between the Arnon torrent valley and territory of Sihon--generally thought to have been about 22 miles NE of the Dead Sea, just south of Rabbah on the eastern Kings Highway.

MATTANIAH²²

- (1) *Mattaniah*, son of Josiah (but confusion as to whether third or fourth son).
- (2) *Mattaniah/Zedekiah*, uncle or brother of Jehoiachin/Jeconiah.
- (3) *Mattaniah* is called Jehoiachin's father's--Eliakim's/Jehoiakim's brother--at *2 Kings* 24:17; but "Nebuchadnezzar changed his name to Zedekiah. ... His mother was Hamutal, daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah." At the "the turn of the year," after young Jehoiachin's capture, Nebuchadnezzar made Jehoiachin's "kinsman, Zedekiah/[*Mattaniah*], king." *2 Chronicles* 36:10 (confirmed by *Jeremiah* 37:1: "Zedekiah/[*Mattaniah*], son of Josiah, reigned." "Zedekiah/[*Mattaniah*] was 21 years old when he began to reign and he reigned 11 years" (*Jeremiah* 52:1). Refer also to the Period of the Kings in Appendices 2C.
- (4) *Mattaniah*, son of Elam (this and items 5 and 6, post-exilically).
- (5) *Mattaniah*, son of Zattu.
- (6) *Mattaniah*, son of Bani.
- (7) Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Mattaniah/Mattathiah/Mattenai and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Mattathais.

MATTATHA

- (1) (David-Nathan-) *Mattatha*; per *Luke* 3:23ff.--see Appendix 4C, "Lineage, David to Jesus."

MATTATTAH

- (1) (Sons of Hashum-) *Mattattah* who post-exilically had a foreign wife/family.

²² In many cases the Hebrew form, "Mattithiah," is Mattithyah, of which the prolonged form is Mattithyahu and appears in several places in *1 Chronicles*.

MATTENAI

- (1) *Mattenai*, head of the House of Joiarib under Joiakim/Joacim.
- (2) (Sons of Hashum-) *Mattenai* who post-exilically had a foreign wife/family.
- (3) (Sons of Bani-) *Mattenai* who post-exilically had a foreign wife/family.

MATTHAN

- (1) (*Matthan*-Jacob-Joseph-) Jesus of the *New Testament* according to *Matthew* 1:15-16.

MATTHAT

- (1) (Symeon-Levi-) *Matthat*-Jorim in lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3:29-30; Appendix 4C, "Lineage, David to Jesus."
- (2) (Levi-*Matthat*-Eli/Heli-) Joseph "as it was being opined," in the lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3:23-24.

MATTHEW

- (1) Form used in the name of the first book of the *New Testament* (Greek version, *Maththaios*).
- (2) *Matthew*, also called "Levi," taken to be son of Alphaeus, in turn taken to be father of "James the Less," ninth-listed of the apostles in the *New Testament*. (One tradition holds that Alphaeus was the same person as "Clophas," husband of the "other Mary.")
- (3) *Matthew*, a tax collector officed in Capernaum. The *New Testament* gospels do not mention this Matthew again after his 'recruitment, until after Jesus' death when he is named among a group of gathered apostles.

MATTHIAS/MATTATHIAH

- (1) After *New Testament* Jesus' death, *Matthias* was voted (in preference to Joseph Barsabbas) to replace Judas Iscariot as an apostle.

MATTITHIAH/MATTATHIAS

- (1) Form used in the *Septuagint* for (Korah...Shallum-) *Mattithiah* of the time of King David.
- (2) Form used in the *Septuagint* for (Jeduthun-) *Mattithiah* in the time of King David.
- (3) *Mattithiah*, a Levite who accompanied the Ark from the house of Obed-edom.
- (4) *Mattithiah*, at Ezra's right hand during a reading of the Law to an assembly in Jerusalem.
- (5) *Mattithiah*, a son of Nebo among those with foreign wives and sons.
- (6) (Josech-Semein²³ -) *Mattathais* in lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3:26.
- (7) (Amos-) *Mattathais*-Joseph-Jannai in lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3: 24-25.
- (8) *Continued in* Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Mattathais.

MELCHI/Melchei - See also Malchijah/Malchiah.

- (1) (*Melchi*-Neri-Shealtiel-) Zerubbabel in lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3:27-28.
- (2) (*Melchi*-Levi-) Matthat in lineage of *New Testament* Jesus according to *Luke* 3:24.

MESHILLEMETH/MESHILLEMITH/MESHULLEMOTH

- (1) (*Meshillemoth*-) Berechiah who, with (Shallum-) Jehizkiah, objected to Israel

²³ Only use of this spelling.

keeping its (half-?) brothers captive when king Pekah defeated Judah; the captives were given material assistance and released. Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 114.

(2) "Of the priests," (Immer-Meshillemith-Meshullam-Jahzerah-Adiel-) Maasiai. *1 Chronicles* 9:3ff.; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, C.

(3) (Haruz [from Jotbah]-) *Meshullemeth*, mother of king Amon by king Manasseh. Appendices 2C.

MESHULLAM

Note: Appendix 3B, II, Att. 4 also contains Meshullam; some repetitions may occur.

(1) Compare with Shallum, in which form *Meshullam* also appears.

(2) Benjamin...[Hushim +] Shahraraim-Elpaal-) *Meshullam*; Appendix 1C, Att.2.

(3) (Zerah...Meshezabel-) *Meshullam* in Judah. *Nehemiah* 3:4.

(4) *Meshullam* of the sons of Gad in Bashan. *1 Chronicles* 5:11ff.

(5) (Harkas/Hasrah-Tikvah²⁴/Tokhath-) *Meshullam*/Shallum ("Sadameas" in Esdras II), the husband of the Prophetess Huldah of Libnah. *2 Kings* 22:14; *2 Chronicles* 34:22.

(6) *Meshullam*/Shallum/Salum/Sadameas, high priest preceding Hilkiah in the chief priesthood lineage. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(7) King Josiah sent *Meshullam*, to have high priest Hilkiah count the silver collected from the people by the "keepers of the threshold," at which time Hilkiah announced he had "found the Book of the Law in the house of Jehovah." *2 Kings* 22:3ff.; *2 Chronicles* 34:8.

(8) *Meshullam* and Zechariah of the sons of the Kohathites were appointed overseers of the temple repairs under king Josiah. *2 Chronicles* 34:9.

(9) (*Meshullam*-Shaphan-Ahikam-) Gedaliah. *2 Kings* 25:22; *2 Chronicles* 34:20; *Jeremiah* 39:14.

(10) *Meshullam*, first-listed son of Zerubbabel. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3; see Zerubbabel, below.

(11) *Meshullam*, a head of the people Ezra assembled at the Ahava River, assigned by Ezra to gather Levites and Nethinim. *Ezra* 8:15-20; Appendix 3B, II, part III, B.

(12) Of the sons of Benjamin, (Hasenuah-Hodaviah-*Meshullam*-) Sallu. *1 Chronicles* 9:7.

(13) "The rulers of the people lived at Jerusalem. ...[of Benjamin], (Jeshaiah-Ithniel-Maaseiah- Koliah-Pedaiah-Joed-*Meshullam*-) Sallu. *Nehemiah* 11:7ff.

(14) See Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, column 2, for *Meshullams* as head priests/divisions of Ezra and Ginnethon, in the "days of Joacim and Ezra."

(15) (Meshezabeel-Berechiah-*Meshullam*-) Daughter + (Shechaniah Daughter [?] + Tobiah-) Jehohanan. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3. (Said *Meshullam* repaired two sections of the wall; *Nehemiah* 3:4, 30.)

(16) (Besodeiah-) *Meshullam* helped repair the old gate. *Nehemiah* 3:6.

(17) "Of the priests," (Immer-Meshillemith-*Meshullam*-Jahzerah-Adiel-) Maasiai. *1 Chronicles* 9:3ff.; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part C.

(18) *Meshullams* involved in the post-Babylon excommunication proceedings. Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, B; IV, B(b).

(19) *Meshullam*, a head of the people at the time of sealing the Nehemiah covenant. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part A, column 5.

(20) *Meshullam*, a priest who sealed the Nehemiah covenant. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part A, column 6.

(21) *Meshullam*, present at Ezra's reading of The Law. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part B.

²⁴ One other: (*Tikvah*-) "Jahzeiah, with [Asahel-] Jonathan, made a stand against the proposal to disregard foreign wives and families; *Ezra* 10:15.

MICAH/Michah//Mica/Micaiah/Michaiah (Maachah)

- (1) (Levi-Kohath-Uzziel-) *Michah*. *1 Chronicles* 23:20; 24:24.
- (2) (Priest?-) Micah, who had a “house of worship” circa Kirjath-Jearim; he was besieged by Danites enroute to conquer Laish. See Appendix 1D, II (*Judges* chapters 17 and 18).
- (3) (Saul-Jonathan-Merib-baal/Mephibosheth-) *Micah/Mica*. *2 Samuel* 9:12; Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, part C.
- (4) (Uriel of Gibeah-) *Michaiah/Maachah*²⁵
- (5) (...Joel-Shemaiah-...) *Micah*; unclear from verses whether all of the named sons there were carried away by Assyria’s Tilgath-pilsener. *1 Chronicles* 5: 1, 4ff.
- (6) (Imlah-) *Micaiah*, a prophet during the reigns of southern King Jehoshaphat and northern King Ahab; *Micaiah* was bound for declaring his belief that Ahab was being deceived. Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 43.
- (7) *Michaiah*, one of a group sent by King Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities. *2 Chronicles* 17:7-9.
- (8) *Micah*, the prophet of the book of that name--“the Morashthite, who wrote in the days of [kings] Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah,” and who said, *Tet*. “will surely gather the remnant of Israel,” (2:12), and, “And you, Bethlehem Ephratha...out of you...shall come forth one ruling in Israel” (5:2).
- (9) (Joel-Shemaiah...) *Micah*; unclear from verses whether all of the named sons there were carried away by Assyria’s Tilgath-pilsener. *1 Chronicles* 5:1ff., *2 Kings* 15:29.
- (10) (*Micah/Micaiah*-) Abdon/Achbor, one of the group King Josiah sent to consult the prophetess Huldah. Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 137.
- (11) (Shaphan-Gemariah-) *Micaiah* who reported to a group of rulers on Baruch's reading of a Jeremiah scroll. Appendix 2C, VII, following fn. 12.
- (12) (Asaph-Zichri-*Mica/Micah/Michaiah*-) Mattaniah/(Asaph-Zabdi-*Micha*-) Mattaniah, “the head of the beginning [who] gave thanks with prayer.” *1 Chronicles* 9:15 / *Nehemiah* 11:17 and 12:35.
- (13) (Asaph-Zaccur-*Mica/Michaiah*-Mattaniah-Shemaiah-Jonathan-) Zechariah “of the sons of the priests.” *Nehemiah* 12:35.
- (14) “[T]he priests,” Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, *Michaiah*, Elioenai, Zechariah, and Hananiah, who trumpeted in the wall dedication procession. *Nehemiah* 12:41.
- (15) *Micha*-Mattaniah-Hashabiah-Bani-) Uzzi, overseer of Levites. *Nehemiah* 11:22.
- (16) Levite *Mica/Micha* sealed the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:9ff.

MINIAMIN

- (1) See also “Mijamin,” a David priesthood division, and “Miamin,” Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, columns (1) and (2).
- (2) *Miniamin* assisted (Levi...Imnah-) Kore in making distributions in “the cities of the priests” under king Hezekiah. *2 Chronicles* 31:15.
- (3) *Miniamin*, among the priests with trumpets. *Nehemiah* 12:41.

MISHAEL

- (1) (Levi-Kohath-Uzziel-) *Mishael*, who, with his brother, Elzaphan, carried the bodies of (Elisheba or/and Aaron-) Nadab and Abihu away. Appendix 1C, part IV.
- (2) *Mishael*, aka Meshach, one of three companions of Daniel when taken into captivity. *Daniel* 1:6, 7.
- (3) *Mishael*, one of the 13 priests at Ezra’s sides when he read The Law. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part B.

NEARIAH/NERIAH

- (1) (Simeon-Ishi-) *Neariah*, with three brothers and 500 men, defeated the

²⁵ Refer to Appendix 1A, part B. [Abijah/Abijam married *Maachah*, “daughter of Abishalom,” mother of the next southern king (#3), Asa.]

Amalekites at Mount Seir and took residence there. *1 Chronicles* 4:42-43.

(2) (Shallum-Maaseah-*Neariah*-) Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe; Appendix 2C, VII, commencing at fn. 12.

(3) See also this appendix, Seals and Inscriptions, Barekyahu.

(4) *Neariah*, descendant of Zerubbabel. Appendix 3B, Attachment 3 chart.

(5) *Continued* in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Neariah.

NEHEMIAH

(1) "*Nehemiah*, the governor, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah²⁶"/Nehemiah, "cupbearer" to the king of Persia, and protagonist of the book of *Nehemiah*. *Nehemiah* 1:1, :11; 10:1.

(2) Among those who repaired the wall was "*Nehemiah*, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur," who "repaired in front of the tombs of David." *Nehemiah* 3:16.

NER/NERI

(1) *In re* the relationship of Saul, *Ner* and Kish, see Appendix 2A, Attachment 2.

(2) *Ner*-Kish-Saul-Jonathan-Merib-baal-Micah-Ahaz[?]-Zimri-Moza-[Binea?]-Eleasah. *1 Chronicles* 8:33-37; 9:39-43.

(3) *In re* the issue of *Neri* as a grandparent of Zerubbabel, see Zerubbabel, below, and Appendix 4C, Heli/Eli.

NETHANEL/NETHANEEL

(1) (Issachar...Zuar-) chief *Nethanel*, of the exodus.

(2) *Nethanel*, fourth-named son of Jesse, King David's father.

(3) "Shemaiah the son of *Nethaneel* the scribe" recorded David's divisions by lot of the priest houses. *1 Chronicles* 24:6.

(4) *Nethanel*, fifth-named son of Obed-edom; gatekeeper "southward, and to his sons the house of the storehouse." *1 Chronicles* 26:4; 26:15.

(5) Priest *Nethaneel* trumpeted in the procession of the ark to Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 15:24.

(6) *Nethaneel*, a teacher in the cities under king Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:7.

(7) *Nethanel* who, with brothers Conaniah and Shemaiah, contributed to king Josiah's great passover. *2 Chronicles* 35:9.

(8) *Nethaneel*, a priest house; *Nethaneel*, head of the priest house of Jedaiah. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

(9) (Sons of Pashur-) *Nethaneel*, found to have a foreign wife/family. *Ezra* 10:22.

(10) *Nethanel*, in the celebratory procession for the rebuilt wall. *Nehemiah* 12:36.

NETHANIAH

(1) *Nethaniah*, third-named son of Asaph in King David's day. *1 Chronicles* 25:12.

(2) *Nethaniah*, Levite priest who taught The Law for King Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:7-9.

(3) (Cushi-Shelemiah-*Nethaniah*-) Jehudi, sent by king Jehoiakim to seize a Jeremiah scroll from the "room" of Elishama, and who read it to the king. *Jeremiah* 36:14, 21.

(4) (Elishama-*Nethaniah*-) Ishmael who killed Gedaliah. *Jeremiah* 41:1-10; App. 2C, VII.

NETHINIM

(1) The word (possibly derived from "given ones," *Aid*, page 1222) applied to certain temple servants and ministers; the *Hebrew* "temple slaves" is found rendered *Nethinim*.

²⁶ Wherein sentence structure and this only use of "Zidkijah" leaves open whether he/she bears any relationship to Hachaliah or Nehemiah.

(2) At the Ahava camp on his way to Jerusalem, Ezra "looked over the people and the priests and found none there from the sons of Levi." He then sent nine chiefs of the exiles (Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib, Elnathan, Nathan, Zechariah, Meshullam, Joiarib, Elnathan--repeats included) to "Iddo, the chief man at Casiphia ²⁷...and his brothers, the temple slaves/*Nethinim* at Casiphia, to bring ministers for the house of our God." *Ezra* 8:16.

(3) "Now the first people in possession in their cities, the Israelites, the priests, the Levites, and the *Nethinim*...." *1 Chronicles* 9:2.

(4) See *Ezra* 2:43ff. for names of fathers of temple slave groups.

(5) In the list of persons reconstructing the wall it is noted that the "temple slaves were dwelling in Ophel across from the Water Gate toward the east and the protruding tower" (*Nehemiah* 3:26).

NETOPHAH/NETOPHATHITES

(1) (Hur, the first-born of Ephratah [see Appendix 1B]; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem), and "the sons of Salma: Bethlehem and the *Netophathites*...." *1 Chronicles* 2:50, 54.

(2) *Netophah*, a town about 2-1/2 mi. s/se of Bethlehem/its inhabitants supported Gedaliah. *Aid*, page 1222/Appendix 2C, VII. Among those who went to Gedaliah were "the sons of Ephai of *Netopha*." *Jeremiah* 40:8.

(3) Sons of *Netophah* were in the post-Babylon repatriation. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part III, A (5), (3).

(4) *Netophathite* Levites present at inauguration of wall definitely included (Jeduthun-Galal- Shemaiah-) Obadiah and (Elkanah-Asa-) Berechiah. ²⁸ *1 Chronicles* 9:15.

OBADIAH

(1) (Issachar-Tola-Uzzi-Izrahiah-) Michael, *Obadiah*, and Joel, "family heads." *1 Chronicles* 7:1-3.

(2) *Obadiah*, a Gadite army chief and supporter of David. *1 Chronicles* 12:9ff.

(3) (*Obadiah*-) Ishmaiah, a chief of Zebulun under king David. *1 Chronicles* 27:22.

(4) *Obadiah*, a liaison between king Ahab and prophet Elijah; he hid 100 priests/prophets from Jezebel's vengeance. Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 36.

(5) *Obadiah*, "over the House" during the time of king Ahab; the "governor of Ahab's house," *1 Kings* 18:3.

(6) *Obadiah*, a chief, commissioned by King Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities. *2 Chronicles* 17:9.

(7) Among artifacts reportedly dated to the ninth to eighth centuries b.c. was "a large stone bowl from Kuntillet Ajrud [archeological site "a few miles inside Egyptian border," which bears an inscription in Hebrew, "[Belonging] to Obadyo son of Adnah, blessed be he of Yahweh." *BAR*, May/June 2001, vol. 27, no. 3, page 49.

(8) (Merari-...) *Obadiah*, overseer of temple work under King Josiah. *2 Chronicles* 34:12.

(9) *Obadiah*, of the book of that name, about whom the book gives no personal details.

This book's castigation of "Edom" for taking advantage of Judah's "calamity" (the Nebuchadnezzar captivity), for having "cut off...escapees," for having "shut up...survivors," has been theorized as possibly additionally referring to captivities by different foes--in the south, a Philistine/["Arabia"]/Ethiopian/Edomite combine and deportations when Egypt regained power and faced off with Persia. ²⁹ *Cambridge* notes the *Nehemiah*

²⁷ This site is unknown.

²⁸ The paragraphing is indefinite; others named who also may have been *Netophathites* were (Merari- Hashabiah-Azrikam- Hasshub-) Shemaiah; Bakbakkar, Heresh and Gallal; and (Asaph-Zichri-Micah-) Mattaniah.

²⁹ Tracking events partially is snagged by the unknown location of "Sepharad," cited by *Obadiah* as a place "of exiles." *Genesis*

statement regarding the “walls down,” and asks whether there was not “some later [local/regional] disaster” involving Judah and Edomites” culminating “a distinctive semi-Edomitic phase...after the [Babylonian] disasters to Judah...and before the separate policy of those exiles who returned from Babylonia? [--per the] “historical criticism of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah...inaugurated by the Dutch scholar, Kosters (1894) and [in] its most definitive form in Torrey’s *Ezra Studies* (1910),...and as indicated, for example, in the Book of Obadiah?” (*Cambridge* v. VI, page 199, and as detailed further in that chapter, VII, “The Inauguration of Judaism.”)

(10) (Jeduthun-Galal-Shemaiah-) *Obadiah* / (Jeduthun-Galal-Shammua-) Abda / *Obadiah*, a post-Babylon Levite at Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 9:4/*Nehemiah* 11:17; App. 3B, II, Detail A, part C.

(11) *Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Obadiah.*

PAROSH

(1) 2,172 people of *Parosh* under Shecaniah and 150 of *Parosh* under Zechariah were in the two respective post-Babylon repatriation groups. Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, A, (5) (3), and B.

PASHUR

(1) (Son of Immer, Melchiah-) *Pashur*, “chief officer in the house of [Tet.],” who put prophet Jeremiah in the stocks. Appendix 2C, VII.

(2) (*Pashur*-) Gedaliah. *Jeremiah* 38:1.

(3) *Pashur*, son of priest Malchijah; *Jeremiah* 2:1, 2 and 38:1, 4, 6. (*Malchijah*-*Pashur*-) head priest Aidaiah, *1 Chronicles* 9:12; *Nehemiah* 11:12; see *Aidaiah*.

(4) *Pashur/Phassaron*, a priest house of 1,247/1,047 priests, in the post-Babylon repatriation; Appendix 3B, II, part III, A (5). Six of its sons were found to have foreign wives/families.

PEDIAH

(1) See Appendix 2C, III, fn. 60.

(2) See *Seals and Inscriptions, Pedyahu.*

PELATIAH

(1) (Simeon...-) *Pelathiah*, who with three brothers and 500 men defeated the Amalekites at Mount Seir and took residence there. *1 Chronicles* 4:41-43.

(2) (Benaia-) *Pelathiah* of Israel; compatriot of Jaazaniah; seen in *Ezekiel* vision; died according to *Ezekiel* “prophecy.” *Ezekiel*, 11:1-13.

(3) *Pelathiah*, descendant of Zerubbabel. See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3 chart.

(4) *Pelathiah*, a chief of the people at the time of the sealing of the *Nehemiah* covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:22.

PUR (*Purim*, plural)

(1) *Pur* variously is described in lexicons as being linked to a Persian or Akkadian word meaning part or portion. *Aid* p. 1359.

(2) Casting of *purim* or lots, to which a spiritual nature was assigned, apparently was an ancient method for deciding issues (“Into the busom is cast The lot, but from [Tet. is] all the ordering of it;” *Proverbs* 16:33). Joshua and high priest Eleazar employed casting of lots for making land assignments (Section One); under king David the casting of lots was used to determine the sequence of rotating priest houses to administer at temple (*1 Chronicles* 24:5-18).

(3) However, lots also are described being used by others and in other instances,

10:29-30 appears to set *Sephar* as one limit of Joktan territory, running from “Mesha as far as Sephar, the mountainous region of the East.” (*Aid*, p. 1470, suggests “the Yemenite city of Zafar,” ancient capital of the Arabian Himyarite kingdom, which included the Nabataeans; and p. 1211, “Nebaioth,” Ishmael’s firstborn of 12 sons, is believed by some to have founded the prominent Arabian tribes whose capital was Petra, while others reject any connection between “Nabataea” and “Nebaioth.”)

e.g. in a division of war spoils (*Joel* 3:3, *Obadiah* 1:11) and by Haman in his aborted plot to destroy Hebrews during the days of Esther (Appendix 3A, V, fn. 10), from which events the traditional Hebrew "Festival of Purim"/"Festival of Lots" came to be named.

RECHAB

- (1) See Appendix 1F, *Kenas/Kenaz/Kenite, etc.*, at fn. 20.
- (2) See Appendix 1E, preceding fn. 36 (*Rechab*, one of the assassins of [Saul -] Ish-bosheth).
- (3) "[T]he families of the scribes who lived at Jabez [site unknown]: the Tirathites, the Shimeathites [?] Suchathites. These the Kenites who came from Hemath, the father of the house of *Rechab*." *1 Chronicles* 2:55. (See also "Jabez," no antecedents, *1 Chronicles* 4:9.)
- (4) (*Rechab*-) Jehonadab, who gave hand to Jehu's successful bid which took the northern monarchy from the house of Ahab. Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 81.
- (5) Jeremiah's reclamation' of the *Rechabites*--*Jeremiah* 35; Appendix 2C, VII, preceding fn. 10.
- (6) "Malchiah, the son of *Rechab*, the ruler of a part of Beth-haccerem," repaired and reinstalled the Dung Gate. *Nehemiah* 3:14.

REHUM

- (1) *Rehum/Nehum* was among the lead group of the post-Babylon return. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, part III A.
- (2) (a) *Rehum*, a post-Babylon returning priest.
(b) "A simple transposition of Hebrew characters would make him [*Rehum*] the one called Harim in verse [*Nehemiah* 12:] 15 and elsewhere." *Aid*, page 1384.
(c) *Rehum*, a head of the people at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.
- (3) *Rehum*, "governor in charge" of the overlord wrote the letter in Aramaic to "Artaxerxes," complaining about the rebuilding then taking place. Appendix 3A, V, at *Ezra* 4:6-24.
- (4) (Bani-) *Rehum* helped repair the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:17; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

REPHAIAH

- (1) (Issachar-Tola-) *Rephaiah*. *1 Chronicles* 7:1.
- (2) (Simeon...-) *Rephaiah*, who with three brothers and 500 men defeated the Amalekites at Mount Seir and took up residence there. *1 Chronicles* 4:41-43.
- (3) "Sons of *Rephaiah*," descendants of Zerubbabel. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3.
- (4) "*Rephaiah* the son of Hur, the ruler of the half-part of Jerusalem," helped repair the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:9.

SAMUEL

- (1) "The sons of Kohath: Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son, Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son, Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziyah his son and Shaul his son. And the sons of Elkanah: Amasai and Ahimoth. Elkanah, the sons of Elkanah: Zophi his son, and Nahath his son, Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son. And the sons of *Samuel*: Vashni [Joel is substituted interlineally, in the ms. referenced in this work...] the firstborn, and the second even Abijah." *1 Chronicles* 6:22-28.
- (2) "...of the sons of the Kohathites, Heman the singer, the son of Joel, the son of *Samuel*, the son of Elkanah, the son of Jercham, the son of Eliel, the son of Toah, the son of Zuph, the son of Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai, the son of Elkanah, the son of Joel, the son of Azariah, the son of Zephaniah, the son of Tahath, the son of Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel." *1 Chronicles* 6:33-38.

(3) "...[A] certain man of Ramathaim-zophim,³⁰ of the hill-country of Ephraim, and his name Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of Zuph, an Ephrathite,³¹ and to him two wives, the name of one Hannah, and the name of the second Peninnah...." Peninnah had children. Initially, Hannah had none; then she "conceived and bore three sons and two daughters, and grew up the child *Samuel* with [*Tet.*]" 1 *Samuel* 1:1; 2:21.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS³²

A *bullā* is a flattened lump of clay used to secure a tie around a papyrus document. The *bullā* could be impressed while soft with a seal of the conveying or owning authority. *Bullae* apparently were allowed to dry naturally; the dating authenticity of archaeologically-discovered, stamped *bullae* is verified by chemical changes undergone in their hardening by ensuing destructive fires. *Bullae* often reveal on their bases both the grooved imprint of the tying string and impression of the papyrus they fastened.³³

The "largest assemblage of legible Hebrew sealings...from a controlled archaeological context" was that found in a structure referred to as "The House of Bullae," in the 1982 City of David excavation led by Yigal Shiloh. Those *bullae* reveal 51 different names, about half of which end with the element *-yajū* (-yhw). The "Gemaryahu" inscription from that collection (alphabetically here, below) is said to contain "the only name [that] belongs to someone known from historical sources."³⁴

Abday

See **Nahum**, below.

Adnah

See **Obadyo**, below.

Ahaz

Deutsch, Robert, "Lasting Impressions," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.

"Hezekiah's father, king Ahaz.,³⁵ also had a royal seal...but unlike his son [Hezekiah], Ahaz had no figures or symbols on his seal," *i.e.* his seal was "aniconic," having only an inscription" (p. 49; photograph, only, on p. 46.). "The austere seal of Ahaz...[without] figures or symbols...[is]...surprising in light of the Bible's characterization of him as a king who modified temple practices to suit his Assyrian allies (2 Kings 16:17-18)-- while Hezekiah, whose seals freely display symbols of foreign origin, is described as a king who rejected foreign practices." (p. 46).

Ahijahu [Ahijah?]³⁶

"Ahiyahu [son of] Sm[---]." Black seal bearing a symbol; bronze ring still attached; see Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 106.

Amaryahu

Deutsch, Robert, "Lasting Impressions," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.

³⁰ Where Samuel was born and buried, "his house"/"his city;" see Appendix 2A, Ramah.

³¹ Refer to Appendix 1B.

³² Concerning kings mentioned in this section, refer to Appendices 2C, II, III, IV.

³³ The information in this paragraph is from the Deutsch and Lubetski articles cited below.

³⁴ The information in this paragraph is from the McCarter text cited below.

³⁵ The regnal period here given is 735-725 B.C.E.; *but see* the chart of king reigns in Appendix 2C, II.

³⁶ Ahijah/Ahiah, see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, sub-part II, (b).

“Belonging to Amaryahu, [son of] Hananyahu,³⁷ servant of Hezekiah.” The article offers as a possibility: “The keeper of the East Gate, Kore, was placed in charge of...freewill offerings, with several men under him ‘in offices of trust.’ One of the men was named Amariah,³⁸ or in Hebrew, *Amaryahu*. (2 Chron. 31:15.)” There is no adornment on the seal (p. 48; designated “bulla A” in the article’s illustration).

Amoz[/Amos]³⁹

“Amoz the scribe.” A jasper seal depicting “a scene of worship beneath a winged sun disk. See Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 106.

Azariyahu⁴⁰

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

“Belonging to Azaryahu, the gate-keeper of the prison.” Reddish-clay bulla about 0.47 x 0.39 inches; “seventy century B.C.E. Hebrew inscription.” (p. 149)

Barekyahu⁴¹

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

“Belonging to Barekyahu/the son of Neriya⁴² /the scribe.” “A gray bulla...imprinted by the same seal as a dark brown bulla in the Israel Museum,” the latter being part of the large collection published by Nahman Avigad in 1986. The sizes of the two bullae are 0.63 x 0.67 inches and 0.79 x 0.73 inches, respectively. The seal that made the impressions was oval, 0.41 x 0.47 inches; and the large margin of clay on the latter of the two bullae “permitted the preservation of a dramatic detail: the fingerprint of the person who pressed the seal.” (pp. 149-150)

Domla

Deutsch, Robert, “Lasting Impressions,” *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.

“Belonging to Domla, servant of Hezekiah” (two bullae). Per the article, “Domla is a shortened form of a name with a theophoric (divine) ending, either ‘el or *yahu*, which would make the complete name either Domla’el or Domlayahu. *Domla* means to be patient or silent; the full name would mean ‘Be silent before the Lord’ or ‘Be patient before Yahweh’.” The word appears in Psalm 37:7: ‘Be patient and wait for the Lord.’” There is no adornment on this seal (p. 48-49; [designations B and C in the article illustrations).

Epai [Ephai?]⁴³

Deutsch, Robert, “Lasting Impressions,” *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.

“Epai son of Natanyahu.”

Deutsch discusses generally (cross-referencing other sources) the discovery of bullae and their releases to the market: “All of the bullae hoards that have been recently brought to light came from the antiquities market; not one was found in a scientific archeological excavation, with one important exception not relevant to this discussion.* [*fn.: That hoard was found at the City of David excavations... led by the late Yigal Shiloh.

³⁷ Refer to *Ananiah* and variations, above in this appendix, and to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, (k) and (l), *Hananiah*.

³⁸ See *Amariah*, in this appendix.

³⁹ See *Amos*, in this appendix.

⁴⁰ See *Azariah*, in this appendix.

⁴¹ “‘Baruch’ was a shortened form”—see *Berechiah/Barachiah*, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, and *Baruch* in this appendix.

⁴² See *Neariah/Neria*, in this appendix.

⁴³ See *Ephai/Epai?*, in this appendix.

See Tsvi Schneider, "Six Biblical Signatures--Seals and Seal Impressions of Six Biblical Personages Revealed," BAR, July/August 1991.] (p. 60)

"We will never know for certain where they came from, however.... Nahman Avigad assumed that the hoard he published in 1986, which may also be part of the large group [the Moussaieff Collection], were found in the vicinity of Tel Beit Mirsim in southern Judah. Frank Cross thought it likely that they came from an archive in Jerusalem [giving references to their works]."

"My guess is that they came from a site known as Khirbet el-Qom, near Hebron, because of a bulla in the Moussaieff Collection that bears the inscription, 'Epai son of Natanyahu.' *Epai* is an extremely rare name--but it appears on an unpublished bulla in the new hoard, further indicating that the two hoards were originally one. Although the names are the same, the seals are quite different; apparently this Epai also had at least two seals. The name also appears twice in a late eighth or early seventh century b.c.e. burial inscription from Khirbet el-Qom,...along with the father's name, Natanyahu. I suspect that this was the same Epai, son of Natanyahu, whose seals are impressed in the bullae we now have." "Incidentally, the very same name shows up in, of all places, a recently published graffito on a stone block acquired on the Jerusalem antiquities market.... This is a soft limestone that is very similar to others that came from Khirbet el-Qom--and the graffito bears a close paleographical resemblance to other writing from there. ... Who was this Epai, son of Natanyahu? He must have been one important--or ubiquitous--person." (p. 61)

Gemaryahu

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, Ancient Inscriptions, Washington, D.C.:
Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

"Gemaryahu ["or Gemariah"⁴⁴], son of Shaphan."

Hananyahu

See **Amaryahu**.

Hanan⁴⁵

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, Ancient Inscriptions, Washington, D.C.:
Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

"Belonging to Hanan son of Hilqiyahu, the priest." A sealing stone in its original bezel; dark blue agate variegated with a light blue vein; silver band 0.9 inch diameter large enough for a man's finger. The article states that this sealing stone "brings to mind Hilqiyahu or Hilkiah who served as high priest under King Josiah." and that it is "tempting [to believe Hanan was Hilkiah's son]...but the ring is [taken to be] about a century too old to have belonged to a son of Josiah's high priest. The form of the Hebrew script [on it] requires a date no later than the end of the eighth century B.C.E." (p. 146)

Hanna

See **Manasseh**, below.

Hezekiah⁴⁶

Two renderings of one bulla:

"[Belonging to Hezekiah [son of] Ahaz, king of Judah!]" (according to Frank Moore Cross);

"Judah, Belonging to Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, King!" (Meir Lubetski).

Discussed in two articles:

⁴⁴ See Shaphan, this appendix, and the second introductory paragraph of this section concerning the discovery of this bulla.

⁴⁵ Refer to this appendix, Hanan, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Anani/Hanani.

⁴⁶ Per the Lubetski article, (a) Hezekiah ruled Judah "727-698 b.c." (p. 45); *but see* the chart of king reigns in Appendix 2C, II; and (b) "Hezekiah and Ahaz are the only kings of Judah whose seal impressions have been recovered;" p. 45.

(A) Lubetski, Meir, "King Hezekiah's Seal Revisited," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2001, Vol. 27, No. 4, pages 44-47.

Lubetski sees "Judah" prominently placed and conveying a "unique message," "signalizing its [Judah's] renewed status" "after [Hezekiah] had vanquished the Philistines (2 Kings 18:8) and emphasizes his elevated position as an independent king following the rebellion against Sennacherib, king of Assyria (2 Kings 18:7)." (pp. 46-47)

The impression on this Hezekiah bulla is of a two-winged beetle with a ball between its forelegs.⁴⁷ The article discusses the iconographic representations of the 'Great Winged [sun-] Disk' (the Egyptian predecessor of the winged scarab), and representations of the beetle motif, depicted variously as wingless, two-winged (one set of wings), and four-winged (two sets of wings). It reports that Phoenicia developed the four-winged scarab image while Egypt's artists produced only two-winged.

Cross acknowledged the image's origination in Egypt but saw it as first appropriated by the Phoenicians and then drawn from their art/iconography, while Lubetski saw it as "a direct borrowing from Egyptian iconography and can be understood as an adaptation by [Hezekiah] to advance his own national agenda." (See also Manasseh in this section for additional discussion regarding the Hezekiah seal imagery.)

(B) Deutsch, Robert, "Lasting Impressions," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.

"[A] new crop of bullae bearing impressions of Hezekiah's seal has been making its way into publish view from the antiquities market since the mid-1990's. Some...published here for the first time."⁴⁸ "[W]e now have a total of six bullae, each of which has a two-winged scarab and the identical inscription: 'Belonging to Hezekiah [son of] Ahaz, King of Judah.'" (pp. 45-46)

"A new surprise...two other recently unveiled bullae that are inscribed with Hezekiah's name...have an entirely different royal emblem. Instead of a two-winged scarab, the seals feature a two-winged sun disk. Six rays shoot out of the top and bottom of the sun disk and two downward-curving wings project from the sides (unlike the upswept wings on the seals with a scarab). On either side of the disk is an Egyptian ankh.... Both bullae are made from the same seal... The well-preserved bulla [is of] black clay and has a complete seal impression. Like most bulla, it is tiny--barely a half-inch wide and even less than that in height. A deep groove around the edge indicates that the seal probably originally sat in the metal bezel of a ring." (p. 46) "So now we know that Hezekiah had at least two royal emblems: the two-winged scarab and the two-winged sun disk." Clay storage jar handle inscriptions of Hezekiah's period also were impressed with similar icons, some of which are four-winged. (pp. 49-50)

The article offers (a) examples of abundant Egyptian influence throughout the Bronze Age 3000-1200 b.c.e. in Palestine, and (b) in-depth discussion of reasonings related to the Hebrew characters and wordings on the seals, and comparisons with biblical renditions, as related to evolution of the language and fixing the time of scriptural writings:

"On the bullae, Hezekiah's name is spelled *hzqyhw*, *Hezqiyahu*. In the Bible it is spelled this way (2 Kings 18:9, 19:1) and three other ways: with an additional *y* at the beginning (*yhzqyhw*, *Yehezqiyahu*, as in 2 Chronicles 28:12); without the final *w* (*yhzqyh*, *Yehezqiyah*, as in Hosea 1:1); and without the beginning *y* or the final *w* (*hzqyh*, *Hezqiyah*, as in 2 Kings 18:2)." "There is no clear explanation for these variant spellings. Perhaps it shows the chronological evolution of the language, with the texts containing the *defectiva* spellings being earlier. But the fact that all the bullae spell Hezekiah's name the same way,

⁴⁷ Scarabs "were believed to push their [small] balls of dung--from which young were thought to emerge without need of a mother--from east to west, as the sun moves." "When the beetle, or scarab...replaces the sun-disk, a ball carried by the beetle represents the daily rising solar ball that the sun god rolls from east to west." (p. 46)

⁴⁸ According to this article, Nahman Avigad, "illustrious scholar of ancient epigraphy at Hebrew University," in his 1986 book, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah: Remnants of a Burnt Archive*, did not recognize one bulla that belonged to Hezekiah. Due to certain obliteration of its lettering, Avigad offered *Adoniyahu* as the name; this article gives comparisons and reasonings leading to acceptance that it named Hezekiah. (pp. 45-46)

despite the availability of other spellings, may indicate that all three of the seals impressed in these nine Hezekiah bullae were made in the same workshop.” (p. 60)

Hilqiyahu⁴⁹

See **Hanan**, above.

Jaazaniah⁵⁰ McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, Ancient Inscriptions, Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

“Jaazaniah, Servant of the King.” A 0.75-inch onyx seal (found at Tell en-Nashbah, “the probable site of Mizpah, atop an isolated hill about five miles north of Jerusalem”) “engraved with the figure of a fighting cock and a name in late seventh-century B.C.E. Hebrew script. Its owner, ‘Jaazaniah, servant of the king, may have been a kinsman of Jehoahaz [and] the cock...a clan or family emblem.” “Since Jaazaniah’s seal was found at Mizpah, it is possible that he should be identified with Jaazaniah the son of the Maacathite, who, according to 2 Kings 25:23 and Jeremiah 40:8, was one of the Judean officers who gathered at Mizpah under Gedaliah after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.E.C.” (pp. 146-147).

Jehoahaz⁵¹

“Belonging to Jehoahaz, son of the king.” A red jasper seal incised with a fighting cock. See Appendix 2C, I, fn. 6.

Jeroboam

See **Shema**, below.

Manasseh Lubetski, Meir, “King Hezekiah’s Seal Revisited,” *Biblical Archaeological Review*, July/August 2001, Vol. 27, No. 4, pages 44ff.

“[Belonging] to Manasseh son of the king.” “This seal, like Hezekiah’s” also bears a two-winged beetle with a ball between its forelegs.”

Lubetski states that Hezekiah “chose a name [for his son] that originated on Egyptian soil” rather than a name “containing a Judaic theophoric element like YW..or YH...or YHW...all signifying the personal name of the Israelite God YHWH, as was so common among kings of Israel and Judah....” “Even the grandson of King Hezekiah carries an Egyptian name, ‘Amon’.” (p. 48) Also, “a seal belonging to Hanna [*sic.*] bears an ankh, the Egyptian symbol of life, in front of a sphinx wearing the crown of Egypt, and the seal of Shebnayahu [Shebaniah?⁵²] servant of King Uzziah of Judah, Hezekiah’s grandfather, displays two winged sun-disks.” (p. 49, illustration)

Miqneyaw

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, Ancient Inscriptions, Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.

“Belonging to Miqneyaw, the Servant of Yahweh.” “Beautiful ellipsoid seal carved from red jasper...[a 0.45 inch-long stone with] two lines of Hebrew text engraved on both surfaces. On the side used to impress clay...the writing has the usual mirror-image... ..[O]n the other side, oriented so as to be read directly,...‘belonging to’ is omitted.”

“The name Miqneyaw means ‘possession of Yahweh’ or possibly ‘creature of Yahweh.’”⁵³ “The Hebrew script...belongs to the first half of the eighth century [b.c.]” “The form of the divine name, -yaw, was not used in Judah [after that time]...though it was the

⁴⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Hilkiah.

⁵⁰ See Jaazaniah, above in this appendix.

⁵¹ Refer to Appendix 2C, I, (c).

⁵² Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Shebaniah.

⁵³ Resemblance to Micah/Michah/Mica is not explored here; *but see* same this appendix.

usual form in the northern kingdom.” (p. 145)

Neriyahu - See **Barekyahu**, above.

Nahum McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.:
Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.
“Belonging to Nahum [son of] ‘Abday.” Impression on a jar handle owned by
“Nahum, son of ‘Abday (or ‘Obaday).” “[T]he form of script...requires an early date [despite
a later-popular rectangular, rather than ovoid, form], consistent with the discovery of at
least one of the impressions from Lachish sealed inside a room destroyed by fire in 701
B.C.E.” (page 144)

Obadyo
“Belonging to Obadyo son of Adnah.” Inscription on a large stone bowl; see this
appendix, Obadiah.

Pediyahu
“Belonging to Pediyahu, son of the king.” See Appendix 2C, III. fn. 60.

Shaphan
See **Gemaryahu**.

Shebnayahu
See **Manasseh**.

Shema⁵⁴ McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.:
Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.
“Shema, servant of Jeroboam [II?].”
“This magnificent seal was found in 1904 during the excavation of Megiddo...but it
subsequently disappeared. Fortunately, it survives in the form of a bronze cast. The
original jasper seal, which measured 1.46 x 1.02 inches, was engraved with the figure of a
roaring lion.... Its archaic Hebrew script fits neatly into the reign of Jeroboam II....” (pp. 144-
45)

Tobshalem Deutsch, Robert, “Lasting Impressions,” *Biblical Archaeological Review*,
July/August 2002, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 42ff.
“Belonging to Tobshalem, commander of the army.” “[...]actually the second time a
bulla impressed with this seal has come to light--I published the first one, from the
Moussaieff collection, in 1997.” This seal bears an “elaborate Egyptian lotus bud...between
the two lines of the inscription.” (p. 49; designated “D” in the article illustration)

Yerahme’el⁵⁵
McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle, *Ancient Inscriptions*, Washington, D.C.:
Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996.
“Yerahme’el the son of the king.” A bulla in the Avigad collection.

⁵⁴ (a) See Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, item D (Descendancy of Hezron); (b) (Joel-*Shema*-Ahaz-) Bela (1 *Chronicles* 5:8 under “sons of Reuben,” *but see* attachment cited in (a) here, in conjunction with Appendix 1C, Attachment 2); (c) a city in southern Judah (*Joshua* 15:26); this *Shema* “is often tentatively identified with Tell es-Sa’wi, about 12 miles E-NE of Beer-Sheba,” and was “perhaps the same as Simeon’s enclave city Sheba (*Aid* p. 1486; *re Sheba*, see Attachment 2A, Sheba, and Appendix 1E, following fn. 72); (d) *Shema*, who stood by Ezra as he read The Law (*Nehemiah* 8:4).

⁵⁵ See Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Jerahmeel.

SERIAIAH

- (1) "These are the men of Rechah [only use of *Rechah*] [lapse...]. And the sons of Kenaz were Othniel and *Seraiah* [-Joab]." *1 Chronicles* 4:12ff.
- (2) *Seraiah*, a "secretary" of King David (*2 Samuel* 8:17); possibly elsewhere referred to variously as (Maacah-Caleb-) Sheva (*2 Samuel* 20:25) and Shavsha (*1 Chronicles* 18:16).
- (3) (Simeon...-Asiel-*Seraiah*-Josibiah-) Jehu. *1 Chronicles* 4:35.
- (4) *Continued* in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Seraiah*.

SHALLUM⁵⁶

- (1) *Shallum*/Shillem, last-named of the four "sons/fathers" of Naphtali that went into Egypt with Jacob.
- (2) (*Shallum*-) Jekamiah, at the end of a long descendancy of (Hezron-) Jerahmeel, involving an Egyptian material tributary. *1 Chronicles* 2:25ff.
- (3) (Simeon-Shaul/Saul-) "--[lapse?] *Shallum*, his [whose is not clear] son;" *1 Chronicles* 4:24.
- (4) Other potential *Shallum* descendant(s) (during the time of David?): "Shelemiah/Meshelemiah" of the gatekeepers east of the sanctuary.
- (5) *Shallum*, son of Jabesh and king of Israel for 30 days. Appendices 2C, II, north #15, and 2C, IV, preceding fn. 110.
- (6) ([Rachel + Jacob] - Joseph + Asenath-) Ephraim-*Shallum*-) Jehizkiah, a leader who objected to Israel keeping its [half?]-brothers captive when King Pekah defeated "Judah;" the captives were given material assistance and released. Appendix 2C, IV, after fn. 114.
- (7) (Harkas/Hasrah-Tikvah⁵⁷/Tokhath-) Meshullam/*Shallum* ("Sadameas" in Esdras II), the husband of the Prophetess Huldah of Libnah. *2 Kings* 22:14; *2 Chronicles* 34:22.
- (8) Meshullam/*Shallum*/Salum/Sadameas, high priest preceding Hilkiyah in the chief priesthood lineage. Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.
- (9) (Korah...-) *Shallum*, guardian of the King's Gate during Jeremiah's time and father of Maaseiah (*Jeremiah* 35:4).
- (10) *Shallum*/Jehoahaz, son of Josiah and king of Judah for three months, before being exiled by Egyptian pharaoh Nechoh/Neco. *2 Kings* 23:30-34; *Jeremiah* 22:11-12; *1 Chronicles* 3:15; Appendix 2C, IV, preceding fn. 145; Appendix 2C, VII, at fns. 7 and 28; Appendix 2C, I (c); Appendix 2C, II, south #17.
- (11) *Shallum*, Jeremiah's uncle and father of Hanamel/Hanameel, from whom Jeremiah "purchased a field." Appendix 2C, VII, preceding fn. 19.
- (12) *Shallum*, son of 'Hallohesh' [only use], "co-Prince [of half a district]" of Jerusalem, who did restoration work with his daughters. *Nehemiah* 3:12.
- (13) *Shallum*, son of Colhozeh [only use], and Prince of "the district of Mizpeh." He helped rebuild a section of wall and restored the Fountain Gate at the se corner.
- (13) *Shallum*, "head" gatekeeper. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, (C).
- (14) *Shallum*, among sons of Binnui who had foreign wives/families. *Ezra* 10:42.

SHAMMA/SHAMMAH/SHAMMUA/SHIMEAH/SHIMEAM/SHIMEI

- (1) "The sons of Reuel [were] Nahath, Zerah, *Shammah* and Mizzah." *1 Chronicles* 1:37.
- (2) (Esau-Reuel-) Chief *Shammah*. *Genesis* 36:17.
- (3) (Asher...-Zophah-) *Shamma*, head of a father's house. *1 Chronicles* 7:37.
- (4) (Simeon-Shaul/Saul-) "--[lapse?] *Shallum*, his [whose is not clear] son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son. And the sons of Mishma: Hamuel his son, Zaccur his son, *Shimei*,

⁵⁶ Cf. Meshullam, in which form *Shallum* also appears.

⁵⁷ One other: (*Tikvah*-) "Jahzeiah, with [Asahel-] Jonathan, made a stand against the proposal to disregard foreign wives and families; *Ezra* 10:15.

his son." *1 Chronicles* 4:24-26.

(5) (Reuben...-Zaccur-) *Shammua*, one of the group sent by Moses to reconnoiter Canaan." *Numbers* 13:4.

(6) (Benjamin...-Mikloth-) *Shimeah*. *1 Chronicles* 8:32.

(7) (Maachah + Jeiel, the father of Gibeon - Mikloth -) *Shimeam*. *1 Chronicles* 9:35; refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 2, "Saul, Descendancy of."

(8) *Shammah/Shimea* as son of David's father, Jesse: "And passed Jesse *Shammah* [also, before Samuel]," *1 Samuel* 16:9; "And Jesse fathered...*Shimea*, *1 Chronicles* 2:13. (As "brother" of David: "Jonadab, the son of *Shimeah*, brother David's," *2 Samuel* 13:3 and 13:32; "Jonathan, the son of *Shimeah*, brother David's," *2 Samuel* 21:21.)

(9) *Shammua/Shimea* as a son of Bath-sheba and David:

Shammua. *1 Chronicles* 14:4.

Shammua. *2 Samuel* 5:14.

Shimea. *1 Chronicles* 3:5.

(10) Among David's mighty men:

"*Shammoth* the Hararite." *1 Chronicles* 11:27.

"*Shammah* the Harodite." *2 Samuel* 23:25.

"Jonathan [following "sons of Jashen but connection(s) unclear]...-*Shammah* the Hararite," *2 Samuel* 23:32-33.

"Jonathan [following "the sons of Hashem"] the son of Shage the Hararite," *1 Chronicles* 11:34, while "*Shammah* the son of Agee the Hararite" is found at *2 Samuel* 23:11.

(11) *Shammua*, chief father of Bilgah⁵⁹ "in the days of Joiakim. *Nehemiah* 12:12; 18.

(12) (Jeduthun-Galal-*Shammua*-) Abda, a Levite, *Nehemiah* 11:17; (Jeduthun-Galal-*Shemaiah*-) Obadiah, a Levite, *1 Chronicles* 9:16.

SHAPHAN

(1) (*Shaphan*-) Ahikam, one of five men sent by high priest Hilkiah to Huldah for guidance; *2 Kings* 12:12 and :14; *2 Chronicles* 34:20.

(2) (*Shaphan*-) Ahikam opposed putting the prophet Jeremiah to death; *Jeremiah* 26:24.

(3) The king of Babylon appointed "Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of *Shaphan*" over Judah's cities, *Jeremiah* 40:5 ("Gedaliah the son of Ahikam;" *2 Kings* 25:22).

(4) (Meshullam the Scribe-*Shaphan* the scribe-Geramiah-Micaiah/Micah-) Achbor/ Abdon, one of the group sent by king Josiah to Prophetess Huldah. *Jeremiah* 36:10 ff *2 Kings* 22:12, 34:20.

(5) See Seals and Inscriptions, this appendix, Gemaryahu.

(6) (*Shaphan*-) Elasa. *Jeremiah* 29:1.

(7) (*Shaphan*-) Jaazaniah (*Ezekiel* 8:11)

SHEBANIAH

(1) See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Shebaniah.

(2) See Seals and Inscriptions, this appendix, under Manasseh.

SHECANIAH

(1) *Shecaniah*, one of the Levites appointed by Hezekiah to oversee distribution of tithes "in the cities of the priests." *2 Chronicles* 31:15.

(2) *Continued* in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Shecaniah.

⁵⁸ See Appendix 2B.

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix 3B, Detail A.

SHELOMITH/SHELOMOTH

- (1) A son of “an Egyptian” and “*Shelomith*, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan,” was stoned to death for blasphemy, at Moses’ direction, during the exodus wilderness period. *Leviticus* 24:10-14, 23.
- (2) (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-) chief *Shelomith*. *1 Chronicles* 23:12, 18.
- (3) Among David’s serving Levites there were, “of the Izharites, *Shelomoth*; [and] of the sons of *Shelomoth*, Jahath.” *1 Chronicles* 24:22.
- (4) [Among David’s divisions’, “of the Gershonites: Ladan and Shimei.... The sons of Shimei: *Shelomith* [...and two others]. These the heads of the fathers of Ladan, [followed by more sons of Shimei].” *1 Chronicles* 23:8ff.; refer also to Appendix 1C between footnotes 62 and 64.
- (5) (Moses-Gersom-) Shebuel “was over the treasures. And his brothers by Eliezer:...*Shelomith* his son” [apparently later in David’s reign]. *1 Chronicles* 26:24ff.
- (6) After wife Mahalath, Rehoboam “took Maachah the daughter of Absalom, and she bore to him...*Shelomith*.” *2 Chronicles* 11:20.
- (7) “And the sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and Hananiah, and *Shelomith* their sister.” *1 Chronicles* 3:19; see also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3 chart.
- (8) Accompanying Ezra were, “from the sons of *Shelomith*, the son of Josiphiah...160 males.” *Ezra* 8:10. While that verse may indicate an omission of the name of a (Shelomith-Josiphiah-) son, per *1 Esdras* 8:36, “Of the sons of Banid, *Assalimoth* son of Josaphias, and with him an hundred and threescore men.”

SHEMAIAH

- (1) (Simeon...-*Shemaiah*-Shimri-Jedaiah-Allon-Shiphi-) Ziza. *1 Chronicles* 4:37.
- (2) (Reuben...[lapse]-Joel-) *Shemaiah*. *1 Chronicles* 5:1-4.
- (3) “*Shemaiah* the son of Nethaneel the scribe” recorded David’s divisions by lot of the priest houses. *1 Chronicles* 24:6.
- (4) In the divisions of gatekeepers under David was (Obed-edom-) *Shemaiah*. *1 Chronicles* 26:4.
- (5) “Also to his [Obed-edom-*Shemaiah*’s] son were born sons, who ruled for the house of their father, for warriors of might they...[followed by their names]. All these of the sons of Obed-edom.” *1 Chronicles* 26:6ff.
- (6) “Of the sons of Elizaphan: *Shemaiah* the chief, and his brothers, 200,” were in David’s gathering for the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem. *1 Chronicles* 15:8.
- (7) A prophet *Shemaiah* counseled against civil warring between Solomon’s successor-son, Rehoboam, and the northern contender, Jeroboam I. See Section Two preceding fn. 13.
- (8) *Shemaiah*, a teacher of the law under king Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:7-9.
- (9) (Jeduthun-) *Shemaiah*, a Levite assistant of king Hezekiah. *2 Chronicles* 29:14.
- (10) *Shemaiah*, a distributor of tithes “in the cities of the priests” under king Hezekiah. *2 Chronicles* 31:15.
- (11) *Continued* in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Shemaiah*.

SHEPHATIAH

- (1) *Shephatiah* the Haruphite/Harephite/Hariphite, among those defecting from Saul to join David at Ziklag. *1 Chronicles* 12:5.
- (2) David’s son by Abital. *2 Samuel* 3:4; *1 Chronicles* 3:3.
- (3) “Over the Simeonites, *Shephatiah*, the son of Maachah.” *1 Chronicles* 27:16, 22.
- (4) (Jehoshaphat-) *Shephatiah*. *2 Chronicles* 21:2.
- (5) (Mattan-) *Shephatiah*, an opponent of Jeremiah. *Jeremiah* 38:1-6, 10; see Appendix 2C, VII.
- (6) Ibnijah-Reuel-*Shephatiah*-) Meshullam “of the sons of Benjamin,” a “chief of the fathers.” *1 Chronicles* 9:7-8.
- (7) (Sons of Perez-Mahalaleel-*Shephatiah*-Amariah-Zechariah-Uzziah-) Athaiah was

among those post-exilically in possession at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:4.

(8) (*Shephatiah*-Michael-) Zebadiah plus 80 "sons of *Shephatiah*" accompanied Ezra. Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, B(2).

(9) 372 sons of *Shephatiah* accompanied Zerubbabel. Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, A(5).

(10) "Sons of *Shephatiah*" included in the "Nethinim and Solomon's servants" repatriating groups. *Ezra* 2:57; *Nehemiah* 7:59.

SHIMEA/(SHIMEAH) - See Shamma/Shammuah/etc.

SIRACH - See Ecclesiasticus.

SUSANNA, HISTORY OF⁶⁰

The most honored elder dwelling in Babylon was named Joacim.⁶¹ "The same year," two others were appointed as judges, and all Jews/[Hebrews] that had suits in law came to them at Joacim's house. Joacim had taken as a wife one Susanna, daughter of Chelcias,⁶² "after whom the two judges lusted."

One hot evening, at a time when Susanna would be left alone in the garden to bathe herself, the two judges pretended to leave for home but instead circled around to the garden and hid themselves. Once Susanna's maids had left her, believedly privately enclosed in the garden, the elders accosted Susanna and threatened that, if she did not submit to them, they would bear witness that they had found her in a compromising situation with a young man. (If a woman unwillingly sexually accosted did not shout for help she was under pain of being considered contributorily guilty under The Law.) Susanna cried out with a loud voice, but the elders also cried out while one went and threw open the garden door. When the servants rushed through the privy door into the garden, the elders told their lie.

Everyone was greatly ashamed; Susanna's nature never had hinted she was capable of such behavior.

The next day the people assembled to Joacim. Susanna's father, mother, children and all her kin were with her. Susanna was weeping, as the accusing elders demanded that she uncover her face. "As we walked in the garden alone," they testified, "this woman came in with two maids, shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away. Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her. Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them. And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, opened the door, and leaped out. But having apprehended her, we asked who the young man was, and she would not tell us; these things we do testify."

The assembly could not disbelieve the two men, they being elders and judges of the people. Susanna was condemned to die. But a youth whose name was Daniel cried with a loud voice: "I am clear from the blood of this woman." The people turned toward the young man, who asked them, "Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel? Return again to the place of judgment: for these men have borne false witness."

The two indicting elders responded sarcastically. "Come, sit down among us, and shew it us, seeing God hath given thee the honour of an elder." Daniel then told the people, "Put these two aside, one far from the other, and I will examine them."

⁶⁰ The Apocrypha, London, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, *The History of Susanna*, p. 109.

⁶¹ See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Joacim, etc.

⁶² See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Hilkiah.

"Now, then," said Daniel when the first elder was called, "tell me under what tree sawest thou them companying together?"

"Under a mastick tree," he replied.

The first elder was put aside and the second was brought before the assembly. "Tell me," Daniel asked him, "under what tree didst thou take them companying together?"

"Under a holm tree," he answered.

"Thus have been dealt with, the daughters of Israel!," exclaimed Daniel, "who for fear have companied with you: but this daughter of Juda would not abide your wickedness." With that the assembly cried out with one loud voice and arose against the two elders, and--according to the law of Moses--they put the two men to death.

"From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people."

TAHATH

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-) *Tahath* [leading through additional sons to...] Samuel-Joel-Heman. *1 Chronicles* 6:33ff.

(2) (Sons of Ephraim-Shuthelah-) *Tahath* and (*Tahath-Eladah-*) *Tahath*. *1 Chronicles* 7:20.

(3) "A wilderness campsite of Israel...location unknown.--*Numbers* 33:26, 27." *Aid*, p. 1572.

TOBIAH/TOBIJAH - see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Tobiah, etc.

URIAH/URIJAH

(1) *Uriah*, first-named husband of Bath-Sheba (see Appendix 1E commencing with footnote 58); one of David's 'mighty men' (Appendix 2B, sub-parts III and IV).

(2) Priest *Urijah*, to whom king Ahaz sent from Damascus a pattern of the Damascus altar with instructions to build one like it at Jerusalem. *2 Kings* 16:10ff.; Appendix 1C, IV, following fn. 116.

(3) Priest *Uriah* who, with (Jereberechiah/Berechiah⁶³ -) Zachariah, was called by Isaiah to be a witness to the child Isaiah conceived with "the prophetess." *Isaiah* 8:2.

(4) (Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim-) *Urijah*, who fled to Egypt after making contrary prophecies; king Jehoiakim had him captured and killed. *Jeremiah* 26:20-23; refer also to Appendix 2C, VII, preceding footnote 11.

(5) (*Uriah/Urijah* the priest-) Meremoth, by whose hand were weighed the precious metals and artifacts brought to Jerusalem with Ezra's repatriating group. *Ezra* 8:33; *Nehemiah* 3:21.

(6) (*Koz-Urijah-*) Meremoth rebuilt portions of the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:4 and 3:21.

(7) *Urijah*, who stood by Ezra when he read The Law." Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, sub-part B.

UZZI

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Amram-Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas-Abishua-Bukki-) *Uzzi* of high priest lineage; refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, and Attachment 1 of that appendix.

(2) (Benjamin...Bela-) *Uzzi*; see Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, column (3).

(3) (Michri⁶⁴ -*Uzzi-*) Elah. *1 Chronicles* 9:8.

(4) (Micha-Mattaniah-Hashabiah-Bani-) *Uzzi*, "overseer" of the Levites in Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:22.

(5) (Issachar-Tola-) chief *Uzzi*. *1 Chronicles* 7:1-2.

(6) *Uzzi*, head of a division of Jedaiah in the "days of Joiakim/[Joachim]." Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, column (2).

⁶³ See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Berechiah/Barachiah.

⁶⁴ Only use.

(7) Priest *Uzzi*, among those at the dedication, when Nehemiah brought the leaders up on the wall, with “Ezra, the scribe...before them.” *Nehemiah* 12:41.

UZZIAH/UZZIA

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Amminadab-Korah-Assir-Elkanah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Uriel-) *Uzziah*. *1 Chronicles* 6:22-24.

(2) *Uzzia*, “the Ashterathite/Ashterothite,”⁶⁵ one of “the heads of the warriors [...of] David, who [helped] cause him to reign.” Appendix 2B, sub-part III.

(3) (*Uzziah*-) Jehonathan was “over the storehouses in the field, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the strongholds [during a period of David’s reign].” *1 Chronicles* 27:25.

(4) *Uzziah/Azariah*, southern king #10--Appendices 2C.

(5) (Mahalaleel of the sons of Perez-Shephatiah-Amariah-Zechariah-*Uzziah*-) Athaiah, a post- Babylon resident at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:4.

(6) *Uzziah* “of the sons of Harim/Carme,” among those found to have a foreign wife/family. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, at footnote 10.

UZZIEL

(1) (Levi-Kohath-*Uzziel*-) Mishael, Elizaphan and Zithri. *1 Chronicles* 6:18 and 23:12; *Exodus* 6:16, 18, 20, 22.

(2) (Levi-Kohath-) “family of the *Uzzielite*.” *Numbers* 3:27.

(3) (*Uzziel*-) Elizaphan, “ruler of the father’s house of the family of the Kohathites” (*Numbers* 3:30; (*Uzziel*-) Elizaphan over the (Kohathite-) Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites and Uzzielites (Appendix 1C at footnote 58).

(4) “Moses called to Mishael and to Elizaphan, sons of *Uzziel*, uncle Aaron’s....” *Leviticus* 10:4.

(5) (Benjamin...Bela-) *Uzziel*; Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, column (3).

(6) *Uzziel/Azarel*, head of the 11th division temple singers under King David. *1 Chronicles* 25:4, 18.

(7) (Simeon...Ishi-) *Uzziel*, who with three brothers and 500 men defeated the Amalekites at Mount Seir and took up residence there. *1 Chronicles* 4:41-43.

(8) *Uzziel* “of the sons of Jeduthun” assisted in the temple cleansing at the beginning of king Hezekiah’s reign. *2 Chronicles* 29:14.

(9) (Harhaiah of the goldsmiths-) *Uzziel* helped repair the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:8.

ZACCUR

(1) (Reuben...-*Zaccur*-) Shammua, one of the group sent by Moses to reconnoiter Canaan. *Numbers* 13:4.

(2) (Simeon-Shaul/Saul) “--[lapse?] Shallum, his [whose?] son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son. And the sons of Mishma: Hamuel his son, *Zaccur* his son, Shimei his son.” *1 Chronicles* 4:24-26.

(3) “The sons of Merari by Jaaziah: ...*Zaccur*,” of the sons of the Levites under David. *1 Chronicles* 24:27.

(4) *Zaccur*, who with “his brothers and his sons, twelve” secured the third lot of David’s musicians.

(5) (Imri-) *Zaccur* helped repair the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:2.

(6) (Mattaniah-*Zaccur*-) Hanan, a Levite treasurer under Nehemiah. *Nehemiah* 13:13.

(7) *Zaccur*, a Levite among sealers of the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:12.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 2A, *Ashtaroth/Ashteroth*.

⁶⁶ Only use.

ZADOK

See Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, sub-part I, and sub-part II, Zadok, of the same attachment.

ZECHARIAH/ZACHARIAH/ZACARIAS/ZECHER

- (1) (Amram-Uzziel-*lapse*...Michah-Rehabiah-Ishiah-) *Zechariah*. *1 Chronicles* 24:25.
- (2) "And in Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, Jeiel, and the name of his wife was Maacah;" and his sons were "Abdon, Zur, Kish, Baal, Ner, Nadab, Gedor, Ahio, *Zechariah* and Mikloth." *1 Chronicles* 9:35 ff. In a parallel, (Benjamin-Jeiel-) *Zechariah* appears as "Zecher" and sons Ner and Mikloth are omitted: "At Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, and the name of his wife was Maacah." His sons were "Abdon, Zur, Kish, Baal, Nadab, Gedor, Ahio, and *Zecher*." *1 Chronicles* 8:29 ff.
- (3) (*Zechariah*-) Iddo, over the "half of Manasseh in Gilead. *1 Chronicles* 27:21.
- (4) *Zechariah*, a trumpeting priest in the ark procession to Jerusalem.
- (5) (Levi-Kohath...Korah...Meshelemiah -) *Zechariah*, gatekeeper under David.
- (6) *Zechariah*, a prince charged by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law. Appendix 2C, IV.
- (7) *Zechariah*, son of king Jehoshaphat; his brothers were Azariah, Jehiel, Michael and Shephatiah. Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 54.
- (8) *Zechariah*, father of (Levi-Asaph-Mattaniah-Jeiel-Benaiah-*Zechariah*-) Jahaziel, a supporter of Jehoshaphat. Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 57.
- (9) *Zechariah*, one of six sons of king Jehoshaphat killed by successor-king Jehoram-S. Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 67.
- (10) *Zechariah*, a son of high priest Jehoiada, who issued public denouncement and chastisement, "stoned [to death]...in the court of the house," at the command of southern king Joash, "Zechariah's cousin" [*Aid*, p. 1683]." *2 Chronicles* 22:11; Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 93.
- (11) *Zechariah*, sage to King Uzziah. *2 Chronicles* 26:5.
- (12) *Zechariah*, brother of (Reuben-Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, Carmi...*lapse*...Joel-Shemaiah, Gog- Shimei-Micah-Reaia-Baal-Beerah [whom Tiglath-pilneser (Pul), king of Assyria, carried away]: "And his brothers by their families, when the genealogy of their generations was counted, were Jeiel the chief and *Zechariah* and (Joel-Shema-Azaz-) Bela." *1 Chronicles* 5:1ff.
- (13) (Jeroboam II-) northern king *Zechariah*. Appendix 2C.
- (14) *Zechariah*, father of Abi, mother (+ Ahaz) of southern king Hezekiah. Appendix 2C.
- (15) *Zechariah* son of Asaph, helped king Hezekiah cleanse the temple.
- (16) (Jeberechiah-) *Zechariah*, one of two priests (the other being Uriah), who were "faithful witnesses" to Isaiah's conception of a son with "the prophetess." *Isaiah*, 8:2.
- (17) "Hilkiah, and *Zechariah*, and Jeiel, rulers in the house of God," at the time of southern king Josiah's great Passover. *2 Chronicles* 35:8.
- (18) *Zechariah*, a generous contributor to king Josiah's Passover. Appendix 2C, IV.
- (19) *Zechariah*, a Kohathite Levite appointed over temple repairs for king Josiah.
- (20) *Zechariah*, "son of Berechiah, son of Iddo," one (or the only) writer of the *Book of Zechariah* (*Zechariah* 1:1)--see below at Zechariah/Zachariah, Book of.
- (21) *Continued in* Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.⁶⁸

ZECHARIAH/ZACHARIAH, BOOK OF

It has been conjectured that *Zechariah* is a combination of scrolls, with chapters one through eight definitely written by one Zechariah but the remainder possibly by a Zechariah

⁶⁷ Identical with Shelemiah of *1 Chronicles* 26:14?

⁶⁸ Certain of the Zechariahs listed here are repeated in Appendix 4C, Zechariah, relating to the question, which of previously slain Zechariahs was meant in a reference made by Jesus, quoted at *Matthew* 23:35 and *Luke* 11:50.

of a different period.

The writer in the introductory chapters refers to himself as "son of Berechiah of Iddo the Prophet" and makes reference to the second and fourth years of the reign of Darius of Persia. Following an admonishment--"Do not be as your fathers"--the writer counsels union in Jerusalem under High Priest Jeshua; that a crown be made for Jeshua from contributions from the exiles (including Heldai, Tobijah and Jedaiah); and that a Jerusalem be rebuilt in which "again will sit old men and old women in the plazas.... ... And the plazas of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in them." Chapter 7 requests "each man, practice compassion with his brother; do not oppress the widow or the orphan, the alien or the poor," and Chapter 8 closes with last instructions: "These, the things that you shall do: let man speak truth with his neighbor; and truth, justice and peace judge in your gates. And each, the harm of neighbor, let not devise in your heart...."

Chapters 9 to the end have no dating references. Within a general review of history and its transgressions are found the following statements: "...and I will stir up your sons, O Zion, against your sons, O Greece...." (9:13); "Woe to the worthless shepherd who abandons the flock!" (11:15); "And they shall look on the one whom they have pierced and mourn for him as one mourns for an only son.... ... families, families alone; the family of the house of David alone, and their wives alone; the family of the house of Nathan alone, and their wives alone; the family of the house of Levi alone, and their wives alone; the family of Shimei alone, and their wives alone; all the families who are left family by family alone, and their wives alone." (12:10)

ZEDEKIAH

(1) ("Chenaanah"-) *Zedekiah*, a prophet in king Ahab's time. *1 Kings* 22:11, 23, 24; *2 Chronicles* 18:10, 22, 23.

(2) (Hananiah-) *Zedekiah*, one of "the rulers" under king Eliakim/Jehoiakim. *Jeremiah* 36:12.

(3) (Hamutal + Josiah-) *Mattaniah/Zedekiah*, southern king #20--see this appendix, *Mattaniah*.

(4) (Maaseiah-) *Zedekiah*, who prophesized to the exiles in Babylon (apparently killed by Nebuchadnezzar). Appendix 2C, VII; *Jeremiah* 29.

ZEPHANIAH

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-Korah-Ebiasaph-Assir-Tahath-Mahath-Amasai-Elkanah-Joel-Azariah-*Zephaniah* - [...with additional names, leading to:] Samuel-Joel-Heman. *1 Chronicles* 6:33-38.

"(2) The word...which to *Zephaniah* the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah...king of Judah." *Zephaniah* 1:1.

(3) *Zephaniah, Book of*.

(4) (Maaseiah-) *Zephaniah*, a leading priest (second, it appears, to Seraiah), who was liaison between king Zedekiah and Jeremiah, and between Jerusalem and the exiles (*Jeremiah* 21:1-3; 29:24-32; 37:3), was captured and executed by Nebuchadnezzar (*Jeremiah* 52:24-27; *2 Kings* 25:18-21).

(5) "...enter the house of Josiah the son of *Zephaniah* who have come from Babylon...and make crowns.... ... And the crowns shall be to [among others...] Hen, the son of *Zephaniah*...." *Zechariah* 6:10, 11, 14.

(6) *Continued at Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Zephaniah*.

ZERUBBABEL

(1) *Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2 (Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships)* with regard to this section.

(2) Both the parentage and descendancy of Zerubbabel contain discrepancies, according to text data as reported, involving the descendancy of exiled king Jehoiachin/Jeconiah (to whom several children apparently were born in exile, and of whom Zerubbabel is reported to have been a grandson).

(a) “And the sons of Jeconiah [Jehoiachin]: the captive:⁶⁹ Shealtiel, his son, and Malchiram, and Pedaiah, and Shenazzar, Jecamiah, Hoshama, and Nedeiah. And the sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shenazzar.... And the sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shimei. And the sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and Hananiah, and Shelomith their sister, and Hashubah, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, five.” *1 Chronicles* 3:17ff.

It is unclear from the wording and punctuation above whether Zerubbabel had only three children (sons Meshullam and Hananiah and daughter, Shelomith), and that the next five-listed sons were Shelomith's. (Hashubah, Ohel, Hasadiah and Jushab-Hesed have no other biblical namesakes; see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4 for Berechiah.)

(b) “Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel.” *Ezra* 3:2, 3:8, 5:2, *Nehemiah* 12:1, and *Haggai*, 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23.

(c) “After but the deportation of Babylon, Jeconiah generated Shealtiel. Shealtiel but generated the Zerubbabel.” *Matthew* 1:12.

(d) “Zerubbabel of the Shealtiel of the Ner⁷⁰ of the Melchi[Malchiram?]....” *Luke* 3:27-28.⁷¹

Zerubbabel's unknown (full or half-) brother, "Shenazzar," shares in the name confusion of "Sheshbazzar, the leader [a prince of] Judah," named in *Ezra* 1's brief description of the first post-exilic return, while *Ezra* 2 immediately commences to describe a Zerubbabel-led return. It has been considered possible that (a) the name of Jehoiachin's son, Shenazzar, was recorded incorrectly as "Sheshbazzar," or (b) "Sheshbazzar" was Chaldean for Zerubbabel. ("Sheshbazzar" also is similar to "Belteshazzar," Daniel's alternate Persian name.)⁷²

ZICHRI

(1) (Levi-Kohath-Izhar-) *Zichri*. *Exodus* 6:18, 21.

(2) (Hushim + Shaharaim-Elpaal-Beriah-Shashak-) *Zicri*; (? + Shaharaim-) *Zichri*; (? + Shaharaim...Jeroham-) *Zichri*. Refer to Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, sub-part C (*1 Chronicles* 8:1-28).

(3) (Asaph-*Zichri*-Micah-) Mattaniah, “of the Levites” (*1 Chronicles* 9:15); (Asaph-*Zabdi*-Micha-) Mattaniah, “head of the beginning [who] gave thanks” (*Nehemiah* 11:17).

(4) (Moses-Gersom-) Shebuel “was over the treasures. And his brothers by Eliezer:...*Zichri* his son” [apparently later in David's reign]. *1 Chronicles* 26:24ff.

(5) (Eliezer-) *Zichri*, chief of Reuben during King David days.

(6) (*Zichri*-) Amaziah, a military chief over 200,000 men under king Jehoshaphat. *2 Chronicles* 17:16.

(7) (*Zichri*-) Elishaphat, one of Jehoiada's organizers in the overthrow of queen Athaliah. *2 Chronicles* 23:1; Appendix 2C, IV, preceding footnote 89.

(8) *Zichri*, “a mighty one of Ephraim,” who killed three of king Ahaz's court. Appendix 2C, IV, preceding footnote 114.

(9) *Zichri*, head of the division of Abijah in the “days of Joiakim[Joachim]. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, column (2).

(10) (*Zichri*-) Joel, “overseer” of Benjamin sons post-Babylon at Jerusalem. Appendix 3B, II, Detail A, sub-part C, column (b).

⁶⁹ “the captive” is translated at the margin as *Assir*; see above, Assir.

⁷⁰ See Ner.

⁷¹ Contradiction as to Zerubbabel's father could indicate either that Pedaiah fathered Zerubbabel with a Shealtiel daughter, or that Pedaiah fathered Zerubbabel in a “brother-in-law” marriage with the wife of a deceased Shealtiel. (Refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VII, “Levirate Duty and Redemption.”)

⁷² Appendix 3A, II, C and Appendix 3A, IV explore uncertainties in the timeframe related to these individuals.

APPENDIX 3B, II

CHIEF/HIGH/LEVITE PRIESTHOODS History, Occupants, Descendancy Eligibility and Temple Sites

I. The Chief Priesthood In General.¹

“[H]istory informs us that Aaron...officiated as high priest, and that, after his death, his sons [(Amminadab + ? - Elisheba + Aaron -) Eleazar and Ithamar,] succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of [Levi + ? -] Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood.”

Josephus AJ XX.X.1.

Biblical texts, however, supply detail for only a handful of chief/high priests. Contradictions exist in the lineage transmission from Aaron to Jaddua, that line being presented paternally at disparate sites.² No biblical data is found on progression of the office after Jaddua; available information for the ensuing period is provided by *Josephus* and *Maccabees*.

The governing tenet above, as stated by Josephus, does not address bloodline conveyance via daughter-mothers of chief priesthood stock, or priesthood legitimization acquired via marriage to a female of lineage.

II. Chief Priests As Derivably Specified.

A. The Office From Inception Under Moses to King David's Reign.

(1) “[T]hirteen [chief priests] officiated...from...Moses...until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected.”

“[T]hese 13, who were descendants of two of the sons of Aaron [Eleazar and Ithamar], received this dignity by succession, one after another.... [T]he number of years during the rule of these 13...were 612.”³

Josephus AJ V.XI.5.

(2) “[T]he family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after who Abiezer/[Abishua]⁴ his son took the honour and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom [Ithamar...] Eli...had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity, until the time of Solomon's reign....”

Loc. cit.

Upon Moses' establishment of a chief priesthood in the line of (Amminadab + ? -) Elisheba + Aaron, Elisheba's and Aaron's sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, served as co-chief

¹ Refer to 3B, II, Attachment 1 for comparative lineage listings, Aaron to Ezra. (Regarding alternating uses of “chief”/“high” priest, see Appendix 4D, “Some Terms of Interest,” “chief” v. “high” priest.)

² See Attachment 1 to this Appendix 3B, II.

³ This figure would yield an average tenure for each of 47 years.

⁴ (a) *Josephus* gives “Abishua” in Book VIII—see its quotation below; the only other use of *Abishua* is (Benjamin...Bela-) *Abishua*—see Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, D, “Manasseh-Benjamin ‘Shuppim and Muppim’ Puzzle.” For all uses of *Abiezer* (including [a] a son of Manasseh's granddaughter, Hammolecheth; and [b] a grandfather of Judge Gideon), see Appendix 3B, II, *Abi-ezer*.

Ensuing Ithamar descendants--(Ahitub-) Ahimelech, (Ahitub-) Ahijah, and (Ahitub-) Abiathar--are derived from disparate text sources. After Ahitub uncertainties and gaps commence between those sources in the chief priesthood line--e.g. depending on the source, Meraioth appears either before or after Ahitub.

Chief priest Eli served while the sanctuary still was at Shiloh,⁹ where eventually he was served by his protegee, Samuel. Eli first is encountered during the long warring with the Philistines. Eli's son, an also-named Phinehas, took over as chief priest and commander toward the end of Eli's life (reportedly, when Eli was age 98). Eli's final years, his death, the deaths of his sons, and the activities of Samuel occupied the last decades of the period of the Judges.¹⁰ Samuel apparently took over as judge-commander after Eli's death.¹¹

Unlike Eli, Samuel is not identified also as a chief or high priest. It was during Samuel's command that the fledgling monarchy (with Saul as its first king, before David) came to be created.

To arrive at Josephus' total of 13 chief priests for the period between "the wilderness" and the monarchy, it is necessary to include (together with both Abiathar and Zadok) certain names included on the chief/high priest lineage lists but identified by Josephus as *private* carriers of the Eleazar line:

House of Aaron-Elazar

House of Aaron-Ithamar

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aaron 2. Eleazar 4. Phinehas/Phineas 5. Abiezer/Abishua 6. Bukki 7. Ozi/Uzzi | and | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Ithamar 8. Eli 9. Phinehas/Phineas 10. Ahitub 11. Ahimelech 12. Abiathar |
| 13. Zadok | | |

(1) King David's Divisions.

When King David became established, the tabernacle was moved to Jerusalem.¹² David effected representational divisions of Eleazar and Ithamar houses under two co-high priests, Ahimelech and Zadok.

"The divisions of the sons of Aaron. The sons of Aaron: Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before their father¹³ and no sons were to them; and were priests, Eleazar and Ithamar. And David divided them between

⁹ See part VI of this appendix, Temple Sites.

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 1D, II, "Judges." Prior to Eli's tenure, a handful of judge-commanders are reported serving different tribal unions at varying times. However (1) they are not designated as having been high or chief priests; (b) no statements connect them directly with official priesthood lines; and (c) the geographical ranges of their recognized authority are obscure.

¹¹ The common dates assigned, respectively, for Gideon's conquest of the Midianites (Appendix 1D, II), and for Eli as principal priest at Shiloh, are 1140 and 1099 b.c., a difference of 41 years. Samuel's advent as the last judge-commander before the appointment of Saul commonly is placed c.1047/1040, a difference of (1140 - 1047/1040 =) 93 to 100 years between the Gideon conquest and Samuel.

¹² Appendix 1E.

¹³ See fn. 5.

Zadok of the sons of Eleazar and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar.... And were found more of the sons of Eleazar for heads of the men than the sons of Ithamar. And they divided them. To the sons of Eleazar, heads to the house of fathers, 16; and to sons of Ithamar to the house of their fathers, eight. So they divided them by lots, these with these. For these were chiefs of the sanctuary and chiefs of God, of the sons of Eleazar and the sons of Ithamar. And wrote them Shemiah, the son of Nethaneel, the scribe of the Levites, before the king and the princes; Zadok, the priest; Ahimelech, the son of Abiathar;¹⁴ and the heads of the fathers of the priests and Levites. One principal household was taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar."
1 Chronicles 24:1 ff.

The houses and order in which the lots came up are as follows, their Eleazar and Ithamar affiliations not being designated:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Jehoiarib | 9. Jeshur | 17. Hezir |
| 2. Jedaiah | 10. Shecaniah | 18. Aphses |
| 3. Harim | 11. Eliashib | 19. Pethahiah |
| 4. Seorim | 12. Jakim | 20. Jehezkel |
| 5. Malchijah | 13. Huppah | 21. Jachin |
| 6. Mijamin | 14. Jeshebeab | 22. Gamul |
| 7. Hakkoz | 15. Bilgah | 23. Delaiah |
| 8. Abijah | 16. Immer | 24. Maaziah |

No more than eight of David's overall divisions are named in the list of houses following the return from exile, while new ones seemingly are named.¹⁵

B. From Solomon's Reign to the Nebuchadnezzar Captivity.

Solomon, after he succeeded David, banished (Ahimelech-) Abiathar and placed sole authority in Zadok.¹⁶

"[E]ighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar...took Josadek, the high priest, captive...." "[T]he times of these high priests were 466 years, six months, and ten days."
Josephus AJ XX.X.1.

Many names in the *Josephus* line given from Zadok to Josedek/Josadek/Jozadak/Jehozadak are unrecognizable, although the spelling of some can be related to scriptural lists. Of the *Old Testament's* composite lineage roster, (a) *Nehemiah* 11:11's listing ends with Seraiah; (b) *1 Chronicles* 6:3ff.'s listing ends with Josedek after Seraiah; and (c) the *Ezra/Esdra*s lists omit Josedek and add Ezra/Esdra. Over the period of Kings only two or three individuals from the composite roster are described actively in office.¹⁷

C. From Persian Repatriation to the Roman Conquest.

Fifty-five high priest tenures for this period are derived from combined sources:

(1) From the Cyrus Repatriation to Jaddua (advent of Alexander the Great).

¹⁴ There is text confusion as to whether there were two Ahimelechs; refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4.

¹⁵ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, a composite list of chief priests, Aaron to Jehozadak/Ezra, as given at varying scriptural sites; the 18 names given at *AJ V.XI.5* appear in column one.

¹⁶ Appendix 1E, fn. 88. (Will Durant, speaking of *New Testament* political parties in *Caesar and Christ*, remarks as follows: "Most of the upper clergy...belonged to the Sadducees [*Zadokim*], so named after their founder Zadok." NY: Simon and Shuster, 1944; p. 536.)

¹⁷ Such as Hilkiyah in the reign of Josiah (Appendix 2C, "Period of the Kings").

“[A]fter the term of 70 years’ captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon...and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now Jeshua and his posterity...were in all 15, until king Antiochus [V] Eupator...--414 years ¹⁸”
Loc. cit.

The six high priests identified by scriptural texts and *Josephus*, for the first part of this period, are listed below. The canonical texts describe five (Joiada/Judas excepted) relative to specific events, but the information is insufficient to fix the terms of their tenures. Jaddua is the last chief priest of lineage mentioned as such in the *Old Testament* canon, after whom data rests with *Josephus* and *Maccabees*.¹⁹

- 1) Jeshua/Jesus
- 2) Joiakim [/Joacim]
- 3) Eliashib
- 4) ?Joiada/Judas
- 5) Yehohanan/Johanan/Jonathan/John
- 6) Jaddua/Jaddus

(Following Alexander III’s conquest of the region, Jaddua’s son-in-law named Manasseh was high priest at Mount Gerizzim; *refer to* Appendix 3B, II, Detail B—High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua.)

(2) From the Death of Alexander the Great to the Roman Conquest.

The nine identifiable chief/high priests to complete *Josephus*’ 15 to the time of Antiochus V Eupator were:²⁰

- 7) (Jaddus/Jaddua-) Onias I
- 8) (Onias I-) Simon (“the Just”)
- 9) (Onias I-) Eleazar
- 10) (? -) Manasseh (“Eleazar’s uncle”)
- 11) (Simon “the Just”-) Onias II
- 12) (Onias II-) Simeon) Related uncertainties here are included in 3A, VI,
- 13) (? -) Simon) Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison.
- 14) (Simon “the Just”-) Jesus/Jason
- 15) (Simon “the Just”-) Menelaus/Onias III

The following are chief/high priests thus far discernible subsequent to Onias III:

- 16) (?-) Alcimus/Jacimus
- 17) (Mattathias Asamoneus-) Judas
- 18) (Mattathias-) Jonathan/Apphus
- 19) (Mattathias-) Simon/Matthes
- 20) (Simon/Matthes-) John Hyrcanus I²¹

¹⁸ Unless *Josephus* counted some 40 years of Jeshua while in captivity, this total does not tally with the commonly-fixed dates of Cyrus’ repatriation and Antiochus V’s reign (538 b.c. - 164/163 =) 374/375 years; *refer to* Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, “Calendar Year Comparison,” and references cited there. See Detail B to this sub-part II for available details post-Eliashib.

¹⁹ The following segments pertain, in addition to the Calendar: Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests, Eliashib to Jaddua) and Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, Jeshua to Jaddua) for detail and citations; and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5 (Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships, etc.) and its supplement, Attachment 6.

²⁰ The following segments pertain: Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline) and narratives, etc. noted there, and Attachments 5 and 6 cited in the preceding footnote here.

²¹ John Hyrcanus I commences the period of volume four of this work, in which is found corresponding Calendar, Descendancy Charts, etc.

- 21) (Hyrcanus I-) Judas/Aristobulus I
- 22) (Hyrcanus I-) Alexander [I] Janneus
- 23) (Janneus-) John Hyrcanus II
- 24) (Janneus-) Aristobulus II
- 25) (Janneus-) John Hyrcanus II (second tenure)
- 26) (Aristobulus II-) Antigonus II
- 27) (?-) Ananelus
- 28) (Janneus-Hyrcanus-Alexandra II-) Aristobulus III
- 29) (?-) Ananelus (second tenure)
- 30) (Phabet-) Jesus
- 31) (Boethus-) Simon (Cantheras)
- 32) (Theophilus-) Matthias
- 33) (Boethus-) Joazar
- 34) Eleazar (Joazar's "brother")
- 35) (Sie-) Jesus
- 36) (Boethus-) Joazar (second tenure)
- 37) (Seth/Sethi-) Ananus/Annas
- 38) (Phabi-) Ishmael
- 39) (Ananus/Annas-) Eleazar
- 40) (Camithus) Simon
- 41) (?-) Joseph Caiaphas
- 42) (Ananus/Annas-) Jonathan
- 43) (Ananus-) Theophilus
- 44) (Boethus-) Simon Cantheras (second tenure)
- 45) (Ananus/Annas-) Matthias
- 46) (Cantheras-) Elioneus
- 47) (Camus-) Joseph
- 48) (Nebedus-) Ananias
[48a) (? -) Jonathan; see Appendix 4A, Timeline, page 63 *Note*.]
- 49) (Fabi-) Ishmael
- 50) (Simon-) Joseph Cabi
- 51) (Ananus/Annas-) Ananus
- 52) (Damneus-) Jesus
- 53) (Gamaliel-) Jesus
- 54) (Theophilus-) Matthias (second tenure?)
- 55) (Samuel-) Phannias/Phanas²²

D. Recap of Total Number.

The foregoing lists as derived (even if second tenures were deducted) do not tally precisely with *Josephus'* report, that "...the number of all the high priests from Aaron...until Phanas...was 83." *Josephus AJ XX.X.1.*

A. (including Abiathar but excluding Zadok from that count)	12
B. (including Zadok plus the added Azariah	18
C. As given	<u>55</u>
Total as given	85
[Including 48a, Jonathan	<u>1</u>
	86

III. Priests, Leaders and Numbered Sons of the Returns.

A. The First-Listed Repatriation Congregation.²³

²² (Samuel-) Phannias/Phanas (the last-stated occupant of the high priest office before completion of the Roman conquest [Appendix 4A at fn. 135] has been added here, although it is not altogether clear he was included in the *Josephus* total of 83.

²³ The following quotations provide only the lead group. Detail A to this appendix 3B, II summarizes the collected listings of all the priests, division/clan leaders, and Levites of the returns.

(1) According to *Nehemiah*.

Nehemiah decided to gather “the nobles, and the judges and the people, to enroll by family. And [he] found a register of the genealogy, of those who went up at the first..., the sons of the province who went up of the exiles of...Nebuchadnezzar...[who] returned to Jerusalem and to Judah.... The [lead] ones coming with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Azariah*, Raaniah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah....” 7:4ff.

“The whole assembly together was four ten thousands, two thousand, three hundred and sixty [42,360], besides the manservants and their maidservants these: seven thousand, three hundred thirty-seven; and to them singing men and singing women two hundred and forty-five [42,360 + 7,337 + 245 = 49,942].” 7:66ff.

(2) According to *Ezra*.

“Now these the sons of the province who went up from the captivity of the exiles, that had exiled Nebuchadnezzar.... And they returned to Jerusalem and Judah, each one to his own city, who came with Zerubbabel: [the leading group being] Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Seraiah*, Reeliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Misper, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah.” 2:1ff.

“All the congregation together four ten thousands, two thousand three hundred sixty [42,360] besides their male servants and female servants; these seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven, *and among them* singing men and singing women, two hundred [42,360 + 7,337 = 49,697 (if *plus* 200 = 49,897)].” 2:64ff.

(3) According to *1 Esdras*. The description and enumeration of Zerubbabel’s commission in *1 Esdras* follows Zerubbabel’s successful oration before Darius I:

“[T]he names of...the [chief] priests...: Jesus, the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and Joacim the son of Zorobabel....” 5:5.

“And these are they [the leading group]...that came up from captivity...with Zorobabel: Jesus, Nehemias, and *Zacharias*, and Reesaias, Erenius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, Aspharasus, Reelius, Roimus, and Baana, their guides.” 5:7-8.

“So of Israel, from them of twelve years old and upward, they were all in number forty thousand, *beside* menservants and womanservants two thousand three hundred and sixty. Their menservants and handmaids were seven thousand three hundred forty and seven: the singing men and singing women, two hundred forty and five [40,000 + 2,360 + 7,347 = 49,707 (if *plus* 245 = 49,952)].” 5:41ff.

(4) According to *Josephus*.

(a) *Josephus* states simply immediately after Cyrus’ authorization, and without enumeration:

“Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.” AJ XI.1.3.

(b) *Josephus’* categorized enumeration, as in *1 Esdras*, appears after the oratory “contest” in Darius year I. It is in an abbreviated form, but in some numbers it agrees with the others, as well as presenting data the others do not:

“And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of the readers from the connection of the historical facts...; but the sum of those that went up, *above the age of twelve* years...was 462 myriads and eight thousand;²⁴ the Levites were 74; the number of the women and children mixed together was 40,742; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites 128 and porters 110, and of the sacred ministers 392; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the

²⁴ The *Josephus* editors do not know to what to ascribe this vast number, if not an error. The italicized last statement of the quotation, however, admits the possibility that, enroute, Zerubbabel also became involved with returning many other exiles out of captivity to various homeland regions.

Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, 662.²⁵ Some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and Priests; they were about 525; the multitude of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem were 7,337; the singing men and singing women were 245; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed one hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that had been in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; *but the rest of the multitude returned everyone to their own country.*" (AJ, XI.III.10; italics supplied).

(5) Groups Listed and Their Numbers.

Column numbers correspond to above-numbered citations:

(1) Priest Groups	1. ²⁶	2. ²⁷	3. ²⁸	4. ²⁹
"The sons of Carme"			1,017	Unspecified.
"The sons of Harim"	1,017	1,017		
"The sons of <i>Immer</i> "	1,052	1,052		
"The sons of Jedaiah of the house of Jeshua"	973	973		
"The sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus, among the sons of Sanasib"			972	
"The sons of <i>Meruth</i> "			1,052	
"The sons of Pashur"	1,247	1,247		
"The sons of Phassaron"			1,047	
Sub-total:	4,289	4,289	4,088	?
(2) Levites	1. ³⁰	2. ³¹	3. ³²	4.
"The Levites"				74
"The sons of Jeshua of Kadmiel of the sons of Hodevah"	74			
"The sons of Jeshua <i>and</i> Kadmiel of the sons of Hodevah"		74		
"The sons of Jessue, and Kadmiel, and Banuas and Sudias"			74	
Sub-total:	74	74	74	74
(3) People	1. ³³	2. ³⁴	3. ³⁵	4.
"Sons of"				Unspecified.
Adin	655	454	454	
Adonikam	667	666	667	
Ananias	--	--	101	
"Men of"/"They of" Anathoth	128	128	158	

²⁵ Refer to sub-part IV of this appendix.

²⁶ "The priests,;" 7:39-43.

²⁷ "The priests,;" 2:36-39.

²⁸ "The priests,;" 5:24-25.

²⁹ All of *Josephus* numbers are from the same site, AJ, XI.III.10.

³⁰ "The Levites,;" 7:43.

³¹ "The Levites,;" 2:40.

³² "The Levites,;" 5:26.

³³ "The number of the men of the people of Israel,;" 7:8-38.

³⁴ "The number of the men of the people of Israel,;" 2:2-35.

³⁵ "The number of them of the nation, and their governors,;" 5:9-23.

(3) **People continued**

	1.	2.	3.	4. Unspecified.
"Sons of"				
Arah	652	775		
Ares	--	--	756	
Annas	["Senaah?"]	["Senaah?"]	3,330	
Arom	--	--	32	
Ater "of Hezekiah"	98	98	"of Aterezias" 92	
Azephurith	--	--	102	
"Sons of"				
Azgad	2,322	1,222	--	
Azuran	--	--	432	
"The men of:"				
Bethlehem ³⁶	--	123	--	
Bethlehem and Netophah	188	--	--	
Bethlomon ³⁷			123	
"Sons of"				
Bebai	628	623	623	
Bezai	324	323	"Bassa" 323	
Bigvai	2,067	2,056	"Bagoi" 2,066	
Binnui	648	"Bani" 642	648	
"The men of:"				
Bethel and Ai	123	223	--	
Beth-azmaveth	42	42	--	
"They of"				
Bethsamos	--	--	42	
"They of"				
Betolius	--	--	52	
Calamolalus and Onus	--	--	725	
Caphira and Beroth	--	--	743 ³⁸	
"Sons of"				
Ceilan and Azetas	--	--	67	
"They of"				
Chaduas and Ammidoi	--	--	422	
"The men of"				
Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim	743	"K.-avim" 743	--	
"They of"				
Cirama and Gabdes ³⁹	--	--	621	
"Sons of"				
Corbe	--	--	705	
Elam	1,254	1,254	1,254	
Elam, "the other"	1,254	1,254	--	
Gibeon	95	95	--	
Hariph	112	--	--	
Harim	320	320	--	
Hashum	328	223	--	
Jorah	--	112	--	
Jericho	345	345	245	

³⁶ See "Netophah," next page, for apparent difference.

³⁷ See preceding footnote.

³⁸ This total is identical with the *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* figure for "Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim," below; *1 Esdras* also includes "Kiriathiarus," 25 men, not included by the others. (Regarding *Kirjath/Kiriath/K-jearim/avim*, see Appendix 2A.)

³⁹ Note "The men of Ramah and Gaba," below.

(3) People continued

	1.	2.	3.	4. Unspecified.
"They of" Kiriathiarus	--	--	25	
"Sons of" Lod, Hadid and Ono	721	725	--	
"They of" Macalon	--	--	122	
"Sons of" Magbish	--	156	"Nephis" 156	
Meterus	--	--	3,005	
"The men of" Michmas	122	122	--	
Nebo ⁴⁰ "the other"	52	52	--	
Netophah	--	56	55	
"Sons of Pahath-Moab, the sons of Jeshua and Joab:"	2,818	2,812		
"Sons of Phaath-Moab"			2,812	
"Sons of" Parosh	2,172	2,172	"Phoros" 2,172	
"They of" Pira	--	--	700	
"The men of" Ramah and Gaba	621	"/Geba" 621	--	
"They of" Sadas	--	--	3,222	
"Sons of" Saphat	--	--	472	
"The men of" Senaah	3,930	3,630	[Annas?]	
"Sons of" Shephatiah	372	372	--	
Zaccai	760	760	--	
Zattu	845	945	--	
Zathui			945	
Sub-total:	25,406	24,144	28,469	
Unspecified.				

(4) Levite Singers

	1. ⁴¹	2. ⁴²	3. ⁴³	4.
"Singers of the Levites" The sons of Asaph	148	128	128	128

⁴⁰ (1) A Moabite city originally of Amorite king Sidon (*Numbers* 21:26, 32:3; *Isaiah* 15:2), rebuilt by Reubenites (*Numbers* 32:37-38), retaken by Moabite king Mesha (Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 62); (2) modern Nuba, some eight miles NW of Hebron, has been considered as one possible Nebo; *Aid*, p. 1211; (3) the mountain where Moses died, generally identified as some 12 miles E of where the Jordan River enters the Dead Sea; (4) an Assyrian/Babylonian deity, a form of which name appears in the *Nebupolassar*/Nebuchadnezzar dynasty.

⁴¹ "The singers;," 7:44.

⁴² "The singers;," 2:41.

⁴³ "The holy singers;," 5:27.

(5) Gatekeepers/porters

	1. ⁴⁴	2. ⁴⁵	3. ⁴⁶	4.
"Porters;" "The sons of"				110
	Shallum	Shallum	Sallum	
	Ater	Ater	Jatal	
	Talmon	Talmon	Talmon	
	Akkub	Akkub	Dacobi	
	Hatita	Hatita	Teta	
	Shobai	Shobai	Sami	
Total given:	138	139	139	110

**(6) Temple slaves and descendants
of servants of Solomon⁴⁷**

- (a) 1. lists 32 *son-groups* of "temple slaves."
2. lists 35 *fathers* of "temple slaves."
3. lists 41 *fathers* of "servants of the temple."
(b) 1. lists 11 *son-groups* of "servants of
Solomon."⁴⁸
2. lists 11 *fathers* of "sons of servants of
Solomon."
3. lists 18 *fathers* of "sons of the servants of
Solomon."

	1. ⁴⁹	2. ⁵⁰	3. ⁵¹	4.
"All the temple slaves and the servants of Solomon:"	392			
"All the temple slaves and the sons of servants of Solomon:"		392		
"All the <i>ministers</i> of the temple, and the sons of the servants of Solomon:"			372	
"Sacred ministers:"				392

**(7) Singing men and
Women**

	245	200	245	245
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

**(8) Menservants and
maidservants**

	7,337	7,337	7,347	7,337
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

**(9) "Women and children mixed
together," category
given by Josephus only:**

40,742

⁴⁴ "The gatekeepers;" 7:45.

⁴⁵ "The sons of the gatekeepers;" 2:42.

⁴⁶ "The porters;" 5:28.

⁴⁷ The term used to denote temple slaves is "Nethinim." There are a few spellings different between sources of 1 and 2; spelling differences in 3 (1 *Esdras*) are commensurate with that book in general.

⁴⁸ 7:57-59.

⁴⁹ 7:46-56.

⁵⁰ 2:43-57

⁵¹ 5:29-35.

Tallies:

	1.	2.	3.	4.
(1)	4,289	4,289	4,088	<i>Unspecified</i>
(2)	74	74	74	74
(3)	25,406	24,144	28,469	<i>Unspecified</i>
(4)	148	128	128	128
(5)	138	139	139	110
(6)	392	392	372	392
(7)	245	200	245	245
(8)	7,337	7,337	7,347	7,337
(9)				<u>40,742</u>
Totals:	38,029	36,703	39,862	49,028

It is noted that:

(a) Sums of numbers in all three listings cannot be made to equal their stated totals. The main difference is in (3), number of returning sons--especially, between the canon and *1 Esdras*, where odd renditions of names do not permit equations that might cull greater discernment of areas of difference.

(b) A tally of the differences between above-category (3)'s sources yields odd correlations. The difference between below-columns 1 and 2 (1,262) when added to that between 3 and 1 (3,063) yields the difference between 2 and 3 (4,325):

	1.	2.	3.
Number of returning sons given:	25,406	24,144	28,469
2 has less than 1:		<u>(1,262)</u>	
		25,406	
1 has less than 3:	<u>(3,063)</u>		
	28,469		
3 has more than 2:			<u>(4,325)</u>
			24,144

(c) A final factor is whether respective subtotals in the enumerations as given were reduced by the numbers of priests and individuals later identified as failing to prove genealogy, etc., and denied temple membership.⁵²

B. The Two Listings of the Repatriation Congregation "in the reign of Artaxerxes."

(1) *Ezra*. "[T]hese the *chiefs of their fathers, and the genealogy of those who went up with me in the reign of Artaxerxes the king from Babylon.*" 8:1-14.

(2) *1 Esdras*. "[T]hese are the *chiefs according to their families and several dignities, that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of King Artaxerxes.*" 8:28-40.

(1)	# in group	(2)	# in group
<u>"From the sons of:"</u>		<u>"From the sons of:"</u>	
David	Hattush --	David	(Sechenias-) Lettus --
Ithamar	Daniel --	Ithamar	Gamael --
Phinehas	Gershom --	Phinees	Gerson --
Adin	(Jonathan-) Ebed 50	Adin	(Jonathan-) Obeth 250

⁵² Refer to sub-part IV of this appendix.

(1)	# in group	(2)	# in group		
Adonikam ⁵³	Eliphelet, Jeiel, and Shemaiah	60	Adonikam ⁵⁴	Eliphalet, Jeuel, and Samaias	70
Azgad (Hakkatan)	Johanan	110	Asthath	(Acatan-) Johannes	110
Bebai	(Bebai-) Zechariah	28	Babi	(Bebai-) Zacharias	28
Bigvai (?-)	Uthai and Zabbud	70	Bago	(Istalcurus-) Uthi	70
Elam	(Athaliah-) Jeshaiiah	70	Elam	(Gotholias-) Josias	70
Joab	(Jehiel-) Obadiah	218	Joab	(Jezelus-) Abadias	212
Pahath-Moab	Zerahiah-) Elihoenai	200	Pahath-Moab	(Zaraias-) Eliaonias	200
Shecaniah, "from the sons of Parosh"					
	Zechariah	150	Pharez	Zacharias	150
Shecaniah	(Jahaziel-) ? ⁵⁵	300	Zathoe	(Jezelus-) Sechenias ⁵⁶	300
Shelomith	(Josiphiah-) ? ⁵⁷	160	Banid	(Josaphias-) Assalimoth ⁵⁸	160
Shephatiah	(Michael-) Zebadiah	80	Saphatias	(Michael-) Zaraias	70
<i>Totals:</i>		1,496			1,690

When Ezra camped his assembly at the "river Ahava:"

(1) Ezra "did not find there any of the sons of Levi." He then sent (not said where) for Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib, Elnathan (*sic.* repeat), Nathan, Zechariah, and Meshullam, chief men--also for Joiarib and Elnathan, men of understanding, who in turn he sent to *Iddo*, "chief man at Casiphia," to bring him ministers.

They brought back "a man [unnamed] of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi the son of Israel, and Sherebiah, with his sons and his brothers--18--and Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiiah from the sons of Merari, his brothers and their sons 20--also of the temple slaves...and the leaders for the service of the Levites...220 Nethinim. All of them were called by name." *Ezra* 8:16ff.

(2) Ezra "found there [at Ahava] none of the priests and Levites." He then sent unto Eleazar, Idueh, Masman, Alnathan, Mamaias, Joribus, Nathan, Eunatan, Zacharias and Mosollamon, principal men and learned, and "bade them that they should go unto *Saddeus the captain, who was in the place of the treasury, and commanded them that they should speak unto Daddeus, and to his brethren, and to the treasurers in that place, to send...such men as might execute the priests' office.*"

They brought back "skilful men" of the sons of Moli the son of Levi, the son of Israel, Asebebia and his sons and his brethren, who were 18; and Asebia, Annuus and Osaias his brother, of the sons of Channuneus, and their sons, 20; and of the servants of the temple...and the principal men for the service of the Levites...220, the catalogue of whose names were shewed.." *1 Esdras* 8:42ff.

⁵³ "From the sons of Adonikam, last one, and these their names:"

⁵⁴ "Of the sons of Adonikam, the last, and these the names of them:"

⁵⁵ See next footnote.

⁵⁶ Per *Ezra*, "From the sons of Shecaniah, the son of Jahaziel, and with *him* [?] 300; per *1 Esdras*, "Of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias, the son of Jezelus, and with *him* 300"--the latter definitely identifying Shecaniah/Sechenias as son of Jahaziel/Jezelus.

⁵⁷ See next footnote.

⁵⁸ Per *Ezra*, "from the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josiphiah, and with *him* [?] 160; per *1 Esdras*, "Of the sons of Banid, Assalimoth son of Josaphias, and with *him* 160."

IV. The Two Reports of Post-Repatriation Excommunications.

Text placements of the two reports of excommunication initially suggest some 41 years between--that the first occurred c. the return in part III.A above, which in its prologue includes Zerubbabel as a leader, and the second after the formal proceedings held by Ezra/Nehemiah.⁵⁹ The respective reports are detailed in parts A and B and their accompanying charts, below. The following points can be noted:

(1) Source quotations for A.1 (*Nehemiah*) and A.2 (*Ezra*) state that “the [unnamed] governor” decreed unacceptance of the listed groups; A.3 (*1 Esdras*), that “Nehemias and Atharias” did; A.4 (*Josephus*) does not specify who.

(2) The two recognizable names in A.1, A.2, and A.3--Delaiah and Tobiah--are names of priests or priest-sons involved in conflict with Nehemiah in his time, not in Zerubbabel's. A.4 gives no names.

(3) A.1, 2 and 3 state that the listed persons could not prove *their own* genealogy. The names are given in two groupings, “sons” and “priests,” the number in the group specified only for the first. A.4, which gives no names but also refers to two groups, describes the second as persons who *neither* could produce proof of their own genealogy nor that of women they had married.

(4) As to the report of formal proceedings in B, all three sources relate them only to individuals who had married “foreign/strange” wives. B.1 (*Ezra*) states its listed names consists of “sons of the priests;” B.2 (*1 Esdras*), “the priests.” B.3 (*Josephus*) states the group consisted of “certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites,” but does not provide names.⁶⁰

(5) It is unclear from B.1's conclusory statement whether all the listed individuals did put away their ‘illegitimate’ wives and children: B.2 states definitely that they did (see quotes at end of listings in part B). B.3 states that the inquiry “found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, [who did] immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them,” but does not speak to any who might have been found who did not.

A. The First-Reported Excommunications from Priesthood..

1.⁶¹ “And these those who went up from Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, Addon and Immer,⁶² but not...able to declare house their father's and their seed, if out of Israel they were: ... These sought their register of those enrolled by genealogy, but not it was found, and they were polluted from the priesthood. And said the governor to them that not they should not, etc.”
Nehemiah 7:61-64.

2. “And these they who went up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, Cherub, Addan, Immer--but not were able to report house their father's and their seed, whether of Israel--: ... These searched for their register who were enrolled genealogically but not they were found; therefore they were defiled from the priesthood. And said the governor to them that not they shall not, etc.”
Ezra 2:59-63.

3. “These came up from Thermeleth and Thelersas, Charaathalar leading them,

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, “Explorative Timeline.”

⁶⁰ Josephus further stating, “[I]t does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of those men.” *AJ XI.V.6.*

⁶¹ These number correspond to Chart A below.

⁶² *Aid* indicates locations unknown for Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, and Addon, being “places from which [came] individuals unable to tell their genealogy,” assuming them to have been “in Babylon,” while “some believe” Addon may have been a person (pp. 1581, 310 and 34).

and Aalar; neither could they shew their families, nor their stock, how they were of Israel: ... And when the description of the kindred of these men was sought in the register, and was not found, they were removed from executing the office of the priesthood: For unto them said Nehemias and Atharias, that they should not be, etc.” 1 Esdras 5:37-40.

4. “[T]here were also others...who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, 662. Some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they [said men] found in the genealogies of the Levites and Priests; they were about 525.” Josephus XI.III.10.

	Chart A			
	1.	2.	3.	4.
“The sons of Delaiah: the sons of Tobiah, the sons of Nekoda” ⁶³	) ) 642			
“The sons of Delaiah, the sons of Tobiah, the sons of Nekoda” ⁶⁴		) ) ) 652		
“The sons of Ladan, ⁶⁴ the son of Ban, ⁶⁵ the sons of Necodan”			652	
Unspecified:				662
“And of the priests: the sons of Habajah, ⁶⁶ the sons of Koz, ⁶⁷ the sons of Barzillai, ⁶⁸ who a wife from the daughters of Barzillai, the Gileadite, and was called after name.”	) ) ) No) number) given. )	) ) ) No) number) given.)		
“And of the priests that usurped the office of the priesthood: the sons of Obdia, the sons of Accoz, the sons of Addus, who married Augia one of the daughters of Berzelus, and was named after his name.”			) ) No) number) given.	
Unspecified				525

B. The Formal Proceedings and Second-Reported Excommunication from Priesthood.

An initial time was set for men with foreign wives to be present on a certain day, and: There “gathered everyone who trembled...because of the perfidy of the exiles.” Ezra 9:4.

“And answered Shecaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, and said

⁶³ The only other use is “the sons of Nekoda” (*Ezra* 2:48) included in the “Nethinim”/temple slaves group of returnees, for which only a group total is given—above, part III, A(6).

⁶⁴ (1) refer to Appendix 1C, V, B, “Levi,” at fn. 62 re tangents of (Gershonites-Shimeites-) Libni-Iddo- Zerah; (2) an Ephraimite ancestor of Joshua, *1 Chronicles* 7:22, 26, 27.

⁶⁵ Only use in this form.

⁶⁶ Only use.

⁶⁷ cf. Coz/[Cozbij], Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23; “Meremoth, the son of Urijah, the son of Koz” (*Nehemiah* 3:4, 21); “Uriah/Urijah the priest”-Meremoth, who received precious metals to convey for Ezra (*Ezra* 8:33).

⁶⁸ The first-mentioned “Barzallai” was a sustainer of king David—Appendix 1E, preceding fn. 69.

to Ezra, We have sinned...and have married wives foreign, from the peoples of the land. Yet now there is hope for *Israel* as to this thing. Now therefore let us cut a covenant...to eject all the [those] wives and those born from them....”
Ezra 10:2-3.

“Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of *Israel*, called out and said, “O Esdras, we have sinned...we have married strange women of the nations of the land, and now all of *Israel* is aloft. Let us make an oath, that we will put away our wives, [those?] which we have taken of the heathen, and with *their* children.”
1 Esdras 8:92-93.

The texts do not designate (a) which proscribed unions were of exiled men, with women of, and while in, their particular exilic territory; (b) whether any accepted unions were between suzerain- colonists and women of proveable lineage; or (c) whether priests and priest-sons may have had the option of retaining one wife of ‘legitimate’ or ‘legitimizing’ status, and her children, and renounce other wives he may have possessed. In the next two quotations, *Ezra* and *1 Esdras* appear in conflict as to the roles adopted by the persons named:

“Only Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah, stood⁶⁹ against this; and Meshullam and Shab-bethai the Levite supported them. *And so did the sons of the exile.*”
Ezra 10:15-16.

“Then Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them, and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.”
1 Esdras 9:14.

The gathering, a great assembly of “men and women and children,” was accompanied with great weeping, at which a set time was called in three days “to examine the matter.” “The elders of every place” were to “estimate...those that have thus married” and appear.” *Ezra 10; Josephus XI.V.4.*

[At the appointed time] “they began the inquiry...and...found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest and of the priests and Levites...who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them.... [B]ut it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men.”
Josephus, XI.V.4.

Chart B

(a)

1.
Ezra 10:18-44:

2.
1 Esdras 9:18-36:

“And were found these among the sons of the priests who had married wives foreign:

“And of the priests that were come together, and had strange wives, there were found:

“[F]rom the sons of **Jeshua**, the son of Jozadak, and his brothers: Maaseiah, and Eliezer, and Jarib and Gedaliah. *And they gave their hand to expel their wives...*

“Of the sons of **Jesus** the son of Josedec, and his brethren; Matthelas, and Eleazar, and Joribus, and Joadanus. *And they gave their hands to put away their wives...*

⁶⁹ “According to the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, Jahzeiah/[Jahaziah] and the others assisted, rather than opposed.” *Aid*, page 866.

Chart B

(a) *continued*

1.
Ezra 10:18-44:

“And from the sons of **Immer**:
Hanani and Zebadiah;

“and from the sons of **Harim**:
Maaseiah and Elijah, and *Shemaiah*,
and *Jehiel* and *Uzziah*;

“and from the sons of **Pashur**:
Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Nethaneel,
Jozabad and Elasa.

2.
1 Esdras 9:18-36:

“And of the sons of **Emmer**; Ananias, and
Zabdeus, and Eanes, and *Sameius*, and
Hiereel, and *Azarias* [at least the last three
included in 1.Harim?]

[sons of **Harim missing** in *1 Esdras*]⁷⁰

“And of the sons of **Phaisur**;
Elionas, Massias, Ismael, and Nathanael,
and Ocidelus, and Talsas.

(b)

1. “Also from the **Levites**, Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah--he Kelita--Pethahiah,
Judah and Eliezer.

2. “And of the **Levites**: Jozabad, and Semis, and Colius, who was called Calitas,
and Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.

1. “Also from the **singers** Eliashib;

2. “Of the holy **singers**; Eleazurus, Bacchurus [*1 Esdras* names one son more than
Ezra].

1. “and from the **gatekeepers**: Shallum, and Telem, and Uri.

2. “Of the **porters**; Sallumus, and Tolbanes [*1 Esdras* names one son less than
Ezra].

1. “And **from Israel**, from the sons of **Parosh** Ramiah, and Jeziah, and Malchiah,
and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah and Benaiah.

2. “Of them **of Israel**, of the sons of **Phoros**; Hiermas and Eddias, and Melchias,
and Maelus, and Eleazar, and Asibias, and Baanias.

1. “And from the sons of **Elam** Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and
Jeremoth, and Eliah;

2. “Of the sons of **Ela**; Matthanias, Zacharias, and Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and
Aedias [*1 Esdras* names one son less than *Ezra*].

1. “and from the sons of **Zattu**: Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and Jeremoth, and
Zabad, and Aziza;

2. “And of the sons of **Zamoth**; Eliadas, Elisimus, Othonias, Jarimoth, and Sabatus,
and Sardeus.

1. “and from the sons of **Bebai**: Jehohanan, Hananiah, Zabbai, and Athlai;

2. “Of the sons of **Bebai**; Johannes, and Ananias, and Josabad, and Amatheis.

⁷⁰ Note that toward the end of the individuals' list, below, *Ezra's Harim* group is given by *1 Esdras* as *Annas* (a later derivative of *Hananiah*).

1. “and from the sons of **Bani**: Meshullam, Malluch, and Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal Ramoth;

2. “Of the sons of **Mani**; Olamus, Mamuchus, Jedeus, Jasubus, Jasaël, and Hieremoth.

1. “and from the sons of **Pahath-Moab**: Adna, and Chelah, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezaleel and Binnui and Manasseh;

2. “And of the sons of **Addi**; Naathus, and Moosias, Lacunus, and Naidus, and Mathanias, and Sesthel, Balnuus, and Manasseas.

1. “and from the sons of **Harim**: Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon, Benjamin, Malluch and Shemariah;

2. “And of the sons of **Annas**; Elionas, and Aseas, and Melchias, and Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus [*1 Esdras* names two or three sons less than *Ezra*].

1. “from the sons of **Hashum**: Mattenai, Mattathah, Zabad, Eliphelet, Jeremai, Manasseh and Shimei;

2. “And of the sons of **Asom**; Altaneus, and Matthias, and Bannaia, Eliphalat, and Manasses, and Semei [*1 Esdras* names one less son than *Ezra*].

Note: Of the last two groups of Ezra and three groups of 1 Esdras (below)--while varying in respective compositions and numbers, and apart from the consistently different spellings-- the total names of 1(a) equal the total names of 2(a), (b) and (c), while at the same time some of the names of 2(c) appear to be included in 1(b):

1(a). “from the sons of **Bani** Maadai, Amram and Uel, Benaiah, Bedeiah, Chelluh, Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib, Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasau, and Bani, and Binnui, Shimei, and Shelemiah, and Nathan, and Adaiah, Machnadebal, Shashai, Sharai, Azareel, and Shelemiah, Shemariah, Shallum, Amariah, and Joseph; [=27]

1(b). “from the sons of **Nebo** Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadau, and Joel, Benaiah. [=7]

2(a). “And of the sons of **Maani**; Jeremias, Momdis, Omaerus, Juel, Mab dai, and Pelias, and Anos, Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanimus, Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Samis, Selemias, Nathanias: [=16]

2(b). “and of the sons of **Ozora**; Sesis, Esril, Azaelus, Samatus, Zambis, Josephus. [=6]

2(c). “And of the sons of **Ethma**; Mazitias, Zabadaias, Edes, Juel, Banaias. [=5]

1. “All these had taken wives foreign, and there were of them wives, and they gave sons.”

2. “All these had taken strange wives and they put them away with their children.”

V. Collected Listings of Divisions/Houses, Priests, Leaders, and Levites Of and After the Returns.

Despite the absence of surnames to link identical names in tracing progression of priesthood lines, in some categorical instances there do exist identifiable absences, etc. allowing possible perpetuation of Levitic and/or Davidic lineages, via distanced clans, unto and beyond the time of the Hasmonaeans.⁷¹

There is no record in this period of communication between vested interests in exilic hierarchies and the temple and its administration,⁷² and it is impossible to extract the complex shifting of politics and empowerment over the two repatriations spanning Persian

⁷¹ *i.e.*, disappearances of houses/divisions from post-repatriation rosters would not negate, necessarily, privately recognized descendancies under The Law, of once-represented clans/families, in ongoing numbers of female births.

⁷² *E.g.*, the correspondence between Jeremiah at Jerusalem and the exiles in Babylon during Nebuchadnezzar's tenure; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.”

rule from Cyrus through Artaxerxes. Simply taken altogether, the record reflects that regional factioning, evident with the Zerubbabel repatriation, was by the time of Ezra/Nehemiah involvement both escalated and splintered by conflicts additional to regional contentions between prior and latter-imposed suzerain authorities. In sum (and apart from whether employed invocation of The Law served political aims), rebalancing of power, expectably would be part and parcel to reformation following shifts in hegemonial relationships between suzerain(s) and subjects, in which some expectably gained and others lost.

Correlations can be drawn between changes in priesthood divisions *vis-a-vis* particular priesthood excommunicants (although the record proffers few likelihoods to the extent of the sons of Delilah and Tobiah). Some notable issues include:⁷³

(1) The number of children born to Jehoiachin during exile;

(2) The apparent ‘absorption’ initially of the Shemaiah house into the Shecaniah house, and the final absence of the division of Shecaniah of which its sons (of “Parosh/Phoros/Pharez”) were found to have foreign wives.

(3) Absence of a continuation of recorded descendance of *Iddo*: (a) a (Joah-) *Iddo* is listed in *Chronicles* as a son of (Levi-) Gershom; (b) a (Zechariah-) *Iddo* was a prince of Manasseh-east in King David’s time; (b) a priest *Iddo* accompanied Zerubbabel; (c) a prophet *Iddo* was father of Berechiah and grandfather of Zechariah, the prophet;⁷⁴ (d) Ezra from the river Ahava sent to *Iddo*, “chief man at Casiphia,” to bring him ministers; (e) *Iddo* sent to Ezra, in addition to temple servants, an unnamed man “of understanding,” of the sons of (Levi-) Mahli. *Iddo* then last appears as the head priest of the *Iddo* paternal house “in the days of Joacim and Ezra.”⁷⁵

(4) Questions concerning the alternate uses of *Harim* and *Annas*.⁷⁶ Previous uses of *Harim* (which appears as a “head of the people” at the signing of the covenant) were (a) a priesthood division in King David’s time; (b) a house of priest-sons accompanying Zerubbabel (where the alternate name, *Carme*, poses ties to the original east-Jordan tribe of Reuben); and (c) a priesthood initial division “in the days of Joacim and Ezra,” of whom the head priest was *Adna*; and (d) *Adna*, of the sons of *Pahath-Moab*, who had a foreign wife (these being the only biblical uses of *Adna*).

(5) The origin of *Adonikam*. Six hundred and sixty-six/seven members of *Adonikam* returned with Zerubbabel; 60/70 returned with Ezra. The report of the leaders of the latter, small group bears a unique modifier: “From the sons of *Adonikam*, *last one*, and these their names!” “Of the sons of *Adonikam*, the last, and these the names of them:” Eliphalet/ Eliphalet, Jeiel/Jeuel, and Shemaiah/ Samaias. It is unclear to what ‘*last one/the last*’ refer.⁷⁷

⁷³ The order in which they are presented does not necessarily indicate sequence. Lesser contradictions will not be noted—e.g. how one of two listings, of individuals obtaining post-reformation residence at Jerusalem (Detail A to sub-part II, at C), appears to devolve into the time of king David.

⁷⁴ Berechiah/Barachiah and *Iddo*, refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, and see both that attachment and Appendix 3B, I for Zechariah/Zachariah and *Zechariah*, *Book of*.

⁷⁵ It is notable that the divisions and head priests shown in column 2 of Detail A are said to be “in the days of Joacim and Ezra,” collectively; there is no indication that Joacim and Ezra were working in concert, however. See Appendix 3A, IV, at derived year 458—“At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joacim the high priest;” *AJ* XI.V.5. (Also possibly notable is that king David’s priesthood divisions nos. 12 and 21—“Jakim” and “Jachin”—were not included in the reformation divisions; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.)

⁷⁶ See at fn. 70; also related are the *Jeremiah/Hananiah* alternates.

⁷⁷ It has been speculated (a) that the *Adonikam* sons were the last in a direct Davidic line; and/or (b) that *Adonikam* equates with *Adonijah* (column 5 of Detail A). *Aid* (page 36) comments: “When the representatives of the paternal houses attested to the...resolution drawn up in Nehemiah’s day this [*Adonikam*] family was apparently listed by the name *Adonijah*—Neh. 9:38; 10:16.” It is true that the order of names of Ezra-accompanying chiefs runs Bebai, Azgad, *Adonikam*, Bigvai (*Ezra* 2:11-14) and

(6) The *Nehemiah* account (3:1) of the priests who worked on the rebuilding of the city's wall relates, "[R]ose up Eliashib the priest high and his brothers the priests and they built the Sheep Gate." It can be assumed then, at that point certain events had not yet matured which led to Nehemiah's later "understanding" what Eliashib had done for Tobiah/Tobijah, and ejection of Tobiah by Nehemiah on return to Jerusalem after his hiatus. Then, following *Nehemiah* 12's description of the inauguration of the wall, it is reported that, "*that day*"--when "they read in the book of Moses....[and] it was found written...that not should come the Ammonite and the Moabite into the assembly...*was it...that they separated all the mixed races from Israel.*" But it was, "*before this, Eliashib the priest...who was related to Tobiah, had established himself....*" (13:1)

- (7) (a) "Sons of David" vis-a-vis Hattush.
 (b) Was the original King David division "Jeshur" *Jeshua*? Was there a prior connection between that and the term "Pahath-Moab?" In the first return 2,812 people were "sons of Pahath-Moab, the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In the Artaxerxes repatriation, 200 "from the sons of Pahath-moab" accompanied Elihoenai, the son of Zeremiah.
 (c) What happened to Jehoiarib?
 (d) The disappearance of *Matt*-root and *Eli*-root names.

VI. Temple Sites.

A. Shilo/Shechem/Mount Ebal/Mount Gerizim/Gerizzim.

Shechem (*circa*/at modern Nablus; some believe equal to *Sychar*) was the original Levite enclave and sacred city of refuge established by Joshua, some 30 miles north of Jerusalem. Congregationally--after the 'north' seceded, following Solomon's death--Shechem became the Hebrew 'Israelite' center, while Jerusalem remained that of Hebrew 'southerners,' or 'Judahites.'

Joshua's capital and treasury at Shiloh was located "on the north of Bethel [which was approximately 12 miles N of Jerusalem), toward the sunrising, by the highway which goes up from Bethel to Shechem [some 30 miles N of Jerusalem]...." (*Judges* 21:19). It was the first landed home of the tabernacle and the Ark. Erection of an early structure there is acknowledged obliquely (judge Samuel lay down "in the temple...where [rested] the ark." 1 *Samuel* 3:3.)

The Shiloh site continued through the period of the Judges. Ostensibly it ended after the captured Ark was relinquished to king David by the Philistines.⁷⁸ Construction at Shechem is reported under Jeroboam, the first ruler of the 'Israel' kingdom. (Jeroboam was selected/ 'anointed' by priest Abijah/Ahiah of Shiloh). Shechem/Nablus is at the heart of the old *district* of Samaria. During the first part of the two-kingdom period, Israel kings ruled from near Shechem and "Tirzah in the vale [possibly Ramah, a site of indefinite location]" until king Omri bought a "hill" from one Shemer and built the city of Samaria.⁷⁹

The *city* of Samaria, some 34 miles north of Jerusalem and northwest of Shechem, was first referred to as "Shemer" or "Shamir."⁸⁰ During the two-kingdom period the terms, "king of Samaria" and "cities of Samaria," refer frequently to the king and scattered cities/villages of the kingdom of Israel.⁸¹

Bebai, Azgad, *Adonikam*, Bigvai (*Ezra* 8:11), compared to Nehemiah covenanters, Azgad, Bebai, *Adonijah*, Bigvai. (The only other biblical use of *Adonijah* was Solomon's half-brother, [King David + Haggith-] Adonijah, who Solomon had murdered, and of whom no descendants are of record; refer to Appendix 1E.

⁷⁸ Related in Appendix 1E. (See Appendix 2A, for *Ark*.)

⁷⁹ Refer to Appendix 2C, IV, narrative of the Period of the Kings.

⁸⁰ "Belonging to the clan Shemer," *Aid*, p. 1435; see at Appendix 1D, II, fn. 28 and also see Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 22 ("Shamir").

⁸¹ Care is required in distinguishing retroactive usages of the terms, 'Samaria,' and 'Samaritans,' which terms become fixed in the texts after the Assyrian conquest in the north c. 740 b.c.; see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Samaria, etc.* Vagueness of the

Mounts Ebal and Gerizzim, which face each other in the heart of the old district of 'Samaria,' are "separated by a beautiful narrow valley, the Vale of Shechem, in which nestles the [modern] city of Nablus."⁸² On one of them, Joshua "set up the stones," on which "a copy of the law of Moses' was written." According to *Joshua* 8:30-32, it was Mount Ebal. According to *Deuteronomy* 24:4, it was Gerizzim [*sic.*].

In about 332 b.c./b.c.e. a temple was built at Gerizzim when Alexander III the Great/Macedon replaced Persia as overlord. (It is unclear from the texts whether some type of holy shrine had endured in the Shiloh area up to that time.) Combined suzerain administration and priesthood relations surrounded establishment of the Gerizzim temple, similar to the times of Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah. (Alexander had difficulties distinguishing regional population. In the 'Samaria' region, for example, persons "who had then Shechem ...for their metropolis" petitioned him for the same rights he had granted already at Jerusalem, asserting that "they derived their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh."⁸³)

Some 150 years later, after Seleucid Antiochus IV became hegemon (175-163 b.c./b.c.e.), the Gerizzim temple was converted to a temple of Jupiter Hellenius, when ambassadors "from the Sidonians, who live[d] at Shechem," petitioned to be distinguished from accusations which "belong[ed] to the Jews" and "to live after the customs of the Greeks."⁸⁴

AJ XII.V.5.

B. Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, the best known, became the main temple site after the Philistines relinquished the ark and King David prepared a tabernacle for it in the Jerusalem precincts (volume one).

C. Heliopolis, Egypt.

An anciently-mentioned biblical site, the name of which has been translated as "On," later became the site of "Heliopolis [*Greek* for 'City of the Sun']," some 22 miles northeast of Memphis "on the right bank of the Nile, a little to the north of present-day Cairo."⁸⁵ Anciently, On's high priest was one Potiphera, whose daughter, Asenath, became the wife of Rachel and Jacob's son, Joseph, the tribal mother of Ephraim and Manasseh.⁸⁶

"Greek philosophers and scholars were drawn there...and On became celebrated as a center of Egyptian wisdom." On's priesthood "became very wealthy, rivaling the priesthood of Memphis...and...[was] surpassed only by the priesthood at Thebes." "According to Strabo," the site of "On evidently suffered a...blow when Cambyses II [Persia's successor to Cyrus the Great] conquered Egypt..." (Said to have been famous for its obelisks, little was left of that site which has also been referred to as "Tel e-Yehudieh", *the mound of the Jew.*⁸⁷)

'Samaria' district persisted to the Roman era--"boundaries are not definitely known today," but generally, " ...between Galilee and Judea" (*Aid*, page1436).

⁸² *Aid*, page 479.

⁸³ See Appendix 3B, II, Detail B, for details of the Gerizzim politics and events.

⁸⁴ The generally derived year of 332/331 b.c. for the building of the Gerizzim temple fits Josephus' mention that, after John Hyrcanus I--whose reign at Jerusalem began c. 134-- took Shechem and Gerizzim, the Gerizzim temple became "deserted 200 years after it was built." *AJ* XIII.IX.1.

⁸⁵ --"not the town *Leontopolis* 60 miles from Memphis." which "Jewish settlement near the tip of the Delta...developed into a military colony responsible for the defence of the important road from Pelusium to Memphis," so noted by *Williamson* p. 406, n. 54 and p. 52, n. 82.

⁸⁶ *Genesis* 41:45, 50; 46:20; volume one of this work.

⁸⁷ *Aid* p. 1253.

Strabo in his time wrote: “Heliopolis is now deserted,” but “it contains the ancient temple constructed in the Aegyptian manner,” showing evidence of Cambyses’ “outrages,” including burned and mutilated obelisks. At “Heliopolis,” Strabo saw “the houses of priests and schools of Plato and Eudoxus,” who spent time there with the priests that excelled in astronomy. (Vol. VIII, p. 79.)

Ancient On/Heliopolis also is taken to be the site where self-exiled Onias IV was given leave by Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II “to build there a temple...after the pattern of that in Jerusalem...that may be for the benefit,” said Onias IV to Ptolemy, “of thy self, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together...and be subservient to thy advantages...”⁸⁸

Onias [IV]--who was the nephew of Onias [III/Menelaus] that was dead; and who bore the same name as his [Onias IV's] father [Onias II], and was a child when his father was killed--fled into Egypt to Ptolemy [VI] Philometor and got into the friendship of him and Cleopatra his wife. "[W]hen he found he was in great esteem...with Ptolemy," Onias IV was given "that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus [administrative center] of Heliopolis, 180 furlongs⁸⁹ from Memphis, and which is named from the country Bubastis."⁹⁰ There he [eventually] built a little town on the lines of Jerusalem and a temple/sanctuary like to that in Jerusalem, at which he [Onias IV] was made high priest.'⁹¹

The initial inference from *Josephus* is that Onias IV pursued building the temple immediately upon his self-exile. However, although “[w]e must observe, that Josephus speaks of Antiochus [V] ...as [if] now/[then] alive when Onias had leave...to build his temple... it seems not to have been actually built till about 15 years afterwards.”⁹² Onias IV, “assured” Ptolemy VI that he could “bring all the Jews to his assistance,” and if a Heliopolis temple was built, they would be “so much readier to fight” against the Seleucids and “would then come to him [Ptolemy VI] with greater good will.” “Onias built a fortress and a temple...such as resembled a tower.” Ptolemy VI “also gave him a large country for a revenue in money.... Onias...had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself.”

Josephus, Against Apion, VII.X.

⁸⁸ *Josephus AJ, XIII.III.1ff.* The authorization occurred c. 144 b.c. (refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1). The next quotation here is a paraphrased summary which sources include *AJ XII.IX.7, BJ I.I.1 and BJ VII.X.2.*

⁸⁹ One mile [5,280 ft.] divided by one furlong [220 yds. x 3 = 660 ft.] = 8 furlongs in one mile; 180 furlongs divided by eight = 22-1/2 miles.

⁹⁰ See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Bubastis.

⁹¹ According to Onias IV’s description, he had “found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana,” and added, “grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down.” *AJ XIII.III.1.*

⁹² Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 32.

Appendix 3B, II, Detail A

Comparison Collected Listings of Priests, Divisions, Leaders and Levites Of and After the Returns

Note: Names from the texts are reordered alphabetically except when, as in column 5, they coincide with name in earlier columns.
 Italicized names are according to and as spelled in *1 Esdras*.
 Other uses of many of these proper names will be encountered in various parts of this work; refer to the Index.

A) Chart – Chief Priests and Divisions, Men With Foreign Families, and Sealers of the Nehemiah Covenant

Data is drawn from the following sources:

1. “[T]hese the priests...who went up with Zerubbabel and...Jeshua.... [T]hese the heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua.” *Nehemiah* 12:1ff.
 “The priests.” *1 Esdras* 5:24-25.
- 1a. “These the chiefs of their fathers who went up with me in the time of Artaxerxes.” *Ezra* 8:1ff.
 “These are the chiefs according to their families...that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes.” *1 Esdras* 8:28ff.
2. “[I]n the days of Joiakim were priests, the heads of the fathers:...” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff.
3. Those who built on the wall. *Refer to list in 3A, V; Ezra* 3:1-16.
4. Names of men found to have “foreign” wives/children in the “second-reported” excommunication, set forth in Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, B(a) and (b).
 Names of men involved in the “first-reported” excommunication (sub-part IV, A) are included in this chart also if they coincide with other column items.
5. “The heads of the people.” *Nehemiah* 10:14ff.
6. “[T]he ones being sealed [with] Nehemiah, the governor, the son of Hacaliah* ...were [these] priests.” *Nehemiah* 10:1ff.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	“Chiefs” Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
#8 Abijah	Abijah	(Jonathan-) Ebed/ <i>Obethl</i> of the sons of Adin Eliphelet/ <i>Eliphalet</i> , Jeiel/ <i>Jeuel</i> , Shemaiah/ <i>Samais</i> , “the last” of Adonikam	(of Abijah) Zichri		Sons of <i>Addi</i> — see <i>Pahath-Moab</i>	Adin Adonijah Ahijah	Abijah Amariah
#18 Aphas	Amariah Amok		(of Amariah) Jehohanan (of Amok ²) Eber				

¹ The punctuation of the rest of this sentence (“...Hacaliah and Zidkiyah...”) leaves open whether Zidkiyah was a sealer or Nehemiah’s other parent. (Hacaliah and Zidkiyah are the only biblical uses of the names.)

² Only biblical use.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
						Anan Anathoth Anaiah	
					B(b) <i>Annas, sons of, see Harim</i>	Ater	
		(Hakkatan/ <i>Acatan</i> -) Johanan/ <i>Johannes</i> of the sons of <u>Azgad/Asthath</u>				Azgad	
				(Ananiah-Maaseiah-) Azariah		Azzur	Azariah
		(Josiphiah/ <i>Josaphias</i> -) ? / <i>Assalimoth</i> of the sons of <u>Banid/Shelomith</u>		(Bani-) Rehum	B(b). Bani/Mani Maani, sons of-- Meshullam/ <i>Olamus</i> , Malluch/ <i>Mamuchus</i> , Jashub/ <i>Jasubus</i> , Sheal Ramoth, <i>Jedeus</i> , <i>Jasael</i> , and <i>Hieremoth</i> [more at end of 3B, II, IV]	Bani	
				(Zabbai-) Baruch			Baruch
		(Bebai) Zechariah/ <i>Zacharias</i> of the sons of <u>Bebai/Babi</u>			B(b) <i>Bebai/Bebai</i> , sons of--Jehonanan/ <i>Johannes</i> , Hananiah/ <i>Ananias</i> , Zabbai, <i>Josabad</i> , Athlai, and <i>Amatheis</i> .	Bebai	
		(?-) Uthai and Zabbud/ <i>(Istalcurus-)</i> <i>Uthi</i> of the sons of <u>Bigvai/Bago</u>				Bezai	
#15 Bilgah	Bilgah	<u>Daniel/Gamael</u> from the sons of Ithamar	(of Bilgah) Shammua			Bigvai	Bilgai ³ Daniel

³ Only biblical use.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
	[Of the sons of <u>David</u> -- see Hattush.						
#23 Delaiah	[Carme, sons of-- see Harim] [David, see Hattush]	(Athaliah/ <i>Gotholias</i> -) Jeshaiiah/ <i>Josias</i> of the sons of <u>Elam/Elam</u>			A. Delaiah, sons of B(b). Elam/ <i>Ela</i> , sons of--Mattaniah/ <i>Matthaias</i> , <i>Zechariah/Zacarias</i> , <i>Jeiel/Hierielus</i> , <i>Jeremoth/Hieremoth</i> , <i>Abdi/Aedias</i> , and Eliah.	Bunni Elam	
#11 Eliashib	Ezra		(of Ezra) Meshullam ⁴	Eliashib, high priest (Meshezabeel-Berechiah-) Meshullam (Besodeiath-)Meshullam	Meshullam	Meshezabeel Meshullam	
#22 Gamul	Ginnetho		(of Ginnethon) Meshullam	(Koz ⁵ -Urijah ⁶ -) Meremoth			Ginnethon
#7 Hakkoz ⁷					A. Koz/ <i>Accoz</i> , sons of [Hanani, see Immer]	Hanan	Hallohesh
#3 Harim	Sons of Harim ⁹ <i>/Carme</i>		(of Harim) Adna ⁸ -- see at <u>Pahath-Moab</u> .	(Harim-) Malchijah	B(a) Of the sons of Harim--	Harim	Harim

⁴ "Ezra" appears to be a division in column 2 with a Meshullam at its head in the days of Joacim and Ezra. It cannot be said whether the "Azariah [older form of Ezra]" which appears in column 6's covenantor's list is *the* Ezra (compounded by the inability of sorting the "Meshullams").

⁵ This has been taken as a contraction of *Hakkoz* (see *Koz* also at Meremoth).

⁶ See at Meremoth.

⁷ See preceding two footnotes.

⁸ (a) Other uses of *Adnah*, see 3B, I; (b) *Harim* and *Immer* are in seeming contradiction between the texts, where "Harim" is missing as a category and counterparts of Harim names in *Ezra* appear with "Emmer" in *1 Esdras* (refer to 3B, II, sub-part IV.B).

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
					Harim sons, continued: Maaseiah, Elijah, Shemaiah, Jehiel, Uzziah; B(b) Sons of Harim/Annas: Eliezer/ <i>Elionas</i> , Ishijah/Aseas, Malchiah/ <i>Melchias</i> , Shemaiah/ <i>Sabbeus</i> , Shimeon/ <i>Simon</i> , Benjamin, Malluch, Shemariah, <i>Chosameus</i>		
						Hariph Hashabnah Hashub Hashum	
					B(b) Hashum/ <i>Asom</i> -- sons of: Mattenai, Mattathah/ <i>Matthias</i> , Eliphelet/ <i>Eliphelat</i> , Manasseh/ <i>Manasses</i> , Shimei/ <i>Semei</i> , Zabad, Jeremai, <i>Altaneus</i> , <i>Bannaia</i>		
#17 Hezir ¹¹	Hattush	Hattush from the Sons of David		(Hashabnah-) Hattush			Hattush
	Hilkiah		(of Hilkiah) Hashabiah	Hashabiah, "ruler of 1/2 of Keilah"		Hazir	
#13 Huppah			(of Iddo) Zechariah			Hizkijah Hoshea	
#16 Immer	Sons of Immer/ <i>Meruth</i>			(Immer-) Zadok	B(a). Hanani/ <i>Ananias</i> and Zebadiah/ <i>Zabdeus</i> of Immer/ <i>Emmer</i>		
#21 Jachin ¹²		[Ithamar--see Daniel above, this column]					

⁹ Only use; *but see* (Reuben-) Carmi, Appendix 1D, I (Joshua) and Appendix 3B, I, Zechariah, at quotation *1 Chronicles* 5:1ff.

¹⁰ *1 Esdras* includes also under "Emmer" *Eanes*, *Sameius*, *Hiereel* and *Azarias*; see preceding footnote 8.

¹¹ Only biblical use; except with regard to similarity to *Hezron* (also associated with *Carmi*), refer to fn. 8.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
						Jaddua	
#12 Jakim							
#2 Jedaiah	Jedaiah		(of Jedaiah) Nethaneel				
#2 Jedaiah	Jedaiah		(of Jedaiah) Uzzi				
	Sons of Jedaiah of the <u>house of Jeshua/ sons of Jeddu the son of Jesus, among the sons of Sanasib.</u>				B(a) Of the sons of (Jozadak/ <i>Josedec</i> -Jeshua/Jesus-): Maaseiah/ <i>Matthelas</i> , Eliezer/ <i>Eleazar</i> , Jarib/ <i>Joribus</i> , Gedaliah/ and <i>Jodanus</i>		
#20 Jehezekel							
	Jeremiah		(of Jeremiah) Hananiah	(Shelemaiah-) Hananiah; Hananiah "son of the perfumers"			Jeremiah
#14 Jeshebeab ¹³							
#9 Jeshur					Jeshua, house of, see <u>Jedaiah.</u>		
#1 Jehoiarib	Joiarib/Jehoiarib		(of Joiarib) Mattenai				
		(Jehiel/ <i>Jezeus</i> -) Obadiah/ <i>Abadias</i> of the sons of <u>Joab/Joab</u>					
					A. Ladan, sons of B(b)Maani, sons of [see <u>Bani</u>]		
#24 Maaziah				(Maaseiah-) Azariah		Maaseiah Magpiash	Maaziah
	Maadiah ¹⁴		(of Moadiah*) Piltai ¹⁵				
#5 Malchijah				(Harim-) Malchijah (Rechab-) Malchiah Malchiah of goldsmith			Malchijah
	Malluch		(of Melicu ¹⁶) Jonathan			Malluch	Malluch
	Meremoth		(of Meraioth) Helkai ¹⁷	(Koz-Urijah-) Meremoth			Meremoth

¹² "Jachin" was the name of the right pillar in the portico of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 7:21). (An original [Leah + Jacob-] Simon son, "Jarib" [Genesis 46:8], appears later as "Jachin" [1 Chronicles 4:24], with descendants known as "Jachinites" by Numbers 26:12.)

¹³ Only use in this form.

¹⁴ This and "Moadiah" in column 2, only uses.

¹⁵ Only biblical use.

¹⁶ "Malluchi" in the *Masoretic*.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
	[Sons of <i>Meruth</i> -- see Immer]						
#6 Mijamin	Miamin		(of Miniamin) ? ¹⁸			Meshezabeel	Mijamin
					B(b) Nebo, sons of A. Nekoda/ <i>Necodan</i> , sons of	Nebai [Bebai?]	
		(Zerahiah/ <i>Zaraias</i> -) Elihoenai/ <i>Elihoenias</i> of the sons of <u>Pahath-Moab/Pahath-Moab</u>		(Pahath-Moab-) Hashab	B(b). Pahath-Moab /Addi, sons of— Adna, Chelah, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah/ <i>Mathanias</i> , Bezaleel, Binnui, Manasseh/ <i>Manasseas</i> , <i>Naathus</i> , <i>Moosias</i> , <i>Lacunus</i> , <i>Naidus</i> , <i>Sesthel</i> , <i>Bainuus</i>	Pahath-Moab	Obadiah
	Sons of Pashur/ <u>Phassarou</u>				B(a). Of the sons of Pashur/ <i>Phaisur</i> , Elioenai/ <i>Elionas</i> , Maaseiah/ <i>Massias</i> , Ishmael/ <i>Ismael</i> , Nethaneel/ <i>Nathanael</i> , Jozabad/ <i>Ocidelus</i> , Elasa/ <i>Talsas</i> .		Pashur
#19 Pethahiah		Gershom/ <i>Gerson</i> of the sons of <u>Phinehas/Phinees</u>			Pethahiah	Pelatiah Pileha	
	Rehum			(Bani-) Rehum		Rehum	
#4 Seorim ²⁰	Sallu		(of Sallai) Kallai ¹⁹				

¹⁷ Taken by some as a shortened form of Hilkiyah.

¹⁸ The name of Miniamin's representative appears to be missing in the text.

¹⁹ Only use; some take it as "Koliaiah." (Koliaiah was the name of the father of one Ahab, who (with [Zedekiah-] Maaseiah) spoke in exile against Jeremiah; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, "Jeremiah.")

²⁰ Only use.

# = David Division	Priests and priest groups accompanying Zerubbabel and Jeshua/Jesus 1.	"Chiefs" Accompanying Ezra 1a.	(Divisions) and Head Priests in the days of Joacim and Ezra 2.	Builders on the wall 3.	Men with foreign wives/families 4.	Heads of the People at time of sealing of Nehemiah covenant 5.	Priests sealing the covenant 6.
	Seraiah		(of Seraiah) Meraiah* (of Shebaniah) Joseph	(Hallohesh-) Shallum			Seraiah Shebaniah
#10 Shecaniah	Shecaniah	<i>(Sechenias-) Lettus from the sons of David</i> <i>(?-) Zechariah/Zacharias of the sons of Shecaniah of the sons of Parosh/Pharez (Jahaziel/Jezelus-) ? / Sechenias) of the sons of Shecaniah/Zathoe</i>		(Shecaniah-) Shemaiah	B(b). Sons of Parosh/Phoros of Israel/Israel	Parosh	
	Shemaiah	[Shelomith--see at Bani] <i>(Michael/Michael-) Zebadiah/Zaraias of the sons of Shephatiah/Saphatias</i>	(of Shemaiah) Jehonathan	(Shecaniah-) Shemaiah	(Harim-) Shemaiah		Shemaiah
				(Imri-) Zaccur (Baana-) Zadok	A. Tobiah, sons of B(b) Zaccur	Shobek ²¹ Baanah Zadok	

B) Present At Ezra's Reading of the Law

(a) "And stood Ezra the scribe on a pulpit of wood which they made for the matter. And stood beside him:" *Nehemiah* 8.4ff.

(b) "And Esdras the priest and reader of the law stood up upon a pulpit of wood, which was made for the purpose. And there stood by him:" *1 Esdras* 9:42ff.

(a) <u><i>Nehemiah</i> 8:4ff.</u>	(b) <u><i>1 Esdras</i> 9:42ff.</u>
Ananiah	Ananias Azarias Balasmus Ezecias
Hilkiah Maaseiah Mattithiah Shema	Mattathias Sammus

²¹ Shobek/Shobak is an ancient village site, about two-thirds the distance from the foot of the Dead Sea and Petra, in south Jordan.

(a)	(b)
<u>Nehemiah 8:4ff.</u>	<u>1 Esdras 9:42ff.</u>
Urijah	Urias
-----"on/upon his right hand"-----	
and	
Hashbadana	
Hashum	
Malchiah	Lothasubus
Meshullam	Melchias
Mishael	Misael
	Nabarias
Pedaiah	Phaldaius
Zechariah	
-----"on/upon his left."-----	

C) Compared Reports of Those Who Lived at Jerusalem and Lists of Levite Heads

<u>1 Chronicles 9:3ff.</u>	<u>Nehemiah 11:4ff.</u>
At Jerusalem	At Jerusalem
lived:	lived:
a.	b.

<u>"And of the priests:"</u>	<u>"From the priests:"</u>
<u>Jedaiah</u>	(Joiarib-) <u>Jedaiah</u>
<u>Jehoiarib/(Joiarib)</u>	<u>Jachin</u>
<u>Jachin</u>	(Ahitub-Meraioth-Zadok-Meshullam-
(Ahitub-Meraioth-Zadok-	Hilkiah-) <u>Seraiah</u> ²²
Meshullam-Hilkiah-) <u>Azariah*</u>	(Malchiah-Pashur-Zechariah-
(Malchijah-Pashur-Jeroham-) <u>Adaiah</u>	Amzi-Pelaliah-Jeroham-) <u>Adaiah</u> ²³
(Immer-Meshillemith-Meshullam-	(Immer-Meshillemoth-Ahasai-
Jahzerah-Adiel-) <u>Maasiai</u> ²⁴	Azareel-) <u>Amashai</u> ; and
<u>"In Jerusalem lived the sons of Judah,</u>	"overseer over them was"
<u>Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh:"</u>	<u>Zabdiel</u> ²⁶
	<u>"In Jerusalem lived of the sons of</u>
	<u>Judah and of Benjamin:</u>

²²"and their brothers doing the work of the house, 822."

²³"and his brothers, heads of the fathers, 242."

²⁴"and their brothers, heads to the house of their fathers, 1,760."

²⁵"and their brothers, men of might, 128."

²⁶"the son of the great men."

1 Chronicles 9:3ff.

At Jerusalem
lived:

a.

Of the sons of Perez, son of Judah:
(Bani-Imri-Omri-Ammihud-)
Uthai
Asaiah, the firstborn, and his sons
of the *Shilonites*
Jeuel of the sons of Zerah.²⁷

“And of the sons of Benjamin:”

(Hasenuah-Hodaviah-Meshullam-)
Sallu and
(Jeroham-) Ibneiah and
(Michri-Uzzi-) Elah and
(Ibnijah-Reuel-Shephatiah-)
Meshullam,³⁰

“All these men chief to the house their fathers.”

“And of the Levites:”

(Hashabiah-Azrikam-Hashhub-)
Shemaiah of the sons of Merari
Bakbakkar
Heresh

Nehemiah 11:4ff.

At Jerusalem
lived:

b.

From the sons of Judah :”
(Mahalaleel of the sons of Perez-
Shephatiah-Amariah-Zechariah
-Uzziah-) Athaiah, and
(Zechariah of the son of Shiloni:
Joiarib-Adaiah-Hazaiah-
Colhozeh-Baruch-) Maaseiah.²⁸

“And these the sons of Benjamin:

(Jesaiah-Ithiel-Masseiah-Kolaiah-
Pedaiah-Joed-Meshullam-) Sallu

“and after him Gabbai, Sallai,²⁹
and (Zichri-) Joel “overseer over them,”
and (Senuah-) Judah “over the city second.”

- (1) Levite Heads and Gatekeepers “in the days of Joiakim,”
Nehemiah 12:24 ff.
- (2) Levites Who Sealed the Nehemiah Covenant, *Nehemiah* 10:9ff.
- (3) Levites Who Taught The Law to the People, *Nehemiah* 8:7ff.
- (4) Levites and Gatekeepers With Foreign Wives Part B(b)--
names not included in column (4) of chart A above.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-----	-----	-----	-----

“And from the Levites:”

(Bunni-Hashabiah-Azrikam-
Hashhub-) Shemaiah
Bakbukiah³¹
Jozabad³²

Bakbukiah

Jozabad

Jozabad

²⁷ With their brothers,”690.”

²⁸ “All the sons of Perez 468.”

²⁹ Total, “928.”

³⁰ “with their brothers, to their generations, 946.”

³¹ “the second among his brothers.”

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<u>Gallai</u> (Asaph-Zichri-Micah-) <u>Mattaniah</u> (Jeduthun-Galal-Shemaiah-)	(Asaph-Zabdi-Micha-) <u>Mattaniah</u> (Jeduthun-Gala-Shammua- ³³ <u>Abda</u>	Mattaniah Obadiah		
<u>Obadiah</u> ³⁴ (Elkanah -Asa-) <u>Berechiah*</u>	<u>Shabbethai</u>			Shabbethai
" <u>And the gatekeepers:</u> " <u>Shallum</u> "the head"	" <u>And the gatekeepers:</u> " <u>Akkub</u> <u>Talmon</u> "and their brothers, 172." Of the sons of Asaph (Micha- Mattaniah-Hashabiah- Bani-) <u>Uzzi</u> , overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem." ³⁵	Akkub Talmon	Akkub	Shallum/ <i>Sallumus</i>
<u>Akkub</u> , <u>Talmon</u> , <u>Ahiman</u> , "and their brothers" (Korah-Ebiasaph-Kore-) <u>Shallum</u> (Meshelemiah-) <u>Zechariah</u> [--the names progressively more seeming from the time of David?]			Azariah Beninu (Henadad-) Binnui	Eliezer <i>Ethma, sons of--</i> end of 3B, II, IV
		Hashabiah	Hanan Hashabiah ³⁶ Hodijah (Azaniah-) Jeshua	Hanan Hodijah Jamin Jeshua
	(Kadmiel-) son ³⁷		Kadmiel Kelita	<i>Jonas</i> Judah/ <i>Judas</i> Kelita/Kelaiah/ /Colius/Colitas

³²"over the business outward of the house of [Tet.]" It is not clear where the clause that follows, ended with a period, belongs: "from the heads of the Levites."

³³"All the Levites in the city holy 284."

³⁴"who lived in the villages of the Netophathites,"--but unclear whether referring to Elkanah or Berechiah. "Netophah" has been suggested as being some 2-1/2 miles S/SE of Bethlehem; Netophahites were among (a) King David's mighty men and (b) supporters of Gedaliah.

³⁵Conversely to the appearance of conflation of names from Nehemiah's time with the *Chronicles* list, here in *Nehemiah* the reverse is apparent in continuing verses, e.g. "[Judah-Zerah-Meshezabeel-] Pethahiah at hand *the king's* in all matters concerning the people." 11:24.

³⁶The name appears twice in this list.

³⁷Referenced text does not show interlinearly but has, in margin English, "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel."

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Maaseiah	
Meshullam	Micha		Nebo, sons of— Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadai, Joel, Benaiah.
			Ozora, sons of— end of 3B, II, IV <i>Pantheus</i>
	Pelaiah Rehob	Pelaiah	
	Shebaniah ³⁸		
Sherebiah	Sherebiah	Sherebiah	Shimei/ <i>Semis</i> Telem/ <i>Tolbanes</i> Uri Zattu/ <i>Zamoth</i> , of the sons of— Elioenia/ <i>Eliadas</i> , <i>Eliashib</i> /Elisimus, Mattaniah, <i>Othonias</i> , Jeremoth/ <i>Jarimoth</i> , Zabad/ <i>Sabatus</i> , Aziza and <i>Sardeus</i> .

³⁸ The name appears twice in the list.

Appendix 3B, II, Detail B

HIGH PRIESTS ELIASHIB TO JADDUA¹

[Resumed from Appendix 3A, V, E.]

Lengths of high priest tenures are not available, during the complex of temple and suzerain relationships, both before and after Alexander III the Great/Macedonia replaced Darius III/Persia as regional overlord. During the years before Alexander's conquest, the high priest office had proceeded as follows:

When Eliashib was dead son Joiada/Jehoiada/Judas succeeded.
Joiada, etc. had two sons, Yehohanan/Johanen/Jonathan/John and Jesus.
Jesus was favored by "Bagoses," Artaxerxes II's general in Judaea.
(Artaxerxes II reigned 404 – 359 b.c./b.c.e.)
Yehohanan/Johanen/Jonathan/John succeeded after he killed Jesus.
(Bagoses then "punished the Jews seven years.")
When high priest Yehohanan, etc. died, his son Jaddua succeeded.

Also prior to Alexander III the Great's conquest of Persia, Sanballat, Persia's regional governor (and "a Cuthean by birth"), "willingly gave his daughter, Nicasio, in marriage to Manasseh," high priest Jaddua's full or half-brother. Sanballat believed that the "alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him."

"[T]he elders of Jerusalem, being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua...married to a foreigner, *should be a partner* with him in the high priesthood, quarreled with him, and commanded that Manasseh divorce Nicasio" or lose position. Manasseh confessed to Sanballat that, although he had no desire to divorce Nicasio, he could not allow himself to be deprived of the sacerdotal legacy that "was the principal dignity in their [the Hebrew] nation, and always continued in the same family."

Sanballat promised Manasseh that, if he remained married to Nicasio, he would build Manasseh "a temple like that at Jerusalem at Mount Gerizzim," "with the approbation of Darius the king." Further, Sanballat promised Manasseh, he would procure for him "the power and dignity of a high priest," and cause him to become "governor of the places Sanballat now ruled." ("Sanballat was then [on] in years.")

"There was a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches, for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also."

As Darius III advanced to confront Alexander the Great, Sanballat "told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises"—"for not he only, but all those that were in Asia, also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise...."

Macedonian forces put Darius III on the run while Alexander III prepared for a siege at Tyre. He sent a request for provisions to high priest Jaddua at Jerusalem.. Jaddua replied that he would not break his oath of allegiance to Darius, which he would honor so long as Darius was alive.

¹ Source, *Josephus AJ* XI.VII.1ff. and VIII. Refer also to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part VI (Temple Sites, Shilo/Shechem/Mount Ebal/Mount Gerizzim) Appendix 2D (Calendar Year Comparison) and Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, High Priests Jeshua to Jaddua), concerning this period.

After Alexander III took Tyre and began a move toward Gaza, Sanballat renounced Darius. He gave “7,000 of his own men” to aid Alexander and brought his subjects to Alexander’s support. Sanballat then thought “he had now gotten a proper opportunity” to inform Alexander as to Manasseh. He counseled Alexander that regional control would be more orderly, if the “Jews/[Hebrews]” were divided into two parts, and Alexander gave approval to the building of a Gerizzim temple. The temple was built quickly, and Manasseh served as its high priest. (After “two months of the [Alexander] siege of Gaza, Sanballat died.”)

Alexander III finally took Gaza and then made for Jerusalem, where high priest Jaddua, because of his earlier denial of aid, initially was terrorized. When Alexander arrived, however, Jaddua received him with great honors (reportedly, in accordance with insight Jaddua received in a dream). Alexander—who was shown the *Book of Daniel*--was altogether greatly pleased and satisfied by the reception. He “asked what favours they pleased of him.”

“[T]he high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. Alexander granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired.” Alexander told the multitude that the same conditions would apply to any men who would enlist in his army, and “many were ready to accompany him in his wars.”

“When Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities [where] all the inhabitants...received him with great kindness. People of the Samaritan region, accompanied by “the troops that Sanballat had sent,” hastened to meet Alexander “at a little distance from Jerusalem” and requested him to visit their temple. They asked to be relieved also of tribute every seventh year; but Alexander became confused, “when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem.” Alexander stated, “It was to the Jews that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper.”²

Alexander III then took leave, “but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.”

“Now when Alexander was dead...the temple upon Mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eating things common, or of having broken the sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly.”

[Return to Appendix 3A, VI narrative.]

² Josephus remarks, “[T]he Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis (a city situate at Mount Gerizzim...when the Jews are in adversity...deny that they are of kin to them...but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they..derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh.” (The terminology, ‘Samaritan’ v. ‘Jew,’ as opposed to “Hebrews of Samaria’ and ‘Hebrews of Judaea,’ does not allow for distinguishing ‘Israelites’ and ‘Judahites’ descended during the two-kingdom period.)

Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

**CHIEF PRIESTHOOD LINEAGE
AARON TO [Exiled] JEHOZADAK/JOSEDEC
AS VARIOUSLY GIVEN**

		<i>x son of y</i> "From the priests"	<i>"x son of y"</i> "Of the priests"	<i>"x son of y"</i> Ezra Lineage	<i>"x fathered y"</i> Levi Genealogy per	
<i>Josephus</i> <u>AJ V.XI.5</u>	<u>Ithamar Branch</u> ¹	<u><i>Nehemiah</i> 11:11</u>	<u><i>1 Chronicles</i> 9:11ff.</u>	<u>per <i>Ezra</i> 7:1ff.</u>	<u><i>1 Chronicles</i> 6:3ff.</u> ²	<u><i>1 Esdras</i> 8:1-2/ <i>2 Esdras</i> 1:1-3</u>
Aaron	Aaron			Aaron	Aaron	Aaron
Eleazar	Ithamar			Eleazar	Eleazar	Eleazar
Phinehas	Phinehas			Phinehas	Phinehas	Phinees
Abiezer				Abishua	Abishua	Abisum/Abisei
<u>AJ VIII.I.3</u>						
[³ Bukki				Bukki	Bukki	Boccas/Borith
Ozi				Uzzi	Uzzi	Savias/Ozias
Joatham				Zerahiah	Zerahiah	Zaraias/Arna
Meraioth				Meraioth ⁴	Meraioth	Meroth/Marimoth
Arophaeus				Azariah		Azias/Aziei
	Eli			Amariah	Amariah	Amarias
	Phinehas					/Heli ⁵
						Phinees
						/Achias
Ahitub] ⁶	Ahitub	Ahitub, "chief of the house of God"	Ahitub, "ruler of the house of God"	Ahitub	Ahitub	Ahitob

¹ See Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of," regarding descendancy issues between the Eleazar and Ithamar branches.

² This list between Aaron and Ahitub is repeated at *1 Chronicles* 6:50-53.

³ Per Josephus, [these] "...of the family of [Levi-Aaron-Eleazar-] Phineas...lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar;" refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A.

⁴ Note that *Nehemiah* and *1 Chronicles* both place Meraioth later, after Ahitub; refer to fns. 3 and 6.

⁵ This is the only one use of the form *Heli* until given as the name of the apparent father of Miriam/Mary [A], mother of Jesus of the *New Testament*--refer to Appendix 4C, "Names/Places/Relationships," *Heli/Eli*.

⁶ There are unresolvable questions on Eli generations both before and after Ahitub; refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A (4), as well as Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of."

<i>Josephus</i> <i>AJ V.XI.5</i>	<i>Ithamar Branch</i> ⁷	<i>x son of y</i> "From the priests" <i>Nehemiah 11:11</i>	<i>"x son of y"</i> "Of the priests" <i>1 Chronicles 9:11ff.</i>	<i>"x son of y"</i> Ezra Lineage per <i>Ezra 7:1ff.</i>	<i>"x fathered y"</i> Levi Genealogy per <i>1 Chronicles 6:3ff.</i> ⁸	<i>1 Esdras 8:1-2/</i> <i>2 Esdras 1:1-3</i>
	Ahijah		Meraioth			
	Ahimelech		Meraioth			
Zadok	Abiathar	Zadok	Zadok	Zadok	Zadok	Sadduc/Sadoc
Achimas	)				Ahimaaz	
Azarias	)				Azariah	
	)				Johanan	
Joram	)				Azariah, "who acted	
Isus	)	Years between the end of Solomon's reign to the 18th year of king Josiah and			as priest in the house	
Axioramus	)	Hilkiah's["Elcias"] high priesthood (c. 926 b.c. minus 622 b.c. =) 304, using			Solomon built." repeat?	
Phideas	)	standard estimated datings.			<i>Repeats:</i>	
Sudeas	)				Amariah	
Juelus	)				Ahitub	
Jotham	)				Zadok	
Urias)					
Nerias)					
Odeas)					
Sallumus		Meshullam	Meshullam	Shallum	Shallum	Salum/Sadamias
Elcias		Hilkiah	Hilkiah	Hilkiah	Hilkiah	Helchiah/Helchias
[] ⁹			Azariah	Azariah	Azariah	Ezerias/Azarias
Sareas		Seraiah		Seraiah	Seraiah	Saraias
Josedek					Jehozadak	
				Ezra ¹⁰		Esdras
21	-----total names given-----			17	23	20
(excluding those who "lived privately")					(including repeats)	

⁷ See Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of," regarding descendancy issues between the Eleazar and Ithamar branches.

⁸ This list between Aaron and Ahitub is repeated at *1 Chronicles 6:50-53*.

⁹ The editors of the within-referenced *Josephus* added *Azariah* to the 17 names of X.IX.6 to conform the total of names there (17) with *AJ XX.X.1*, where Josephus states "18" held office "from the days of Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar...took Josadek."

¹⁰ No parental data is available on Ezra (the timespan between Seraiah and Ezra would not allow him to be a direct son of Seraiah).

Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
CHIEF/HIGH PRIESTS
(AHITUB/AHITOB -) ZADOK TO JOHANAN/JONATHAN/JOHN/YEHOHANAN,
INCLUDING HANANIAH/JEREMIAH “REDEMPTION”¹ POTENTIAL**

Note: Source Quotations are given in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4.

*Suggested/
Common Dates
b.c./b.c.e.*

*High Priest Lineage from
Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1*

		<u>Zadok</u>				Ahitub ... [uncertainties] / Zadok... [uncertainties...] / Zadok
645 Jeremiah estimated birthdate. ³	“Azur” the Prophet of Gibeon ⁴	/ + ?	Step-sibling of Meshullam	/ + ?	Sallumus/Shallum/ Meshullam	/
640 Josiah reign began.	/ + ?	/ + ?		/	/ + ?	/ + ?
622 18 th year of king Josiah.	/	Jeremiah ⁵		a Joachim	/	Daughter + Hanameel ⁶
c. 604/603, 5th year of king Jehoiakim.	/	/		<u>HILKIAH[Elcias/Helchiah/Helchias]</u>		Hilkiah
594/593, fourth year of king Zedekiah;	/	/		/ + ?	/ + ?	? + ?
<i>Hananiah/Jeremiah conflict...</i>	Hananiah	-----+----->	Daughter	Daughter	-----+-----	AZARIAH
<i>Death of Hananiah.</i>			Redeemed by Jeremiah?	-----	-----	Continued next page
						Azariah ⁷

¹ Refer to Appendix 1C, VII, “Levirate Duty and Redemption[Book of Ruth].”

² Potential involvements of Ahitub and Zadok daughters are not explored.

³ Refer to Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.”

⁴ “Anathoth,” a Levite priest city, was located approximately three miles N/NE of Jerusalem, in Gibeon/Benjamin territory (see Appendix 2A, *Geba, etc.*). It was to Anathoth that Solomon banished Abiathar when Solomon changed David’s co-chiefs, Zadok of the Eleazar branch and Abiathar of Ithamar, to Zadok alone—refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, “Eli Descendancy,” sub-part II, (a) Abiathar, and Appendix 1E *preceding fn.* 90; for the prophet Jeremiah’s involvement with Anathoth, see Appendix 2C, VII (fns. 16, 17 and *en passim*).

⁵ This would permit reference to Meshullam/Shallum as Jeremiah’s “uncle.”

⁶ Not a blood relative but allowing reference as “son” of Meshullam.

⁷ King Jehoiakim[Eliakim] sent Seraiah (the name of the next high priest), the son of *Azriel* (a possible form of Azariah), to seize Baruch and Jeremiah; *Jeremiah* 36:26.

⁸ As the nearest blood relative for redemption of Hananiah’s widow, Jeremiah after such could be referenced as “son” of Hilkiah.

Suggested/
Common Dates
b.c./b.c.e.

High Priest Lineage, from
Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1

Brought forward from preceding page:

Nehemiah return #1?
433, Year 32 of Artaxerxes I reign;
Nehemiah return #2?

	Eliashib		
	/		/
	Joiada/Jehoiada/Judas		/
	/ + ?	-----or-----	+ Daughter
Sanballat	/		/
/ + ?	/		/
/	/		/
Daughter-----+	-----Johanan/Jonathan/John/J[Y]ehohanan		

Eliashib
/
Joiada/etc./
[Joda? ¹¹]
/
/
/
?
/
Jaddua

423, Darius II reign began; *Elephantine* appeal.¹²
332, High Priest Jaddua welcomed Alexander the Great.

-----Continued in 3B, II, Attachment 5-----

¹¹ See fn. 9.

¹² See Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine

Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
ZERUBBABEL TO ELIASHIB**

Parenthesized letters refer to source quotations given in 3B, II, Attachment 4.

Jehoiachin/Jeconiah								
/								
Shealtiel/Pedaiah ¹								
/								
Zerubbabel (uu)								
/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?
Meshullam	/	Berechiah	Hashubah	Ohel	Hasadiah	Jushab-Hesed	Shelomith	Daughter #2
/ (ee)	/	/ (e)	<i>lapses</i>	<i>lapses</i>	<i>lapses</i>	<i>lapses</i> ²	/ (mm)	[+ Jeshua?--
Joiakim/Joacim	/	Daughter					Josiphiah	3B, II, Att. 2]
	/	+ Meshullam					/ + ?	
	/	/					Unnamed son	
	/	Daughter						
	/	+ Jehohanan (w)						
Hananiah (l)								
/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?	/
Pelathiah ³	Jesaiah/Jeshaiah ⁴	[Daughter	[Daughter	[Daughter (Arah?)	Arah	a Daughter [A]		
<i>lapses</i>	<i>lapses</i>	+ Rephaiah?]	+ Arnan?]	+ Jehiel]	+ Jehiel?	+ Shemaiah?		
		/	/	/	-----resumed next page-----			
		Sons of Rephaiah ⁵	Sons of Arnan ⁶	Obadiah ⁷				
		<i>lapse</i>	<i>lapse</i>	(gg)				

¹ See Appendix 3B, I, Zerubbabel, for seeming contradictions concerning parentage of both Zerubbabel and his children.

² *Hashubah*, *Ohel*, *Hasadiah* and *Jushab-hesed* are the only text uses of those names.

³ See Appendix 3B, I, Pelathiah.

⁴ An (Athaliah-) *Jeshaiah* led 70 sons of Elam out of exile; a *Jeshaiah* of the sons of Merari led 20 brothers and sons.

⁵ A *Rephaiah*, “the son of Hur, the ruler of the half-part of Jerusalem,” did repair work on the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:9. (Refer to Appendix 3B, I, “Rephaiah,” for other uses of the name.)

⁶ Only use.

⁷ Also found is a “Shemaiah-Obadiah.”

APPENDIX 3B, II, Attachment 4

SOURCE QUOTATIONS FOR CHARTED EXPLORATIONS OF ROYALTY AND PRIESTLY LINEAGE RELATIONSHIPS IN ATTACHMENTS 2 AND 3

(a) Anani/Hanani/[Hanan?]

(1) "And the sons of Elioenai: Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pellaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and *Anani*, seven." *1 Chronicles* 3:24; see full quote at "Shecaniah."

(2) See Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Inscriptions--"Belonging to *Hanan* son of Hilqiyahu the priest."

(3) *Anani*, "brother of" Ostanos, was among the "nobles of Judea" to whom the writers of the *Elephantine Papyrus* sent their first appeal, in the "14th year of Darius."

(4) *Anani/Hanani*, "brother of" Nehemiah, who went to Nehemiah at Shushan and apprised him of conditions in Jerusalem. At one point (in the text sequencing, seemingly after the walls were completed) Nehemiah had Hanani "over Jerusalem."

(5) Among those found with foreign wives/families was *Hanani* "from the sons of Immer." *Ezra* 10:20.

(b) Arah

(1) A long, confusing list of "heads" in the house of Asher (which includes two females, Serah and Shua) reports (Jether-) Jephunneh, Pispah and *Ara*, with the next, the last sentence commencing with *Arah*, son of Ulla. (*1 Chronicles* 7:30-41, a small part of the list also at *Genesis* 46:17.)

(2) 775 "sons of *Arah*, returned with Zerubbabel. *Ezra* 2:5.

(3) 652 "sons of *Arah*" returned. *Nehemiah* 7:10.

(4) "[M]any in Judah were sworn to Tobiah, because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah, the son of *Arah*, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah." *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(c) Azariah¹

(For uses of *Azariah* prior to this period, see Appendix 3B,I.)

(1) Hilkiyah "fathered" *Azariah*. *1 Chronicles* 6:12-14.

(2) "*Azariah* fathered Seraiah; Seraiah fathered Jehozadak, and Jehozadak went when carried away...by Nebuchadnezzar." *1 Chronicles* 6:14-15.

(3) *Azariah*, "son of Hilkiyah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God." *1 Chronicles* 9:10.

(4) "In the days of Joiakim," the "head...of [the division of] *Ezra*/[*Azariah*] [was] Meshullam." *Nehemiah* 12:12-13.

(5) Sallumus/[Meshullam?] - Elcias/[Chelcias/Hilkiyah] - [Azarias/h] - Sareas/[Seraiah]-Josedek. *Josephus* X.VIII.6; the editors added *Azarias* between Elcias and Sareas--"out of the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olamin"--to conform the number of names given by Josephus there with the total given by him at *AJ* XX.X.1.

(6) "*Ezra*, the son of Seraiah, the son of *Azariah*, the son of Hilkiyah, son of Shallum, son of Zadok, etc." *Ezra* 7:1ff. (Refer to Detail A for contradictions in lists of the high priest line.)

(7) A division of "*Ezra*"/[*Azariah*] is shown at (a) *Nehemiah* 12:1ff. ("heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua," where the division name, only, appears) and (b) at *Nehemiah* 12:12ff. ("days of Joiakim", where Meshullam appears as the division chief).

(d) Bagoas/Bagoses/Bagohi/"Bigvai"

(1) *Bagoas* is the Greek form of a Persian name [word] meaning, 'given by God,' and often was for eunuchs, so...the phrase 'Bagoas the eunuch' was almost a cliché" (*Asimov*, vol. 2, p. 32)--refer to Appendix 3B, I, Eunuch.

¹'Azariah' is understood to be a form of 'Ezra;' see item (7) in this list.

(2) *Bagoses*, “the general of another Artaxerxes army,”² was “friend” of Jesus, the brother of high priest John [see next two items].” *Josephus AJ* XI.VII.1.

(3) See Appendix 3A, III, footnote 50.

(4) “When Eliashib, the high priest, was dead, his son Judas/[Joiada?³] succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that *Bagoses*, the general of another Artaxerxes’s army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute....” John quarreled with and killed a brother of his, named Jesus, who “was a friend of *Bagoses*.”” *Josephus AJ*, XI.VII.1.

(5) “*Bagohi*, governor of Judah,” in the “17th/[14th?--see *Anani*] year of Darius,” who the *Elephantine Papyrus* asked for a letter to his associates in Egypt directing the rebuilding of the temple “in the fortress of Yeb.”

(6) A memo notes that *Bagohi* and “*Delaiah*” did authorize such rebuilding. (High priest ‘Yehohanan’[“John”] did not respond to the first supplication from Elephantine in the “14th year of Darius.” See Appendix 3B, I, *Elephantine*.)

(7) 2000 sons of *Bagoi*/Bigvai returned with Zerubbabel.

(e) **Berechiah/Barachiah**

(1) (Levi-Gershom-Jahath-Shimei-Zimnah-Ethan-Adaiah-Zerah-Ethni-Malchia-Baaseiah-Michael-Shimea-*Berachiah*-) Asaph; *1 Chronicles* 6:16ff., 15:17.

(2) (Meshillemoth-) *Berechiah*, one of four leaders in Ephraim who supported the counsel of prophet Oded during the Judah/Israel ‘civil’ war (King Pekah/Syria’ Alliance vs. King Ahaz, and who refused to accept captives, instead sustaining and escorting them back to Jericho. (Oded counseled from the north during the overlapping reigns of north king Pekah and south king Ahaz. Oded’s father, Azariah, was a prophet during king Asa’s time.)

(3) (Iddo the Prophet - *Berechiah*-) *Zechariah*; *Zechariah* 1:1, 7; *Ezra* 5:1 and 6:14.

(4) [*Jeberechiah*-] *Zachariah* (with priest *Uriah*) was called by *Isaiah* to be a witness to his conception of a child with “the prophetess.” *Isaiah* 8:2.

(5) “[T]he sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and Hananiah, and Shelomith, their sister, and Hashubah, and Ohel, and *Berechiah*, and Hasadiah, and Jushab-hesed, five.” *1 Chronicles* 3:19-21.

(6) (Meshezabeel-*Berechiah*-) Meshullam repaired the portion of wall “across from his room.” *Nehemiah* 3:4, 30.

(7) “[M]any in Judah were sworn to Tobiah, because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah, the son of Arah, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of *Berechiah*.” *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(8) (Elkanah-Asa-) *Berechiah* of the Levites dwelled in the villages of the “Netophahthites.” *1 Chronicles* 9:16.

(9) “Evidently ‘Baruch’ was a shortened form of ‘Barekyahu,’ itself an abbreviation of ‘Yebarekyahu.’ Both of these longer names, usually [are] rendered in English as ‘Berechiah.’” McCarter, *Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 149; see Appendix 3B, I, *Seals and Inscriptions*, *Barekyahu*.

(10) (*Barachiah*-) *Zechariah*, “murdered between the divine habitation/altar and the altar/house,” a debatable subject of a reference by Jesus in the *New Testament* (*Matthew* 23:35; *Luke* 11:45), as to which *Zechariah* was meant of similarly murdered *Zechariahs*--refer to Appendix 4C, *Zechariah*.

(f) **Dalaiah**

(1) *Dalaiah*, “son of Shemaiah,” who was present when king Jehoiakim burned Baruch’s scroll. *Jeremiah* 36:12.

² A footnote added by *Josephus* gives as further reference, “Concerning this *other* Artaxerxes, called Mnemon, and the Persian affliction and captivity under him, occasioned by the murder of the high priest’s brother...Authent. Rec. at large, p. 49,” and speculates on why *Josephus* omitted “the rest of the kings of Persia after Artaxerxes Mnemon, till he came to their last king Darius...”

³ --“Judas” appears to be *Josephus*’ form of “Joiada?” (*AJ* XI.VII.1). In re “Judas/[Joiada?], *Luke*’s lineage list (3:26-27) shows “Zerubbabel- Rhesa-Joanan-Joda--the only use of “Joda” in either testament.

(2) “And the sons of [Neariah-] Elioenai: Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and *Dalaiah*, and Anani, seven.” *1 Chronicles* 3:24; see full quote at “Shecaniah.”

(3) The writers of the Elephantine Papyri sent their appeal also to “*Delaiah* and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria.” *Cambridge*, VI, pp. 559-560.

(4) *Delaiah/Dalaiah*, with Bagohi/Bagoses authorized rebuilding by the Egyptian colony of the “Yeb/Yahu” temple, as prayed for in the *Elephantine Papyrus*.

(5) “And I came to the house of Shemaiah the son of *Dalaiah*, the son of Mehetabeel, who was shut up. And he said, ‘Let us meet together in the [temple] and...shut the doors.... For they will come to kill you.’” (*Nehemiah* 6:10ff.; Nehemiah believed that *Dalaiah* had been hired by Sanballat and Tobiah to set him up for assassination.)

(g) Eliashib

(1) *Eliashib*, 11th of David’s priesthood divisions; does not appear in the three post-repatriation division listings.

(2) Joiakim “also fathered *Eliashib*.” *Nehemiah* 12:10.

(3) At “about the same time [that Esdra/Ezra, “an old man,” died]...”it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son *Eliashib* succeeded in the high priesthood. “ *Josephus AJ*, XI.V.5.

(4) (Elioenai -) Hodaiah, *Eliashib*, Pelaiah, Akkub, Johanan, *Dalaiah*, Anani. *1 Chronicles* 3:24; see full quote at “Shecaniah.”

(5) “*Eliashib* fathered Joiada.” *Nehemiah* 12:10.

(6) “*Eliashib* the high priest with his brothers the priests...built the Sheep Gate...and set up its doors.” *Nehemiah* 3:1.

(7) *Eliashib* “was set over the rooms of the house/[temple]” and gave Tobiah a room, previous to “that day that they read aloud...the law, that they separated all the mixed races....” *Nehemiah* 13:3ff.

(8) Was “separated all the mixed races from Israel. And before this, *Eliashib* the priest...who was related to Tobiah...had made himself a room large and there they were formerly giving the food offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes.... But in all this not I was in Jerusalem.” *Nehemiah* 13:4ff.

(9) “And I/[Nehemiah] came to Jerusalem and understood the evil which did *Eliashib* for Tobiah in preparing for him a room in the courts of the [temple]. And...I threw all the stuff of Tobiah’s household outside from the room.” *Nehemiah* 13:7.

(10) “And of the sons of Joiada, the son of *Eliashib*, the priest high, son-in-law to *Sanballat* the Horonite...I chased him away.” *Nehemiah* 13:28. The structure of this sentence impedes interpretation--see at “Johanan/etc.,” (w)(11).

(11) Among those found to have foreign wives/families was *Eliashib* “from the sons of Zattu” and *Eliashib* “of the singers.” *Ezra* 10: 27, 24).

(12) “The Levites in the days of *Eliashib*, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua were written heads the fathers--and the priests, until the reign of Darius the Persian. The sons of the Levites, the heads of the fathers, were written in the Book of the Matters of the Days even until the days of Johanan the son of *Eliashib*.” *Nehemiah* 12:22.

(13) “When *Eliashib*, the high priest, was dead, his son Judas/[Joiada?] succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his [Judas] son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerses’s army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute.... “ *Josephus AJ*, XI.VII.1.

(h) Elioenai

(1) *Elioenai* in an unclearly lineaged list ending with Shemaiah: [David to Shealtiel/Pedaiah-Zerubbabel-Hananiah]; “And the sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, *the sons of Shecaniah*. And *the sons of Shecaniah* Shemaiah [sic]; and the sons of Shemaiah: Hattush, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six.⁴ And the sons of Neariah: *Elioenai*, and Hezekiah, and Azrikam. And the sons of *Elioenai*: Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub,

⁴ Refer to fn. 33.

and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and Anani, seven.” *1 Chronicles* 3:21ff--4:34-37; italics supplied.

(2) “From the sons of Pahath-moab, *Elihoenai*, the son of Zerariah, and with him 200 males.” *Ezra* 8:4

(3) Among the lead priests at the dedication of the wall was *Elioenai*. (*Nehemiah* 12:27, 31, 41.

(4) Among those found to have foreign wives/families were *Elioenai* “from the sons of Pashur” (*Ezra* 10:22) and *Elioenai* “from the sons of Zattu” (:27).

(i) Ezra⁵

(1) A division of *Ezra* is shown at (a) *Nehemiah* 12:1ff. (“heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua,” where the division name, only, appears) and (b) at *Nehemiah* 12:12ff. (“days of Joiakim”, where Meshullam appears as the division chief). It appears that in each case the form, “Azariah,” would avoid confusion since, according to the timeline, Ezra of the book of that name would not have been present--refer to “Azariah.”

(2) “*Ezra*, the son of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, son of Shallum, son of Zadok, etc.” *Ezra* 7:1ff. (This and *1 Esdras* are the only placements of Ezra in the lineage lists; refer to 3B, II, Detail A.)

(j) Hanameel

(1) *Hanameel*, “son of Shallum;” *Hanameel*, Jeremiah’s “uncle.” *Jeremiah* 32:6.

(2) *Hanameel*, Jeremiah’s “nephew.” *Jeremiah* 32:9.

Hanan/Hanani - see Anani.

(k) Hananiah⁶ - Group #1

(1) *Hananiah*, renamed “Shadrach,” taken captive with David.

(2) (Heman -) *Hananiah*, head of musicians under David.

(3) *Hananiah*, a military officer of King Uzziah.

(4) (Benjamin...Shashak -) *Hananiah*, head of a Benjamin house at some point. *1 Chronicles* 8:1, 24, 25, 28.⁷

(5) *Hananiah*, father [in-law?] of [then-] prince Zedekiah, during king Jehoiakim’s reign. *Jeremiah* 36:12.

(6) (“Azur” -) *Hananiah*, prophet of Benjamin-Gibeon, whose prophesying and platform opposed Jeremiah’s, although *Hananiah* unyoked Jeremiah in King Zedekiah’s fourth year. This *Hananiah* died soon after Jeremiah predicted he would. *Jeremiah* 28:1ff.⁸

(7) (“Azur” -) *Hananiah*, father of a Shelemaiah. *Jeremiah* 37:13.

(8) (*Hananiah*-Shelemaiah -) Irijah, guard of the Benjamin Gate, arrested Jeremiah there, accusing him of “falling to the Chaldeans,” and brought him before the princes. *Jeremiah* 37:13-15.

(l) Hananiah - Group #2

(1) “[T]he sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and *Hananiah*....” *1 Chronicles* 3:19.

(2) “[T]he sons of *Hananiah*: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shecaniah.” *1 Chronicles* 3:21.

Note: Hananiah’s only two *individually* named sons disappear from the texts *unless* (1) (Hananiah-) *Pelatiah* is the same Pelatiah among those found to have foreign wives/families (*Nehemiah* 10:22); and (2) (Hananiah-) *Jesaiah* was either Jesaiah “from the sons of Merari” among ministers Ezra assembled (*Ezra* 8:19) and/or Jesaiah, “son of Athaliah, from the sons of Elam,” who headed up

⁵ ‘Ezra’ is understood to be a form of ‘Azariah. (Azariah, *Yah/Jah* has helped; Ezra, *the help*; *Aid* pp. 168, 556.)

⁶ See also Appendix 3B, I, Ananiah/Ananias. (*Tobit* mentions an *Ananias/Hananiah* of uncertain sequencing: “I know *Ananias* and Jonathas, sons of that great Samais.” *Tobit* 5:13.)

⁷ Blank.

⁸ Refer also to Appendix 2C, VI, “Jeremiah.”

70 males that returned with Ezra (*Ezra* 8:7).

- (3) *Hananiah*, appointed “ruler of the castle” by Nehemiah. *Nehemiah* 7:2.
- (4) (Shelemaiah -) *Hananiah* did repair work on the wall.
- (5) *Hananiah*, at the inauguration of the rebuilt wall. *Nehemiah* 12:41.
- (6) (Sons of Bebai -) *Hananiah*, among those found to have a foreign wife/family.
- (7) *Hananiah*, “a head of the people” at the time of the sealing of Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 9:23.
- (8) *Hananiah* is shown as chief of the division of Jeremiah in the days of Joiakim (*Nehemiah* 12:12ff.); while priorly “Jeremiah” is shown (division name instead of individual?) among the “heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua” (*Nehemiah* 12:1ff.) as well as among those who sealed the Nehemiah covenant (*Nehemiah* 10:4).

(m) Hashabiah/Hashabniah/Hashbaneiah

- (1) (Levi-Kohath-Hebron...-) *Hashabiah*, a Levi chief over the territory west of the Jordan under king David. *1 Chronicles* 23:12, 26:30, 27:22.
- (2) (Levi-Merari...Ethan -) *Hashabiah*; (Levi-Merari-Mushi-Shemer-Bani-Amzi-Hilkiah-Amaziah-*Hashabiah*-Malluch-Abdi-Kishi -) Ethan; *1 Chronicles* 6:44-47.
- (3) *Hashabiah*, who came with “the man of understanding [of the sons of Merari?], when Ezra assembled ministers. *Ezra* 8:19.
- (4) *Hashabiah/Hashbaneiah* was head of the division of *Hilkiah* in the “days of Joacim.”
- (5) (a) (Sons of Merari-*Hashabiah*-Azrikam-Hasshub⁹ -) Shemaiah “of the Levites.” *1 Chronicles* 9:14. (b) (Bunni-*Hashabiah*-Azrikam- Hashub -) Shemaiah of post-exilic Levites residing at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:15.
- (6) *Hashabiah*, one of the chief priests to whom Ezra entrusted the transport of precious metals. *Ezra* 8:24-30.
- (7) *Hashabiah* was head priest of the division of *Hilkiah* in the “days of Joacim.”
- (8) *Hashabniah*, father of Hattush. *Nehemiah* 3:10.
- (9) *Hashabiah*, “the ruler of the half part of Keilah,”¹⁰ repaired the wall “in his part.” *Nehemiah* 3:17.
- (10) (Parosh -) Malchiah, found to have a foreign wife/family (*Ezra* 10:25) is given as *Hashabiah* in the *Septuagint* and as “Asibias,” apparently, by *1 Esdras*.¹¹
- (11) *Hashabniah* exalted with other Levites when the covenant was cut. *Nehemiah* 9:5.
- (12) *Hashabiah*, who sealed Nehemiah’s covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:11.
- (13) (Micha-Mattaniah-*Hashabiah*-Bani -) Uzzi was Levite overseer in Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:22.

(n) Hattush

- (1) *Hattush*, one of the priests who accompanied Zerubbabel. *Nehemiah* 12:1.
- (2) *Hattush*, “from the sons of David,” who accompanied Ezra “in the reign of Artaxerxes.”
- (3) “And the sons of Shecaniah Shemaiah; and the sons of Shemaiah: *Hattush*, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, *six* [italics supplied--only five Shemaiah sons are named--refer to “Shecaniah].”
- (4) (a) (Sons of Merari-*Hashabiah*-Azrikam-Hasshub¹¹ -) Shemaiah “of the Levites.” *1 Chronicles* 9:14. (b) (Bunni-*Hashabiah*-Azrikam- Hashub -) Shemaiah of post-exilic Levites residing at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:15.
- (5) *Hashabniah*, father of *Hattush*. *Nehemiah* 3:10.
- (6) (Hashabniah-) *Hattush* worked on the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:10.
- (7) *Hattush*, a priest who sealed the Nehemiah covenant.

⁹ Only other use is (Pahath-Moab-) *Hashub*; (*Hashubah* was a child of Zerubbabel).

¹⁰ Tentatively identified as a site about nine miles NW of Hebron.

¹¹ Only other use is (Pahath-Moab-) *Hashub*; (*Hashubah* was a son of Zerubbabel).

(o) Hilkiyah/[Elcias/Chelcias]

- (1) *Elcia*, in the lineage of Judith--Appendix 2C, VI, at footnote 11.
- (2) Levi-Merari-Mushi-Mahli-Shemer-Bani-Amzi-*Hilkiyah*-Amaziah-Hashabiah-Malluch-Abdi-Kishi -) Ethan. *1 Chronicles* 6:44-46.
- (3) (Sons of Merari-Hosah¹² -) *Hilkiyah*. *1 Chronicles* 26:11.
- (4) (*Hilkiyah* "who was over the house" -) Eliakim of King Hezekiah's court. *2 Kings* 18:37.
- (5) See Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Inscriptions--"Belonging to Hanan son of *Hilqiyahu* the priest."
- (6) (Sallumus/Meshullam/Shallum/Salum/Sadamias -) *Hilkiyah* (high priest in "the 18th year of Josiah; *2 Kings* 22:4). This "Hilkiyah" in the chief priesthood lineage is given as "Elcias" by *Josephus*, as "Helchiah" in *1 Esdras*, as "Helchias" in *2 Esdras*, and "Hilkiyah" in *Chronicles* and *Ezra*.
- (7) "*Hilkiyah*, and Zechariah, and Jehiel, rulers in the house of God," at the time of king Josiah's great passover. *2 Chronicles* 35:8.
- (8) According to *1 Esdras* 1:8, "*Helkias*, Zacharias and Syelus [were] the governors of the temple" at the time of king Josiah's passover celebration.
- (9) *Hilkiyah* "fathered Azariah" (*1 Chronicles* 6:12-14); Azariah, "son of *Hilkiyah*, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, etc." (*1 Chronicles* 9:10).
- (10) *Hilkiyah*, sent by king Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar after Jehoiachin's capture, it not being said why--i.e. if as a hostage; *Jeremiah* 29:3.
- (11) (*Hilkiyah*-Azariah -) Seraiah, high priest carried away and killed after Nebuchadnezzar's captain burned Jerusalem. *2 Kings* 25:18ff.; *1 Chronicles* 6:13-14.
- (12) *Hilkiyah*, "of the priests who in Anathoth;" given in *Jeremiah* 1:1 as Jeremiah's father.¹³
- (13) (*Hilkiyah* -) Gemariah, by whose hand Jeremiah sent a letter to the exiles. *Jeremiah* 29:3.
- (14) (*Hilkiyah*/"Chelcias" -) Susanna, wife to a "Joachim" in exile; see Appendix 3B, I, "Susanna, History of."
- (15) *Hilkiyah*, priest who accompanied Zerubbabel return.
- (16) *Hilkiyah*, at Ezra's right when Ezra read The Law.
- (17) Hashabiah/Hashbaneiah was head of the division of *Hilkiyah* in the "days of Joachim," and he also was entrusted with the transport of precious metals. *Ezra* 8:24-30.
- (18) Cleopatra III entrusted her army to her generals *Chelcias* and Ananias, sons of Onias IV.

(p) Iddo [/Iddoh/Yiddoh/Yedoh; possible, Yedi/Jedi]

- (1) (Levi--Gershon-) *Iddo*. *1 Chronicles* 6:20.
- (2) (Zechariah-) *Iddo*, leader of "the half of Manasseh in Gilead" in king David's time. *1 Chronicles* 27:21.
- (3) (*Iddo*-) Ahinadab, one of king Solomon's 12 northern regional officers; Ahinadab was over Manahaim. *1 Kings* 4:14.
- (4) "And the rest of the acts of Solomon...are written in the word of Nathan, the prophet...Ahijah the Shilonite and...*Iddo* the seer...." *1 Chronicles* 9:29. "And the acts of Rehoboam...are written in the records of Shemaiah the prophet, and *Iddo* the seer, to be registered genealogically...." *2 Chronicles* 12:15. "And the rest of the acts of Abijah...are written in the inquiry of the prophet, *Iddo*." *2 Chronicles* 13:22.
- (5) ("*Iddo the prophet*" -Berechiah-) Zechariah of the *Book of Zechariah*. *Zechariah* 1:1 and 7; *Ezra* 5:1 and 6:14.
- (6) *Iddo*, as a division or individual, accompanied Zerubbabel and Jeshua.
- (7) *Iddo*, to whom "at Casiphia" Ezra sent certain Levite chiefs, "men of understanding [including one Zechariah and one Meshullam]" to obtain temple ministers. *Ezra* 8:16-17.
- (8) The division of *Iddo* was headed by one Zechariah in the "days of Joachim."

¹² Only other Hosah is a city in Asher, exact location unknown.

¹³ But see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2 chart, and the question of prophet Jeremiah's possible redemption of a Hilkiyah daughter.

Nehemiah 12:12ff.

(q) Irijah

(1) *Irijah*, "son of Shelemaiah, the son of Hananiah," guard of the Benjamin Gate arrested Jeremiah there, accusing him of "falling to the Chaldeans," and brought him before the princes. *Jeremiah* 37:13-15.

(r) Jaddua

(1) "The Levites in the days of Eliashib, *Joiada*, and Johanan, and *Jaddua* were written heads the fathers--and the priests, until the reign of Darius the Persian." *Nehemiah* 12:22.

(2) "Jonathan fathered *Jaddua*." *Nehemiah* 12:11.

(3) High priest *Jaddua* who welcomed Alexander the Great at Jerusalem. *Josephus* AJ XI.VIII.4-5.

(4) See additional in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, (f) Jaddua.

(s) Jahaziel/Jehiel/[Asahel?]

(1) For all preceding uses, see Appendix 3B, I, Jehiel.

(2) Accompanying Ezra's return were, "From the sons of Joab, Obadiah, the son of *Jehiel*, and with him 218 males." *Ezra* 8:9.

(3) Accompanying Ezra's return were, "From the sons of Shecaniah, the [name missing?] son of *Jahaziel*,¹⁴ and with him 300 males." *Ezra* 8:5.

(4) Shecaniah, the son of *Jehiel*, of the sons of Elam, proposed a covenant to resolve the issue of foreign marriages. *Ezra* 10:2.

(5) Among those found to have foreign wives was *Jehiel* "from the sons of Harim." *Ezra* 10:21 and 31.

(6) Among those found to have foreign wives was *Jehiel* "from the sons of Elam." *Ezra* 10:26.

(7) Among those found to have foreign wives was *Jeiel* "from the sons of Nebo." *Ezra* 10:44.

(8) "Only Jonathan the son of *Asahel*, and Jahaziah, the son of Tikvah,¹⁵ stood against this [the excommunication of "foreign" families]; and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite supported them." *Ezra* 10:15. *1 Esdras* states differently: "Jonathan the son of *Azael* and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbathus helped them." 9:14.

Jedaiah - see Joiarib/Jehoiarib.

Jehiel - see Jahaziel.

(t) Jehozadak/Jehosadak/Josedec/Josadak

(1) "Azariah fathered Seraiah; Seraiah fathered *Jehozadak*, and *Jehozadak* went when carried away...by Nebuchadnezzar." *1 Chronicles* 6:14-15.

(2) "Nebuchadnezzar...took *Josadek*, the high priest, captive." *Josephus* AJ, XX.X.1. "*Jehozadak* went when carried away...by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar." *1 Chronicles* 6:15.

(3) "Jeshua, the son of *Jozadak*." *Ezra* 3:2; *Nehemiah* 12:23.

(4) "Joshua/[Jeshua] the son of *Jehosadak* the priest high." *Zechariah* 6:11; *Haggai* 1:12.

(5) "Jesus, the son of *Josedec*, the son of Saraias." *1 Esdras* 2ff.

Jeremiah - see Appendix 3B, I.

¹⁴ See Appendix 3B, I, Jahaziel.

¹⁵ A (Harhas/Hazrah-) Tikvah was father of one Shallum, who was husband of "Huldah the prophetess," to whom priest Hilkiyah was sent by king Josiah to seek the word of [Tet.] relative to the Book of the Law that Hilkiyah had produced from the temple. *2 Chronicles* 34:14ff.; *2 Kings* 22:8ff.

(u) Jeshua¹⁶ /Jesus

- (1) “*Jeshua*, the son of Jozadak.” *Nehemiah* 12:23.
- (2) “*Joshua*/[*Jeshua*] the son of Jehosadak the priest high.” *Zechariah* 6:11; *Haggai* 1:12.
- (3) “*Jesus*, the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias.” *1 Esdras* 2ff.
- (4) *Jeshua* “fathered Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:10.

(v) Joacim, et al.

- (1) *Compare*: Jachin, Jakim, Jeconiah, *etc.*, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Joiakim and Jokim--Appendix 3B, I.
- (2) “*Joacim*, the high priest,” is mentioned by *Judith* during events related in that book; see Appendix 2C, VI.
- (3) “The king of Egypt...made king *Joacim*[/Jehoiakim/Eliakim], his [Joachaz’s/Jehoahaz’s] brother” *1 Esdras* 1:37. “Five and twenty years old was *Joacim*[/Jehoiakim] when he was made king” *1 Esdras* 1:39. “Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jeconias the son of *Joachim*[/Jehoiakim/Eliakim] king of Judah” *Baruch* 1:3.
- (4) After Nebuchadnezzar carried *Joacim*/Jehoiakim away, “*Joacim*[/Jehoiachin] reigned in his stead...three months [until] Nabuchodonosor sent and caused him to be brought into Babylon” *1 Esdras* 1:43-45.
- (5) *Joacim*, most honored elder of the Babylon exilic community, was married to (Chelcias/Hilkiah -) Susanna, who was successfully represented by one Daniel against an odious charge lodged by two exilic elders--see Appendix 3B.I, “Susanna, History of.”
- (6) *Joacim*[/Jachin?], “son of Zorobabel,” who returned with “Zorobabel.” *1 Esdras* 5:5.
- (7) (Salom-Chelcias[/Hilkiah?] -) *Joacim*, high priest at Jerusalem to whom exiles at Babylon sent a collection of money. *Baruch* 1:7.
- (8) “A son of *Jeshua*, whose name was *Joacim*, was high priest...about this time.” “Moreover, there was now in Babylon...the principal priest of the people, and his name was *Esdras*.” *Josephus AJ*, XI.V.1. (“*Jeshua* fathered Joiakim; Joiakim also fathered Eliashib.” *Nehemiah* 12:10.)
- (9) *Joacim*, father of Mary, mother of Jesus of the *New Testament* (*Mary* 1:1); Appendix 4C, Mary [A].

(w) Johanan/Jonathan/Jonathas¹⁷ /Jehonathan/Yehohanan/John/Joanan

- (1) For preceding uses, see Appendix 2A, Jonathan, *etc.*
- (2) Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas-Abishua-Bukki-Uzzi-Zerahiah-Meraioth-Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok-Ahimaaz-Azariah-*Johanon*-Azariah (high priest under Solomon)-Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok-Shallum-Hilkiah-Azariah-Seraiah-Jehozadak, “and Jehozadak...went...carried away... by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.” *1 Chronicles* 5:4-15; refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.
- (3) (Careah/Kareah¹⁸ -) *Jonathan*, a military chief when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and who joined Gedaliah and warned him of potential assassination. This *Jonathan* had a brother named *Johanana*. (Appendix 2C, VII.)
- (4) *Jehonathan*/*Jonathan*, a “scribe” into whose room *Jeremiah* was detained. *Jeremiah* 37:15, 20; 38:26.
- (5) Of the “[s]ons of Shecaniah Shemaiah [sic] -Neariah-Elioenai:...*Johanana*.” *1 Chronicles* 3:24 (full quote at Shecaniah).
- (6) “The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and *Johanana*, and Jaddua were written heads the fathers--and the priests, until the reign of Darius the Persian.” *Nehemiah* 12:22.
- (7) *Jehonathan* is shown as head of the division of Shemaiah in the “days of

¹⁶ *Jesus* is the Greek form of Hebrew *Yehohshua*/*Joshua*; equation of *Jeshua* with *Joshua* is not clear.

¹⁷ Tobit said, “I know Ananias and *Jonathas*, sons of that great Samais.” *Tobit* 5:13

¹⁸ Only use; nearest association would be the small country of Caria, Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3.

Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff. (“Shemaiah,” alone is shown “in the days of Jeshua,” at *Nehemiah* 12:1ff., and among those who sealed the covenant, at *Nehemiah* 10:4.

(8) *Jehohanan*, head of the division of Amariah in the “days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff.

(9) *Jonathan*, head of the division of Malluch(i)/[Melicu] in the “days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff.

(10) Joiada fathered *Jonathan*.” *Nehemiah* 12:10.

(11) “The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and *Johanan*, and Jaddua were written heads the fathers--and the priests, until the reign of Darius the Persian. The sons of the Levites, the heads of the fathers, were written in the Book of the Matters of the Days even until the days of *Johanan* the son of Eliashib.” *Nehemiah* 12:22.

(12) “[M]any in Judah were sworn to Tobiah, because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah, the son of Arah, and *Jehohanan* his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah.” *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(13) *Johanan*, “son of Eliashib,” into whose chamber Ezra retreated when the issue of mixed marriages arose. *Josephus AJ*, XI.V.4.

(14) “And of the sons of Joiada[/Judas?], the son of Eliashib, the [unnamed here] priest high, son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite...I [Nehemiah] chased him away.” *Nehemiah* 13:28. Sentence structure permits two interpretations: (a) a son of high priest Eliashib of the sons of Joiada was son-in-law to Sanballat, or (b) the “priest high” reference is to *Jonathan/Johanan* and he was Sanballat’s son-in-law.

(15) *John* became high priest when his father, Judas[/Joiada?], was dead. (John quarreled with and killed a brother named Jesus, who “was a friend of Bagoses.” *Josephus AJ* XI.VII.1.

(16) *Yehohanan*, high priest who did not respond to the first supplication from Elephantine in the “14th year of Darius.” (Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.)

(17) “*Jonathan* fathered Jaddua.” *Nehemiah* 12:11.

(18) “Only Jonathan the son of *Asahel*, and Jahaziah, the son of Tikvah,¹⁹ stood against this [the excommunication of “foreign” families]; and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite supported them.” *Ezra* 10:15. *1 Esdras* states differently: “Jonathan the son of *Azael* and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.” 9:14.

(19) (Asaph-Zaccur-Michaiah-Mattaniah-Shemaiah-*Jonathan*-) Zechariah was among the priest sons at the dedication of wall. *Nehemiah* 12:35.

(20) Among those found to have foreign wives/family was *Jehohanan* “from the sons of Bebai.” *Ezra* 10:28.

(21) For (Mattathais Asamoneus/Hasmonaeon-) John(s) and Jonathan(s), see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6.

(22) *Joanan* appears in the *Luke* lineage list second from Zerubbabel; see at Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 2, footnote 9.

(23) *Continued in* Appendix 4C, John.

(x) **Joiada/Jehoiada** ²⁰ /**[Judas?]**

(1) *Jehoiada* reported in *Jeremiah*’s time, whose designation by the exiled to be high priest was the basis of controversy between Jerusalem and the exilic hierarchy. *Jeremiah* 29:24ff; Appendix 2C, VII.

(2) Eliashib “fathered” *Joiada*. *Nehemiah* 12:10.

(3) *Joiada* “fathered” *Johanan*; *Nehemiah* 12:23.

¹⁹ A (Harhas/Hazrah-) Tikvah was father of one Shallum, who was husband of “Huldah the prophetess,” to whom priest Hilkiyah was sent by king Josiah to seek the word of [Tet.] relative to the Book of the Law that Hilkiyah had produced from the temple. 2 *Chronicles* 34:14ff.; 2 *Kings* 22:8ff.

²⁰ *Jehoiadas* earlier named in scripture were (a) two sons of Benaiah, of David’s time (1 *Chronicles* 27:5, 33-34; 12:27, 36); (b) *Jehoiada*, high priest who overthrew Athaliah’s regime in the south, in the period of the kings, and whose son, Zechariah, was assassinated (Appendix 2C, IV, commencing at paragraph preceding fn. 87); (c) *Josephus* mentions a fourth *Jehoiada* who led 4700 Levi men that joined David when he gained supremacy; *AJ*, VII.II.2.

(4) *Joiada* “fathered” Jonathan; *Nehemiah* 12:11.

(5) John became high priest when his father, Judas,²¹ was dead. (John quarreled with and killed a brother named Jesus, who “was a friend of Bagoses.”) “Judas” appears to be Josephus’ form of *Joiada*--AJ XI.VII.1.

(6) (Paseah-) *Jehoiada* with (Besodiah-) Meshullam repaired the “old gate.” *Nehemiah* 3:6.

(7) “And of the sons of *Joiada*, the son of Eliashib, the priest high, son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite...I chased him away.” *Nehemiah* 13:28. The structure of this sentence permits two interpretations; see at “Johanen, etc.,” see at (w)(14).

(8) “The Levites in the days of Eliashib, *Joiada*, and Johanen, and Jaddua were written heads the fathers--and the priests, until the reign of Darius the Persian.” *Nehemiah* 12:22.

(y) Joiarib/Jehoiarib

(1) *Jehoiarib*, the first of the priest houses of king David (*1 Chronicles* 24:7; *Nehemiah* 11:10), which does not appear again in this form until post-exilically (*1 Chronicles* 9:3, 10).

(2) Jedaiah, “son of” *Joarib* (one *Jedaiah* was over 973 priests who returned with Zerubbabel--Appendix 3B, II, and its Detail A. (Two priests named Jedaiah returned with Jeshua and Zerubbabel. *Nehemiah* 11:4, 10; 12:1, 6, 7, 12, 19, 26. Two priesthood divisions of Jedaiah during Joakim high priesthood were represented, respectively, by one Uzzi and one Nathanel--Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.)

(3) The house from which *Josephus* claimed descentance (Appendix 3A, V, Detail A, “Josephus Lineage”).

(4) *Asamoneus* of the Order of *Joarib/Jehoiarib*, Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, fn. 12.

(z) Joseph

(1) *Previous* uses: see Appendix 3B, I, Joseph.

(2) The division, *Shebaniah*, which does not appear as a division “in the days of Jeshua” and appears alone in the list of covenanters, is shown headed by one *Joseph* “in the days of Joiakim.”

(3) *Continued in* Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Joseph.

(aa) Judas

(1) “When Eliashib, the high priest, was dead, (and based on “Eliashib-Joiada-Johanen-Jaddua” succession elsewhere derivable), his (Eliashib’s) son *Judas*/[*Joiada*?] succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerses’s army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute....” *Josephus AJ*, XI.VII.1.

(2) *Continued in* Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Judas.

(bb) Mattaniah/Mattathiah/Mattenai

(1) *Mattenai*, head of the house of Joarib “in the days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:19.

(2) (Asaph-Zaccur-Michaiah-*Mattaniah*-Shemaiah-Jonathan-) Zechariah was among the priest sons at the dedication of wall. *Nehemiah* 12:35.

(3) Among those found to have foreign wives/families was *Mattaniah* “from the sons of Elam,” *Mattaniah* “from the sons of Zattu,” *Mattaniah* “from the sons of Pahath-Moab,” *Mattenai* and *Mattethah* “from the sons of Hashum,” *Mattaniah* and *Mattenai* “from the sons of Bani,” and *Mattithiah* “from the sons of Nebo.” *Ezra* 10:26, 27, 30, 33, 37, 43.

(cc) Mehetabel/Mehetabeel

(1) More anciently, *Mehetabel*, daughter of one Mezahab, was wife of the last-named Edomite king, Hadad; *Genesis* 36:31, 39; *1 Chronicles* 1:50.

²¹ In re “Judas/[*Joiada*?], *Luke*’s lineage list [3:26-27] shows “Zerubbabel-Rhesa-Joanan-”*Joda*”--the only use of “*Joda*” in either testament.

(2) Nehemiah went to “the house of Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah, the son of *Mehetabeel*,” *Nehemiah* 6:10.

(dd) Meshezabeel

(1) (Sons of Zerah²² -*Meshezabeel*-) Pethahiah²³ was “*at hand the king’s*”²⁴ in all matters concerning the people,” *Nehemiah* 11:24.

(2) Meshullam, “the son of Berechiah, the son of *Meshezabeel*,” repaired the portion of wall “across from his room.” *Nehemiah* 3:4, 30.

(3) *Meshezabeel*, among the “heads of the people” at the time of the sealing of the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:21.

(ee) Meshullam

(1) *Sallumus*/[*Meshullam*- Elcias/[Chelcias/Hilkiah]-[Azarias/h]-Sareas/[Seraiah]-Josedek; *Josephus* X.VIII.6.

(2) (Aaron to Zadok-) *Meshullam*/*Shallum* in the priesthood lineage (Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1).

(3) “[T]he sons of Zerubbabel: *Meshullam*...” *1 Chronicles* 3:19.

(4) (Chelcias-*Salom*/*Sallumus*/*Meshullam*)-*Joachim* was high priest at Jerusalem who received epistle and funds from exiles. *Baruch* 1:7.

(5) Azariah, “son of Hilkiah, the son of *Meshullam*, the son of Zadok, etc.” (*1 Chronicles* 9:10).

(6) *Meshullam*, shown as chief of a division of “Ezra” in the days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12.

(7) *Meshullam*, who was chief of the division of Ginnethon “in the days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff.

(8) *Meshullam*, who stood at Ezra’s left hand when Ezra read the law to the people. *Nehemiah* 8:4.

(9) “[M]any in Judah were sworn to Tobiah, because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah, the son of Arah, and *Jehohanan* his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah.” *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(10) *Meshullam*, “the son of Berechiah, the son of Meshezabeel,” repaired the portion of wall “across from his room.” *Nehemiah* 3:4, 30.

(11) “Only Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah, the son of Tikvah,²⁵ stood against [the excommunication of “foreign” families]; and *Meshullam* and Shabbethai the Levite supported them.” *Ezra* 10:15. (*1 Esdras* states differently: “Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and *Mosollam* and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.” 9:14).

(12) Among those found to have foreign wives/family was *Meshullam* “from the sons of Bani.” *Ezra* 10:29.

(13) *Meshullam* in the list of Nehemiah covenanters. *Nehemiah* 10:1ff.

(ff) Neariah²⁶

(1) “[T]he sons of Shemaiah: Hattush, and Igeal, and Baraiah, and *Neariah*, and Shaphat.” *1 Chronicles* 3:22 (see full quote at “Shemaiah”).

(2) “And the sons of *Neariah*: Elioenai, and Hezekiah, and Azrikam.” *1 Chronicles* 3:23.

(gg) Obadiah

(1) *Resumed from* Appendix 3B, I, Obadiah.

(2) “[T]he sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of *Obadiah*, the sons of Shecaniah.” *1 Chronicles* 3:21.

²² Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, Zerah/Zarah/Zohar.

²³ Name of one of David’s original priesthood divisions—Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A (1).

²⁴ Commonly taken to mean, “at hand the Persian king’s.”

²⁵ Refer to fn. 15.

²⁶ A third use of “Neariah” is one of more ancient days.

(3) The *Book of Obadiah*, which at 17:11 remarks that, "...has come the king of Babylon to Jerusalem, and has taken its king and its rulers and brought them to himself at Babylon," and castigates "Edom," for taking advantage of Judah's calamity and cutting off and imprisoning Judah escapees and survivors.

(4) "A large stone bowl from Kuntillet 'Ajrud [archeological site a few miles inside the Egyptian(/Sinai) border] bears an inscription in Hebrew: '[Belonging] to *Obadyo*, son of Adnah.'" ²⁷ *Biblical Archaeological Review*, May/June 2001, Vol. 27, No. 3, page 49.

(5) (Jehiel-) *Obadiah* was head of the house of Joab and led 218 males from exile. *Ezra* 8:9.

(6) (Jeduthun-Galal-Shemaiah-) *Obadiah*, a Levite living in Jerusalem (*1 Chronicles* 9:16) appears to be the (Jeduthun-Gala-Shammua-) *Abda* at *Nehemiah* 11:17.

(7) *Obadiah*, a Levite head who guarded a gate. *Nehemiah* 12:25-26.

(8) *Obadiah*, among those who sealed the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:5.

(hh) Sanballat

(1) The writers of the Elephantine Papyrus sent their appeal also to "Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of *Sanballat*, the governor of Samaria." *Cambridge*, VI, pp. 559-560.

(2) "Sanballat the Horonite" ²⁸ was joined with Tobiah and others in opposing Nehemiah's work when he first came to Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 2:10, 19; 4:1.

(3) "And of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the priest high, son-in-law to *Sanballat* the Horonite...I chased him away." *Nehemiah* 13:28. The structure of this sentence impedes interpretation--see at "Johanan, etc.," (w)(14).

(4) *Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Sanballat.*

(ii) Seraiah/Saraias/Sareas

(1) *Resumed from Appendix 3B, I, Seraiah.*

(2) "Azariah fathered *Seraiah*; *Seraiah* fathered Jehozadak, and Jehozadak went when carried away...by Nebuchadnezzar." *1 Chronicles* 6:14-15.

(3) *Seraiah*, following Azariah in the chief priesthood lineage; Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(4) "Jesus/[Jeshua], the son of Josedec, the son of *Saraias*." *1 Esdras* 2ff.

(5) (Hilkiah-) *Seraiah* was the high priest killed after Nebuchadnezzar's captain burned Jerusalem. *2 Kings* 25:18ff.; *Jeremiah* 52:24ff.

(6) Sallumus/[Meshullam]-Elcias/[Chelcias/Hilkiah]-[Azarias/h]-*Sareas*/[*Seraiah*]-Josedec. *Josephus* X.VIII.6. *Josephus'* editors added *Azarias* between Elcias and *Sareas*--"out of the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olamin"--to conform the number of names given by Josephus there with the total given by him at *AJ* XX.X.1.

(7) *Seriah*, brother of Baruch?: (Maaseiah-Neariah-) *Seraiah* and Baruch. *Jeremiah* 36:4.

(8) (Azriel -) *Seriah*, one of three men commanded by king Eliakim/Jehoiakim to seize Baruch and Jeremiah. *Jeremiah* 36:26.

(9) (Maasaiah-Neariah-) *Seraiah* "went with Zedekiah king of Judah [to] Babylon in the year fourth of his [Zedekiah's] reign;" Jeremiah commanded Zedekiah to read Jeremiah's scroll when he arrived and then throw it into the Euphrates River. *Jeremiah* 51:59ff.

(10) Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's captain, "took...*Seraiah* priest the head, and Zephaniah priest the second...to Riblah, and struck them the king of Babylon." *2 Kings* 25:18-21; *Jeremiah* 52:24-27 (see also Appendix 2C, VII, last page).

(11) (Tanhumeth-) *Seraiah* was among those who joined Gedaliah--Appendix 2C, VII, preceding fn. 22.

(12) (a) *Seraiah*, a leader accompanying Zerubbabel; a parallel list shows 'Azariah;'

²⁷ (1) *Adna*, from the sons of Pahath-Moab [*Pahath etym.* = "governor of;" *Aid*, p. 1263], was found to have a foreign wife (Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, part IV); (b) priests "in the days of Joiakim" included "of Harim, Adna" (Appendix 3B, II, part III).

²⁸ "Horonite" possibly indicating residence in the Beth-Horon area NW of Jerusalem.

²⁹ (a) As *Azriel*, (*Azriel*-) Jerimoth, captain of Naphtali under king David (*1 Chronicles* 27:19-22) and *Azriel*, a mighty head of a Manasseh house (*1 Chronicles* 5:24); (b) As *Asriel/Asrielites*, see Appendix 1C, Attachment 2, sub-part II, Manasseh Descendancy.

(b) *Seraiah* shown as among those sealing the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:1, 2-8. Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III and associated detail.

(13) "Ezra" is given as "son of *Seraiah*, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, son of Shallum, son of Zadok, etc." at *Ezra* 7:1ff.³⁰

(14) The division, *Seraiah*, alone, is shown at *Nehemiah* 12:1ff. ("heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua") and at *Nehemiah* 10:4 (those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah), while at *Nehemiah* 12:12ff. ("days of Joiakim") Meraiah is shown as chief of the division of *Seraiah*.

(jj) Shebaniah

(1) The division, *Shebaniah*, which does not appear as a division "in the days of Jeshua", is shown headed by one Joseph "in the days of Joiakim" (*Nehemiah* 12:14) and *Shebaniah*, alone, appears in the list of covenant sealers.

(2) See also Appendix 3B, I, Seals and Inscriptions, under Manasseh.

(kk) Shecaniah

(1) Resumed from Appendix 3B, I, Shecaniah.

(2) *Shecaniah*, 10th of king David's priesthood divisions.

(3) [David to Shealtiel/Pedaiah-Zerubbabel-Hananiah -]; "And the sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, *the sons of Shecaniah*. And the sons of *Shecaniah* Shemaiah [sic]; and the sons of Shemaiah: Hattush, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six.³¹ And the sons of Neariah: Elioenai, and Hezekiah, and Azrikam. And the sons of Elioenai: Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and Anani, seven." *1 Chronicles* 3:21ff.; italics supplied. (4) "And these the priests...who went up with Zerubbabel...*Shecaniah*...." *Nehemiah* 12:3.

(5) "*Shecaniah*" accompanied Zerubbabel; among "chiefs" accompanying Ezra were (*Sechenias*-) Lettus from the sons of David, (Parosh/Pharez-*Shecaniah*-) Zechariah/Zacarias; and (of the sons of *Shecaniah*/Zattoo-) Jahaziel/Jezelus/*Sechenias*;" (*Shecaniah*, "keeper of the East Gate"-) *Shemaiah* helped repair the wall; *Nehemiah* 3:29 and Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.

(6) "[M]any in Judah were sworn to Tobiah, because son-in-law he was of [of the sons of?] *Shecaniah*, the son of Arah, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah." *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(7) "From the sons of *Shecaniah*, from the sons of Parosh/[Pharez], Zechariah, and with him genealogically enrolled, of the males 150." *Ezra* 8:3.

(8) "From the sons of *Shecaniah*, Jahaziel, and with him 300 males." *Ezra* 8:5.

(9) *Shecaniah*, the son of Jehiel/[Jahaziel], of the sons of Elam, proposed a covenant to resolve the issue of foreign marriages. *Ezra* 10:2. (*Esdras* states that it was "Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel," who "called out..." 8:92.)

(10) *Shecaniah*, which appeared as a division "in the days of Jeshua," is absent from division lists for the days of Joiakim and those covenanting.

(ll) Shelemiah

(1) Irijah, "son of *Shelemaiah*, the son of Hananiah," guard of the Benjamin Gate, arrested Jeremiah there, accused him of "falling to the Chaldeans," and brought him before the princes. *Jeremiah* 37:13-15.

(2) A *Shelemaiah* in charge of tithes and distributions under Nehemiah. *Nehemiah* 13:6, 7, 12, 13.

(3) Hananiah, "the son of *Shelemiah*," did repair work on the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:30.

(4) Two *Shelemaiahs*, "sons of Binnui," had foreign wives/families. *Ezra* 10:38, 39, 41, 44.

(5) The writers of the Elephantine Papyrus sent their appeal also to "Delaiah and *Shelemiah*, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria." *Cambridge*, VI, pp. 559-560.

³⁰ If this text is taken literally, "in view of the...years between Seraiah's death and Ezra's return, there were probably at least two unnamed generations in between," remarks *Aid*, p. 1470.

³¹ See fn. 33.

(mm) Shelomith

(1) “[T]he sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and Hananiah, and *Shelomith*, their sister, and Hashubah, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, and Jushab-hesed, five.” *1 Chronicles* 3:19-21. The sentence structure yields three possibilities: (a) all named are Zerubbabel’s children without distinction; (b) the first three are Zerubbabel children who are siblings, and the last five by other mothers; or (c) the last-named “five” are Shelomith’s children.

(2) “And from the sons of *Shelomith* the [unnamed] son of Josiphiah and with him 160 males.” *Ezra* 8:10.

(nn) Shemaiah³²

(1) *Resumed from Appendix 3B, I, Shemaiah.*

(2) *Shemaiah*, a Levi chief who made a generous contribution to king Josiah’s 18th year passover. *2 Chronicles* 35:9, 19.

(3) *Shemaiah* of “Kirjath-Jearim,” father of Urijah who “prophesied” in a vein similar to Jeremiah, during king Jehoiakim’s reign, and fled to Egypt. (Jehoiakim had Urijah found, captured and killed.) *Jeremiah* 26:20.

(4) Delaiah, a “son of *Shemaiah*,” was a prince present when king Jehoiakim burned Baruch’s scroll. *Jeremiah* 36:12.

(5) *Shemaiah* (the “Nehelamite”--meaning unknown), who was to be ‘spoken to,’ according to correspondence between elders of an exilic community and Jerusalem, concerning the issue of (Maaseiah, the priest-) Zephaniah being designated high priest instead of Jehoiada. *Jeremiah* 29:24ff.; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, following fn. 18.

(6) [David to Shealtiel/Pedaiah-Zerubbabel-Hananiah], and “the sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jesaiah; the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shecaniah. *And the sons of Shecaniah Shemaiah* [sic]; *and the sons of Shemaiah*: Hattush, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six.³³ And the sons of Neariah: Elioenai, and Hezekiah, and Azrikam. And the sons of Elioenai: Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and Anani, seven.” *1 Chronicles* 3::21-24.

(7) A *Shemaiah* listed at *Nehemiah* 12:6 as being with Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

(8) In the post-Babylon repatriation, “from the sons of Adonikam...Eliphelet, Jeiel, and *Shemaiah*, and with them 60 males.” *Ezra* 8:13; see also Appendix 3B, I, *Adonikam*.

(9) (Jeduthun-Galal-*Shemaiah*-) Obadiah, a Levite living in Jerusalem (*1 Chronicles* 9:16) appears to be the (Jeduthun-Gala-Shammua-) Abda at *Nehemiah* 11:17.

(10) (Levi-Merari...Hassub-) *Shemaiah*, a post-Babylon resident at Jerusalem; *1 Chronicles* 9:34, *Nehemiah* 11:15.

(11) “And I came to the house of *Shemaiah* the son of Dalaiah, the son of Mehetabeel, who was shut up. And he said, ‘Let us meet together in the [temple] and...shut the doors.... For they will come to kill you.’ (*Nehemiah* 6:10ff.) But *Nehemiah* was convinced instead that Dalaiah had been hired by Sanballat and Tobiah to set him up for assassination. (It cannot be discerned whether intended was, “to the house of *Shemaiah* to the son of Dalaiah,” or whether Dalaiah had a son named after his father.)

(12) (Shecaniah, “keeper of the East Gate”-) *Shemaiah* helped repair the wall; *Nehemiah* 3:29.

(13) (Asaph-Zaccur-Michaiah-Mattaniah-*Shemaiah*-Jonathan-) Zechariah was among the priest sons at the dedication of wall. *Nehemiah* 12:35.

(14) Among those found to have foreign wives was (Sons of Parosh-Harim/Horim-) and/or (Sons of Bani-) *Shemaiah*; *Ezra* 10:21, 31, 41.

(15) Jehonathan is shown as chief of the division of *Shemaiah* in “the days of Joiakim” (*Nehemiah* 12:12ff.), while *Shemaiah*, alone (as a division?), is shown among “heads of the priests...in the days of Jeshua” (*Nehemiah* 12:1ff) and those who sealed the covenant with *Nehemiah* (*Nehemiah* 10:4),

³² Tobit said, “I know Ananias and Jonathas, sons of that great *Samais*.” *Tobit* 5:13

³³ This sentence’s structure and the number “six” are the basis for uncertainty in the Shecaniah/*Shemaiah* lineages.

Simeon and Simon, see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6.

(oo) Susanna

(1) Daughter of Chelcias/[Hilkiah] and a wife of Joacim at Babylon, a “most honored man among the exiles.” Verses 1-2, *History of Susanna*--see Appendix 3B, I, Susanna, History of.

(pp) Tobiah/Tobias/Tobijah

(1) *Tobijah*, one of the Levites dispatched by king Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities; 2 *Chronicles* 17:7-9.

(2) *Tobiah* I and *Tobiah* II of the *Book of Tobit*--see Appendix 2C, V, Tobit.

(3) “Take from the exiles, from Heldai, from *Tobijah*, and from Jedaiah, and...enter the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah who have come from Babylon; and...make crowns; and set on the head of Joshua, the son of Jehozadak/[Josedec].... And the crowns shall be to Helem, and to *Tobijah*, and to Jedaiah, and to Hen the son of Zephaniah.” *Zechariah* 6:10ff.

(4) “[M]any in Judah were sworn to *Tobiah*, because son-in-law he was of Shecaniah, the son of Arah, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah.” *Nehemiah* 6:18.

(5) “*Tobiah* the servant [not said, of whom], the Ammonite,” along with Sanballat the Horonite and Gesham the Arabian questioned Nehemiah’s intent to rebuild; *Nehemiah* 2:19 (see also Appendix 3A, V, F--*Nehemiah* narrative).

(6) Was “separated all the mixed races from Israel. And before this, Eliashib the priest...who was related to *Tobiah*...had made himself a room large and there they were formerly giving the food offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes.... But in all this not I was in Jerusalem.” *Nehemiah* 13:4ff.³⁴

(7) “And I/[Nehemiah when come to Jerusalem] understood the evil which did Eliashib for *Tobiah* in preparing for him a room in the courts of the [temple]. And...I threw all the stuff of *Tobiah*’s household outside from the room.” *Nehemiah* 13:4.

(8) Sons of *Tobiah* were among those not able post-Babylon to prove their genealogy--refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV.

(9) Tobias/Tobiads, see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6.

(qq) Zadok

(1) *Previous uses*, see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, sub-part I, and sub-part II, Zadok.

(2) (Baana-) *Zadok* did repair work on the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:4.

(3) (Immer-) *Zadok* did repair work on the wall. *Nehemiah* 3:29.

(4) *Zadok*, among those who sealed the Nehemiah covenant. *Nehemiah* 10:21.

(5) “*Zadok* the scribe,” one of the “treasurers over the treasuries” appointed by Nehemiah. *Nehemiah* 13:13.

(6) *Zadok* in the official lineage lists (Appendix 3B, II, Detail A); refer also to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4 (Eli Descendancy) both at fn. 9 and sub-part II(i).

(rr) Zechariah

(1) *Resumed from* Appendix 3B, I, Zechariah/Zachariah/Zacarias/Zecher.

(2) *Zechariah*, among chief Levite men sent by Ezra to obtain ministers for the temple. *Ezra* 8:16-17.

(3) Zechariah, head of the division of Iddo in the “days of Joiakim.” *Nehemiah* 12:12ff.

(4) “From the sons of Shecaniah, from the sons of Parosh [*Ezra* 8:30 has “Pharez”], *Zechariah*, and with him genealogically enrolled, of the males 150.” *Ezra* 8:3.

(5) “From the sons of Bebai, *Zechariah*, the son of Bebai, and with him 28 males.” *Ezra* 8:11.

³⁴ It cannot be discerned who in the line of “the sons of Shecaniah” was father to the unnamed daughter that Tobiah married, who made him a son-in-law of [the house/line of] Shecaniah (refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3, and associated data).

(6) Descendants of an (Amariah-) *Zechariah* and a (Shelanite...) *Zechariah* were post-exilic residents at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:4, 5. (Among “sons of Judah and...Benjamin” living at Jerusalem and numbered under “sons of Perez” was [Shiloni-*Zechariah*-Joiarib-Adaiah-Hazaiah-Colhozeh-Baruch-] Maaseiah; *Nehemiah* 11:5).

(7) *Zechariah* a priest son of Pashur, whose descendants post-exilically lived at Jerusalem. *Nehemiah* 11:10, 12.

(8) *Zechariah*, a son of Elam who had a foreign wife/family. Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, B(b).

(9) *Zechariah*, who stood at Ezra’s left hand when Ezra read the law to the people. *Nehemiah* 8:4.

(10) A son of Jonathan, *Zechariah*, was a trumpeting priest at the inauguration of the rebuilt wall. *Nehemiah* 12:35.

(11) (Asaph-Zaccur-Michaiah-Mattaniah-Shemaiah-Jonathan-) *Zechariah* was among the priest sons at the dedication of wall. *Nehemiah* 12:35.

(12) *Continued in* Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, *Zechariah*, and Appendix 4C, *Zechariah*.

(ss) Zephaniah

(1) *Resumed from* Appendix 3B, I, *Zephaniah*.

(2) “Shemaiah” was to be ‘spoken to,’ according to correspondence between elders of an exilic community and Jerusalem, concerning the issue of *Zephaniah* being designated high priest instead of Jehoiada. *Jeremiah* 29:24ff.

(tt) Zerachiah

(1) “From the sons of Pahath-moab, Elihoenai, the son of *Zerachiah*, and with him 200 males.” *Ezra* 8:4

(2) *Zerachiah*-Meraioth in the high priesthood lineage; Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1.

(uu) Zerubbabel - See Appendix 3B, I, *Zerubbabel*.

Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
JOHANAN/JONATHAN/[Y]JEHOHANAN/JOHN TO JOHN HYRCANUS I**

Note: Source Quotations with citations are given in Appendix 3B, II, Attachments 4 and 6.

<i>Antecedents, Attachment 2</i>				<u>Sanballat</u>			
/				/			
Johanen/Jonathan/[Y]Jehohanen/John-----+-----				-----+-----			
[/ + ? / + ? / + ? / + ?]				[/ + ? / + ? / + ? / + ?]			
/ [Daughter / + Manasseh? ⁴]				/ [Manasseh? ²]			
/ Jaddua				/ Jaddua			
/ / + ?				/ / + ?			
/ /				/ [?Daughter + Manasseh? ⁵]			
[? + a Jesus / + ? ?Daughter-----+-----? Onias I [-----+-----Daughter? ⁶]				/ + ? or /			
[?Daughter +-----?: Eleazar [#1] ⁷				Simon the Just			
/				/ + ?			
[Sirach? / + ?]				/ Onias II ⁸ Jesus/Jason Menelaus/ Onias III [Lysimachus? ⁹]			
[Jesus of <i>Ecclesiasticus</i> ? ¹⁰]				----- <u>continued next page</u> -----			
				/ + ? Daughter + Simon of Bilgah			

¹ Sanballat sons, or sons-in-law?

² "Jaddua had a brother [or brother-in-law?] whose name was Manasseh."

³ Relates to fn. 1.

⁴ Relates to fn. 2.

⁵ "Manasseh...was son-in-law to Jaddua."

⁶ If Jonathan had this daughter, it may explain differing versions of *Ecclesiasticus* 50:1: "Simon the high priest, son of *Onias*" (*Cambridge Apocrypha* referenced in this work); "Simon the priest, son of *Jochanan*" (*The New American Bible*, Wichita, Kansas: Catholic Bible Publishers, 1974-1975 Edition).

⁷ If Eleazar's mother was either a sister of Manasseh or a daughter of Johanen, Manasseh could be referred to as Eleazar's "uncle." However, it appears that Eleazar only could be referred to also as a brother of Simon if the latter were true, *i.e.* Johanen's daughter were mother of Eleazar and Simon; see preceding footnote.

⁸ Referred to as being "young" when his father Simon died.

⁹ At one point, "Menelaus left his brother, Lysimachus" in his place in the high priesthood.

**SOURCE QUOTATIONS¹
FOR CHARTED EXPLORATION OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
IN ATTACHMENT 5**

Alcimus - see Jacimus/Alcimus.

(a) Eleazar [#1]

(1) "When Onias [I] the high priest was dead, his son Simon ["the Just"] became his successor. When he was dead, and had left a *young* son, who was called Onias [II], Simon's brother *Eleazar*...took the high priesthood" [whether as "regent" specifically is not said]. *Josephus AJ XII.II.5*

(2) It was high priest *Eleazar* with whom Ptolemy [II] Philadelphus arranged for a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures.

(3) While Onias [II] was high priest, Antiochus [III] and Ptolemy [V] reconciled their conflict and "made a league"--Antiochus gave Ptolemy his daughter Cleopatra [I] to wife and yielded up as her dowry "Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea and Phoenicia.... ... This happened when Onias [II] was high priest." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.1.*

(4) "[A]fter *Eleazar's* death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood." *Loc. cit.*

(b) Eleazar [#2]

(1) Mattathais [#1] "had five sons: John, who was called Gaddi/Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassi/Matthes; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; *Eleazar*, who was called Avaran/Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus." *1 Maccabees 2:2-5; Josephus AJ, XII.VI.1.*

(2) Jason, son of *Eleazar*, and (Accos-John-) Eupolemus, were sent by Judas [#1] to Rome to establish an alliance. *Josephus AJ XII.X.6; 1 Maccabees 8:17.*

(3) *Eleazar* was crushed to death under an elephant while Judas' force was fighting Antiochus/Lysias. *Josephus AJ XII.IX.4; BJ I.I.5.*

(c) Eupolemus

(1) The decree for a league of assistance between high priest Judas [#1] and Rome "was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of *Eleazar*, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews...." It also provided that neither side would give aid of any kind to anyone who waged war respectively on each. Jason, son of *Eleazar*, and (Accos-John-) *Eupolemus* were sent by Judas [#1] to Rome to establish the alliance. *Josephus AJ XII.X.6; 1 Maccabees 8:17-20.*

(d) Hyrcanus (first appearance of the name)

(1) See Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, fn. 13 concerning origin of the name, *Hyrcanus*.

(2) At some point after (Tobias-) Joseph already had had seven sons by one wife, Joseph had "a son, *Hyrcanus*, by his [Joseph's] brother Solymius's daughter." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.6.*³

(3) When "Seleucus [IV], the son of Antiochus the Great [III]" reigned, "*Hyrcanus*' father, Joseph died.... His [Joseph's] uncle [by marriage] also, Onias [II], died, and left the priesthood to his son Simeon." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.10.*

¹Text references for material uncited here will be found in the narrative in Appendix 3A, IV. Italics in quotations are supplied unless noted otherwise.

²This could not be Onias I, in that the timeframe here is after *Eleazar's* death.

³*Blank.*

(4) “[U]pon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders [of the sons] made war against *Hyrchanus*, who was the youngest of Joseph’s sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon [*sic./Simeon*] the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them.” *Josephus AJ XII.IV.11*.

Hyrchanus I, John - see [John Hyrcanus](#).

(e) Jacimus/Alcimus.

(1) Antiochus V and Lysias “deprived Onias [III], who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood and slew him...and, driving away the son [of Onias II; ⁴***] put *Jacimus* /*[Alcimus]* into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias [IV], who was the nephew of Onias [III Menelaus] that was dead and [who] bore the same name [Onias] as his father [Onias II], came into Egypt, etc.” *Josephus AJ XX.X.1*.

(2) “[A]s to Onias [IV]...son of the high priest [Onias II], who...was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[Onias III], and given the high priesthood to *Alcimus* /*[Jacimus]*...he [Onias IV] fled to Ptolemy. etc.” *Josephus AJ, p. XII.IX.7*.

(3) After Demetrius I Soter overcame Antiochus V and Lysias “in the year 151 [160 b.c.],” “men of Israel came to him. They were led by *Alcimus* /*[Jacimus]*, who desired to be high priest.” *1 Maccabees 7:5; 2 Maccabees 14:3ff*.

(4) Demetrius I endorsed *Alcimus* /*[Jacimus]* for high priest and sent him to Judah with an army led by Bacchides, governor of “West-of-Euphrates.” *1 Maccabees 7:8-9*.

(5) On *Alcimus*’ petition, Demetrius I appointed Nicanor governor of Judaea and dispatched him to put Judas to death and set up *Alcimus* /*Jacimus* as high priest. *2 Maccabees 14:12ff*.

(6) “But now as the high priest *Alcimus* /*[Jacimus]* was resolved to pull down the wall of the sanctuary...[“in the year 153”/158 b.c.] he was smitten...at length, died, when he had been high priest *four* years, and when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who [then], hearing of the power of the Romans...entered into a league of assistance with them.” *Josephus AJ XII.X.6; 1 Maccabees 9:54*.

(7) “[W]hen *Jacimus* had retained the priesthood *three* years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him...[until]...Jonathan. *Josephus AJ XX.X.1*

(8) “Seeing that *Alcimus* /*Jacimus* was dead, Bacchides returned to the king, and the land of Judah was quiet for two years.” *1 Maccabees 9:57*.

(9) After the death of *Alcimus* /*Jacimus* “there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years.” *Josephus AJ XX.X.1*.

(f) Jaddua

(1) High priest *Jaddua* “had a brother, whose name was Manasseh,” who married Nicasio, the daughter of Sanballat, “who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia] into Samaria.” *Josephus AJ XI.VII.2*.

(2) Sanballat told Alexander the Great “that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest *Jaddua*.” *Josephus AJ XI.VIII.4*.

(3) “[T]he nation of the Cutheans...dwelt at the temple [at Gerizzim], which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to *Jaddua*

⁴ *Whiston’s AJ* inserts here “[of Onias the Third].”

⁵ See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B(1)(a), for reckoning “years of the Seleucidae”--312 - 152 = 160 b.c.

⁶ See preceding fn.: 312 - 154 = 158 b.c.

the high priest.” *Josephus AJ XIII.IX.1.*

(4) When “Jaddua the high priest died...Onias [I] his son took the high priesthood.” *Josephus AJ XI.VIII.7.*

Jason [#1] - see Jesus/Jason.

(g) Jason [#2]

(1) *Jason*, son of Eleazar, and (Accos-John-) Eupolemus, were sent by Judas to Rome to establish an alliance. *Josephus AJ XII.X.6; 1 Maccabees 8:17.*

(h) Jesus/Jason⁷

(1) “About this time, upon the death of Onias [II] the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to *Jesus* his brother; for that son [Onias IV] which Onias [II] left was yet but an infant....” *Josephus AJ XII.V.1.*

(2) But this *Jesus*, who was the brother of Onias [II], was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who...gave it to his [*Jesus*'] younger brother, whose name also was Onias/[III/Menelaus]; for Simon [#1 the Just] had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came [Onias II, *Jesus/Jason*, and Onias III/Menelaus], as we have already informed the reader.”⁸ *Josephus AJ XII.V.1.*

(3) “This *Jesus* changed his name to *Jason*, but Onias [III] was called Menelaus.” *Loc. cit.*

(4) “Now as the former high priest, *Jesus/[Jason]*, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus....” *Loc. cit.*

(i) John

(1) Mattathais [#1]“had five sons: *John*, who was called *Gaddi/Gaddis*; Simon, who was called Thassi/Matthes; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran/Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.” *1 Maccabees 2:2-5; Josephus AJ, XII.VI.1.*

(2) “Jonathan...sent his brother *John*, who was also called *Gaddis*....” *Josephus AJ XIII.I.2.*

(3) “John” appears to be called “Joseph” at *2 Maccabees 8:22*--see Joseph #2, (m) (2).

(4) *John* referred to as “the Baptist.”

(j) John Hyrcanus I⁹

(1) (Mattathais #1-) Simon’s “two oldest sons [were] Judas and *John*.” *1 Maccabees 16:1.*

(2) After the assassination of high priest (Mattathais #1-) Simon, of his three remaining sons (Mattathias #2, Judas #2 and John), *John* succeeded as high priest, and “the rest of the history of *John [Hyrcanus]*, his wars and the brave deeds he performed, his rebuilding of the walls and his other achievements--these things are recorded in the chronicle of his pontificate, from the time that he succeeded his father as high priest.” *1 Maccabees 16:23.*

(3) “[A]fter *John [Hyrcanus]* died,” of his five sons, “the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem on his head 471 years and 3 months after [the] people...were set free from the Babylonian slavery.” *Josephus BJ I.III.1.*

⁷ Of related interest to this name, see Appendix 3B, I, Ecclesiasticus.

⁸ *Josephus*' editors note this remark to be one “of those many citations where Josephus says that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable.”

⁹ See Appendix 4B, I, “High Priests Hyrcanus I Through Antigonus II, and Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, Hasmonean descendancies.

(k) Jonathan [aka *John*--see item (4)]

(1) Mattathais [#1] "had five sons: John, who was called Gaddi; Simon, who was called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran; and *Jonathan, who was called Apphus.*" *1 Maccabees* 2:2-5; *Josephus AJ* XII.VI.1.

(2) *Jonathan*, son of Absalom, was a general under (Mattathais #1-) Simon. *1 Maccabees* 13:11.

(3) (a) After the death of Alcimus/Jacimus "there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed *Jonathan* to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years." *Josephus AJ* XX.X.1;

(b) After *Jonathan* checked Baccides' opposition and they made peace, *Jonathan* "began to judge the people." *1 Maccabees* 9:73;

(c) Alexander Balas made *Jonathan* high priest in the year "160 [151 b.c.]" *1 Maccabees* 10:20-21;

(d) *Jonathan* "put on the pontifical robe...four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made." *Josephus AJ* XIII.II.3. (*Whiston* notes that "Petitus's emendation," i.e. "after eight years since the death of his brother," better would agree with the dating per *Maccabees* "and *Josephus's*'...chronology at the end of the twentieth book");

(e) A letter from *Jonathan* sought to re-establish a friendship with Sparta, mentioning a letter of brotherhood sent by Spartan ruler Arius "long ago...to the high priest Onias I. *1 Maccabees* 12:5, 19ff.

(4) "Now when *John* had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother whose name was Manasseh." *AJ* XI.VII.2.

(5) "*Jonathan* fathered Jaddua." *Nehemiah* 12:11.

(l) Joseph [#1]

(1) "*Joseph*, young in age, but a great reputation among the people of Jerusalem [for all practical purposes became surrogate leader during Onias II's reign] His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias [II] the high priest [who failed to pay tax to Ptolemy Euergetes]." *Josephus AJ* XII.IV.2.

(2) *Joseph's* diplomacy on behalf of Onias [II], and as the powerful administrator and liaison between the temple government and Egypt, received 2000 foot soldiers from Ptolemy III to assist in enforcing tax collection in the 'Syrian' regions. *Josephus AJ* XII.2ff.

(3) *Joseph* had seven sons by one wife and "a son, Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter." *Josephus AJ* XII.IV.6.

(4) When Seleucus Soter (son of Antiochus the Great) reigned, Hyrcanus' father, *Joseph* died. *Josephus AJ* XII.IV.10.

(5) "[U]pon the death of *Joseph*, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders [of the sons] made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of *Joseph's* sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon [*sic.*; Simeon] the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them." *Josephus AJ* XII.IV.11.

(6) (Sons of Shelomith-*Josiphiah* -) ?, a chief who accompanied Ezra.

(7) (Bani...-) *Joseph*, found to have a foreign wife/family.

(8) *Continued in Appendix 4C, Joseph [A].*

(m) Joseph [#2]

(1) *Joseph* "son of Zechariah," a general under Judas [#1]. *1 Maccabees* 5:18; *Josephus AJ* XII.VIII.6.

(2) According to *2 Maccabees* 8:22, Judas [#1] divided his force into four companies, each under one of his brothers.; but only three brothers are named there, being "Simon, *Joseph* and Jonathan." *Maccabees'* editors added "also Eleazar" and that *Joseph* "is called John in *1 Maccabees.*"

(n) Judas [#1]

(1) Mattathais [#1] “had five sons: John, who was called Gaddi/Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassi/Matthes; *Judas, who was called Maccabeus*; Eleazar, who was called Avaran/Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.” *1 Maccabees 2:2-5; Josephus AJ XII.VI.1.*

(2) “In the year 150,” *Judas* caused the Jerusalem citadel to be stormed, already having fortified the temple and Bethsur. *1 Maccabees 6:20ff.*

(3) On *Alcimus’* petition, Demetrius I appointed Nicanor governor of Judaea and dispatched him to put *Judas* to death and set up *Alcimus/Jacimus* as high priest. *2 Maccabees 14:12ff.*

(4) Bacchides camped against *Judas* in the year “152.” *1 Maccabees 9:3-18.*

(5) “But now as the high priest *Alcimus* [*Jacimus*] was resolved to pull down the wall of the sanctuary...[“in the year 153” he was smitten...at length, died, when he had been high priest four years, and when he was dead, *the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas*; who [then] hearing of the power of the Romans...entered into a league of assistance with them.” *Josephus AJ XII.X.6; 1 Maccabees 9:54.* (*Maccabees* does not state, however, as does *Josephus*, that *Judas* was made high priest.)

(6) When *Judas* died in battle with Bacchides, he had “retained the high priesthood three years.”¹⁰ *AJ XII.XI.2.*

(o) Judas [#2]

(1) (Mattathais #1-) Simon’s “two oldest sons [were] *Judas* and John.” *1 Maccabees 16:1.*

(2) (Mattathais #1-Simon-) *Judas* was killed with his father “in the year 177 [134 b.c.].” *1 Maccabees 16:14, 16.*

(p) Manasseh

(1) High priest Jaddua “had a brother, whose name was *Manasseh*,” who married Nicasio, the daughter of Sanballat, “who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia] into Samaria.” *Josephus AJ, XI.VII.2.*

(2) Sanballat told Alexander the Great “that he had a son-in-law, *Manasseh*, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua.” *Josephus AJ, XI.VIII.4.*

(3) “[T]he nation of the Cutheans...dwelt at the temple [at Gerizzim], which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of *Manasseh*, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest.” *Josephus AJ, XIII.IX.1.*

(4) “[A]fter Eleazar’s death his uncle *Manasseh* took the priesthood, and after he [*Manasseh*] had ended his life, Onias [II] received that dignity.” *Josephus AJ, XII.IV.1.*

(5) Appendix 3B, II, Detail B provides detail concerning *Manasseh/Sanballat/Alexander III* interaction.

(q) Mattathias [#1]

(1) See also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Mattathias.

(2) “*Mattathias*, son of John, son of Simeon, a priest of the family of Joarib.” *1 Maccabees 2:1.*

(3) *Mattathias* “had five sons: John, who was called Gaddi/Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassi/Matthes; *Judas*, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran/Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.” *1 Maccabees 2:2-5; Josephus AJ XII.VI.1.*

(4) *Mattathias* died “in the year one hundred and forty-six [165 b.c.].” *1 Maccabees 2:70.*

(r) Mattathias [#2]

(1) (Mattathias-Simon-) *Mattathias* was killed with his father “in the year 177 [134 b.c.].” *1 Maccabees 16:14, 16.*

¹⁰The year of *Judas* death is not specified; refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline) at converted year 155 b.c.

Menelaus - see Onias III/Menelaus.

(s) Onias I¹¹

(1) When Jaddua the high priest died...Onias [I] his son took the high priesthood." *Josephus AJ XI.VIII.7*.

(2) "When *Onias [I]* the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just...." *Josephus AJ XII.II.5*.

(t) Onias II

(1) "When he [Simon the Just] was dead, and had left a young son, who was called *Onias [II]*, Simon's brother Eleazar...took the high priesthood." *Josephus AJ XII.II.5*."

(2) Joseph's "father's name was Tobias; and his mother was *the sister of Onias [II]* the high priest [who failed to pay tax to Ptolemy Euergetes]." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.2*.

(3) While *Onias [II]* was high priest Antiochus [III] and Ptolemy [IV] reconciled their conflict and "made a league"--Antiochus gave Ptolemy his daughter Cleopatra to wife and yielded up as her dowry "Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea and Phoenicia.... [A]t this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition.... This happened when *Onias [II]* was high priest, for *after Eleazar's death* his uncle, Manasseh, took the priesthood, and after he [Manasseh] had ended his life, *Onias [II]* received that dignity. He [*Onias II*] was the son of Simon [#1], who was called The Just." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.1*.

(4) When Seleucus Soter (son of Antiochus the Great) reigned, "Hyrcanus' father, Joseph died.... His [Joseph's] uncle also, *Onias [II]*, died...." *Josephus AJ XII.IV.10*.

(5) *Onias II* was murdered at the instigation of Onias III/Menelaus. *2 Maccabees 4:32ff.; AJ XII.IX.7*.

(6) "[U]pon the death of *Onias [II]* the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for [the] son [*Onias IV*] which *Onias [II]* left was yet but an infant.... But this Jesus, who was the brother of *Onias [II]*, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who...gave it to his [Jesus'] younger brother, whose name also was *Onias/[III]/Menelaus*; for Simon [the Just] had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came [*Onias II*, Jesus/Jason, and *Onias III/Menelaus*], as we have already informed the reader."¹² *Josephus AJ XII.V.1*.

(u) Onias III/Menelaus

(1) When Seleucus Soter (son of Antiochus the Great) reigned, "Hyrcanus' father, Joseph died.... His [Joseph's] uncle also, *Onias [II]*, died, and left the priesthood to his son Simeon. And when [Simeon] was dead, *Onias [III]* his [*Onias II*'s] son succeeded."¹³ *Josephus AJ XII.IV.10*. [*Refer also to Simeon (4)*.]

(2) "At the time when Antiochus [IV] Epiphanes was disputing the control of Palestine with Ptolemy [VI], dissension broke out among the leading Jews, who competed for supremacy because no prominent person could bear to be subject to his equals. *Onias [III]*, one of the chief priests, forced his way to the top and expelled the sons of Tobias from the City. They fled to Antiochus and implored him...to invade Judaea." *Josephus BJ Chapter 1, Paragraph 1*.

(3) Antiochus V and Lysias "deprived *Onias [III]*, who was also called *Menelaus*, of the high priesthood and slew him...and driving away the son [of *Onias II*; **¹⁴**] put Jacimus /[Alcimus]into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but

¹¹ Referenced in a later letter from (Mattathais-) Jonathan when seeking to re-establish friendship with Sparta, in which letter Jonathan referred to a letter of brotherhood sent by Spartan ruler Arius "long ago...to the high priest *Onias*." *1 Maccabees 12:5*, 19ff.

¹² Refer to fn. 8.

¹³ Misunderstanding here appears a major cause of confused *Onias* identifications; see cross-references in fn. 24. Another factor is the double- use, Simon/Simeon--the confusion has caused some to add another "Simon" to the family tree.

¹⁴ *Whiston's AJ* here inserts "[of *Onias the Third*]." (*Refer to Appendix 3B, II, "The Priesthood," sub-part VI, A ("Temple Sites--Heliopolis, Egypt")*).

not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias [IV], who was the nephew of *Onias* [III Menelaus] that was dead and [who] bore the same name [Onias] as his father [Onias II], came into Egypt, etc.” *Josephus AJ XX.X.1.*

(4) “[A]s to Onias [IV]...son of the high priest [Onias II], who...was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[*Onias III*], and given the high priesthood to Alcimus/[Jacimus...he [Onias IV] fled to Ptolemy. etc.” *Josephus AJ p. XII.IX.7.*

(5) “About this time, upon the death of Onias [II] the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to *Jesus* his brother; for that son [Onias IV] which Onias [II] left **¹⁵ was yet but an infant.... But this *Jesus*, who was the brother of Onias [II], was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who...gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was *Onias* [III Menelaus]; for Simon [the Just] had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came.... This *Jesus* changed his name to Jason, but *Onias* [III] was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, *Jesus*/[Jason], raised a sedition against [*Onias III*] Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of [*Onias III*] Menelaus....” *Josephus AJ XII.V.1.*

(6) “Menelaus [*Onias III*]...brother of...Simon of Bilgah”. *2 Maccabees 4:23.*

Onias IV¹⁶

(v) Sanballat

(1) See also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Sanballat, and Appendix 3B, II, Detail B, “High Priests, Eliashib to Jaddua.”

(2) High priest Jaddua “had a brother, whose name was Manasseh,” who married Nicasio, the daughter of one *Sanballat*, “who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia] into Samaria.” *Josephus AJ XI.VII.2.*

(3) *Sanballat* “was a Cuthean by birth.” *Loc. cit.*

(4) *Sanballat* told Alexander the Great “that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua.” *Josephus AJ XI.VIII.4.*

(5) “[T]he nation of the Cutheans...dwelt at the temple [at Gerizzim], which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which *Sanballat*, the general of his [Alexander’s] army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who [also?] was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest.” *Josephus AJ XIII.IX.1.* (Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Cuth/Cuthah/Cutheans.)

(6) “To our lord Bagohi, the governor of Judah.... ... Also all the words in a letter in our name did we send unto Delaiah and Shelemaiah the sons of *Sanballat* the governor of Samaria,” quoted from the *Elephantine* appeal sent in the “17th year of Darius the king.” It is not clear, however, whether the first letter therein referenced was sent at the same time. (“Memorandum of Bagohi and Delaiah”--from a response to *Elephantine* appeal; see Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.)

(7) “It is of course possible that there were two *Sanballats*, and certainly the name Bagohi was not a rare one. Bagohi, Bagoi or Bagoas (the Hebrew Bigvai) is from the Pers. *Baga*, ‘god.’” *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 172.

(w) Simeon

(1) Grandfather of Mattathais [#1]: “Mattathais, son of John, son of *Simeon*.” *1 Maccabees 2:1.*

(2) When “Seleucus [IV], the son of Antiochus the Great [III]” reigned, “Hyrcanus’ father, Joseph died.... His [Joseph’s] uncle [by marriage] also, Onias [II], died, and left the priesthood to his son *Simeon*. And when he [*Simeon*] was dead, Onias [III] succeeded.” *Josephus AJ XII.IV.10.*

¹⁵ *Whiston AJ* indicates the prevailing confusion in distinguishing Oniases by the here inserted, “[or Onias IV].”

¹⁶ In addition to relevant quotations included above in Oniases II and III, refer to fn. 13, Simon The Just item (5), and the next footnote here.

(3) “[U]pon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders [of the sons] made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph’s sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did *Simon [sic./Simeon]* the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them.”

Josephus AJ XII.IV.11.

(4) *Cambridge* speaks of “Simon’ the high priest, the son of Onias;” some *Ecclesiasticus* versions at 50:1 have, instead, “Simon the priest, son of Jochanan.”

(x) Simon The Just

(1) “When Onias [I] the high priest was dead, his son *Simon* became his successor. He was called *Simon the Just*.” *Josephus AJ XII.II.5.*

(2) “When he [*Simon the Just*] was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias [II], *Simon’s* brother *Eleazar*...took the high priesthood.” *Josephus AJ XII.II.5.*

(3) “[A]fter *Eleazar’s* death his uncle [by marriage] *Manasseh* took the priesthood, and after he [*Manasseh*] had ended his life, Onias [II] received that dignity. He [Onias II] was the son of *Simon*, who was called The Just; which *Simon* was the brother of *Eleazar*, as I said before.” *Josephus AJ XII.IV.1.*

(4) “Simon [the Just] had these three sons [being Onias II, Jesus/Jason, and Onias III/Menelaus], to each of which the priesthood came.” *Josephus AJ XII.V.1.*

(5) Onias [IV] who fled to Egypt is referred to as a “son of *Simon*” at *Josephus BJ VII.X.2.*¹⁷

(y) Simon of Bilgah

(1) “[A] certain *Simon*, of the priestly course of *Bilgah*, who had been appointed superintendent of the temple,” contended with Onias [II], and stirred up conflict involving regional suzerainty authorities. . *2 Maccabees 3:1ff.*

(2) “Menelaus [Onias III]...brother [in-law?] of the aforementioned *Simon*” of Bilgah. *2 Maccabees 4:23.*

(z) Simon/[Simeon]--Thassi/Matthes

(1) Mattathais #1 “had five sons: John, who was called Gaddi/Gaddis; *Simon*, who was called *Thassi/Matthes*; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; *Eleazar*, who was called Avaran/Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.” *1 Maccabees 2:2-5; Josephus AJ XII.VI.1.*

(2) Mattathais said to his sons, “Here is your brother *Simeon*...he will be a father to you.” *1 Maccabees 2:65.*

(3) (Mattathais-) *Simon’s* “two oldest sons [were] Judas and John.” *1 Maccabees 16:1.*

(4) (Mattathais-) *Simon* had another son, Mattathais.” *1 Maccabees 16:14.*

(5) (Mattathais-) *Simon* was killed “in the year 177.” *1 Maccabees 16:14ff.*

Simon continued in Appendix 4C, Simon.

(aa) Tobias/Tobiads

Resumed from Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Tobiah/Tobias/Tobijah.

(1) “Joseph, young in age, but a great reputation among the people of Jerusalem.... His father’s name was *Tobias*; and his mother was the sister of Onias [II--he who failed to pay tax to Ptolemy Euergetes].” *Josephus AJ XII.IV.2.*

(2) When “Jesus/[Jason] raised a sedition against Menelaus/[Onias III], who was

¹⁷ Another example is *Williamson’s* note at the same *BJ* site (p. 406, fn. 53): “In *AJ* xii.387-8 [*Whiston XII.IX.7*] and xiii.62-73 [*Whiston XIII. III.1ff.*]--perhaps a correction of the version here [at *Whiston BJ VII.X.2*]--the refugee is not Onias III, son of Simon, but *his* [meaning Onias III’s] son, Onias IV, and he flees shortly after the persecution.” Although correct as to the Onias “IV,” (Simon-) Onias II is identified as an Onias “III” (Menelaus not intended). The *BJ VII.X.2* reference to Onias IV as The Just’s son, instead of grandson, remains the one contradiction to Attachment 5’s chart of Oniases. For it not to be an error would require Onias IV at some point to have married a half-sister.

ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of *Tobias* took the part of Menelaus....” *Josephus AJ XII.V.1.*

(3) A message to Judas [#1] from Israelites who had fled from Gilead said, “All our kinsmen who were among the *Tobiads* have been killed....” *1 Maccabees 5:13.*

(bb) Zechariah

(1) Joseph “son of *Zechariah.*” *1 Maccabees 5:18.*

(2) *Zechariah* and Azariah were leaders in Judas’ [#1’s] army. *1 Maccabees 5:56.*

(3) *Continued in Appendix 4C, Zechariah.*

Book Four **Introductory Summary**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² See Appendix 4C, Palaestina/Palestine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³Consult fn. 17.

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

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

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

²⁷Cf. Appendix 2A, Apamea/Orontem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ At fifth paragraph following.

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

³⁰ See Appendix 4A, fn. 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴See *at and in* fn. 30.

³⁵King of Chalcidica.

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

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

country which Pompey had overthrown.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴³“Hyrchanium?”—see fn. 22.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵Only use.

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

⁴⁷Lempriere p. 31.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰ Betrothed priorly to Tigranes A?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

family to Egypt.⁶²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁴ It not said whether marriage or blood relations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁵ IV?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷³Refer to fn. 54.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸³ 32 c.e.?

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

⁸⁵ Again, 32 c.e.?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁶ 33 c.e.?

⁸⁷ See Appendix 3B, I, Ananiah, (1).

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

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

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

⁹¹ See fn. 84.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁷ *Mark* 15:7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 4A.

TIMELINE¹

HIGH PRIESTS JOHN HYRCANUS I TO (THEOPHILUS-) MATTHAIS

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

Following the assassination of High Priest Simon Matthes:

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

Cleopatra III

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

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

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

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

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

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

Parthia freed Demetrius II, who took Rhodogyne, Parthian king Phraates' daughter, to wife. He then was given leave to return to Syria to reclaim the Syrian throne.
Demetrius II established himself at Antioch. (It appears that his other wife, Cleopatra III, was established at Ptolemais.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cleopatra III with
Antiochus VIII *Grypus*

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

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

⁸ Sometimes referred to as Cleopatra "Berenice."

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

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

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

Antiochus IX <i>Cyzenicus</i> (Over Coele-Syria) Antiochus VIII + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI [At Antioch?]	Cleopatra IV and Ptolemy X <i>Alexander I</i>
--	--

Cleopatra III at some point attempted to poison Antiochus VIII; he discovered it and compelled her to drink the poison instead.

Antiochus VIII + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI

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

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

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

104/103	Queen Unnamed--widow of Hyrcanus I--with Aristobulus I, ¹¹ High Priest and King
---------	--

Aristobulus' unnamed [step?-) mother "disputed the government with him;" he put her (and some undesignated relatives of hers) in prison, where she died either of starvation or melancholy (or both).

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

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

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

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Alexandra I, Queen
Aristobulus I, High Priest and King

In his brief tenure, Aristobulus added a great part of Ituraea to Judaea territory and imposed Hebrew law and circumcision on inhabitants.

Aristobulus I became ill during his first, his only year as king. Palace plotters (wife Alexandra I is said to have been one) contrived the murder of his younger [half-?] brother, Antigonus [I], a great favorite with the people. Aristobulus I's illness worsened.

Aristobulus I then died, "when he had reigned no longer than a year."

Alexandra I freed other imprisoned "brethren" and married Alexander [I] Janneus (mother unnamed), another son of Hyrcanus I. King Janneus assumed high priesthood office as well as crown.

103 Alexandra I, Queen
Alexander [I] Janneus.
King and High Priest

97/96 "Ptolemaeus Apion [*sic*]...the illegitimate son of Ptolemy Physcon, died after a reign of 20 years as king of Cyrene; and, as he had no children, made the Romans heirs of his dominions," later reduced to a Roman province "following political turbulence and insurrection."¹²

93 Antiochus VIII was assassinated "by his favorite, Heracleon." (*Ency.* p. 82.)
Seleucus VI and Antiochus IX contended for rule of Syria.
Antiochus IX expelled Seleucus VI and "married" Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI.

Antiochus IX *Cyzenicus*
+ Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI

Seleucus IV returned, conquered and killed Antiochus IX.
Selene [A] joined with Antiochus XI *Eusebes*.

Antiochus XI *Eusebes*
+ Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI

Ptolemais sent to Cyprus for aid from Ptolemy IX.
Cleopatra IV accepted a plan of Alexander I *Janneus*—they faked an alliance with Ptolemy IX to have him first dispose of a tyrant named Zoilus (who had entered the fray¹³), while Cleopatra IV prepared her army.

¹² *Lempriere*, under Cyrene.

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

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

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

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

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

Ptolemy X *Alexander I*

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

Ptolemy IX *Lathyrus*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

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

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Berenice C

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

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

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

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

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

Alexandra I, Queen
John Hyrcanus II, High Priest

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

70

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

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

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

Insurrection at Antioch expelled Philip.

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

Selene [A] (location uncertain)

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>			<u>"Converted"</u>
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Tigranes I then made a large military expedition in Syria, besieged and took Ptolemais. Selene was taken prisoner and put to death by Tigranes (it is not certain where).

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

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

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

70 Roman senate elected Crassus and Pompey as consuls.

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

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

68 Antiochus XIII
Asiatikos/Asiaticus

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

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

Aristobulus II (wife unnamed)
High Priest and King

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

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

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

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

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

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

John Hyrcanus II, High Priest

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

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

²⁵ If year one of that olympiad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Berenice [C] and
Seleucus *Cybiosactes*

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

Berenice [C]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Aristobulus II
displacing Hyrcanus II?]³²

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

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

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

Second Term of the "First Triumvirate"

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

Berenice [C] and Archelaus of Bellona

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

Ptolemy XIII

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ Found referred to also as "Dionysius II."

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

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

Year(s) b.c.e.	"LOCALLY"	Rulers		"Converted" Year b.c.e.
		EGYPT	ROME	
48	<p>Julius Caesar conquered Pompey's forces on the plain of Pharsalia in Thessaly. [Lempriere states that the "civil wars of Julius Caesar and Pompey" ended 48 b.c.e. but elsewhere puts the year at AUC 706.] Pompey fled for Egypt, Julius Caesar had conquered opposition on all fronts of the Roman empire. "For the first time in history the world of the ancients extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic bowed to one will;" and Rome had its first "emperor...holding all chief religious and civil offices of the republic...king in all but name." Pompey was captured on his flight to Egypt and killed.</p> <p>Julius Caesar's legions invaded Egypt. Antipater II "who managed the Jewish affairs," was "very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt; and that by order of Hyrcanus." Julius Caesar entered into a personal relationship with Cleopatra VII. Julius Caesar defeated Ptolemy XIV (who died "during the fighting about Alexandria," or Julius Caesar "put the lad to death." Julius Caesar reinstated Cleopatra VII with her "brother," Ptolemy XV.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XV³⁷</p> <p>While "passing through Syria and Asia Minor" Julius Caesar "settled affairs of the provinces." Antigonus II, alleging that his father had been poisoned and his brother beheaded "by Antipater's means," unsuccessfully petitioned Julius Caesar to recognize him as High Priest. Julius Caesar declared Hyrcanus II to be most worthy of the high priesthood, granted him permission to re-raise Jerusalem's walls, and gave "leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased." Antipater II "was constituted procurator of all Judea."³⁸ After Julius Caesar departed Syria, Antipater II returned to Judaea and "settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw Hyrcanus [II]...not fit to manage;" he "partly threatened...partly advised" people all about the country that if they did not submit well to Hyrcanus, they would find Antipater "to be their lord instead of procurator." Antipater II also proceeded "to rebuild that wall of his own country which Pompey had overthrown."</p>		Julius Caesar, Emperor	[46]
c. 47	<p>In this timeframe, Cleopatra the Great gave birth to Ptolemy Caesarion, her only child by Julius Caesar.</p> <p>Antipater II "constituted his eldest son, Phasaleus [I], governor of Jerusalem and the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod [the Great], who was very young ["but 15 years of age"] with equal authority in the Galilee."</p>			

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mark Antony

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

⁴⁰ *Blank*.

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

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

⁴³ *Botsford*, p. 192.

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

Cleopatra VII and
 Ptolemy XVI
Kaisarion/Caesarian

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

The "Second Triumvirate"
 Antony, Octavian and Lepidus

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

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

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

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

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

c. 42/41 Antigonus II

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

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

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

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

[44, 43, 42, 41]

Which of its four years is not said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Antony at this time was abiding in Athens.

Another insurrection in the Galilee resulted in Ptolemy's death; Herod responded immediately, "destroyed a great number of the seditious...raised [off] the sieges of those fortresses they had besieged," and laid a heavy fine upon rebellious cities

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

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

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

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

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

King Herod the Great

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

Ananelus, High Priest King Herod the Great *continued*

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

Antony stalled taking action.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Year(s)
b.c.e.

“LOCALLY”

EGYPT

ROME
Antony and Octavian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Year(s)
b.c.e.

“LOCALLY”

EGYPT

ROME
Octavian vs. Antony

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

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

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

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

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

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

The situation between the camps of Mark Antony and Octavian reached a point where a decisive battle between them was expected. The Italians “willingly followed Octavian,” for they “supposed” that Antony, with Cleopatra VII as his queen, intended to make the empire an “Oriental” one, with Alexandria, Egypt as the capital.

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

“At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod.”

31/30/29⁵² Battle of Actium.

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

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

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

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

⁵² The generally-accepted year of the Actium battle is 31 b.c.e., which year *Lempriere* also shows under Actium and Augustus. At page 170, however, *Lempriere* shows the battle under AUC year 723 (29 b.c.e.), “although according to some authoris it happened in the year of Rome 721 [31 b.c.e.]” (“Actium, [or] Azio, a town and promontory of Epirus, famous for the naval victory of Augustus [Octavian]...in honour of which the conqueror built there the town of Nicopolis, and instituted games.” “Actia...Games...celebrated every third, sometimes fifth, year...the Lacedaemonians had the care of them.” L 8.

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

Year(s)
b.c.e.

“LOCALLY”

EGYPT

ROME
Octavian vs. Antony

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Octavian received the title, *Augustus*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Herod ordered Sohemus to be executed immediately.

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

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

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

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

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

Alexandra II was slain on order from Herod.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first Actium games were held.

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

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

⁵⁸ Refer to fn. 125 (a Simon [B]).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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petitions made to Agrippa and gained his further appreciation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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not so much as hear.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁶ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart.

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Herod pressed Syria's presidents for both punishment and repayment of a loan he had made to Obodas. They ruled that each side should deliver to the other any of the other's subjects found in their territories and that the loan be repaid in 30 days. Sylleus failed to perform under the agreement and instead went to Rome. Herod obtained permission of the Syrian presidents for himself to undertake execution of their judgment and led an army into Arabia, captured the "robbers" and demolished their garrison, and placed 3000 Idumaeans in Trachonitis, which "restrained the robbers that were there." Sylleus, at Rome, had "insinuated himself" with Caesar and made charges that Herod had laid waste in Arabia, destroyed 2500 principal Arabians, and carried off booty. Caesar was angered, when he obtained confirmation that Herod had led an army into Arabia, "and wrote to Herod sharply," informing him that henceforth Caesar would "now use him as his subject" instead of friend. The Arabians, "elevated," neither delivered up perpetrators nor paid money due, and retained previously-hired pastures rent-free. "Those of Trachonitis...rose up against the Idumean garrison...." Two embassages sent to Caesar by Herod ("now in a low condition") were refused audience. In Arabia, Obodas had died (or been murdered by Sylleus) and Aretas had taken over the government. He and Sylleus contended for Caesar's support. "[I]n the meantime, the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because...nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one (Aretas) was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient...and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him." "At length," Herod sent Nicolaus of Damascus at the head of another embassy, hoping that friends at Rome may have mitigated Caesar's anger.

Now," it was, "that this accident happened:" an unnamed person told Herod that Alexander III had "corrupted" Herod's most trusted and beloved servant-eunuchs. After prolonged torture, Herod obtained confessions implicating Alexander III in "criminal conversation"—that he had many rulers and friends on his side and, with assistance from the eunuchs (later to be richly rewarded), "he should quickly have first place in the kingdom." Herod, "terrified" and "overrun with suspicion" now "sent spies abroad privately" and became unable to trust anyone. He made himself feel safer by destroying palace domestics without clear evidences of guilt; he expelled old friends from the palace and refused others to be admitted. He conducted "great numbers" of torturous examinations of and death to persons believed faithful friends of Alexander III," as Antipater III "was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent." Almost all "died without having any thing to say." One person, however, said that Alexander III, had considered killing Herod, with his brother's assistance, while they were out hunting, and then proceed to Rome and ask for the kingdom. Letters between Alexander III and Aristobulus IV also were found, containing complaints relative to Herod's favoritism of Antipater III. Antipater III, with Alexander now "under his misfortunes," got together a "stout company of his kindred" and raised the degree of slander to that point where Herod "fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword." Herod "caused Alexander to be seized upon immediately, and bound;" but he needed "some surer mark of his son's wickedness." Upon further tortures of Alexander's friends, he secured a confession that Alexander had sent to friends at Rome to secure him an audience with Caesar, to whom he would reveal a plot wherein Herod was joined against the Romans with Mithridates, king of Parthia, and further, that Alexander had had a poison prepared (for which Herod searched but did not find). Alexander III plead with his father not to torture more persons and composed four "books" of defenses, which were placed in

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Herod's hands. The writings pointed to Salome and Pheroras as the greater of plotters and included charges against Ptolemy [undesigned] and Sapinnus (the most "faithful" of Herod's friends), together with other men in power--such that, there no longer "was...room for defence and refutation...all were at random doomed to destruction! so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others...that they were in expectation of the same miseries."

"Now it was that king Archelaus came "hastily into Judea" "on purpose," to compose the family differences. Archelaus adroitly facilitated a calming of Herod's temper and proposed a joint investigation. Together they carefully considered Alexander's writings. "[B]y degrees" Archelaus "laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books", "especially upon Pheroras;" Alexander, Archelaus reasoned, may "himself [have been] plotted against." The preponderance of Herod's anger now turned from Alexander to Pheroras.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons.” He wrote back that Herod was appointed to have the power over them, “would do well to make an examination of the plot against him in a public court... [a]nd, if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear[ed] to have thought of no more than flying away...he should moderate their punishment.” Caesar ordered that Herod convene a court at or near Berytus,⁷⁰ composed of Syria’s presidents, Archelaus, and as many more as Herod thought of appropriate “friendship and dignity.”

- c. 11⁷¹ The court assembled by Herod (“150 assessors were present”) consisted of presidents Saturninus and Pedanius and “all principal men of Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him;” “next to them, the kings kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras.” Aristobulus IV and Alexander III were kept in custody nearby at “Platana [/Platane], a village of the Sidonians.” (Herod did not produce the brothers in open court, “for he knew well enough that...they would certainly have been pitied; and...Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of”). Herod made his case in a “very vehement” manner, “exaggerated” what his sons had said, “as if they had confessed the design against him, and, that “by Caesar’s grant” and as the young men’s parent, he stood ready to initiate his sons’ death in his own kingdom by stoning. “[Y]et did he wait for the court’s determination.” “The assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority.”⁷²
- Herod at Tyre encountered Nicolaus returning from Rome. When asked, Nicolaus reported that the consensus at Rome was for imprisonment, not death.
- “And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his own children.” In general, “men’s pity was forced to be shut up in themselves,” except for one Tero, father of a friend of Alexander. Tero openly castigated Herod and named a “great many” of Herod’s army captains” had expressed indignation. Herod imprisoned Tero and those he named.
- When Herod’s barber Trypho related that Tero often had suggested that Trypho could cut Herod’s throat, Tero was put to the torture until his agony drove his son to a confession.
- Herod then held an assembly “and brought the people together in a body against” Tero, his son, “300 officers,” and barber Trypho, as well, all of whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them.”
- “Alexander [III, “the eldest”] and Aristobulus [IV] were brought to Sebaste, by their father’s command, and there strangled.” Herod sent the widowed Glaphyra [B] back to her father, king Archelaus of Cappadocia.
- After “Antipater III had thus taken off his brethren,” “intolerable hatred fell upon him from the nation [in that] all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies.” He “governed the nation jointly with his father...[but] was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod,” so as to secure himself in the kingdom before his father could discover his own true involvement. Antipater by bountiful gifts sought the favor of friends at Rome, and also “got into Pheroras’ favour...by

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

⁷¹ Concerning this estimated year, see next footnote.

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

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

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

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

A different complex now took sway in the palace, as Antipater III and mother Doris now cultivated the Pheroras' branch.

"Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his [unnamed] wife, and to her [unnamed] mother, and to her [unnamed] sister." Those four women became united in what was told to Herod; "there was only Salome who opposed." The former group, together with Pheroras and Antipater, did not demonstrate their fraternization in front of Herod; Salome, however, "knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod," alleging that they held clandestine counsels together.

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

Herod held an assembly of friends and kindred and accused Pheroras' wife of making Pheroras' his enemy, among other things, and told Pheroras that he "would do well...to put his wife away," to which Pheroras responded "he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear to him." Herod, at a loss, then charged Antipater III and Doris to discontinue all intercourse with Pheroras' wife and relatives.

Herod "slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused...Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus...his catamite. He "slew also all those [unnamed] of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold."

Antipater III, fearing that Salome would gather fresh fuel, decided to absent himself and secured friends at Rome, to suggest to Herod that Antipater be sent to abide a time with Caesar. "Herod made no delay." He sent Antipater to Rome with a great deal of money and also with Herod's testament. In it, Herod named Antipater as first heir to the kingdom; but, should he die before his father, then Herod's successor was to be "Herod [B]"--"that Herod, I mean," Josephus states, "who was the son of Mariamne [II], the high priest's [(Boethus-) Simon Cantheras'] daughter."⁷⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pheroras' wife admitted that he had given her the box in question. Ordered to produce it, she instead "threw herself down from the housetop." "[S]enseless from her fall," she was brought to Herod, who promised her and her domestics full pardon if she confessed all; if not, he would have her torn to pieces. She corroborated the account about the poison but claimed that as Pheroras lay dying he had repented of all ill-will toward his brother and told her to burn that poison "left with us by Antipater...in order to destroy" Herod. She had saved only a small quantity for herself, she said, which box, when produced, "had a small quantity of this potion in it." Further torture of others incriminated in obtaining the poison corroborated its acquisition. There then "were brought out such as were [even] freest from suspicion...whereby it was discovered," by a declaration under torture of her very brothers, "that Miriamne II...was conscious of this plot."

Herod "blotted Herod [B] whom he had by her [Miriamne II], out of his testament. (It is not reported what became of Miriam II.) Herod took the high priesthood from Miriamne II's father ([here referred to as "Simeon") and appointed "Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room."

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

"While this was doing," Antipater III's freed-man Bathyllus, who had come from Rome, "was tortured also," and "found to have brought another deadly potion" to give to Doris and Pheroras, in case the first poison was ineffective. Bathyllus also had letters that Antipater, by means of great bribes, had "forged...in the name of his friends at Rome, accusing his half-brothers Archelaus and Philip of sympathies in the slaughter of Alexander III and Aristobulus IV. Similar letters sent earlier, before Herod's suspicions of Antipater had solidified, had caused Archelaus and Philip to be summoned home. "[Y]et did no one [who] came to Rome inform Antipater of his [unfolding] misfortunes in Judea." He wrote from Rome--of his

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successes there, and that he had been dismissed by Caesar and would soon be home. [O]ne may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them.... [But] the roads were exactly guarded, and...men hated Antipater;...there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.”

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

Antipater III sailed on. He found no welcomers or salutes at Sebastus, but now there was no turning back; and with “a forced boldness countenance,” “clothed in purple” he proceeded to enter Herod’s palace, where porters denied entry to his companions.

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

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

The assembled court was composed of “Herod’s kinsmen and friends and Antipater’s friends...as also the king’s relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Doris,” from whom had been intercepted a note from Doris to Antipater warning him that Herod knew all and not to return to Herod “unless thou canst procure assistance from Caesar.”

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

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

All that Antipater said, when Varus asked for his defense, was, “God is my witness that I am entirely innocent.” Varus asked that the “potion” be produced and given to be drunk by another condemned prisoner, “who died upon the spot?”/“who died presently.”

Varus, after a one-day stay, returned to the palace at Antioch; “it was generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son was done with Varus’ approbation.”

Herod had Antipater III placed in bonds and wrote to Caesar Octavian about “Antipater’s wickedness.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸² *AJ* XVII.VI.4, XVIII.I.1.

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

⁸⁴ See preceding footnote.

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

⁸⁶ *Refer to* Appendix 4A, Detail A.

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Herod's ambassadors to Rome now returned. Caesar had had Acme put to death, and, "as to Antipater...Caesar left it to Herod to act...either to banish him, or to take away his life."

Herod, "overbourned by his pains," threatened suicide and was prevented from it by cousin Achiabus; but a "great tumult...as if the king were dead" occurred "through the palace." Antipater III "verily believed" Herod had died and attempted to bribe his jailers to release him. Instead, Herod lived still, and was told.

Death of Antipater III--Herod, "although he was at death's door," commanded some of his guards to kill Antipater "without further delay."

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

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

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

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

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

[? -- Quirinius census?

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

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

Archelaus, King-designate

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

⁸⁸ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁸⁹ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁹⁰ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

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

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

Toward evening, however, crowds gathered, lamenting the murders of Judas, Matthais, etc. (above, following 4 b.c.) and demanding punishments (of whom is not stated). “[I]n the first place” they demanded that Archelaus “deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and...choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus.”

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

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

That year’s Passover was at hand. Of the “innumerable multitude” that came to Jerusalem, some sojourned in “tents without the temple;” “some...stood in the temple bewailing the [murdered] Rabbins...begging, in order to support their sedition. (“[T]he seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, and kept together in the temple.”) A cohort sent by Archelaus, with orders to use force if needed, was assaulted; the tribune and some soldiers were wounded by the rebels.

Archelaus “sent his whole army upon them”--“on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices”--many footmen through the city and horsemen, the plain, “to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within.”

Archelaus’ forces slew 3,000 men; the remainder dispersed, followed by heralds “commanding them retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.”

Archelaus left his brother Philip “as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public” and “went down to the sea-side” to depart for Rome. He was accompanied by “his mother⁹² and friends, Poplas [undesigned], Ptolemy,⁹³ Nicolaus, and Salome I with “her children and many of her kindred.” (For the time being, Salome I behaved as if she supported Archelaus.)

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

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

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

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

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treasures in them."⁹⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁵ See fn. 92.

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

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

⁹⁸ the 50th day from Passover."

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the western part of the city, where the king's palace was...to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides." Sabinus sent repeated messages for help to Varus; but "a terrible battle" and "terrible slaughter" occurred at the Phasaelus tower. Ultimately its "vast works...were destroyed utterly;" the Romans gained entry and seized the treasure deposited there, but the people's party kept the palace surrounded.

Various factions formed, as there continued "great disturbances in the country...in many places." "[A] great many" of the monarchy's party deserted from the Romans; in Sebaste, 3000 men and their captains deserted to them. In Idumaea, 2000 of Herod's disbanded veteran soldiers fought the monarchy party (led by Achiabus, Herod's first cousin). One (Ezekiel-) Judas (who had "ambitious desire" to attain the kingship), led a "multitude...[from] about Sepphoris in the Galilee" on a break-in of the royal armory. In Peraea, one Simon, a former "slave" of Herod, burned down and plundered the Jericho palace, "was declared to be a king" by "a certain number [who] stood by him, but lost his force (and his head, *literally*) in "a great and long fight" against Gratus, "captain of the king's party;" "no small part of those...from Peraea...were destroyed." One "Athronges, a shepherd...not known by any body," who commanded four numerous bands, also deigned to "put a diadem on his head," slaying "a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Caesar held council. "The multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side." Varus had persuaded his "great friend," "Archelaus's brother Philip," also to come ("out of Syria)--principally, to help Archelaus; but "if...any change happen in the form of government...that he [Philip] might have his share."

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

A few days later Caesar Octavian ruled as follows:

- (a) Archelaus was not confirmed as king; he instead was made “ethnarch of the one half of that [country] which had been subject to Herod,” with the proviso that if he proved himself through virtuous governance he would receive full royal dignity. Archelaus would receive the annual tribute of Idumaea, Judaea and Samaria. (Samaria was to be relieved of one-fourth of its tribute for having not joined in revolts.) The cities of Strato’s Tower, Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem were also made subject (including their tribute) to Archelaus. Archelaus annual revenues were 600 talents.
- (b) Caesar removed the “Grecian” cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos to the province of Syria.
- (c) The other half of Herod’s former kingdom was divided between Antipas and Philip as tetrarchs. Antipas would receive the tribute of Peraea and Galilee (revenues of 200 talents); Philip, of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts of “what was called the House of Zenodorus about Jamnia” (revenues of 100 talents).
- (d) Salome I received Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis (annual revenues of 60 talents), a royal residence at Askelon/Ascalon (which, however, remained in Archelaus’ ethnarchy), and 500,000 coined silver.
- (e) Caesar married “Herod’s two virgin daughters⁹⁹ ...to Pheroras’s sons.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[Between

6 and 8 c.e.

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

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

[Boethus-] Joazar, High Priest

Cyrenius/Quirinius “was sent by Caesar Octavian[/Augustus] to take account of people’s effects in Syria,” “to be a judge of that nation,” and “to sell the house of Archelaus.” “Coponius...was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews.

c. 6 “Coponius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus’s money.” “Coponius...was sent as a procurator, having the power of...death put into his hands by Caesar.”

Procurator Years as Commonly Given¹⁰⁴

Coponius, Procurator

6 - 9 c.e.

[Boethus-] Joazar, High priest *continued*

Under Coponius’ administration, the “Jews” took the “report of a taxation heinously,” but were persuaded by the “high priest Joazar” “to “leave off any further opposition...so they gave an account of their estates.”

However, “a certain Galilean...Judas”--“a teacher of a peculiar sect,” together with one “Sadduc, a Pharisee,” “prevailed with his countrymen to revolt.” “Judas and Sadduc...excited a fourth philosophic sect...and had a great many followers...[which] filled [the] civil government with tumults...[an] infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it.”

[Josephus here provides a detail of the three other sects--Essen, Sadducee and Pharisee.¹⁰⁵] According to Josephus, “the

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

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

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

¹⁰⁴ *Source: Ency., en passim.*

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

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fourth sect of Jewish philosophy [of which] Judas the Galilean was the author...agree[d] in all...things with the Pharisaic notions but...ha[d] an inviolable attachment to liberty and sa[id] that [Tet.] is to be their only Ruler and Lord.” Judas called his countrymen “cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans and...submit to mortal men as their lords.” (“[T]his immovable resolution of theirs is well known...”¹⁰⁶

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

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

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

Marcus Ambibulus/Ambivivus, Procurator 9 - 12 c.e.

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

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

c. 12¹⁰⁹ Marcus Ambivivus was replaced as procurator by Annius Rufus.

Annius Rufus, Procurator 12 - 15 c.e.

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

¹⁰⁶ “nor am I afraid,” Josephus concluded, “that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather...that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain.” It would be “in [procurator] Gessius Florus’s time [c. 64-66 c.e.] that the nation [would be] grow[n] mad with this distemper,” “to make them revolt [totally] from the Romans.”

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

¹⁰⁸ Refer to fn. 83.

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

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Claudius Drusus Nero Tiberius [CDN],
Emperor

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

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

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

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

[Ananus/Annas-] Eleazar, High Priest

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pontius Pilate, Procurator 26 - 36 c.e.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Rome, an unnamed "Jew...driven away from his own country by an accusation," "professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses." He and three partners moved Fulvia, [another?] wife of Saturninus, who had "embraced the Jewish religion," to contribute riches to Jerusalem's temple, which treasure they spent instead on themselves. Caesar Tiberius, following an inquiry made at the behest of Saturninus, "ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome, at which time the consuls listed four thousand men [who were] sent...to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number...who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁴ *Matthew 14:5.*

¹¹⁵ *Mark 6:17; Matthew 14:3.*

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

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

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

¹¹⁸ *Matthew* 14:6ff.; *Mark* 6:21ff.

¹¹⁹ *Matthew* 14:10; *Mark* 6:27.

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

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

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21:10-13. "[H]aving entered into the temple he started to be throwing out [those] selling and [those] buying in the temple, and the tables of the money changers and the seats of [those] selling the doves he overturned, etc." *Mark* 11:15. "And having entered into the temple he started to be throwing out [those] selling, etc." *Luke* 20:45.

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

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

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

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

Jesus said, "you know that two days from now the passover occurs.... Then were led together the chief priests and the older men of the people into the courtyard of the chief priest ["the house of the chief priest"]... Caiaphas, and took counsel together in order that the Jesus to crafty device they might seize and they may kill, they were saying 'but not in the festival,' in order that not uproar might occur in the people." *Matthew* 26:1-5, *Mark* 14:1-2, *Luke* 22:1-2 [22:54]. "Led together...the chief priests and the Pharisees Sanhedrin," questioning, "What are we doing because [of] this the man.... If ever we should let go off him thus, all will believe unto him, and will come the Romans and they will lift up of us.... One of them, Caiaphas, chief priest being of the year that, said,..It is bearing together to you in order that one man should die over the people and not whole nation should be destroyed.' ...[F]rom that therefore the day they took counsel in order that they might kill him." *John* 11:47, 49-50, 53.

The chief priests and scribes "sent off ones...pretending themselves righteous to be, in order that they might catch of him of word [to allow them] to give over him to the government and to the authority of the governor." (In response to questions regarding payment of Roman taxes, Jesus gave the well-known response.) *Luke* 20:20-25.

Jesus and his band spent the night before the day of his execution at "a spot...Gethsemane"--"he went as custom into the Mount of Olives," "he went according to custom into the Mount of Olives," "Jesus came out together with the disciples...[to] other side of the winter torrent of the Cedars where was garden"--where Judas came "with...crowd much with swords and woods from the chief priests and older men of the people," "with crowd...with swords and woods beside the chief priests and the scribes and the older men," with "chief priests and captains of the temple and older men," with "the band also out of the chief priests and out of the Pharisees subordinates." Judas identified Jesus, and he was arrested. *Matthew* 26:36ff., *Mark* 14:32ff., *Luke* 22:39ff., *John* 8:1ff.

"The...band and the chiliarch and the subordinates of the Jews took...Jesus and bound him and they led toward Annas[/Ananus] first...father-in-law of the Caiaphas."

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

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

"Of morning...having occurred counsel together," Jesus was taken by "all the chief priests and the older men of the people...bound...[and] led off...to Pilate the governor." *Matthew* 27:11. "[E]arly in the morning consultation having made the

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

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

Antipas “rejoiced,” having wanted for some time to see Jesus, and spoke at him at length; but Jesus “answered nothing to him,” as the priests and scribes stood by “vehemently accusing.” Antipas and his “troops” ridiculed Jesus and “sent back him to Pilate.

Became...friends...Herod and Pilate in very the day with each other; they were before...in enmity....” *Luke 23:8-12.*

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

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

Pilate then had Jesus scourged and presented him, saying “not one cause I am finding in him.” (Pilate seemingly was moved by the claim that, “If ever this [one] you should release, not you are friend of the Caesar; everyone the king himself making is saying against the Caesar.” *John 19:8ff.*)

33 Pilate led Jesus outside of the governor’s palace, “and he sat down upon step into place being said Stone pavement.... Was but preparation of the passover, hour was as sixth.” Pilate asked, “‘The king of you shall I impale?’ Answered the chief priests, ‘Not we are having king if not Caesar.’ Then therefore he gave beside him to them in order that he might be impaled,” and Pilate then washed his hands in the Roman custom following a judgment.

“Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men...condemned him [Jesus] to the cross.” (*AJ XVIII.III.3*)

?¹²² “About this time it was that [tetrarch] Philip, Herod’s [Antipas’ half-] brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius [*CDN*], after he had been tetrarch...thirty-seven years.” (The manner of his death is not related. Philip’s “principality Tiberius took” (“for Philip “died childless”/“left no sons behind him)” and added it to the province of Syria.”

¹²¹ “As the emperor’s representative, the governor exercised full control of the province...and the governor’s ratification had to be obtained by the [local] court for [its] sentence[s] to be valid.” *Aid* 1311. (*Impalement*, see Appendix 4D.)

¹²² Common reliance on Tiberius’ quoted year of reign and assumed date of Herod the Great’s death, to fix the year of Philip’s death, is reflected by *Josephus*’ editor’s remark, “[S]ince Herod [the Great] died about September, in the fourth year before the Christian era, and Tiberius began, as is well known, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, it is evident that the thirty-seventh year of Philip, reckoned from his father’s death, was the twentieth of Tiberius, or near the end of A.D. 33...or...in the beginning of the next year, A.D. [C.E.] 34.” (*AJ XVIII.IV.6 fn.*) (Philip died at “Julias--” which “Julias” is not specified; however, Philip as tetrarch had developed Bethsaida into a large city and renamed it “Julias”--see Appendix 4C, *Bethsaida*.)

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Tiberius

[*Note:* There seemingly is a contradiction in *Josephus* as to the year of death of tetrarch Philip-- the here-stated "20th year" of Tiberius, against the reported years of Agrippa I's reign, quoted at 44 c.e.]

At Rome, Caesar Tiberius imprisoned Agrippa I.¹²³

Vitellius, entering Jerusalem at [another?] time of a Passover festival, was "magnificently received" and "honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews." He remitted taxes on buying and selling fruits; and after the festival, left "the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments...under the custody of the priests of the temple," instead of, as before, being returned to the Roman captain of the guard, who previously would deliver them to the priests a week prior to the festival for purification and use. The "Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius accusing Pilate of murder, claiming that the people at Tirathaba had gone there not "in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate."

During this timeframe, Vitellius "deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus...to succeed him."

(Ananus-) Jonathan, High Priest

Vitellius ordered Pilate to Rome to answer the accusations before Caesar Tiberius. (Pilate, "who had tarried ten years in Judea," could not disobey and "made haste" to go to Rome.)

Vitellius, on order from Tiberius and enroute with two legions to war on Aretas, made a stop at Jerusalem "for three days," during which time he "deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother, Theophilus" ("son of Ananus," AJ XIX.VI.2).

(Ananus -) Theophilus, High Priest

- c. 37 "On the fourth day letters...informed him [Vitellius] of the death of Tiberius. A "few days" before Tiberius died he had "appointed Caius [Caligula; "the fourth emperor"] to be his successor."
The Roman senate conferred imperial office on Caius Caligula.

Caius Caligula

Vitellius "obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius" and sent his legions to winter quarter at home, "since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making the war which he had before." (Reportedly, Aretas had been told by "diviners that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra.") "So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch...."

Emperor Caligula sent one Marcellus to be procurator of Judea.

¹²³ Refer to Appendix 4B, III, for details of Agrippa I's accumulated indebtednesses and involvements with various Roman personages, which ultimately led to Caesar Tiberius first keeping Agrippa under a type of house arrest and then, finally bound, in prison for the last six months of Tiberius' life.

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Caligula

Marcellus, Procurator

Caesar Caligula ordered that Agrippa I "although still in custody [as per Tiberius' prior order]," "be removed...and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison."

[?c. 37--death of tetrarch Philip?¹²⁴]

"However, there did not many days pass ere" Caligula "put a diadem on his [Agrippa I's] head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip," and also "promised" him "the tetrarchy of Lysanias." (Agrippa became known as "Agrippa the Great"/"Agrippa the Elder.")

In Caligula's "second year," he gave Agrippa I leave "to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government. "So he came into his own country, and appeared...all unexpectedly as a king."

Agrippa I, King

Abetted by Herodias' urgings, Antipas and Herodias sailed to Rome, in that since Caesar Caligula had made Agrippa I, "a private person," a king over Philip's former tetrarchy, Caesar "much more would...advance Antipas" from tetrarch to king.

Meanwhile, Agrippa I sent a servant ahead to Caligula with letters against Antipas and presents; and he himself followed.

Antipas was with Caius Caligula when Agrippa I's letter arrived. Agrippa accused Antipas of having been part of a confederacy that opposed Tiberius and that he now was a confederate of Parthian king Artabanus in opposition to Caligula. Agrippa I informed Caligula that Antipas "had armour sufficient for 70,000 men," the truth of which Antipas "could not deny...it being notorious;" and "Caius took that to be sufficient proof of the accusation that he intended to revolt."

Caesar Caius Caligula took Antipas' tetrarchy from him, "gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom" (together with Antipas' money), and decreed Antipas perpetually banished to Lyons in Gaul ["into Spain"]. (Caligula offered leniency to Herodias on learning she was Agrippa's "sister." She declined out of loyalty to her husband, and Caligula, angry, "sent her with Herod [Antipas] into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa [I].")

Note: The *Josephus* narrative, 4B, III, and the timeframe of this volume, essentially end at this point; however some ensuing *Josephus* data, cited independently, is provided below, through the deaths of Caligula, Agrippa I and Herod [A] and into the reigns of Roman emperor Caesar Claudius and Agrippa II. (Brief additional data on subsequent Roman emperors also appears in Appendix 4A, Attachment 1.)

A tumult...at Alexandria," "between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks," caused an embassy to Caligula of "three

¹²⁴ Refer to fn. 122 and Note in text.

Year(s)
c.e.

“LOCALLY”

ROME
Caligula

ambassadors...out of each party,” the leader of the opposition of the “people of Alexandria” being one Apion, and “the principal of the Jewish embassy” being Philo, “brother of Alexander the alabarch,” whose defense Caligula--“in a rage”--refused to hear. “Hereupon Caius [Caligula]...sent Petronius to be president of Syria and successor...to Vitellius,” with orders to invade Judaea and, if unable to enforce the erection of the emperor’s statue in the temple, “to conquer them by war and then do it.”

Petronius became involved with large assemblies headed by principal men throughout the region, seeking that Caligula be made to reconsider. Petronius finally gave way under their insistence they would preserve their rights and decided to write to Caligula. Dispensation was effected through Agrippa I, who lived at Rome and was in great favor with Caligula. Caligula wrote to Petronius that he could abandon attempting to erect the statue--“This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa.” Caligula received Petronius epistle afterwards; and when he read that “the Jews were very ready to revolt, etc.” if their law was violated by force, Caligula wrote back to Petronius commanding him “to kill himself with his own hands” for not following orders. But by the time Petronius received the letter Caligula was dead. *AJ XVIII.VIII.*

- c. 41 Caligula was assassinated by certain officers of the praetorian guard, “after he had reigned four years, within four months”/“three years and eight months.” *AJ XIX.II.5; Wars II.XI.1.*

“Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate...went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the [Roman] nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy.” Agrippa I was Claudius’ liaison and ambassador before the Senate. Civil war threatened when the soldiers on the Senate’s side walked out. Agrippa I was instrumental in counseling Claudius to restrain those soldiers of his, “who were in a fit of madness against the patricians.” Claudius received the senate into his camp without incident...treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them...to offer their thank-offerings...proper upon his first coming to the empire.”

c. 40

Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus [TCND],

Claudius “bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod [the Great] Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree...[also] engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol.”

Claudius “bestowed...the kingdom of Chalcis” on his [Agrippa I’s] [half?-] brother Herod, who was also his [Agrippa I’s] son-in-law, by marrying Bernice [B].” *Wars II.XI.1-5.*

Agrippa I “removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose [Boethus’] name was also Cantheras, whose daughter [Miriam II] king Herod [the Great] married....”

“Simon, therefore, had the priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians....” *AJ XIX.VI.2.*

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Claudius

King Agrippa I *continued*,
with expanded territories.
[Boethus-] Simon [B¹²⁵]/Cantheras,
High Priest.

After settling the high priesthood, Agrippa I released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from "tax upon houses." "But after a little while the young women of Doris" carried a statue of Caesar into "a synagogue of the Jews and erected it there." Agrippa I "accused the people of Doris" before "Publius Petronius...then president of Syria," who issued a letter to the people of Doris that they refrain from "any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that everyone be allowed to follow their own religious customs," citing and affirming emperor Claudius' edicts "lately caused to be published at Alexandria." (It "was not long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria." AJ XIX.VI.4.)

"And now Agrippa took the priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again." But Jonathan declined, saying his brother was more worthy. "So the king...passed by Jonathan and...bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias."

King Agrippa I, *continued*
(Ananus -) Matthias, High Priest

Agrippa I "was by nature very beneficent...[and] loved to live continually at Jerusalem...[and kept himself entirely pure." He repaired the city walls and took to widening them extensively, but was stopped by emperor Claudius, who felt some intimidation. Agrippa built also "in many places," particularly at Berytus, where he built a theater and "showed...magnificence" on it by exhibiting there "the several antagonists...; no fewer than 700 men to fight with 700 other men; and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace." AJ XIX.VII.3-5.

Afterwards, Agrippa I "removed to Tiberias...Galilee," and met with his brother, Herod [A], king Antiochus of Commagena, king Emessa of Sampsigeramus, king Cotys of Lesser Armenia, and king Polemo of Pontus; and while the kings were guests of Agrippa, Syria's president Marcus went "thither." The visiting kings rode along with Agrippa in his chariot as he went to greet Marcus, who, taken aback by the alliance apparent, ordered his subordinates to induce the visiting kings "to go their ways home without further delay." This was very ill-taken by Agrippa, who after that became his [Marcus'] enemy.

"And now" Agrippa I "took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead." AJ XIX.VIII.1.

[Cantheras-] Elioneus,
High Priest

¹²⁵ ?It appears that this is a second *Simon*--son of (Boethus-) Simon?--for, according to the preceding quotation, this Simon [B] had the high priesthood "with his brethren [Joazar and Eleazar]...in like manner as the [three] sons of [Onias-] Simon," "and with his father [Simon A]?"

Year(s)
c.e.

“LOCALLY”

ROME
Claudius

- c. 44 Agrippa I died “in the 54th year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign, for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar [Caligula], three of them were of Philip’s tetrarchy only; and the fourth that he had that [other] of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those [four years], three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea.” “But before the multitude were acquainted with Agrippa’s having expired, Herod [A] the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse and the king’s friend, secured the death of Agrippa’s general Silas, “who would be their enemy.” *AJ XIX.IX.2-3.*

Claudius was disposed to send as Agrippa I’s successor his son, Agrippa II (whom Claudius had raised) but was dissuaded by counsel. He effected an exchange with Agrippa II of Agrippa I’s kingdom for some provinces and resumed Judaea as a procuratorial province, sending Fadus as procurator.

“Judaea” again as a procuratorial province.

Cuspius Fadus, Procurator

44 - 46 c.e.

Fadus’ first task involved an uprising in Peraea, where a border dispute had provoked Jews dwelling there to take up arms against the people of Philadelphia[/Rabbah/Amman].

One Theudas, claiming to be a prophet, persuaded many people to follow him to the Jordan,” (where is not specified, but at a point where he claimed he would miraculously “afford them an easy passage over it.”) But Fadus “did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt [and] sent a troop of horsemen out...who...slew many of them, and took many of them alive, including Theudas,” whose head was cut off and carried to Jerusalem.

After disposing of the perpetrators,¹²⁶ Fadus requested “the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem” to lay up the sacred vestments in the tower of Antonia under control of the Romans. The priests, etc. asked and were given leave to send ambassadors to petition Claudius at Rome that they be allowed to retain control of the “holy vestments.” On the counsel of Agrippa II, Claudius granted the ambassadors’ request, in writing (“That they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power”).

“Herod [A], also, the [half?-] brother of Agrippa, who then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the Temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for.”

“Accordingly, Herod [A] removed the last high priest, called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor, Joseph, son of Camus”[“son of Camydus”]. *AJ XX.I.3, XX.V.1-2.*

Herod [A; King of Chalcis],
Governor of the Temple;
[Camus-] Joseph, High Priest.

¹²⁶ Whose names were (Cero-) Comelius, (Theudio-) Trypho, (Nathaniel-) Dorotheus, and (John-) John.

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Claudius

"Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria...a principal person among all of his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth." XX.V.2.

Tiberius Julius Alexander, Procurator 46 - 48 c.e.

It was under procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander "that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena [of "Adiabene"¹²⁷] bought corn in Egypt at great expense and distributed it to those that were in want." AJ XX.V.2.

"And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain, I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews." "[T]hose sons were James and Simon, whom [Tiberius] Alexander commanded to be crucified." AJ XX.V.2.

"But now Herod [A], king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor." AJ XX.V.2.

(Nebedeus-) Ananias, High Priest

"Down that...time thrust upon Herod [A] the king [of Chalcis] the hands to treat badly some of th[ose] from the ecclesias. He took up...James the brother of John to sword.... [H]e added to that with also [Simon] Peter, were but days of the unleavened, whom also having laid hold...put into prison." Acts 12:1-4.

"Herod [A]...departed this life, in the 8th year of the reign of Claudius Caesar."

"And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander." AJ XX.V.2.

Ventidius Cumanus, Procurator¹²⁸ 48 - 52 c.e.

During a Passover, a soldier (one of the Roman regiment guarding the cloisters) insultingly dropped his pants in front of the crowd; in the ensuing tumult "20,000" persons were "pressed to death." Shortly thereafter, an imperial servant was plundered on a public road. Soldiers sent by Cumanus to plunder in retribution a neighboring village seized and destroyed a copy of "the laws of Moses." Cumanus, then at Cesarea, was besought by affronted Jews "in great numbers;" and, to abort the possibility of an outright sedition, Cumanus had the offending officer beheaded. AJ XX.V.2-4.

Also at a festival time, Galilaeans were assaulted while traveling to Jerusalem through the Samaria region. Cumanus stood accused of being bribed by Samaritans against taking punitive action. "The multitude of the Jews," encouraged by Galilaeans, took up arms "to regain their liberty," despite attempts of "their principal men" to desist. Many Samaritan villages were plundered; provoked, Cumanus "marched again out against the Jews...caught them...slew many...and took a great number of

¹²⁷"a province of Assyria now [at the time of printing] Kurdistan;" Cassell's Latin Dictionary, Marchant, M.A., J.R.V. and Charles, B.A., Joseph F., Revision, NY, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1958, p. 12. (Helena's son, king Izates, was an avid follower of The Law.)

¹²⁸"Ventidius Cumanus, governor of Palestine, etc. Tacit. A. 13, c. 54." L 637.

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Claudius

them alive." Nonetheless, "the principal Samaritans" brought accusations before [then] Syrian president Quadratus at Tyre--the Jews responding that the Samaritans had been the instigators and that Cumanus had been corrupted by gifts. Quadratus went to Samaria; "he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors" of the disturbance. However, when Quadratus was "informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives."

After a second hearing at Lydda, Quadratus ordered that "one of the chief of the Jews...Dortus," and "four" innovators with him, be put to death on charges they had persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans. "[B]ut still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the commander,¹²⁹ in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar," and sent also "the principal men both of the Samaritans and of the Jews," Cumanus, and Celer the tribune. Quadratus then visited Jerusalem, "but he found the city in a peaceable state" celebrating one of their usual festivals, and finding no reason to expect trouble he returned to Antioch.

At Rome, Caesar's freed-men and his friends were very zealous on behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; but Agrippa II "had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband...to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government."

"Claudius...found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders...[and] gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. *AJ XX.VI.1-3*.

"Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans[/Pallas] to take care of the affairs of Judea."

Antonius Felix, Procurator;¹³⁰
(? -) Jonathan, High Priest.

52 - 59 c.e.

Note: It is not stated directly that (Nebedeus-) Ananias was among the slain (or banished); but the appointment of "Jonathan" as high priest is found in the reports of his assassination--contrived by Felix, *AJ XX.VIII.5*; by Sicarii, *Wars II.XIII.3*.

At the end of "the twelfth year of Claudius' reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa [II] the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years." *AJ XX.VII.1*.

Claudius gave Agrippa II "the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis...." *Wars II.XII.5*.

"Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days...." *AJ XX.VIII.1*.

¹²⁹ *Josephus* eds. add "[of the temple]."

¹³⁰ "Felix, M. Antonius, a freedman of Claudius Caesar, made governor of Judaea, Samaria and Palestine. He is called by Suetonius the husband of three queens, as he married the two Drusillae, one granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and the other a Jewish princess, sister of Agrippa [I; Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart, I. The name of his third wife is unknown. *Suet. in Cl. 18--Tacit. Ann. 12, c. 14.*" L 239.

Year(s)
c.e.

“LOCALLY”

ROME
Nero

Claudius' successor, Nero, “bestowed on Agrippa [II] a certain part of the Galilee, Tiberias, and Taricheae, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction, [and] gave him also Julias,¹³¹ a city of Perea, with 14 villages that lay about it.”
AJ XX.VIII.4.

Agrippa II appointed (Fabi¹³²) Ishmael chief priest.

(Fabi-) Ishmael, High Priest

* * *

Subsequent Procurators and High Priests Until Roman Conquest¹³³

No attempt is made to assign years to the following individuals whose tenures occurred beyond the timeframe of this volume:

Procurator Porcius Festus supplanted Antonius Felix.

High Priest Joseph Cabi, “a son of Simon, formerly high priest,” substituted by Agrippa II for (Fabi-) Ishmael.

High Priest (Ananus/Annas-) Ananus (one of the five sons of his father, “all who performed the office of a high priest”¹³⁴), substituted by Agrippa II for Joseph Cabi after death of Porcius Festus and before arrival of his successor.

Procurator Luceius Albinus

High Priest (Damneus-) Jesus, substituted by Agrippa II for Ananus, who “ruled but three months.”

High Priest (Gamaliel-) Jesus, substituted by Agrippa II for (Damneus-) Jesus.

- During the foregoing “time it principally came to pass that our city [Jerusalem] was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse;” “the high priests, with regard to one another...frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing stones at each other.”

High Priest (Theophilus-) Matthias, the last appointment by Agrippa II.

- Irreversible revolt against Rome was spreading quickly as northern cities fell; “there were, besides, disorders and civil wars in every city...”
- Roman general Vespasian conquered the Galilee c. 67 c.e.
- Jerusalem and Judea were in a state of ungoverned anarchy, divided between those who were for and those against combatting the Romans.

¹³¹ Refer to Appendix 4C, Bethsaida. (This and other quotations may pertain to the indecision on siting *Bethsaida*(s).)

¹³² Resembles earlier “Phabi” (-Ismael) and “Phabet” (-Jesus).

¹³³ Gathered from AJ XX.VIII.9 - XX.IX.1-7, Wars IV.III.8, and L 239, 328.

¹³⁴ “But this [last] Ananus...was very insolent. ...[H]e assembled the sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus...whose name was James, and some others...and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned...”

High Priest (Samuel-) Phannias--"a mere rustic," 'installed' as high priest by the "zealot" faction, was selected by a casting of lots by "one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim."¹³⁵

- After John of Gishala's retreat to Jerusalem, Jerusalem fell to Vespasian's son, Titus, c. 70 c.e.

¹³⁵ *Josephus* eds. note: "This tribe or course of the high priests...here called Eniachim, seems to...be that 1 Chron. xxiv.12, 'the course of Jakim,' where some copies have 'the course of Eliakim', [referencing a "learned Mr. Lowth"];” *Wars* IV.III.8.

Appendix 4A, Detail A

Year of Death of Herod the Great and Year of Birth of (Miriam/Mary [A]-) Jesus

The questions of the years in which Herod the Great died and Jesus was born have yielded extensive scholarly exposition. The general range of estimations place (a) at the earliest, Jesus' birth c. 6 to 4 b.c./b.c.e. and Herod's death c. 4 b.c./b.c.e.; (b) at the latest, Jesus' birth c. 2 b.c./b.c.e. and Herod's death, c. 1 b.c./b.c.e. to 1 a.d./c.e.

The varying theories all rest upon the following:¹

- (1) A moon eclipse, reported by *Josephus* as occurring not long before Herod's death. Three moon eclipses, one in 4 b.c.e. and two in 1 b.c.e., are of record in the extended timeframe.
- (2) A Roman registration/census and a taxation conducted by one Cyrenius/*Quirinius*.² While only one *Quirinius* appearance in Judaea is fixed by the record in 6 c.e., there is some evidence (but also burdened by uncertainty) that he was administratively involved in the region as early as 12 b.c.e., possibly serving in differing capacities at different times.³

To employ *Quirinius*' involvements in calculations depends fully, however, on acceptance of item (3).

- (3) *Luke*'s report that Jesus' birth took place at Bethlehem because Joseph was required there to be present for a registration/census conducted by *Quirinius*, "hegemon of Syria;" and *Matthew*'s report that, afterwards, Joseph took the family from Bethlehem temporarily to Egypt, on learning that Herod had ordered destruction of all male children two years and under in Bethlehem's region.

To accept the *Luke* and *Matthew* reports would not mean, necessarily, that Jesus was close to two years old at the time of Herod's order; but it could indicate that enough time had intervened to cause Herod to blanket two years.

1. Herod the Great - Age At and Year of Death - Related Quotations.

Herod, at the time his father made him governor in the Galilee, was:

(a) "age 15,"

or

(b) age 25—suggested (as by *Josephus*' editor) as the age *Josephus* actually intended. *AJ* XIV.VIII.2.

As to Rome's designation of Herod to be king, before he had conquered Antigonus

¹ Relevant quotations are in parts 1 and 2 below; uncited data is drawn from this book's narratives.

² "Cyrenius" (an appointee of Caesar Augustus) in Greek is rendered *Quirinius*. "*Quirinius Sulpitius, a Roman consul...; appointed governor of Syria...*" L 527.

³ E.g. (a) "[T]he *Dictionnaire du Nouveau Testament* in Crampton's French Bible (1939 ed., p. 360) says: 'The scholarly researches of Zumpt (*Commentat. epigraph.*, II, 86-104; *De Syria romana provincia*, 97-98) and of Mommsen (*Res gestae divi Augusti*) place beyond doubt that *Quirinius* was twice governor of Syria.'" (b) "In the *Chronographus Anni CCCLVIII*, a list of Roman consuls, the name of *Quirinius* appears in 12 B.C.E." Secular sources--primarily certain inscriptions found at Antioch and Rome--provide the basis for accepting that *Quirinius* administered provincial duties more than once. *Aid*, pp. 1363-64.

II, Herod “obtained it on the 184th olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [*sic.*]” AJ XIV.XIV.5.

The four years of the 184th olympiad were [776 - (183 x 4 =) 732 =]

44, 43, 42, and 41 b.c.e.⁴

Textwise, after Herod’s return from Rome’s hearing of the cause of Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, it is reported that “[a]but this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste was finished...the twenty-eighth year of Herod’s reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad.” AJ XVI.V.1.

The four years of the 192nd olympiad were [776 - (191 x 4 =) 764 =]

12, 11, 10 and 9 b.c.e.

The immediate timeframe of Herod’s death is defined by *text sequencing of*:

(a) “Now Herod’s distemper became more and more severe...[being] almost seventy.... ...[T]he grief also that Antipater [III] was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death...as soon as he should be well again....” Wars I.XXXIII.1.

followed textwise by

(b) a “certain popular” sedition,⁵ after which Herod “deprived Matthias of the high priesthood...and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was a eclipse of the moon.” AJ XVII.VI.4.

It is not said whether the moon eclipse was partial or full.

A partial eclipse of the moon occurred in 4 b.c.e. on the night of March

12/13 (about two weeks before that year’s Passover).⁶

A full eclipse of the moon occurred in 1 b.c.e. on January 7 (Gregorian calendar) or 9 (Julian calendar).

A partial eclipse of the moon also occurred in December of 1 b.c.e.

During Herod’s last days, a period incalculable from the texts:

(a) He received word that Rome left it up to him whether to banish Antipater III or have him slain;

(b) He revived a bit; then, “overbourne by his pains,” he threatened suicide. The tumult that followed caused Antipater III, believing his father had died, to bribe jailers to release him. The prison keeper informed Herod, who, “although he was at death’s door,” commanded his guards “to kill Antipater without any further delay....” AJ XVII.VII.1.

Herod: (a) “died the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain;” Herod “survived the slaughter of his son five days;”

(b) “reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus [II] to be slain;” “procured Antigonus to be slain;”

(c) having reigned “thirty-seven years since he had been declared king by the Romans.” AJ XVII.VIII.1, Wars I.XXXIII.8.

After Herod’s death:

(a) His successor-son Archelaus mourned seven days and then gave a feast for “the multitude,” after which at a meeting of principal persons he received strong urgings for retributions for various acts wrought by his father.

⁴ After “Pollio” in the quotation, *Josephus’* editor adds “[the first time].” *Lempriere* 170 (list of consuls) names Calvinus and Pollio only once, together, AUC 714, but that translates to 38 b.c.e., in the 185th olympiad--see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B (1) (c), concerning year conversions.

⁵ Refer to Appendix 4B, III for details.

⁶ The position of *Josephus’* editor, which follows this passage, is that “this eclipse of the moon...is of the greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod [the Great] and Antipater [III], and for the birth...of Jesus.... It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Christian era.”

(b) Archelaus attempted to postpone issues, in that he was preparing to go to Rome to secure confirmation of his kingship. He was beset by more strident demands, and the sedition worsened.

(c) “[T]he feast of unleavened bread...was now at hand, ...called the Passover,” and “an innumerable multitude...came” from out of the country into the city.

(d) Serious hostilities erupted. Archelaus dealt with it severely, after which he “went down now to the sea-side” to embark for Rome.

Wars II.I.1-3, II.II.1.

2. Jesus Year of Birth - Related Quotations.

“[W]ent out a decree beside Caesar Augustus to be getting registered all the inhabited [country]...this registration *first* occurred being hegemon⁷ of the Syria Quirinius, and they were going their way all to be getting registered, each into of himself city. Went up also Joseph, from the Galilee out of city Nazareth into the Judea into city of David which is being called Bethlehem,” the city of his father and his house. “It occurred...there were fulfilled the days...to give birth..., and she [Mary A] gave birth to the son of her....”

Luke 2:1-7 (italics supplied).

Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem “[i]n the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, when [Caesar] Augustus⁸ published a decree that all persons should go to be taxed in their own country.”

First Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus (apocryphal), I:4.

“[W]ent out a decree...to be...registered all the inhabited [country]...this registration first occurred being hegemon of the Syria Quirinius.... Went up also Joseph, from the Galilee out of city Nazareth into the Judea into city of David which is being called Bethlehem.” “It occurred...there were fulfilled the days...to give birth..., and she gave birth to the son of her....”

Luke 2:1-7.

“Jesus...generated in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king.” *Matthew 2:1.*

“High priests/”magi” from the East arrived at Jerusalem and began to ask , “Where is the [one] born king of the Jews?” Herod the Great questioned “all the chief priests and scribes of the people...where...? The[y] but said to him, ‘In Bethlehem of the Judea.’”

Matthew 2:2-5.

“Then Herod secretly having called the magi...sent them into Bethlehem,” instructing them when they found Jesus to “report back to me.” Instead of returning to Herod, “through another way they withdrew into the country of them.”

Matthew 2:7-9, 12.

After they had withdrawn, Joseph was convinced by a dream to take “along the young child and the mother of it of night and withdr[a]w into Egypt,” in that Herod was seeking “to destroy” the child.

Matthew 2:13-14.

When the magi failed to return to Herod, he, “enraged,” “took up all the boys the (ones) in Bethlehem and in all the districts of it from two years and down more.” Herod calculated the period “two years and down” “according to the time which he carefully ascertained” by the appearance of the magi.

Matthew 2:16.

After Herod’s death, Joseph “took along the young child and the mother...and entered into the land of Israel.” Hearing, however, “that Archelaus is reigning of the Judea,” he “became afraid there to depart” and instead “withdrew into the parts of the Galilee, and...he settled into city...Nazareth.”

Matthew 2:21-23.

“Cyrenius, a Roman senator...had gone through other magistracies...till he had been

⁷ This Greek word is translated as “governor” in the text quoted here, but also basically was used for a variety of officials such as legates, procurators, etc.

⁸ *Lost Books*, p. 38.

consul, and one...of great dignity, [and he] came into Syria, with a few others, being sent by [Augustus] Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take account of their substance. Coponius...a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover [later?], Cyrenius came himself into Judea...now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substances, and to dispose of Archelaus's [Herod's first successor's] money...." "...Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by [Augustus] Caesar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus."

AJ XVIII.I.1, XVII.XII.5.

"...stood up Judas the Galilean in the days of the [second?] registration and made stand off the people behind him...."

Acts 5:37.

When Archelaus' "country was laid to the province of Syria," "Cyrenius...disposed of Archelaus's money, and ...the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar's [Augustus's] victory over Antony at Actium."

AJ XVIII.II.1.

The generally accepted year for Actium is 31 b.c.e.,⁹ according to which 37 years would yield 6 c.e.

(3) Herod the Great Year of Death - Exploration.

(a) Based on Reign-Related Data.

	b.c.e. ¹⁰	-----age-----	
Herod became governor of Galilee c.	47		
At age reported by Josephus:		15	
At Josephus' editor's suggested 'corrected' age:			25
Herod designated by Rome to be king in	¹¹ 41	<u>+6</u>	<u>+6</u>
		21	31
Herod reigned 37 years from Rome's designation of him as king	<u>-37</u>	<u>+37</u>	<u>+37</u>
Projected date of death and age, based on Herod-related data:	4 b.c.e.	58	68
Year of one moon eclipse:	4 b.c.e.		

There is not precise correlation, however, between 41 b.c.e. as the year of Herod's designation to be king, and Josephus' statement that Caesarea Sebaste was completed in Herod's "28th" regnal year which fell "into the 192nd olympiad"--41 b.c.e. - 28 = 13 b.c.e.-- while the four years of the 192nd olympiad would have been 12, 11, 10, 9 b.c. A similar one-year imprecision occurs when the stated 34 years of Herod's reign, after his conquest of Antigonos II and taking Jerusalem, are deducted from a total reign of 37 years. There the year yielded for Herod's death is (37 - 34 =) 3 b.c.e., which could be accounted for in an 'overlap' of months.

The proposed change in Herod's age from 15 to 25, when he became governor in the Galilee, does correspond well with his reported age at death of almost 70. (Based on the above approximate timetable, Herod would have been born c. 72 b.c.e.)

(b) Based on Other Data.

The year of Herod's death only can be related to a Quirinius involvement if the *Luke 2* report is accepted.

⁹ Refer to Appendix 4A at 31 b.c.e.

¹⁰ This estimated date is drawn from dates assigned to Julius Caesar's ascendance over Pompey and ensuing events--refer to Appendix 4A for that period.

¹¹ This year can be found also assigned generally to 40 b.c.e., e.g. *Ency.* 102.

If the *Luke 2* report is not accepted, a moon eclipse remains the sole dating factor. In that case, Herod's death could have occurred in c. 1 b.c.e. or 1 c.e.--see the summary table below in (4)(c).

A question related to *which* eclipse involves the passage of time compared to intervening events, between Herod's death and the Passover reported textwise after Archelaus took office. If the eclipse was that of 4 b.c., then Herod's death, a seven-day mourning period, Archelaus' feast for the people, and the ensuing uprising all would have occurred in some two to three weeks' time. If the eclipse was either one of the two occurring in 1 b.c.e., the intervening time would have been more than two and three months, respectively.

(4) Birth of Jesus - Exploration.

(a) Discounting the *Matthew 2* and *Luke 2* Reports.

If the *Matthew* and *Luke* reports are not taken into account, the date of Herod's death is of no use in calculating the year of Jesus' birth.

(b) Crediting the *Matthew 2* and *Luke 2* Reports.

The pivotal point in this instance is the Quirinius involvement. The *Josephus* language above (*AJ* XVIII.I.1, XVII.XII.5) does not preclude that Quirinius was involved more than once with administrative affairs in Judaea, or that a registration commenced prior to Herod's death. The use of the word "first" in *Luke's* reference to registration, *vis-a-vis* the word "registration" in *Acts* relative to the later rebellion of Judas the Galilean, admits the possibility of two (or ongoing) administrative activities.

Obviously, the c. 6 c.e. completion of taxations if taken as Quirinius' sole involvement, is well before both 4 b.c.e. and 1 b.c.e. - 1 c.e. as potential dates of Herod's death. (Further, there then would have been no need for Joseph to flee from a murderous order by Herod, already outlived by Archelaus' term in office.) Conversely, posing 6 b.c.e. as the year both of registration and Jesus' birth implies 12 years between registration and the 6 c.e. taxations.

In summary, even when earlier Quirinius involvement is accepted, the year of Jesus' birth cannot be confirmed. In that regard, some attention is drawn by the statement in the apocryphal *Infancy*, that Caesar Augustus issued a taxation decree "[i]n the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander." Alexander the Great's reign commenced c. 336 b.c.e.,¹² too early for use as the "era" referenced. If it is theorized that what was meant was the "era of the Greeks," it can be equated with the "era of the Seleucidae," which commenced 312 b.c.e.;¹³ and the year then indicated by *Infancy* would be 2 b.c.e.

(c) Data Comparison.

The following simply demonstrates how the unknown variables apply equally to the primary estimations:

Quirinius registration?	?
<u>Proposed year of birth of Jesus</u>	<u>6 or 5 b.c.e.</u>
Herod command to kill infants?	?
Escape to Egypt?	?
Moon eclipse March	4 b.c.e.
Death of Herod (before Passover)	4 b.c.e.,

¹² Refer to Appendix 3A, IV.

¹³ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B, Calendrical Conversions.

Quirinius registration?	?
<u>Proposed year of birth of Jesus</u>	<u>2 b.c.e.</u>
Herod command to kill infants?	?
Escape to Egypt?	?
Moon eclipse January	1 b.c.e.
Death of Herod (before Passover)	1 b.c.e.

Quirinius registration?	?
<u>Proposed year of birth of Jesus</u>	<u>2 b.c.e.</u>
Herod command to kill infants?	?
Escape to Egypt?	?
Moon eclipse December	1 b.c.e.
Death of Herod (before Passover)	1 c.e.

(5) Year of Death of Jesus.

Even if Jesus' birth year were known,¹⁴ the year in which he died would not be deducible from the present record.

The theory that Jesus died in 33 c.e. selects 2 b.c.e. as the birth year and conjectures the following factors:

- (a) that Jesus entered rabbinical work "commencing as if of years thirty" (*Luke 3:23*) --seen as correspondent with *Leviticus 4:2-3, 22-23 and 29-30*, when Moses numbered sons of Kohath, Gershon, and Merari for priestly services (book one);
- (b) that Jesus was "of years 12," when he accompanied his parents to a passover at Jerusalem (*Luke 2:42*);
- (c) arbitrary assignments of lengths of time to Jesus' reported adult travels and activities;

and by

(d) combining all of the foregoing with the report that Jesus' involvement with John the baptizer occurred in "year...five and tenth of the governorship of Tiberius Caesar" (*Luke 3:1-2*). The reign of Caesar Tiberius *CDN* has been placed at 14 - 37 c.e., yielding c. 28/29 c.e. as his 15th year.¹⁵

¹⁴ e.g. "However punctiliously...celebrate[d is] Jesus' birth each 25 December, not only the date but also the year of his birth are unknown, and on present evidence unknowable." *Wilson*, p. 54.

¹⁵ Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1,

Appendix 4A, Attachment 1

Roman Imperial Rulers and Associated Data¹

[Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2.]

I. Summary of Events Through the Reign of Julius Caesar.

In 133 b.c.e., the last will of Attalus III of Pergamum left his kingdom to Rome. By 132 b.c.e. Rome possessed the provinces of Sicilia, Sardinia with Corsica, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Gallia Cisalpina, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Achaea.²

Rome's expansion "led ultimately to the corruption of both Senate and people, to the creation of a financial group—the *equines*, interested in imperialism—and to opportunities for self-aggrandizement on the part of generals and governors. In consequence, the equestrian class became a possible rival to the Senate, and the way was opened for the domination of the state by military commanders" who—often autonomously—waged battles on many fronts.

"[I]t is worthwhile to add even though briefly the following account," wrote Strabo of the Romans, who, in his time, had "acquired the whole of Italy through warfare and statesmanlike rulership, and that, after Italy, by exercising the same superior qualities, they also acquired the regions round about Italy. And of the continents, being three in number, they hold almost the whole of Europe, except that part of it which lies outside the Ister/[Danube] River and the parts along the ocean which lie between the Rhenus/[Rhine] and Tanais/[Don] rivers. Of Libya, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them; and the rest of the country is uninhabited or else inhabited only in a wretched or nomadic fashion. In like manner, of Asia also, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them [except narrow and sterile nomadic districts]; and of the interior and the country deep inland, one part is held by the Romans themselves and another by the Parthians and the barbarians beyond them; and on the east and north live Indians and Bactrians and Scythians, and then ["on the south"] Arabians and Aethiopians, but some further portion is constantly being taken from these peoples and added to the possessions of the Romans. ...[S]ome parts are indeed ruled by kings, but the Romans retain others themselves, calling them Provinces, and send to them prefects and collectors of tribute. But there are also some free states, of which some came over to the Romans at the outset as friends, whereas others were set free by the Romans themselves as a mark of honor. There are also some potentates and phylarchs ("tribal chiefs") and priests subject to them. Now these live in accordance with certain ancestral laws."
Strabo, vol. VIII, pp. 211-213.

In 133 b.c.e. one Tiberius Gracchus (son of Cornelia, daughter of Scipio and of distinguished twice-consul Gracchus T. Sempronius), a person of character, resolved to regenerate "the deplorable condition" of the Roman society and became a tribune of the plebs. His proposed reforms included re-enactment of former agrarian laws ... [and] by substituting independent peasants for slaves, to lay anew and solidly the economic foundation of society." Gracchus appealed to the rich of the tribes to make some sacrifice for the good of the republic. When his measure was vetoed the plebs deposed the opposition, "and the revolution of a hundred years began"—its aim, "to substitute the assembly for the senate."

Two colleagues turned coat and killed Gracchus; reforms came to a standstill. The democratic movement, however, gained strength over the next several years; and in 123 b.c.e. Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius Gracchus, became tribune in an overflowing election in which he was supported by "all Italy."³

Gaius made some mistakes of organization but concentrated all resources and labored indefatigably toward "the one measure on which he had set his heart—the enfranchisement of all the Italians"—and effected passage of several humane reforms. "[T]he office of tribune, once so insignificant, bec[a]me for a time the controlling power of the state and empire."

Aristocratic senators, however, did not "have the virtue necessary for the support of his reforms. ... When the senate tried to prevent Gaius from planting a colony at Carthage, both parties resorted to violence. The consul Opimus, armed by the senate with absolute power, overthrew the Gracchus party and killed Gaius, with 3000 of his followers. But the aristocracy was broken forever...." While "the death of Gaius restored the senate to power [it was] not, to its former independent position, for henceforth it could maintain its leadership only by feeding the rabble."

Botsford pp. 151-159.

Gaius Gracchus' successor was Gaius Marius, himself a "peasant." Commercial interests drew Rome into the African "Jugurthine" war (112 - 106 b.c.e.), waged between cousins for control of government in Numidia (112-106 b.c.e.). Rome initially was humiliated somewhat in its involvement—the strongest contender, Jugurtha, corrupted Roman military in Africa with bribes and even visited Rome openly—until Metellus, with Marius as his lieutenant, took command and defeated

¹ The primary source for this segment is *Botsford* (pages are cited at regular intervals), with *Ency.* pages 105-107 as a secondary reference. (In this, as other book four sections, "b.c."/"a.d." may be found, instead of "b.c.e."/"c.e.")

² Pertinent ensuing Roman involvements are included in the 3A, VI (narrative) and its Attachment 1 (timeline).

³ It is recounted that brother Tiberius appeared to Gaius in a dream and said, "Why hesitate, Gaius? It is your destiny, as mine, to live and die for the people."

Jugurtha. Marius ended the war, his quaestor, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, capturing Jugurtha, who perished in prison in Rome.
Botsford pp 160-162.

Marius, "reelected consul year after year,...busied himself with reorganizing and training the army to combat "two powerful German tribes, the Cimbri and Teutons." The Cimbri and Teutons, moving west from the Danube region into Transalpine Gaul, had "assailed the new province Rome had established on the coast between the Alps and the Pyrenees" and successively defeated six Roman armies. "[A] delay of three years, during which they wandered about in Gaul and Spain, gave the Romans time to prepare." Two "decisive victories saved...the Roman empire from being overwhelmed...." First, Marius prevented the Teutons from crossing the Alps into Italy in a battle at Aquae Sextiae in southern Gaul, "and annihilated their great host." The following year, the Cimbri—who had succeeded crossing the Alps—"were slaughtered...at Vercellae in northern Italy," by Roman forces under Marius and his colleague, Catulus.

The successes of Marius and Catulus were won, however, "by an important departure from republican principles." A lack of qualified soldiers secured by ownership of at least a small amount of property prompted Marius to enlist "volunteers from the lowest class of rural laborers, including those who were entirely without property," and whose entire livelihood depended on military service. Additionally, Marius replaced the aristocratic Roman cavalry with "more efficient and more obedient horsemen of the allies." In Marius' new organization "all the soldiers were now equipped alike, and depended for their rank and honor...on the favor of the commander"—in short, "an army which would support its commander[s] in any ambitious design, even against the senate and the people." Marius—who, elected to consulship six times in a row, had absolute command of the army—possessed "power little less than that of a king."

Marius in his sixth consulship, c. 100 b.c.e., allied with tribune Saturninus and praetor Glaucia to pass a law to plant colonies of army veterans in the provinces. The law carried, but not without illegalities. On the following election day for new consuls, Glaucia was candidate of the rural plebeians, who had favored the measure; and "a fight between them and the city rabble broke up the assembly." Marius, as chief magistrate, was called upon by the senate and knights to put down the sedition, and "reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates," who "after some time...surrendered." Marius' intentions of treating with them in a "legal manner" was unacceptable to the mob: it tore the tiles off of the roof of the senate house, where the prisoners had been put, "and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office."

"Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position were no longer of any use to anybody...." "[T]hough revolutionary," the rural plebeians "were the only morally sound party in the state, while the senate depended upon the unprincipled city rabble. The revolutionary leaders, although baser and more violent than the Gracchi, were carrying out the work of those reformers. Had Marius been as great a statesman as a general, he would have cast his lot with them, and from the sedition of the Forum he would have emerged a king."

Marius "missed his destiny; and the fate of Rome passed into other hands. The senate found itself encompassed on all sides by enemies: the knights, who controlled the courts, terrorized it with their prosecutions; the mob breathed jealousy and hatred while it clamored for bread; the rural plebeians threatened at any moment to invade the Forum and trample upon the government; at the same time the oppressed Italians were on the point of rebellion." In 91 b.c.e. "Marcus Livius Drusus, a young man of great wealth and illustrious family, became tribune of the plebeians, and led a movement by which some more-liberal aristocrats thought to win the support of Italians by granting them Roman citizenship. Drusus "proposed cheap corn, colonization, the division of the courts between an equal number of senators and knights, and the enfranchisement of the Italians. His measures met with difficulty, sparking mixed reactions from all classes, but were passed, only to be annulled by the senate. "[S]oon afterward Drusus was murdered. A law was then passed which threatened with prosecution any one who dared aid the Italians in acquiring the citizenship." That act, and the passing of Drusus, "deprived the Italians of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means," heralding the "Social War, 90 - 88 b.c.e."

Far and above voting at Rome (most Italians lived too far away to make it feasible), the Italians "needed the protection which citizenship gave...humane treatment [by] commanders...[and] the same rights of property and trade which the Romans had always enjoyed; but most of all [...a cessation of Roman citizens'] insulting, scourging, and killing them for amusement or spite." In 90 b.c.e. the Italian allies—chiefly Sabellians—revolted and formed a new state. As its capital they chose "Corfinium in the country of the Paelignians" and renamed it "Italica. In the main they patterned their government after that of Rome; they gave the citizenship to all who took part with them in the war; and they aimed to annex the whole of Italy."

The Italian army, a band of several small forces, was pitted against great odds; their successes over the first year, however, that consul Lucius Julius Caesar (father of the renowned Julius) gave citizenship to persons who did not possess it but remained faithful supporters of Rome. Shortly thereafter another law offered citizenship also to any Italian allies "who would return to their allegiance. 'Accordingly, the gates of Roman citizenship...so long closed...suddenly opened when the sword knocked at them.'" The concessions both kept the revolt in check and weakened the opposition; "in another year the Romans broke the strength of the allies."

Botsford 162-166.

The Italians, as Roman citizens, had self-government of their *municipia*, but little else. Moreover, "they were degraded by being enrolled in eight new tribes, which voted *after* the old thirty-five." Hostility remained between the city

⁴ On Marius' return from Africa, he married one [undesigned] "Julia of the illustrious house of the Caesars."

⁵ See Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A chart at item (4).

plebeians and the rural plebeians, the latter being too distant to enjoy equal privileges. The Italians "still regarded the senate and the rabble [city plebs] as their oppressors...they therefore welcomed the strong man.... Hence the idea of a monarchy grew apace. Accordingly politics took a new turn....

In 88 b.c.e. there came to the consulship one Sulla[Sylla]. Sulla, "patrician though poor," had been Marius' quaestor in the Jugurthine War and a successful general, also, in the Social War. Senate conflict arose when Sulla received what Marius, himself, wanted: command in "the East, where Mithridates [VII], the able and ambitious king of Pontus ...had rapidly extended his power, and was driving the Romans from Asia Minor." Sulpicius, tribune of the plebs and supported by the Italians, "violently forced through the assembly a resolution for the appointment of Marius. Sulla, still consul, led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Sulpicius was killed; Marius fled to Africa. This was the first time the army appeared on the political stage...a crisis in the history of the republic. The leadership of the revolution passed from the tribunes to the generals. Henceforth the sword was to arbitrate between political rivals; and the successful commander was to rule the Roman world."

Sulla restored senate authority and gave it total power over acts of tribunes. He then took his army to war against Mithridates. "No sooner had Sulla left Italy than an armed conflict broke out between the consuls Octavius [leader of the aristocracy] and Cinna [champion of the Italians], over the enrolment of...Italians in the old tribes.... 10,000 men lost their lives," as Octavius drove Cinna, deposed from consulship, from the city. "But Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius...and marched against Rome." Cinna and Marius entered the city with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves. They killed Octavius and all the eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. They gave the Italians their rights." But in the culmination of events--from the murders of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus and their supporters, and Rome's murderous policies during the Jugurthine war--the Cinna/Marius episode seemed like "the last act of a terrible drama."

Meanwhile, "the province of Asia welcomed Mithridates as a saviour...." (On his order, "80,000 Italians throughout that country were murdered in a single day. Greece revolted to him; his armies occupied Thrace and Macedonia. Sulla then took the field; and 'within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's [Mithridates'] fleet...and...restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone."

Back at Rome, "civil war broke out between Sulla and the democratic party, which still held the government." Cinna was killed in a mutiny early on; "command of the popular forces passed to Carbo and the son of Gaius Marius as consuls. "Sulla gained ground" through treachery, corruption and diplomacy as well as force. "Carbo fled to Africa; the young Marius was blockaded in Praeneste. Then Pontius, leader of the Samnites...in unison with the popular party, with 70,000 hill-men, swooped down upon Rome." They were met by Sulla outside the Colline Gate, "in the fiercest battle of the war. Here the aristocratic cause triumphed; and Rome gained her last victory over Samnium." Carbo and Sertorius continued the struggle, respectively, in Africa and Spain; but "in Italy Marius committed suicide and his party collapsed."

Once Sulla's army had made him master of Rome, he recklessly butchered opponents of his party, posting daily lists of "the proscribed"--whom any one might slay...for a reward." Nearly 5000 were thus murdered, many of them senators and knights--as many murdered in sheer hatred or for their wealth as for political attachments. "At the same time, murder and confiscation were carried on over all Italy."

"After a time Sulla assumed the dictatorship...and put his hand to...restoring the aristocratic constitution." He returned control over the assemblies to the senate, in that no matter could be brought before the people without its consent. Another measure disqualified a tribune from holding higher office, which "rendered the tribunate impotent and unattractive to the ambitious. As a consequence the assembly of tribes became insignificant as compared with that of the centuries." "Sulla settled his 120,000 devoted veterans" "on lands made vacant in Italy by war, massacre, and proscription." "For his personal security he enfranchised 10,000 slaves of the proscribed, and named them all, after himself, Corneli." Then, Sulla abruptly abdicated the dictatorship and retired.

Sulla died not long after his retirement. Under his legislation--which had been "in the interest of his party"--"aristocracy and democracy were now alike impossible." Whether Sulla anticipated the temporality of the reformed constitution and banked only on "a few years of quiet enjoyment," he was not yet in his grave when his artificial government, built upon so much blood, began to totter." *Botsford 167-174.*

⁶ Commencing the 'Mithradetic wars'--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A, "Mithridates and Ariarathes Dynasties (Pontus and Cappadocia)."

⁷ Marius received his seventh consulship, but died soon afterward from drinking." (It is not said what happened to wife Julia or children.)

⁸ Among others of Sulla's reforms were: (a) the office of quaestor was the the stepping-stone to the senate; (b) eight praetors (an increase of two), two of whom had civil jurisdiction while six presided over criminal courts, of which several new ones were created and their juries composed wholly of senators (as it was, before Gaius Gracchus); (c) one had to be quaestor before praetor and praetor before consul, and could not hold the same office more than once every 10 years; (d) praetors and consuls could hold military commands only in exceptional cases, their primary authority being civil and limited to Italy south of the Rubicon; (e) when a praetor's or consul's term of office expired, he was eligible for a one-year term as a promagistrate with military authority in one of the provinces.

[Here commences *Botsford* Chapter VIII, "The Revolution--(II) The Military Power in Conflict with the Republic. Pompey, Caesar, and Octavius (79 - 27 b.c.e.)" -- *Third Period of The Republic--Second Epoch.*]

Sulla had effected military power over the constitution. Political parties and government fell to powerful generals. Rising army officer Gnaeus Pompey proved well-fitted to inherit Sulla's policies and defend his constitution. As a young man Pompey "raised an army by his own means and...joined Sulla in war against the democrats." Pompey enforced Rome's laws by the sword; he went to Sicily, suppressed that island's popular party and returned victorious.

After Sulla's death, a consul Lepidus in 78 b.c.e. tried to do away with the Sulla constitution; unsuccessful, he resorted to arms the following year. "Pompey distinguished himself still further as a champion of the aristocracy against the democrats," by helping suppress the Lepidus rebellion. The senate, in need of a good general for Spain, gave proconsulship to Pompey (despite his not having been, as required, a consul first, nor even a quaestor).

Sertorius, successor in Spain of the democratic magistrates overthrown by Sulla, showed himself over several years as the first Roman empathetic with the governed: "From love and admiration the natives called him Hannibal. With the small forces at his command he routed...Roman armies sent against him, including that of Pompey. Sertorius allied with Mithridates, who again was at war in the east; it was not until "Sertorius was murdered by one of his own generals" that Pompey was able to put an end to the civil warring in Spain.

Meanwhile, "pirates swarmed...over the whole Mediterranean" and "the Roman world was drifting into anarchy." "In Italy, more than 100,000 slaves were in revolt," an insurrection led by "Spartacus, a gladiator, who had escaped from a 'training school' in Capua." Spartacus overthrew Roman armies for two years, until "praetor Marcus Licinius Crassus, with eight legions, defeated and killed him and dispersed his army." Pompey, just returned from Spain, lent Crassus, "at the last moment, slight aid."

Crassus "had amassed a colossal fortune, chiefly by buying up the estates of the 'proscribed,'" as a partner with Sulla in the earlier civil war. The political influence he achieved by his wealth and defeat of Spartacus "made him a rival of Pompey;" both were eager for the consulship. The senate asked the people to support appointment of Pompey, despite his lack of requisite prequalifications, and promised the plebs that in return Sulla's constitutional laws would be repealed. In 70 b.c.e. he and Crassus were elected.

Pompey and Crassus "restored the power of the tribunes; they divided the juries equally among the senators, knights, and tribal officers; and under their influence the censors of the year purged the senate of some of the worst partisans of Sulla. Thus the aristocratic government, after standing but ten years, was overthrown by the man its founder had styled 'the Great.' This was a victory, not so much of the democracy, as of the army; for the tribunes when restored began to attach themselves to the service of the great military leaders." Pompey had helped the new democratic government without taking the lead.... Hence...he had no party at his back," and had no choice when his consulship ended but to retire to private life. He represented, however, "the military power now sleeping, but soon to awaken at the call of a tribune."

Mediterranean piracy now reached a peak--cities were seized and officials held for ransom; the cutting-off of Rome's grain supply threatened it with famine.⁹ "Gabinus, a tribune, proposed to give Pompey a three-year absolute command of the Mediterranean, together with a strip of its coast 50 miles wide as far [north and south] as the Roman empire extended." The "Gabinian Law" also provided Pompey with "a vast number of ships and men" and permission to "draw on the treasury without limit." The senate opposed making one man all-powerful but the people approved it enthusiastically.

Pompey swiftly "cleared the sea of pirates. He destroyed their hive in Cilicia and made it a Roman province. By his appointment the senate admitted its inability even merely to put down piracy. "A temporary monarchy had to be created for the purpose, or rather, a division of power between the senate and the commander." That arrangement, a *dyarchy*--"rule of two"--was to become the chief principle of the imperial government."

One "Lucullus, a luxurious noble," for some years had realized "moderate success" against Mithridates, king of Pontus--"a remarkable person," who "left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried." Mithridates had sent legates to Sertorius and made alliances with Samnites and Gauls. He was "so strong...he rode horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride a thousand furlongs a day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with 16 horses at once." "[O]ften wounded by enemies and conspirators, he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man.... He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all--slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons and three daughters." Lucullus, however, had not yet been able to conquer Mithridates [VII]; now "a law of the tribune Manilius gave the command in the East to Pompey, in addition to the power he already had."

A dangerous conspiracy unraveled at Rome during Pompey's absence. Its leader was one Lucius Catiline, a man of noble birth and substantial endowments but (according to contemporary writings) of "a vicious and depraved disposition." Catiline was associated with desperate men--"the remnant of the Marian party" (who sought justice for the acts of Sulla), Sulla's unemployed "tools" and veterans, and criminal elements as well. The anarchists laid plans for killing magistrates and nobles and seizing the government.

⁹ Egypt at some point had become supplier of nearly all of Rome's wheat.

The Catiline conspiracy was detected by Cicero, who had been made consul in 63 b.c.e. Cicero "denounced Catiline before the senate. The arch-conspirator fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria, where he was soon afterward defeated and killed. Cicero arrested a few of Catiline's chief associates...and by virtue of the dictatorial power given him by the senate, put them to death without a trial." Cicero's success brought senate recognition of him as their leader. He "was strongly attached to the republic form of government...[and] attempted to strengthen it by restoring to the knights and the senators the harmony Gaius Gracchus had broken." However, "such a remedy, even if practicable, could not long have saved the corrupt aristocracy. ... [F]or the age of generals had come, they were the only strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was in vain, therefore, that Cicero hoped to make Pompey a defender of the constitution."

Off in the East, Pompey "easily drove" Mithridates from Pontus and joined most of its territory to the new province of Bithynia." He "then annexed Syria as a province to the empire, thus extending the dominion of Rome to the Euphrates. Taking advantage of a civil war in Judea, he subdued that country," leaving a few small kingdoms undisturbed in and about Asia Minor, who were allies in name but really vassals of Rome. Pompey also made a treaty of friendship with the Parthian empire, beyond the Euphrates, and, "like Alexander the Great he founded many cities. ... His careful organization of the newly acquired territory remained the basis of future arrangements." Rome, "with her dependent allies and her provinces,...now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean." During Pompey's absence important events took place.

Botsford 175-182.

Rome waited anxiously for Pompey's return. "While both parties claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government by means of his army and make himself dictator, as Sulla had done." Waiting in the wings was Gaius Julius Caesar, "still a young man, but powerful...daring...ambitious...and profuse beyond his means.... While yet aedile and praetor he had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures." "One of the noblest of the patricians, he was leader of the people, and in that capacity he restored to honor his uncle Marius.... While advocating the rights of the governed, however, he aimed to secure a military command like that of Pompey. ... For the present he joined himself to Crassus...."

Pompey chose to disband his army and returned to Rome as a private citizen; he believed (as is supposed) that his influence alone would secure his honor and power. "But he was bitterly disappointed. The senate...hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East." When Pompey "found himself as helpless in politics as Marius had been...Caesar and Crassus came to his relief." They proposed that the three act together for mutual interests, a combination which, "though unofficial, is called the First Triumvirate." According to their agreement, Caesar was made consul in 59 b.c.e., in return for which the people ratified Pompey's arrangements in the East.

At the close of Caesar's term he received the governance of Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis (along the southern coast of present-day France), and Illyricum, as proconsul for a term of five years—"the kind of position for which he had long been striving." The triumvirs "renewed their alliance in a conference held in 56 b.c.e. at Luca, in northern Italy. Caesar was to have five more years of command in Gaul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 b.c., after which Pompey was to be proconsul of the two Spains and of Africa for five years, and Crassus was to receive the proconsulship of Syria. In this way these men divided among them the Roman world."

Julius Caesar "found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers" in his proconsulship. North of the province of Narbonensis stretched the still-unconquered Gauls ("chiefly of the Celtic race"); east of the Rhine, there were the beginnings of German migration, as powerful German tribes seized Gallic land; the "Helvetians, a great Celtic tribe of the Alps," meanwhile were making for southern Gaul's fertile ground. Caesar as yet had little military experience; "but the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war," as he gathered scattered forces, formed new legions and inspired raw recruits. In one summer he both defeated and drove Helvetians back to their former territory and forced Germans back across the Rhine in another great victory. The next year he marched against Belgians in northern Gaul, whom he perceived as a threat. The fiercest battle was with the Nervii, "the most warlike and powerful of the Belgic tribes. ... Few Nervii survived. As a result of the campaign all northern Gaul submitted."

The next to submit to Caesar, in the following year, were the "Veneti," a maritime people occupying a strip of the western coast. "In the remaining years of his command [in Gaul] Caesar drove back another horde of Germans [and made] two voyages to Britain," while dealing with rebellions among new subjects.¹⁰ Despite "desolation and death...in the end his just and humane settlement of affairs attached the subjects loyally to him."

Botsford 182-186.

"Most politicians at Rome thought of a province as nothing but a plundering ground, or, more recently, as a means of acquiring a military command. Accordingly, Crassus, at the end of his consulship, went to Syria, his province, in the hope of raising an army with which to rival Pompey and Caesar." Instead, he was defeated and killed by the Parthians. Pompey administered his provinces through deputies, not personally, as the law required (a means that would become, under the emperors, a rule). Pompey "remained in the neighborhood of Rome to preserve order; and as the senate was of itself unable to prevent anarchy in the city, it made him sole consul in 52 b.c.e. and prolonged his proconsulship five years. The aristocrats now looked to him for protection from the mighty governor of Gaul, who represented the people."

"Pompey had married Caesar's daughter Julia; and as long as she lived the two leaders remained friends. Her death, however, broke the only bond that united them. A clash between them, and between the parties they represented, was inevitable."

¹⁰

Gaul eventually became four provinces...and protected the Rhine frontier.... [Its] new subjects readily learned Latin and adopted Roman dress and customs."

Caesar was willing to make concessions, but “the senate was unbending. As his enemies threatened to prosecute him when he should become a private citizen, he wished to pass immediately from the proconsulship of Gaul, ending 49 b.c.e., to the consulship at Rome, 48 b.c.e. A law of the tribunes gave him permission to become a candidate for the consulship without appearing in person according to custom.” Formerly the tribunes had been inviolate over the senate. “Nevertheless in 49 b.c. the senate ordered Julius Caesar to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy.”

Botsford 186-188.

As noted *en passim*, ascribed years embrace uncertainties which are reflected by variations in years assigned by different sources. The summary of subsequent events, below, offers a demonstrative comparison.

	<u>AUC Year per</u> <u>Lempriere and/</u> <u>Converted Year</u> <u>AUC / b.c.e.</u>	<u>Year as Appears</u> <u>on Appendix 4A</u> <u>b.c.e.</u>
Rise of jealousy between Julius Caesar and Pompey.	703 / 49	
Eruption of competition between their parties.		50-49
Proconsuls Mark Antony and Cassius vetoed the senate action against Julius Caesar, for which the senate “treated them harshly.”		
They “fled” to Julius’ camp.	705 / 47	
Civil warring began.		49-48
Julius Caesar defeated Pompey forces at Pharsalia.	706 / 46	48
Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated; Julius, on his arrival at Alexandria, received Pompey’s severed head.		
In Egypt, in the interim, Ptolemy XIV had deposed “sister”/co-ruler, Cleopatra the Great.		
Julius Caesar triumphs.	708-709 / 44-43	48-47
Julius established Cleopatra the Great as sole monarch. “While passing through Syria and Asia Minor,” Julius ‘settled affairs of the provinces;’ crushed (Mithridates-) Pharnaces, defeated Thapsus in Africa, and with victory soon after at Munda in Spain he destroyed his last opposition. “For the first time in history the world of the ancients, extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, bowed to one will.” Julius became Rome’s first “emperor,” holding “all chief religious and civil offices of the republic... king in all but title.”		
“It is in the administration of the provinces that we find most to commend” of Julius Caesar, in that the “evils of aristocratic oppression...were at their height. No human mind can conceive the brutal tyranny of the ruling class[es] or the woe and misery which the polite aristocrats had spread over the whole civilized world.”		
“Above 60 Romans conspired against...and murdered Julius Caesar.”	710 / 42	44
“...[T]he aristocrats could not yield forever their own title[s] of lords of the earth and their privilege of misrule.” They simultaneously honored Julius Caesar and plotted his murder--there being altogether about 60 conspirators involved--chief among them, Cassius and Brutus. (Cicero approved but took no hand in the actual assassination.)		
Julius’ death left consul Mark Antony as head of government. Antony “managed Rome and the empire with absolute power, which lorded it over the senate.”		
Meanwhile, the chief conspirators in the assassination had hurried away to the provinces they had inherited under [Julius] Caesar’s will. At Rome, Cicero took the senatorial lead against Antony (delivering his “Philippics”); but the republic had perished totally.		<i>Botsford</i> 192, 195.
Julius’ old soldiers flocked to Octavianus, JC’s great-nephew and heir.	710-711 / 42-41	
Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus [later, <i>Augustus</i>], came from his studies at Apollonia in Illyricum and compelled Rome’s aristocrats to make him consul. Then in northern Italy he handed a defeat to Antony, who had allied briefly with Sextus Pompey (son of Pompey the Great). Subsequently, Octavianus and Antony came to an understanding.		
Consul M. Agrippa Vipsanius ¹² was commissioned to assemble a fleet against Sextus Pompey, who, upon his defeat, “delivered himself to Antony, by whom he was put to death.” ¹³		
Civil warring continued, however, on the part of Cassius and Brutus.		
In two battles near Philippi, ¹⁴ Antony and Octavianus defeated the forces of Cassius and Brutus.	712-713 / 40-39	42
M. Agrippa Vipsanius assisted. (Cassius and Brutus each committed suicide, respectively after each battle.		

¹¹ *Lempriere AUC* years, pages 162-171; refer to Appendix 3A, VI, B, 1(c) regarding “Calendrical Conversions.”

¹² He built “the famous harbor of Misenum,” west of the bay of Naples.

¹³ Another example of the imperfections of datings is *Lempriere’s* assignment of AUC year 717, or 35 b.c.e., as the year of Vipsanius’ appointment to oppose Sext. Pompey, while *Lempriere’s Chronology* also differs in one or two instances with the roster of *AUC* years.

¹⁴ In northern Macedonia near Thrace at the head of the Aegean sea.

<u>AUC Year per</u> <u>Lempriere and/</u> <u>Converted Year</u> AUC / b.c.e.	<u>Year as Appears</u> <u>on Appendix 4A</u> b.c.e.
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<p>Octavianus and Antony became “sole masters of the Roman empire and divided its provinces.” “Antony ruled the East and Octavianus the West.” (Lepidus had dropped out of the triumvirate, which had been renewed for another five year-year term.) Octavianus gave his sister, Octavia [A], as wife to Antony to cement their alliance. The Italians supported Octavianus, while Antony proceeded to his involvement with Cleopatra the Great. Octavianus “recalled” M. Agrippa Vipsanius from retirement, gave him his daughter Julia [#4] in marriage, and left him over the empire when Octavianus made a two-year tour of Greece and Asia.</p>	<p>714-720 / 38-32</p>	<p>After 42</p>
<p>Antony married Cleopatra the Great. “Dissensions between [Octavianus/]Augustus and Antony” recommenced civil warring. “The Italians [who] supposed Antony intended to make Cleopatra his queen and himself, despot of an Oriental empire with Alexandria for his capital...willingly followed Octavianus.”</p>	<p>721 / 31</p>	<p>32/31</p>
<p>“Battle of Actium. Octavianus supreme.” M. Agrippa Vipsanius “commanded the ships of Octavianus against the combined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra.” His “light triremes outmanoeuvred the ponderous galleys of the enemy.... After the [sea] battle [which Cleopatra and Antony abandoned], Antony’s land force surrendered.” Cleopatra the Great and Antony committed suicide at Alexandria.</p>	<p>723 / 29</p>	<p>31/30/29</p>
<p>Commencement of the “Dyarchy.” The republican period ended in 27 b.c.e. when Octavian received the title “Augustus,” although the senate intended it only as reverential, not a grant of absolute power.</p>	<p>17</p>	<p>27</p>

II. Emperors - Octavianus/Augustus to Nero.

Term¹⁸

27 b.c.e. - 14 c.e.

Caesar Augustus (Gaius Julius Octavianus)

Augustus for three decades was left “to protect the civilized world from anarchy and from barbarian invasion.” The ruling class “rapidly yielded to Hellenic influence;” noble’s sons all had Greek tutors and were sent to study at Athens and Rhodes. “Naturally, therefore, Hellenic ideas controlled the intellectual life of Rome.” But Augustus inherited “an old world; and even [his] richly gifted patriotism could not make it young again,” as Mommsen “aptly remarks.” *Botsford 202.*

One of Augustus’ chief aims was protection of frontiers: he humbled the Parthians without war; secured friendship of Armenia—whose kings had wavered twixt Parthia and Rome; converted small kingdoms in the east, like Pontus and Cappadocia, into provinces; placed Judaea under a procurator; set a prefect over Egypt after Cleopatra the Great’s and Antony’s deaths; and had four legions in Syria; one in Nile Valley, and some troops west of there to ward off African tribes. *Botsford 205.*

Augustus was “a son of democracy, who harmonized better with the plain citizens” than with the party which murdered Julius.” Nonetheless, as “chief pontiff,” he came to exercise great authority and became worshipped as a god (“...[as] the paternal Zeus”), in his efforts to restore ancient ceremonies.”

Augustus saw the deaths of many potential heirs, as well as plottings against him by various nobles as he aged. He revived an old law of treason against conspirators (which would “become infamous under his successor”). *Botsford 214 - 218.*

Strabo described the provinces “as Augustus Caesar arranged them:” he “divided the whole empire into two parts, assigning to himself those regions deemed to need military occupation—consisting of “barbarian” and “neighborhoods” of tribes not yet subdued; or sterile, uncultivable lands where unrest easily brewed—and assigning to the Roman people all the rest “that was peaceable and easy to rule without arms.” The first grouping was called “Provinces of Caesar;” the second, “Provinces of the People.” “And to the ‘Provinces of Caesar’ Caesar sends legates [“propraetors”] and procurators, dividing the countries in different ways at different times and administering them as the occasion requires; whereas to the ‘Provinces of the People’ the people send praetors or proconsuls, and these provinces also are brought under different divisions whenever expediency requires.”

¹⁵ At the east coast of Macedonian Greece.

¹⁶ A ‘double’ rule, in which the senate ruled Italy and the quiet provinces, and “the republic continued in free Italy;” the emperor’s task was to maintain and command the forces in protecting the unsettled exposed parts of the empire. *Botsford 210.*

¹⁷ Though henceforth Octavianus is spoken of as *Augustus*, “we are to bear in mind that all the emperors after him held this title as their chief distinction...nearly equivalent to His Sacred Majesty.” *Botsford 199.*

¹⁸ Dating according to *Botsford, en passim*, and *Ency.* p. 1173.

Term

"At the outset Caesar organized the provinces of the people" as follows:

A. Two consular provinces:

- (1) Libya - except the part which was formerly subject to Juba II, king of Mauretania and [was then] subject to Ptolemy/[Ptolemais] his son [by Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra the Great and Antony--Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, (4)].
- (2) Asia "this side" of the Halys River and the Taurus, "except the countries of the Galatians and of the tribes which had been subject to Amyntas, and also of Bithynia and the Propontis."

B. Ten praetorial provinces:

- (1) Iberia Ulterior "in the neighborhood of the Baetis and Anas rivers"
- (2) Narbonetes in Celtica
- (3) Sardo/Sardinia together with Cymus/Corsica
- (4) Sicily
- (5) Macedonia
- (6) In Illyria, the country next to Epeirus
- (7) Achaea, "as far as Thessaly and Aetolia and Arcanania and certain Epeirotic tribes which border on Macedonia"
- (8) Crete along with Cyrenaea
- (9) Cypros
- (10) Bithynia along with the Propontus and certain parts of the Pontus

"But the rest of the provinces were held by Caesar; and to some of these he sends as curators men of consular rank, to others men of praetorian rank, and to others men of the rank of knights. Kings, also, and potentates and decarchies are now, and always have been, in Caesar's portion."

Strabo,¹⁹ vol. VIII, 213-215.

Augustus died in 14 a.d./c.e,

14 c.e. - 37 c.e.

Caesar Tiberius (*Claudius Drusus Nero*)

Tiberius *CDN*, son of Livia [A], succeeded Augustus at age 56.

Tiberius *CDN* honored Augustus' will, not to waste resources in extending boundaries. Thus--once a local mutiny on the west was quelled--no important wars occurred in his reign, as soldiers no longer were able to count on gains by conquests.

Germanicus (who had been appointed consul in 12 c.e.) was commander of forces in Germania/Germany after Augustus' death. In 18 c.e. he was sent to Asia, where he defeated the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagena and made them Roman provinces. Germanicus died the following year in Alexandria, Egypt, leaving speculation that he was poisoned by Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, governor of Syria, on order of Tiberius.

Tiberius *CDN* rebuilt 12 cities in Asia Minor that had been destroyed by earthquake; at home he was criticized for not spending more money on the nobles. The senate gained power; many were tried for treason,²⁰ and the senate "became the court for punishment of misrule in the provinces [,as well,] and of other political crimes." *Botsford* 221.

Tiberius *CDN* eventually grew suspicious of Agrippa [I], who was tutor of Tiberius' grandnephew, Caligula, and imprisoned him.

Upon the death of Tiberius *CDN*, the senate conferred imperial office on Caligula.

37 c.e. - 41 c.e.

Caesar Caligula²¹ (*Gaius Claudius Nero Germanicus*)

Caligula released Agrippa I "and made him king over Judaea," where Agrippa I was "popular" with the Judaeans such that some "were flattering him with the appellation... 'god.'"

Caligula, both extravagant and "with a craving to be a god...demanding worship, was assassinated by some officers of the praetorian guard [/by conspirators led by one Cassius Chaerea].

The Senate, "in the hope of a republic... proclaimed the assassins restorers of liberty" and attempted to revive the Republic--"but of the type run by privileged members." However, the praetorian guard--loyal to the royal family-- "found in the palace a scholarly, neglected brother of Germanicus, Claudius...and imposed him upon the Senate as emperor." (While the senate would have had the imperial government end, the praetorians--which guard depended for its existence on the imperial form of rule, and formed "the conservative power in the capital"--nominated Caligula's uncle, Claudius.) Rule thus passed from the Julian family to the Claudian, although the title of "Caesar" remained. *Botsford* 223; *Ency.* 105.

¹⁹ Strabo, a native of Amasia on Cappadocia's border, he "flourished in the age of [Caesars] Augustus/[Octavian] and Tiberius." Of his many works, there remains his "geography," 17 books in Greek, an account of "the manners, religion, prejudices, government of nations, foundation of cities, celebrated places and history of each separate province" of his world. "He died AD 25." *Lempriere*.

²⁰ Sejanus, prefect of the praetorian guard formed by Augustus, was executed for conspiring against Tiberius *CDN*.

²¹ Reportedly a good-natured soldiers' nickname, "Little Boot."

Term

Note: Internal narratives 4B, I, II and III which form the sources for the timeline of this volume (Appendix 4A) essentially end with the rule of Caligula. However, some information on the subsequent Roman rulers is provided, separately cited, below.

41 c.e. - 54 c.e.

Caesar Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus)

Claudius, who turned out not to be the “learned fool” expected, was humane, passing legislation that aided slaves.²²
Botsford 226.

Claudius’ relationship with the senate was characterizable as “armed peace.” He kept himself always surrounded by trusted soldiers and, distrustful of nobles and knights, employed his own freedmen as servants and ministers (only one of the steps he took in the direction of monarchy).

Claudius was permitted to marry his niece, “Agrippina [C Julia] the younger” under a special senatorial enactment, after the execution of (third wife) Messalina.

Circa 41 c.e. Claudius had made [or confirmed] Agrippa I king of Judaea. Agrippa I died in 43 or 44 c.e. His son of the same name did not endure as successor in his kingdom. Subsequently, Claudius forced Agrippa II to exchange his territory for other provinces, and Rome resumed Judaea as a procuratorial province.

Circa 50 c.e. Claudius ousted Messalina’s son, Britannicus, and adopted Agrippina’s son, Ahenobarbus, who took the name *Nero*. Claudius died in 54 c.e.; Agrippina [C] is suspected of killing him, with poison.

54 c.e. - 68 c.e.

Nero (Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Claudius Drusus)²³

“Agrippina secured the praetorian guard’s recognition of Nero, her son by a former marriage, and the senate had to confer on him the imperial powers.” Nero was 17 when he took office.

Nero married Octavia [B], Messalina’s daughter by Claudius.

Nero reigned truly solely for only his last years. The first 10 years the government actually was in the hands of his tutor, Seneca (a Stoic) and the praetorian prefect, Burrus. Seneca and Burrus may have plundered some provinces but they kept foreigners from doing so, and the empire prospered under them. Burrus died in 62 c.e., allowing Nero to assume more power. Seneca then retired but, accused of sharing in a conspiracy, committed suicide at Nero’s command.

Ency. 105-106; L 25.

Nero murdered Britannicus in 55 c.e., Agrippina [C] in 59, and Octavia [B] in 62, after which he married one Poppaea.

In 59 or 60 c.e. the apostle Paul was brought to trial before Felix, procurator of Judaea, and appealed to the emperor.

Nero was vain and extravagant, but “his acts of cruelty were few” bearing in mind that “Roman society was then a cesspool of impurity.”²⁴ He “usually avoided the bloody shows of the arena and interested himself in harmless arts.” When a fire in 64 c.e. destroyed the greater part of Rome, Nero “sheltered and fed the sufferers and helped rebuild their houses. The worst blot on his reign was the persecution of Christians on the groundless suspicion that they had caused the mischief;” Nero found “convenient culprits in the new...sect of the Christians, already a considerable group in Rome.... They were put to death with refined tortures.”

Nero’s persecutions were “a sudden outburst of ferocity which did not extend beyond the city.” “The tyranny,” however, “reached the provinces, eventually stirring revolt, and the empire drifted from him.”²⁵ “[M]isgovernment by a

succession of Roman procurators culminated c. 66 c.e. with revolts in ‘Judaea’.²⁶ Jotapata fell “in the 13th year of Nero,” while widespread contentions plagued Rome. “[N]oble leaders...were executed or forced to commit suicide.” Nero was declared a public enemy and Galba, governor of Hither Spain, was proclaimed emperor. Nero fled the city and committed suicide.

68 c.e. - 69 c.e.

Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba)

Within the year, praetorians killed Galba and installed one Otho.

69 c.e.

Otho (Marcus Salvius Otho)

Otho killed himself when the Rhine troops marched with their general Vitellius against Rome.

69 c.e.

Vitellius (Aulus Vitellius Germanicus)

Rome’s governor of Syria had failed to suppress the revolts in Judaea. “Their uprising threw the entire East into a

²² Claudius would remark (as an example, when appointing provincial governors) “that [government] office was not merely an honor, but a trust to be faithfully discharged”—a concept Romans were hearing for the first time.

²³ Additional data in following paragraphs is from *Ency. 106-107.*

²⁴ Wherein, per *Tacitus*, “all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world found their centre and became popular.” *Botsford 230.*

²⁵ “During the first century of our era, the followers of Christ attracted little attention,” “...the persecution under Nero was exceptional(There are appearances that a large reason for persecutions was objection to military services.) “[One]...must not assume they were ideal beings. Many...obstinately defied the authorities and courted martyrdom.” *Botsford 263.*

²⁶ In its wide meaning, *i.e.* not only the part earlier known as “Judah.”

Term

ferment.” Roman general Vespasian was sent there with three legions.

Vitellius was overcome and killed by Vespasian, who had been “offered the imperial purple by his troops of the east.”

69 c.e. - 79 c.e.

Vespasian (*Titus Flavius Vespasianus*)

After Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor he left his son, Titus, to continue the siege [in Judaea] against...John of Giscala (who had removed his rival, Eleazar). Gradually, the Romans “reduced the country...took possession of...Jewish [general and] historian, Josephus, and in 69 laid siege to Jerusalem.” Vespasian, called to suppress a revolt in Gaul, left son Titus to command the Jerusalem siege.

Titus was assisted by Agrippa II. The resisters “refused to accept any terms offered them; no quarter was thereafter given. It was a war to death.” *Botsford 233.*

Jerusalem fell.

“Some of Judea was given to Marcus Julius (‘Herod’) Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, but most of it became imperial domain. The temple was destroyed, the Sanhedrin...and high priesthood abolished, a legion was quartered in Jerusalem, and the two-drachma tax paid by Jews to the temple was diverted to the imperial treasury.”

A senatorial legate, superior to the procurator, was placed at Jerusalem.

Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A

**EXPLORATIVE CHART
ROMAN RULING FAMILIES
Caesars, Julius through Claudius**

Note: Uncited data is from *Lempriere's* dictionary at the respective individual's name. Pages of *Lempriere* additionally referenced are 17, 24, 56, 97, 116, 118, 213, 248, 325, 344, 405, 614, 643. (*Lempriere* source references for the quoted data, drawn from an extensive group of classic ancient writings, are not included here)
Ency. page 104 contributed to this chart.

(1)(a)

		M. Antonius ("an orator")
? + M. Aurelius Cotta	Julia [#1 and/or #2] ¹ (+ M. Atius Balbus)	/ + Antonia / + ?
/	/	/ [undesigned] /
Aurelia--+ Lucius [Julius] Caesar-----+ ? /	/	Pythodoris [at (1)(b)] /
/	<i>or</i> /	/
Julius Caesar (d. 44 b.c.e.)	Accia/Atia ² (d. 40 b.c.e.)	Julia [#1 or #2] + Antonius <i>Cretensis</i>
/ + (Cinna- ³) Cornelia	/---+ (Senator) Octavius-----/	/
Julia [#3]	Octavianus[/Augustus]	/
+ Cornelius Caepio (m. #1)	/ / + Claudia [at (2)]	/---+Caius [Claudius] Marcellus--/ + Marcus Antonius
+ Pompey the Great (m. #2)	/ / + Scribonia	Marcus Claudius Marcella / (Mark Antony)
	/ /	[Claudia] <i>Continued at (2)</i>
	/ Julia [#4; refer to (3)]	+ Marcus
	/	Agrippa
/ + Livia [A] Drusilla	/	Vipsanius
<i>Refer to (4)</i>	? [Julia #4 continued at (3)]	/
		? [M. A. Vipsanius continued at (3)]

¹ The earliest Julia(s) are unclear--see various sparse identifications below, from L 300. (a) one source was seen showing Mark Antony's mother as Julia, daughter of Lucius Caesar (<http://www.mathematical.com/antonymark3.html>, from Encyclopedia Britannica.); (b) a "Julia "who was of the family of Caesars" became a wife to C. Marius, who was supported at Rome by C. Cornelius Cinna, father of Cornelia, Julia #3's mother (L 149). (For Marius, see Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, following *Botsford* 151-159.)

² Another husband of Accia/Atia was a "Philippus," "who married the mother of young Caesar [Octavianus]." *Plutarch*, The Dryden Trnsln. "Cicero," p. 721.

³ See preceding footnote.

(1)(b)

Pythodoris

/ + "Archelaus" ⁴	/-----/ + Polemo |-----/
/ king of Cappadocia"	Antonia Zeno M. Antonius Polemo
?	[undesigned]

"Cotta, M. Aurelius, a Roman who opposed Marius...was consul with Lucullus...[and] defeated by sea and land by Mithridates." L 175.

"Aurelia, the mother of J. Caesar. *Suet. in Caes.* 74." L 97. "Julius Caesar...was son of L. [Julius] Caesar and Aurelia, the daughter of Cotta." L 116.

"L. [Julius] Caesar, a Roman consul, uncle [not said, by what relation] to [Mark] Antony the triumvir, the father of Caesar the dictator." He died when Julius was 15. L 301. ("Lucius Caesar was father to the dictator. He died suddenly when putting on his shoes." L 117.)

"Lucius Caesar, an uncle of M. Antony, who followed the interest of Pompey, and was proscribed by Augustus, for which Antony proscribed Cicero the friend of Augustus." "His [this Lucius Caesar's] son Lucius [by whom is not said] was put to death by J. Caesar in his youth." L 117. [These unresolved relationships may be connected with uncertainties of identification(s) of Julia(s) designated #1 and[/or] #2--see fn. 1.)

Julius had an aunt, also named Julia [undesigned; #1 or #2?], who married a C. Marius.

Julius at age 16 he became a priest of Jupiter. The dictator Sylla/Sulla "endeavoured to remove him; Julius changed his lodgings daily to avoid discovery; some time later Sylla/Sulla accepted him but discouraged Julius' support. His early distinctions brought him to the office of high priest and eventually was appointed over Spain, "where he signaled himself by his valour and intrigues. At his return to Rome, he was made consul...[and] appointed for the space of five years over the Gauls...enlarged the boundaries of the Roman empire by conquest, and invaded Britain, which was then unknown to the Roman people."

"Cornelia, a daughter of Cinna [and] first wife of J. Caesar. She became the mother of Julia [#3]." L 173.

"Julia [#3], a daughter of J. Caesar by Cornelia; she married Corn. Caepio, whom her father obliged her to divorce to marry Pompey the Great." L 300.

Julia [#3] died during child birth BC 53, following which ties between Julius and Pompey became severed.

"Julia [currently undesigned?]," sister-in-law of Julius Caesar. L 300.

"Julia [currently undesigned?], an aunt of J. Caesar, who married C. Marius." L 300.

Octavianus/Augustus was son of "a sister of Julius Caesar." L 97.

"This young Caesar, whose father was a man of no great eminence, Octavius, and his mother, Attia, Caesar's sister's daughter...." *Plutarch*, *The Dryden Trnsln.* "Cicero," p. 721

"Accia or Atia, daughter of Julia [designated as #1] and M. Atius Balbus, was the mother of Augustus/[Octavianus] and died about 40 years B.C. *Dio.--Suet. in Aug.* 4." L 4. *But see next*, regarding Accia/Atia parentage.

"Augustus Octavianus Caesar...was son of Octavius a senator, and Accia daughter of [L.] Julius, and sister to Julius Caesar." L 96, 97 (*but see preceding*). Octavian/Augustus was adopted by his uncle [Julius] Caesar." L 96; *Plutarch*, *Dryden Translation*, page 721.

⁴ The Archelaus monarchy of Cappadocia was intermarried with the Hasmonaeen/Herodian monarchy in Palestine. For additional reflections of the Antonius line's association with Cappadocia, see Glaphyra [A] at (2); refer also to fn. 10.

“Octavianus or Octavius Caesar, the nephew of [Julius] Caesar.” L 405.

“Scribonia, a daughter of Scribonius, who married Augustus/[Octavianus] after he had divorced Claudia. He had by her a daughter, the celebrated Julia [#4]. Scribonia was some time after repudiated, that Augustus might marry Livia [A]. Scribonia had been twice married before.” L 553.

Julia [#4], “the only daughter of the emperor Augustus [Octavianus];” first married to Marcellus, “after whose death she was given to [M.] Agrippa [Vipsianus] by whom she had five children.”

[Claudius] Marcellus, “the husband of Octavia the sister of Augustus/[Octavian].” He died “a bridegroom,” shortly after marrying her. L 345; *Marcellus* By Plutarch Commentary: <http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/marcellu.html>. “Marcellus, who married the sister of Caesar,” *Plutarch*, The Dryden Translation, “Cicero,” page 721.

Octavia, “sister to...Augustus.... She married Claudius Marcellus, and after his death, M. Antony.” L 405.

[Marcus Claudius] “Marcellus, son of Marcellus by Octavia the sister of Augustus.” *Ibid.*, *Marcellus* By Plutarch Commentary.

Octavia, after the [intervening marriage, etc., and] suicides of Mark Antony and Cleopatra the Great, “took into her house all of the children of her [former] husband and treated them with maternal tenderness.”

Octavianus/[Augustus] was 18 years old when Julius Caesar was assassinated, and he was made consul at age 20.

Julius’ age at death is given as 56.

(2)

<i>Antonius Cretensis</i>				
/ + ? Gaius Antonius	/ + ? Lucius Antonius	/ + Julia [#1 or #2] / /		
Fulvia / + ?	<i>Marcus Antonius/Mark Antony</i>			
Claudia + Octavianus [Augustus] (Claudia was dismissed “immediately” because of disagreement between Octavianus and Fulvia.)	/--+ Octavia [A]--/ Antonia [A] <i>Continued at (5)</i>	Antonia [B] <i>Continued at (4)</i>	/ + Fulvia M. Julius Antony <i>Africanus</i>	/ + Glaphyra [A] / (Not a marriage) ? <i>Continued at App. 4B, Att. 4, (4).</i>

“Antonius the Orator...born 83 b.c....married a total of five times;” his second wife, an “Antonia,...had a daughter, Pythodorus, who [first] married Archelaus of Cappadocia [see fn. 2] and [secondly] Polemo I, from [which] marriage there were three children: Antonia Tryphaena; Zeno, and M. Antonius Polemo.” L 116, 300-301; <http://www.mathematical.com/antonymark3.htm>, from Encyclopedia Britannica.

As to Mark Antony’s siblings, one source provides “Gaius Antonius, died 42 b.c. and Lucius Antonius, died after 40 b.c.,” <http://www.mathematical.com/antonymark3.html>. When Augustus failed to take arms against Antony, upon divorce of Fulvia and marriage with Cleopatra, M. Lucius Antonius, Fulvia’s “brother-in-law,” joined her in a scheme that failed. “M. Lucius Antonius [was] besieged in Pelusium by Augustus, and obliged to surrender himself ...[who] spared his life/” L 58. Fulvia retreated to Egypt, where Antony “received her with great coldness and indifference. [S]he soon after died, about 40 b.c.” L 242.

“Marcus,,triumvir...grandson to the orator M. Antonius, and son of Antonius surnamed *Cretensis*, from wars in Crete.” L 57.

“Julia, the mother of M. Antony.” L 300.

Octavia, “sister to...Augustus.... She married Claudius Marcellus [at (1)(a)], and after his death, M. Antony.” L 405.

“Octavia had two daughters by Antony, Antonia Major and Antonia Minor.” “The elder married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus [at (5)]... Antonia Minor...married Drusus [B; at (4)].” L 405.

Fulvia, another [the second] wife of Mark Antony, had by him a son named M. Julius Antonius, “surnamed Africanus.” He “was consul with Paulus Fabius Maximus...and put to death by order of Augustus...[or] killed himself.” L 58.

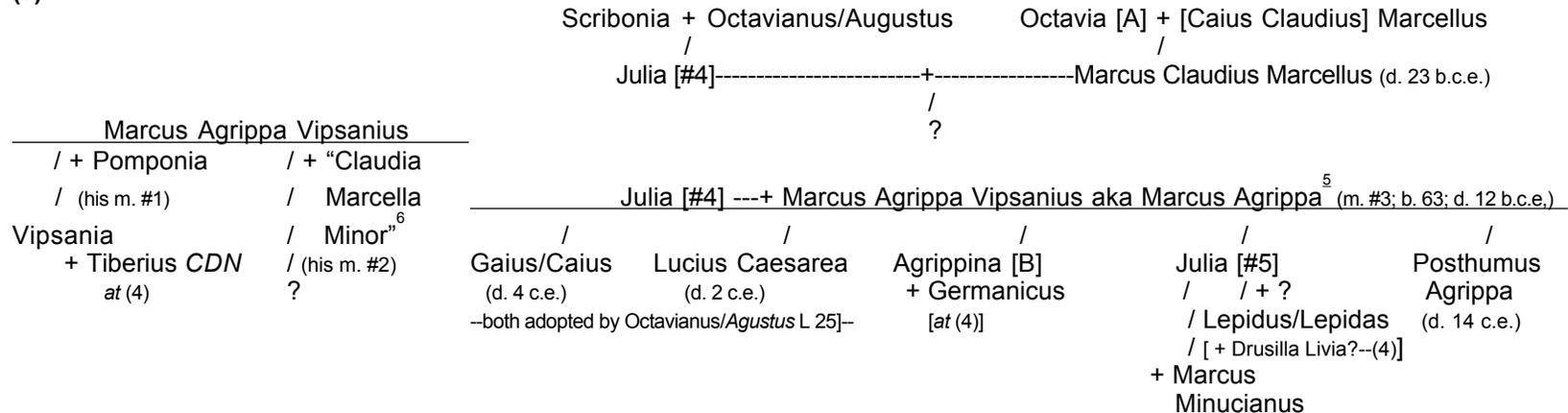
Fulvia had a daughter, Claudia, “a step-daughter of Mark Antony, whom Augustus/[Octavianus] married. He dismissed her, undefiled, immediately after the contract of marriage, on account of a sudden quarrel with her mother Fulvia.” L 150.

Fulvia was married [first] to tribune Clodius,..Curio, and last M. Antony. Antony divorced her, to marry Cleopatra [the Great.” L 242.

“Glaphyre/Glaphyra, a daughter of Archelaus, high priest of Bellona in Cappadocia, celebrated for her beauty.... She ultimately [retained by way of] Mark Antony, the kingdom of Cappadocia for [one of] her two [contending] sons...by defiling the bed of her husband [with Mark Antony]. This amour of Antony and Glaphyra [A] highly displeased his wife, Fulvia, who [then] wished [Caesar] Augustus/[Octavianus] to...receive from her, the same favours which Glaphyra [A] received from Antony.” L 250. (A Glaphyra, daughter of “king Archelaus of Cappadocia,” was wife of Alexander III, a son of Miriam I by Herod the Great--refer to text at fn. 2, fn. 10, and Appendix 4B, Attachment 2.)

“Antonia, a castle of Jerusalem, which received this name in honour of M. Antony.” L 57.

(3)



⁵ This compilation does not yield discernment whether this Roman family, *Agrippa*, was related to M. Agrippa [I] ‘Herodes,’ (found referenced also as Julius Agrippa), son of Aristobulus IV. Agrippa [I]’s mother is indefinite--refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(2). Agrippa Vipsanius and Agrippa [I] appear inequatable, in that Caligula established the latter, who received the Philip tetrarchy, Vipsanius reported as dying some 22 years before.

⁶ Supplied by www.RomDesc.AncGen.

[Marcus Claudius] Marcellus, “son of [Caius Claudius] Marcellus by Octavia the sister of Augustus[/Octavian]. He married Julia [#4]...emperor Augustus’ daughter [by Scribonia], and publicly was expected to succeed him. The suddenness of his death, at the early age of 18, was the cause of much lamentation...[for] this amiable prince.” L 345.

“M. Agrippa Vipsanius, celebrated a victory over Pompey, favored Octavianus’ cause at Philippi and Actium, gained many victories in Gaul and Germany, refused honors, and turned to public works (he raised the Parthenon). After Vipsanius’ two-year retirement Octavianus/Augustus recalled him into service, “in consequence of a quarrel with Marcellus,” and gave him Julia [#4] to wife “as proof of his regard.” L 24.

Julia [#4], “the only daughter of the emperor Augustus [Octavianus];” first married to Marcellus, “after whose death she was given to [M.] Agrippa [Vipsanius] by whom she had five children.”

Vipsania has been shown also as “Vipsania Agrippina.” *www.RomeDesc.AncGens*.

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa reorganized the fleet which took part in wars against Sext. Pompey and played a decisive role in the Actium victory. In 23 b.c. Octavianus/Augustus (after both his own illness and the death of Marcus Claudius Marcellus) designated Vipsanius as heir; and the following year Vipsanius married Marcellus’ widow, Julia [#4]. “They had five children of whom three sons were adopted by Octavian[/Augustus] and hence in the line of succession, but all three died young.” Vipsanius “had a daughter from an earlier marriage, Vipsania, who married Tiberius [CDN]. <http://sights.seindal.dk/sight/736-Agrippa.html>.

Marcus Agrippa Vipsanius had at least one other marriage, previous to Julia #4, to “Pomponia, daughter of Atticus.” L 24.

Julia [#4] and M. Agrippa Vipsanius had five children, [Gaius/]Caius, and Lucius Caesares [aka L. Caesar Agrippa], Agrippina, Julia, and Posthumus Agrippa.”

“Two sons of [Marcus Vipsanius] Agrippa bore also the name of Caesar, Caius and Lucius.” L 117.

“Caius[/Gaius], the son of [Marcus] Agrippa [Vipsanius] and his [Caesar Octavian’s] daughter Julias [Julia #4], but by himself [Caesar Octavian] adopted for his own son.” *Plutarch*,

“[Gaius/Caius] C. Caesar Agrippa,” made a consul at age 14 or 15,” received a fatal blow in an expedition against the Persians in Armenia and died in Lycia, 4 a.d. L 345, 25.

“L. [Lucius] Caesar Agrippa” was banished for seditious language, “but would have been recalled” in his seventh year of exile “had not Livia [A] and Tiberius [CN?], jealous of the partiality of Augustus for him, ordered him to be assassinated in his 26th year, A.D. 2.” L 25.

Julia [#4], “widowed a second time,” was married by [then-emperor] Tiberius [CDN; at (4)].

Agrippina [B], “a daughter of M. Agrippa, and [adoptive?] granddaughter to Augustus[/Octavianus].” She accompanied Germanicus in Syria, After he was assassinated and she returned to Rome, “she fell under the displeasure of Tiberius [CDN], who exiled her in an island, where she died A.D. 26 for want of bread.” L 25.

“Lepidus, a son of Julia [#5] the granddaughter of Augustus[/Octavianus]. He was intended by Caius [Caligula] as his successor in the Roman empire. He committed adultery with [an] Agrippina [B?] when young.” L 319.

“Marcus Minucianus was illustrious...by his own nobility, and his having married Julia [#5], the sister of Caius.” *AJ XIX.IV.3*.

(4)

[Alfidia?] + Livius Drusus⁷ 'Calidianus' ['Claudianus']
/ (also found in some instances as Marcus Livius Drusus Claudius; d. c. 42 b.c.)
/

Livia [A] Drusilla ['Julia Augusta']⁸ (born c. 58 b.c.e.; 29 c.e.)

/----- + Tiberius CN (Claudius Nero) (d. 33 b.c.)-----/		[later] + Octavianus Augustus	
Tiberius CDN (Claudius Drusus Nero)	Drusus GNC (Germanicus Nero Claudius; d. 9 b.c.e.)		
/ / /	-----+ Antonia [B; found also as "Annatonian"]-----		
/ / / + Vipsania [from (3)]; repudiated.	/	/	/
/ / /	Germanicus	Claudius TCNCD ⁹	Livia [B]
/ / Drusus [A] + Livia [B]	+ Agrippina [B] (d. 19 c.e.)		+ Drusus [A]
/ / [d. 23 c.e.) /	/	/	/ + Messalina--see also (5)
/ / Tiberius Sempronius	Drusus [B]	Agrippina	Drusilla Caius ¹⁰
/ / Gemellus	+ Antonia	[C] Julia	Livia Caligula
/ /	/ [A?]	+ "Domitius"--	+ Aemilius (b.
/ / + Agrippina [C]; repudiated--	Lepida	at (5).	Lepidus 12 c.e.)
/ / see also (5c).	Domita?		and Julia, undesignated.
/ + Julia [#4]	Refer to (5).		+ Agrippina [C] Julia [previously married to Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus--see (5)]

The earliest "Drusus" found mentioned in a "Marcus Livius Drusus, a young man of great wealth and illustrious family, because tribune of the plebeians...91 b.c.," led a liberal movement, etc., "and afterward was murdered; refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, at fn. 5.

"Livia [A] Drusilla, daughter of L. Drusus Calidianus [sic]...married Tiberius Claudius Nero by whom she had the emperor Tiberius [CDN] and Drusus [GNC] Germanicus." L 325. (It is not found whether this following statement, included in the Josephus description of the Jerusalem temple [Wars V.V.3], relates to Tiberius CN: "[N]ine gates had...silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander the father of Tiberius.")

"Livius Drusus ['Calidianus'/Claudianus], father of Julia Augusta [Livia (A) Drusilla], was intimate with Brutus, and killed himself after the battle of Philippi [c. 42 b.c.]." L 213.

Livia's [A's] husband supported Mark Antony's cause in the contention that ultimately ended with Octavianus as emperor. Octavianus "saw her as she fled from the danger which threatened her husband, and he resolved to marry her, though she was then pregnant. He divorced his wife Scribonia, and with the approbation of the augurs, he celebrated his nuptials with Livia [A]." L 325.

⁷"The plebeian family of *Drusi* produced eight consuls, two censors, and one dictator [--Nero, at (5)]. The surname of *Drusus* was given to the family of *Livii*, as some suppose, because one of them killed a Gaulish leader of that name. *Virg. in Aen.* 6, v. 824, mentions the *Drusi* among the illustrious Romans, and that perhaps more particularly because the wife [Livia A Drusilla] of Augustus/[Octavianus] was of that family." L 213.

⁸Livia [A] Drusilla later "took the name Julia Augusta following the death of [her later husband] Octavian/[Octavianus/Augustus]." <http://ancient history.about.com/cs/liviadrusilla>.

⁹Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar Drusus.

¹⁰'Caius' and 'Gnaeus' were *praenomens*--very common at Rome" L 117--a type of forename of which there were fewer than 20. Among others were *Marcus, Quintus, Publius, Tiberius* and *Titus*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, CD 97.

Octavianus adopted Livia's children (it not clear whether there were others in addition to Tiberius *CDN* and Drusus *GNC*. Octavianus before his death (at age 76) designated his adopted son, Tiberius *CDN* to be his successor.

Julia [#4], "widowed a second time," became wife of Tiberius [*CDN*], before he became emperor. Her conduct caused her husband to retire from Octavianus' court. Octavianus banished her to an island near Campania. After Tiberius *CDN* succeeded Octavianus, Julia [#4] "was starved to death A.D. 14 by his order."

Vipsania, "a daughter of M. Agrippa [Vipsanius];" she was "married to Tiberius [*CDN*] when he was a private man...[and later] was repudiated."

Agrippina [undesigned], "a wife of Tiberius [*CDN*]." He (as emperor) "repudiated her to marry Julia [#4]." L 25.

Drusus *GNC*, "brother to [the] Tiberius [*CDN*] who was afterwards made emperor.

Antonia [B], "the wife of Drusus [*GNC*] the son of Livia [A] and brother to Tiberius [*CDN*]. She became mother of three children, Germanicus, Caligula's father, Claudius the [later] emperor, and the debauched Livia [B]. Her husband died very early, and she never would marry again." (Some suppose that Caligula ordered her to be poisoned.) L 57.

An Antonia, "sister of Germanicus," also is listed--this could be Antonia [A], sister-in-law of Drusus *GNC*/*Germanicus* married to Antonia B. L 56.

Drusus *GNC* died of a fall from a horse in B.C. 9 at age 30 and left three children by his wife Antonia [B]: Germanicus, Claudius and Livia [B]. L 213.

"Drusus [A], a son of Tiberius [*CDN*] and Vipsania."

"Drusus [A] married Livilla[/Livia B] (sister of Germanicus)." <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~rcknapp/Julio-Claudians.htm>.

Livia [B; found also as "Julia Livilla"] "was corrupted by Sejanus, who caused Drusus [A] to be assassinated."¹¹ L 213.

Tiberius "recommended [referred] Agrippa I [Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, chart I] to his [Tiberius'] grandson *Caius* [(a term used generally for a male offspring) *Tiberius Gemellus?*] and ordered that he always accompany him when he went abroad."

"Tiberius, Sempronius, a son of Drusus [A] and Livia [B] the sister of Germanicus, put to death by Caligula." L 615.

Lepida Domitia, "a daughter of Drusus [B?] and Antonia [A?], great niece [by marriage] to Augustus, and aunt to the emperor Nero [at (5)]." She was "put to death by means of her rival, Agrippina [C], Nero's mother." L 319.

Germanicus, "son of Drusus [*GNC*] and Antonia [B], the younger, the niece of Augustus [Octavianus, being the daughter of his sister, Octavia, and Mark Antony]." Germanicus was adopted by his [paternal] uncle, Tiberius [*CDN*] and raised to the most important offices of state." L 248. (Germanicus was a favorite of Augustus, his "grandfather-in-law," and initially considered to be successor; then in 4 a.d. Augustus decided, instead, in favor of Tiberius, "his step-son, but compelled him to adopt Germanicus as his son." *Wikipedia*.)

Germanicus was commanding in Germany at the time of the death of the emperor, "his [adoptive] grandfather Augustus [/Octavianus--who had adopted Germanicus' father, Drusus *GNC*]." Germanicus refused his soldiers' desire to salute him as emperor. Instead, "Tiberius [*CDN*] declared him emperor of the east," where he dealt with Armenian seditions; but Germanicus soon raised Tiberius' envy; and he "was secretly poisoned at Daphne near Antioch by Piso, A.D. 19, in the 34th year of his age." L 248.

Livia [A] Drusilla died at age 86 A.D. 29. L 325.

Tiberius' [adopted] daughter of Julia [#4], Agrippina [B] the Elder, was married to Germanicus and mother of Caligula." <http://sights.seindal.dk/sight/736-Agrippa.html>.

Germanicus "had married Agrippina [B], by whom he had nine children, one of whom [was] Caligula." *Loc. cit.* ("Nero, a[nother] son of Germanicus...was ruined by Sejanus, and banished from Rome by Tiberius [*GNC*]. He died in the place of his

¹¹ See first quotation of this part (4) and cross-reference cited there.
App4A.Att1.Deta

exile.” L 394.)

“C. [Caius] Caligula, son of Germanicus by Agrippina [B].” L 118.

“Drusus [B], a son of Germanicus and Agrippina [B];” an enemy also of Sejanus, “who effected his ruin by insinuations.”

Drusus [B] “was confined by Tiberius *CDN* and deprived of aliment. He was found dead nine days after his confinement, A.D. 33.” L 213.

“Drusilla Livia, a daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina [B]” and sister of Caligula; died A.D. 38 at age 23.” L 213. (Drusilla Livia married Aemilius Lepidus; *Ency.* 104.

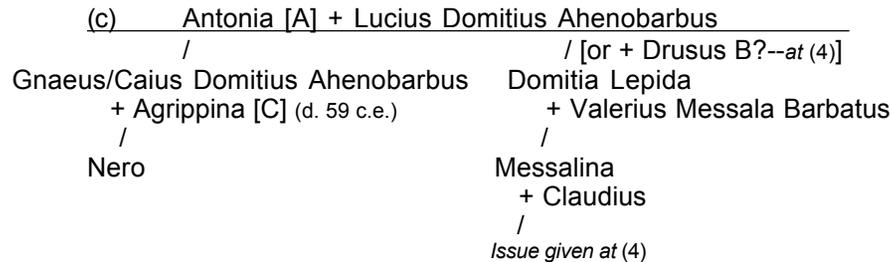
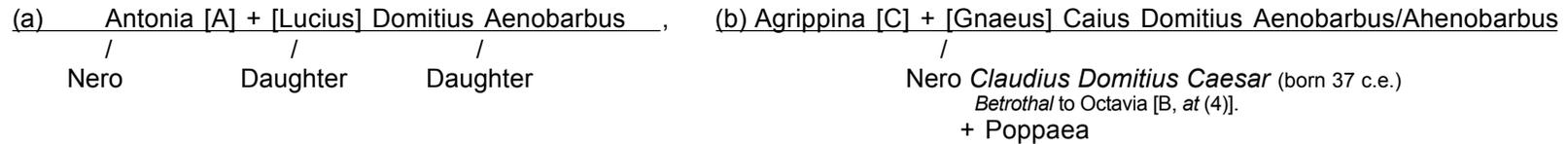
“When Caligula ascended the throne he released M. Agrippa [I] ‘Herodes’ and made him king of Judaea.” (Agrippa II, son of M. Agrippa [I] ‘Herodes,’ “was the last king of the Jews [etc..” He “was with Titus at the celebrated siege of Jerusalem and died a.d. 94. It was before him that [“apostle”] Paul pleaded, and made mention of his incestuous commerce with his sister Berenice.” L 25.¹²

Agrippina [C], “the daughter of the elder Agrippina [B] [was] sister of...Caligula, and wife of emperor Claudius.” She had been exiled in 39 a.d. for taking part in a conspiracy against Caligula but was allowed to return to Rome in 41. Her first husband [was] Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus”--refer also to (4). *Encyclopedia Britannica on-line.*

“Messalina...was called Augusta, as wife of the emperor Claudius.” L 96.

Octavia [B], “a daughter of emperor Claudius by Messalina.” L 405.

(5) A discrepancy appears as to parentage of Nero *Claudius Domitius Caesar*. Two men both are referred to simply as “Domitius Aenobarbus;” and, while Agrippina [C] appears clearly stated as mother of Nero, available quotations nonetheless yield varying associations, as follow:



”Aenobarbus or Ahenobarbus, the surname of Domitius...and of his descendants.” L 17. (One early “Aenobarbus” was “a Roman consul and formidable general...at the battle of Pharsalia [where he] forced Pompey to fight by the mere force of his ridicule.) Octavia [B] had been “betrothed to [one] Silanus; but by the intrigues of Agrippina [C] she was married to emperor Nero

¹² Refer to fn. 3.
App4A.Att1.DetA

[*Claudius Domitius Caesar--at (4)*] in the 16th year of her age. She was soon after divorced on pretence of barrenness, and Nero caused Octavia [B] to be banished into Campania. She was afterwards recalled at the instance of the people, and Poppaea...caused her again to be banished to an island, where she was ordered to kill herself by opening her veins. Her head was ordered cut off and carried to Poppaea." L 405.

Lepida Domitia, "a daughter of Drusus [B?] and Antonia [A?], great niece [by marriage] to Augustus, and aunt to the emperor Nero." She was "put to death by means of her rival, Agrippina [C], Nero's mother." L 319.

"Octavia had two daughters by Antony, Antonia Major and Antonia Minor." "The elder married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus Antonia Minor...married Drusus [B; at (4)]." L 405.

Antonia [A], "a daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia [A]." "She married Domitius Ahenobarbus, and was mother of Nero and two daughters." L 56.

Of Mark Antony's two daughters "both named 'Antonia,' [t]he older one, Antonia [A Major, married Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus...and the emperor Nero was their grandson." [http://www.wikipedia.org/w/wiki.phtml?title=Mark_Antony...last modified 16:48, 9 Aug 2003](http://www.wikipedia.org/w/wiki.phtml?title=Mark_Antony...last_modified_16:48,9_Aug_2003).

Antonia Major, born 39 b.c., daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia [A], married Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and by him had (1) a son, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, who married Agrippina [C], who had by him emperor Nero; and (2) a daughter, Domitia Lepida, who married Valerius Messala Barbatus and had by him Messalina, who married Claudius and bore his two children. http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonia_Major.

"Nero Claudius Domitius Caesar, son of Caius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina [C Julia] the daughter of Germanicus [and Agrippina B]." L 393.

"Agrippina [C] Julia, a daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina [B], married Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had Nero. [Her first husband [was] *Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus*;" *Encyclopedia Britannica on-line*]. After her husband's death she married her uncle, emperor Claudius, whom she destroyed to make Nero succeed to the throne." After many cruelties, etc., "she was assassinated by order of her son...in A.D. 59. [T]he town which she built, where she was born, on the borders of the Rhine and called *Agrippina Colonia*, is the modern Cologne." L 25.

"Domitius, the father of Nero." L 211.

"Nero Claudius Domitius Caesar, son of Caius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina [C], the daughter of Germanicus." L 393. "The Neros were of the Claudian family...the surname of Nero...in the language of the Sabines, signifies *strong* and *warlike*." L 394.

Nero "was adopted by Claudius AD 50," and succeeded him on the throne "four years after." L 393.

Appendix 4B, I

HIGH PRIESTS HYRCANUS I THROUGH ANTIGONUS II

Cited Narrative¹

Ptolemy of Abubus, after his assassination of high priest Simon, captured Simon's [unnamed] wife and two of his [also unnamed] sons and retired with the prisoners to a fortress named Dagon, "above Jericho." Hyrcanus I, "having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before," pursued said Ptolemy and laid a siege. Abubus repeatedly had Hyrcanus' mother and brothers brought to the fortress wall and tortured in Hyrcanus' sight. His mother "spread out her hands, and begged of him that he not grow remiss on her account." Each time he resolved to attack, however, "when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed." At some point there occurred a "seventh year of rest," obliging Hyrcanus to halt his siege. Ptolemy of Abubus then "slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother," and then "fled" to one Zeno who was called Cotylas--"tyrant of the city Philadelphia."²

AJ XIII.VII.1, 4; VIII.1; Wars I.II.3-4; 1 Maccabees 16:11ff.

Antiochus VII, "so angry at what he had suffered from Simon...made an expedition into Judea" "in his fourth year of his reign and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the 162nd Olympiad" (132 b.c.e.³). Antiochus VII "sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus." He "burned the country [and] shut up Hyrcanus in the city," ultimately encompassing Jerusalem with seven encampments. At first Antiochus VII made little headway against the strong walls and valor of their defenders; but ultimately he raised three-story-high towers on the north side, from which his soldiers made daily attacks.

Hyrcanus I weeded the populace; only those fit for war were kept inside the city. Antiochus VII refused to let past all those who had been put out. Caught as they were, between the enemy and the walls, they gradually began to die of famine. On arrival of the time for the feast of tabernacles, Hyrcanus petitioned Antiochus VII for a seven-day truce. The truce was granted,⁴ and the pitying city inhabitants opened the gates to the outcasts. Antiochus' conciliations⁴ prompted Hyrcanus to send ambassadors of peace. Antiochus VII agreed to end the warring if the city (a) delivered up its arms, (b) allowed re-establishment of his garrison, and (c) made restitution for Joppa and other border cities. Jerusalem's leaders were in agreement with all but the garrison, for which they proposed substituting 500 talents in precious metals--a down payment of 300 talents, and hostages to secure the balance. Antiochus accepted. (An [unnamed] brother of Hyrcanus I was among the hostages given.) Antiochus VII then withdrew. *AJ XIII.VIII.2-3.*

Subsequently, Hyrcanus I opened the King David sepulchre and removed from it

¹ *Josephus* is the main source for this material and is cited at regular intervals; *Maccabees* supplies a small amount during the period's beginnings. The narrative is complimented by data from Appendix 4A (Explorative Timeline), Appendices 4B II and III, and Attachments 1 through 4. (Considerable detail from *Josephus* is given in this narrative, but more is available in that text for the desiring reader.)

² (a) This occurrence of a seventh year of rest, according to the Hebrews' calendar, does not translate to the passage of seven years of siege. (b) *Found are*: (1) "Ptolemaeus, a Jew...for some time governor of Jericho about 135 b.c."--Ptolemy of Abubus?--L 1826; (2) Zeno, "a general of Antiochus [undesigned]; L 656; (c) Cotyla/Cotyora, "a city of Asia Minor, founded by a colony from Sinope;" "a Greek city on the coast of Pontus, a colony of Sinope;" *Greek Dictionary*, p. 822; L 175 ["Sinope, a seaport town of Asia Minor, in Pontus;" "Sinopean, an inhabitant of Sinope, in eastern Paphlagonia, an important coast city, a Greek colony;" L 569; *Greek Dictionary*, p. 831; (3) *Philadelphia*, refer to Appendix 2A, *Rabbah*.

³ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B (Calendrical Conversions).

⁴ In addition to granting the truce, Antiochus VII "sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded...all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple; Antiochus, the meanwhile, feasting his army--which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes:...for this Antiochus [VII] all men called *Antiochus the Pius*, for the great zeal he had for religion." *AJ XIII.VIII.2.*

3,000 talents, which he used to become “the first of the Jews [to] maintain foreign troops.” He also established a league of assistance with Antiochus VII, admitted him to the city, furnished him with soldiers, and marched with him on one Parthian expedition.

At a time when Antiochus VII was “gone on an[other] expedition” (and/or, “When Hyrcanus I heard of the death of Antiochus”) Hyrcanus made an expedition against the cities of Syria, calculating they would be “destitute of fighting men.” It took six months, longer than expected and with “great distress of his army,” to conquer Medaba alone. At some point Hyrcanus I sent ambassadors to renew league with Rome, asking assistance to regain several cities. The senate politely took note of Hyrcanus I’s petition and paid for his ambassadors’ trip home; but they shelved issuing “letters of protection” to other kingdoms and cities to a time “when their own affairs would give them leave.” Hyrcanus I, however, did take other sites (including Shechem and Gerizzim) and “subdued” the Idumaeans (whom he required to submit to circumcision⁵). Meanwhile, Antiochus VII had again joined battle with Parthia, lost the greater part of his army, and himself was killed. Subsequently, Parthia freed Demetrius II (Antiochus VII’s brother) from captivity to try to regain the kingdom of ‘Syria.’⁶ (Demetrius accepted in marriage Rhodogyne, daughter of then Parthian king, Phraates.)

AJ XIII.VIII.4 and IX.I-2; Wars I.II.5-6.

“Demetrius [II] had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, the high priest;” but “both the Syrians and the soldiers, [who] bare ill-will to him, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy VIII *Physcon* asking him to send someone “of the family of Seleucus” to lead a takeover. Ptolemy VIII sent an army under one Alexander Zebina. Demetrius II, then an ill man, quickly was overcome and fled to Ptolemais, where wife Cleopatra III refused him admittance. Demetrius II proceeded to Tyre, where he was caught; and, “after he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them.” Zebina took the ‘Syrian’ kingdom and Hyrcanus I made league with him.

Antiochus VIII *Grypus* contended with Zebina, conquered and killed him. Then Antiochus VIII heard that an army was being raised by Antiochus IX *Cyzenicus* (a half-brother; son of Cleopatra III by Antiochus VII, “who died in Parthia). Antiochus VIII desisted then from making war on Judaea and “staid in his own land...to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother.” Hyrcanus I--seeing Antiochus IX “destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries and...he and his brother...in ill condition in [their own] struggles”--made an expedition against “Samaria [city, later] called Sebaste...and set his sons Judas/Aristobulus I and Antigonus I over the siege. (They pushed so hard a siege that the famined people within the city “were forced to eat what never was esteemed food.”)

The people of Samaria/Sebaste sent for Antiochus IX to come to their aid. Ptolemy IX *Lathyrus*, son of Cleopatra [IV] and Ptolemy VIII, gave Antiochus IX a force of some 6000 men “without his mother’s consent, who...then in a manner turned him [Ptolemy IX] out of his government. With these Egyptians [sent by Ptolemy IX] Antiochus [IX] did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus...that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise [abandon] the siege of Samaria.” “[B]ut he [Antiochus IX] fell into snares...lost many of his soldiers...[“was pursued as far as Sythopolis” by Aristobulus I and Antigonus I], fled away from them...to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to [generals named] Callimander and Epicrates.” *AJ XIII.X.1-2; Wars I.II.7.*

“Callimander...was put to flight, and destroyed immediately.... Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria.” Aristobulus I and Antigonus I

⁵“At which time this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.” (*Josephus* editor notes, “Justin [is] in agreement with Josephus,” saying, “The power of the Jews was now grown so great that after...Antiochus [VII; “by year 130 b.c.”] they would not bear any Macedonian [-descended] king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars.” *AJ XIII.X, fn.*) (*Medaba*, some 20 miles south of present-day Amman, Jordan.)

Appendix 3A, VI at *AJ XIII.V.10-11; 1 Maccabees 14:3.*

returned to Samaria/Sebaste, “shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants.” “And when Hyrcanus [I] had taken that city...after a year’s siege...he demolished it [and] took away the very marks that there had even been such a city.” Aristobulus and Antigonus “did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.” *AJ XIII.X.3; Wars I.II.7.*

“Now, Hyrcanus [I] lived all this while in peace;⁷ for after the death of Antiochus [VII] he revolted from and ceased to pay the Macedonians any regard, as either subject or friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the time of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these [Antiochii] brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in those times of quiet in Judea, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money.” *AJ XIII.IX.3.*

“[A]t this time, not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were in Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra [IV] the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy [IX],... and she appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias [IV] who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem.... Cleopatra entrusted these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attest[ed], when he saith thus, ‘Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy [IX] immediately; only those that were called Onias’ party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen.’” *AJ XIII.X.4.*

The successes of Hyrcanus I and his sons “made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together and would not be at rest until they brake out into open war.” As the “prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus...the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees,” who had “so great a power over the multitude that, when they [said] any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they [were] presently believed.” Hyrcanus had been “a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them.” Now, one Pharisee Eleazar told Hyrcanus that if he truly was righteous he would resign the high priesthood and declared, “‘We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.’ This story was false.”

“The Pharisees...delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason [was] it that the Sadducees reject[ed] them, [saying] we [were] to esteem [only] those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word [and]...not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences [arose] among them, while the Sadducees [were] not able to persuade none but the rich, and...the Pharisees [had] the multitude on their side.”

Hyrcanus [I] had a “very great friend” named Jonathan, “of the sect of the Sadducees.” who urged Hyrcanus to seek Eleazar’s death for his slander. The Pharisees, however, deemed “stripes and bonds” sufficient punishment. Further “irritated” by Jonathan’s influence, Hyrcanus changed parties. “But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons.” *AJ XIII.X.5-6; Wars I.II.8.*

When Hyrcanus I was dead, “the eldest son Aristobulus [I], intending to change the government into a kingdom...first of all put a diadem on his head, 481 years and three

⁷ As the use of this term in this context reflects, “The Seleucid dynasty was of Macedonian origin.” *Williamson*, p. 411 (endnote 17 to p. 35).

months after the people...were returned to their own country again” from Babylon.⁸ Aristobulus I also assumed the office of High Priest. His unnamed mother “disputed the government with him;” he put her in prison, where either he killed her “with hunger” or she “pined to death.” “Aristobulus loved his next brother, Antigonus [I], and treated him as equal; but the others he held in bonds.”

Aristobulus I resisted being “alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies” which at first he discredited and attributed to “the envy of the relatives.” At a point in Aristobulus I’s first and only year, as he lay ill “in the tower [“Citadel”] which was called Antonia,” a palace conspiracy resulted in the murder of Antigonus. Aristobulus I’s “wife, Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexandra [I],” was a party to the plot. Antigonus I, who “was returned from the army,...when they make the [feast of the] tabernacles,” adorned himself and offered prayers before visiting his sick brother. [Unnamed] individuals caused Aristobulus I to think it really possible that his brother intended to take the kingdom; so he instructed his guards that, when Antigonus came to see him, “if armed, they should kill him.”

“[T]he queen, and those that joined with her in the plot...persuaded the messenger to tell Antigonus the direct contrary:” that Aristobulus “had heard that he [Antigonus] had made himself [had got in Galilee] a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to see him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery...came to Aristobulus...with his entire armour...but when he was come to a place which was called Strato’s Tower⁹ where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him.” Aristobulus fell into misery and repentance, his illness worsened, and he himself soon died, “when he had reigned no longer than a year.” *AJ XIII.XI.1-2; Wars I.III.1-6.*

Despite the brief tenure of Aristobulus I, “called a lover of the Grecians,” he “conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws.” *AJ XIII.XI.3.*

Alexandra I released other “brethren” from prison, and she married and made king Alexander [I] Jannaeus, (half-?) brother of [Judas/Aristobulus I and Antigonus I. (Jannaeus had been “hated by his father,” who had “suffered him to be brought up in the Galilee.”) Alexander I also assumed the high priesthood.

“[O]f the maritime cities” Ptolemais and Gaza remained unconquered. When Alexander I laid siege at Ptolemais, a “tyrant” named Zoilus entered the fray. Zoilus already had in hand Strato’s Tower and Dora, which had been placed at bay due to the warring between Antiochii. Ptolemais saw as its “only hope...Ptolemy [IX] Lathyrus, who...held Cyprus, where he had been driven by Cleopatra [IV] his mother.” The people of Ptolemais appealed “to this Ptolemy Lathyrus...to deliver them...out of the hands of Alexander [I],” and gave Lathyrus to believe that his efforts on their behalf would be joined by Zoilus, people of Gaza, Sidonians, and others. Ptolemy IX readied his fleet. *AJ XIII.XII.1-2.*

Demetrius III meanwhile had risen to Seleucid/Syrian power at Damascus. He warned the leaders of Ptolemais that Cleopatra already wanted to oust Ptolemy IX from Cyprus, would not “overlook an army raised by him,” certainly would go against him with her own army, and while Ptolemy IX always could re-escape to Cyprus the people of Ptolemais would be left high and dry. Despite the likelihood of Cleopatra IV’s intervention, Ptolemy IX nonetheless embarked, landed, and pitched camp near Ptolemais, only to have the city fail to receive his ambassadors. Alexander I, however, withdrew “into his own country” and privately suggested

⁸ (a) Adding Aristobulus I’s estimated date of accession, 104 b.c.e. to 481⁺ yields 585⁺ --c. Nebuchadnezzar’s conquest and exiles, not returns; (b) deducting 481 years from the Cyrus edict/Zerubbabel first return (538 - 481) yields 57 b.c.e., which is *circa* the time that Aristobulus II briefly was in power; (c) however, deducting 57 b.c. from Cyrus’ edict (538 - 57) yields 481 b.c.e.--very near the 479 b.c. standardly assigned date of the Ezra return.

⁹ “in a subterraneous place, which was called...by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the seaside.”

a plan to Cleopatra IV. He could pretend to seek league with Ptolemy IX and pay him a good sum to get rid of Zoilus (on the promise that Alexander I would receive the then-Zoilus-controlled territory), while Cleopatra secretly prepared to march against Ptolemy IX. Cleopatra agreed. Ptolemy IX accepted Alexander I's proposal and routed Zoilus, but then he learned the truth. He had his generals commence a siege of Ptolemais, which they eventually took, while he himself went to confront Alexander I, on the march with a force of "about 50,000" ["some writers have said" 80,000].

Ptolemy IX took the Galilee city of Asochis by force, taking "about 10,000 slaves and a great deal of other prey." Although he next lost many men trying to take nearby Sepphoris, he continued on to engage Alexander I. Their battle was met "at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth," where the armies' camps were separated by the river. Alexander I allowed Ptolemy IX to bring his army across, thus putting the river at their back. "[A] great slaughter was made by both the armies," with Alexander I's forces at first being "superior;" but Ptolemy IX's losses were supplanted by auxiliaries. As there were no replacements for Alexander I, his army ultimately dissolved; Ptolemy IX's army mercilessly pursued and killed the fleeing soldiers.

Ptolemy IX "overran all the country," occupying "certain villages of Judea" and perpetrating dreadful atrocities on their women and children" (reportedly, to the degree of cannibalism, to instill the greatest terror of him in the region's inhabitants--as "both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus]...affirm").
AJ XIII.XII.3-6.

Cleopatra IV--seeing that Ptolemy IX had wasted Judaea, held power over Gaza and practically was at her gate--"immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea and an army of foot..., and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews generals of her whole army," while her son Ptolemy X *Alexander I* took a fleet to Phoenicia. She herself "went to Ptolemais and when its people would not receive her she besieged the city." Ptolemy IX, "supposing that he should find Egypt destitute of an army," hastened to get there. Cleopatra IV's general Chelcias, in pursuit, "died at this time."
AJ XIII.XIII.1.

Ptolemy IX's attempt at Egypt "did not succeed according to his expectations," in that Cleopatra IV dispatched part of her army to drive him out. He wintered at Gaza, during which time she captured Ptolemais. Alexander I Janneus gave her "presents and such marks of respect as were but proper;" however, "some of her friends" attempted to persuade her "to seize Alexander and...take possession of his country.... But Ananias' counsel was contrary...[claiming it would be]...unjust action...[against] a man that was her ally...'and a man who is related to us"¹⁰ "What injustice thou dost to him will make all of us that are Jews to be thy enemies." Cleopatra "complied;...did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria."
AJ XIII.XIII.2.

"Presently" Alexander Janneus made an expedition against Celesyria...took Gadara after a seige of ten months...also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasures.... This Zeno ["Theodorus"] fell unexpectedly upon the Jews and slew 10,000 of them and seized upon Alexander a baggage" ["took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage"]. Undaunted, Alexander I Janneus "made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country," and by force "took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon, also".¹¹ After Ptolemy IX retired to Cyprus from Gaza and Cleopatra was back in Egypt, Alexander I Janneus besieged Gaza and "ravaged" the country. But soon he came up against Appollodorus, general of Gaza's army. Their battling went back and forth; many were slain, but the Gazans "stoutly resisted"-- encouraged by "Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious....," who promised to assist. But it happened that, before Aretas came,

¹⁰ In what manner is not said.

¹¹ "[A]fterwards called Agrippias by king Herod [the Great]."

Appollodorus was killed by his envious brother, Lysimachus [undesignated].

Lysimachus gathered the army together “and delivered up the city to Alexander [I Janneus],” who, afterward, let his army loose upon the city. Many died on each side (some Gazans killed their own families to prevent their capture into slavery); “but the Senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo’s temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting), whom Alexander slew, and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.” *AJ XIII.XIII.3; Wars I.IV.1-2.*

“About this time” Antiochus VIII died, “when he had lived 45 years and reigned 29” [others say, 26] years. His son Seleucus [VI] warred with “Antiochus [IX], his father’s [maternal, half-] brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus,¹² and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him.” “But after a while” Antiochus IX’s son, “who was called Pius [Antiochus X¹³]...put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of Syria.” Afterward, Seleucus’ brother, Antiochus [Dionysius or Philip?¹⁴] overcame Antiochus X and destroyed his army. Antiochus X “fled out of Syria, went to Mopsuestia¹⁵ again and levied money upon them, but the people...burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends.”

Following the defeat of Antiochus X, “his [half-] brother Philip [/Philippus] put on the diadem and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy IX sent for his [Philip’s] fourth brother, Demetrius [III], who was called Eucerus...and made him king of Damascus. Antiochus ‘Pius’ vigorously opposed both Philip and Demetrius but presently he died, falling in battle while an “auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians...while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria....” *AJ XIII.XIII.4.*

In Judaea, Alexander I Janneus reportedly was hated by the majority; unrest was fomented by the leading Pharisee faction; and Alexander I’s “own people were seditious against him.... [A]t a festival...when he stood upon the altar...the nation rose upon him, and pelted him.... They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy.... [I]n a rage [he] slew about six thousand.”

During his reign, Alexander I Janneus “overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute.” Among his conquests were a large number of cities in Idumaea; and “king Alexander and his wife made Antipas general [regional governor] of all Idumea. (“This Antipater was at first called Antipas...his father’s name also.”) Alexander I Janneus also battled “Obedas, king of the Arabians,” wherein “at Gadara [“near Golan”], a village of Gilead, Janneus hardly escaped with his life [and “lost his entire army...broken to pieces by the multitude of camels”].” From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where...the nation insulted him [“where he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him”]. “In the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in an interval of six years.... ...till at length he left off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But Janneus was unsuccessful in overcoming their ill will: “they all cried out, that he ought to kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius [III] Eucerus...to make a league of mutual defence.” Demetrius III “readily complied [and as] he came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.” *AJ XIII.XIII.5 and XIV.I.3; Wars I.IV.4.*

Demetrius III, who had 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 [or 14,000] footmen, joined those who had sought his aid, and they pitched camp at Shechem. Alexander I Janneus went against Demetrius “with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries and about twenty

¹² This name frequently is found spelled *Cyzenicus*.

¹³ Per *Josephus’ ed.n.*, this has been “corrected” to *Pius* from “grossly false” readings such as ‘Antiochus Antonius/Antoninus.’

¹⁴ Some confusion is involved in identifications of the Seleucid relatives during this period.

¹⁵ “Mopsuestia, or Mopsos, a town of Cilicia near the sea.” L 380.

thousand Jews...of his party [1,000 horsemen, 8,000 mercenaries on foot, and 10,000 supportive Jews].” “The kings made a proclamation to attempt first to draw off each other’s soldiers.” “[T]here were great endeavors on both sides--Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius.” “But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement.” Demetrius won, with many slain on each side (all of Alexander’s mercenaries were killed).

Alexander I Janneus fled to the mountains, where 6,000 Jews from Demetrius III’s army defected to him “out of pity at the change of his fortune.” Demetrius III--divested of those who had enticed his involvement, and supposing that all at length would run back to Alexander--left the country, and went his way. However, the rest of the multitude...when the auxiliaries were gone...had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemeselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem.” (Alexander besieged “Bethome,” where “the most powerful of them” had taken refuge. He then captured Bethome¹⁶ and them, and brought them to Jerusalem.)

Alexander I Janneus took special vengeance on the captives, for introducing “foreigners against him,” and for his being forced to give back to the king of Arabia the Moab and Gilead land that he had subdued and the places in it. While “feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city,” he ordered about eight hundred of the captives to be crucified (“hung upon crosses”); and while the crucified “were [still] living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes.” “[T]he soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand...ran away...and continued fugitive all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in utmost tranquillity.” (“[E]ight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander’s death; [and]...at last...he procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.”)

AJ XIII.XIV.1-2; (Wars I.IV.5-6).

As for Demetrius III, he proceeded to besiege his brother Philip at Berea but wound up facing an alliance of Philip, Strato (Berea’s tyrant), “Zizon the ruler of the Arabian tribes” (called in by Strato), and “Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians,” whose large force drove Demetrius’ army back to its encampment; those previously not killed by arrows were thirsted out. “So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia.” The Antiochian captives, however, they freely restored to Antioch. (Mithridates...had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness.) “So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.”

AJ XIII.XIV.2-3.

“After this,” Philip’s brother, Antiochus Dionysius (“brother [also] of Demetrius”) “aspired to dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned.”¹⁷ While he was off “making war against the Arabians,” Philip went to Damascus, where one Milesius, left as governor of the citadel, delivered the city over to Philip. But when Philip treated the act as one done out of fear and returned no reward, Milesius captured him and held Damascus for Antiochus [XII?¹⁸] who came back “out of Arabia.” “Philip was obliged to leave Damascus again.”

“Antiochus”¹⁹ immediately made an expedition through Judaea. [“Alexander (I Janneus) was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians”]; Alexander

¹⁶ *Bemeselis* and *Bethome* cannot be placed (the latter only similar to *Beth-horon*--Appendix 2A).

¹⁷ *Josephus ed.n.*, per *Spanheim*’s notice: “Antiochus Dionysius...styled himself on his coins ‘Antiochus, Ephiphanes, Dionysius.’”

¹⁸ *Josephus ed.* adds *Eucerus*, but as noted at fn. 14, there is some confusion on Antiochii during this period.

¹⁹ XII tentatively is assigned to this Antiochus in Appendix 4A timeline.

prepared to hinder the approach by digging a deep trench from Chabarzaba and the sea at Joppa ["between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa"] and raising a high wall before it, with towers. Antiochus, however, "soon burnt them all ["filled the trenches"] and made his army pass by that way into Arabia." Antiochus fought "desperately" with Arabian king Aretas and was killed just as he had victory in his grasp [Aretas' with a 10,000 force ambushed and wrought "a mighty slaughter" on Antiochus, who fell in the forefront of battle]. After Antiochus fell, the survivors of his "army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine" ["were consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted"].

["About this time"] those in control of ["the people of"] Damascus, who hated Ptolemy ["the son of] Menneus, called in Aretas, who then reigned over Celesyria ["and made him king of Celesyria"]. Aretas made an expedition against Judaea and beat Alexander Janneus in a battle near Adida; subsequently, however, Aretas retired out of Judaea "upon certain conditions agreed upon."
AJ XIII.XV.1-2; [Wars I.IV.7-8].

"But Alexander marched again," and spent three years in warring. He took the city of Dios; he battled and took Essa, which held Zeno's treasures; he marched to and took Golan and Seleucia and "that valley which is called *The Valley of Antiochus*; and he took the fortress of Gamala. ["But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus' possessions...[and] took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius [undesigned], who was governor therein"], accusing "Demetrius, governor of those places...of many crimes, and turned him out." [Janneus "had been three whole years in this expedition."] When he "returned to his own country...the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success." At that time "the Jews were in possession of many cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians."²⁰ ["After this," Alexander became "afflicted with a quartan ague." Thinking he would rid himself of the distemper by forcing himself to undertake hard expeditions at unseasonable times, "he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore...after he had reigned seven and twenty years"], "in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan."
[Also Wars.I.IV.8]

As Alexander I lay dying, queen Alexandra I lamented the coming fate of herself and her children. Her husband gave her explicit instructions: she should conceal his death from the military, until she had secured the kingdom; she should return to Jerusalem triumphantly, as if from a victory, and place a part of her authority in the hands of the Pharisees, who upon that honor "would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her they had great authority among the Jews," saying further that "it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation." She also was to turn over his body to them to do as they willed, and to "promise them also...[to] do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom."

Alexander I died "after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one." "So Alexandra [I], when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom." Her pacifications and laudatory speeches resulted in a funeral for Alexander Janneus "more splendid than had any of the kings before him." AJ XIII.XV.3-5; III.XVI.1.

"Alexander [I] left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus [II] and Aristobulus [II], but committed the kingdom to Alexandra [I]." Alexandra "restored again those practices which

²⁰"At the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adroa, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not...change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed."

the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus [I], had abrogated.” Alexandra was to realize formidable success in keeping her nation’s predators at bay but was hounded by local politics. “[S]he had indeed the name of regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them; and the country was entirely at peace excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen.”

“Hyrcanus [II] was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus [II], was an active and a bold man.” So Alexandra [I] “made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics,” and would not irritate the Pharisees.” [Aristobulus II she kept “with her as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.”]

Hyrcanus [II] began as high priest “on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus...of Crete, were consuls at Rome.”²¹ Hyrcanus II continued as high priest during all of his mother’s nine-year reign. “The Pharisees joined themselves” to Alexandra I, “to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. ... But these Pharisees artfully insinuated...and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed at their pleasure...” Alexandra I, however, “was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.”

The Pharisaic faction appealed to Alexandra I to punish opponents who had influenced Janneus’ massacre of their 800 constituents. [“They, themselves,”] slit the throat of one Diogenes [“a person of figure...and friend to Alexander [I]”] and then slew several others.... But the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus [II].” Aristobulus, with those who “were the most potent,” came to the palace--it appearing “openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother” to follow her chosen course of governance. [Aristobulus “persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city; so they...were dispersed all over the country.”]

The lead Pharisees insisted that, if in truth she was committed to them, “she would place them every one in her fortresses; they further threatened, that “Aretas the Arabian king” gladly would receive them as foreign auxiliaries. Alexandra chose the ‘lesser evil’ and gave them command of 22 of her fortresses, keeping Hyrcania, Alexandrium and Macherus, which three held her “principal treasures.”

AJ XIII.XVI.1-3; [Wars.V.1-3].

“Alexandra [I] sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy XIII was always oppressing that city, [and] she got possession of it [without] any considerable resistance.” Armenia’s king Tigranes made a large military expedition into Syria, which then was ruled over by “Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra...who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes.” Tigranes began a siege of Ptolemais. Apprehensive, Alexandra sent him “many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors,” whom Tigranes returned with “good hopes of his favour.” [Alexandra “prevailed [on]

²¹ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B, Calendrical Conversions--third year of 177th olympiad = 70 b.c.e. (L 170 shows Hortensius and Metellus as consuls in AUC year 685 = 67 b.c., the year generally given for Alexandra I's death.)

Tigranes...by agreements and presents, to go away.”] Tigranes took Ptolemais²² [“Tigranes soon arose from the siege,”] diverted by serious Parthian incursions into Armenia (general Lucullus had not been able to subdue Mithridates). Selene was captured by Tigranes (either at Ptolemais or later, and put to death in the citadel of Seleucia.)²³

“After this,” Alexandra I fell ill and son Aristobulus II--knowing brother Hyrcanus II's political ineptness, to preclude Pharisee total power when their mother died--solidified plans for a coup. Aristobulus II's [unnamed] wife at Jerusalem was the only person initially aware of his intentions, as he secretly first went to “Agaba” and was received by “Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned.” One by one, Aristobulus secured the fortresses and, one by one, messengers came and informed Alexandra. “[T]hen it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder.” “They’ [--unnamed--]” feared the punishment Aristobulus [II] would invoke, once he had the government, “for the mad treatment his house had had from them.”

Within 15 days Aristobulus II had all 22 fortresses, “wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled.” Further, he had proceeded to raise an army [“got together a number of mercenary soldiers”] with the aid of the kings of Libanus and Trachonitis [“and made himself king”]. [Hyrcanus II complained to his mother, and “she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia(/"Citadel;" "Tower of Antonia"), which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple.”] Hyrcanus II and the “elders of the Jews” consulted the queen on how to proceed. Alexandra I, 73 years old and failing, was forced to leave matters in their hands; she “bid them to do what they thought proper,” and shortly thereafter she died.²⁴

AJ XIII.XVI.4-6; [Wars I.V.3-4].

“Now Hyrcanus [II] was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus [II] was superior...in power and magnanimity.” The battle for the kingdom was met at Jericho, where the majority of Hyrcanus II's men defected to Aristobulus II. Hyrcanus retreated to and gained control of the Jerusalem citadel, including the hostages, and sent a conciliatory message to his brother. Aristobulus willed agreement between them that Hyrcanus would resign claim to the crown but retain all the dignities of a king's brother, in private life. The resolution was effected in the temple with oaths, handshakes and an embrace before “the whole multitude,” after which Aristobulus II, who assumed also the office of high priest, took residence in the palace and Hyrcanus II lived in Aristobulus' former home.

South/southeast in Idumaea, the house of Antipater [II], an ally of Roman general Pompey, was on the rise. Antipater II, [“by birth an Idumean,”] had married “a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros [II], and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king [the Great], and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. ...[Antipater II] made himself friends among the men of power every where...[and contracted] the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war...he sent and intrusted his children with [the Arabian king].”²⁵ Antipater II, “made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party.”

Antipater II, a friend of Hyrcanus II, privately lobbied against Aristobulus II with “the most powerful of the Jews,” but specifically with Hyrcanus II--making various charges to

²² *Josephus* editors note that there is no true conflict of *Josephus* with *Strabo*, who claims that Tigranes did not capture Selene at Ptolemais but later, in the Mesopotamian citadel at Seleucia, after she had left Syria; *Josephus, Wars I.V.3.*

²³ *Wars I.V.3* ed. note.

²⁴ *Josephus'* eulogy for Alexandra I, “loved by the multitude,” attributes her misfortunes (among other things) to “a desire of what does not belong to a woman,” despite the fact that “she preserved the nation in peace.”

²⁵ *Josephus*, p. 621.

persuade Hyrcanus that he should eject Aristobulus, who would not see his rule as secure until Hyrcanus was dead. Hyrcanus at first paid no heed but eventually was moved to turn to Aretas in Arabia, “a country that borders upon Judea.”²⁶ Antipater went first to lay the ground with Aretas; and “a while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey...to Petra, where the palace of Aretas was.” Aretas agreed to take up the cause, on exchange of promised “presents” and, once Hyrcanus was established in Judea, the return to Aretas of “those twelve cities which his father Alexander [I] had taken.”²⁷
AJ XIII.XIV.2-4; [Wars.VI.1-2].

Aretas, with a 50,000 horse and foot army, battled and beat Aristobulus II. After the victory “many went over to Hyrcanus...Aristobulus was left desolate,” and he retreated to Jerusalem’s temple. Aretas “united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together” and besieged the temple; “none but the priests continued with Aristobulus.” This happened at the time of “the feast of unleavened bread...passover.”

The “principal” Jews fled the country, into Egypt. One “Onias, a righteous man” who “had himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while,” was brought “to the Jewish camp,” compelled to speak, and prayed for delivery of the priests. “Whereupon...as soon as he had” made his prayer, he was stoned to death.

The priests with Aristobulus II, wanting to offer the customary passover sacrifices, desired to receive the wherewithal from “their countrymen without,” assuring the providers that they “should have as much money...as they should desire.” Accordingly, Aristobulus and the priests let down from the walls 1,000 drachmae for each head of cattle expected but the sacrifices were not delivered. (An ensuing windstorm, however, “destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.”) *AJ.XIV.II.1-2.*

[Aristobulus II would have been taken “at first, by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege.”] Roman general Pompey,²⁸ who meanwhile had been warring with Tigranes²⁹ of Armenia, sent general Scaurus into Syria; Scaurus dispossessed Lollius and Metellus of Damascus, which they recently had taken. [Scaurus, ‘[U]pon hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, made haste thither as to a certain booty.’] Upon Scaurus’ entry into Judea, both Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II sent ambassadors to enlist him, promising money. Scaurus found Aristobulus as the better cause, both in wealth and strength (“...it was not the same thing to take a city...as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans....”). Upon receipt of 300 talents from Aristobulus II, Scaurus “sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey, unless they would raise [desist from] the siege.”

Scaurus went to Jerusalem, “raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans” [“So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia”], and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Aristobulus with a great army made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus [“pursued his enemies”], and fought and beat them “at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater [II].”
AJ XIV.II.3; [Wars I.VI.2-3].

Pompey took his army out of winter quarters and marched toward Damascus; on the way he demolished the Apamia citadel built by Antiochus Syzicenus, “took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus.” (Alexandra III, daughter of Aristobulus II and granddaughter of Alexandra I) was married first to Phillipion, son of Ptolemy of Menneus and then taken from

²⁶ Hyrcanus “lived with Aretas;” *AJ XIV.V.1.*

²⁷ Medaba, Naballos, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Ruddy, Lussa and Oruba.

²⁸ Cneus Pompeius, surnamed *Magnus* (Pompey ‘the Great’); L 495.

²⁹ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, P.

him by his father.) Pompey conquered Lysias (where “Silas a Jew was tyrant”), passed over Heliopolis and Chalcis, “got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria [and] came from Pella to Damascus. He had ordered any and all regional contenders to appear before him in the spring at Damascus, and “there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.” (Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine, of the value of 500 talents.” Ambassadors came to Pompey also “from all Syria, and Egypt.)

Hyrcanus II’s ambassador was Antipater II. Hyrcanus’ points were that Aristobulus had deprived him of his firstborn prerogative, was responsible for both incursions into neighboring territories and piracies at sea, had but a small following among his nation’s people, and was avoiding revolt only by reason of his violent nature. “[N]o fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem...confirmed this [the last] accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. Pompey received testimony “of the *nation* against them both, which [nation] did not desire to be under kingly government [but] the form [of] their forefathers [subject to the priesthood]”; further, that “though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation...in order to enslave them.”

Aristobulus II’s ambassador was Nicodemus. [Aristobulus himself initially appeared, “but soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner...so he departed.”] Aristobulus’ points were that it was Hyrcanus’ own contemptible inactivity that had made it necessary for Aristobulus to take the reins of government and that assuming the title of king was no more than had done his father. (Moreover, Aristobulus II’s witnesses were ill-received- -“young and insolent” and garbed “not “for a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.”)

Pompey dismissed the brothers for the time being, condemning Aristobulus for his violent behavior but treating him civilly “lest he should make the nation revolt.” Pompey said he would return to settle affairs, once he had “first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans.” Aristobulus, however, “without expecting any further determination...went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.”

[Aristobulus II’s behavior caused Pompey “great indignation” and “anger,” which--combined with “great intercessions...by Hyrcanus and his friends”--resulted in Pompey marching against Aristobulus with “not only his [own] Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries.” “[T]aking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus and other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he [Pompey] made an expedition against Aristobulus.” Passing Pella and Scythopolis, Pompey came to “Corea, where one enters the country of Judea...through the Mediterranean parts;”³⁰ and there he heard that Aristobulus had “fled to Alexandria...a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence...upon a high mountain.”

[Pompey sent messengers commanding Aristobulus II to come down; Aristobulus’ “inclination was to refuse and do battle but was convinced by “his friends” not to defy the power of the Romans. Aristobulus met Pompey, “made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, [and] returned to the fortress.” On invitation from Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus returned “two or three times” to dispute with Hyrcanus and “pretended he would obey Pompey.” Pompey, however, “commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up.... Accordingly he did what he was ordered...but had still an indignation...retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.”]

Pompey allowed Aristobulus II no time. Hastened at Jericho by the news of the death of Mithridates], who had been assassinated by his son Pharnaces, Pompey camped at

³⁰ “the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries;” see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Caria.
App4B.1

Jericho one night only and set out for Jerusalem the next morning. Aristobulus “affrighted...came and met him by way of supplication,” promising money and delivery of both himself and the city.” Pompey backed off but, when Roman consul Gabinius went to collect the money, “Aristobulus’ party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city,” and “Aristobulus’ soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed.”

AJ XIV.III.1-4; [Wars I.VI.4-6]³¹

An angry Pompey imprisoned Aristobulus,³² while within Jerusalem “sedition” brewed between two factions, those who believed it best that the city be given over to Pompey and those who opposed it and wanted to free the king. Aristobulus’ party seized the temple, broke its bridge from the city, and prepared for a siege, while the others admitted Pompey’s army to the city and delivered up it and the king’s palace up. Pompey garrisoned the palace and, assisted by Hyrcanus in every way, occupied and fortified houses both adjoining and in the temple vicinity. When the occupants did not accept other accommodations, Pompey “encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall...[and] pitched his camp within, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch...and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down.” A bank laboriously was raised, however, the ditch filled, and Pompey’s “mechanical engines and battering-rams” brought from Tyre were placed on the bank to batter the temple with stones.”³³

The battering engines eventually felled the towers [it took three months before one was overthrown] and portions of the fortifications, and the “enemy poured in apace.” (Among Pompey’s companies were Cornelius Faustus, son of Sylla, and his cohort, who ascended the wall first; centurion Furius next to him; and centurion Fabius ascended in the middle with a large cohort.) “[A]ll was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another.... Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few [“but a greater number was wounded].” Many of the priests chose to continue worship and offerings and did not run for their lives. “The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction.” “[A]n innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices;” Absalom, uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus, was taken captive. Pompey entered the inner temple where rested its most valuable items and “2000 talents of sacred money;” but he touched nothing and instead commanded ministers to cleanse the temple and make required offerings.” He “cut off those that had been the authors” of the warring against him and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus II.

“Pompey made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation. (“[T]he city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the 179th Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls.”³⁴) Pompey also rebuilt Gadara for his freedman,” Demetrius of Gadara, and “restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato’s Tower...[a]ll these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.” Celesyria--[“the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates”/] --from the Euphrates to Egypt [including --the

³¹ Henceforth brackets will not be used to separate material from *AJ* and *Wars* unless significantly different statements.

³² It is not clear, where.

³³ *Josephus* notes that the bank would not have been perfected had the Romans been unable to take advantage of sabbaths, during which time, although The Law gave “leave...to defend...against those that...fight...and assault...yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.”

³⁴ Third month of 179th Olympiad = 178 prior Olympiads x 4 years each = 712 b.c.e. which, taken from (the assigned date of the first Olympiad) 776 b.c.e., yields 64 b.c.e. as the first year of the 179th Olympiad.

“provinces” of Syria and Judea], Pompey committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two supporting legions.

Pompey then proceeded with haste to Rome. He “carried bound along with him Aristobulus [II] and his children; for he [Aristobulus II] had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which [, “Alexander [II]...as he was going,”] ran away; but the younger Antigonus [II], was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.” *AJ XIV.IV.1-6; Wars I.VII.1-7.*

Scaurus then proceeded on an expedition against Petra in Arabia, burning surrounding places because of the difficulty of access. Antipater II “furnished him with corn out of Judea, and...whatever else he wanted...at the command of Hyrcanus. Scaurus sent Hyrcanus as ambassador to Aretas, “to induce him to pay [Scaurus] money to buy his peace;” Hyrcanus pledged to be surety for the sum of three hundred talents; Aretas accepted the proposal and Scaurus withdrew his army from Arabia.

“In some time” Alexander II, assembled a large band of men “and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly.” Hyrcanus was attempting to rebuild Jerusalem’s wall but was hampered by the Romans stationed there. Gabinius entered Syria as successor to Scaurus, to command Rome’s forces. Alexander canvassed the country and, arming many men, assembled an army of 10,000 footmen and 1500 horsemen. He fortified Alexandrium (“a fortress near to Coreae”) [“and Hyrcanium”) and Macherus (“near the mountains of Arabia”). Gabinius sent ahead Marcus Antonius and other commanders, who armed “such Romans as followed them...and such Jews as were subject to them [“another body of Jews under the command of Pitholaus and Malichus; and...also their friends that were with Antipater, and [they] met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion.” Alexander retreated before them but near [“in the neighbourhood of”] Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost 6,000 men, 3000 of which were taken alive.” Alexander “fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.”

Gabinius followed and at Alexandrium found “a great many there encamped” before the fortress. He first offered conditional surrender, including amnesty, but “they would hearken to no terms of accommodation” and Roman-led forces attacked (Marcus Antonius/Mark Antony “signalized himself in this battle” and “seemed to come off with the greatest honour”). Gabinius left there a part of his army to take the city and himself moved on into other parts of Judea, ordering the rebuilding of demolished cities as he encountered them,³⁵ which cities were restored to habitation after long desolation. *AJ XIV.V.1-3; Wars I.VIII.1-3.*

Gabinius then returned to Alexandrium and pressed the siege. Alexander’s [unnamed] mother, “out of concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children,” and “to mollify Gabinius,” went to the outnumbered Alexander II and plead with him. Alexander complied with what she asked. He sent ambassadors to Gabinius, asking pardon, and delivered up the “remaining” fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus, “and at last Alexandrium...which fortresses Gabinius demolished “at the persuasion of Alexander’s mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war.” Following the settlement, Gabinius returned Hyrcanus II to Jerusalem and committed care of the temple to him; but Gabinius “ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy and ordained five councils, distributing the nation into the same number of parts. “[T]hese councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews/[Hebrews] were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.” “So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.” *AJ XIV.V.4-5; Wars I.VIII.4-5.*

³⁵ Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, Adoreus, Gamala, Gaza and “not a few others besides.”

Aristobulus II and his son, Antigonus [II], now left Rome. They assembled many former supporters, “Jews that were desirous of a change.” They first captured Alexandria and began to re-wall it. They then heard that Gabinius had sent out an army under Sisenna, Antonius and Servilius, to prevent a retaking of the country. Aristobulus made for Macherus, dismissing “the unprofitable multitude,”³⁶ and marching with only 8000 armed men, accompanied by Pitholaus, a Roman lieutenant who defected with 1,000 men. Battle was met enroute. The Romans supervened, despite courageous fighting by Aristobulus’ men, of whom 5000 were slain and 2000 fled.

Aristobulus II and his remaining force, some 1,000+ men, managed to break through the Roman ranks and reached Macherus. Time had not permitted Aristobulus II adequately to fortify Macherus or re-enlarge his army as he had hoped. “[T]he Romans falling upon him, he resisted [their siege]...for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son.” Gabinius carried Aristobulus II back again to Rome. The Roman Senate retained Aristobulus “in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months.” However, the Senate “returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letter that he had promised Aristobulus’ mother to do so, for her delivering of the fortresses up to him,” “and accordingly they then returned to Judea.”

Gabinius, who had proceeded to march to do war with Parthians and already past the Euphrates, “changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy XIII to his kingdom.”³⁷ Gabinius took his army against Archelaus [priest of Comana]. He was supplied with corn, weapons and money by Antipater II (“making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide everything that was necessary”); and enlisted confederates from “those Jews who were above Pelusium...[that] had been guardians of the passes that led into Egypt,” to allow him through.

With Gabinius absent, “the other part of Syria was in motion and Alexander [II] ...brought the Jews to revolt again.” Gabinius, forced to quickly return out of Egypt, “found Syria in disorder, with seditions...; for Alexander [had] seized the government a second time by force,” had assembled a “very great army, and...[was] killing all the Romans that were in the country,” and had “proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim.” Gabinius, “afraid, ...sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters;” but 30,000 remained with Alexander. In the ensuing battle “near Mount Tabor,” 10,000 of Alexander’s men fell “and the rest of the multitude dispersed.” Gabinius went to Jerusalem “and settled the government as Antipater would have it.”

Gabinius next went against and was victorious over “the Nabateans,” after which he gloriously returned to Rome “and delivered the government to Crassus.”

AJ XIV.VI.1-4; Wars I.VIII.6-7.

Crassus, preparing to march against the Parthians and looking for funding, swang through Judea and took all of the temple’s treasury (2000 talents and 8000 talents worth of gold items, plus a wrought-gold beam--breaking thereby an initial promise to Eleazar, “guardian of the sacred treasures,” that he would take only the 2000 talents and beam). Crassus “and all his army,” however, perished in Parthia. Crassus was followed by Cassius, who stopped Parthian incursions into Syria and took possession of it. Cassius “made a hasty march into Judea;” he took Tarichaea (carrying away about 30,000 captives); and he killed Pitholaus, supporter of “the seditious followers of Aristobulus [II]; and it was Antipater [II] who advised him so to do.” “Cassius...forced Alexander [II] to come to terms and to be quiet,” and then headed for the Euphrates to check the Parthians.

AJ XIV.VII.1-3; Wars I.VIII.8-9.

³⁶ Many who joined in supporting Aristobulus II were without weaponry.

³⁷ *Josephus* editors note, “This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says that: ‘A. Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king,’ etc. See *Prid.* at the years 64 and 65.”

“But some time afterward [Julius Caesar], when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus [II],” gave him two legions “and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea.” “[T]hose of Pompey’s party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison.” “Scipio,³⁸ upon Pompey’s sending to him to slay Alexander [II]...cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. ...Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was [at this time] the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his [Alexander’s] brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus II’s wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus [II], and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra [III], Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy [son of Menneus] slew him, and married Alexandra [III], and continued to take care of her brethren.” (The fate of the second [unnamed] daughter is not reported.)

Antipater, “who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt; and that by the order of Hyrcanus.” When general Mithridates of Pergamus and his auxiliaries were held up at Askelon from marching through Pelusium, Antipater (a) brought 3000 armed Jews; (b) arranged that Arabians also would join; and (c) delivered assistance from “all the Cyrians...viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus,³⁹ who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities.” Antipater “signalized himself” at Pelusium, when Mithridates laid a siege, as being the first to break an entrance through the city’s wall, thereby enabling it to be taken. “Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion/country of Onias,”⁴⁰ initially refused Mithridates passage but acquiesced when Antipater produced epistles of Hyrcanus [II] the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar,” and to supply any and all provisions requested. “And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.”⁴¹

Once Mithridates “had gone over all the Delta, as the place is called,” a pitched battle was had near “the place called the Jewish Camp,” where Mithridates was saved by arrival “along the [“river”] shore” of Antipater II’s force, which “had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight.” In Mithridates’ account of the battle to Julius Caesar he gave Antipater II credit for the victory, who commended Antipater “and made use of him all the rest of that war.”

Antipater II “became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds” as testimony to it. And “when [Julius] Caesar, after some time, had finished that war [against Egypt, and was sailed away for Syria,] he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes [and other bestowals]. On this account it was that he [Caesar] also confirmed Hyrcanus [II] in the high priesthood.” “[A]t this time,” while Julius Caesar was in Syria, Antigonus [II], the son of Aristobulus II, made complaint and appeal to Caesar--“that by Antipater’s means” had his father been poisoned and his brother beheaded, and that Hyrcanus and Antipater governed by violence. Antipater (after exhibiting his war scars) claimed that Antigonus II was son of a Roman enemy and if given governance could not be trusted.

Caesar declared Hyrcanus II to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, giving

³⁸ Scipio, with Pompey at his defeat at Pharsalia by Julius Caesar, afterwards would retire to Africa and finally be defeated by Julius Caesar at Thapsus.

³⁹ Later, Herod the Great would leave one “Sohemus of Ituraea” in charge with Joseph I at Alexandria.

⁴⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, II (Chief/High/Levite Priesthoods), sub-part IV, C, Heliopolis, Egypt.

⁴¹ Josephus notes that, according to Strabo and Strabo’s source, Hyrcanus II the high priest was also present in the Mithridates’ Egypt expedition. *AJ* XIV.VIII.3.

“leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased,” Antipater “was constituted procurator of all Judea;” and Hyrcanus was granted his desire to raise up “the walls of his own city” destroyed by Pompey. AJ XIV.VII.4-VIII.5;
Wars I.IX.1-X.3.

The first thing Antipater II did, however, as soon as Julius Caesar left Syria, was to return to Judaea and “rebuild that wall of his own country which Pompey had overthrown.” Going about the country, he “partly threatened...partly advised” all that they would enjoy peace if they submitted [well] to Hyrcanus [II] but, if they did otherwise, “they should then find him [Antipater II] to be their lord instead of their procurator.” Antipater II then “he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw Hyrcanus...not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaleus [I], governor of Jerusalem and the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod [the Great], who was very young [“but fifteen years of age”⁴²] with equal authority into Galilee.”

Herod, “an active man,” quickly entered the good graces of Sextus Caesar,⁴³ “president of Syria” and “kinsman” of Julius Caesar. Herod became “greatly beloved by the Syrians” (he killed one Hezekias, captain of a band that had been overrunning Syrian parts, whom he killed along with his “great troop”). Antipater II stood in good stead in Jerusalem, also, where Phaeselus I retained good will in the management of the city; “whence it came to pass that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king...[with] honours due to an absolute lord.” Hyrcanus, nominally as king and high priest, privately was envious; but he was harassed more by the activities of Herod, of whom many messengers brought information of a growingly great reputation.

Meanwhile, “the principal men among the Jews” [“many people in the royal palace itself”], seeing the good will the Antipaters were enjoying, and “the revenues which they received out of Judea, were pejorative as to Hyrcanus’ acceptance of Antipaterian authority and management. (Antipater II, whose friendship with Rome’s emperors had grown, had prevailed on Hyrcanus II to give money to Rome and then sent it “as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus’s gift.”) The “chief men of the Jews,” seeing Herod as a potential tyrant, finally accused Antipater openly before Hyrcanus and urged that Herod ought to answer for killings he had undertaken absent Hyrcanus’ command and contrary to The Law. (“[F]or Herod, Antipater’s son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law...[it being] forbidden to slay any man...unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim [*sic.*]”)

At length Hyrcanus was prevailed upon, moved also by mothers of those slain by Herod the Great, which women continued every day at the temple to persuade “the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial...for what he had done.” Hyrcanus “summoned Herod to take his trial.” Herod garrisoned the Galilee and took an impressive body of soldiers with him to Jerusalem, while Sextus Caesar sent a threatening epistle on to Hyrcanus on Herod’s behalf. “[W]hen Herod stood before the sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst...bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done.” Finally, one Sameas spoke, of the contrast between Herod’s appearance before them opposed to the customary humility of defendants, and warning that “this very man, whom [it appears] you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus,” one day would punish them all.

“[W]hen Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim [*sic.*] were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod,” he continued the trial for a day, secretly

⁴² Or 25?—refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁴³ “Sextus, a praenomen given to the sixth son....” “A son of Pompey, the Great.” “A governor of Syria.” L 565. (Julius Caesar’s daughter Julia [#3] had been married to Pompey the Great and died during child birth c. BC 53.)

contacted Herod, and told him to escape the city.⁴⁴ Herod “retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey,” should he be resummoned. Sextus made Herod general of Celesyria and Samaria (“he sold him that post for money”). When Antipaterian foes told Hyrcanus that Herod was preparing for war he “fell into the utmost degree of terror.” Herod indeed went to engage Hyrcanus but was stopped from an assault at Jerusalem by the counsel of his father Antipater and brother Phasaelus, who among other things reminded him of the advantages their family had received via Hyrcanus and that Hyrcanus had saved him from a sanhedrin sentence. Herod took his gains by show of force as sufficient for the time being and backed off.

“In the mean time,” Sextus Caesar fell victim to a “treacherous slaughter” (“perpetrated out of...good-will to Pompey”) by Cecilius Bassus, “one of Pompey’s party.” Bassus slew Sextus, took his army, “and got the management of public affairs into his own hand.” Civil war erupted “among the Romans at Apamia;” “Caesar’s generals came against Bassus,” and “the affairs of Syria were in great disorder.” Antipater sent “assistance by his sons;” and, “as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus [undesigned; Brutus?] came from Rome to take Sextus’ government upon him.”

“But [Julius] Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months.” *AJ XIV.IX.1-5. XI.1; Wars I.X.4-10.*

[Josephus *AJ XIV.X* presents a large sampling of Roman decrees over time to various widely-regional provincial governments, demonstrating Rome’s “league of friendship” with Hyrcanus II and civil rights of “Jews.” Primary conferrals included recognition of Hyrcanus as “ethnarch of the Jews;” vesting of the ethnarchy and high priesthood in Hyrcanus’ lineage—that “Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed;” allowing encompassing of Jerusalem’s walls; establishing tributes payable to the ethnarchy; confirming certain territorial possessions; excusing “Jews” from military service; ensuring to them their customs and practices; and advising of the Senate’s intention to meet with ambassadors to establish a more extensive mutual league.]

The murder of Julius Caesar caused “great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own.”

Cassius went from Rome to Syria, took over the Apamia camp, “raised the siege and reconciled both Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which [previously] were at difference with him, to his party.” He then canvassed regional cities for weapons and soldiers, levying heavy taxes. He “chiefly oppressed Judea.” Antipater II—seeing “the state to be in so great consternation and disorder” and out of his dread of Cassius’s threats—parted the raising of [a required 700 talents] among his sons...and others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately.” Of necessity, “part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to/at enmity with” Antipater.

Herod, considering it prudent to gain Roman good-will “at the expense of others,” was first to comply in exacting the 100 talents required of him from the Galilee, and garnered “the greatest favour with Cassius; whereas, Cassius—angered by recalcitrance—caused “the curators of the other cities, and their citizens [to be sold for] slaves and reduced four cities into a state of slavery”—Gophna and Emmaus (the two “most potent”) and Lydia and Thamna. Cassius would have killed Malichus for his procrastination if not pacified by Antipater, who sent 100 talents of his own.

“Herodes [Herod the Great]...followed the interest of Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards that of Antony.” L 272. “Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, gave him a fleet of

⁴⁴ Josephus remarks that were it not for outside pressure, Hyrcanus would have seen him convicted.

ships and an army of foot and horse and made him general of the forces of Celesyria.” They promised Herod that, after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea.

Once Cassius was gone from Judea, Malichus--“most afraid” of Antipater--“laid snares for Antipater, thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus’s government.” Antipater, aware of the threat, “retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own contrymen;” but Phasaelus and Herod, convinced by Malichus that he had no contrary designs, reconciled them. Subsequently, Malichus bribed Hyrcanus’ butler/ cupbearer to poison Antipater when he was feasting with Hyrcanus and Malichus. “This being done,” Malichus, “having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city.” Malichus denied any complicity in Antipater’s death, “made the people believe he was not guilty,” and proceeded to prepare an army to counter an expected retaliation by Herod.

Herod with an army did approach, but Phasaelus counseled “it best to get [the] man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus’s defence for himself, and pretended to believe” that he had not been involved in his father’s violent death. Herod also professed Malichus clear of suspicion.

AJ XIV.XI.2-4; Wars I.XI.1-5.

Herod went to subdue tumult in Samaria City. After restoring peace there, he returned to Jerusalem (at a time of “the festival”), with armed men. Malichus had Hyrcanus II forbid “them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and came in by night.” Herod restrained himself when he met up with Malichus, knowing the latter’s lamentations for Antipater were false; privately, he wrote to Cassius, who also hated Malichus.

Cassius captured Laodicea, and “all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money,” which time “Herod allotted...for the punishment of Malichus.” Malichus “somewhat apprehensive of the thing,” went to Tyre planning secretly to retrieve his son (then a hostage) before marching into Judea. Since Cassius was anxious to march against Antony, Malichus hoped to inaugurate a revolt while the Romans were otherwise engaged, “easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.”

Meanwhile, Cassius had sent word back to Herod the Great “that he should avenge his father’s death...and privately [Cassius] gave order to the tribunes that were under him/to the commanders at Tyre that they should assist. Herod “had said before that he would feast them all” [Hyrcanus II, Malichus and himself] at Tyre. He sent a servant ahead, ostensibly to ready the supper but, in reality, carrying an order to the army commanders. Outside the city, “upon the sea-shore...they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus...swooned away, and fell down...and with difficulty...recovered,” and asked who had killed Malichus. Told that it had been at Cassius’ command, Hyrcanus credited Cassius with saving him and his country” from the dangers posed by Malichus.

AJ XIV.XI.5-6; Wars I.XI.6-8.

Upon Cassius’ withdrawal from Syria, Malichus’ brother Felix, left with an army at Jerusalem, made a “sudden attempt on/assaulted” Phasaelus [I]” and instigated revolts “in many places.” He secured “a great many” fortresses, including Masada, “the strongest of them;” “the people rose in arms.” Herod had been with Felix, the prefect at Damascus, where he temporarily was detained from going to Phasaelus’ aid by a sickness/distemper. Alone, Phasaelus managed to imprison Felix in the tower but thereafter “on certain conditions released him.” Meanwhile, Malichus brother instigated revolts “in many places;” Phasaelus complained that Hyrcanus II was supporting the enemies.

Cassius had “set [his] tyrants over all Syria,” placing one “Marion” over Tyre. Marion marched also into the Galilee, which lay in his neighborhood, took and garrisoned three fortresses. It was “principally on Fabius’ account” and partly out of hatred of Herod that Marion assisted Antigonus II, who, in the meantime, had raised an army and with money

made Fabius “his friend/assistant.” “Ptolemy, son of Menneus” (ruler of Chalcis, who had married Alexandra III) “brought Antigonus [II, “his kinsman”] back into Judea” and supplied him with all that he needed.

As soon as Herod was well he returned, recovered the fortresses, drove Felix out of Masada “in the posture of a supplicant,” and also drove out Marion, taking steps to secure good-will of the Tyrian soldiers. “When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the [main] battle, and drove away Antigonus [II].” Herod was received with honor at Jerusalem, where “the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his [Miriam I]”--the daughter of Alexandra [II] and Alexander [II], the son of [unnamed mother and] Aristobulus [II]--and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus [II], by which wife he [would become] the father of three male and two female children.” Herod formerly had married “a wife out of his own country out of a lower family of his own nation [“of no ignoble blood”], who was called Doris, of whom he begat Antipater [III]; so did he now marry [espouse] Miriamne [I], the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus [II], and was become thereby a relation of the king.”

AJ XIV.XI.7-XII.1; Wars I.XII.1-3.

When Herod “came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris.... [H]e expelled [“deposed”] Antipater [III] the son of Doris...and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals.”

Wars I.XXII.1.

Mark Antony and Julius Caesar conquered Cassius near Philippi. After that victory, Caesar went into Gaul⁴⁵ and “Antony marched for Asia.” When Antony arrived at Bithynia he was met by ambassadors from all parts; “the principal men also of the Jews came thither.” The latter made charges that Hyrcanus was but a figurehead; that Phasaelus I and Herod the Great had all the power, literally reigned, and kept the government by force. Herod also was present but Antony was not disposed to listen to charges against him, in that he had “made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him”

On the other hand, Antony--next at Ephesus--received an embassy from Hyrcanus II (with a gift of a crown of gold), and granted Hyrcanus II's request for freedom of captives carried away by Cassius, “and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them.” Antony “immediately wrote back and at the same time sent decrees to the Tyrians,” Antony's epistles related also how “Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius,” and included Antony's supposition that now “Asia may be at rest from war.”

Cleopatra the Great, who met Antony in Cilicia “brought him to fall in love with her.”

At Daphne “by Antioch,” “There came...100 of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But [one] Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus II, who was Herod's [“espoused”] father-in-law already.” Antony (“already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery”) listened to both sides and then asked Hyrcanus who governed best; Hyrcanus responded, “Herod and his friends/his party.” The ambassadors were indignant; Antony took fifteen of them in custody, “whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away in disgrace. Nonetheless, “these men” did not remain quiet. When Antony then made Herod the Great and Phasaelus both tetrarchs, “and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose,” “a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem.”

On news that Antony was going to be at Tyre, “they sent a thousand ambassadors to

⁴⁵ *Josephus* editors add, [Italy].
App4B.1

Tyre, where Antony [then] abode” on his march to Jerusalem. Antony, “corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him,” sent Tyre’s governor after them, “to punish all he could catch...and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.” Herod (with Hyrcanus) hurried out to where they stood “upon the shore before the city” and bade them desist and disperse for their own sakes and that of their “native country. “But they did not acquiesce [“grew still more outrageous, [and] Antony sent out armed men,”] whereupon the Romans ran upon them with daggers, and slew some [“many], and wounded more...and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners [“those whom he had in bonds].”

AJ XIV.XIII.1-2; Wars I.XII.4-7.

“[I]n the second year,” Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, and Barzapharnes, a Parthian commander [“a governor among the Parthians”], “possessed themselves of Syria.” [Menneus-] Ptolemy had died and been succeeded in the government [*ed. note*, of Chalcis] by his son, Lysanias; Lysanias took Antigonos II as a commander and friend. Antigonos had offered the Parthians [Lysanias prevailed with Barzapharnes by virtue of] 1,000 talents and 500 women, on condition that they depose Hyrcanus, give the government to Antigonos, and kill Herod. Pacorus marched along the coast and ordered Barzapharnes “to fall upon the Jews” through the midland. The Tyrians “excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolemais received him.” Pacorus sent a horse troop in command of “a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name...to march into Judea...to learn the state of affairs...and to help Antigonos when he should want his assistance.”

When the Parthians “were ravaging Carmel,” “the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonos...ready to march with him into Judea.” He sent them to seize Drymi/Drymus [“the woodland”⁴⁶] where they won a battle and drove their foes before them. Antigonos’ force increased in number as it went and “privately fell upon Jerusalem,” where, joined by more, went against the king’s palace “in great numbers...and besieged it.” Hyrcanus II and Phasaelus I met them, however, with a strong force, and in a battle that ensued “in the market-place...Herod’s party [“the young men”] beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard. “But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men [the captured, “yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them”]; while Herod, in his rage for [that] attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes [“daily skirmishes”], and slaughters were made continually among them.” *AJ XIV.XIII.3; Wars I.XIII.1-2.*

At “Pentecost, a feast of ours so called...many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs [north quarter of the city and were out of their ranks]...and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city...some into the temple...some into the outer fortifications [Herod slew a great number, put them all to flight, and shut some up in the city and others within the outward rampart].” Phasaelus went to assist Herod, but he was prevailed upon by Antigonos to admit Pacorus, with a few of his horsemen, into the city, for a reconciliation, “under pretence indeed as if he [Pacorus] would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonos in obtaining the government.” Phasaelus received Pacorus “kindly” and, although Herod exhorted against it, Phasaelus accepted Pacorus’ “fraudulent” proposal that Phasaelus go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, believing thereby to put an end to the war.

Both Phasaelus I and Hyrcanus II left to see Barzapharnes, conducted by Pacorus, who had left 200 horsemen and ten men called the “free-men” with Herod. In Galilee “the governors of the cities there met them in their arms” [Phasaelus and Hyrcanus found “that the

⁴⁶ *Josephus ed. fn.*: “This large and noted wood, or woodland, belonging to Carmel.”
App4B.1

people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, [and] besought him (Barzapharnes) to conceal his treacherous intentions...[and] afterward...laid ambushes”. Barzapharnes met Phasaelus and Hyrcanus with good-will and presents; Phasaelus and his horsemen then “were conducted to the sea-side.” [When they arrived at Ecdippon, a maritime city, they heard of Antigonus’ plot, and how he had promised “the greatest number of the women that were there with them” to the Parthians, along with 1,000 talents.] “[T]hey also perceived than an ambush was always laid for them...in the night time;” and Parthian guards also remained always nearby, corroborating a tip that they were being kept alive only until Herod had been seized.

One “Ophellius,” who had learned of the planned treachery from “Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time,” was the most forceful among those who urged Phasaelus I to flee immediately, offering him ships to carry him off; but Phasaelus, wishing neither to desert Hyrcanus nor to cause danger to Herod, went to Barzapharnes, the Parthian governor, criticized his subterfuge, and offered him a greater payment than Antigonus. Barzapharnes denied all; but, as soon as he was gone, Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were put in bonds [“those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon” them]. Meanwhile, “that butler [“cup-bearer of the royal family”]” was sent to Jerusalem to lure Herod outside of the city and seize him.

Herod went to “the most potent of the Parthians, [and] to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way,” urged him to go with them outside the city to receive good news of a successful Phasaelus embassy. However, Herod had various intelligence reports--from some, that Phasaelus’ messenger had fallen to the enemy; from others, that Phasaelus had been seized. Further, “the daughter of Hyrcanus [who] he [Herod the Great] had espoused, was his monitor also, which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.” “Alexandra [II], the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus’s daughter, begged of him that he would not go out.”

Herod decided that he would delay no longer and would flee the Parthians that night. He took with him “the armed men whom he had...his wives..., his mother [Cypros I], and sister [Salome I], and her [Miriam I] whom he was about to marry, the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], with her mother [Alexandra II], the daughter of Hyrcanus [II], and his [Herod’s] younger brother [Pheroras], and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemy’s privity pursued his way to Idumea. ...[w]hile the women drew along their infant children.”⁴⁷

At one point of the Great’s journey, the fall of a wagon put his mother in danger of being killed. Herod feared that and other delays would see him overtaken. Twice he considered suicide.⁴⁸ He both was restrained when he drew his sword and shamed against the act by many with him, who stressed the cowardice of leaving everyone else in “in the same distresses” as he found himself. Herod made haste, then, toward the fortress of Masada, and although he “had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked and pursued him, he was conqueror of them all.”

Neither was Herod “free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight” [“Nay...the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the (pursuing) Parthians...and this ever since he got (to the road) sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular

⁴⁷ Here, during his showdown with Antigonus II, Herod the Great is seen as custodian of the remaining Asamonean women, when “he set on the beasts...his wives...as also his mother [Cypros I], and sister [Salome I]...: her whom he was *about* to marry [Miriam I]--the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], with her mother [Alexandra II], the daughter of Hyrcanus [II]....” Miriam’s brother, Aristobulus III, would have been in his teens at the time.

⁴⁸ As has been seen repeatedly, suicide (a non-torturous death) frequently was chosen by men on the brink of capture by foes.

battle.”] Herod beat them and killed a large number.⁴⁹ Herod’s brother, Joseph [II], met him when he reached Idumea at a place called Thressa;” the number of people joined with Herod had swelled along the way, together with the mercenaries now a truly great number. He held council as to how next to proceed, and Joseph counseled they ease themselves of a large number of followers” in that the fortress of Masada could not support them all. Herod gave money for provisions to the some 9000-plus individuals and bid them disperse and find safety in Idumea. Eight hundred--”the least encumbered, and most intimate with him”--Herod took to and lodged at Masada, which held enough corn, water and necessaries. [He “left 800 of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege.”] Herod, himself, “went directly for Petra, in [”]Arabia[”] [present-day Jordan].”

The Parthians plundered Jerusalem, its abandoned houses and the palace, leaving only “Hyrcanus’ money” (some 300 talents), and they went on to plunder the country and demolish Marissa. Herod, however, “beforehand,” had conveyed into Idumea a great deal of his own money [“and what was most splendid among his treasures”].

“[T]hus was Antigonus [II] brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus [II] and Phasaelus [I] for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as “promised...with the money, for their reward.” Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were under Parthian guard. Antigonus II, to ensure that Hyrcanus never “might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude--cut off Hyrcanus’ ears” [“bit off Hyrcanus’s ears with his own teeth”], thus rendering him forever ineligible for the position of high priest.⁵⁰

Phasaelus I, believing he was about to be executed and unable to kill himself by his bound hands, “dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby [did take] away his own life”--however, “[i]t is also reported” he survived a large head wound which Antigonus sent physicians ostensibly to treat but secretly ordered them to infuse it with poison, from which Phasaelus died. Regardless, Phasaelus “underwent his death cheerfully,” for he heard from “a certain woman” before he died that Herod had escaped. “Thus was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus [II], and took away Hyrcanus [II], and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.” *AJ XIV.XIII.4-10; Wars I.XIII.3-10.*

Herod the Great planned to obtain Tyrian intercession to offer the Parthians 300 talents for redemption for Phasaelus I, whose fate Herod as yet did not know. He intended to obtain the money from Arabia’s king, Malthus--if not as a gift then as a loan, by virtue of Antipater II’s friendship. Herod took with him Phasaelus’ seven-year-old son to leave as collateral should Malthus only give a loan. But Malchus sent out a messenger and put off Herod’s approach, as if he were being pressed by the Parthians to not receive Herod (that being “only a pretense which he made use of”--partly induced by the “principal [most potent] men” in the Arabian kingdom, to avoid both repaying monies loaned and returning monies “committed to their fidelity” [“deposited among them”] by Antipater II.

“[W]hen Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies...he returned back, and went for Egypt (lodging the first evening in “a certain temple” [“at one of the temples of that country”], where “he had left a great many of his followers” [“in order to meet with those whom he left behind”]. The next day, arriving at Rhinocolura, he heard what had happened to his brother. Herod made haste to Pelusium. (Malchus, in a change of heart, had followed after Herod; either he never caught up, or “Herod had prevented them.”)

The ship captains at Pelusium, on Herod’s appeal and out of great regard for him,

⁴⁹“Some time afterward” Herod built at that site “a most excellent palace [a citadel], and a city round about it [adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications], and called it Herodium.”

⁵⁰According to the ordinance that a high priest have no such deformities; *Leviticus 21:17ff.*

conducted him to Alexandria, where “he was received by Cleopatra [the Great] with great splendour, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen’s solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened (or the fact that “affairs of Italy were...in great disorder”), he sailed for Rome.” He was lucky to escape with his life violent weather near Pamphylia, although forced to jettison most of the ship’s lading. Arriving safely at Rhodes he was “received by his friends, Ptolemy [undesigned] and one Sappinas/ Sappinius. (Rhodes was “very much damaged [from] the war against Cassius, and Herod did what was in his power to aid recovery). Despite of his want for money, Herod was able to build a three-decked ship “of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundisium, and went thence to Rome with all speed.”

Herod related to Antony all that happened--that Antigonus II had been made king by the Parthians and by what means, the danger now threatening Herod’s relations, and the trials he had undergone to reach Rome. Antony was disposed to assist Herod, both in view of his prior friendship with Antipater II and in that Herod “offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it to him to make him tetrarch,” but chiefly because Antony hated Antigonus as an enemy of the Romans. Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] advanced Herod’s cause moreso, on account of Antipater II’s role in the war in Egypt, etc. So Octavian convoked the senate; “and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it.”

Testimony was had as to the benefits and good will Rome had received from Herod’s meritorious father, while Antigonus was accused as an enemy, having “overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians”--“at which juncture Antony came in and declared it was advantageous for Rome in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it.” “...Antony’s affection for Herod [was such]...that he...procured him a kingdom” (“which...the Romans...used to bestow...on some of the [[local] royal family”), which kingship Herod “did not expect...[and] did not come...to ask for himself but intended to desire it for his wife’s brother [Aristobulus III], who was grandson by his father [Alexander II] to Aristobulus [II], and to Hyrcanus [II] by his mother [Alexandra II].”

Herod followed the dignitaries out of the senate house with Antony and Caesar Octavian by his sides; sacrifices were offered and the decrees laid up in the capitol. Thus did Herod obtain the kingdom, “on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [“the first time”].” Herod “departed Italy in so few days as seven in all.”

Antigonus all the while had been besieging Masada, which at one point lacked water so badly that Herod’s brother, Joseph, was contriving to take the 200 “of his dependants”/“of his own friends” and make a run for Malchus, having learned of his repentance. However, an unexpected rain that very night, which filled the cisterns, also renewed courage, “so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus’s soldiers [“some in open battles, and some in private ambush], and destroyed a great number” [“although sometimes they were beaten, and ran away”].

“In the mean time” the Roman general, Ventidius, sent out of Syria to subdue Parthian incursions, marched on into Judea, “in pretence indeed to assist Joseph; but in reality...no more than a stratagem...to get money of Antigonus.” Ventidius pitched camp close to Jerusalem and “stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money.” Afterward Ventidius retired with most of his army but he left a troop there under Roman captain Silo, “lest if he [Ventidius] had taken...all [his soldiers] away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered.” Antigonus “cultivated a good understanding with Silo, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes” that Parthians again would come to his defense.

AJ XIV.XIV.1-6; Wars I.XIV.1-4, XV.1-2.

“By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers [“foreigners”]...and his own countrymen, and marched through

Galilee against Antigonus [II].” “[A]ll Galilee, with some small exception, joined Herod.” Of “the people of the country” who joined Herod, “the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom,” although “some did it out of the friendship had with and benefits received from both Herod and his father, and some simply because of Herod’s “splendid appearance.” Ventidius and Silo received word from Antony that they also were to assist. Herod’s initial quest was to save those at Masada; but Joppa gave him trouble, and “it was necessary for him to take that place first,” wishing to leave no stronghold in enemy hands before proceeding south. Silo, who had been taking bribes from Antigonus, now had “plausible occasion of drawing off his forces” from Jerusalem, whereupon “he was pursued by the Jews [who] pressed upon him;” but Herod “made an excursion with a small body of men, soon put the Jews to flight and saved Silo.”

“Herod had now a strong army” and suffered little damage from “snares and ambushes” laid by Antigonus [II] in the passes and other places along the way. “So Herod received [“easily recovered”] those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem,” “where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.” Herod pitched camp on Jerusalem’s west side, where Antigonus guards shot darts and arrows, some also sallying out for hand-to-hand combat with Herod’s front ranks.

Herod caused proclamation around the wall that he was there for the people’s good and preservation of the city and prepared to forgive and forget previous offenses. Antigonus’ soldiers “made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear...nor to change their party.” Antigonus responded to all--the Romans and Silo, as well--“that it would be wrong for them to give the kingdom to Herod,” “who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew,” when properly it belonged to one of the royal family; further, if they objected to Antigonus for his having been seated by the Parthians, there were many others of his family in good Roman standing, who properly “under their law” could take it, “and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by.” On Antigonus’ orders, his soldiers on the wall with their bows and arrows easily drove the enemy away from the towers.

“[H]ere it was that Silo...set” many of the soldiers to insisting on pay, provisions, and convenient winter quarters and then, alleging them as the reasons, “moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege.” Herod aborted the withdrawal by assuring Silo’s captains and soldiers that he would supply the necessary wherewithal. Herod first secured “a great abundance of [immediate] necessaries” from the surrounding country; and sent for another abundance for future needs, from “friends of his who inhabited about Samaria [which city had joined itself to him].” Herod stocked corn, wine, oil and cattle at Jericho.

Antigonus II, aware of it, deployed men who in turn “got together a great number of armed men” to lie about the mountains around Jericho to hinder corn collection and to lay ambushes. Herod went to Jericho with five cohorts of Romans, five of Jews, and some mercenaries, and found the city deserted. He “took and sent away” 500 residents who with their wives and children had settled on tops of hills,” while the Romans plundered the city and its houses, “full of all sorts of good things. So the king [Herod] left a garrison there and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria [where the Romans] laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.” [“Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.”]

Herod, on the other hand, was not inclined to remain idle. He sent out brother Joseph II with 2000 footmen and 400 horsemen against Idumea,“ which was “seized...and kept.” Herod, himself, removed his mother and other relatives to Samaria and, once they were settled, proceeded to take Antigonus garrisons in the Galilee. He easily took Sepphoris, whose guards deserted before any assault; at Arbela he encountered strong

resistance but ultimately won a pitched battle and pursued foes as far as the Jordan. "So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves," after which he paid his soldiery well and sent them into winter quarters. Herod sent "his youngest brother, Pheroras, to take care of a good market for them...and to repair/build a wall around Alexandrium."

"In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea." Herod sent Silo while he himself set about clearing out the the cave-dwellers (employing basket chests, in which soldiers were lowered to fight resisters at the cave mouths). Herod left part of his army there, under command of Ptolemy [undesigned], and with 600 horsemen and 3000 footmen returned to Samaria, "intending to fight Antigonus." But Ptolemy's command did not go well--troublesome Galileans unexpectedly attacked and killed him in another insurrection. Herod responded immediately, "destroyed a great number of the seditious, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged." At rebellion's end he "laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents."

"By this time" Pacorus had been slain and the Parthians driven out by the Romans. At Antony's command, Ventidius sent one general Macheras with two legions and 1,000 horsemen to Herod, as auxiliaries against Antigonus II. Antigonus, by a letter emphasizing the merit of his cause and promising money, solicited Macheras to aid him, instead. Macheras did go, albeit counter to Herod's counsel, "to take a view" of Antigonus' affairs ["as a spy to discover his affairs"]; Antigonus II, however, deducing Macheras' intentions, refused him entry to the city and threw stones at him ["defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls"]. Ashamed and enraged, Macheras "retired to Emmaus, to Herod...[and] he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus." Provoked, Herod went to Samaria, intending to go to Antony with charges of Macheras' "maladministration;" but Macheras begged reconciliation and Herod instead allowed him to join forces with Joseph. Herod left Joseph II there over the army, but charged him not to quarrel with Macheras and not run any hazards [/to make no attempts against Antigonus til his return]."

Herod did proceed to join Antony, who, with a large army, was besieging [both] "Samosata...a strong city near to Euphrates" [and "the metropolis of Commagena"]. Herod with his force made haste toward an opportunity to both show courage and Antony support, and at Antioch assumed leadership of another large number of unmarshalled men looking to join up. Before reaching Samosata, Herod cleared out a major offense of ambushing rebels, thereby making it safe for those following ("these called Herod their saviour and protector"); the battle yielded "a great number of beasts for burden and of slaves." Herod was received by Antony at Samosata with profound respect and affection. Herod "soon made an end of that siege and slew a great number...and took a large prey; insomuch that Antony...did now admire Herod's courage still more." "[I]n a little time Antiochus [undesigned] delivered up the fortress, and on that account [that] war was at an end." "Antony released command to Sosius with orders to assist Herod; Antony, himself, made for Egypt. General Sosius, sending two legions ahead of his army, made for Judea. *AJ XIV.XV.1-9; Wars I.XV.3-6, XVI, 1-7.*

Joseph II, "as soon as [he] heard that his brother was at a very great distance...neglected the charge." With five regiments sent by Macheras, Joseph marched toward Jericho to reap [/seize] its mid-summer corn. The Roman regiments were green/unskilled in war (newly recruited out of Syria without a veteran among them); they were beaten [/utterly destroyed] when attacked in a trapped landscape; bravely fighting Joseph was killed in the battle. (When Antigonus II got possession of the slain, he cut off Joseph II's head.) "After this victory of Antigonus the affairs of Galilee were put in such disorder" that Galileans revolted from their commanders; they drowned those of Herod's party; and a great part of Judea was become seditious. "Great change" occurred also in Idumea; Macheras had

commenced building a wall around the fortress named Gitta/Gittha.⁵¹ “But Herod had not yet been informed of these things,” being with Antony, etc.

Herod the Great was at “Daphne by Antioch” when he received the news. Herod put aside his mourning, quickened the pace of his army (which then was one Roman legion) and, joined by 800 men of Mount Libanus, passed through Ptolemais and proceeded along the Galilee by night.

“Here it was” the enemy met and fought him and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before [“the place which they had left”].” Herod began “an immediate and continual attack upon the (unnamed) fortress” in the morning, but was caused by a violent storm to draw off into neighboring villages. When a second legion from Antony arrived after a few days, “the enemy were affrighted...and left their fortifications in the night time.” Herod wasted no time in resuming the march to Jericho. Once the army’s tents were pitched, Herod gave a feast for his commanding officers/the principal men, in an undesignated house, before retiring for the night. (He took it as a sign of the dangers in store for him, when the house’s roof “fell down immediately” after he and the guests had gone out.)

Herod in the morning “set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in the forefront, “which greatly terrified” the Romans. The enemies loosed stones and darts, but stayed at a distance; one dart caught Herod in his side. *AJ XIV.XV.10-12; Wars I.XVII.1-4.*

Antigonus II, wishing to demonstrate his strength, sent a force, under a commander Pappus, against Samaria and to oppose Macheras. Herod moved his headquarters to Cana to go against Pappus, who was camped at a village named Isanas. Herod “overran the enemy’s country and demolished five little [undesignated] cities, destroying two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses.” A “great multitude of Jews resorted to Herod every day,” out of both Jericho and other parts--some out of hatred for Antigonus II or to share Herod the Great’s glory; “others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change.” “Pappus and his party... marched out with great alacrity...and it came to a close fight.”

The ensuing action “chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy.” Herod, driven by the rage at his brother’s [Joseph II’s] murder, was unstoppable even after his victory, unrelentingly pursuing the foe. In one of the villages “from whence they had come out,” the houses that had filled with retreating soldiers were pulled down and the heaps of men from above and within were stoned to death--“nor was there a more frightening spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another.” The rest of Antigonus II’s forces fled. (That night Herod the Great entered a chamber to bathe and was surprised by a group of armoured enemy who had taken refuge there. In their own fear they cared only to escape, which they did without harming the king.)

The next day Herod cut off the head of the dead Pappus who had killed Joseph. (Herod sent Pappus’ head to brother Pheroras as confirmation of retribution for their other brother’s [Phasael’s] fate. If it had not been deep winter, Herod would have followed up his latest success with an immediate march on Jerusalem; there, “Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly and leave the city.”

At winter’s end, it being then year three following the Roman senate’s vote (c. 41 b.c.e.) that Herod was to be king, Herod moved his army and pitched camp hard by Jerusalem near the most easily assaultable part of its wall--“before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey.” Herod “demolished the suburbs,” and many hands were put to work building three bulwarks/banks, erecting towers on them, and cutting down trees around the city. Herod left appropriate persons to oversee the work and,

⁵¹ *Josephus* editors add, [in Samaria].”
App4B.1

while the army remained camped there, “he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife [Miriam I] the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II]; for he had betrothed her already, as...before related” [“and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.”] *AJ XIV.XV.12-14; Wars I.XVII.5-8.*

“After the wedding,” Roman general Sosius came through Phoenicia, sending his army ahead “over the midland parts” and he following with another large company of horse and footmen. Herod left Samaria with an army of now about 30,000. Under the two generals, the force that met and camped at Jerusalem’s north wall consisted of 11 armed foot legions, 6,000 horsemen and “other auxiliaries out of Syria.” [“Herod’s dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod’s assistance.”]

The “multitude”⁵² inside the city was divided into the “weaker” crowd about the temple, resigned to martyrdom; the more bold and hardy formed groups and robbed and plundered places surrounding the city (“there was no food left either for the horses or the men”); and the “warlike men, who were used to fight regularly,” did the fighting at the walls and made surprise raids via underground tunnels. As areas outside the city became divested of everything of potential sustenance, Herod sent armed legions to “remote places” to gather plenty; and summer weather hastened preparations for the offensive, “[T]heir engines...shook the walls of the city...; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines” themselves. “[T]he Jews...within the walls fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together).” By sallies outside the wall they destroyed equipment both built and underway, restored broken parts of the walls, “were not less bold than...the Romans” in hand-to-hand combat (if not as skilful) and, by “brutish courage rather than...prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last.” [Despite the size of the army against them, the defenders “bore a siege of five months.”]

It took 40 days for the first wall to be scaled and the second, 15; cloisters surrounding the temple were burned. After the lower city the temple’s outer court was taken--“the Jews fled into the inner court...and upper city.” An embassy was sent to Herod with a request, which was granted, that “beasts for sacrifices” could be received into the city. Herod had hoped that “they were going to yield.” When, however, such did not occur, he made a massive assault. Repressed rage of Roman and mercenary soldiers after a prolonged siege and “the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod’s side...not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive,” continued the slaughter through the crowded narrow streets and houses, far beyond victory’s need and irrespective of gender, infancy and age.

Antigonus II descended from the citadel, finally, and he fell at Sosius’ feet. Sosius, however, “took no pity,” insulted him mercilessly, had him bound and kept him in tight custody. Herod, who had been unable to curtail the killings, worked to restrain military plundering--he used his own money for proportionately satisfactory bonuses to the soldiers and their commanders, more to Sosius, “till...all went away full of money.” “This destruction befell...when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the 185th olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast...[as did that] under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after 27 years’ time.”⁵³

Sosius carried Antigonus II as a prisoner to Antony. Herod the Great feared that if in turn Antony conveyed the deposed king Antigonus II to Rome, Antigonus as a royal prisoner eventually could gain a full senate hearing, as to whether kingship did not properly belong with one of the until-then ruling family, as opposed to Herod. Herod, “by giving Antony a great deal of money,” persuaded him that Antigonus be slain. “[T]hen did the axe bring him

⁵² Some care is demanded in interpreting this frequently-used term, seemingly applied to a wide range of numbering.

⁵³ Refer to Appendix 4A at 37 b.c.e.

to his end.“ ”Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded... supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod...for by no torments could they be forced to call him king; so he [Antony] thought that this dishonorable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus’s memory, and at the same time diminish the hatred they bare to Herod.”⁵⁴

“And thus did...government [by] the Asamoneans cease, 126 years after it was first set up. ...and it came to Herod [the Great], the son of [Cypros I and] Antipater [II] , who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family” [via its sons].”

AJ XIV.XVI.1-4; Wars I.XVII.9-XVIII.1-3.

Herod the Great, who now had the government in his hands, promoted persons who had been loyal to him, with special honors to “Pollio the Pharisee” and his disciple, “Sameas,” who had pressed for submittal during the siege of Antigonus II. Herod daily took some revenge on the opponent party. He slew 45 of Antigonus’ principal supporters and “all the members of the sanhedrim.” He “carried off all the royal ornaments and stripped wealthier citizens to assemble “a great quantity of silver and gold, bestowing generous amounts on friends and a heap on [Mark] Antony.”

Cleopatra the Great had Antony tightly in her grasp and it appears tenaciously was exerting every influence on him to further her own agenda. She already had effected “by means of Antony” the death of her [half?]-sister, Arsinoe [#4⁵⁵] and poisoned 15-year-old Ptolemy XV. Having “gone over Syria” with Antony, she “contrived to get it into her possession.” (Antony slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy the son of Menneus,⁵⁶ on accusation he had introduced the Parthians to those territories. It was”on Cleopatra’s account Lysanias the king [of Chalcis] was taken off.”⁵⁷) Cleopatra “petitioned Antony...[to] take...away from their present governors” the country of Judea and of Arabia” and give them to Egypt; and she “secretly laboured Antony to order the assassination of Herod the Great and Malichus (already having prevailed on him to slay the “principal men among the Syrians.” Antony appeased Cleopatra with partial compliance. He took away only some parts of each, and bestowed on her “the “the plantation of palm trees of Jericho...[and] all the cities on this side of the river Eleutherus⁵⁸ excepting Tyre and Sidon.”

Cleopatra the Great then accompanied Mark Antony as far as the Euphrates River, as he commenced an expedition to Armenia against the Parthians. She returned by way of Apamia and Damascus and in Judaea was met by Herod the Great. Herod, at a yearly rent of “two hundred talents” “farmed of her her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho,” which bore “that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone.” Cleopatra was not above engaging in “criminal [and...] adulterous conversation” with Herod. He went so far as to consult his friends whether he ought to kill her, but was convinced against so dangerous a course. Herod instead “pacified her by large presents” and saw her off to Egypt.

Presently, “Antony subdued Armenia.” He sent to Cleopatra “as a present” the captured Artabazes (son of Tigranes), his children and procurators, and all the money and

⁵⁴ *AJ XV.1.1—Josephus quoting Strabo.*

⁵⁵ Appendix 4B, Attachment 4 (4).

⁵⁶ Alexandra III, daughter of Aristobulus II, may have been Lysanias’ mother—refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 1.

⁵⁷ *Wars I.XXII.3.*

⁵⁸ “Eleutheros, a river of Syria falling into the Mediterranean. *Plin.* 9, c.10.” L 219. (Also found is a town, *Eleutheropolis*, in west Judaea near the Mediterranean; *Shepherd’s Historical Atlas*, 9th Ed., Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books 1964, p. 7, Reference Map of Ancient Palestine.)

royal ornaments taken from that kingdom. Herod the Great, for a while, did pay to Cleopatra the tribute he had undertaken to pay for the king of Arabia...but he afterwards became very niggardly and slow in his payments.”

Herod “also did other things, in order to secure a government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest...he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.” Ananelus “was not of this country, but...of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates.... He was one of the stock of high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod.” *AJ XV.II.4; AJ XV.III.1.*

Hyrcanus II, as captive of Parthia’s king Phraates, had been treated honorably, as a free resident at Babylon,⁵⁹ “where there were Jews in great numbers...[who still] honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates.” Hyrcanus could not be dissuaded by his associates from a belief that the time was right for him to return. “[T]he marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod the Great] was his temptation;” and, among other things, he once had kept Herod from a sentence of death. Herod corresponded deceitfully with Hyrcanus and “the Jews that were there,” to the effect that it was only right and proper that he and Hyrcanus share governance. Herod welcomed Hyrcanus II back with feasting and bided time in other gracious pretenses (he called Hyrcanus “father”). *AJ XIV.VIII.4, XV.I.1-2, XV.II.1-5, XV.IV.1-4; Wars I.XVIII.4-5, I.XXII.1.*

Resumed in Appendix 4B, II.

⁵⁹ *Josephus* editors note, this “Babylon...seems to be one...built by some of the Seleucids upon the Tigris...long after the utter desolation of [so-called] old Babylon.”

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.”¹

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”²--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

¹ Refer to appendix 4D, Divorce.

² 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 kindred³ 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,⁴ 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 Diospolis⁵, 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,"⁶ 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

³ It is not clear whether this term implies a familial relationship; however, there definitely were surviving relatives (Miriamne, etc.) of Hyrcanus.

⁴ Refer to Appendix 4A timeline at "29 or 31 b.c.e."

⁵ This "Diospolis" would appear not to be "Diospolis, or *Thebae*, a famous city of Egypt, formerly called Hecatompylos." L 209.

⁶ 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 (Dead⁷ 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 Joseph⁸ and Sohemus of Iturea," charging them to kill both women and preserve the kingdom for Pheroras if Herod did not return.

⁷ Joseph I?

⁸ 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."⁹) 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 father¹⁰ 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

⁹ *Josephus* editor adds, "[Galatians]."

¹⁰ *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]¹¹ 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

¹¹ 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...."¹²

"[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 Gallus¹³ 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 Alexandra, 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,"¹⁴ 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."¹⁵ 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

¹² This would have been *circa* a neighborhood of four years of the birth of Miriam/Mary [A] of the *Greek* scriptures.

¹³ *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]."

¹⁴ When it was that Herod appointed Jesus, son of Phabet, does not appear on the record.

¹⁵ *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.¹⁶ 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

¹⁶ *Josephus* editors add, “[of Syria].”
App4B.II

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.¹⁷

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,¹⁸ 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

¹⁷ “[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.”

¹⁸ 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,¹⁹ 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

¹⁹ *Josephus* editors add, the [island of], later named “Sebaste.”
App4B.II

olympiad.”²⁰ 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,²¹ 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

²⁰ Circa 13/12 b.c.e.; refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A, (3).

²¹ 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.²² 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.²³

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.

²² 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.

²³ 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].”²⁴

Ptolemy [undesigned²⁵] 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.”²⁶ 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?]²⁷, 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

²⁴ Regarding all Herodian betrothals/espousals, see Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A.

²⁵ *But see* Appendix 4B, III, fn. 9.

²⁶ *Refer to* book three, Appendix 3A, III, fn. 15.

²⁷ *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,²⁸ and slew their relations," which fueled the foes to

²⁸ 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"²⁹ 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.)

²⁹ 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

³⁰
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.”³¹ 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

³¹ 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.”³²

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,³³ 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

³² “but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedaemon, 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.”)

³³ “...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

³⁴ 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,³⁵ "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;

³⁵ 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."³⁶ 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.

³⁶ 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.”³⁷ 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,³⁸ 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

³⁷ These three women appear never named.

³⁸ 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,³⁹ 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.II.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."⁴⁰ Aretas joined in the accusations against Sylleus, claiming he had slain many of

³⁹ 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."

⁴⁰ 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,”⁴¹ 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.”

examination.

⁴¹ 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.

Appendix 4B, III

HIGH PRIESTS (THEOPHILUS-) MATTHIAS THROUGH (ANANUS-) THEOPHILUS¹

Cited Narrative

Resumed from Appendix 4B, II.

While the Pheroras *embroglio* “was doing,” Bathyllus, also, Antipater’s freed-man, came from Rome,” “came under examination, “was tortured also,” “was found to have brought another potion, to give it unto the hands of Antipater’s mother, and of Pheroras”--“another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents”--“that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off.”

Additionally, Bathyllus brought letters that Antipater III had written against half-brothers Archelaus and Philip, for Antipater, “set...[to] get rid of [them] as soon as he could...and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome.” Some of the letters had been sent before Antipater had left Judea and before his father’s suspicions of him began to solidify. The letters, “procured by great rewards/bribes,” accused Archelaus and Philip of sympathies in the slaughter of Miriamne [I’s] sons. Antipater feigned an excusing attitude toward his half-brothers, when the Great summoned Archelaus and Philip to return to Judaea.

“[Y]et did no one [who] came to Rome inform Antipater of his misfortunes in Judea.” Unaware of events and confessions after his departure, he wrote from Rome about his work related to the Sylleus affair, and how he had been successful “in getting interest among the great men; and...had bought [them] splended ornaments...which cost 200 talents.” (Antipater pretended necessity of spending large sums in the Sylleus matter and also spent considerable sums on personal items, thus bringing “his accounts into confusion.”) Antipater “then wrote from Rome, and informed² that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honour by Caesar.”

“Now one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.”
AJ XVII.IV.1-3; Wars I.XXX.1-7, I.XXXI.1-2.

Antipater received news of Pheroras’ death at Tarentum “and made great lamentations” which the majority believed were more due to the failed murder of the king. In Cilicia, Antipater received a letter from the Great who, “desirous to get this plotter...into his hands,” wrote deceitfully to Antipater and “expressed his entire affection for him”--that the “some little complaint” about Doris would be laid aside on Antipater’s return, and to not delay. “Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled.”

Suspicion descended on Antipater when he reached Celenderis that his mother’s troubles might involve him. Advised by some “friends” that he ought to “tarry” and by others, the sooner he arrived home the sooner there an “end to all accusation,” the latter proved most persuasive; Antipater sailed on and landed at Sebastus, Cesarea’s harbor, where he received neither welcomers nor salutes as he had previously. There was no turning back for the now fearful Antipater. Still ignorant of the full extent of his circumstances, he “put on a forced boldness of countenance” and proceeded to the palace in Jerusalem “without any

¹ Citations for this material from *Josephus* are given at regular intervals; family tree charts in Attachments 1 and 2 complement the narrative.

² *Josephus* editors add “[his friends]”.

friends with him; for these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate.

Quintilius Varus, “sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria,” was at Jerusalem (“happened to be at the palace”) with the Great, “who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and, as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them. [W]ithout knowing any thing of the matter [he] came into the palace clothed in purple.” The porters refused entry to Antipater’s “friends,” in great disorder, [Antipater] presently understood the condition he was in [when], upon his going to salute his father,” the king repulsed him as a murderer of brethren and plotter of parricide, announced that Varus would be his judge, and gave Antipater until the morrow to prepare his defense. Leaving the room, the confounded Antipater met his mother and wife (“which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod”), who informed him fully on the situation.

“[T]he day following, [at] the court of his [the King’s] kinsmen and friends and Antipater’s friends,” “Varus and the king sat together in judgment (“Herod, himself, with Varus, were the presidents”), and both their friends were also called in, as also the king’s relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater’s mother” who had been intercepted with a note from Doris to Antipater that “all...things have been already discovered to thy father; do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure assistance from Caesar.”

AJ XVII.V.1-3; Wars I.XXXI.3-4, XXXII.1.

Antipater fell at the Great’s feet and begged to make his case first personally to his father. The Great, however, delivered an eloquent opening statement—lamenting his aged arrival at such a state at the hands of his indulged children; deploring that he had allowed Antipater III to dupe him with regard to Miriam I’s sons; and ending his admonishments to Varus about Antipater’s duplicity and craftiness with the remark, “Yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons.” “When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more....

“[A]t his [the Great’s] desire, Nicolaus of Damascus, the king’s friend” took over the prosecution’s statement. Antipater turned and appealed to his father with a lengthy and heartfelt description of his proven filial affection, protections of the king, and dedicated labors on behalf of the kingdom, including successes at Rome—shouldn’t letters sent by Caesar himself (who often called Antipater ‘Philopater’ [lover of his father] be the greater evidence? Antipater’s words evoked pity in the assembly, moving “all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were true” (“it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected...although he was not willing it should be taken notice”).

Now Nicolaus proceeded at very great lengths to prosecute “what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies” in a dramatic contrast of the youthful thoughtfulness of Miriam I’s sons, who had perished largely pursuant to Antipater III’s designs, with the latter’s out-and-out wickedness. Antipater’s “ruin was now hastened,” as a large number of other men came forward and volunteered corroborations of his behavior they had before kept private and against which he “was not able to say one word to the contrary.” All that Antipater III said when Varus asked for his defense was, “God is my witness that I am entirely innocent” (“this being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue....”) Varus then asked that the potion be produced and gave it to be drunk by another condemned prisoner “who died upon the spot” (“died presently”).

Varus ended his one-day stay and left for Antioch, his city of residence and the Syrian palace, the next day, “upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus’s discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; through it was also generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward

about his son was done with his [Varus'] approbation." Herod sent letters and messengers to inform Caesar of "Antipater's wickedness."

AJ XVII.V.3-8; Wars I.XXXII.1-5.

"Now at this very time there was seized [from "one of Antiphilus's domestic servants"] a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt," which said, "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair."

A search produced from within a seam on the servant's coat another letter from "Acme, a Jew by birth," "a maid-servant of Julia [/Augusta/Livia A³]" stating that Acme had complied with Antipater's wishes and had "written such a letter to thy father as thou desirest me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady; which, when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him" ["As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished"]. "Antipater had forged [the referenced] letter...as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him [while Acme] herself had sent a copy of [the] epistle as coming from Salome," claiming Acme had been found it among her lady's papers.

Salome heatedly decried against any such involvements while the Great's questioning of Antipater concerning other plotting associates yielded nothing. "So he laid all upon Antiphilus, but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief ["in a passion"--ready to have Antipater III "slain immediately...because he [Herod] had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account" besides now given to question whether Antipater also had forged letters about Alexander III and Aristobulus IV--) he was ready to send his son to Rome to Caesar...to give an account; however, fearing Antipater might get assistance there and escape punishment, "he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters to accuse his son, and an account [to Caesar] of what assistance Acme had given."

Herod's ambassadors "made haste to Rome...instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them." Herod, who "fell into a severe distemper" during this time, "sent for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas [his youngest son] king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations to him; but he bequeathed to Caesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his ["Caesar's] wife ["Julia"], and children, and friends, and free-men about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money ["distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues, and his lands"], and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts ["made Salome...very rich"]. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was not altered."

AJ XVII.V.8, VI.1; Wars I.XXXII.6-7.

"Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe...[being] almost seventy [and] ...brought low by the calamities" and aggravated by the circumstances of Antipater, "whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain."⁴ Nearly 70, bitterly angry and despairing of recovering, he additionally was faced with a "[certain popular] sedition...excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows." The apparent instigators were (Sepphoris/Saripheus-) Judas and (Margalus/ Margalothus-) Matthias--"two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws ["two men of learning in the city...who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and...in very great esteem over the nation"--), well beloved by the people because of their education of the youth (for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day)." "There was a great

³ *Josephus* editor adds, correctly, "[Caesar's wife]."

⁴ *Josephus* editors add, "[in a public manner]."

concourse of the young men to these men when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men.”

“Now then these men were informed that the king was wearing away...[“found that the king’s distemper was incurable”], [they] excited young men to a sedition at the temple” [“dropped words...how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country”], while exhorting the virtues of possible martyrdom in the process. “At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad that the king was dying.” “[A] report being come...that the king was dead,” emboldened youths lowered themselves from the temple top at midday and with axes “cut down that golden eagle” [“of great value”] that the Great had erected over the temple’s main gate.

The king’s captain “came running with a great body of soldiers” who fell on “this bold attempt [done] in foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude; and while they were in disorder...caught no fewer than forty of the young men...together with...Judas and Matthias.” Questioned by the king, Judas and Matthias attempted no defense, maintaining Moses’ authority over Herod’s, and their readiness to die “not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion.” The Great had the perpetrators bound, “sent to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews.” Lying on a couch, “because he could not himself stand,” he enumerated the many labours that he had endured on their account [comparing his greater accomplishments to those of “the Asmoneans, during the 125 years of their government”], and his building of the temple,” etc.

The Great “made a terrible accusation against those men.” The people, “afraid lest a great number should be found guilty,” and “on account of Herod’s barbarous temper,” sanctioned punishment of the actors, testifying that what had been done had been absent their approval. The Great “dealt more mildly with [these] others of the assembly” but ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their Rabbins, to be burnt alive, [and] delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.” The Great also “deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias’ wife’s brother, high priest in his stead...and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was a eclipse of the moon.”⁵

AJ XVII.VI.1-4; Wars I.XXXIII.1-4.

The Great’s debilities and pain and debilities now were reaching the limits of human tolerance (inflamed abdomen and ulcerated intestines accompanied by an insatiable appetite; dropsical tumours around his feet, genital putrefaction, intolerable itching, breathing difficulty and overall convulsions), as he submitted to treatment by physicians. He had himself taken across the Jordan to the “hot baths at Callirrhoe, which ran into the lake Asphaltitis [Dead Sea], where physicans submerged his body in warm oil...whereupon...he came and went as if he was dying.” Herod revived at the shouts of his servants, but he now gave up hope of recovery. He issued orders for each soldier to receive 50 drachmae and his commanders and friends, large sums, and then returned to Jericho.

At Jericho, Herod-- the Great, “grew so choleric...[as to do] all things like a madman,” knowing he had no loyalty from the kingdom’s leading men. Further, he “was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them, because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him;” so he took steps to ensure a cause for true mourning on the people’s part when he finally died.

“[I]n a wild rage against ...the innocent as well as those [with] ground for accusation,”

⁵ Here Josephus relates that during the Matthias’ time as high priest one “Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman,” was made high priest for one day, “the very day which the Jews observed as a fast,” in that Matthias the night before “seemed, in a dream, to have conversation with his wife and...could not officiate himself on that account...[as] attested to both in the *Mishna* and *Talmud*.”
App4B.III

he commanded--on pain of death for non-appearance--the assembly of "all the principal men ("the most illustrious men") of the entire Jewish nation wheresoever they lived" ("out of every village"--"a great number...because the whole nation was called"). Herod ordered the arriving men "to be all shut up in the hippodrome"⁶ and extracted a promise from Salome and her husband Alexas that--immediately after he died and before releasing the news--they were to have the hippodrome surrounded by soldiers to "slay them ["shot with darts"]...and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it [his death] whether they will or no"--"...[H]e gave order that one of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust."

AJ XVII.VI.5-6; Wars I.XXIII.5-6.

Herod's ambassadors returned from Rome; Caesar had had Acme put to death and, "as to Antipater, himself, Caesar left it to Herod to act...either to banish him, or to take away his life." Herod revived a bit; however, "overbourned by his pains," he threatened to kill himself, "and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabius, prevented him, and held his hand [from the knife], and cried out loudly." At that "through the palace...a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead" and "Antipater [III], who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold" and attempted to bribe his jailers to let him go. Instead, the "principal keeper of the prison" informed the Great, who "although he was at death's door,... sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania."

"And now [again] Herod altered his testament.; he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus⁷ ...and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis to Salome...with five hundred thousand⁸ of silver that was coined." Herod's provisions also left "all the rest of his kindred...in a wealthy condition" by way of grants and annual revenues; and he bequeathed "ten millions [of drachmae] of coined money, besides vessels of gold and silver" to Caesar, and "garments exceedingly costly to Julia, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions." Herod died finally, after accomplishing the testamentary changes, having "survived the slaughter of his son five days...having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain...thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans."

Before Herod's death was made public, Salome and Alexas released "those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone," "the king's death was made public when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery ["and the rest of the multitude"] together in the amphitheatre at Jericho," where the assembly was addressed by "Ptolemy [undesigned], who was intrusted by the king with his signet-ring."⁹

Ptolemy first read the epistle providing payments to the military and exhorted good will by its members' to Herod's successor. Ptolemy then read the Great's last will, "wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries...Antipas was to be tetrarch...Archelaus was made king," and "the dispositions he [Herod] had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament."

⁶ *Josephus* editors here have the fn.: "A place for the horse-races."

⁷ Here *Josephus* editors have the fn.: "When it is here said that Philip the tetrarch, and Archelaus the king, or ethnarch, were...*genuine brothers*...there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father...but different mothers...[although they] were indeed brought up together privately at Rome like own brothers; and Philip was Archelaus's deputy when he [Archelaus] went to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome."

⁸ Here *Josephus* editors add, "[drachmae]."

⁹ Ptolemy, "brother of Nicolaus?"--see below following *AJ XVII.IX.1-3; Wars II.1-2.*

It was Ptolemy's duty to take Herod's ring to Caesar for confirmation of the testamentary settlements while funeral preparations were put underway, "it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous." A purple-draped bier of gold and precious stones held the dead king's also purple-draped body, surrounded by "his sons and his numerous relations," was accompanied by "soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations...in the following order:..his guards, then the band of Thracians, and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians...and behind these marched the whole army," all arrayed as if for war,¹⁰ "followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs, to Herodium," where Herod had designated he was to be buried.

According to "the law of our fathers" Archelaus invoked a mourning period to a seventh day, before he put on a white robe and "went up into the temple [where, with] acclamations and praises [he] took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly ["and civilly"] to the multitude"--thanking it for the demonstration of good will, not bearing him ill will for acts of his father, and for their submission, "as if he were already settled in the kingdom. Further, Archelaus stated, although the "army would have put the diadem on [him] at Jericho, he would not accept it until 'the superior lords should have given him a complete title to the kingdom," at which time he would make, he promised, "abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people."

The people clamoured then, nonetheless, for redress and reforms (e.g. reduction of annual payments/taxes and release of prisoners--"who were many"--incarcerated by the Great). He "contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things" and "answered readily to their satisfaction", "looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government."
AJ XVII.VII; VIII.1-4; Wars I.XXIII.7-9; II.I.1-2.

After the assembly, Archelaus, who "proposed...to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar's determination about him," feasted with friends. "[A] great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening," lamenting those that Herod had murdered relative to the golden eagle affair. The mourning "was loudly heard all over the city...for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out that a punishment ought to be inflicted...and that, in the first place," Archelaus "deprive that high priest [Joazar?¹¹] whom Herod had made, and...choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus." On the second item Archelaus, noting that it was a matter of law, privately sent a general to negotiate a postponement until his rule was secured, which depended greatly on unanimity of the people during transition. But they "threw stones at him [the negotiator], and drove him away, as he came into the temple," and treated likewise all others of "many" intermediaries Archelaus subsequently sent.

That year's Passover feast was at hand, with people in "tents without the temple." "[A]n innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship; some...stood in the temple bewailing the [murdered] Rabbins., begging, in order to support their sedition." "[T]he seditious lamented Judas and Matthias ["those teachers of the laws"], and kept together in the temple." Archelaus, "afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up," sent out a "regiment"/"cohort" ordered to use force against instigators. "[T]he whole multitude were irritated," while "those that were seditious on account of those teachers" incited and encouraged "the people...[, who] made an assault upon the soldiers...and stoned the greatest part of them ["and killed them"]. Some ran away wounded, including the tribune of the cohort.

¹⁰ Josephus editors note: "At eight *stadia* or furlongs a-day..., Herod's funeral, conducted to Herodium, (which lay at the distance from Jericho, where he died, of 200 *stadia* or furlongs... War, B. I, ch. xxxiii, sect. 9) must have taken up no less than twenty-five days."

¹¹ Archelaus' appointment of Joazar is not reported textwise until later (in quotations below following AJ XVII.XII.1-2; Wars II.VII.1-2.

Archelaus “thought there was no way to preserve the entire government but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it.” “Nor did it appear...that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them [“on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices”], the footmen in great multitudes, by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain,” “to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger.” Archelaus’ forces slew 3,000 men; the rest dispersed into nearby mountains, and Archelaus sent heralds after them, “commanding them retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.”

“Archelaus went down to the sea-side with his mother and his friends, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus.... Salome went also along...with her sons, as did the king’s brethren and sons-in-law [“Herod’s sister Salome, her children and many of her kindred”--the latter pretending for the time being to support Archelaus, “but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws by what he had done at the temple.”] Archelaus “left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public” [“his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs”].

At Caesarea, Archelaus met up with “Sabinus, Caesar’s steward for Syrian affairs [“procurator”] ...making haste into Judea to preserve Herod’s effects.” But Syria’s president Varus, who had been summoned “by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemy...came [also] at that time [and] restrained him from going any farther.” Sabinus, “out of regard to Varus,” promised to “neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor...seal up the treasures in them,” but tarried at Caesarea.

As soon as Archelaus sailed on for Rome and Varus removed [back] to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized the king’s palace. Varus called for, and publicly demanded an inventory and accounting from all “the keepers of the garrisons” and of those who “had the charge of Herod’s effects [“the stewards”]... and [“when he had called for the governors of the citadels...he tried...to take possession of the citadels.” Sabinus “disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased;” “But the governors...were not unmindful of ...commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus”.] *AJ XVII.IX.1-3; Wars II.1.2.*

Antipas (the Great’s once-designated successor; “buoyed up by Salome”) also set sail for Rome, set upon gaining the government on the basis that the Great’s penultimate testament was the valid one. “Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus’s kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself.” Accompanying Antipas were his mother [Malthace] and Ptolemy, “the brother of Nicolaus,”--“one that had been Herod’s most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas.” “[I]t was Ireneus the orator...who had prevailed over advisers who urged him [Antipas] to yield to his elder brother [Archelaus].” Ireneus, “one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom,...[he] most of all encouraged him [Antipas] to attempt to gain the kingdom.”

Arriving at Rome, “all of his [Antipas’] relations revolted to him; not out of their goodwill to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus” (--the “inclinations...of all Archelaus’s kindred who hated him were removed to Antipas...; although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws”¹²)--“desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; (“but if they should fail in that point,”) “if there were too great an opposition made to that,” then “they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus” (--“desired that Antipas might be their king”). Sabinus, in letters to Caesar, lent assistance to the Antipas faction by lauding Antipas and accusing Archelaus. “Salome, and those with her” organized their accusations against Archelaus and delivered them to Caesar.

¹² *Josephus* editors add, “[without a king].”
App4B.III

“Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim” and sent Ptolemy with his father’s ring and accounts to Caesar. [“Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father’s testament, with the accounts of Herod’s money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod’s seal, he so expected the event.”] Caesar, after review of the papers, accounts and letters from Varus as well as Sabinus, appreciated fully “the great burden of the kingdom...largeness of the revenues...[and] the number of the children Herod had left behind,” and “understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom.”

Caesar Octavian “summoned his friends together, to know their opinions...[W]ith them Caius/[Gaius], the son of [Marcus] Agrippa [Vipsanius], and of Julia [#4] his [Caesar’s] daughter [by Scribonia], whom he [Octavian] had adopted and took him [Caius/Gaius], and made him sit first of all.” (Caesar assembled “the principal persons among the Romans.” In the “first seat” next to Caesar sat “Caius, the son of Agrippa and his [Octavian’s] daughter Julias, but by himself [Caesar] adopted for his own son.”)

Caesar “desired such as pleased speak their minds about the affairs now before them.” Salome’s son, Antipater IV, “of all Archelaus’s antagonists...the shrewdest,” spoke for Antipas: that Archelaus had seized kingly power and “usurped that authority” before Caesar’s determination and committed an intolerable abuse of royal authority. “Of what sort of a king will this man be...who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it?,” Antipater asked, adding that, even absent the fact that the Great’s mental condition was more sensible when he had named Antipas his successor, Archelaus’ barbarity was cause enough to deny confirmation. Antipater “also touched sharply” on Archelaus’ “changing the commanders in the army...sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law-suits; all done as if he were no other than a king.” Antipater ascribed to Archelaus also the release of those Herod had imprisoned in the hippodrome, among other things. By far Archelaus’ greatest crime, however, stressed Antipater, was that Archelaus should pretend to come for confirmation by Caesar after unilaterally already having “acted in all things.” Antipater then “produced a great number of Archelaus’s kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accusation.”

Next “stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. Nicolaus alleged that “the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided” and that the slain were enemies of Caesar as well as Archelaus, and he “demonstrated that Archelaus’s accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused”--that Archelaus merely had attempted to control those who would disrupt the festival and been goaded against his will. Nicolaus took the opposite tack from Antipater by pointing out that Herod’s former will was less reliable, given Herod’s varying condition. He posed that Herod was in right mind, naming Archelaus--”Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Caesar” [“he, that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession [you, Caesar], could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor”]; thus Herod could “not be supposed [simultaneously] mistaken in...judgment about him [Archelaus] that was to be his heir.”

Archelaus prostrated himself before Caesar at the end of Nicolaus’ plea, “whereupon Caesar...obliging[ly]...raised him up” and, showing himself far moved in Archelaus’ favour, said that Archelaus well deserved the kingdom [“truly he was worthy to succeed his father”]; and...he would not act otherwise than his father’s testament directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus.” “While he gave this encouragement,” Caesar “made no full determination;” he considered privately whether he ought not confirm anyone over the Great’s entire kingdom and instead “part it among all Herod’s posterity; and this because they all [“because of the number of those that”] stood in need of much assistance to support them.”

AJ XVII.IX.5-7; Wars II.II.3-7.

“[B]efore Caesar had determined any thing...Malthace, Archelaus’s mother, fell sick and died” [“fell into a distemper, and died of it”].

After Archelaus had sailed Varus foresaw trouble, as “it was manifest” to Varus that “the nation would not be at rest;” and he went to Jerusalem to restrain seditious promoters. “Varus...brought the authors of the [initial] disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one,” Varus returned to Antioch from Jerusalem, but he left one legion of his army there to keep things quiet. However, Sabinus (Caesar’s procurator), who stayed behind, armed the “multitude of his own servants” besides relying on the soldiers left by Varus, “used force in seizing the citadels and zealously pressed on the search after the king’s money”--“so oppressing the Jews...that at length they rebelled.”

“[O]n the approach of pentecost [“Pentecost” (*i.e.* the 50th day [from Passover])...]...a great many ten thousands of men got together.... [“the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed...worship”]. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts.” “...[N]or did they come only to...the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of...and at the injuries [by] Sabinus,” and most zealous to assault him. [“[A]n immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men.” “They distributed themselves...and pitched their camps in three places.” One group “seized on the hippodrome; ...one pitched...from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; ...the third held the western part of the city, where the king’s palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides.”

Sabinus, overwhelmed at the number and courage of the people, sent repeated messages to Varus to come and save the legion and took himself to the “highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus.” From there he eventually gave a signal that the legionnaires attack; “the soldiers leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle.” “Though it is true the Romans [ultimately] beat their adversaries,” and despite “the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made,” many of the undaunted foe got to the top of the cloisters that “encompassed the outer court of the temple” and reigned arrows/darts and stones downward on their enemies. After “this sort of fight lasted a great while,” the Romans secretly set fire to the cloisters” (their highly combustible roof consisted of wood, pitch and wax-held gold). The roof collapsed and “those vast works...were destroyed utterly.” “[O]f those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped,” dying in the fall or at the hands of the Romans or by desperate suicide. “...[A]t last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror,” the Romans made their way inside and “seized on that treasure where the sacred money was deposited. A great part...was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.”

Now the destruction of temple works and human losses “occasioned a much greater number...of a more warlike sort to get together, to oppose the Romans.” The Judean forces had the palace surrounded and threatened to destroy everyone within, unless they “went their ways quickly.” Sabinus, doubting a promise of no harm “if he would go out with his legion.” At that point “the greatest part of the king’s troops deserted,” however, to various Roman-led forces under different commanders; [“a great many of the king’s party/soldiers deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews;” but 3000 “men of Sebaste, “the most warlike body of them all,” went over to the Romans,” along with their captains, Gratus (over the foot soldiers) and Rufus (over the horse).] Nonetheless, “the Jews went on with the siege,” digging mines under the palace walls and beseeching the deserters not to hinder their chances for victory. Sabinus, disbelieving the promises of safety and “because he expected Varus was coming,” continued to bear the siege.

AJ XVII.X.1-3; Wars II.III.1-4.

“At this time there were “great disturbances in the country...in many places” [“ten thousand other disorders in Judea [of men] either out of hope to gain to themselves or out of enmity to the Jews”], offering “opportunity that...induced many to set up for kings.” “In

particular, in Idumea, "two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers" ("who had been already disbanded") got together ("in Judea itself"), and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king's party ("the king's troops"); against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains" (Achiabus "opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.")

Three other factions were prominent, in addition to the Herodian veteran party. Each of their leaders is described as an exceedingly "strong" and/or "bold" man:

(Ezekiel¹³ -) Judas (one of "the robbers") had "ambitious desire" and once was arrested with great difficulty by Herod the Great. This Judas got together a "multitude of men...[from] about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an attack against the palace¹⁴ ..., seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it...armed every one...with him, and carried away what money was left there." ("In Sepphoris...one Judas (the son of that arch-robber Hezekias...subdued by Herod); ...got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him," etc.¹⁵)

In Perea one Simon ("comely [and] robust;" a former "slave of king Herod"/"one of the servants to the king], "elevated at the disorderly state of things..was so bold as to put [on] a diadem on his head [and by]...a certain number [who] stood by him...was declared to be a king." Simon "burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it." Simon also "set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country" but was prevented from doing worse by Gratus. Gratus, "the captain of the king's party," with a force that included the Roman soldiers with whom he had joined, "Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste") gave Simon "a great and a long fight" in which "no small part of those...from Perea...[whose boldness was greater than their skills] were destroyed." Gratus overtook Simon as he fled via "a certain ["strait"] valley...and cut off his head" ["gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck...and brake it"]. Members of Simon's party went on to burn "the royal palace...at Amanthus, by the river Jordan."

The third, Athronges/Athrongeus, also "was so bold as to set up for king ("put a diadem about his head")." Athronges, "a shepherd...not known by any body," was supreme chief of four individual bands, each commanded by one of his "brethren," each reputedly equally superior of height and strength; and "those that got together to them were very numerous." Athronges "retained his power a great while...called king," and he and his forces "slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces," falling on the former out of current injuries and the latter for their conduct during the Great's reign, "nor did any Jew escape...if any gain could accrue."¹⁶ "Their (the Athrongesians') end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war."

"And thus did...great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king..., and because those foreigners who came to reduce the sedit[ions]...on the contrary set them more in a flame, because of the injuries...and the avaricious management of their

¹³ "who had been head of the robbers."

¹⁴ *Josephus* editors add, "[there]" (at Sepphoris).

¹⁵ *Josephus* editors note a consideration that this Judas may have been "Theudas, mentioned Acts v. 36," which Theudas, then, *Josephus* must have omitted...; for that other Theudas, whom he afterwards mentions..., B. XX. ch. v. sect. 1, is much too late to correspond to him... mentioned in the Acts. The name Theudas, Thaddeus, and Judas [however] differ but little;" however, Theudas of the Acts "might [have been] at the head of one of those ["10,000"] seditions, though not particularly named by him [*Josephus*]."

¹⁶ At Emmaus, Athrongesian arrows and darts killed one Arius and 40 foot soldiers under him in a company carrying corn and weapons for the Roman legion. Gratus saved the rest of Arius' company, coming to Romans assistance "with the king's troops that were about him."

affairs.”¹⁷

AJ XVII.X.4-7; Wars II.VI.1-3.

Varus, as soon as he heard from “Sabinus and the captains” of the state of Judea, concerned for his legion there he assembled a large expedition. Varus, taking with him the remaining two of Syria’s three legions and their “four troops of horsemen,” made haste for Ptolemais, where he ordered that he be met by “several auxiliary forces which...kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded.” “Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petra, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance.” “Aretas...brought a great army of horse and foot.” Varus also received 1500 auxiliaries from Berytus, as he passed through that city.

Varus divided his forces into companies. One he committed “to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into the Galilee” [with “Caius, one of his friends, for their captain”], where they “made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight [“Caius put those that met him to flight”], and took Sepphoris [“Caius...took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it”].” They “made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city.” Varus marched into Samaria “with his whole army.” He avoided Samaria city (“because it had not at all joined with the seditious) and pitched camp “at a certain village [named Arus] that belonged to Ptolemy [“and on that account was plundered by the Arabians” and by them] [“burnt” by, out of their hatred to Herod, and...enmity they bore to his friends.” “...[A]nother village...Sampho...the Arabians plundered and burnt,” and Varus burned deserted Emmaus to avenge Arius. (“[A]ll places were full of fire and slaughter.”)

Varus then marched for Jerusalem. There he was met by “Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod [“the first cousin of Archelaus”], as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along [“as well as the king’s army”]... [and] those Romans who had been besieged [“those of the Roman legion”].” (Sabinus “stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.”) “...[T]hose Jews whose camp lay there [at Jerusalem]...left the siege [of the Roman army] imperfect [Varus “made their camps disperse”].” But “the Jerusalem Jews [“citizens received him” and], when Varus reproached them...cleared themselves,” alleging “that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast [and] that the war was not made with their approbation, but by...strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them....”

Varus sent parties throughout the country to search out the “authors of the revolts; [“caught great numbers of them”]...punished some...and some he dismissed.” “...[S]uch as were the most guilty he crucified;” “the number of those that were crucified on this account were [“about”] 2,000.”

Varus was “informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms.” Varus “disbanded his army, which he found no way useful...for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders...out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did.” (Varus sent away “the Arabians [because] they did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions.”) He, however, “made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted [there]; but these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle.”

“When...Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem...[he] left the former legion there as a garrison [and] returned to Antioch.” “...[H]e forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Caesar to be examined by him.” Caesar dismissed “many”

¹⁷ The four brethren of Athronges “continued the war a long while” but eventually would be subdued: “one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus [would take] the eldest of them prisoner; while the last...dejected...[and with] no way...left... his army being worn away with sickness and continual labours...[would deliver] himself up to Archelaus.... But these things came to pass a good while afterward.” (“And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were, after some time, subdued; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemy; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward,” etc.)

of them--"the several [unnamed] relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war were the only persons whom he punished." Caesar "gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family."

AJ XVII.X.8-10; Wars II.V.3.

"Archelaus...had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome" ["another accusation...which he was to answer to"]. Varus had permitted "the nation to send" "an embassy of the Jews...that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws." The appeal "was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission...fifty in number; but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them" (--to the ambassadors were "joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already").]

Caesar held a council in the palace temple of Apollo, assembling "his friends, and the chief men among the Romans." "...[T]he ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends." Archelaus' "several kinsmen," although "they thought it too gross...to assist the ambassadors," "would not join themselves with him." "The multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side." "Archelaus's' brother Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, "his great friend", with [the] principal intention to assist his brother;..but...if...any change happen in the form of government (which Varus suspected...) that he [Philip]...might have his share."

In their prologue "the Jewish ambassadors..., they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government," spoke to the tyranny endured under the Great, detailing torture of citizens, harm to his own country's cities while expensively embellishing foreign ones, slaying nobility and confiscating estates (there having been "no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it"), and how he had reduced a flourishing nation to poverty. Initially it had appeared that Archelaus would be "more mild to them" and they had stood "ready to oblige him...if they could meet with any degree of moderation." Archelaus, however (they continued), "seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son¹⁸ ...without delay...[and] immediately let the nation understand his meaning;" and he "had given a specimen" of the type of governing "his own citizens" could expect, when--"before his dominion was established [by Caesar--] he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple."

The "main thing they [the ambassadors] desired was this: That they might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents...as should be sent"--that, given moderate governors, the people would prove "they would live in an orderly manner." (The ambassadors "prayed that the Romans...would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders.")

AJ XVII.XI.1-2; Wars II.VI.1-2.

Nicolaus, who responded to the accusations, "reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had...gone over to his accusers" and "vindicated the kings," claiming it was lame now that unpunished acts of the dead father be used in the current proceedings. Nicolaus instead "accused the Jewish nation...hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings," and claimed it was willful lawless behavior by those who had persisted in sedition, before Archelaus' confirmation, that precipitated the temple incident.

A "few days" after the hearing Caesar changed Archelaus' status to "ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod," promising to give him "that royal dignity

¹⁸ ?Apparently meant *in the sense of a similar nature*?--this relates, however, to a mildly lingering confusion as to Archelaus' parentage.

[t]hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. ...[T]he other half he divided [“into two tetrarchies,” between] two other of Herod’s sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom.” Under the new governance, Antipas would receive the 200-talent tribute paid annually by Perea and Galilee, and Philip, the 100 talents paid by Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and “a certain part of what was called the *House of Zenodorus*” (--“certain parts of Zeno’s house about Jamnia”). “[W]hen [tetrarch] Philip...took the government [of Batanea], he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only.”) Archelaus would receive tribute from “Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria;” Caesar ordered, however, that one-fourth of Samaria’s tribute be taken off, in that “they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude.” Archelaus also received the tribute of certain cities--“Strato’s Tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem.” (Caesar “also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato’s Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem.” Eliminated, however, were certain “Grecian cities [“Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos”], which Caesar separated [“cut off”]...and added...to the province of Syria.”) “Now the tribute money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.” (“Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents.”)

Caesar bestowed on Salome “a royal habitation at Askelon [/Ascalon],” in addition to that which she was bequeathed in the Great’s testament (Jamnia, Ashdod, Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand in coined silver¹⁹); and she now “was made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis.” “[I]n all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus’s government” (Caesar “put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus.”

Caesar married “Herod’s two virgin daughters²⁰ ...to Pheroras’s [unnamed] sons,” and added “two hundred and fifty thousand...of silver” to what already had been bequeathed to them. “The rest...of the king’s relations [“of Herod’s offspring”] received what his testament allotted.” Caesar, however, gave the “one thousand five hundred” [“a thousand”] talents bequeathed him to the Great’s sons, retaining “a few of the vessels...[as] memorials of the king to him.”

AJ XVII.XI.3-5; Wars II.VI.2-3.

After Caesar’s settlement there emerged “a certain young man” who bore great resemblance to Alexander [III]. This young man--“by birth a Jew but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon”--“declared himself to be [secretly-survived] Alexander...son of Herod [and Miriamne I], but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men, in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus [IV].” In an “endeavour to obtain the government,” the spurious Alexander was assisted by “a man of his own country [“nation”] (“one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but...[otherwise] an ill-man”).”

The self-claimed Alexander collected a large following. Visiting Crete he obtained “much money” in that he “made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe;” obtained “much more” at Melos, “out of belief...that he was of the royal family,..would recover his father’s principality, and reward his benefactors;” and when he landed at Dicearchia²¹ he managed “to bring the Jews...there...into the same delusion [and from whom he got “very large presents”]; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod...joined themselves to this man as to their king.” The young man’s resemblance “procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person.” He proceeded to Rome, where he “was conducted...by those strangers who entertained him.” Reports preceding his arrival brought out “the whole multitude of the Jews that were there who [“very joyful on

¹⁹ *Josephus* editors add here (as at earlier mentions of coined silver), “[drachmae].”

²⁰ Salome III and Roxana?

²¹ *Josephus* editors add, “[Puteoli].”

account of his mother's family," were] ascribing it to Divine Providence" that Alexander had escaped." The young man, "flocked [by] mighty acclamations," "was carried in a royal litter through the streets [with] all the ornaments...such as kings are adorned...at the expense of those than entertained him."

Caesar, "who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face...discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man." But in view of the fame apparently accompanying the young man, and to erase all suspicion, Caesar had him brought into his presence by Celadus, a freed-man of Caesar's who personally had been acquainted with the Miriam's sons. Celadus, however, was "no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude," whereas Caesar noticed that "this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to; and instead of that softness of body [that] the other had...derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body ["like that of a slave"]. When, therefore, Caesar saw how the [unspecified] master and the scholar agreed in this lying story," Caesar asked why Aristobulus was not present, also, to which the response was (from whom is not specified) was that Aristobulus IV had remained on "Crete" ["Cyprus"] to ensure that "the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish" in some accident at sea ("because it would be harder for plotters to get them both...while they were separate").

"...[H]e [who, is not specified] persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture [who, is not specified] agreed in supporting it," Caesar privately offered the young man amnesty if he revealed his true identity and "who is was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat...too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age.' Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner and by whom it was laid together. ["...[H]e followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance...to get money."] So Caesar put the young man "among those that were to row among the mariners, but slew him that induced him to do what he had done" ["ordered him...to be put to death"]."
AJ XVII.XII.1-2; Wars II.VII.1-2.

Archelaus, commencing his ethnarchy in Judea, "accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place." Archelaus rebuilt Jericho's royal palace, planted palm trees there and, to water them, diverted and drew off into the plain "half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered."

When previously "Alexander was slain by his father, Glaphyra [B] was married to Juba, the king of Lybia." (Glaphyra, Alexander's former wife, had been "a virgin" when she married him, and as already said had borne him three children.) "After Juba was dead," the "widow" Glaphyra "lived in Cappadocia with her father," Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. "Then it was that Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her..." divorced "Mariamne" [IV?]-"who was then his wife"²²--and married Glaphyra ("a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife").²³

"Nor did...Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his [Eleazar's] room while he was still living."

"...[I]n the tenth [or "ninth"] year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren and the principal men of Judea and Samaria...accused him before Caesar" as not abiding by his pledge of moderate rule. (Archelaus "used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans, also, barbarously...out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him.") An angry Caesar summoned "Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also," and sent him sailing to fetch ethnarch Archelaus as quickly as possible.

²² This earlier marriage of Archelaus to a Miriamne is not related in the text.

²³ *Josephus* editors note "it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife when she had children by her first husband."

“And when he [Archelaus] was come, Caesar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.” (Archelaus “was called to his trial” and in “the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar’s treasury.”)

Five nights before Archelaus was taken away to Rome, he had a dream involving “ten”/“nine” ears of corn; he called in “the diviners” (“whose study was employed about reams”), and “some of the Chaldeans” to interpret the dream/vision. A “Simon, a man of the sect of the Essenes...said that the vision denoted...the time of Archelaus’ government was over.”

“The like accident befell Glaphyra, his wife..who, during her marriage to him [Archelaus]”--“[w]hen...she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while”--had a dream [“vision] of Alexander, in which he chastized her for her remarriage. Glaphyra related to “her female companion” that, in the dream, Alexander III had told her, “I will...cause thee to be mine again’ [“I shall have thee again, whether thou wilt or no”]; and, “in a few days’ time she departed this life;” “Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.”

“Archelaus’s country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius,..was sent by Caesar to take account of people’s effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.” Cyrenius, “a Roman senator...who had gone through other magistracies...till he had been consul, and...of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also...of the equestrian order...was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews;” Coponius “came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus’s money.” [“Archelaus’s part of Judea was reduced into a province, and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of ...death put into his hands by Caesar.”]

[“Under his [Coponius’] administration...a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt.”] At first the “Jews,” although they took the “report of a taxation heinously, were persuaded by high priest (Boethus-) Joazar²⁴ to “leave off any further opposition...so they gave an account of their estates.” However, “Judas, a Gaulonite,”²⁵ of a city whose name was Gamala,..taking with him Sadduc, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt...and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty.” Judas called his countrymen “cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans, and...submit to mortal men as their lords,” and that God would assist them only if they joined and unstintingly persevered together.

Judas was “a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own and was not at all like the rest of...their leaders;” and “...[M]en received what [was] said with pleasure, and [his] bold attempt proceeded to a great height.” “[T]he nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came...after another; and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. ...[the] desire [[being] that none of the adverse party might be left.... [A] famine also coming upon

²⁴ It is unclear whether the reference to Joazar here is as a divisional ‘high’ priest (as opposed to ‘chief’ priest), or had regained the position--see below, following *AJ XVIII.1.5-6; Wars II.VIII.2-14*, where it is noted that (at some point) the “dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude.”

²⁵ *Josephus* editor notes (a) why *Josephus* “should here call him [Judas] a Gaulonite” and everywhere otherwise “a Galilean” (*AJ XVIII.1.6, XX.V.2; Wars II.VIII.1 and II.XVII.8*), especially *vis-a-vis AJ XX.V.2*’s “Judas of Galilee...who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius, etc.,” and (b) that there “is a great question where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee on the west side, or in Gaulonitis on the east side, of the river Jordan.... As for the city of Gamala...there were two of that name, the one in Gaulonitis, the other in Galilee.”

us reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, *the sedition increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down....* Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made.; ...Judas and Sadduc...excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein; [that] filled our civil government with tumults at present...by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which I will discourse a little...rather because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.”

AJ XVII.XIII.3-5, XVIII.I.1; Wars II.VII.3-4, II.VIII.1.

“The Jews had for a great while three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves; the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees...”²⁶ (“For there [were] three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first...Pharisees; of the second, the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essenes. These last...Jews by birth...seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have.”) *AJ XVIII.I.2; Wars II.VIII.2.*

“[T]he Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws... [and] ascribe all to fate.., and to God, and yet allow that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action.” “[They]...live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason’s dictates for practice.... ...[T]heir notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whreby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour,...and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again”--“They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies--but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment.” Pharisaic doctrines and discourses were “able greatly to persuade the body of the people” and caused “cities [to] give great attestations to them.” “Moreover, Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the public.” *AJ XVIII.I.3; Wars II.VIII.14.*

Sadducees behave toward one another “in some degree wild, and their conversation with those...of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers.” According to the “doctrine of the Sadducees...souls die with the bodies”--there is neither “immortal duration of the soul or punishments and rewards in Hades”--and they do not “regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins...[and] dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent.” The Sadducees “are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil”--believing “that to act..good, or...evil, is at men’s own choice.” Their doctrine “is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity.” Sadducees, however, “are able to do almost nothing of themselves,” but “addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees” when per force they become obliged to become magistrates, “because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.” *AJ XVIII.I.4; Wars II.VIII.14.*

Of Essenes there are two orders, “who agree...as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ...in the point of marriage.”

The doctrine of all Essenes is that “the matter [bodies] are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtile air...united to their bodies as to prisons;” and “when...released...rejoice and mount upward”--like “the opinions of the Greeks, that the good souls have their habitations

²⁶ Josephus devotes far more text space, as reflected below, to the Essenes than to the other sects.

beyond.; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den.”²⁷ The “Divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul...lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.”

The Essenes “have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs [with] no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.” They “have no one certain city, many dwell in every city.” “It is a law among them...[to] let what they have be common to the whole.; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.” They carry no personal possessions when they travel (except “they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves”): a representative is appointed to provide necessities in every city, where sect members always are familiarly received and treated. Never is there “clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; [a] silence...the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise;” they “reject pleasures...[and] esteem continence...and the conquest over our passions.”

Essenes “take great pains in studying the writing of the ancients, and choose out of them what is mostly for the advantage of soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.” Their “judgments...are most accurate and just...by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. ...[W]hat is determined by that number...is unalterable. ...[T]hey most of all honour, after God himself,...the name of their legislator,”²⁸ “think it a good thing to obey their elders” and majority rule, and “are stricter than any other of the Jews [regarding] the seventh day.” “They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath” (but avoid swearing, esteeming it “worse than perjury...he who cannot be believed without²⁹ God is already condemned.”

The Essenes require “fidelity to all men, and especially those in authority, because no one obtains the government without God’s assistance;” and that if one of them “be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavour to outshine his subjects.” An Essene’s duties were to be “...perpetually a lover of truth...to reprove those that tell lies...keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains...neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others...at the hazard of his life [but] to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; ... abstain from robbery, and...equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels.”³⁰ And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary,” as are their daily disciplines.³¹ They indulge in no personal extravagances, and neither buy nor sell to each other but instead accept returns “in lieu” if within the receiver’s capacity. Some among them “undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.” “They are

²⁷ “[I]ndeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the “same notion, [as] when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades, where their fables relate [e.g.] Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished.”

²⁸ *Josephus* editors add, “[Moses].”

²⁹ *Josephus* editors add, “[swearing by].”

³⁰ Refer to Appendix 4D, *Messenger*.

³¹ e.g. prayers before sunrise; diligent labour in “arts wherein they are skilled...till the fifth hour;” clothed in white veils they assemble for a cold water bath (“they think that to be sweaty is a good thing” and that oil anointment, per Roman mode of cleansing, “is a defilement; and if any one of them be anointed without his own approbation, it is wiped off”), after which they enter “the dining room, as into a certain holy temple” for a shared single plate of one sort of food (it being unlawful to eat before “grace” has been said). Afterwards, shedding their (*Josephus* editors add “[white]”) “garments,” they “betake themselves to their labours again till the evening,” and then sup in the same manner as before. (*Josephus* also outlines rules of organization, entry to the order, trial periods for novices, etc. and notes that members cast out for heinous sinning “often die after a miserable manner...bound by the oaths [of piety] and customs [by which] he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish,” although the order often does “receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion....”)

long-lived, also,..many of them live above a hundred years.”

The Essenes “do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued;” but they “neglect wedlock” and “guard against...behaviour of women,...persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.” An Essene practice is to “choose out other persons’ children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners.”] “There are about four thousand men that...neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants...but live by themselves [and] minister one to another. ... They none of them differ [otherwise] from others of the Essens in their way of living, but...most resemble those Decae who are called *Polistae*.”³²

The other “order of Essens...differ. [in] thinking that [by] not marrying they [would] cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession [and without it] the whole race of mankind would fail.” That order tries their spouses “three years;” and if they find that they [their spouses] have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them.” (They do not “accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity.”) “...[Y]et is their course of life better than that of other man; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry.”

“But the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions but...have an inviolable attachment to liberty and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord,” and for whom dying is welcomed rather than to “call any man lord.” [“As for death, if it will be for their glory, them esteem it better than living always.” “...[T]his immovable resolution of theirs is well known...I shall speak no further about that matter, nor am I afraid,” concludes Josephus on the subject, “that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather..., that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain.”

AJ XVIII.1.5-6; Wars II.VIII.2-14.

Returning to the administration of procurator Coponius in Judea, when “the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar’s victory over Antony at Actium,” Cyrenius deposed high priest Joazar, “which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest.”

Antipas Herod and Philip Herod had settled affairs in their tetrarchy and proceeded with certain public works: Antipas built “a wall about Sepphoris, which is the security of all Galilee, and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha...itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor’s wife. Philip built Paneas, a city at the fountain of the Jordan [and] named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants...and its other grandeur, and called it...Julias [after] Caesar’s daughter.”³⁴

Certain “accidents” occurred during Coponius’ administration, as follows. “...[I]t was customary for the priests to open the temple-gates just after midnight” when “the Jews were celebrating the feast...Passover.” At one such time [of a year unspecified], “some...

³² Per Josephus editor’s note (*AJ XVIII.1.5*), “Who these [*polistae*]...or *kristai* in Strabo, among the Pythagoric Decae, were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that some of these Decae lived alone, like monks, in tents or caves; but that others of them lived together in built cities.” (*Greek dictionary*, p. 396: “KTISTUS...Ion. for KTIOIS,” relates to “founder,” or founding, creating [of the universe].)

³³ Given the next clause, “months” seems logical.

³⁴ No data is provided to correlate their works with other events.

Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem...and threw about dead men's bodies in the cloisters." "[T]he Jews afterward excluded [the Samaritans] out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals," and "watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came [as] his successor." Sometime during Ambivius' tenure³⁵ "Salome, the sister of king Herod, died." Salome left to Caesar's wife Julia "all the toparchy of Jamnia...Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais, [with its] great plantation of palm trees."

After Ambivius "came Annius Rufus, under whom died [Octavian/Augustus] Caesar, the second emperor of the Romans...whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his his [Augustus'] life was seventy-seven years)."

Upon the death of Caesar Octavian/Augustus (c. 14 a.d.), "Tiberius Nero [CDN]³⁶, his wife Julia's [Livia A Drusilla/Julia Augusta's] son, succeeded. ...[H]e sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea...to succeed Annius Rufus."

Gratus "deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi," in his stead. After "a little time" Gratus deprived Ismael, also, "and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest, which office...he held for a year," at which time Gratus replaced him with "Simon, the son of Camithus;" after he "possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor."

"[W]hen the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius...both Herod [Antipas] and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulonitis. Herod [Antipas] also built the city Tiberius in Galilee, and in Perea³⁷ another that was also called Julias." Antipas "was in great favour with Tiberius...built a city...[and] called it Tiberias," "in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth." (A short distance away were warm baths of a village named Emmaus.)

Tiberias became the residence of both "strangers [and] a great number of...Galileans;" some of the relocated persons were "of condition" and some were "poor." "[M]any... were compelled to move there by Antipas from "out of the [other] country belonging to him." Antipas made himself "benefactor" to "some [who] were not quite free-men...made them free in great numbers...[and] building them very good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also," as Antipas was sensitive to the fact that "many sepulchres were to be...taken away [a "transgress (of) Jewish ancient laws"] to make room for the city.

When Gratus had been procurator "eleven years," he returned to Rome; Tiberius [CDN] replaced Gratus with Pontius Pilate. AJ XVIII.II.1-3; Wars II.IX.1-2.

"[N]ow Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Caesarea to take their winter quarters there [at Jerusalem]." A furor was raised when there was conveyed into Jerusalem by night of "those images of Caesar that are called ensigns;" former procurators had refrained from displaying such "ornaments" upon entry, because "our law forbids...the very making of images." "[A]s soon as they [the people] knew.....[Pilate's act "excited a very great tumult [of the people] the next day...as indications that their laws were trodden"], "a vast number of people came running out of the country" and came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days" to remove the ensigns. Pilate denied their request. When they persevered, Pilate "on the sixth day" called the multitude to his "judgment seat[/"tribunal"]...in the open place ["market place"]" where, surrounded by soldiers, Pilate

³⁵ Generally fixed at some three years.

³⁶ Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A chart.

³⁷ Josephus editors add, "[beyond Jordan]."

threatened “immediate death, unless they would leave off.” The people prostrated themselves and “laid their necks bare,” willingly ready to be slain rather than acquiesce to transgression of their laws. (The people, “upon Pilate’s denial...fell down prostrate...and continued immovable in that posture for five days and...nights.”) Pilate, “deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable”--“greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition”--“presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.”

The next furor reported was over Pilate’s “expending that sacred treasure which is called corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred (“two hundred”) furlongs.” “When Pilate was come to Jerusalem” and sat in tribunal there, “many ten thousands of the people got together...made a clamour...and insisted that he should leave off that design.” Pilate, informed in the premises, concealed soldiers in the crowd (“who [although they] carried daggers under their garments]”) were instructed that, at his signal, they were to beat the clamourers but only with staves. The soldiers, however, “laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded;” “many perished by the stripes;” “many...trodden to death by themselves; ..the multitude...astonished at the calamity of those that were slain...held their peace.” “And thus an end was put to this sedition.”

AJ XVIII.III.1-2; Wars II.IX.2-4.

“[A]bout this time Jesus, a wise...doer of wonderful works, a teacher... ..drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. ...Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us...condemned him to the cross.”³⁸

AJ XVIII.III.3.

“About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son.”³⁹

“At this time” Antiochus, the king of Commagene, died. Its multitude and nobility both sent ambassadors; “the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a province; [where]as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. The Roman senate sent “Germanicus...to settle the affairs of the East.”

AJ XVIII.II.5.

“About the same time also...certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome” resulted in its destruction, as follows: One Decius Mundus “fell in love” with Saturninus’ wife, Paulina,⁴⁰ a woman “of a virtuous life...very rich...[and] beautiful...who did lead a life of great modesty,” and who had rejected Mundus’ advances and abundant presents. Ide (a “freed-woman” made so by Mundus’ father), “much grieved at Mundus’ resolution to kill himself” because of his failure to win Paulina, in exchange for “fifty thousand drachmae for the entrapping of the woman.” Ide enlisted “some of Isis’s priests...by words, but chiefly by the offer of money;” and “the oldest of them” went to Paulina [who “was very much given to the worship of Isis”), and “told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him.”

Saturninus, “satisfied with the chastity of his wife,” agreed to her spending the night at the temple; there she supped, after which all the lights were extinguished and the priest

³⁸ An indication of the tandem chronology of the *Josephus* text is that the murder of Jesus’ cousin, John [the ‘baptizer’] is reported subsequently--see at fn. 49.

³⁹ *AJ XVIII.II.4ff.* has great detail regarding the mother’s involvements, and ensuing events vis-a-vis Parthian ambassadors asking for one Orodes as king; Rome sending in Vonones; the Parthians called in Artabanus, king of Media (also of the race of Arsaces), who battled Vonones. Artabanus first was beaten, fled to mountains of Media, and then a while after gathered an army and beat Vonones. Subsequently Vonones wound up in Armenia and eventually delivered himself up to Silanus, the president of Syria, who “kept” him, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

⁴⁰ Note three paragraphs below--Tiberius banishment of “all the Jews” from Rome--after an incident involving [another?] Saturninus’ wife, “Fulvia.”

shut the temple doors. Thereafter, Mundus--who had been hiding in wait--"did not fail of enjoying her...all the night long, as [she] supposing he was the god." Paulina "came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her." Paulina's friends "partly disbelieved...and partly were amazed...having no pretence for not believing...when they considered [her] modesty and dignity." Three days later, however, Mundus revealed himself, telling Paulina she had saved him "two hundred thousand drachmae, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet has thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee."

Paulina, when she was "come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done...told her husband of...this wicked contrivance." Saturninus "discovered the fact to the emperor." Tiberius, after "examining the priests...ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide.... He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber." Tiberius "only banished Mundus...because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love." AJ XVIII.III.4

Next reported is an incident that resulted in the expulsion and banishment of "all the Jews...out of Rome." An [unnamed] "Jew...driven away from his own country by an accusation...of transgressing their laws," lived at Rome, where he "professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses." He and three partners of similar character moved Saturninus' wife, Fulvia, "a woman of great dignity [who] had embraced the Jewish religion, to provide "purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem," which treasure they spent on themselves instead. Tiberius, on information from Saturninus, made an inquiry, and then "ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers."⁴¹

"[T]he nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults." An [unnamed] man-- "one who...contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased" and promised to show them sacred vessels placed under Mount Gerizzim by Moses--"bid them to get together upon the mount." Men gathered; "armed... [they] abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba...to go up the mountain in a great multitude together; [however] Pilate prevented [it] by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and footmen." Pilate's troops fell on those in the village; and, "when it came to an action, some of them they slew...others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain."

The "Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius...now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those [who, they claimed] did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate." Vitellius ordered Pilate to Rome, to answer the Jews' accusations before Tiberius, and sent his friend Marcellus to oversee Judea's affairs. Pilate (who "had tarried ten years in Judea") could not disobey Vitellius and "made haste...but before he could get to Rome Tiberius was dead."⁴² AJ XVIII.IV.1-2.

Vitellius entered Judea and went to Jerusalem at the time of a Passover festival, where he was "magnificently received," and released its inhabitants from all taxes on buying and selling of fruits. After the festival he left "the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments...under the custody of the priests of the temple," instead of being returned to the Roman captain of the guard as before. Previously, under the Rome's governance, "these vestments reposit in a stone chamber...[from where, "seven days before a festival]" "they were delivered...by the captain of the guard; [and after] the high priest...purified them...[and]

⁴¹ *Josephus* editor adds a note, that the supposition "Jews could not, consistently with their laws, be soldiers...is contradicted by one branch of the history before us, and contrary to innumerable instances of their fighting," etc.

⁴² Additional time elapses as follows, however, in the *Josephus* narrative, before Tiberius' actual death.

made use of them, [they had been] laid up again in the same chamber...the very next day after the feast was over.” “This [had been] the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put those garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself.”⁴³

Vitellius “also deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus...to succeed him.”

Tiberius commanded Vitellius to make a league of friendship with Parthian king Artabanus (who “had taken Armenia”), but to place trust only upon receipt of hostages--especially his [king Artabanus’] son, [also-named] Artabanus.” Vitellius offered “great presents of money [which] persuaded both the king of Iberia and the king of Albania...to fight against Artabanus;... they would not do it themselves [but gave] the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians...Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain...; the king’s son [Artabanus] also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army.”

Vitellius attempted to bring about the assassination of King Artabanus with bribes of “great sums of money to [his] kinsmen and friends.” King Artabanus, seeing “that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men...a great many in number,” and judging that even the faithful “were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sacae, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.”

“When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and [king] Artabanus,” which proposal was accepted. Vitellius and king Artabanus, surrounded by their respective guards, met at the mid-point of a bridge over the Euphrates. “And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace Herod [Antipas], the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there.”

“Artabanus...not long afterward, sent his son Darius [to Rome] as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man over seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [Antipas] being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters [and] described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius” to report. “Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and...he kept up a secret anger...till he could be revenged” (--which he was [later], after Caligula became Roman emperor).
AJ XVIII.IV.3-5.

“About this time [c. late 33 a.d.] it was that Philip, Herod’s [Antipas’ half-] brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years.” Philip, who “died at Julias/[Bethsaida]⁴⁴,” had been “a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be...”

⁴³ High priest Hyrcanus the first had kept the garments “lawful for him [the high priest] alone to put on,” in the tower he built near the temple (in which “he generally dwelt”), where the garments “repositied when he went down into the city [in] his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons. When Herod [the Great] rebuilt the tower (“Antonia”), and “found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him.”

⁴⁴ (See Appendix 4C, *Bethsaida*.) Note: Textwise this might appear to be c. 33/34 a.d., but other *Josephus* data may indicate c. 37 c.e.; refer to Appendix 4A, at and in fn. 122.

Philip's "principality Tiberius took, (for he [Philip] left no sons behind him,) and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes...from it should be collected, and laid up in his [Philip's former] tetrarchy." AJ XVIII.IV.5-6.

"About this time" a final falling-out occurred between Herod Antipas and Aretas, king of Arabia, who "had also some quarrel...about their limits at the country of Gamalitis."

The "first occasion of [Aretas's'] enmity between him and Herod" had been Antipas' decision to change his marital alliances, as follows. Once while at Rome he had stayed with "Herod [B], who was his [half-] brother...not by the same mother; for this Herod [B] was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter [Miriamne II]."⁴⁵ Herod [B] was married to "Herodias,..the daughter of Aristobulus [IV], and the sister of Agrippa [I] the Great." Antipas was "married [to] the [unnamed] daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while." Antipas "fell in love with Herodias." At some point he "ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them," to which she responded favorably. It was agreed she would "change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from an anticipated trip of Antipas to Rome."⁴⁶ "[O]ne article of this marriage...was that he should divorce Aretas's daughter."

"So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again," Aretas's daughter, who secretly had advance knowledge of his plans, and "without informing Antipas of any of her intentions," "desired him to send her to Macherus ["which was subject to her father" and situated]...in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod." "[A]ll things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and...she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions."

Aretas and Antipas "raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves;...Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some...of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas's army." "Now some of the Jews thought the destruction of Herod's army came...justly...as a punishment of which he did against John, that was called the *Baptist* [/Baptizer]; for Herod slew him." "John...a good man [who] commanded the Jews to exercise virtue [and] righteousness⁴⁷ towards one another, and piety..., and so to come to baptism [which] washing⁴⁷ would be acceptable to him...not in order to the putting away⁴⁸ of some sins,⁴⁹ but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness." Antipas had "feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion," for the people had gone "in crowds about him, [being] greatly moved...by hearing his words." John had been "sent [as] a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus...and...there put to death."⁵⁰

Tiberius, to whom Herod had written about the battle with Aretas, was "very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, [and] wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him...to take him alive, and bring him to him [Tiberius] in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria." Vitellius took two legions and "all those

⁴⁵ *Josephus* editor notes that, although "This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip," he was not the tetrarch Philip.

⁴⁶ It appears from this sentence and the first of the next paragraph that, at this time, Herod [B] and Herodias were not living at Rome.

⁴⁷ *Josephus* editor adds, "[with water]."

⁴⁸ *Josephus* editor adds, "[or the remission]."

⁴⁹ *Josephus* editor adds, "[only]."

⁵⁰ It would appear that Antipas had ousted Aretas from Macherus (although there is some indication that the feast preceding the killing of John was at Tiberius).

of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them,...drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra” via Ptolemais. “[A]s he was...leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land...[with] those images...of which there were a great many in their ensigns.” Vitellius had his army “march along the great plain,” instead, “while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice..., an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching.”

“[H]onourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he [Vitellius] made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus.” “[O]n the fourth day letters...informed him of the death of Tiberius [37 a.d.]” Vitellius “obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius [Caligula]...recalled his army, and made them...go home, and take their winter quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before.” (It was reported Aretas had been told by “diviners that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius’s could enter Petra and that one or the other of them would die in the attempt.) “So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch....” AJ XVIII.V.1-2.

Agrippa [I] had lived at Rome “a little before the death of Herod the king [the Great], and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius’s son.” Agrippa “contracted a friendship with Antonia [B], the wife of Drusus the Great [GNC], who had his [Agrippa’s] mother Bernice [A] in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son.” Agrippa restrained his expenditures while his mother was alive; “but when Bernice was dead...left to his own conduct, he spent...extravagantly...[including] immoderate presents...chiefly among Caesar’s freed-men...to gain their assistance,” by which Agrippa was, “in a little time, reduced to poverty, and [then] could not live at Rome any longer.” Agrippa had sailed to Judea, having “creditors...many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them.”

Agrippa I had “retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself,” from which “his wife Cypros [III]...to divert him” wrote for help to Agrippa’s sister Herodias, “the wife [by that time] of Herod [Antipas],” and asked that she “engage her husband to do the same.” “So they sent for him [Agrippa I] ...allotted him Tiberias for his habitation...and made him a magistrate of that city.” Antipas, however, “did not...long continue in that resolution of support.” At a feast at Tyre, while they were “in their cups...Herod hit him [Agrippa] in the teeth with his poverty...” Agrippa then went to “Flaccus...[“who had been consul”] and...a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria. “

Agrippa I lived for a while with Flaccus, who “received him kindly.” Aristobulus [V]...Agrippa’s [half?-] brother, [who] was at variance with him,” also lived with Flaccus, who at first treated them equally “honourably.” Aristobulus V, however, “at length...brought [Agrippa] into ill terms with Flaccus,” by informing Flaccus that Agrippa had accepted promise of money from the Damascens if he exerted influence on Flaccus, who was scheduled to hear a border dispute between the Damascens and Sidonians. Flaccus made “a thorough examination;” and, when “it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends.”

Agrippa I--“reduced to the utmost necessity...[and knowing not where else to get a livelihood]--went to Ptolemais, from where he hoped to sail for Italy. He set his freed-man, Marsyas, to find someone from whom to borrow money. Marsyas “desired of Peter” (freed-man of Bernice [A]...by her testament...bequeathed to Antonia”) “to lend so much upon Agrippa’s own bond and security.” Marsyas “made the bond [for] 20,000 Attic drachmae,” but was compelled to take 2,500 less by Peter, who “accused Agrippa of having defrauded him [formerly] of certain sums.”

Agrippa I secured a ship and was ready to set sail from Anthedon (wife Cypros III apparently then with him), when he was detained by “Herennius Capito, procurator of Jamnia,

[who] sent a band of soldiers to demand...three hundred thousand drachmae of silver, which were by him [Agrippa] owing to Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome." Agrippa "pretended that he would do as bid; but when night came...went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander [undesigned], the alabarch, to lend him two hundred thousand drachmae." Said Alexander would not lend it to Agrippa but "would not refuse it to Cypros...so she undertook to repay it. ... Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised...the rest at Dicearchia So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on...to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea."
AJ XVIII.VI.1-3.

At Puteoli [/Dicearchia], Agrippa I wrote to Caesar Tiberius, living then at Capraea, and asked leave to visit. Tiberius acquiesced obligingly; but the next day he received information from Herennius Capito about Agrippa's failure to pay the 300,000 drachmae due and instead had "ran away like a fugitive." "Troubled," Caesar refused further presence to Agrippa until the debt was paid. Agrippa prevailed on "Antonia [B], the mother of Germanicus (and of Claudius, who was afterward [to be] Caesar himself) to lend him the sum, which she did "out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother...[and] his and Claudius's education together." "After this [there being "nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship"], Tiberius recommended to him his grandson [Tiberius Gemellus?] and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad."

Agrippa did not fail to pay respects to Antonia's [B's] grandson, Caius [Caligula], who was "in very high reputation by reason of the good-will [borne] his father [Germanicus]." Subsequently, Agrippa was able to borrow "a million of drachmae" from "one Thallus, a freed-man of Caesar;" and, after repaying Antonia, used "the overplus in paying...court to Caius [Caligula, and] became a person of great authority to him."
AJ XVIII.VI.4.

"In the meantime" (still during Pilate's tenure--) "a year before the death of Tiberius," "Agrippa, the [step?-] son of Aristobulus [IV] who had been slain by his father Herod [the Great]," had gone "up to Rome...in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor if he might be permitted," and "to accuse Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch;" but Caesar Tiberius had not been "admitting of his accusations." Agrippa I had "staid at Rome, and cultivated...men of note,..principally...Caius [Caligula], the son of Germanicus," while Caius "was then but a private person."

"Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, ...there happened some words...in a chariot together...Agrippa praying...that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius." Agrippa, once while they feasted together, also "openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he [Agrippa I] might quickly see him [Caius Caligula] emperor." The words were heard by one Eutyclus, Agrippa's freed-man chariot driver. Subsequently Eutyclus was accused by Agrippa of stealing some of his garments, and he ran away. When he was caught and was brought before "Piso, who was governor of the city," Eutyclus claimed he had run because he knew something that related to the emperor's security.

Piso had Eutyclus taken to Capreae, where evidently he lodged accusation against Agrippa I; however--as was the general custom of Tiberius ("being a delayer" in affairs"⁵⁴)-- Eutyclus was left a while in his bonds. "However, some time afterward, [when] Tiberius came from Capreae to Tusculanum...about a hundred furlongs from Rome," Agrippa I "desired of

⁵¹ Josephus editor adds the footnote: "The governor of the Jews there."

⁵² Josephus editor adds, "[Puteoli]."

⁵³ Josephus editor notes, "Tiberius, junior."

⁵⁴ Josephus gives examples of Tiberius habit of allowing matters to settle out, before introducing new potential causes of harrassment, and remarks that, although Tiberius "was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus...and Pilate."

Antonia [B] that she would procure a hearing.” (Antonia, Tiberius’ “brother Drusus’s [GNCs] wife [--who] in her widowhood...refused all other matches despite Augustus encouraging her to remarry--a woman of “eminent chastity...[and] still a young woman,” was “greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts... ..[H]e depended upon her in all things.”⁵⁵ When Antonia asked that Tiberius “examine Eutychus, he answered, ‘If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa...he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have care, lest...he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself.’”

Antonia [B] so informed Agrippa I, but he nonetheless pressed her. After a dinner, as Tiberius took his ease in the presence of Agrippa, Antonia and “Caius [Caligula], her grandson,” Antonia “walked by...and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined.” Tiberius exclaimed of finally being “forced” by her to do so against his own inclinations, and he summoned “Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus.”

Eutychus repeated what he had heard Agrippa I say to Caius Caligula, “once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet,..’Oh that the day would once come when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius [Gemellus]⁵⁶ his grandson, would be no hindrance, but would be taken off by thee [Caius], and that earth would be happy, and I happy also.” Caesar Tiberius could accept the words most easily as true, having observed how Agrippa I had “disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius [Caligula],” instead of nurturing Tiberius (Gemellus). Caesar told Macro, “Bind this man.” (Macro, balked by first uncertainty and next disbelief, twice had Caesar to confirm whom he meant.)

Agrippa I supplicated Caesar Tiberius, reminding him of “his [Caesar’s] son [Drusus A], with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [Gemellus] whom he had educated; but all to no purpose...they led him about bound.”⁵⁷ (In his bonds under a tree in front of the palace, Agrippa spied above him “a certain bird...(the Romans call this bird bubo⁵⁸”). Agrippa--“by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation”--received an erudite address (from “a German by nation” “via an interpreter”) predicting he would overcome all present ill and enjoy long-lived prosperity, but expect to die within five days of seeing the bird again.

Antonia [B] took Agrippa’s circumstances to heart, and “she did procure of Macro” orders to the soldiers to treat Agrippa gently (daily baths; soft materials for bedding; visits from freed-men and friends, and receipt of favorite foods). “And this was Agrippa’s condition for six months’ time, and in this case were his affairs.” (Alternately, after one of Agrippa’s “domestics” divulged his remarks, Tiberius “ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died.”)

“Tiberius, upon his return to Capreae...fell sick” to an increasingly worsening “distemper...[until] he had small or no hope of recover.” Tiberius had brought to him “the children...to talk to them before he died.” (“...[H]e had at present no sons of his own alive; ... Drusus [A]...his only son was dead;...Drusus’s son Tiberius [“whose additional name was

⁵⁵ A primary reason being her former uncovering to Tiberius of a conspiracy being worked against him by the army’s general, Sejanus, together with “many members of the senate and...freed-men..” (Tiberius...when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates.”)

⁵⁶ See four paragraphs below, where Tiberius Gemellus’ name is given; it appears, however, that he may have borne the name, “Sempronius,” also.

⁵⁷ The weather was very hot and he was wearing his purple still; Agrippa received water from “one of Caius’s slaves...Thaumastus.” Agrippa promised, given future ability, freedom from Caius, “who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity.” (As matters would develop, the future king Agrippa I would liberate Thaumastus, make him “steward over his own estate” and bequeath him “to Agrippa [II] his son, and to Bernice [B] his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity,” whence Thaumastus “grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all [that] happened a good while after.” (Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, I, for Agrippa I descendancy.)

⁵⁸ Josephus editor adds, “[an owl].”

Gemellus”] was still living.”

“[T]here was also living Caius [Caligula], the son of Germanicus, who [said Germanicus] was the son..of his [Tiberius CDN’s] brother [Drusus GNC].” Caius now was grown up, had a “liberal education, and...in esteem and favour with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father, Germanicus,” by virtue of which “the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him [Caius], that they reckoned...if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.” (Antonia’s grandson, Caius, was “in very high reputation by reason of the good-will [borne] his father.”) AJ XVIII.VI.4-8; Wars II.IX.5.

“Tiberius had been very much given to astrology... ..[and] addicted to diviners...because he had found them [formerly] to have told him truth in his own affairs.” He was “very desirous to leave it [the empire] to his son’s [Drusus A’s and Livia B’s] son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow...so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day.” Tiberius then sent word to his grandson’s [Tiberius Gemellus’] tutor to bring him to his door early in the morning,” but the grandson “staid waiting for his breakfast.” Caius [Caligula], instead, was first to approach Tiberius’ chamber; and when the emperor sent his servant “to call in that child which should be there ready...he went out, and found Caius...; [and in that he] knew nothing of what his lord intended...brought him [Caius] in.” “As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government...was entirely taken from him.” “O child!,” he told Caius, “although Tiberius [Gemellus] be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give and put into thy hand the Roman empire.” Tiberius lamented his own now-dangerous⁵⁹ circumstances privately; in speech he supplicated Caius be reasonable as to the grandson.

Tiberius lived “but a few days” after he “at this time appointed Caius [Caligula, “the fourth emperor”] to be his successor.” Caesar Tiberius [CDN], who “had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days,” had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans...easily inflamed with passion...anger irrevocable...fierce in all the sentences he gave..., death the penalty for the lightest offences.” “[T]he Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly [but] restrained [their] enjoyment...[lest their] hopes proved ill-grounded.” Agrippa I’s freed-man, Marsyas, ran to him with the news as soon as he heard.” “[F]inding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, ‘The lion⁶⁰ is dead;’” Agrippa, “understanding his meaning,...said...I wish that what thou sayest may prove true.”

Agrippa I’s centurion guard, suspecting “some great innovation of affairs,” pried the news from Agrippa, who “was already become his friend.” He joined in Agrippa’s pleasure, made him supper and loosed his bonds. The centurion changed attitude swiftly, however, on receipt of a contrary rumor as they feasted “that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days.” The centurion “ordered Agrippa to be bound again....and kept a severer guard over him, [in which] condition was Agrippa that night.” Certainty of Tiberius’ death increased the next day, followed by letters from Caius Caligula--one to the Senate and another to “Piso, the governor of the city”--informing of Tiberius’ death and Caius’ accession. Caius ordered that Agrippa, “although still in custody,” “be removed out of the camp and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison.” Caligula “was much disposed to set Agrippa at [full] liberty” the “very day” he “come to Rome,” where he had brought Tiberius’ body for a sumptuous funeral. Antonia [B], however, delayed Caius from releasing Agrippa--“not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency...lest...men believe that he [Caius] received the death of Tiberius with pleasure.... However, there did not many days

⁵⁹ Caius promised he would be; but, “when he [later] was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius.”

⁶⁰ *Josephus* editor notes that tyrants were “also sometimes compared to or represented by wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal [citing references]”--“especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa [citing references].”

pass ere” Caius, at his own house, had Agrippa bathed and dressed, “after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip [and] also gave him [“promised” him] the tetrarchy of Lysanias.”⁶¹

Caius sent Marcellus to be procurator of Judea.

Agrippa I asked Caius Caligula “in the second year of [his, Caligula’s] reign” for leave “to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government,” promising to return once all was in order there; and Caius gave permission. “So,” Agrippa “came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king.” (“...[W]hen Caius was made Caesar, he released Agrippa...and made him king of Philip’s tetrarchy, who was now dead.”)

AJ XVIII.VI.9-11; Wars II.IX.6.

“Herodias, Agrippa’s [half-] sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod [Antipas] who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea [was]...envious...grieved...much displeased” at Agrippa’s elevation, which also “inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias...[who claimed] it was only because he would not sail to Caesar [Caligula, who, having] made Agrippa a king from a private person, much more would...advance him [Antipas] from a tetrarch.” Herodias urged that they spare no expense and go to Rome. Antipas finally acquiesced, “got all things ready...and took Herodias along with him.” Informed, Agrippa I prepared to sail also; meanwhile, he sent his freed-man Fortunatus ahead with presents for Caligula and letters against Antipas.

At Dicearchia, where both Antipas and Fortunatus landed, they “found Caius [was] at Baiae⁶² ...a little city of Campania...about five furlongs from Dicearchia.” Fortunatus’ voyage went so well he arrived and was able to deliver his letters at the same time that Antipas was with Caligula. Agrippa accused Antipas of having been “in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius’s government; that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia,” in opposition to the government of Caius; and that Antipas “had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury,” which latter claim Antipas “could not deny...the truth of it being notorious.” “Caius took that to be sufficient proof of the accusation that he [Antipas] intended to revolt.”

“So he [Caligula] took away from him [Antipas] his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa’s kingdom; he also gave Herod’s [Antipas’] money to Agrippa and, by way of punishment, awarded him [Antipas] a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation.”

Caligula offered leniency to Herodias, however, when “informed that Herodias was Agrippa’s [half-] sister,” and “made her a present of what money was her own.” Herodias declined, citing “the kindness” she had for her husband and that it would be unjust if she, “a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes.” Angry Caligula then “sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa.”⁶³

“Caius [Caligula] managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and...with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and by reason of the vastness of his dominions made himself a god” (“and to desire to be so called also...[he] cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country [and] extended his impiety as far as the Jews”).

⁶¹ *Josephus* editor notes, “yet was it [the Lysanias tetrarchy] not actually conferred upon him [Agrippa I] till the reign of Claudius, as we [later] learn.”

⁶² A place of “royal palaces...sumptuous apartments...[and] warm baths...[affording] health and...luxury.”

⁶³ “Herod [Antipas] died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.”

“[N]ow a tumult...at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks,” caused an embassy to Caligula of “three ambassadors⁶⁴ ...out of each party.” From the “people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered “severe things...by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger,” contrasting the Jews’ willful resistance to honors due Caesar to the obeisance of all of Rome’s other client-subjects. Philo (“the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent... [and] brother to Alexander the alabarch⁶⁵)...was ready to make defence...but Caius prohibited him, and bid him begone...in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief.”

“Hereupon Caius...sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor...to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops; and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it.” Petronius assembled “as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered...to set about the war in the spring.” (Petronius marched out of Antioch, with three legions and many Syrian auxiliaries, and into Judaea, with orders to erect Caius’ “statues in the temple and...in case the Jews would not admit of them, he [Petronius] should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity.) Petronius informed Caius of his plans; Caius “commended him...and ordered him to go on...to make war.”

“Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories...of a war; but those that did...were in utmost distress how to defend themselves.” “[T]error diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.” “[T]here came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions.” “[T]he Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Ptolemais,” and supplicated Petronius...for their laws, and...for themselves.” Petronius acknowledged that, were he the emperor, their “words would be justly spoken,” but that he had a duty to the emperor. Petronius, “prevailed upon by the multitude...left his army and statues at Ptolemais...went forward into Galilee,” and “hasted to Tiberias [city], as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were.”

AJ XVIII.VIII.1-2.

At Tiberias Petronius again was met by “many ten thousands of the Jews.” Petronius “called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias...showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caesar; and...proved that their petition was unreasonable [in that] all the nations in subjection...had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods.” Their behavior, he alleged, “was almost like...revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.” Still unable to quiet the dissenters, Petronius asked whether they would “then make war against Caesar?” They pointed out they willingly made daily sacrifices for Caesar and the Romans, but “the whole multitude...[insistently remained] “ready to suffer for their law,” claiming, “We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed.” Throwing themselves down, throats stretched, “they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. (“[I]t was about seed time that the multitude continued for fifty days together, idle.”) Petronius, “astonished...pitied them, on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage...to die for it; so they [at that time] were

⁶⁴ *Josephus* editor notes that, according to the Jews’ “principal ambassador,” Philo (whose account it “does not appear” *Josephus* had as reference), “the Jews’ ambassadors were...no fewer than five, towards the end of his legation to Caius.”

⁶⁵ *Josephus* editor notes, “This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews, at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by Bishop Pearson” to be the same Alexander mentioned in *Acts* 4:6 (with Annas, Caiaphas, and John “and as many as were out of the race chief priestly,” questioning Peter, Jesus’ former right-hand man). [An undesignated “Alexander” is mentioned both at *Mark* 15:21 (“Simon Cyrenian...the father of *Alexander*) and at *Acts* 19:33 (an *Alexander* present during an uproar of Greeks and Jews in Ephesus, during Paul’s travels.)]

dismissed without success.”

“When matters were in this state, Aristobulus [V], king Agrippa I’s [half?-] brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him...[to] write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to...the statue...[had] left off the tillage...were not willing to go to war...but were ready to die” etc.--their hope being, that “Caius might be thereby moved” when made to consider the problems (fallow land, robberies, loss of revenues) that his inflexibility would cause in the territory. (Those at Tiberias “thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of their law was of much greater consequence.” “Aristobulus [V], and the rest with him, supplicate[d] Petronius to inform Caius that, should he continue “in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself.”)

Petronius counseled “the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly,” variously using “persuasions [...and...] advice;” but “chiefly...threatenings.” Those persons addressed, however, “could no way be prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage....so he at last...told them [he would] run some hazard himself;...either prevail with Caesar [whereby all would escape the danger of war]; or, in case Caesar continue in his rage,” Petronius had to be ready to risk his life. Privately Petronius “thought it a horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many. “Accordingly, he determined to hearken to the petitioners,” saying he would “send to Caius...let him know what your resolutions are, and...assist your suit as far as I am able.” He “dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity,” and he “desired of the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope,” which did “readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again.” Petronius then “took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch.”

Meanwhile, the expansive generosity of “king Agrippa [I], who lived at Rome,” had taken him to the greatest favor with Caius Caligula. One night, merry over wine, Caligula spoke warmly of Agrippa’s loyalties and good will. Caligula said that his gifts to Agrippa, in comparison, thus far had been little; and he wished to make amends with some greater bestowal. Caligula expected that Agrippa “would ask for some large country, or the revenue of certain cities.” At first Agrippa modestly denied himself deserving of any more from Caesar than already given. On being pressed, however, Agrippa asked that Caligula no longer think of the dedication of that statue...ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius.” “[S]o great was the affair in his [Caligula’s] opinion,” Agrippa knew “how dangerous a thing it was so to speak.”

Caligula--on spot both with his offer and the great admiration and respect he held for Agrippa I, “granted him what he had requested.” Caligula “wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him.” ““If therefore,” Caligula wrote, “thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself further...but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of this statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa.”

In the meantime Petronius had sent from Antioch “an epistle to Caesar...[about] the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications,” and that--unless Caesar was of a mind to lose the country and its men, he ought to countermand the former injunction and let them keep their law. However, Caligula’s letter to Petronius to abort erection of the statue was written “before he received his [Petronius’] letter...that the Jews were very ready to revolt, etc.” (Caligula, “much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government,” composed a response “in a violent way, “ threatening to have Petronius put to death for delaying execution of his command, “seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what

thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example [to all who dare] to contradict the commands of their emperor.”

“[T]he epistle which Caius [Caligula] wrote...Petronius did not receive...while Caius was alive. The ship carrying the emperor’s representatives was “tossed by a storm, and...detained on the sea for three months.” Meanwhile, “others that brought the news of Caius’s death had a good voyage. ...Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius [that he had died] seven and twenty days before he received that [epistle from Caius]...against himself,” which had “commanded him to kill himself with his own hands.” AJ XVIII.VIII.3-9; X.1-5.

“Caius [Caligula] had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery.” He was succeeded by Claudius. Wars II.XI.1.

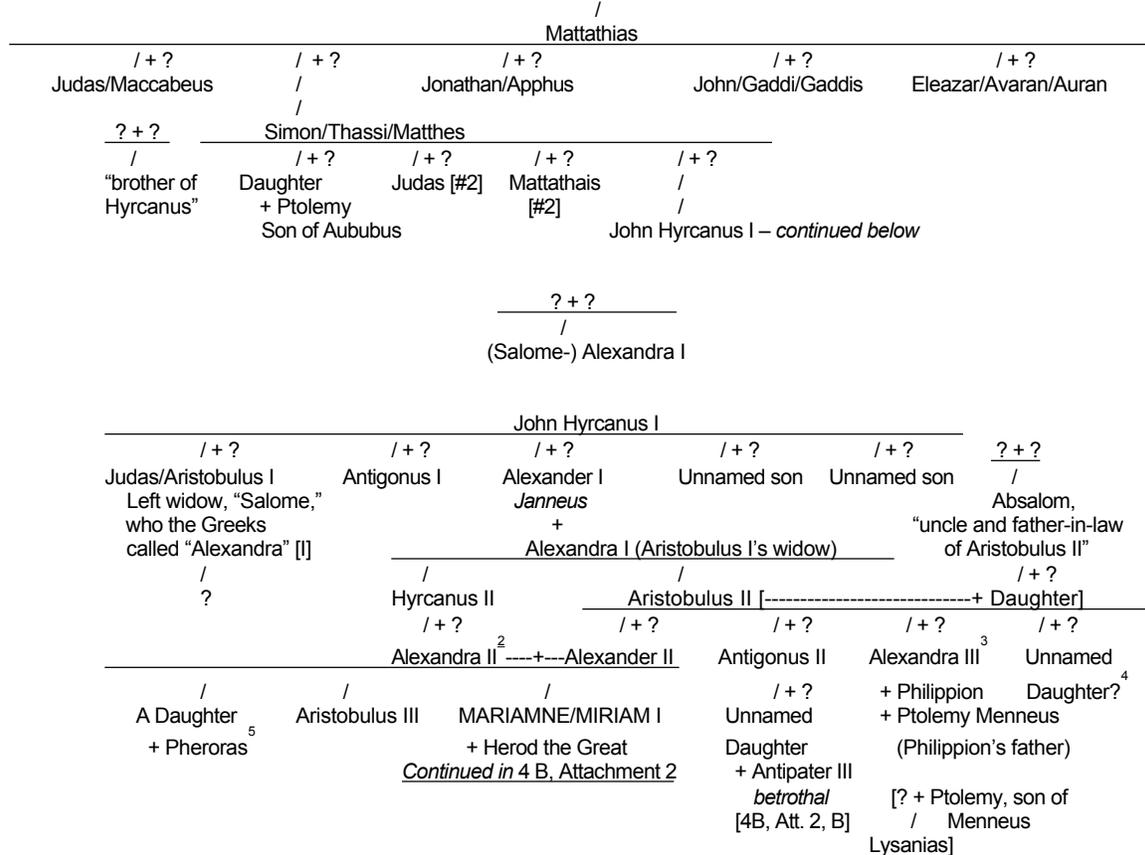
Here essentially ends the timeframe of volume four. However, Appendix 4A cites some subsequent events through the deaths of Agrippa I and Herod [A] (and bestowal of regional territories on Agrippa II), and Attachment 1 to that appendix provides some data on ensuing Roman emperors.

Appendix 4B, Attachment 1

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF DESCENDANCIES/FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
THE ASAMONAEANS/MACCABEES /HASMONAEANS**

Note: Sources of data are reference-quoted narratives in Appendices 4B I-III unless otherwise cited. Roman numerals that distinguish same-named individuals correspond with those assigned in its internal data. Sequencing of siblings on a line does not indicate chronological order of births.

[Continued from Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5]



The undesignated "brother of Hyrcanus [I]" was sent to Antiochus VII by Jerusalem leaders as a hostage. *AJ* XIII.VIII.3; *BJ* I.II.3.

Judas #2 and Mattathais #2 both were assassinated with their father, high priest Simon Matthes, by Ptolemy, son of Abubus, in 134 b.c.

Aristobulus I, Hyrcanus I's "eldest son."

Antigonus I, son of Hyrcanus I, was slain by Judas/Aristobulus I.

Alexander I was claimed to have been "derived" by Hyrcanus I "from a captive." See

¹ The origins of this name are elusive—biblically, no version (e.g. "Maccabiah") appears (unless it relates to *Maachah/ Maacah* and its derivatives (Appendix 1A, part I B, *Maacah/Maachah*, Individual Uses).

² It appears that Herod the Great "espoused" Alexandra II—refer to quotations below.

³ Obliquely acknowledged at *AJ* XIV.VII.4; it is unclear whether it was Alexandra III or an unnamed sister who possessed "Hyrcania"—see next footnote.

⁴ At some point after Herod's ultimate ascendance, he took "Hyrcania," which was a place that was held by "Antigonus' sister."

⁵ See Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Introductory Chart.

Appendix 4B, I following AJ citation XIII.XIII.4.

Alexander I “left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus [II] and Aristobulus [II], but committed the kingdom to Alexandra [I].”

Hyrcanus I died after 30 years as high priest, “leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus [I]...which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority (for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem) for one year.” Judas/Aristobulus I’ brother, Alexander I, Janneus, was his successor. AJ XX.X.1.

Alexander I Janneus married widow Alexandra I. One of Alexander I’s “brethren, who affected the kingdom, he [Alexander I/Janneus] slew;...and the other, who chose to live a quiet life, he had in esteem.” (AJ XIII.XII.1; this statement appears to apply to the two unnamed sons of John Hyrcanus I.)

When Pompey captured Aristobulus II, he carried him, bound, to Rome, along with Aristobulus II’s “children, for he [Aristobulus II] had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which, Alexander [II]...ran away; but the younger [Antigonus II] was carried to Rome with his sisters.” (Appendix 4B, I.)

“Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis...took his [Alexander II’s] brethren to him [after Caesar took Rome, Pompey fled, Pompey supporters killed Aristobulus II, and Scipio on Pompey’s orders beheaded Alexander II].” Ptolemy of Chalcis “sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus’ [II’s] wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus [II] and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra [III], Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra [III]....”

Antigonus II, “son of Aristobulus II, ”promised payment to the king of Parthia for a mercenary army.” “Herod [the Great] with the aid of the Romans took him prisoner, and he was put to death by Antony.” (Priorly, Antigonus II had “cut off the ears of John Hyrcanus [I] to make him unfit for the priesthood [4B, I, at fn. 50].” L 1826 ed.

Antigonus II has been found once referred to as “Hyrcanus’ nephew,” “Antigonus Mattathais.” (Asimov, vol. 2, p. 123; source not given.)

A captured Antigonus II was slain by Antony at Herod the Great’s behest.

A brother [Aristobulus III] of “one of Herod the Great’s wives [Miriam I] was grandson of Aristobulus [II] by his father [Alexander II] and grandson of Hyrcanus [II] by his mother [Alexandra II].” AJ XIV.XIV.5.

Aristobulus III has been found once referred to as “Jonathan.” (Williamson, page 87, fn. 6, source not given.)

At the time of the battle of Actium (31 b.c.), Hyrcanus II was “above fourscore years old.” AJ XV.VI.3.

Miriam I, “the daughter of [Alexandra II and] Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus [II].”

“[T]he daughter of Hyrcanus [II, Alexandra II] [who] he [Herod the Great] had espoused, was his monitor, etc.” “Alexandra [II], the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus’s daughter, begged of him, etc.”

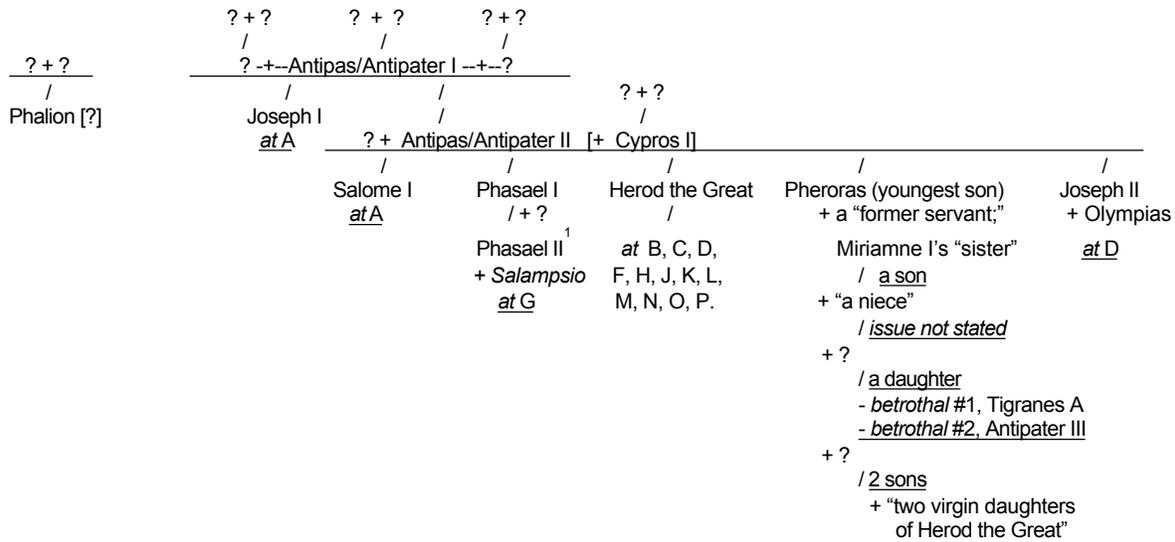
Herod the Great had “espoused [and then married, Miriam I,] a descendant of Hyrcanus [II], by which wife he [later] became the father of three male and two female children”--continued in Appendix 4B, Attachment 2.

Appendix 4B, Attachment 2

**Charted Exploration of Descendancies/Familial Relationships,
Through the Herodians**

Notes: Sources of data are source-quoted narratives in Appendices 4B, I-III and particularly 4B, II, Detail A. Roman numerals that distinguish same-named individuals correspond with those assigned throughout this work and may differ with other sources. The order of siblings on a line does not indicate order of births. Parenthical m. # designates order of marriages. "Betrothals" most often were made when individuals were of a young age, but frequently they were not consummated by marriage (several betrothals initially directed by Herod the Great later were changed by him, as reported in the narratives and detail). The use of "espousal" is unclear (especially, for example, in the case of Herod the Great "espousing" queen-mother Alexandra II as part of his total takeover).

Introductory Chart



Nicolaus of Damascus claimed Antipater I was of the stock of the principal "Jews" who came out of Babylon; *Josephus* says, not so (*AJ* XIV.I.3); both could be correct if Nicolaus meant maternally.

Joseph I, the Great's "uncle" (son of a sister of Cyros I?). Herod left "his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs," and directed him to kill Miriam I if Antony killed Herod. *AJ* XV.III.5ff. Herod "committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband," "with the secret injunction that if Antony slayed him Joseph was to slay her." *BJ* I.XXII.4. Joseph, "administering the public affairs of the kingdom," betrayed his "private charge" to Miriam I; Herod later "gave order to slay Joseph." *AJ* XV.III.9.

Phalion, Antipater II's "brother." *Wars* I.VI.3.

Antipater II "married a relation of the king of Arabia," of an eminent Arabian family--presumably Cyros I.

"Antipater [II], a powerful prince, the father of Herod [the Great] assisted the Romans in the Alexandrine war and was appointed governor of Judaea." *Lempriere* 1826 ed., citing *Josephus*.

Antipater II first was called *Antipas*, his father's name other name, also.

While *AJ* XIV.VII.3 would make Salome a full sister of Herod the Great, *Wars* I.VIII.9 reads, "Antipater [II] married...Cyros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus[Phasael I] and Herod...Joseph [II] and Pheroras; and he [Antipater II] had a daughter whose name was Salome."

¹ Vague text leaves an impression that Phasael II may have been son of Pheroras.

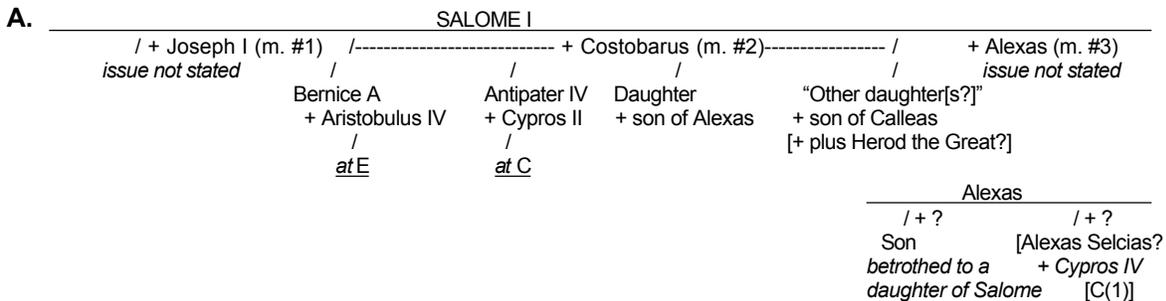
Joseph II, the Great's "brother" (this Joseph was killed by Antigonus II).

Herod the Great and one Joseph were "cousins-german [first cousins];" (*refer to D, Joseph III, concerning confusion as to a possible fourth Joseph.*)

Pheroras' espousal by the Great to the Great's "own eldest daughter" was unconsummated.

Pheroras' wife most beloved by him, "who had been but a servant," never is identified; however, the Herod the Great had made Pheroras the husband of "one of the royal family, who was no other than his [Herod the Great's] own wife's [Miriam I's] sister."

After the Great's death, Caesar Augustus married off two unidentified "virgin daughters" of the Great to [unnamed] sons of Pheroras (AJ XVII.XI.5).



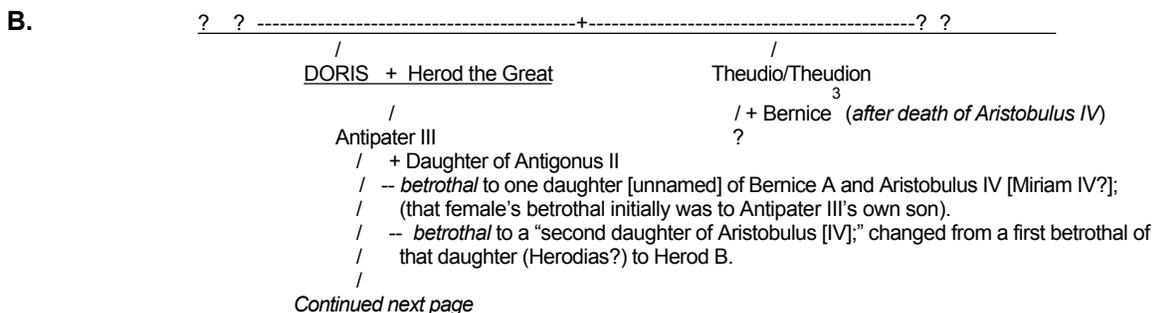
"Upon slaughter of Joseph [I], who had...government ["of Idumea and Gaza before"]," Herod the Great gave Salome to Costobarus, "an Idumaeen by birth," descended from a priest of "Koze."²

"Bernice [A] was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, Herod's sister."

The number of Salome daughters is uncertain. Bernice [A] is identified as Costobarus' daughter. Also reported are (a) "Salome's *other daughter by that husband*" (referring back in the paragraph to "Salome, the king's sister...had married one of Herod's chief friends," as Costobarus elsewhere is identified; AJ XVII.I.1); (b) Salome's "*other daughter by that husband* was married to the son of Calleas" (AJ XVII.I.1); and (c) the Great decreed at the time he caused Salome I to marry Alexas "that one of Salome's daughters should be married to Alexas's son" (Wars I.XXVIII.6); while a [another?] Salome daughter is reported as one of the Great's wives.

Costobarus as Antipater IV's father is drawn from AJ XVI.VII.6 (Salome I wished "her son by Costobarus" to be betrothed to the "damsel" refused by Pheroras.)

"Alexas, of Laodicea, was recommended to M. Antony...[and] was the cause that Antony repudiated Octavia to marry Cleopatra [the Great]. [Caesar] Augustus punished him severely after the defeat of Antony." *Lempriere* 33.



² This single use resembles "Coz," also rendered as "Koz," first appearing in the Hezronic period (*refer to Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23*) and not reappearing until the *Ezra/Nehemiah* reformation, when priests of *Koz* were excommunicated for lacking proof of genealogy (Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV, A, (4), "sons of Koz").

³ *BJI.XXVII.1-2* refers to a Bernice who was given to Theudion as "Aristobulus' daughter," whereas other data evidences that it was Bernice A, Aristobulus IV's widowed wife, who was given to Theudion after Aristobulus' IV's death (they may have shared a relationship, however, like Abraham and Sarah).

Antipater III	
/ + ?	/ + ?
A daughter	A son
– betrothed to Herod A	– betrothal to one daughter [unnamed] of Bernice A and Aristobulus IV
<u>at E</u>	[Miriam IV?]-that female's betrothal subsequently was changed to
/	Antipater III.
?	– betrothal to a daughter of Pheroras
	/
	?

Antipater III's "wife was the daughter of Antigonus [II] , who was king of the Jews before Herod [the Great]" and conquered by him.

Antipater III secured a change by Herod the Great of the betrothal of the "second" daughter of Bernice A and Aristobulus IV (*at E*), from the Great's "son, Herod [B; *at H*]," so that "Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's [said] daughter" (which marriage may have been prevented by Antipater III's death).

Based on a comparison process of elimination it appears that Miriam IV [*at E*] was betrothed to Antipater III, apparently (?) when a child; she subsequently is not identifiable.

Before the Great died he betrothed Antipater III's unnamed daughter to Herod A and an unnamed son of Antipater III to one of Bernice A's and Aristobulus IV's daughters (*at E*). Antipater III also had contrived to change the betrothal of a daughter of Pheroras from "[Tigranes] the elder of Alexander's [III's and Glaphyra's] sons," so that "Antipater's son should marry Pheroras' daughter."

C(1).

MIRIAMNE/MIRIAM I + Herod the Great				
/	/	/	/	/
Salampsio	Alexander III	Aristobulus IV	Cypros II	a third son
(<i>unconsummated</i>	+ Glaphyra [B] (m. #1)	+ Bernice A	/ + Antipater IV	"died at Rome;"
<i>espousal to</i>	/	/	Cypros IV	date unknown.
Pheroras)	Tigranes [A]	Alexander V	/ + Alexas Selcias	
+ Phasael II	/ - betrothal to a	/ + ?	Cypros V	
/	/ daughter of	Tigranes [B]		
<u>at G</u>	/ Pheroras ⁴	/ + ?		
	/	Alexander VI ⁵		
	/	+ Jotape III		
	"But as for Alexander's [III's] posterity, they reigned in Armenia."			
	[T]hese descendants of Alexander [III] went over to the Greeks." (Refer to part P below.)			

The Great gave "his elder daughters by Miriam [I]...one, [Cypros II] in marriage to Antipater IV...and the other, [Salampsio] to Phasaelus, his [unnamed] brother's son."

The youngest son of Miriam I and Herod the Great "died at Rome" (no additional detail).

Glaphyra B was the virgin daughter of "Archelaus, king of Cappadocia."⁶ She claimed descent by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes (*refer to book three of this work*). *Also see part P, below, concerning her family tree.*

Glaphyra B was a virgin when she married Alexander III. After Alexander III's death she returned to her father and later became the wife of Juba, king of Lybia.

Glaphyra B, widowed a second time, became wife to Archelaus, son of Malthace and Herod the Great (*at D, below*), when he became ethnarch.

"[T]he daughter of Antipater [IV] by Cypros [II] was Cypros [IV], whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros [V]." (Roman numeral III is assigned to Cypros, the daughter of Salampsio and Phaesel II--*at G*.)

Jotape III, daughter of King Antiochus of Commagena.

⁴ This is an example of betrothals where details following the Great's death are not recorded.

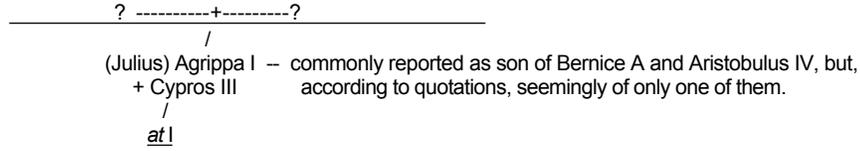
⁵ Emperor Vespasian, Roman emperor c. 70 a.d., would make Alexander VI king of an island in Cilicia.

⁶ Refer to part P, below, concerning the name, Archelaus.

Tigranes [A] is referred to as “king of Armenia” who “was accused at Rome, and died childless;” see Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A, at *AJ XVIII.V.4* and *refer also* to part P, below.

One Tigranes, “king of Armenia,” had as a wife a Cleopatra who was a “sister of [a] Mithridates.” L 1826 Ed., citing *Justin*. 38, v. 3.

C(2).



Aristobulus IV is referred to as “father” of Agrippa I, referenced also as the “third brother” of Aristobulus IV.

Agrippa I, “a [step?-] son of Aristobulus [IV], grandson of Herod [the Great and Miriam I].” *Lempriere* 25.

“Julius Agrippa I, wrongly called Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great.” *Ency.* 105.

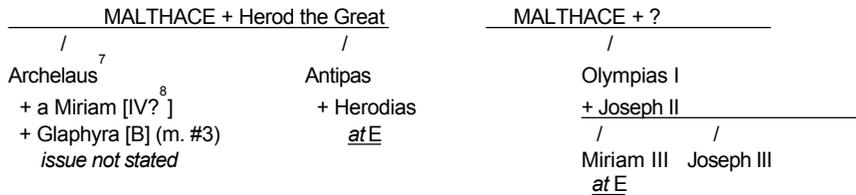
Agrippa I “was brought up with his other brethren, Herod [A] and Aristobulus [V], for these were also the sons of [Aristobulus IV] the son of Herod the Great, by Bernice.” (The comma here is applied.)

“Agrippa [I]...his [step?-]mother...[was] Bernice.” *AJ XVIII.VI.1*.

“Herodes Agrippa [I], [?] son of [Bernice A and] Aristobulus IV, tutored [Roman] emperor Tiberius’ grandchild [Caligula, but soon after] was imprisoned” by Tiberius.

Agrippa I quotations *continued at* part I, below; Bernice A and Aristobulus IV descendency at part E.

D.



Olympias, daughter of the Great’s wife “of the Samaritan nation.”

Olympias, wife of Joseph [II], one of the Great’s brothers.

Joseph III was “first cousin of Archelaus [son of Malthace and Herod the Great].”

Herod the Great and one Joseph [III?} were “cousins-german [first cousins].”⁹

Antipas made arrangements with Herodias to marry her; he then divorced his first wife, the daughter of Arabian/Nabataean king Aretas, with which wife he had “lived...a great while.”

Antipas is referred to as “Her [Herodias’] husband’s [Herod B’s] brother by the father’s side [Herod B being the son of Miriam II (*at H*) and Herod the Great].”

Herod the Great altered his will, designating Antipas, “to whom he had before left the kingdom,” as tetrarch, instead, of Galilee and Perea, “and granting the kingdom to Archelaus. He [Herod] also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but *own* brother to Archelaus.” *AJ XVII.VIII.1*. *Josephus* editors note that, if the Greek was translated correctly here, and “own” brother “indeed was written, it must be some mistake, because the text

⁷ See the quotation below (*AJ XVII.VIII.1*), which would indicate (erroneously?) that Archelaus was full brother to Philip—at part F. *Refer* to part P concerning bearers of the name, Archelaus.

⁸ After death of Antipater III?

⁹ That “first cousin” Joseph would be Joseph III, if a sibling of Malthace was Cypros I, Herod the Great’s mother. *Josephus* editors note a distinction per Dean Aldrich of four Josephs; however, ambiguity attaches to the suggested fourth, described as “questor/treasurer”—i.e. whether one, only, or two different Josephs were involved in improper interaction with Miriam I (references are *AJ XV.III.5* and *9, XV.VI.4*, and *Wars I.XXII.4*).

elsewhere reports different mothers for Archelaus and Philip.”

Archelaus initially was husband of an [undesigned] Miriamne/Miriam [IV?--at E], whom he divorced to marry Glaphyra [B].

“Archelaus, a king of the Jews, surnamed Herod. He [eventually] married Glaphyra [B], daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia,..and widow of his [Archelaus’ half-] brother, Alexander [III].” Glaphyra [B] was left widow a second time, by king Juba of Lybia, before marrying Archelaus.

Archelaus, when he lost his ethnarchy, was banished by Caesar Octavian/Augustus c. 6 a.d. and died at Vienna. *Lempriere* 67.

E.

BERNICE A				
/-----+ Aristobulus IV-----/	/ + ?	/ + ?		
Herod “A” (d. c. 7 b.c.e.)	Aristobulus V	Herodias ¹⁰	Miriam IV	
+ Miriam III	+ Jotape I	+ Herod “B” (m. #1)	/ + ?Archelaus,	
/	/	/	son of Malthace	
Aristobulus VI (+ Salome II; <u>at</u> H)	Jotape II	Salome II (<u>at</u> H)	and Herod Great	
+ Bernice “B”			(m. #2)	
/	/			
Bernicianus	Hyrcanus III			

See also C(2) above regarding Aristobulus IV and/or Bernice A step-parentage of Agrippa I.

“To Aristobulus [IV] he [the Great] gave for a wife Bernice [A], Salome’s [and Costobarus’] daughter.”

“Aristobulus [IV] had three sons [when Agrippa I is included--see C(2)] by Bernice [A]. Salome’s [I’s] daughter [by Costobarus], and two daughters.”

Herodias is referred to as “sister of [by Bernice A’s adoption of?] Agrippa [I] the Great.”

“[H]er [Herodias] daughter Salome [II] was married to Philip, the son of Herod [the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem] and tetrarch of Trachonitis [et al].” *AJ* XVIII.V.4.

After Aristobulus IV’s murder, Antipater III contrived to have the Great give the widowed Bernice A to Antipater III’s uncle Theudion, his mother’s (Doris’) brother (--Bernice A’s “uncle by the mother’s side;” at B); it is not stated whether she bore any children of his. (“Antipater’s uncle by the mother’s side was married to her [Salome I’s] daughter [Bernice A]...while she had before been married to Aristobulus [IV].”

Antipater III had a daughter betrothed by Herod the Great to Herod [A], “Aristobulus’s [IV’s] eldest son.”

The Great’s original betrothal of the “second” daughter of Bernice A and Aristobulus IV was to the Great’s “son, Herod [B; at H]...whose grandfather, by the mother’s side, was high priest”--“Herod [B], a son of his [the Great’s] own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter.” Antipater III subsequently had contrived to change it so that “Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus’s [said] daughter,” which marriage may have been prevented by Antipater III’s death.

Herod A, “Aristobulus’ [IV’s] eldest son.”

Herod [A] “married Mariamne [Miriam III], the daughter of Olympias...and of Joseph [II], the son of Joseph [I] who was brother to Herod the king.”

Herod A was made king of Chalcis by Caesar Claudius (*AJ* XX.V.2, *Wars* II.XII.6).

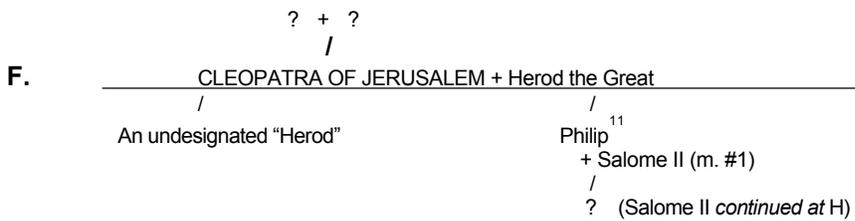
Herod “A” died in the 8th year of Claudius Caesar (c. 49 a.d.)

Aristobulus V was “a very private person” (a term *Josephus* employs to define someone who remained out of public and political affairs).

Jotape I was daughter of King Sampsigeramus of Emesa.

“Aristobulus [VI] the son of Herod [A], king of Chalcis.” (Emperor Nero would give him “the government of Lesser Armenia.”) *AJ* XX.VIII.4.

¹⁰ There is some evidence that Herodias originally was betrothed to Antipater III.



Herod the Great "had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip." Philip "was brought up at Rome." *AJ* XVII.1.3; *BJ* I.XXVIII.4.

"[H]er [Herodias'] daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of [Cleopatra of Jerusalem and] Herod [the Great] and tetrarch of Trachonitis [etc.]" It is not said whether any child or children were conceived and born of that marriage; but it is reported that "Philip died childless." Subsequently, she would become wife of Aristobulus VI, son of Herod [A], by whom she would have three sons--*below at H*.

Herod the Great altered his will, designating Antipas, "to whom he had before left the kingdom," as tetrarch, instead, of Galilee and Perea, "and granting the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip." Philip was "his [Herod' the Great's] son, but *own* brother to Archelaus." *AJ* XVII.VIII.1. (As *Josephus* editors note, the term "own" is inexplicable in that different mothers appear as reported for Archelaus and Philip.

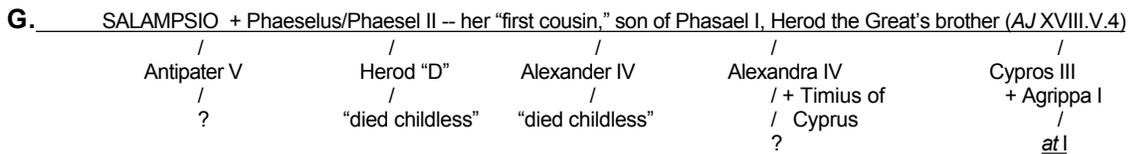
"Philippus, a son of Herod the Great, in the reign of Augustus was governor of Gaulonitis, Ituraea, and Trachonitis. He died without issue, and Tiberius added these provinces to Syria." *Lempriere* 1826 ed.

"Philippus, the father-in-law of the emperor Augustus [no citations]." *Loc. cit.*

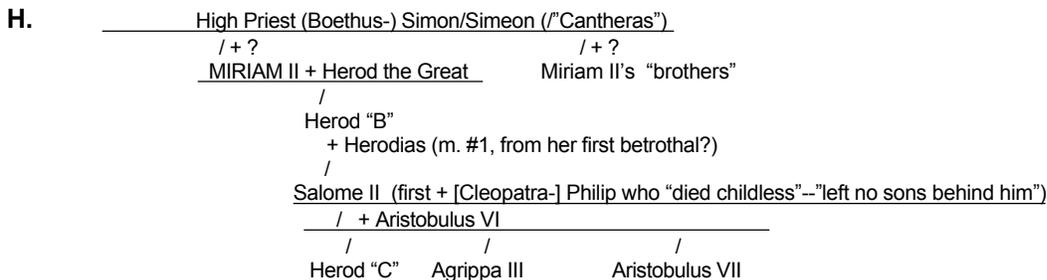
Philip "departed this life, in the 20th year of the reign of [Caesar] Tiberius, after being tetrarch...37 years" (*AJ* XVIII.IV.6)--*refer to Appendix 4A, Note in text at/and fn. 121, concerning dating of Philip's tenure.*

Claudius, at the end of the "12th year of his reign" bestowed upon Agrippa [II] the tetrarchy of Philip, "and Batanea, and...Trachonitis, with Abila." *AJ* XX.VII.1.)

When Philip died, "His principality Tiberius took, (for he left no sons behind him), and added it to the province of Syria." *AJ* XVIII.IV.6.¹²



Of Alexandra IV it only is said that "Timius had by her no children;" *AJ* XVIII.V.4.



¹¹ Philip and Herod "B" (son of Miriam II and the Great, and father of Herodias' daughter, Salome II) have been subject to confusion--see quotations at H, *AJ* XVIII.V.1, etc.

¹² The parentheses in this sentence appear in the text.

“One Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there,” made high priest by the Great in place of Jesus, son of Phabet, upon the Great’s marrying Mariamne II. *AJ* XV.VIII.3.

High priest Simon Cantheras, “a citizen of Jerusalem,” was made high priest by the Great in place of Jesus, son of Phabet. (Simon Cantheras subsequently was replaced by Matthias, son of Theophilus.)

Miriam II “was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time.”

Herod Antipas once stayed with “Herod...who was his brother...but not by the same mother, for this Herod [B] was the son of the high priest Simon’s daughter.”

Herod B was “married to Herodias...the daughter of Aristobulus [IV]...and the [adoptive] sister of Agrippa the Great.”

A second daughter of Bernice A and Aristobulus IV was betrothed by the Great “to my son, Herod [B]...whose grandfather, by the mother’s side, was high priest.”

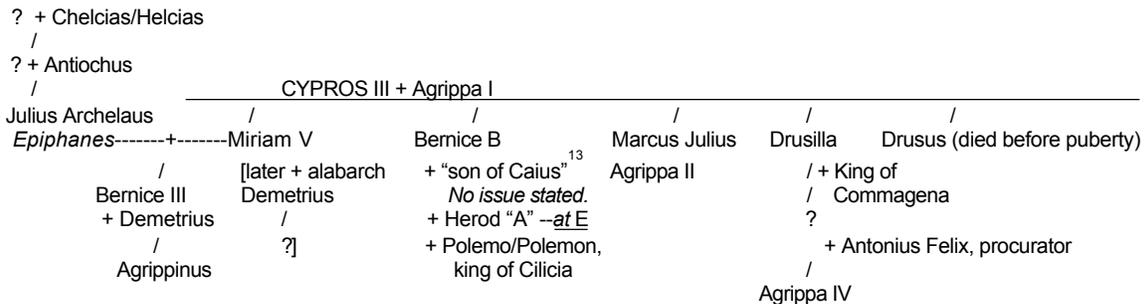
The (erroneous?) taking of Herod “B” and “Herod/”Philip (at F) as the same person involves several references: (a) *AJ* XVIII.V.1 states, the “Herod” from whom Antipas took Herodias was “his brother, indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Simon’s daughter;” (b) the Great caused Aristobulus’ other daughter [Herodias] to be betrothed against [the time she] should come of age...to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter [Miriam II] ; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time;” and (c) the Great said, “My son, Herod, shall have her [--*he*] whose grandfather by the mother’s side was high priest.” (The seemingly erroneous assumption is perpetuated at *Matthew* 14:1-13 and *Mark* 6:17-29: “Herodias the woman of Philip [instead of--correctly?--Herod B], the [half-] brother” of Herod Antipas.)

“Herodias...was married to Herod [B; *Josephus* editors add (wrongly?) Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Miriamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome [II]; after whose birth Herodias...divorced herself from her husband, etc.” *AJ* XVIII.V.4.

“[H]er [Herodias’] daughter Salome [II] was married to Philip, the son of [Cleopatra of Jerusalem and] Herod [the Great] and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and as he died childless, Aristobulus [VI], the son of Herod [A], the [half-?] brother of Agrippa [I], married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus.” (Claudius, at the end of the “12th year of his reign” bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, “and Batanea, and...Trachonitis, with Abila.” *AJ* XX.VII.1.)

The “very brothers” of Miriam II denounced her as knowing of a plot to kill Herod. (Appendix 4B, II, last paragraph.)

I.



“Agrippa had by Cypros [III] two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Miriamne, and Drusilla;...the sons were Agrippa [II] and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty.”

Agrippa I “had a son of the same name [Herodes] Agrippa II,” who became “the last king [over Judaea].”

¹³ ?son of Alexander Lysimachus?--see quotation *AJ* XIX.V.1 (Alexander Lysimachus’ son also being found as “*Caius* Marcus.”)

At death, King Agrippa [I] left "...Agrippa [II; 17 years old] and three daughters, one of which, Bernice [B], was married to Herod [A], his father's brother, and was 16 years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla,...still virgins, [were] ten years old and six."

Miriam V first was betrothed by her father when she was 10 to Archelaus, son of Helcias "the Great, the keeper of the sacred treasury."¹⁴ *AJ* XX.VIII.11. Her brother, Agrippa II, delivered her accordingly when she was a virgin of marriageable age. However, during the time of procurator Felix (*J* 551)--at the same time that her sister, Bernice II, married Polemo/Polemon (quoted below)--Miriam V put away Archelaus and married "alabarch Demetrius" of the Alexandrian Jews.

"Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Helcias." *AJ* XIX.IX.1.

Caesar Claudius freed the son of Alexander Lysimachus, "the alabarch," who had been imprisoned by Caesar Caius Caligula. Lysimachus' son [*Josephus* editors add, "Marcus"] married Bernice [B], the daughter of Agrippa [I]. But when "Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa [I] gave her in marriage to his brother Herod [A] and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis." *AJ* XIX.V.1.

Drusilla was six years old when first betrothed by her father Agrippa I to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus--see *quote* below, *AJ* XIX.IX.1. It is reported Julius Archelaus Epiphanes later refused to be circumcised as he had promised Agrippa I; so her brother, Agrippa II, gave her (while still a virgin) to King Azizus of Emessa (Commagena), which latter marriage or espousal was dissolved, in that Drusilla "succumbed" to Roman procurator Antonius Felix and had a son by him named Agrippa [IV].

"Felix, M. Antonius, a freedman of Claudius Caesar, made governor[/procurator] of Judaea, Samaria, and Palestine. He was called by Suetonius the husband of three queens, as he married the two Drusillae, one granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra [*refer to* Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, at part (4)], and the other a Jewish princess [Drusilla in chart above], sister of Agrippa [I]. The name of his third wife [queen] is unknown. *Suet. in Cl.* 18--*Tacit. Ann.* 12, c. 14." L 239.

"Claudius Caesar [Caius *Caligula's* successor] decreed to Alexandria "and to all the habitable earth,...what [high] opinion he had of the Jews [and] sent Agrippa [II] to take [that] kingdom...and sent letters to...the provinces that they should treat him kindly." Agrippa II hung the great gold chain, a gift from Claudius, "within the limits of the temple, over the treasury." Agrippa removed Theophilus and bestowed the high priesthood on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras, whose daughter Herod [the Great had] married.

"Caius'...son [*eds. add, Marcus*] married Bernice [B], the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, [undesigned?] Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother, Herod [A]." *AJ* XIX.V.1.

[?Son of Alexander Lysimachus (during time of Caius Caesar); also referred to as Caius-Marcus (*Josephus* eds. at *AJ* XIX.V.1 add "[Marcus]"), he married Bernice B "when she was a virgin." When Caius-Marcus "was dead," Agrippa I gave her to "his [half-] brother, Herod ["A"] and begged [and received of Rome] for him the kingdom of Chalcis." (*J* 578, 594

Bernice B, "a daughter of Agrippa [I], who married her uncle Herod [A], and afterwards Polemon king of Cilicia. She was accused by Juvenal of committing incest with her brother, Agrippa [II]. It is said that she was passionately loved by Titus, who would have made her empress, but for fear of the people." *Lempriere* 105. (Agrippa II was with the later, Titus-led siege of Jerusalem; he eventually was forced by Claudius to "exchange" his kingdom "for other provinces.")

"Bernice [B]...lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [A], who was both her husband and her [paternal] uncle" (her father and Herod A both being sons of Aristobulus IV). *AJ* XX.VII.3.

"It was before him [Agrippa II] that Paul of the *New Testament* period made mention of his [Agrippa II's] incestuous commerce with his sister Berenice." *Lempriere* 105 and 25; 1826 Ed.

Emperor Caesar Caius *Caligula* (37-41 a.d.) "established many client kings, including Julius Agrippa I, wrongly called Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great." *Ency.* 105. (Caius upon his ascent released Agrippa I and made him king over Judaea, where he was "popular" with

¹⁴ A *Helcias* is referred to as "master of horse" of Herod [A], king of Chalcis. *AJ* XIX.VIII.3.

the Judaeans, some of whom “were flattering him with the appellation...’god’.” He [Agrippa I] died of “the lousy disease,” 43 a.d. *Lempriere* 25.)

On ascent of Caligula, “Agrippa [I] was made king of the territory formerly ruled by tetrarch [Cleopatra of Jerusalem + Herod the Great-] Philip, “who was now dead.”

Agrippa I “put James, the brother of John, to sword,” and imprisoned Peter (referred to as “Simon Bar-Jonah”). *Acts* 12:2 (*Matthew* 16:17).

Agrippa I “had a son of the same name [Agrippa II].”

When Agrippa I did “depart this life,..he left...a son, Agrippa [II]...in the 17th year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice [B], was married to Herod [A], his [Agrippa II’s] father’s [Agrippa I’s] [step?-] brother [Aristobulus IV], and was 16 years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former 10 years old, and Drusilla, six. Now these daughters were espoused by their father” as follows: Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias (Helcias?), and Drusilla to the king of Commagena.” *AJ* XIX.IX.1.

At Jerusalem, Bernice B implored her brother, Agrippa II, against the slaughtering. A “report went out [*circa* 64 a.d.] that she had a criminal conversation with her brother. Bernice B then married King Polemo/Polemon of Cilicia (first persuading him to be circumcised), but subsequently left him.

After Jerusalem’s fall, “some of Judaea was given to Marcus Julius (“Herod”) Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, but most of it became [Roman] imperial domain. The temple was destroyed, the Sanhedrin...and high priesthood abolished, the two-drachma tax paid by Jews to the temple was diverted to a special account in the imperial treasury (*fiscus Iudaicus*), and a legion under a senatorial legate superior to the procurator was quartered in Jerusalem.” *Ency.* 107.

J. PALLAS + Herod the Great
/
Phasael III
/
?

K. PHAEDRA + Herod the Great
/
Roxana
/
?

L. ELPIS/ELPIDE + Herod the Great
/
Salome III
/
?

M. A Daughter of the Great’s [unnamed] brother’/ Herod’s “first cousin”) The Great “fathered
) no children” of these
) two wives.

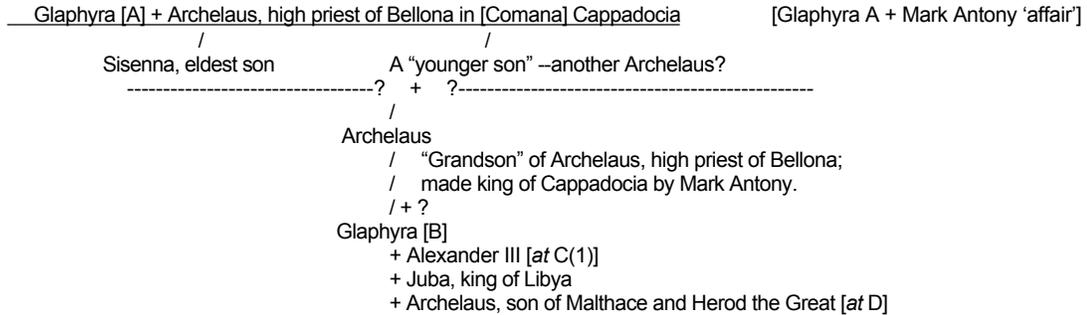
N. A Daughter of the Great’s “sister”/“his niece”)

O. ?? + Herod the Great) ? --seemingly a repeat of K and L.
/
“two virgin daughters”

P. Descendancy of (Miriam I + Herod the Great -) Alexander III + Glaphyra [B] in Armenia [from C(1) above].

(1) Concerning individuals named “Archelaus.”

The following exploratory chart has been drawn from the quotations beneath it, together with the two individuals named Archelaus in the foregoing list--one, the king of Cappadocia and father of Glaphyra [B], the other, the son of Herod the Great reported of Malthace,



"A person of the name of Archelaus married Berenice [C] and made himself king of Egypt, a dignity he enjoyed only six months, as he was killed by the soldiers of Gabinius B.C. 56. He had been made priest of Comana by Pompey." L 67. The marriage of this Archelaus to Berenice/Bernice [C] appears in Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, at item (4). The following quotation appears to relate to the same Archelaus : "Archelaus, son of Archelaus, who "pretended he was the son of Mithridates Eupator," when "a husband of royal family" was being sought for Bernice [C], "the elder sister of Cleopatra [the Great]," while Bernice C "was in possession of the Egyptian kingdom after...Ptolemais [Ptolemy XIII] was banished. This Archelaus reigned only six months and "was slain by Gabinius in a pitched battle, when the latter was restoring Ptolemais to his kingdom." "But his son [unnamed] succeeded to the priesthood." *Strabo*, vol. V, p. 437.

"Archelaus, grandfather of the "last man to reign over Cappadocia in our time. *Strabo*, vol. VIII, pp. 43-47.

Archelaus, "son of Archelaus who carried on the war with Sulla/[Sylla]." *Loc. cit.*

"Archelaus, a name common to some kings of Cappadocia. One of them was conquered by Sylla for assisting Mithridates." L 67. *Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A, concerning Mithridates and Sylla/Sulla.*

Archelaus, "grandson" of Archelaus, "was made king of Cappadocia by Antony, whom he assisted at Actium, and he maintained an independence of [Caesar] Augustus [Octavian] till [Caesar] Tiberius perfidiously destroyed him." L 67.

"Glaphyre/Glaphyra [A], a daughter of Archelaus, high priest of Bellona in Cappadocia, celebrated for her beauty.... She ultimately [retained by way of] Mark Antony, the kingdom of Cappadocia for [one of] her two [contending] sons...by defiling the bed of her husband [with Mark Antony]. This amour of Antony and Glaphyra [A] highly displeased his wife, Fulvia, who [then] wished [Caesar] Augustus/[Octavian] to...receive from her, the same favours which Glaphyra [A] received from Antony." L 250.

Sisenna, eldest son of Glaphyra [A], whose father was "Archelaus, priest of Comana." L 250.

The title of Ariarathes X to Cappadocia (*refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A*) was disputed by Sisenna, the eldest son of Glaphyra [A] by Archelaus priest of Comana. M. Antony decided in favor of Sisenna; "and although Ariarathes recovered it for a while...he soon after was obliged to yield in favor of Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra [A], B.C. 36."

"Her [Glaphyra A's] granddaughter bore the same name [Glaphyra B]. She was a daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and married Alexander [III], a son of [Miriam I and] Herod the Great, by whom she had two sons [Tigranes A and Alexander V]," while a son of Alexander V also was named Tigranes [B]--see C(1) above.

An "other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Caesar [Octavian/Augustus]" to summon king Archelaus (chart D; first successor of his father, Herod the Great) to a hearing of charges against him, etc.

(2) Concerning individuals named "Tigranes".

Artanes, "a king of the southern parts of Armenia." L 82.

"Tigranes I, a descendant of [one] Artaxias, deposed Artanes, the last king of Armenia Minor," and united the two countries under his rule." He made himself master of Assyria and Cappadocia; and he "was the most powerful king in Asia from 83 to 69 b.c., ruling over northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and parts of Asia Minor." *Ency.* 38-39. "He married Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and by the advice of his father-in-law, declared war against the Romans." L 616. "Defeated by Lucullus in 69 b.c., he was stripped of his conquests, but was allowed by Pompey to rule Armenia as a vassal of Rome." *Ency.* 39. He "ruled over the kingdom of the Seleucids, 82-69 b.c.," also acquiring considerable territory from Parthia. *Ency.* 33, 83.

74 - 64 b.c., "the third Mithridatic War. Mithridates [VII], encouraged by Rome's troubles at home, supported his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, in the annexation of Cappadocia and Syria." *Ency.* 95.

Tigranes, "second son" of the foregoing Tigranes, "revolted against his father and attempted to dethrone him with the assistance of the king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. This did not succeed and [on] recourse to the Romans...he was put in possession of Sophena, while the father remained quiet on the throne of Armenia." This Tigranes "was afterwards sent in chains to Rome, for his insolence to Pompey." L 616.

"Antony subdued Armenia, and sent [one] Artabazes the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and all of the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra [the Great]. And Artaxias, the eldest of his [Tigranes] sons, who had escaped at the time, took the kingdom of Armenia." *AJ* XV.IV.3.

"Artaxes, the eldest of Artabazes' sons...was ejected by Archelaus [undesigned] and Nero Caesar when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom; but this happened a good while afterward." *AJ* XV.IV.3.

A Tigranes "of the royal family of the Cappadocians was chosen by [Caesar] Tiberius [who commenced his reign 14 a.d.] to ascend the throne of Armenia." L 616.

A Tigranes, who became king of Armenia and later was "accused at Rome", "*died* childless."

Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A

SOURCE QUOTATIONS Marriages/Betrothals/Espousals Made by Herod the Great

Herod the Great “married them [Aristobulus IV and Alexander III] to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice [A], Salome [I]’s daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra [B], the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.”
AJ XVII.1.2.

Herod the Great, after destroying Aristobulus IV and Alexander III, caused their children “to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander’s [III]’s sons [Tigranes A] to Pheroras’s [unnamed] daughter, and Antipater’s [III]’s unnamed daughter to Aristobulus’ [IV]’s eldest son [Herod A]. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’ [IV]’s daughters [Miriam IV?] to Antipater’s [III]’s unnamed son, and Aristobulus’ other daughter [unnamed; Herodias?] to Herod [B], a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter [Miriam II]; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time.”

Afterward, Antipater III “contrived...to overturn his father’s settlements [and]...Herod yielded to him.... ...[T]he determination [then] was, that Antipater [III] himself should marry Aristobulus’s [IV]’s daughter [Miriam IV?], and Antipater’s [unnamed] son should marry Pheroras’s [unnamed] daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner....”

“Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater’s [III]’s mother [Doris], and another the high priest’s daughter [Miriam II], by whom he had a son of his own name [Herod B]. He had also one [unnamed wife] who was his [unnamed] brother’s daughter, and another his sister’s [Salome I]’s daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives [Malthace] also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph [II], the king’s brother’s son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod [undesignated] and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus [III]. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome [III]. As for his elder daughters by the same mother [Miriam I] with Alexander [III] and Aristobulus [IV], and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one [Cypros II] in marriage to Antipater [IV], the king’s sister’s [Salome]’s son, and the other [Salampsio] to Phasaelus [II], his brother’s son. And this was the posterity of Herod [at this time].”
AJ XVII.1.2-3.

Antipater III was “in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander [III] had two sons by Glaphyra [B], Tigranes [A] and Alexander [V]; and Aristobulus [IV] had Herod [A], and Agrippa [I], and Aristobulus [V], his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne[Miriam IV], his daughters.... As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander [III], sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice [A], Aristobulus’s daughter,¹ to Antipater’s [III]’s uncle [Theudion] by his mother, [which] Antipater [III] contrived....”

“Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children ...[and stated] ‘I therefore betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder [Tigranes A] of these brethren, the children of Alexander [III].... I also betroth to thy [Antipater III]’s

¹ It appears, overall, that this should be “wife?”
App4B.Att2.DetailA

son...the daughter of Aristobulus [IV--Miriam IV?...]and my son Herod [B?--eds. add *Philip*--wrongly?], “whose grandfather, by the mother’s side, was high priest,” “shall have her [Miriam IV’s] sister [Herodias].”
Wars I.XXVIII.1-2.

“Now the king had nine wives,² and children by seven of them; Antipater [III] was himself born of Doris, and Herod [B?; eds. add *Philip* wrongly?] of Mariamne[Miriam II], the high priest’s daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his [Herod’s] daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph’s son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had [an undesignated] Herod and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus [III]; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters [Cypros II and Salampsio], the sisters of Alexander [III] and Aristobulus [IV], by [the dead] Mariamne[Miriam I].”
BJI.XXVIII.4.

After Herod the Great’s death, when his son “Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea... ..he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra [B], the daughter of Archelaus [king of Cappadocia], who had been the wife of his [half-] brother Alexander [III], which Alexander had three children by her....” Ethnarch Archelaus was accused at Rome in his “tenth year of government,” Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] “banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.” It was “on the fifth day after [a prophetic] dream came first to [ethnarch] Archelaus, the [an]other [undesignated] Archelaus,³ that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came....”

Glaphyra [B] had been “married while she was a virgin to Alexander [III], the son of Herod [the Great], and [half-] brother of Archelaus; but [when] it fell out so that Alexander [III] was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lybia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, [ethnarch] Archelaus divorced his former wife [an undesignatable] Mariamne, and married her....”
AJ XVII.XIII.1-4.

“Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne [I], the [eds. add *grand*] daughter of Hyrcanus [II]; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus [II], her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phaselus [I], Herod’s brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros [I], who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater [IV], the son of Salome [I], Herod’s sister. Phasaelus [II] had five children by Salampsio; Antipater [V], Herod [D], and Alexander [IV], and two daughters, Alexandra [IV] and Cypros [III], which last Agrippa [I], the son of Aristobulus [IV], married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra [VI]; he was a man of note, but had by her no children [she had no children of his]. Agrippa [I] had by Cypros [III] two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice [B], Mariamne [Miriam V], and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa [II] and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa [I], was brought up with his other brethren, Herod [A] and Aristobulus [V], for these were also the sons of the son [Aristobulus IV] of Herod the Great, by Bernice [comma supplied]; but Bernice [A] was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome [I], who was Herod’s sister. Aristobulus [IV] left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander [III].... But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod [A], the [half-] brother of Agrippa [I], married Mariamne [Miriam III], the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph [II], the son of Joseph [I], who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus [VI]; but Aristobulus [V], the third [half-] brother of Agrippa [I], married Jotape [I], the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape [II]; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [B--eds. add *Philip*, wrongly?], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne [Miriam II], the

² It is presumed, as *Josephus* eds. note, that intended is nine *living wives*,” at the time.

³ See Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, item P, for uses of the name, *Archelaus*.

daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome [II]; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband [Herod B] while he was alive, and was married to Herod...[Antipas, her husband's [half-] brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her [Herodias'] daughter Salome [II] was married to Philip, the son of Herod [and Cleopatra of Jerusalem], and tetrarch of Trachonitis [etc.]; and as he [Philip] died childless, Aristobulus [VI], the son of Herod [A ("the [half-]brother of Agrippa [I]" and Miriam III), married her; they had three sons, Herod [C], Agrippa [III], and Aristobulus [VII]; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater [IV] by Cypros [II] was Cypros [IV], whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros [V]; but Herod [D] and Alexander [IV], who as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater [V], died childless. As to Alexander [III], the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander [V] and Tigranes [A], by [Glaphyra] the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes [A], who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander [V] had a son [Tigranes B] of the same name with his brother Tigranes [A], and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander [VI], who married Jotape [III], the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander [III], soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. ...[T]hese descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa [I] the Great took the kingdom...."

AJ XVIII.V.4

Emperor Claudius on his ascent "confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa [I] which Caius had given him [and] also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod [the Great], who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria...." Claudius "made league with Agrippa [I]...took away from Antiochus [undesigned⁴] that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena; he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother, Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [eds. add *Marcus*] married Bernice [B], the daughter of Agrippa [I]. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod [A], and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis."

AJ XIX.V.1.

Claudius "bestowed on Agrippa [I] his whole paternal kingdom...besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod [the Great]: Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. ... He bestowed on his [Agrippa I's half?-] brother Herod [A], who was also his son-in-law, by marrying Bernice [B], the kingdom of Chalcis."

Agrippa's death "happened at Cesarea...he had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros [III], Bernice [B], Mariamne [Miriam V], and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa [II]: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator [44-46 a.d.], and after him Tiberius Alexander [46-48 a.d.], who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquility."

Wars II.XI.5-6.

"Herod [A]...the [half?-] brother of the deceased Agrippa [I], who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war."⁵

AJ XX.I.3.

⁴ *Josephus* eds. note "that this later Antiochus who was called Epiphanes is mentioned by Dio. LIX p. 645," and "mentioned by *Josephus* also at *Wars* V.XI.3 and *AJ* XIX.VIII.1." (See Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, at I.)

⁵ *Josephus* eds. remark, "Here [appears] some error in the copies, or mistake in *Josephus*; for the power of appointing high

“...Herod [A], king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod [A], [half-] brother of Agrippa [I] the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons: Aristobulus [VI], whom he had by his first wife [Miriam III], with Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice [B] his [half-] brother’s daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa [II], junior.” AJ XX.V.2.

“Now after this, Herod [A] the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother’s daughter Bernice [B]; their names were Bernicianus and Hyrcanus; [and]... Aristobulus [VI], whom he had by his former wife Mariamne [Miriam III]. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus [V], who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape [II]; and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus [IV] the son of Herod [the Great], which Aristobulus [IV] and Alexander [III] were born to Herod [the Great] by Mariamne [Miriam I] and were slain by him. But as for Alexander’s [III’s] posterity, they reigned in Armenia. Wars II.XI.6.

“...[A]fter the death of Herod [A], king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa [II], the son of Agrippa [I], over his uncle’s [Herod A’s] kingdom, while Cumanus [48-52 b.c.] took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander [Tiberius]....” Wars II.XII.1.

priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa [II] junior was made king of Chalcis *in his room*, belonged to him; and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, ch. viii. sec. 8, 11; ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, etc.” (The italicized portion may indicate that the king of Chalcis was domiciled at the Jerusalem temple; refer to Appendix 4A Timeline concerning the ensuing high priests appointed.)

Appendix 4B, Attachment 3

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF
DESCENDANCIES/FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS
SELEUCID-SYRIAN**

Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5.

Demetrius II <i>Nicanor</i>			Antiochus VII <i>Sidetes</i>		
/+ ?	/+ Cleopatra III [m. #2] ¹	/+ Rhodogyne	/+ Cleopatra III [m. #3]		
Seleucus V	/	?	/		
	/		/		
[– <i>Grypus?</i> –]	Antiochus VIII <i>Grypus</i>		<i>Cleopatra-Selene</i> [A]		Antiochus IX <i>Cyzenicus</i> [+ <i>Selene</i> [A]] ²
/+ ?	/+ ?	/+ <i>Selene</i> [A] ³	/+ ?		/+ ?
Antiochus XII	/	/ [m. #2 or 3]	/		/
<i>Dionysius</i>	Seleucus VI	/	/		/
	Demetrius III <i>Eucerus</i>	Philip/ <i>Philippus</i> —“brothers”——		<i>Antiochus X</i>	/
	-----“brothers”-----		+ <i>Selene</i> [A]		/
			[m. 4 or 5]		/
			/		/
			Antiochus XI <i>Eusebes</i>		/
			/-+ <i>Selene</i> [A, m. 3 or 4]-/		/
			/		/
			Antiochus XIII		Seleucus
			<i>Asiaticus</i> ⁴		<i>Cybiosactes</i>
					+ <i>Bernice C</i>
					[4B,Att.4(4)]

“[Demetrius II] Nicanor, son of Demetrius [I] Soter,” initially “was driven from his dominions by Alexander [Bala] and his [Bala’s] father-in-law, Ptolemy [VI] Philometor.,” “B.C. 146.” L 1826 Ed.; L 32.

Alexander [Bala] was driven from his dominions by [Demetrius II] Nicanor, son of Demetrius [I] Soter, and his father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometor, “b.c. 146.” L 1826 Ed.; L 32. (“Bala, a merchant [who “reigned over Asia five years”] conquered Nicanor by means of Ptolemy [VIII] Physcon;” Appendix 4B, Attachment 3.)

“Demetrius the Second, surnamed *Nicanor* or *Conqueror*...married Cleopatra [III] daughter of Ptolemy [VI and Cleopatra II], who was, before, the wife of the expelled monarch [Alexander Bala].” L 197.

At the time Alexander Bala had seized part of Syria, “Demetrius [II], to oppose his antagonist, made an alliance with the Jews and marched into the east, where he was taken by the Parthians, and accepted Rhodogyne, daughter of Parthia’s king Phraates, in marriage.” “Cleopatra [III] was “so incensed” when Demetrius II received Rhodogyne that “she gave herself up to Antiochus [VII] Sidetes, her brother-in-law, and married him.” L 197. (Demetrius II and Antiochus VII were half-brothers.)

Demetrius II regained possession of his kingdom; but his subjects appealed to Ptolemy [VIII] Physcon [then-] king of Egypt, to replace him with a king from the house of the Seleucids. L 1826 Ed.

Cleopatra [III] at Ptolemais, which then was in her hands, denied refuge to the besieged Demetrius II,” who fled to Tyre. There, he “was killed by order of its governor.” L 1826 Ed.

¹ After Alexander Bala, Appendix 3A.VI, Attachment 5 (3).

² Marriage number three or four, depending on sources?

³ After first marriage to Lathryus (Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, (1); but uncertain if another marriage intervened. (Regarding historical references to Selene [A] as “Cleopatra-Selene,” see Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, fn. 4.)

⁴ Referred to also as “Commagenus” according to *Josephus* eds. note at *Wars* I.IV.7.

“Seleucus the Fifth succeeded his father Demetrius [II]...in the 20th year of his age. He was put to death in the first year of his reign by Cleopatra [III].” (“Seleucus the Fifth is not reckoned by many historians in the number of Syrian monarchs.”) L 555; L 1826 Ed.

Cleopatra [III] sent to “Antiochus [VII], the [apparently half-] brother of Demetrius [I]...and invited him to marry her and to take the kingdom.” Cleopatra III feared “that some of the people of Seleucia [Antioch’s seaport] should deliver up the city to [Diodotus Tryphon] Trypho.” AJ XIII.VII.1.

Antiochus VII was Cleopatra III’s “brother-in-law” by her marriage to Demetrius II.

Antiochus VII, afraid of Tryphon, at first “concealed himself; but he soon obtained the means of destroying his enemy.” L 1826 Ed.

Antiochus VII “made war against...Parthia and fell in a battle about 130 years before the christian era.” L 54. “Antiochus the Seventh, surnamed *Sidetes*...reigned nine years.” L 1826 Edition.

Antiochus VIII *Grypus* was the “[half-] brother [on his maternal side] of Antiochus [IX] Cyzenicus.”

“Antiochus the Eighth, surnamed *Grypus*...was the son of Demetrius [II] Nicator [*sic/Nicanor*] by Cleopatra [III]. His [half?-] brother Seleucus [V] was destroyed by Cleopatra [III] and so would he have been, had he not discovered the plot and compelled her to drink the poison prepared for him.”

Bala was “killed by Antiochus [VIII],” who also “killed Alexander Zebenna/[Zebina], whom Ptolemy [VIII Physcon] had set up opposite him on the throne of Syria.” L 54; L 1826 Ed.

“Antiochus the Ninth...was son of Antiochus [VII] Sidetes, by Cleopatra [III]. He disputed the kingdom with his [half-] brother, [Antiochus VIII] Grypus, who ceded Coele-Syria to him.”

“When Antiochus [VIII *Grypus*] took the kingdom he was afraid to make war against Judaea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, also called Antiochus [IX *Cyzenicus*], was raising an army out of Cyzenicum.” “[H]is [Antiochus VIII’s] “brother, who was called Cyzenicus ...was the son of Antiochus [VII]...called [Sidetes/Soter, who died in Parthia.” AJ XIII.X.1.

Antiochus VIII was “assassinated b.c. 112 after a reign of 11 years.” L 54.

“Cleopatra Selene [A]...was the daughter of [Cleopatra III and Ptolemy VIII] Physcon [4B, Attachment 4, (1)], king of Egypt, and had first married her [half-] brother Latherus/[Lathryus]...and afterwards, by desire of her mother [Cleopatra III], her other [half-] brother [Antiochus VIII] Grypus.”

“Cleopatra Selene [A] expelled Armenian king Tigranes from Syria and for a while ruled.”

After Antiochus VIII’s assassination, Selene [A] had married Antiochus [XI] surnamed Eusebes, the son of Antiochus Cyzenicus, by whom she had two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus Cybiosactes. [A]ccording to Appian, she first married his [Antiochus XI’s] father [Antiochus IX], and after his death, his son [Antiochus X] and, ultimately, Antiochus [XI].” L 554; 1826 Ed.

Antiochus Ninth Cyzenicus [and Selene A] “expelled Seleucus [VI], the son of Gryphus, from Syria.”

“Seleucus VI...son of Antiochus [VIII] Grypus...killed his uncle Antiochus [IX] Cyzenicus, who wished to obtain the crown of Syria.” Seleucus VI “was some time after banished from his kingdom by Antiochus [X] Pius, son of Cyzenicus, and fled to Cilicia, where he was burnt in a palace...b.c. 93. *Appian. --Joseph.*” L 555; L 1826 Ed.

“Philippus, a son of Antiochus [VIII] Grypus, king of part of Syria.” *Joseph. 13.c.21.*” L 1826 Ed.⁵

“Demetrius the Third, surnamed *Eucerus*, was son of Antiochus [VIII] Grypus.” “After

⁵ *Lempriere* lists also a “Philippus, a Phrygian, made governor of Jerusalem by [an undesignated] Antiochus [VIII?].” L 1826 Ed; uncited.

the example of his [half-] brother Philip[/Philippus], who had seized [part of] Syria, he made himself master of Damascus, b.c. 93. It was not long before he obtained a victory over his [half-] brother. He was taken in a battle against the Parthians, and died in captivity.” L 1826 Ed.

“Antiochus the Tenth was the son of Antiochus the Ninth.”

Antiochus X was “brother” of Philip.

Antiochus X “married Selena, [Selene A, formerly] wife of his father [Antiochus IX] and of his [maternal] uncle [Antiochus VIII].” He was killed in a battle with the Parthians, which he fought in the cause of the Galatians. L 54; L 1826 Ed.

For some time after the death of Antiochus X, “the kingdom of Syria was torn...by factions of the royal family, and of usurpers, [who] established themselves for a little time as sovereigns either of Syria or Damascus or other dependent provinces.” L 1826 Ed.

Antiochus [XII] Dionysius was “[half?-] brother of Demetrius [III] *Eucerus*,” and is reported as “last of the race of the Seleucidae.”

“Antiochus [XIII], the son of Antiochus the Ninth, surnamed *Asiaticus*.” L 54.

“Antiochus Asiaticus eventually was “restored to his paternal throne by the influence of Lucullus, the Roman general, on the expulsion of Tigranes, king of Armenia, from Syrian dominions;” but four years later, he was deposed by Pompey, “b.c. 65,” from which time Syria was a Roman province. L 1826 Ed.

Seleucus, a prince of Syria, to whom the Egyptians offered the crown of which they had robbed [Ptolemy XIII] Auletes. Seleucus accepted...soon disgusted his subjects... received the surname of *Cybiosactes*, or Scullion. He was at last murdered by [Cleopatra V⁶ or by] Berenice[/Bernice C], whom he had married.” *Lempriere*; uncited.

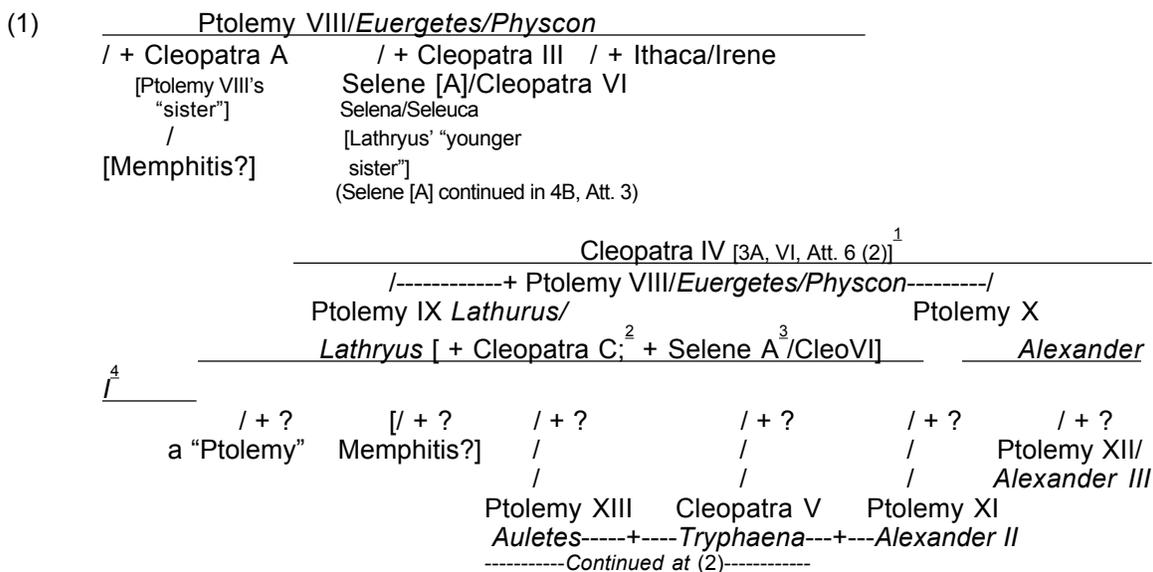
⁶ According to *Strabo*--as quoted in Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, at (4).

Appendix 4B, Attachment 4

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF DESCENDANCIES
PTOLEMAIC MONARCHS/RELATIVES
Ptolemy VIII *Physcon* to Cleopatra VII the Great**

Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6.

Ptolemy numbering continues from assignment of VII to Ptolemy *Neos Philopater* as "VII" [Appendix 4B, Attachment 6, at fn. 3].



Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI continued in Appendix 4B, Attachment 3.

Ptolemy VIII surnamed *Euergetes* and called *Physcon* (ostensibly due to his belly). Ptolemy VIII's "succession was approved, though the wife [Cleopatra II] and the son [Ptolemy VII *Neos Philopator*] of the deceased monarch [Ptolemy VI] laid claim to the crown. Cleopatra [II] was supported in her claims by the Jews, but to avoid the dangers attendant upon a disputed succession, it was at last agreed that *Physcon* should marry the queen [Cleopatra II] and that her son [Ptolemy VII] would succeed on the throne at his [Ptolemy VIII's] death. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, but on that very day the tyrant murdered Cleopatra's [II's] son [Ptolemy VII; 3A, VI, Attachment 6 (2)] in her arms. He ordered himself to be called *Euergetes*, but the Alexandrians refused to do it, and stigmatized him with the appellation of *Kakergetes*, or evil-doer." L 513; L 1826 Ed.

Ptolemy VIII fled to Cyprus from revolt in Egypt (after he had "murdered all the young men of Alexandria") "and Cleopatra [II] the divorced queen ascended the throne." L 513.

"Memphitis, a son of Ptolemy *Physcon* [or *Lathryus*?]...by his sister Cleopatra [C]." L

¹ Cleopatra IV as *Lathurus*' mother is obtained by the process of elimination in comparing data among the undesignated Cleopatras.

² Although Selene [A]'s marriage to *Lathryus* was her first, he may have had a prior marriage.

³ Because "Selene [A]...was also called Cleopatra" (*AJ* XIII.XVI.4), she is found with a Cleopatra roman numeral in many historical texts, which in turn is the reason Cleopatra the Great is known best as Cleopatra "VII" (whose daughter by Mark Antony named Selene--part 2 below--also is found referenced "Cleopatra Selene.")

⁴ "Strabo...skips" Ptolemy X *Alexander I* and Ptolemy XI *Alexander II*, "who apparently had no place in the official list of legitimate kings." *Strabo*, VIII, page 43, fn. 3.

361, 513.

Ptolemy VIII, fearing “lest the Alexandrians should also place the crown on the head of his son, by his sister [the undesignated] Cleopatra [C],..he sent for the young prince, called Memphitis, to Cyprus, and murdered him as soon as he reached the shore.” L 513.

When Ptolemy VIII subsequently invaded Egypt, the bereft queen Cleopatra II “fled to her eldest daughter Cleopatra [III], who [by that time] had married Demetrius [II *Nicanor*] king of Syria.” L 513.

Ptolemy VIII “repudiated” Cleopatra II “and married her daughter by [Ptolemy VI] Philometor, called also Cleopatra [IV].” L 513.

“When Ptolemy Physco [*sic.*] had the presumption to fight against Onias’ army and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria],” he partially was prevented from causing further harm by the supplication of his concubine (some call her Ithaca, others, Irene).” *Josephus*, Against Apion, II.5.

“Apion,⁵ a surname of [a] Ptolemy, one of the descendants of Ptolemy Lagus.” L 60.
“Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrene, was the illegitimate son of Ptolemy [VIII] Physcon. After a reign of 20 years [over Cyrene] he died; and as he had no children he made the Romans heirs of his kingdom. The Romans presented his subjects with their independence.” L 515.

“Selene [A] the wife of Antiochus [VIII; after marriage to Ptolemy IX] king of Syria.... She was the daughter of [Ptolemy VIII] Physcon, king of Egypt, and had first married her [half?-] brother Lathurus/[Lathryus)...and afterwards, by desire of her mother [Cleopatra undesignated], her other brother [Antiochus VIII] Grypus. At the death of Grypus, she had married Antiochus [XI] surnamed Eusebes, the son of Antiochus [IX] Cyzicenus, by whom she had two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus [XIII] and Seleucus Cybiosactes. [But,] according to Appian, she first married his [Eusebes’] father, and after his death, the son [and, ultimately, Antiochus X].” L 554; 1826 Ed.

At some point following death of Antiochus VIII, Selene [A] “expelled Armenian king Tigranes from Syria and for a while ruled.”

Ptolemy VIII remained on the throne until his death “in the 67th year of his age, after a reign of 29 years, about 116 years before Christ.” L 513.

An Alexander was “alabarch at Alexandria.”

Ptolemy VIII “at his death...left Cyrene separately to his son Apion, who willed it to Rome in 96 b.c [annexed by Rome 75 b.c.].... Another son, Ptolemy IX [Lathurus], received Cyprus [annexed by Rome 58 b.c.]. *Ency.* page 84.

“Ptolemy VIII bequeathed Cyrenaica to his illegitimate son, Ptolemy Apion, and Egypt and Cyprus to his second wife Cleopatra [IV; after repudiation of Cleopatra II]; Cleopatra IV... was instructed to choose one of her sons [Ptolemy IX Lathryus and Ptolemy X *Alexander I*] as joint ruler [with her].” *Ptolemy VIII*, Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia 2001.

Cleopatra IV caused Lathryus to “repudiate his sister and wife [Cleopatra C?] and marry “Seleuca/Selene/Selena], his younger sister.”

Cleopatra [IV], “a wife and sister of Ptolemy [VIII] Euergetes, who [first] raised her son Alexander, a minor, to the throne of Egypt, in preference to his brother, Ptolemy [IX] Lathurus, whose interest the people favored. [*Lempriere* refers to Ptolemy IX as “the Eighth,

⁵ Other uses: (a) “Apianus, or Apion, was born at Oasis in Egypt, whence he went to Alexandria, of which he was determined a citizen. He succeeded Theus in the provision of rhetoric in the reign of Tiberius, and wrote a book against the Jews which Josephus refuted. He headed an embassy which the people of Alexandria sent to Caligula, to complain of the Jews.” *Lempriere*, page 60. (b) “Apion, a grammarian.” *Loc. cit.* (c) “Appianus, a Greek historian, who produced a 24-book “universal history (of which only a small portion survived) [and who] flourished A.D. 123.” *Lempriere*, page 64. (*Josephus* refers to Apion “the grammarian,” “a Jew” but “an accuser of our nation.” Against Apion, II.12, 13.)

⁶ In the confusions of undesignated Cleopatras, it is unclear as to how Cleopatra IV appears also referred to as Physcon’s “sister.”

surnamed *Lathyrus* from an excrescence like a pea on the nose,⁷ (who) succeeded his father Physcon as king of Egypt to reign conjointly with his mother Cleopatra (IV).” As Alexander became odious...Cleopatra [IV] suffered Lathyrus to ascend...on condition...he should repudiate his sister and wife, called Cleopatra [C?], and marry Seleuca[/Selene/Selena], his younger sister.” Ptolemy IX’s mother, Cleopatra [IV], who reigned conjointly with him, expelled him to Cyprus--apparently after 11 years--see *below at L 514*, and placed the crown on the head of his brother, Ptolemy [X] Alexander [I], her favourite son.” Cleopatra IV “afterwards raised her favorite Alexander to the throne...but he fled to avoid her tyranny.” “Cleopatra laid snares...and when Alexander heard it he put her to death.” L 1826 ed.; L 153.

“Alexander [I] Ptolemy [X]’s “mother Cleopatra [IV] raised him to the throne, in preference to his brother Lathyrus, and reigned conjointly with him. Cleopatra [IV], however, expelled him [but] soon afterwards recalled him; and Alexander [I], to prevent being expelled a second time, put her to death, and for this unnatural action was himself murdered by one of his subjects.” L 32.

Ptolemy IX Lathyrus warred “against Alexander Janneus, king of Judaea, through whose assistance and intrigue he had been expelled [from Egypt] by Cleopatra [IV].” Ptolemy IX conquered Janneus (“50,000 of whose men were left on the field of battle”); and “after he had exercised the greatest cruelty upon the Jews, and made vain attempts to recover the kingdom of Egypt, retired to Cyprus till the death of his brother Alexander [I, Ptolemy X] restored him to his native dominions.” (Some cities refused to acknowledge him; Thebes was reduced to ruins in a three-year siege.) L 513.

Ptolemy IX “Lathyrus died 81 years before the christian era, “36 years” from the death of his father Physcon, “11 of which he had passed with his mother Cleopatra [IV] on the Egyptian throne, 18 in Cyprus, and seven after his mother’s death.” L 514.

“Ptolemy, an illegitimate son of Ptolemy Lathyrus king of Cyprus, of which he was tyrannically dispossessed by the Romans.” He poisoned himself as they approached, refusing their offer to take “the obscure office of high priest in the temple of Venus at Paphos.” L 575.

Ptolemy IX “was succeeded by his only daughter Cleopatra [V].” L 514.

Ptolemy XI Alexander II the son of Ptolemy [X] Alexander [I], by means of the dictator Sylla[/Sulla], soon after married and murdered” Cleopatra V. L 514.

“Alexander [II] Ptolemy [XI], king of Egypt, was son of the preceding [Alexander I Ptolemy X]. He was educated in the island of Cos, and, falling into the hands of Mithridates, escaped to Sylla/Sulla, who restored him to his kingdom. He was murdered by his subjects a few days after his restoration.” L 32.

“Alexander [III] Ptolemy [XII] was king of Egypt after his brother [Ptolemy XI] Alexander [II].... After a peaceful reign, he was banished by his subjects, and died at Tyre, B.C. 65, leaving his kingdom to the Roman people [*i.e.* it became a client kingdom].” L 32.

(2)

<u>Ptolemy XIII Auletes</u>			
/----- + Cleopatra V <i>Tryphaena</i> -----/	/ + ?	/ + ?	/ + ?
Berenice/Bernice [C]	/	Ptolemy XIV/	Ptolemy XV Arsinoe [#4]
+ Seleucus Cybosactes (m. #1)	/	<i>Dionysius</i>	
+ Archelaus	/		
[Priest of the goddess	/		
Bellona at Comana]			

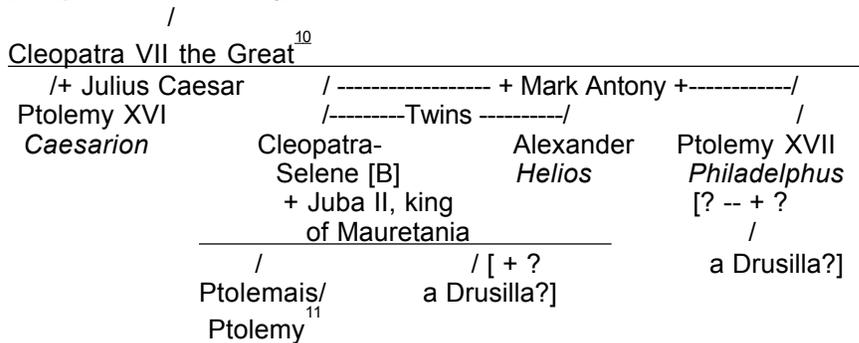
Continued next page

⁷ (a) “The Greeks, too, gave additional names in old time, in some cases for achievement-- Soter, for example, and Callinicus--or for personal appearance, as Physcon and Grypus; good qualities, Euergetes and Philadelphus.... Several monarchs have also had names given them in mockery, as...Ptolemy, *Lathyrus* [*sic.*]. Plutarch, *The Dryden Translation*, Chicago/London/Toronto: Wm. Benton Publisher/Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.; p. 179. (b) “Lathyrus” is the Latinized version of the Greek *lathrios*, *stealthy*, *secret*, *clandestine*.

⁸ Berenices [A] and [B] are assigned in Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 at (A) and (I), respectively.

⁹ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, part P, for uses of *Archelaus* and, Appendix 4C, *App4B.Att4*

Cleopatra V + Ptolemy XIII *Auletes* *continued*



Ptolemy XIII, “the illegitimate son of Lathryus, ascended the throne of Egypt at the death of [Ptolemy XII] Alexander III,” Egypt then being a client kingdom of Rome, in that “his predecessor by his will had left the kingdom...to the Romans.”

Ptolemy XIII “was banished by the Alexandrians; and since he had three daughters, of whom one, the eldest, was legitimate, they proclaimed her queen.* [*fn. 2: “According to Dio Cassius (39.13) this was Berenice [C]. She reigned with her mother Cleopatra [V] Tryphaena for one year and then alone one year.”] ...When Berenice [C] had been established on the throne, she sent after a husband for her from Syria, a certain Cybiosactes* [*fn. 4: “a nickname, Salt-fish Dealer;’ Dio Cassius (39.57) says, ‘a certain Seleucus.’”] who had pretended that he belonged to the family of Syrian kings.” “Cleopatra [Tryphaena] had him strangled within days [this conflicts with next quotation].” *Strabo*, VIII, pp. 43-47.

“Berenice [C], a daughter of [Ptolemy XIII] Auletes, who usurped her father’s throne for some time, strangled her husband Seleucus [Cybiosactes; 4B, att. 3], and married Archelaus, priest of Bellona. Her father regained his power [via Gabinius] and put her to death B.C. 55.” L 105

“Seleucus, to whom the Egyptians referred the crown of which they had robbed Auletes. Seleucus [Appendix 4B, Attachment 3] accepted but he soon disgusted his subjects, and received the surname of *Cybiosactes*, or *Scullion*.... He was at last murdered by Berenice [C], whom he had married.” L 555.

Ptolemy XIII Auletes’ “daughter, Berenice [Berenice C],” who, during setbacks of Ptolemy XIII, “established herself on the throne by a marriage with Archelaus, a priest of Bellona’s temple at Comana.” After the Romans restored Ptolemy XIII to power, “he sacrificed to his ambition his daughter Berenice [C]”--see next.

“[I]n his [Cybiosactes’, or a certain Seleucus’] place came a man who likewise had pretended that he was a son of Mithridates Eupator--I mean Archelaus, who was son of Archelaus who carried on the war against Sulla [*sic.*] and afterwards was honored by the Romans, and was grandfather of the man who was last to reign over the Cappodicians in our time....” Certain agents brought him to “the queen” and proclaimed him king.* [*fn. 8: “He reigned only six months, being slain in battle by Gabinius” [with whom he previously “had been tarrying” in hopes of joining Gabinius on an expedition against the Parthians]. In the meantime, Pompey received Ptolemy XIII Auletes at Rome, and effected both Auletes’ restoration and the death of 100 ambassadors against Auletes. Auletes was restored to the throne by Gabinius; afterwards he “slew both his daughter [Berenice C] and Archelaus [Cappadocia Comana’s priest of the goddess Bellona];” but “before he [Ptolemy XIII] had had much time to reign, he died of disease, leaving behind two sons and also two daughters, the

“Names/Places/Relationships,” Bellona and Comana.

¹⁰ Found also as Cleopatra “VII” (and Cleopatra *Thea*).

¹¹ Who became ruler of that “part of Libya...formerly subject to Juba.” *Strabo*--quotation at Attachment 3A, VI, Attachment 2, last page.

[then] eldest daughter being Cleopatra [the Great], the famous one.” “Now the Alexandrians proclaimed as sovereigns both the elder of the boys and Cleopatra.” “[T]he associates of the boy [Ptolemy XIV] caused an uprising and banished Cleopatra [the Great], and she set sail with her sister to Syria.” Pompey, in flight to Egypt, “was treacherously slain by the king’s party; but when [Julius] Caesar arrived he put the lad to death,” summoned Cleopatra from exilic refuge in Syria, and established her as co-monarch of Egypt with her young brother [Ptolemy XV; as detailed further below]. After [Julius] Caesar died in the Battle of Philippi, 42 b.c., “Antony crossed over to Asia and held Cleopatra in such extraordinary honor that he chose her as wife and had children by her; and he undertook the battle of Actium with her and fled with her; and after this [Octavian/] Augustus Caesar pursued them, etc.” *Strabo*, VIII, pp. 43-47.

Archelaus “son of the Archelaus who was honored by Sulla and the [Roman] Senate, and...friend of Gabinius,” “pretended he was the son of Mithridates Eupator” at the time that a husband of royal family” was being sought for “the elder sister [Bernice C] of Cleopatra [the Great],” while Bernice C was in possession of the kingdom after Cleopatra the Great’s father, Ptolemy XIII had been banished. This Archelaus was accepted but he reigned only six months and “was slain by Gabinius in a pitched battle [“c. 56 b.c.”] when the latter was restoring Ptolemis [Ptolemy XIII] to his kingdom.” *Strabo*, vol. V, page 437; L 67.

Ptolemy XIII “Auletes died four years after his restoration, about 51 years before the christian era.” L 514.

When he died “Auletes left two sons and two [living] daughters [Bernice C having been dispatched]; and by his will ordered the eldest of his sons [Ptolemy XIV] to marry the [then] eldest of his sisters [Cleopatra the Great], and to ascend with her the vacant throne of Egypt.” Ptolemy XV and Arsinoe [#4], the “two younger children,” were made masters of Cyprus.

Ptolemy XIV revolted against the Romans and was defeated and killed, “three years after his father” died. (Julius Caesar “put the lad to death,” according to quotation four paragraphs above).

Ptolemy XV was made co-ruler with Cleopatra VII by Julius Caesar.

Ptolemy XV was killed by or at the command of Cleopatra VII following the assassination of Julius Caesar.

Mark Antony “dispatched Arsinoe [#4],” younger daughter of Ptolemy [XIII] Auletes, “to gain the good graces of her sister.” L 81. (Cleopatra the Great effected “by the means of Antony” the death of her sister Arsinoe, “a supplicant at Diana’s Temple, Ephesus.”)

“Mark Antony and Cleopatra had three children: twins, Alexander *Helios* and *Cleopatra* Selene [B], born in [c.] 40 b.c., and Ptolemy [XVII] *Philadelphus*, born in [c.] 36 b.c.” “The older boy [Alexander *Helios*] was killed by the Romans when his parents died in [c.] 30 b.c. The other two children [Cleopatra Selene B and Ptolemy XVII *Philadelphus*] were taken to Rome and reared by Antony’s [other] wife, Octavia.”

“http://www.wikipedia.org/w/wiki.phtml?title=Mark_Antony;...last_modified_16:48_9_Aug_2003.

Cleopatra VII’s “children by Mark Antony were the twins Alexander [*Helios*] and Cleopatra [Selene B] (born 40 b.c. after Antony’s winter in Alexandria)...and Ptolemy *Philadelphus* (born 36).” *Oxford Class. Dict.*, page 347.

“...[I]n 34 [b.c.]...a magnificent ceremony [was held] at Alexandria...to mark the division of the earlier kingdom of Alexander [III] the Great [Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, (3)] between the royal couple and their children. Cleopatra ruled Egypt and [Ptolemy XVI] Caesarion, Cyprus, as Queen of Kings and King of Kings; Antony’s children [by Cleopatra] Alexander *Helios*...and Ptolemy *Philadelphus* were named kings east and west of the Euphrates respectively, with Cleopatra Selene [B]...queen of Cyrene.” *Loc. cit.*

Ptolemy [XVII] *Philadelphus* “died in [c.] 12 b.c. [c. 48 years old]...the girl [Selene B] married Juba II of Numidia and became queen of Mauretania.” *Loc.cit.*

“Juba, a king of Numidia and Mauritania, who...[initially] favored...Pompey against J. Caesar. L 299.

“Cleopatra Selene [/Selene B], the daughter of M. Antony and the celebrated Cleopatra.” L 515.

“Juba [II], the second of that name was the son of Juba I. He was led among the captives to Rome, to adorn the triumph of Caesar.” “Application to study procured him glory

[and] he gained the hearts of the Romans [such that] Augustus rewarded his fidelity by giving him in marriage Cleopatra [Selene B] the daughter of Antony,” and he went on to write a history of Rome and Africa, among other works.” L 299.

“Ptolemaeus [/Ptolemy], a son of Juba [II], made king of Mauritania. He was son of Cleopatra Selene [B], the daughter of M. Antony, and the celebrated Cleopatra. He was put to death by Caius Caligula.” L 515.

“Ptolemaeus [/Ptolemy], a son of Antony by Cleopatra, surnamed Philadelphus by his father, and made master of Phoenicia, Syria, and all the territories of Asia Minor which were situated between the Aegean and the Euphrates.” L 515.

“Ptolemaeus, a general of Herod of Judaea.” L 515.

“Felix, M. Antonius, a freedman of Claudius Caesar, made governor[/procurator] of Judaea, Samaria, and Palestine. He was called by Suetonius the husband of three queens, as he married the two Drusillae, *one granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra*, and the other a Jewish princess [Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, I], sister of Agrippa [I]. The name of his [Felix’s] third wife [queen] is unknown. *Suet. in Cl. 18--Tacit. Ann. 12, c. 14.*” L 239.

[Other listed Ptolemies:

- “Ptolemaeus, a Jew, famous for his cruelty and avarice. He was for some time governor of Jericho, about 135 years before Christ.” L 515. (This would be Ptolemy “of Abubus,” who assassinated high priest Simon Matthes; *refer to final paragraphs of Appendix 3A, VI.*)
- “Ptolemy, a king of Chalcidica in Syria, about 30 years before Christ. He opposed Pompey when he invaded Syria, but was defeated,” although Pompey “spared his life only upon receiving 1000 talents.” L 515.
- “Ptolemaeus, a powerful Jew during the troubles which disturbed the peace of Judea, in the reign of Augustus.” L 515.]

Appendix 4C

Names/Places/Relationships

Acco -- See Ptolemais.

Alexandrium

"*Alexandrium*, a fortress near to Coreae [/Koreois/Koreous¹]." *AJ* XIV.V.2.

When Pompey marched against Aristobulus II (Appendix 4A preceding 64 b.c.), Aristobulus retreated to *Alexandrium*, "a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain." Pompey "passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea [*sic.*], where you enter the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts." (*Wars* I.VI.5.) "...[A]s he [Pompey] passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Coreae, which is the first entrance in Judea when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*...." *AJ* XIV.III.4.

Alphaeus

Taken by some² to be the same individual as *John's* "Clopas" - see Cleopas/Clopas, this appendix.

"Levi the [son] of *Alphaeus* sitting upon the tax office," *Mark* 2:14; "...man sitting upon the tax office, Matthew," *Matthew* 9:9 (which together have been taken as suggesting *Levi* was the surname of the tax collector, Matthew).

"James the [son] of the *Alphaeus*." *Matthew* 10:3, *Mark* 3:18, *Luke* 6:15, *Acts* 1:13.

Ananus/Annas

After Joseph [A] returned home from "his building houses abroad," he found Mary [A] in her "sixth month" of pregnancy. After a dream decided him not to dismiss her, "Then came [undesigned] *Annas* the scribe," who asked Joseph, "Wherefore have we not seen you since your return?" ... *Annas* turning about perceived [Mary] big with child. And went away to the priest, and told him...." *Protevangelion*, X:1, XI:1-4.

Data between *Josephus* and the *New Testament* corroborate that "Annas" is a later form of *Ananus*. *Annas*, "Greek abbreviation of Hebrew Hananiah, meaning "[Tet.] has been gracious" (*Aid*, page 81); prior uses--see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, (k) and (l), Hananiah (groups 1 and 2).

"Cyrenius...appointed *Ananus*[/Annas], the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod [Antipas] and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy." *AJ* XVIII.II.1.

Following a.d. 14 and the death of Caesar Octavian[/Augustus], Caesar Tiberius [*CDM*] "sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea...to succeed Annus Rufus;" Gratus "deprived *Ananus*[/Annas] of the high [chief] priesthood...." Refer to Appendix 4A. (Some one to one-and-one-half years later, *Ananus'* son-in-law, Joseph Caiaphas, would become high priest. *AJ* XVIII.II.2.)

Jesus was "led toward *Annas* first; he was...father-in-law of the Caiaphas, who was chief priest of year that; was but Caiaphas the (one) having counseled to the Jews that it is bearing together one man to die over the people." *John* 18:13-14.

This work's timeline presently ends in this volume four, with the tenure of high priest (Ananus/Annas-) Theophilus. The period that followed--precedent to the final fall of Jerusalem to the Romans--involved other additional sons of Ananus/Annas; but the reports in *Josephus* (which do not provide the capacity to assign dates to events) admit some confusion in the

¹ Which appears N/NE of Jericho on the sixth century mosaic map housed by St. George's Church at Madaba, Jordan. (It is estimated that the fragmented map, which occupies a cordoned section of the church floor, was constituted originally "of more than 2,000,000 mosaic pieces on an area of 25 by 5 metres." *Jordan and Syria*, Australia: Hawthorne Vic 3122: Lonely Planet Publications, 3d Ed. Jan. 1977, pp. 162-163.

² *Aid* p. 358.

sequencing of individuals referred to as, or as son(s) of, Ananus and/or "Ananias" (e.g. "Ananus, the son of Jonathan," *Wars* II.XIX.5). However, below are listed those men who appear to be the "five" sons of Ananus/Annas:

- (Ananus/Annas-) Eleazar. *AJ* XVIII.II.2.
- (") Jonathan. *AJ* XIX.VI.4.
- (") Theophilus. Refer to Appendix 4A.
- (") Matthias. *AJ* XIX.VI.4.
- (") Ananus. (Killed with another high priest, Zechariah—textwise, according to *Josephus*, during the time of John of Gishala.) *Wars* IV.V.2.

The following quotations are involved in the potential confusion of identity/ies of the person(s) mentioned:

"Now the report goes that this eldest *Ananus* proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons who...all performed the office of a high priest...and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly." *AJ* XX.IX.1.

"Ananus, the ancientist of the high priests," *Wars* IV.III.7.

"I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city...their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man...a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people;...a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered." *Wars* IV.V.2.

Anna

Anna, proposed mother of Mary [A], refer to Mary [A].

"*Anna* prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, out of tribe of Asher," an aged woman who was a constant attendant at temple, "was speaking...to all...waiting for deliverance" about comments made concerning Jesus when his parents presented him as an infant at temple. *Luke* 2:36ff.

Apostle

This Greek letters given for this word are *alpha, pi, omicron, sigma, tau, omicron, lambda, omega, ny* (*Matthew* 10:2)--variously ending with *ypsilon, sigma* (e.g. *Mark* 13:14): "apostolos...a messenger, ambassador. 2. an apostle." *Greek Dictionary*, page 94.

Jesus' leading assistants generally are referred to in the first four *New Testament* books as disciples (see this appendix), with "Apostle" as a *title* appearing later in the books of *Acts* and *Hebrews*:

"[H]aving called...the twelve disciples...he gave to them authority.... Of...the twelve *apostles* the names [are].... These the twelve sent off the Jesus...." *Matthew* 10:1-2.

"And he made twelve, whom also *apostles* he named...in order that he may send off them...." *Mark* 3:14.

Jesus called "the disciples of him, and having chosen from them twelve, whom also *apostles* he named...." *Luke* 6:13.

"[N]ot is slave greater of the lord of him nor *apostle* greater of the (one) having sent him." *John* 13:16.

Andrew alone can definitely be said to have been first a disciple of John the baptizer: "John was standing with two of his disciples... .. Andrew the brother of Simon Peter one out of the two...;" *John* 1:35-40.

Acts 1:2ff. leads to the assumption that all except one or two were Galileans. Their names, as reported, were as follows:

	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>Acts</u>
	10:2-4	3:16-19	6:13-16	1:13; 23-25
Andrew, brother of Peter	x	x	x	x
Bartholomew ³ aka Nathaniel	x	x	x	x
James "Boanerges," ⁴ son of Zebedee ⁵	x	x	x	x
James "the Lesser," son of Alphaeus	x	x	x	x
John "Boanerges," son of Zebedee	x	x	x	x
Judas Iscariot	x	x	x	
Judas, son of James ⁶			x	x
Matthew ⁷	x	x	x	x
Matthias				x
Philip	x	x	x	x
Simon (Peter), son of "John"	x	x	x	x
Simon, the Canaanean/Zelot ⁸	x	x	x	x
Thaddeus ⁸	x	x		
Thomas	x	x	x	x

Bellona

A "goddess of war...often confounded with Minerva [and] anciently...the sister of Mars...or his wife. ... The Romans paid great adoration to her but she was held in the greater veneration by Cappadocians, and chiefly at Comana [see *below*], where she had about 3000 priests." Foreign ambassadors and returning generals were given audience at her temple at Rome, where, whenever war was declared against an enemy, a spear was thrown against a "column of war" at the entry. L 104.

Bethany - See Appendix 3B, I, Ananiah (1).

Bethlehem

Bethlehem, some five miles south of Jerusalem.

Bethlehem, a second one, which appears as being in Zebulun territory; *Joshua* 19:10, 15.

See also Appendix 1B, Ephrath/Ephrathah/Ephratah.

Bethsaida

The texts point to *Bethsaida* as having been on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, roughly a west/east midpoint where nearby existed a natural harbor.

Philip when he had received his tetrarchy "built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan [and] he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village *Bethsaida*, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained,

³ *Bartholomew* may translate to *son of Tolmei/Tolmai* (as shown at *Aid*, page 192). Other uses of that name are (a) *Talmi*, a son of Anak (*Numbers* 13:22); (b) *Talmi*, king of Geshur, father of Maacah, mother of Absalom (refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 3, "David, Descendancy of," and Appendix 1A, "Aram/Aramaean Associations," IB, "Maacah/Maachah, Individual Uses." (The name also lends itself to association with *Ptolemy*.)

⁴ "James the [son] of the Zebedee and John the brother of the James...[Jesus] gave these the surname Boanerges, which is Sons of Thunder [according to *Aid* p. 246, an "Aramaic expression]." *Mark* 3:17.

⁵ An anticipated precedent, 'Zebidiah,' is not found (the nearest scriptural name being *Zebidah*, mother of king Eliakim/Jehoiakim; But see *Zebadiah*, *Zebedias*, Book Two).

⁶ The use of "Judas, son of James," is absent in *Matthew* and *Mark*, and because the reverse is true of "Thaddeus," in *Luke* and *Acts*, they have been taken as one and the same.

⁷ The replacement for Judas "Isariot;" *Acts* 1:26.

⁸ See fn. 6.

and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of *Julias*,⁹ the same name with Caesar's [Octavian/Augustus] daughter [Julia #4]." "[W]hen the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius [CDN]...Philip built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city *Julias*, in the lower Gaulonitis." *AJ* XVIII.II.1; *Wars* II.IX.1. There is nothing direct in two statements in the *Greek Scriptures/New Testament* that would equate apostle Philip with tetrarch Philip; however: "Philip [was] from *Bethsaida*, out of the city of Andrew and of Peter" (*John* 1:44); "Philip,..from *Bethsaida* of the Galilee" (*John* 12:21).

Caesarea and Caesarea Sebaste

Caesarea Sebaste--refer to Appendix 4B, II, at and following fn. 20.

When "Herod [Antipas] and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy.... Philip...built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan," "in the region of Paneas," and "he named it *Cesarea*." *Wars* II.IX.1.

("Caesarea, a city of Cappadocia; *Caesarea*, a city of Bithynia; *Caesarea*, a city of Mauritania; *Caesarea*, a city of Palestine. There [were] many small insignificant towns of that name, either built by the [Roman] emperors or called by their name in compliment to them." L 117.)

Capernaum/Capharnaum

"*Capernaum*, city of the Galilee;" *Luke* 4:31.

"*Capernaum* the beside the sea in districts of Zebulun and Naphtali." *Matthew* 4:13.

According to Josephus, the country around the sea of Galilee also was called *Capharnaum* by its people; see Galilee.

Once a "royal [man] of whom the son was sick in *Capernaum*" asked Jesus to attend to him. *John* 4:46.

(According to *Aid* p. 293, "two principal sites have been suggested as the original location of *Capernaum* [city]," within some three miles of each other, northwest to northeast, along the shore of the Sea of Galilee. Ruins at the first site are reported to be of "Arabic origin;" ruins at the second site are reported to be of a second or third century c.e. synagogue.)

Cleopas/Clopas

Among those who stood by at the crucifixion of Jesus was "Mary the [one] of the *Clopas*." *John* 19:25.

Two days after discovery of the tomb empty of Jesus' body, one of two disciples together "going into village...stadia sixty from Jerusalem...Emmaus" was named *Cleopas*. *Luke* 24:18.

See also Alphaeus.

Comana

"A town of [both] Pontus [and] Cappodicia." Comana of Cappadocia was "famous for a temple of Bellona [see above], where there were above 6000 ministers of both sexes [genders]. The chief priest among them was very powerful, and knew no superior but the king of the country. This high office was generally conferrerd upon one of the royal family." L 159.

Crucifixion - See Impalement.

Dekapolis/Decapoli/Decapolis¹⁰

An area in which cities constituted a "league," its name being derived from the Greek *deka* (10). Decapoli initially embraced one city west of the Jordan River, Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), and nine cities east--Raphana, Hippos, Dion, Canatha, Abila, Gadara Umm Qais), Pella, Gerasa (Jerash), and (Rabbah)/Philadelphia/ (Amman). From the southernmost city of

⁹ To be distinguished from the "Betharamphtha," around which Herod Antipas built a wall, which village/city he renamed "Julias" also.

¹⁰ The general portions of this summary essentially are taken from *Aid*, pp. 435.

Philadelphia, they were concentrated northwestward toward the Galilee, with the northernmost, Raphana, located due east of the head of the Sea of Galilee. At one apex of the Dekapolis was *Scythopolis*, a strategic link to the valley of Esdraelon, the Mediterranean coast, and the critical trade center of Damascus--refer to Appendix 2A, Beth-Shan/Beth-Shean.

The Dekapolii area of the 10 Grecian cities ranged north through Bashan (its principal ancient cities, Og/Ashtaroth and Golan, were Levite enclaves) into Gilead (of Machir, son of Manasseh), southwestward toward Hippos near the eastern edge of the sea of Galilee, across the sea westward to Scythopolis (/Beth-Shean; very slightly east of Nazareth), then back across via Pella down to Rabbah/Philadelphia/[Amman]--a traverse of the tribal allotments of Manasseh-1/2-East and Gad, to a western point roughly at the border areas of tribal allotments of Issachar and Manasseh-West (refer to volume one). The Dekapolii region east of the Jordan ran over or along the early-designated plots of Maacah, Geshur and Tob (later redefined territory that included [Hauran/Auranitis/]Trachonitis-Ituraea, Batanea, Perea, etc. of the Herodian period).

The Dekapolii region became a protectorate of Rome after Pompey's conquest. The region had great exercise of self-government and its own coinage, maintaining allegiance to Rome via the provincial Syrian government, paying taxes and serving the military. The "Bashan" area (once part of Solomon's 12 royal commissariat districts), became a major wheat granary for Rome.

Pella was in the vicinity of ancient "Jabesh-Gilead" (see Appendix 2A, Jabesh/Jabesh-Gilead). "According to Eusebius," many would flee from Jerusalem, at the time of its 0070 c.e. fall, to Pella, which apparently was not far from Scythopolis. Pella is involved in the mystery of what was the site of "Bethany-Across-the-Jordan," mentioned only once (*John* 1:28, where John the baptizer was encountered) and complicated by other references to a "Beth-abara." Some geographers have placed Beth-abara immediately opposite Jericho, which would place "Bethany-Across-the-Jordan" there, if one and the same, while a ford called "Abarah" existed some 12 mi. south of the sea of Galilee, a short distance northeast of Scythopolis/Beth-Shean. (*John* 1:29, 35, 43 and 2:1 would indicate "Bethany-Across-the-Jordan" as no more than a one-day journey from Cana in Galilee? Verses 10:40, 11:3, 6 and 17 would suggest an approximate two-day journey from the "Bethany-west" of Lazarus, et al.?)

"...[F]ollowed to him [Jesus] crowds many from the Galilee and *Decapolis* and Jerusalem and Judea and the other side of the Jordan." *Matthew* 4:25.

"...[H]aving gone outside out of the regions of Tyre he [Jesus] came through Sidon into the sea of the Galilee up midst of the regions of *Decapolis*." *Mark* 7:31.

Disciple

Greek Lexicon/Dictionary, "Disciple [*my/alpha/theta/eta/tau/eta/sigma*]...a learner, pupil. Lat. *discipulus*: a disciple." Pages 77/422.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth, wife of Zechariah,¹¹ mother of John¹² "the baptizer," and relative of Mary [A]

(a) "...in the days of Herod [the Great]...[there was a] priest...Zechariah...; and woman to him out of the daughters of Aaron, and the name of her *Elizabeth*...." *Luke* 1:5.

(b) The messenger¹³ said to Mary: "...look! *Elizabeth* the relative of you also very she has conceived son, in old age of her, and this month sixth is to her the being called barren...."¹⁴ *Luke* 1:36.

(c) "Mary in the days these went her way into the mountainous with haste into city of Judah, and entered into the house of Zechariah and greeted the *Elizabeth*."

¹¹ Refer also to Zechariah, this appendix.

¹² For uses of this name, see John, this appendix.

¹³ See Appendix 6B, "Some Terms of Interest" regarding alternate translations/definitions of *lord* and *angel*.

¹⁴ Elizabeth's first conception in advanced age recalls seemingly purposed generation of preserved seed at times of critical necessity, as perhaps in the case of Isaiah and "the prophetess;" see Appendix 4D, Naditum (in particular, with regard to *Isaiah*).

Luke 1:39-40. "...Mary...went away to her cousin, *Elizabeth*." *Mary* IX:19. "Remained...Mary together with her as months three, and returned into the house of her." *Luke* 1:56.

(d) A tradition holding Elizabeth to have been sister of Mary's mother, thus Mary's aunt and not cousin, need not be contradictory.¹⁵

(e) Substantial weight is added to the theory that Jesus was referring to a near-relative Zechariah, Elizabeth's husband, in his comment reported at *Luke* 11:47-51 and *Matthew* 23:35--refer to Zechariah, this appendix.

(f) Zechariah remarked, at the time of the birth of his son, "...the [*Theos*]...raised up horn of salvation to us in house of David boy [child] of him..." *Luke* 1:68-69.

(g) On the day John was to be circumcised, the "neighbors and the relatives of her...were calling [the baby] upon the name of the father of it, Zechariah;"

Elizabeth refused to allow it and named him, herself.¹⁶ *Luke* 1:58-60.

Elizabeth, city of residence and native city

(a) See above at *Luke* 1:39-40.

(b) Conjecture that Elizabeth and Zechariah were Bethlehemites relies on 2(d), in that David was of the house of Jesse of Bethlehem.

Galilee, Sea and Region

"Lake" perhaps is a more accurate term for the Galilee's approximate 7-1/2 by 13-mile body of inland freshwater. Its earliest name "Chinnereth," the name also of a district ("all Chinnereth," taken as the fertile plain of Gennesaret) attacked during the alliance of Syrian king Ben-hadad and king Asa (refer to Appendix 2C, IV, following fn. 16)--a small well-watered triangular area extending south of a fortified city of Naphtali named Chinnereth, and identified on a mound about two miles southwest of Capernaum. ("Chinnereth" also appeared on the Karnak temple walls at Thebes, in a list of Canaanite cities conquered by Thutmose III c. 16th century b.c.)

Following the death of Herod the Great, Tiberias on the west bank of the sea was a residential seat of Herod Antipas' tetrarchy. At some point on the sea's northshores was the site initially named Bethsaida, later renamed Julias by tetrarch Philip after he developed it into a notable city.¹⁷ The lower eastern half of the seashore formed part of the border of the district of Dekapolis, touching the southern tip of the Galilee a short distance south of Tiberias.

"Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet...yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this. ... There are several kinds of fish.... It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea.... And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis.... As for Panium itself.... ...Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis ?? ; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth....

"The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil...so fruitful... it supplies men with the principal fruits...during ten months of the year...and [altogether, fruits] through the whole year.... The people of the country call it Capharnaum. ... The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty."

Josephus Wars III.X.7ff.

Land of "the Galilee" also appears included in the regional term, *Coele-Syria*—see Palaistine, etc., below. Also see Sepphoris.

¹⁵ Nahor, one of Abraham's brothers, took to wife Milcah, daughter of Abraham's other brother, Haran; thus Milcah, (Abraham-) Isaac's natural cousin, became also his aunt. (Terah-) Sarah, (Haran-) Lot's natural aunt, became also his cousin by her marriage to uncle; and (? + Levi -) Jochebad, who became her brother Kohath's daughter-in-law when she married his son, Amram, eventually appears at once as Moses' grandmother and great-aunt. (Refer to Book One.)

¹⁶ Refer to Appendix 1C at and in fn. 98. At this point in *Luke*, Zechariah broke a speechless period that had begun when he emerged from sanctuary at the end of serving his regular division course--see also Zechariah, this appendix, with regard to Elizabeth's taking authority to choose their son's name.

¹⁷ The seat of Philip's tetrarchy is unreported. Philip died at "Julias [undesigned; but see Bethsaida, this appendix]".

Heli/Eli

“...Jesus...being son, as it was being opined, of Joseph of the *Heli*....” *Luke* 3:23; refer to Jesus, Lineage of.

The foregoing is the only appearance in the texts of the name, *Heli* [‘/eta/lambda/epsilon/ iota], understood to be the Greek form of *Eli*.¹⁸ In that regard, ‘/eta/lambda/epsilon/ iota/alpha/ny of *Matthew* 16:14 and ‘/eta/lambda/epsilon/ iota/alpha of *Luke* 1:17 are rendered “Elijah,” while ‘/eta/lambda/epsilon/ iota of *Luke* 3:23 is rendered “Heli.”

The name *Eli* also occurs only as one person in the texts--high priest *Eli*, of the [Aaron-] Ithamar priesthood branch, whose name appears many times *en passim* in verses of *1 Samuel*, and at *1 Samuel* 4:13 and *1 Kings* 2:27 (refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, “Eli, Descendancy of,” and other segments there referenced).

Many biblical names begin with the Hebrew letters, *Eli* [ayin/lamedh/yohdh], e.g. Elisheba, Elimelech, Elijah, Eliab, Eliakim, Eliashib, Eliel, Elioenai, etc. (referenced in other segments of this work).

Mark 15:34 reports that, at the “ninth hour called out the Jesus to voice great ‘*Eloi Eloi lama sabakhthani?*’ which is being translated The [Theos] of me the [Theos] of me, into what left you down in me?” In the English reconstitution by the text referenced in this work, the two first exclamations are rendered “*Eli, Eli*” (but see Appendix 4D, “Some Terms of Interest,” Tetragrammaton, at fn. 10/*Elohim*).

One consensus has been that *Heli* was Mary’s father and the maternal grandfather of Jesus—that, while *Matthew*’s genealogical listing names Joseph’s actual father (“Jacob”), *Luke*’s listing names *Heli*, Joseph’s father-in-law, based upon a constitution possible under patriarchal practices.¹⁹ Similar circumstances may underlie the differing identifications of Zerubbabel’s grandfather:

“...Zerubbabel of the Shealtiel of the Neri....” *Luke* 3:27;

“After...the deportation of Babylon, Jeconiah[/Jehoiachin] generated the Shealtiel, Shealtiel but generated the Zerubbabel....” *Matthew* 1:12; while the lineage given at *1 Chronicles* shows: “...Jeconiah[/Jehoiachin] the captive-Pedaiah²¹ - Zerubbabel.” 3:17-19.

If *Heli* is taken to be the name of Mary [A]’s father, and the data of *Mary* 1:1-2 also were accurate--see below at Joacim--then *Heli*’s given name would seem to have been Joacim.

Jair/Jairus/Joare

(Machir daughter + Hezron - Segub + ? -) *Jair/Joare*, who took 23 Gileadite cities. Sons of *Jair* eventually acquired another 60 from Geshur, Aram and Kenath. (Appendix 1C at and in fn. 86.)

(A Gileadite-) *Jair*, seventh-named Judge, who judged for 22 years and had 30 sons, each over a tent city. Appendix 1D, II. (Possibly related, Manasseh lineage issues, Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, B.)

“And was again a battle with the Philistines; and struck Elhanan the son of *Jair* Lahmi, the brother of Goliath;” alternately, “And was again the war in Gob with the Philistines, and struck Elhanan the son of *Jaare-oregim* the Bethlehemite Goliath.” *1 Chronicles* 20:5; *2 Samuel* 21:19.

¹⁸ *Aid*, p. 752.

¹⁹ See at fn. 33.

²⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Zerubbabel. (The only other scriptural version of *Neri*--“Ner”--occurs in an identical ‘two-fathers’ issue as to Saul’s parentage [*Ner* or *Kish*?], involving *Maachah*, a significant female name of record; see Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, “Saul, Descendancy of.”)

²¹ One *Pedaiah* (of Rumah--possibly six miles north of Nazareth) was the father of Zebudah, who by Josiah had king Eliakim/Jehoiakim, who was father of Nehushta’s son, king Jehoiachin/Jeconiah. (Jehoiachin and his mother were exiled by Nebuchadnezzar). *Pedaiah* was the name, also, of one of seven sons of the exiled king Jehoiachin/Jeconiah.” (Refer to Book Two, Appendices 2C, Period of the Kings.) The language concerning Jehoiachin’s generation of sons, in *Matthew*’s lineage of Jesus, leaves open the possibility that Jehoiachin may have sired children prior to his deportation; in that regard, there is a conflict in the texts, as to whether he was eight or 18 when deported.

²² “Ira” the *Jairite*,” listed among king David’s officers, was a “priest to David.” *2 Samuel* 20:26. (“*Ira* the *Ithrite*” and “*Ira*, son of *Ikkesh*, the *Tekoite*, were among king David’s warriors; Appendix 2B, sub-part III.)

(Benjamin...*Jair* -) *Mordecai*. *Esther* 2:5.

“One of the synagogue chiefs [“presiding officer”], to name *Jairus*,” sought Jesus’ aid to revive his “only-begotten,” 12-year-old daughter. *Mark* 5:22, 38ff.; *Luke* 8:49ff.; *Matthew* 9:18, which refers to the man as “ruler.”

James

“A reduced English form of Jacob.” *Aid* page 867.

“[Apostle] Judas of *James*.” *Luke* 6:16; “*James* the son of Alphaeus.

“*James* the of the Zebedee.” *Matthew* 10:2.

“[Apostle] *James* the of the Alphaeus.” *Matthew* 9:3.

While Jesus was teaching in a synagogue, people commented, “Not this is the carpenter, the son of the Mary and brother of *James* and of *Joses* and of *Juda* and of *Simon*?” *Mark* 6:3. In *Galatians* 1:19, Paul remarks that “three years” after a sojourn in Arabia and return to Damascus, he “went up into Jerusalem” to inquire about *Cephas/Peter*, “but of he apostles not I saw, if not *James* the brother of the Lord.”

“*James* of God and of Lord Jesus...slave to the twelve tribes the in the dispersion....” *James* 1:1.

“I, *James*, wrote this History in Jerusalem; and when the disturbance was I retired into a desert place, until the death of the Herod.” *Protevangelion*, Epilogue.

“Judas of Jesus Christ slave, brother...of *James*.” *Jude* 1.

“Festus was now dead, and *Albinus* was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was *James*, and some others...; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned.” *AJ* XX.IX.1.

“Herod [*Agrippa*] the king...took up...*James* the brother of John [*sic*] to sword.” *Acts* 12:1-2.

Jesus

“Jesus...[Latin form of the Greek *Iesous*, which corresponds to the Hebrew *Yeshua* or *Yehohshua*... [of which “Joshua” is a shortened form].” *Aid*, p. 917.

For prior use of the name, *Jesus*, see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 6, Jesus/Jason.

“...fathers of us with *Jesus*,” in a text soliloquoy, apparently referring to Joshua [of Appendix 1D, I]; *Acts* 7:45ff., *Hebrews* 4:8.

Jesus/Joses, a forefather of *Zerubbabel*; refer to Lineage, David to Jesus,” this appendix.

Jesus, son of Mary [A]:

See: Mary [A], this appendix.

Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A], this appendix.

Appendix 4D, Carpenter.

Appendix 4A, Detail A, “Year of Death of Herod the Great and Year of Birth of Jesus,” regarding Jesus’ birth year and the family’s temporary withdrawal to Egypt.

“*Jesus* the Nazarene” *Mark* 10:47, *Acts* 2:22.

“Not...the brothers of him *James* and *Joseph* and *Simon* and *Judas*?” *Matthew* 13:55.

“Jesus, son of Sie,” High Priest; see Appendix 4A c. 3 a.d.

“Jesus, son of Damneus” and “Jesus, son of Gamaliel” were among High Priests after the timeline of this volume and before the conquest by Rome--see last page of Appendix 4A.

²² *Ira* the *Jairite*, among king David’s officers, was a “priest to David.” *2 Samuel* 20:26. (*Ira*, the *Ithrite*, and *Ira*, son of *Ikkesh*, the *Tekoite*, among king David’s warriors--Appendix 2B, sub-part III.)

Joacim

Mary [A]'s "father's name was *Joacim*... The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth." *Mary* 1:1-2.

Joacim, one form of a Hebrew name which is rendered differently from identical letters (e.g. *Jehoiachin* (2 Kings 24:6), *Jehoiakim* (2 Kings 23:36), *Joiakim* (Nehemiah 12:10). Refer to appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Joacim, for appearances in this and its various earlier potential forms.

Joanna

Among women journeying with Jesus was "*Joanna* woman of Chuza man in charge of Herod." *Luke* 8:3.

"*Joanna*" was among the women who went to Jesus' tomb after the sabbath and reported back on events there. *Luke* 24:10

John

Prior uses in varying forms: Appendix 2A, Jonathan/Jehohanan/Johanan, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Johanan/Jonathan/Jonathas²³/Jehonathan/Yehohanan/John/Joanan.

(Elizabeth + Zechariah-) *John* "the Baptist/baptizer"--refer to Elizabeth and Zechariah, this appendix.

Apostle *John*, son of Zebedee. (Apostle *John* has been taken to have been the individual unnamed in the gospels, who has come to be referred to as the 'beloved' disciple; refer to Attachment 4C, Attachment 1, "'Anointer,' Mary Magdalene, and 'Beloved Disciple' Puzzles."

Jesus said, "'You are Simon the son of *John*, you will be called Cephas which is being translated Peter.'" *John* 1:42. Jesus said "to the Simon Peter," "'Simon of *John*, etc.'" *John* 21:15.

John Mark - see Mark, John.

Peter and an unspecified *John*, enroute to enter the temple, were supplicated by a lame man. *Acts* 3:1ff. That evening (after speaking to a crowd of 5,000 that had assembled) the two were taken into custody; the next day they were questioned at a gathering of "the older men and the scribes in Jerusalem and Annas the chief priest and Caiaphas and *John* and Alexander and as many as were out of race chief priestly." *Acts* 4:4-6.

Joseph

For earlier uses, see Appendix 3B, I, Joseph/Josephiah and as there noted Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Joseph.

(Sister of High Priest Onias + Tobias -) *Joseph*. *AJ* XII.IV.2ff.

(Zacharias -) *Joseph*, a general under Judas Maccabeus. *AJ* XII.VIII.6.

For all of the following, refer also to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2:

(? + Antipater I -) *Joseph* [I], Herod the Great's "sister Salome's husband."

Wars I.XXII.4.

Joseph [I], Herod the Great's "uncle" and "procurator." *AJ* XV.III.5-6.

(Cypros I, of "an eminent family among the Arabians" + Antipater II -) Phasaelus

[I], Herod the Great, *Joseph* [II] and Pheroras. *AJ* XIV.VII.3, *Wars* I.VIII.9.

(Malthace + ?/or Herod the Great) - (Olympias + Joseph II -) Mariamne III and Joseph III. *AJ* XVIII.V.4.

Joseph [II], Herod the Great's brother-in-law, as well as brother. *AJ* XIV.XV.4, *Wars* I.XVI.1 and I.XVII.1.

Joseph [II?], Herod the Great's "treasurer." *AJ* XV.VI.5.

Joseph [II?], "first cousin" of (Malthace + Herod the Great -) Archelaus. *Wars* II.V.2.

(? + High Priest Ananus/Annas -) unnamed Daughter + *Joseph* Caiaphas. *John* 18:13. (Eliakim-Jonan-) *Joseph* and (Amos-Mattathias-) *Joseph*, respectively in earlier and later

²³ Tobit said, "I know Ananias and *Jonathas*, sons of that great Samais." *Tobit* 5:13.

segments of the lineage of Jesus *per Luke*; see Lineage, David to Jesus, this appendix.

Joseph [A], to whom was espoused Mary A, mother of Jesus.

Refer to Mary [A] and Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A], this appendix.

Joseph [A] went "...into the city of David which is being called Bethlehem, through the to be him out of house and father²⁴ of David." *Luke 2:4.*

Joseph [A] "returned to his own city of Bethlehem." *Gospel of Mary*, VI:6.

Joseph, "man rich from Arimathea[²⁵/Ramathaim-zophim]...who also he was discipled to the Jesus;" *Joseph*, "having come from Arimathea, reputable counselor;" "*Joseph* counselor...from Arimathea of city of the Jews;" "*Joseph* from Arimathea, being disciple of the Jesus having been hidden but through the fear of the Jews;" *Matthew 27:57, Mark 15:43, Luke 23:50, John 19:38.*

"*Joseph* the being called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus," one of two candidates later nominated to the office vacated by Judas Iscariot. *Acts 1:23.*

"*Joseph*...surnamed Barnabas from the apostles...Levite, Cyprian to the race," who [later] sold his field and put the proceeds "beside the feet of the apostles." *Acts 4:36-37.*

The following *Josephs* pertain to the period beyond the timeframe of this book:

Herod [B] of Chalcis, [later] being given "authority over the temple...and the choice of the high priests" by Caesar Claudius, removed...Cantheras...and bestowed that dignity on his successor *Joseph*, the son of Camus." *AJ XX.I.3.*

"Herod, king of Chalcis [subsequently?], removed the son of Camydus from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor." *AJ XX.V.2.*

"*Joseph*, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, former high priest." *AJ XX.VIII.11. ??XX.V.2.*

Joseph, "son of a female physician," who [later] led a revolt at Gamala during the time that Josephus was in command in the Galilee. *Josephus, The Life of Flavius Josephus*, paragraph 37.

Lazarus²⁶

In one of Jesus' discourses with Pharisees, he recounted a tale concerning a certain *Lazarus*, an ulcerated man who begged at a rich man's gate. The beggar when he died inherited a position in "the bosom of Abraham," the rich man, "in the hades... in torment." *Luke 16:19ff.*

"*Lazarus* from Bethany out of the village of [young] Mary and Martha of the sister of her." *John 11:1.*

Lazarus, "brother" of Mary and Martha. *John 11:19, 32.*

"Jesus before six days of the passover came into Bethany, where was Lazarus...[where] [t]hey made therefore to him supper...*Lazarus*...lying upward together with him." *John 12:1-2.*

"Took counsel...the chief priests in order that also the *Lazarus* they might kill." *John 12:10.*

Lineage, David to Jesus

Refer also to Lineage, High Priestly and Monarchic.

Two listings of Jesus' lineage, in different wordings, are given:

(1) The list at *Matthew 1:2ff.* proceeds forward from (Bath-Sheba + David -) Solomon. All is in the format of male names--"a generated b, b generated c," etc.--excepting as relates to Solomon and Jesus:

"David but generated the Solomon *out of the of Uriah*, Solomon but

²⁴ The word "father [place]" is added in the interlinear text referenced in this work; however, *Greek Dictionary* page 536 shows, "pi/alpha/tau/hro/iota/alpha, [or ending,] alpha/sigma...lineage, descent. II. ...clan."

²⁵ See Appendix 2A, Ramah.

²⁶ A late form of *Hebrew Eleazar*; for previous uses, see Appendix 3B, I, Eleazar/Elaser/Eliaah.

generated the Rehoboam...[etc. to Eleazar; then]...Eleazar but generated the Matthan,²⁷ Matthan but generated the Jacob,²⁸ [and] Jacob but generated the Joseph [A] the husband of Mary, *out of whom [Mary] was generated Jesus.*" *Matthew* 1:2-16; italics supplied.

(2) The list at *Luke* 3:23ff. lists Jesus' progenitors back to David through (Bath-Sheba + David -) Nathan.²⁹ All is in the format "b [son] of the a, c of the b," etc.--excepting as relates to Jesus:

"...Jesus...being son, *as it was being opined,*³⁰ of Joseph of the *Heli* of the Matthat of the Levi...[etc.]...of the Mattatha of the Nathan of the David." 3:23-31; italics supplied.

Luke corroborates that Joseph was "out of house of David..." 1:27.

After David, only two names agree between the *Matthew* and *Luke* lists--Shealtiel and Zerubbabel. *Matthew* lists all known intervening Judah kings but two³¹ between (David -) Solomon and Jeconiah/[Jehoiachin, who was exiled to Babylon], and lists nine generations between (*Josiah-Jeconiah/Jehoiachin*-) Shealtiel (-Zerubbabel) and Jacob (-Joseph [A]). *Luke* recognizably lists no kings and lists 18 generations between (*Melchi-Neri*-) Shealtiel (-Zerubbabel) and Heli (-Mary [A]). Over the approximate 1,000 years between David and Jesus, *Matthew's* list yields 26 generations of an average 38-1/2 years each; *Luke*, 41 generations of an average 24-1/2 years each:

Luke 3:23ff.

David
Nathan
 Mattatha
 Menna
 Melea
 Eliakim
 Jonam/Jonan
 Joseph
 Judas
 Symeon
 Levi
 Matthat
 Jorim
 Eliezer
 Jesus/Joses
 Er
 Elmadam/Elmelam
 Cosam
 Addi
 Melchi
Neri

Shealtiel

Matthew 1:6ff.

David
Solomon
 Rehoboam
 Abijah
 Asa
 Jehoshaphat
 Jehoram

 Uzziah
 Jotham
 Ahaz
 Hezekiah
 Manasseh
 Amon

Josiah
Jeconiah/[Jehoiachin/Coniah]
 "and the brothers of him upon deportation of Babylon. *After* but the deportation of Babylon, Jeconiah generated the Shealtiel." (italics supplied)
Shealtiel

²⁷ See Appendix 3B, Attachment 1 and other sites there referenced for all *Matt*-root names. (In *Matthew's* 22 generations twixt Rehoboam and Joseph [A] there appears this one *Matt*-root name; in *Luke's* 37 generations between (Nathan-) Mattatha and Heli there appear six such names.

²⁸ The only other directly-named *Jacob* being the *Old Testament* patriarch Jacob/Israel. Two *New Testament* *Jacobs* (members of Jesus' 'extended' family, appear as (anglicized) *James*.

²⁹ Concerning the issue of "Nathan" the son vis-a-vis "Nathan" the prophet, Book Two, Introductory Summary, *at and following* fn. 10; Appendix 2A, Nathan; and Appendix 1E *following* fn. 82.

³⁰ Refer to Appendix 4D, "enomizeto."

³¹ #6, Ahaziah/Jehoahaz/Joahaz, and #7, Joash/Jehoash, who present their own identity problems. See Appendix 2C, "Through the Period of the Kings," and its tables.

Luke 3:23ff.

³²
Zerubbabel
 Rhesa
 Joanan
 Joda
 Josech
 Semein
 Mattathias
 Maath
 Naggai
 Esli
 Nahum
 Amos
 Mattathias
 Joseph
 Jannai
 Melchi
 Levi
 Matthat
 Heli/Eli

**Jesus, "being son, as it was
 being opined, of Joseph of
 the Heli."**

Matthew 1:6ff.

Zerubbabel

 Abiud
 Eliakim

 Sadok/Zadok
 Achim
 Eliud
 Eleazar
 Matthan
 Jacob
**Joseph "the husband of Mary, out of whom was
 generated Jesus."**

Azor

"In constructing their genealogical tables, it is well known that the [Hebrews] reckoned wholly by males, rejecting, where the blood of the grandfather passed to the grandson through a daughter, the name of the daughter herself, and *counting that daughter's husband for the son of maternal grandfather.* (Numbers xxvi, 33; xxvii, 4-7."³³

Lineage, High Priestly and Monarchic

High Priestly Lineage - Refer also to Appendix 3B, II, Chief/High/Levite Priesthoods.

"[H]istory informs us that Aaron...officiated as high priest, and that, after his death, his sons [(Amminadab + ? - Elisheba + Aaron - Eleazar and Ithamar)] succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. *Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of [Levi + ? -] Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never [legitimately] obtain that high priesthood.*"
Josephus AJ, XX.X.1 (italics supplied).

"[O]ur forefathers...made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure...[and that]...he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the *same nation*³⁴...make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live...for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing...and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out...those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives.... [T]he strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is...that we have the names of our high priests *from father to son* set down in our records of the interval of two thousand years...."
Josephus, page 861 ("Against Apion").

A high priest "a wife in her virginity shall take. A widow, or one put away, or a polluted one, a harlot--these not he shall take; but rather a virgin of his people."
Leviticus 21:7, 13.

³² Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Zerubbabel.

³³ M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia*, Vol. III, p. 774, as quoted in *Aid* at page 1118 (italics supplied); refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, "Zelophehadites."

³⁴ *i.e.* same *genus* or 'race' (an implied premise being that the high priest's own bloodline reached unadulteratedly back to Levi-Aaron)--not, necessarily, born in a particular territorial ('national') place. Implicit in *same nation* is the premise of strict adherence to the tenet by all preceding generations, *i.e.* the inherited racial bloodline of each priest also would be equally pure to that of the prospective mother of his children, *unadulterated from either* paternal or maternal side.

Monarchic Lineage

Text sources related to the doctrinal establishment of royal lineage in the bloodline of (Judah -) David are as follows:³⁵

“[N]ot shall depart the scepter from Judah, nor the lawmaker from between his feet, until comes Shiloh....” *Genesis* 49:10.

After David was secure on his throne, Nathan³⁶ had a vision, and, “in night that,...came the word of [*Tet.*]..., saying, ‘Go, and you shall say to My servant, David,...I have taken you...to be leader over My people.... ...And shall be sure your house and your kingdom forever before Me; your throne shall be established forever.” *2 Samuel* 7:4, 8, 16.

“...[I]t shall be, when are fulfilled your days to go with your fathers, that I shall raise up your seed after you, who shall be of your sons, and I shall establish his kingdom [and...] his throne forever;...and I will establish him in My house and in My kingdom forever; and his throne shall be established forever.” *1 Chronicles* 17:11ff.

Nathan reported his vision to David, who “came...and sat before [*Tet.*]” and spoke words of praise, finishing his remarks with, ‘And now...the word which You spoke about Your servant and about his house, confirm forever.” *2 Samuel* 7:17.

Solomon later said, “And has established [*Tet.*] His word that He spoke; for I have risen up in the place of David my father, and I sit on the throne....” *2 Chronicles* 6:10.

“I have cut a covenant with My chosen; I have sworn to David, My servant; until forever I will establish Your seed, and build up to generation and generation your throne.” “Once I have sworn by my holiness; not to David I will lie. His seed forever shall be, and his throne as the sun before Me.” *Psalms* 89:3-4; 35.

(Direct paternal descentance of David from Judah is assumed, there being no data to suggest legitimization of lineage via predecessors’ fathers-in-law [as per quotation at fn. 33].)

Macherus/Machaerus

“*Macherus*, near the mountains of Arabia.” *AJ* XIV.V.2. E. side of Dead Sea @ 10 mi. south of sea’s N end (Lonely Planet map 48 C2).

The “citadel *Macherus*” “was walled in...itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a great height...ditched about with...valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms...,” “on the west...threescore furlongs...to the lake Asphaltis [Dead Sea]...[and] the valley on the east side...no less than a hundred cubits [which] extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded.” *Wars* VII.VI.1.

Magdalene, Mary - Refer to Attachment 1 to this Appendix 4C.

Mark, John

Peter “went to the house of Mary the mother of John who was surnamed *Mark* [Marcus].” *Acts* 12:12.

“Peter apostle of Jesus” closes one of his letters with the words, “Is greeting you the³⁷ in Babylon jointly chosen³⁸ and *Mark* the son of me.” *1 Peter* 5:13.

“Aristarchus my fellow captive sends you his greetings, and so does *Mark* the cousin of Barnabas.” *Colossians* 4:10.

“...Barnabas...and Saul...having taken along together John the having been surnamed

³⁵ For the lineage from Abraham to David, refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VIII, “Lineage Roster as Given, Abraham to (Bath-Sheba + David -) Solomon and Nathan.

³⁶ Refer to Book Two, Introductory Summary, at and following fn. 10.

³⁷ Here the editors have added, “[woman].”

³⁸ Here also has been added, “[woman].”

Mark,” in Salamis “were having...also John subordinate;” subsequently, “John...having withdrawn from them returned into Jerusalem;” later, “Barnabas...was wishing to take along with also the John the being called *Mark*” on another journey. *Acts* 12:25; 13:5; 13:13; 15:37.

Paul, summoning Timothy, said, “Mark...be leading with yourself, he is...to me well useful into service.” *2 Timothy* 4:11.

Mary [A]

Mary [A]’s lineage is referred to in the canon in three manners: indirectly, concerning a familial relationship with Elizabeth (see [Elizabeth](#)); directly but obliquely once, in *Toward Romans* (quoted below); and left unclear by *Luke*’s roster *vis-a-vis* *Matthew*’s roster (see [Lineage, David to Jesus](#)). The question remains, whether Mary possessed in her own right both Aaronic and Davidic blood.³⁹

Acceptance that Mary possessed Aaronic blood chiefly has stemmed from her stated relationship to Elizabeth, who was “out of the daughters of Aaron,” combined with a traditional conjecture that, being stated as cousins, Elizabeth and Mary’s mother (not named in the canon) were sisters.

As to royal blood, the added question, whether *Heli* of the canon and *Joacim* of the apocrypha were one and the same man, is the key uncertainty in a necessary ‘round-robin’ reconciliation of data, *i.e.* *Toward Romans* 1:3 (Jesus was “out of seed of David according to the flesh”) would need to confirm the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* 1:1 (Mary was “sprung from the royal race and family of David”), which gives her father’s name as *Joacim* and not *Heli*, taken to be Mary’s father according to the *Luke* roster.

Mary-related quotations: - See also “[Supplemental Data, Mary \[A\] and Joseph \[A\]](#),” this appendix, and Appendix 4C, “[messenger](#)” vs. “[angel](#).”

“*Mary*. The Greek form of the Hebrew name Miriam[/Miriamne].” *Aid*, page 1118.

“...*Mary*, sprung from the royal race and family of David, was born in the city of Nazareth, and educated at Jerusalem, in the temple....” *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*,⁴⁰ 1:1.

“...Jesus...having come to be out of seed of David according to the flesh....”

Toward Romans, 1:3.

Mary’s “father’s name was Joachim, and her mother’s Anna. The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth. The family of her mother was of Bethlehem.” *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, 1:1-2; see also [Bethlehem](#), [Joacim](#), and [Nazareth](#), this appendix.

“[T]hey vowed, if [*Tet*.] should favour them with any issue, they would devote it to the service of the Lord [*khristos/anointed one*].” *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, 1:6.

“[A]t a certain great feast of the Lord...Reuben the high-priest⁴¹ opposed

³⁹ By virtue of which--by a segment of population of mutual knowledge and belief--a son of hers could be seen as an historically legitimate candidate, under The Law, both for chief priesthood and throne, potentially conjurable as a deliverer in the old tradition (e.g. judge-commanders Othniel and Ehud, termed “saviors”--Appendix 1D, II, “Judges”). In that regard, 5,000 men mentioned at *Mark* 6:44 could have constituted an army, when Jesus, however, “...having known that they about to be...snatching him, in order that they might make [him] king, he withdrew” (*John* 6:15; possibly intimated in Jesus’ pre-death dialogue with procurator Pilate, at *John* 18:36: “[I]f out of the world this was the kingdom of mine, the *subordinates* the mine *were struggling* likely in order that not I should be given beside;” where potential alternate definitions are *obeying servants*, *acting under instructions*, and *battling*.) Conversely (while purity of race of unidentified mothers in the lineage rosters generally appears as assumed--see quotation, “Against Apion,” page 861, below at [Lineage, High Priestly and Monarchic](#)), acceptance of bloodline legitimacy of a male by paternal blood, alone, is evidenced past the mothers (Tamar, Rahab and Ruth; Appendix 1C, sub-part VII) who are named in the roster of lineage, but themselves were not.

⁴⁰ *The Gospel of The Birth of Mary* was translated from fourth century works of Jerome. “His contemporaries, Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, and Austin, also mention a gospel under this title.” (*Lost Books*, page 17).

⁴¹ It is unclear whether Joacim was twice-rebuked, in that the *Mary* gospel (1:7ff.) relates a similar criticism by a high priest Issachar.

him [Joachim], saying it is not lawful for thee to offer thy gifts, seeing thou hast not begot any issue in Israel.” *The Protevanglion*,⁴² 1:2.

“Anna...brought forth a daughter, and...the parents did call her name Mary.”⁴³ *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, III:11.

Anna sang a song of joy, concluding, “[I]t may now be told the sons of Reuben that Anna gives suck.” *The Protevanglion*, VI:8.

“[W]hen the child was a year old, Joachim made a great feast, and invited the priests, scribes, elders, and all the people of Israel; and Joachim then made an offering of the girl to the chief priests, and they blessed her.... Then Joachim a second time offered her to the priests, and they blessed her....” *The Protevanglion*, V:4-5.

And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they [traveled (IV:5) and] brought [her] to the temple. ... [and] having...perfected their vow, left [her] with other virgins in the apartments of the temple, who where to be brought up there, and they returned home.”⁴⁴ *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, IV:1, 8.

“[T]he high-priest said, ‘Call together to me seven undefiled virgins of the tribe of David.’” *The Protevanglion*, IX:2.

Marys, Other

Mary, sister of Martha and Lazarus--see Appendix 4C, Attachment 1, I.

Mary of Magdala/'the Magdalene'--see Appendix 4C, Attachment 1, II.

Mary, mother of John Mark:

Peter “came upon the house of the *Mary* the mother of John the being surnamed Mark,” where people were “crowded together” and a “servant girl” answered Peter’s knock. *Acts* 12:12ff.

Among those who viewed the crucifixion of Jesus:

“*Mary* the [one] of the *Clopas*.” *John* 19:25. This statement is transliterated, in the Greek/English interlinear text referenced generally in this work, as “*Mary* the [wife] of *Clopas*.”

“*Mary* the of the James and Joseph.” *Matthew* 27:55.

“*Mary* the of Joses.” *Mark* 15:40.

Among those discovering the tomb as empty:

“*Mary* the of the James and Salome.” *Mark* 16:1.

“*Mary* the of James,” *Luke* 24:10.

“*Mary* the of the James and Joseph mother and the mother of the sons of Zebedee [with no comma placements].” *Matthew* 27:57.

”*Mary* the of James the little and of Joses mother and Salome.” *Mark* 15:40.

“*Mary*, who many things labored....” *Romans* 16.6.

Masada

The “fortress Masada:” “There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms...abrupt...such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock...though not without difficulty. [O]f the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltis [Dead Sea] toward the sun-rising, and another on the west where the ascent is

⁴² *The Protevanglion*, ascribed to James, “...was publicly read as canonical in the eastern churches...” (*Lost Books*, page 24). There are indications of other accounts which did not survive, as suggested at *Luke* 1:1: “Since even many took in hand to compile statement about [our completeness] of facts...”

⁴³ Language in the prologue to Anna’s conception of Mary provokes a *naditum* ring, i.e. Joachim’s presence is taken away for a long spell; Judith, Anna’s “maid,” gave Anna a “hood...for it is not fit,” said Judith, “that I, who am a servant, should wear it.” When Joachim reappeared, Anna, “having on her wedding garment...ran, and hanging about his neck, said, ‘...behold, I who was a widow am no longer a widow, and I who was barren shall conceive.” *Protevanglion*, II:1-8; III:8ff. (The root word “widow” also can be defined as to bereave; make desolate or deserted.)

⁴⁴ The purpose for consecrating females to the temple are not set forth in scripture; however, see quotations *Josephus*, page 861 (“Against Apion”) and *Leviticus* 21:7, 13 at Lineage, High Priestly and Monarchic.

easier...called the *Serpent*,” “a perilous climb of 30 furlongs to a plain upon the highest part of the mountain...[where] Jonathan the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it *Masada*; after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree...[including] a wall round about the entire top of the hill.” *Wars VII.VIII.2-4*. (Josephus gives many details of its palace, appointments, armory, and provisions, noting that Herod the Great rebuilt and stocked the fortress out of “fear of these dangers”--that “the multitude of the Jews...should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government,” and also of Cleopatra the Great’s desire that Antony “cut off Herod and...bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her.”

Nazareth

Nazareth, itself referred to by the Greek word for *city*, lay some three miles south of the large and fortified regional Galileean city of *Sepphoris* (this appendix). When Joseph responded to the registration decree of Caesar [Octavianus/] Augustus, “Went up...Joseph from the Galilee out of city *Nazareth*....” *Luke 2:4*.

Mary [A] was at *Nazareth* when she received the visit from the angel/messenger, Gabriel. *Luke 1:26*.

After infant Jesus’ parents had presented him at temple, “they returned into the Galilee into city of themselves *Nazareth*.” *Luke 2:39*.

When Joseph [A], Mary [A] and Jesus returned from Egypt (*refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A*), they “withdrew into the parts of the Gailiee, and having come...settled into city being said *Nazareth*....” *Matthew 2:22-23*.

When Jesus “came to be of years twelve,” and his parents (who he had accompanied to a festival) retrieved him from Jerusalem, where he had remained behind, he returned with them to *Nazareth*. *Luke 2:42-51*.

After Jesus learned of the arrest of John the baptizer, Jesus “retired into the Galilee. And having left the *Nazareth*...he took up residence into Capernaum.” *Matthew 4:13*.

Jesus “came into *Nazareth*, where he was having been reared.” *Luke 4:16*.

Palaistine/Palaestina/Palestine

The Greek word *Palaistine* (from which was derived the Latin *Palaestina*) is believed originally drawn from the Hebrew *Pelesheth*, for Philistine. “The name persisted long after the great days of Philistine power had passed.” Herodotus (who wrote “from the 450s [b.c.e.] up to the 420s [b.c.e.]” *deSelincourt* transl., p. xii) “referred to the region as ‘Palaistina’ and the name was eventually applied by the Romans to all of Canaan [and] even today...has been used in naming the entire region once known as Canaan.” *Asimov*, vol. 1, p. 221. “...[L]ater, other secular writers (Philo, Ovid, Pliny, Josephus, Jerome) used the Greek and Latin terms [*Palaistine* and *Palaestina*] to designate all that territory formerly known as the “land of Canaan”....” *Aid*, p. 1264.

The following are references made by Herodotus (quoted from the *deSelincourt* transl.):

Scythians were met in “*Palestine*” by Egyptian king Psammetichus. Page 44.

“The Phoenicians and the Syrians of *Palestine*....” Pages 121, 400

(“...[T]he people we call Phoenicians were racially and culturally indistinguishable from...Canaanites to the south.” *Asimov*, vol. 1, p. 218.)

“Between Persia and Phoenicia lies a very large area of country, and from Phoenicia the branch [of continent] I am speaking of runs along the Mediterranean coast through *Palestine* in Syria to Egypt, where it ends.” Page 228.

“This [Phoenician] part of Syria, together with the country which extends southward to Egypt, is all known as *Palestine*.” Page 400-401.

Of the Persian provinces in the reign of Darius I was the “*Fifth*: from the town of Poseideium, which was founded...on the border between Cilicia and Syria, as far as Egypt.... ...contain[ed] the whole of Phoenicia and that part of Syria which is called *Palestine*, and Cyprus.” Page 192.

In Strabo's *Geography*, the name *Coele-Syria* is found in place of "Palestine" as a regional designation. ("*Coele*," a derivative of the Greek word for *hollow* or *concavity*, originally stemmed from the region's topography, and "*-Syria*" from its then domination.)

"[T]he mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus...form Coele-Syria," by beginning "slightly above the sea," the one "near Tripolis" and the other "near Sidon," and terminate in other "hilly and fruitful" mountains to the south, so as to "leave a hollow plain between," "200 stadia" along the sea and an interior breadth twice that. "It is intersected by rivers, the Jordan being the largest," and "also contains a lake...Gennesaritis."

"[T]he whole of the country above [from Strabo's cartological view, 'below']...Seleucia, extending approximately to Aegypt and Arabia, is called Coele-Syria [while] the country marked off by the Libanus and the Antilibanus is called by that name in a special sense,"

Confusion is found attendant to later uses of *Coele-Syria*, as a result of the name's two possible meanings. See also Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, [Syria](#).

In this work, use of "Palestine" as a definite territorial name has been avoided as much as possible, because of the lack of precise delineations for the ancient and progressive areas, and their references within wider territorial dominations at varying times.⁴⁵

"Palestinian:"

The free on-line encyclopedia, *Wikipedia* (which article is prefaced with the note, "The neutrality of this article is disputed") offers the following: *Palestinian* primarily is used to describe peoples "who in general regard themselves as a distinct branch...with family origin in the [ancient] region called Palestine." "[S]ome Palestinian[s]...[that] emphasize their continuity with the previous population of the area...see themselves as Canaanite...(cf. Abu-Shalieh [<http://www.lpj.org/Nonviolence/Sami/articles/eng-articles/canaanite.htm>])."

Ptolemais

Ptolemais, "a town of Thebais in Egypt, called after the Ptolemies, who beautified it"... "another city of the same name in the territories of Cyrene [possibly "the same as Barce"]... "a city of Palestine, called also Acon." L 515. (*Lempriere* does not show *Acon* but does, *Ace*: "A town of Phoenicia, called also Ptolemais, now *Acre*." L 4.

Ptolemais, "a seaport city located at the northern point of the crescent-shaped bay of Acco or Acre [which is formed by the cape of Mount Carmel jutting out into the Mediterranean Sea about eight miles to the south]." "Its name [was] changed to *Ptolemais*;" and "the city is mentioned in the Apocrypha as a center of opposition during the rule of the Maccabees." "Under [Roman] emperor Claudius [who succeeded Caligula] the city of *Ptolemais* [Acco] became a Roman *colonia*." *Aid* pp. 28-29.

Ptolemais, "a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain [and] encompassed with mountains: that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee;⁴⁶ but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, The Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs." See [Region, In General](#).

Region, In General (See also [Palaistine/Palaestina/Palestine](#).)

Josephus Wars III.III.1ff. provides--textwise, when Vespasian on order of Nero began Rome's final conquest--"A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea:"

1. "Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two...Upper Galilee and the Lower. They are bounded toward the [east/] sun-setting with the borders of the territory...of Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gaba (...those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwell therein)...bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippene and Gadaris, and also with Gaulonitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa [formerly the tetrarchy of Philip]; its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. ...[T]hat Galilee which is called the Lower...extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbor; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which

⁴⁵ See also [Region, in General](#), below.

⁴⁶ "but [later] to the Tyrians." *Wars* III.III.1.

beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the vilage Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to the Jordan."

"2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous." Their "cities lie here very thick...very many villages...full of people...the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants."

"3. ... "[T]he length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella...its western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa."

"4. ... "Samaria...lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins at a village...in the great plain called Ginea, and ends at the Acrabene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea...hills and valleys [and]...very fruitful. ...[By] reason also of the excellent grass...its...cattle yield more milk than do those in other places...and [it is...] very full of people."

"5. ..."[T]he village Anuath, which is also named Borceos," "in the limits of Samaria and Judea," "is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts...if measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jardan. ...[I]ts breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle.... ...[I]ts maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais." "...[I]t was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country."

"...[T]he other cities that...presided over their...toparchies [were] Gophna...Acrabatta...Thamna...Lydda...Emmaus...Pella...Idumea...Engaddi...Herodium and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa [formerly the tetrarchy of Philip]."

"This country [the former tetrarchy of Philip] begins at Mount Libanus and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias [sea of Galilee]; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julius [formerly Bethsaida]. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians."

Salome

Salome I, (half?-) sister of Herod the Great. Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, and related narratives.

(*Salome*-) Alexandra I. Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, and related narratives.

(Miriamne II + Herod the Great - Herod [B;?] + Herodias -) *Salome* II; refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2. *Salome* II commonly is taken as a young daughter of Herodias and as being involved in the beheading of John the baptizer. However, the two *New Testament* accounts (*Matthew* 14:6 and *Mark* 6:22) do not name the "daughter," and the tale does not appear in *Josephus* (*AJ* XVIII.V.2), who merely reports the parentage and betrothals/marriages of *Salome* II, whose first betrothal/marriage was to (Cleopatra of Jerusalem + Herod the Great-) Philip.

(Elpis/Elpide + Herod the Great -) *Salome* III; refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2.

Immediately after Jesus' birth, "the midwife went out from the cave, and [one] *Salome* met her. ... *Salome* went in, and the midwife said, 'Mary, shew thyself, for a great controversy is risen concerning thee.'" *Protevangelion* XIV:14.

A *Salome* is named among women who went to Jesus' tomb; *Mark* 16:1.

[Some conjectures (e.g. that *Salome* was the mother of apostles James and John of Zebedee; that she possibly was a sister of Jesus' mother) have arisen from incomplete references in the descriptions of women viewing the crucifixion of Jesus: (a) "the mother of the sons of Zebedee," *Matthew* 27:56; (b) "Mary the of James the little and of Joses mother and *Salome*," *Mark* 15:40; "his mother and the sister of his mother," *John* 19:25.]

Scythopolis - See this appendix, Dekapolis, and Appendix 2A, Beth-Shan/Beth-Shean.

Sepphoris

Sepphoris was a prosperous, large and ornate city rebuilt by Herod Antipas during Jesus' youth; "a burgeoning Greco-Roman metropolis boasting upwards of 30,000 inhabitants--Jews, Arabs, Greeks and Romans." Antipas' splendid rebuilding would have required "carpentry," and "Artisans from Nazareth would surely have been among...many skilled workers from surrounding towns and villages [who went] to Sepphoris and found employment." Batey, Richard A., *Jesus and the Forgotten City: New Light on Sepphoris*, Century One Media, April 2000.

Antipas, tetrarch of the Galilee, "built a wall around Sepphoris (which is the security of all Galilee) and made it the metropolis of the country." *AJ* XVIII.II.1.

Sepphoris, "the largest city of Galilee." *Wars* III.II.4.

years of age; what shall we do with her, for fear lest the holy place...should be defiled? Then replied the priests to Zacharias the high-priest, 'Do you stand at the altar...and make petitions concerning her, and whatsoever the Lord shall manifest unto you, that do.'" Zecharias received instructions from an *angel*, "Go forth and call together all the widowers among the people, and let every one of them bring his rod, and he by whom the Lord shall shew a sign shall be the husband of Mary. And the criers went out through all Judaea, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded and all the people ran and met together." "After the high-priest had received their rods, he went into the temple to pray; and when he had finished...he took the rods and went forth and distributed them.... The last rod was taken by Joseph, and behold a dove proceeded out of the rod.... And the high-priest said, 'Joseph, Thou art the person chosen....'"

Joseph balked at first, "saying, I am an old man...; but "the high-priest replied...' remember how God dealt with Dathan, Korah, and Abiram ⁴⁸...because of their contradiction,...[and] Joseph, then being afraid, took her [Mary] unto his house." *The Protevangelion*, VIII:3-16; italics supplied.

When Mary "arrived to her fourteenth year.... ..the high-priest made a public order. That all virgins who had public settlements in the temple, and were come to this age, should return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, should...endeavour to be married."⁴⁹ "Mary... alone answered, that she could not comply with it." "The high priest being hereby brought into a difficulty, Seeing he durst neither on the one hand dissolve the vow...Nor on the other hand introduce a custom, to which the people were strangers, commanded that at the approaching feast all the principal persons both of Jerusalem and the neighbouring places should meet together, that he might have their advice, how he had best proceed in so difficult a case. When they were accordingly met, they unanimously agreed to seek *the Lord*, and ask counsel from him on this matter." While the assembly was "engaged in prayer, the high-priest, according to the usual way, went to consult God," whence he ascertained "that it must be inquired or sought out by a prophecy of Isaiah to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed; For Isaiah saith, there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse [the name of king David's father], and a flower shall spring out of its root. ... Then, according to this prophecy, he [the high-priest] appointed, that all the men of the house and family of David, who were marriageable, and not married, should bring their several rods to the altar." Joseph [A], "of the house and family of David, and a person very far advanced in years...drew back his rod, when every one besides presented his."

"...[W]hen nothing appeared agreeable...the high-priest judged it proper to consult God again, Who answered that he to whom the Virgin was to be betrothed was the only person of those who were brought together, who had not brought his rod. Joseph therefore was betrayed. For, when he did bring his rod, and a dove coming from Heaven pitched upon the top of it, every one plainly saw, that the Virgin was to be betrothed to him; Accordingly, the usual ceremonies of betrothing being over, he returned to his own city of Bethlehem, to set his house in order, and make the needful provisions for the marriage. But...Mary, with seven other virgins of the same age, who had been weaned at the same time, and who had been appointed to attend her by the priest, returned to her parents' house in Galilee." *Gospel of Mary*, V:3-16; VI:1-7; italics supplied.

Joseph left Mary in "his house," saying, "I must go to mind my trade of building.... And it came to pass, in a council of priests, it was said, Let us make a new veil for the temple.' And the high-priest said, 'Call together to me seven undefiled virgins of the tribe of David,'" to whom when brought before him "the high-priest said...'Cast lots before me now, who of you shall spin the golden thread, who the blue, who the scarlet, who the fine linen, and who the true purple.' Then the high-priest knew Mary, that she was of the tribe of David; and he called her, and the true purple fell to her lot to spin, and she went away to her own house. But from that time Zacharias the high-priest ⁵⁰ became dumb, and Samuel was placed in his room.... But Mary took the true purple, and did spin it."

As Mary "took the purple, and sat down in her seat to spin it," Gabriel appeared. "Now at this time of her first coming into Galilee, the *angel* Gabriel was sent to her...."

The Protevangelion, VIII:16; IX:1-6, 8-9; *Mary* VII:1.

"Joseph...went from Judaea to Galilee, with intention to marry" Mary, it being "near three months since she was betrothed to him. At length it plainly appeared she was with child, and it could not be hid from Joseph." *Mary*, VIII:1-3.

When Mary's "sixth month was come, Joseph returned from his building houses abroad, which was his trade," and found Mary ⁵¹"grown big." *The Protevangelion*, X:1-12.

"Then came Annas the scribe," asking why Joseph had not been to temple, and, "turning about perceived her [Mary] big with child; and went away to the priest and told him.... Then said the priest, 'Hath Joseph done this?' Annas replied, 'If you send any of your servants, you will find that she is with child.' And the servants went, and found it as said." Joseph and Mary then were brought to answer before "the priest," who accused Joseph of having "privately married" Mary in order that his "seed might be blessed." Both Joseph and Mary denied it, Mary saying, "I am innocent in God's sight, seeing I know no man." After putting Joseph to a test, which he passed, the priest released them. *Protevangelion*, XI:1-7 and 8, 14.

When "the ninth month from her conception drew near...Joseph took his wife [to have her taxed as

⁴⁸ Refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part IV, "Moses' Conferences on the Mountain and Connected Events," A. Rebellion of Nadab and Abihu and Korah-led Revolt.

⁴⁹ It is not stated whether all females dedicated to the temple routinely were discharged after a prescribed time.

⁵⁰ It is unclear whether the only high priest referenced in the within quotations is Zacharias/Zechariah; refer to Zechariah, this appendix.

⁵¹ See Ananus/Annas, this appendix.

my wife”⁵²] and what other things were necessary to Bethlehem, the city from whence he came,” where the birth of Jesus occurred. *The Protevanglion*, VIII:8-15.

Withdrawal to Egypt

See Appendix 4A, Detail A, “Year and Age of Death of Herod the Great and Year of Birth of Jesus.”

Susanna

A *Susanna* is named among others journeying with Jesus and the apostles. *Luke* 8:3. See Appendix 3B, I, Susanna, History of, for a second *Susanna*.

Sychar

Jesus went “into city of the Samaria being said *Sychar*”⁵³ near the piece of ground which gave Jacob to Joseph.” *John* 4:5.

Thebais

“A country in the southern parts of Egypt, of which Thebes was the capital.” L 602.

Tiberias

“[W]hen the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius,” “Herod [Antipas] was in great favour with [Caesar] Tiberius [CDN and]...built a city...called...Tiberias,” “in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus.” *AJ* XVIII.II.3; *Wars* II.IX.1-2.

Zebedee - See footnote 5.

Zechariah

For all prior uses, see Appendix 3B, I “Names, Supplemental Listing,” Zechariah/Zachariah/ Zacarias/Zecher and Zechariah/Zachariah, *Book of*, and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, “Source Quotations for Charted Explorations in Attachments 3B, II of Royalty and Priestly Lineage Relationships,” Zechariah.

Zechariah, father of John the baptizer:⁵⁴ (*Refer also to Elizabeth*, this appendix)

“Happened to be in the days of Herod king of the Judea priest someone to name *Zechariah* out of upon-day of [the priestly division] Abijah”⁵⁵ *Luke* 1:5.

“It happened to be but in the to be serving as priest him in the order of the upon-day of him...according to the custom of the priestly office he obtained by lot...was seen but to him *aggelos* [“Gabriel”]...., who said, “...the woman of you Elizabeth will generate son to you, and you will call the name of him [*iota/omega/alpha/ny/eta/ny*] John” *Luke* 1:8-13; 19.

After predicting powers that would redound to Zechariah’s son, Gabriel told him, “[Y]ou will be being silent and not being able to speak until of which day should take place these.... And was the people waiting for *Zechariah*, and were wondering in the to be taking time in the divine habitation; and he was making signs to them, and was remaining dumb. And it happened as were fulfilled the days of the public service of him, he went off into the house of him. After but these the days conceived Elizabeth the woman of him....” *Luke* 1:19-24.

“John the of *Zechariah* son” *Luke* 3:2.

After Elizabeth designated their child would be named John, neighbors and relatives “were nodding in but to the father...what likely he would will to be being called

⁵² Joseph would remark to the midwife who assisted at Jesus’ birth, “she fell to my lot.” *The Protevanglion*, XII:3 and XIV:6.

⁵³ Some codices have “Shechem” in place of Sychar; however it appears to remain indefinite whether they precisely are equatable. *Aid* p. 1564.

⁵⁴ See also Elizabeth, this appendix.

⁵⁵ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, “Chief/High/Levite Priesthoods,” sub-part II, A(1), King David’s Divisions.

it. And having asked for tablet he wrote saying 'John is name of it.' ... Was opened but the mouth of him instantly and the tongue of him...;" and Zechariah then prophesied, saying, *Theos* had "raised up horn of salvation to us in house of David boy of him." *Luke* 1:62, 67-69.

"Elizabeth...hearing that her son John was about to be searched for, took him and went up into the mountains.... ... But Herod made search after John, and sent servants to *Zacharias* [/*Zechariah*], where he was at the altar, and said to him, 'Where hast thou hid thy son?'" Zechariah replied that he was serving at the altar; how should he know? "So the servants went back and told Herod the whole; at which he was incensed, and said, 'Is not this son of his like to be king in Israel?' Herod sent therefore again his servants to *Zacharias*, saying, 'Tell us the truth, where is thy son, for you know that your life is in my hand.'"

"*Zacharias* replied to them...if he shed my blood, the *Lord* will receive my soul."

The Protevangelion, XVI:3-14.

Then "*Zacharias* was murdered in the entrance of the temple and altar, and about the partition; But the children of Israel knew not when he was killed. Then at the hour of salutation the priests went into the temple, but *Zacharias* did not according to custom meet them.... ... [T]hey could not find the body, but only blood made hard like stone. And they went away, and told the people, that *Zacharias* was murdered.... Then the priests took counsel together concerning a person to succeed him. And Simeon and the other priests cast lots, and the lot fell upon Simeon. For he had been assured by the Holy Spirit, that he should not die, till he had seen Christ come in the flesh." *The Protevangelion*, XVI:16-28.

There is a question as to which slain *Zechariah* Jesus was referring in his remark, to "someone of the ones versed in the law," that the "wisdom of the *theos* also said, 'I will send forth...prophets and apostles," who would be killed and persecuted, "in order that might be sought out the blood of all the prophets...having been poured out from founding of the world from the generation this, from blood of Abel until blood of *Zechariah* the having been slain between the altar and the house...." – "all blood righteous being poured out upon the earth from the blood of Abel the righteous till the blood of *Zechariah* son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the divine habitation and the altar." (*Luke* 11:47-51; *Matthew* 23:35.) The slain *Zechariahs* were:⁵⁶

- (a) *Zechariah*, son of king Jehoshaphat-S.
This Zechariah, along with four [half?-] brothers, was killed by Jehoram-S when Jehoram secured the kingship; the manner of their deaths is not given. (*2 Chronicles* 21:1-4; Appendix 2C, IV, at fn. 67.)
- (b) *Zechariah*, son of high priest Jehoiada.
He was "stoned...in the court of the house." (*2 Chronicles* 24:20; Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 93.)
- (c) King *Zechariah*-N, son of king Jeroboam II-N.
He was killed by Shallum "before [in front of] the people." (*2 Kings* 15:10; Appendix 2C, IV, preceding fn. 110.)
- (d) *Zechariah*, father of John the baptizer; parentage and in-laws unknown.
He was "murdered in the entrance of the temple and altar, and about the partition." (*Protevangelion*, XVI:16.)

Other associations:

(1) [*Jeberechiah*-] *Zachariah*, called by Isaiah to be a witness, together with priest Uriah, to Isaiah's conception of a child with "the prophetess." *Isaiah* 8:2.

(2) "Evidently 'Baruch' was a shortened form of 'Barekyahu,' itself an abbreviation of 'Yebarekyahu.' Both of these longer names, usually [are] rendered in English as '*Berechiah*.'" (McCarter, *Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 149; see Appendix 3B, I, *Seals and Inscriptions*, *Barekyahu*; refer also to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, (e) *Berechiah/Barachiah*.)

⁵⁶ (e) One *Zacharias*, "son of Baruch," an "eminent citizen," is beyond the timeframe of this volume--*Josephus* editors note, "about 34 years future" of the death of Jesus; *Wars* IV.V.4. That *Zacharias* was slain "in the middle of the temple" during factioned events in the time of John of Gischala, precipitous to the fall of Jerusalem to Rome in the seventh decade c.e. *Wars* IV.V.4. (A high priest "Jesus" and an "Ananus the ancients of the high priests" also were killed seemingly in the same time period. *Wars* IV.III.7.)

(3) The writer of the *Book of Zechariah* in introductory chapters refers to himself as the "son of *Berechiah* of Iddo the Prophet" (Appendix 3B,II, Attachment 4, (p) Iddo [/Iddoh/Yiddoh, etc.]).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ It has been conjectured that the *Book of Zechariah* is a combination of scrolls, chapters one through eight written by one *Zechariah* and the remainder possibly by a *Zechariah* of a different period.

Attachment 4C, Attachment 1

'ANOINTER,' MARY MAGDALENE, and 'BELOVED DISCIPLE' IDENTITY PUZZLES

[Other related quotations are supplied in Detail A to this attachment; italics are supplied.]

I. The 'Anointer'

Each of the four gospels contains one account of a woman 'anointing' Jesus. The four accounts are a mix of similarities and variations:

Matthew and *Mark* place the event in the house of Simon at Bethany two days before the passover preceding Jesus' crucifixion.

John appears to place the event at Bethany six days before the passover.

Luke also reports only one anointing, but textwise it appears much earlier in time, and does not specify where.

Matthew and *Mark* have the woman pouring ointment over Jesus' head.

Luke and *John* say the woman greased Jesus' feet.¹

Matthew, *Mark* and *John* all recite criticism by one or more of the others present about the extravagant use of costly ointment ("nard") *vis-a-vis* conditions of the poor.

Matthew, *Mark* and *Luke* do not name the anointing woman.

John gives the anointing woman's name simply as "Mary."

'Young' Mary, sister of Martha, has been taken as the anointer because of an interpolated remark at *John* 11:1-2 that identifies young Mary as the anointer; however, the statement appears textwise before the event occurred (Detail A, I, C).

A possibility (1):

The *John* interpolation is correct despite its text placement, and young Mary was the pre-passover anointer, whether the *Luke* account is not of the same event, or is, but out of sequence also. However, if the *Luke* verses were an out-of-sequence account of the Bethany anointing, young Mary would be described as someone considered a "sinner."

A possibility (2):

The clarification in *John* was a subsequent assumptive edition.

II. Mary Magdalene

This Mary, one of the group of Marys associated with Jesus, is mentioned directly some 14 times in the 'Gospels' (as the first four *New Testament* books of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John* frequently are called). This Mary may have been referred to as "the Magdalene" after her native town or village of "Magadan" or "Magdala," suggested as having been some 15 miles northeast of Nazareth in the region of Tiberius and the sea of Galilee.² No data of her age or family background are given; but she appears as having been a person with resources, in that she is included with other women acknowledged to be using personal resources to support Jesus and his associates. Relatively recently, certain non-canonic tracts (Detail A, sub-part II, E) have tended to offer corroboration of canonic hints that Mary Magdalene bore a unique

¹ Oiling the head was a sign of hospitality and/or favor; oiling or greasing exposed parts of the body was a common healant and protection.

² See quotations in Detail A to this attachment, sub-part II, A. (The *Hebrew* letter "n" often replaced *Aramaic* "l.")

personality and position in the group surrounding Jesus.

The figure of Mary Magdalene long bore ill repute, believed variously to have been a prostitute, saved by Jesus from being stoned to death, a reformed sinner who wept at Jesus' feet and wiped them with her hair, or all three. The record, however, contains no warranting evidence.³ One cause for misapprehension of Mary Magdalene's character may have been through a mistaken association spanning the end and beginning, respectively, of *Luke* chapters 7 and 8.

Mary Magdalene's name in *Luke* 8 is its only appearance in the gospels before the time of the crucifixion [Detail A, II, A (1)]. It simply is included at the start of the chapter with names of other women journeying with Jesus, which verses immediately follow chapter seven's report of an anointing by an unnamed woman "known" to be a sinner. The association appears compounded by two additional factors: (a) *Luke* 8:2's remark that among those journeying women, were "some... who were having been cured from spirits wicked and sicknesses, *Mary the (one) being called Magdalene, from whom demons seven had gone out;*"⁴ and (b) possibly false association of *Luke* 7 and 8 verses with *John* verses 7:53 to 8:11 (disputed by some⁵), in that the respective *Luke* and *John* verses sequentially occur at the same place in the books' formats.

III. 'Beloved Disciple'

One or more unnamed persons present at three reported key events is/are unnamed and identified only by the following: "the *disciple* he [Jesus] was loving," "the *other disciple* whom was having affection for the Jesus," and "the *disciple* whom was loving the Jesus...who also fell upward in the supper upon the breast of him." Over time, those descriptions have merged into one persona, referred to as the 'beloved disciple.' Initially it seemed that one of only two *New Testament* figures viably could have been the 'beloved disciple'--prominent apostle John, son of Zebedee, or possibly Joseph of Ramah-zophaim/Arimathea, referred to once as a "secret" disciple.⁶

Major consensus long has posited that apostle John was the 'beloved' disciple based on a round-robin elimination process, beginning with the premises (a) only an *apostle* could have been as near, personally, to Jesus as his relationship with the 'beloved' disciple suggested; (b) only an *apostle* would have been present in the circumstances of involved events; and (c) the presence of Joseph of Arimathea, who was not an *apostle*, compared to John's presence at times specified, seemed far less likely, while reference to him as a "secret" disciple would be in keeping with the extant political situation. Those initial premises led to a

³ Clearing Mary Magdalene's name appears not yet to be complete, comparing "...Mary *Magdalene, erroneously supposed to be the woman mentioned in St. Luke vii. 36-50*" (*New Webster 1971*) with "...*Magdalene* '(Mary of) *Magdala*'...commonly identified probably wrongly with the sinner of *Luke 8:37*" (*New Oxford American Dictionary, 2001*).

⁴ The seven-demon remark is repeated only in the also-disputed "long conclusion" to *Mark*. (Among the myriad of human sufferings anciently ascribed to demon or wicked spirit possession were muteness, blindness, epilepsy, convulsions in general, and lunacy. *Matthew* 9:32, 12:22 and 17:15; *Luke* 8:29, 9:42 and 11:14. In scriptural tradition, the number "7" denotes completeness.)

⁵ An account of frustrated Pharisees flinging before Jesus an unidentified woman they charged with adultery, wherein Jesus made the well-known statement, "The (one) sinless of you, first upon her let him throw stone." Those *John* verses, like the long conclusion to *Mark*, are both present and absent in early codices.

⁶ Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Temple governing body and apparently a private sympathizer, obtained Jesus' removal from the cross and provided a place of rest for the body. *App4C.Att1*

fourth and fifth: (d) that an *apostle* of such stature would have had to be one of the three prime apostles--Peter, James, or John; and (e) that, because Peter and James were identified by name, at times when the unnamed beloved disciple also was acknowledged as present, John was implicit in the related verses.

Further support advanced for identification of apostle John as the beloved disciple stems from perceived similarities between *John* and the *Book of Revelation*. Likenesses of style and unorthodoxy formed a basis for equating the self-referenced writer, "John," of *Revelation*⁷ with the writer of *John*, and equating both with apostle John. That collected writer's nature, then, was seen as correspondent with that of the 'beloved disciple,' which determination in turn was seen corroborated by the closing remark in *John*: "This is the disciple the [one] witnessing about these [things] and the [one] having written these things...." 21:24.

An incubating view⁸ has been that Mary Magdalene was the beloved disciple, on the basis that subjective and circumstantial data relative to her is equal to apostle John's. This view appears stymied, however, on grammatical and translation grounds:

- (a) (1) For the beloved disciple to have been female would require, textwise, that punctuation and pronouns relative to "disciple" have been rendered incorrectly in the translation of the two accounts of *John*--Detail A, III, A and C.

(2) For the beloved disciple to have been female additionally would require symbolic use by Jesus of the term "son," in his apparent reference to the beloved disciple when he committed his mother to that person's care, just prior to his expiration--Detail A, III, B.

The "Gospels" do reflect Jesus considerate and respectful of female intelligence⁹ along with the theory of genderless heirship in an eternal life after mortal death (III, D of Detail A).¹⁰ Non-canonically Mary Magdalene is depicted as independent in character (Detail A, II, E).

It more mildly has been conjectured that Mary Magdalene scribed (but did not compose, necessarily) the fourth gospel, when it is taken that *John's* distinguishedly different cast is describable as 'feminine,' compared to its fellow synoptics.

One tradition has held that Mary Magdalene accompanied Mary [A], John, Phillip and Andrew in an initial retreat to Ephesus; *Revelation's* "John" states that that book was being written from the isle of Patmos, but ultimate area(s) of residence are unknown. Proponents of Mary Magdalene's involvement with the fourth gospel suggest that she, demonstrably an active disciple, plausibly remained in John's company and continued to work; but whether she performed scribe duties fully remains conjecturable. *John* 21:24.¹¹

⁷"*John* to the seven ecclesias in the Asia...." *Revelation* 1:4; italics supplied.

⁸Noted in Worldwide Web "Mary Magdalene" sites.

⁹As one example, the "Martha and Mary" account, of two women of different disposition--the first automatically accepting woman's expected role toward things domestic; the other, not. When Martha complained that Mary, sitting at Jesus' feet and absorbed in listening, was not helping with serving, Jesus admonished, 'Martha, Martha, you are anxious and bothered by many (things) although few are necessary, or only one. Mary has chosen the good part which cannot be taken from her.'" *Luke* 10:41-42 (paraphrased).

¹⁰Echoed in *Galatians* 3:26-28: "All for sons of God you are.... ...not there is male and female; all for you one you are."

¹¹However, the question has been raised, why did the producer(s) of the fourth gospel need to

emphasize the writing's reliability? ("This is the disciple the [one] witnessing about these [things] and the [one] having written these [things], and we have known that true of him the witness is." *John* 21:24.) In posing the question Asimov speculated that the fourth gospel indeed may have been scribed by a "secretary" from spoken words or writings of apostle John, corroborated by the "secretary's" own experiences, concluding, "...if the gospel actually were written by a secretary, from words or writings of the apostle, it may have been that the secretary...used the reminiscences of the Beloved Disciple as...source material." *Asimov*, vol. 2, page 294.

Appendix 4C, Attachment 1, Detail A

SOURCE QUOTATIONS

Note: The quotations are reproduced in the English interlinear wordings as they appear in the referenced text. Parentheses indicate words added by the editors as words taken to be understood.

The 'Anointer'

A. As reported by Luke

The *Luke* account is taken as being a separate event than the report contained in the other three gospels:

(1) "[H]aving entered into the house of [Simon, a] Pharisee he/[Jesus] reclined. And look! woman who was in the city sinner...having brought alabaster of perfumed oil...weeping, to the tears she started to be wetting the feet of him and to the hairs of the head of her she was wiping off, and she was kissing down the feet of him and was greasing to the perfumed oil." The Pharisee apparently murmured that, if Jesus was the prophet he claimed to be, "he was knowing likely who and what sort of woman" was touching him. "...Jesus said toward him, 'Simon, I am having to you something to say. ... Two debtors were to lender any; the one owed denarii five hundred, the but different (one), fifty. Not having of them to give back to both he freely forgave. Which therefore of them more will love him? ... love him more? ... Are you looking at this the woman? I entered...water to me upon feet not you gave; this (one) but to the tears wetted of me the feet and to the hairs of her she wiped off. Kiss to me not you gave; this (one) but from which I entered not left off kissing down of me the feet. To oil the head of me not you greased; this (one) but to perfumed oil greased the feet of me.'" *Luke* 7:37-46.

Textwise, this account is *Luke* immediately is followed by verses *Luke* 8:1-2 [below, at II, A, (1)], where Mary Magdalene is named with others supporting Jesus and his associates.

B. As reported by Matthew, Mark and John

(1) "...Jesus said to the disciples of him,...'after two days the passover is occurring.... ...Caiaphas...took counsel...in order that the Jesus...they might seize.... ... Of the but Jesus having come to be in Bethany in house of Simon...came toward to him woman having alabaster case of perfumed oil costly and was pouring upon the head of him lying up. Having seen but the disciples became indignant saying, 'Into what the waste this? Was able for this to be sold of much and to be given to poor.' ...Jesus said to them, 'Why troubles have you beside to the woman? ...[A]lways for the poor you are having...me but not always'.... [H]aving thrown...the perfumed oil...upon the body of me toward the to put into the grave me she did. ...[I]f ever might be preached the good news...will be spoken also which did this (woman) into remembrance of her.'" *Matthew* 26:1-13.

Textwise, *Matthew's* account is followed by that of Judas' betraying approach to unnamed "chief priests."

(2) "Was but the passover and the unfermented after two days. And were seeking the chief priests and the scribes how him in crafty device having seized they may kill.... And [Jesus] being...in Bethany in the house of Simon...lying down of him came woman having alabaster of perfumed oil nard genuine very expensive; having crushed the alabaster she was pouring down of him of the head. Were but some expressing indignation toward themselves. ... 'Was able for this...to be sold upward of denarii three hundred and to be given to the poor;' and they were feeling great displeasure at her. The but Jesus said, 'Let you go off her; why to her troubles you are having beside? [etc.–the rest of the account paraphrases *Matthew's* above].'" *Mark* 14:1-9.

The *Mark* account also is followed textwise by Judas' betraying act.

(3) "...Jesus before six days of the passover came into Bethany." "They made therefore to him supper there.... The therefore Mary having received pound of perfumed oil of nard genuine of much price greased the feet of the Jesus and wiped off to the hairs of her the feet of him.... Is saying Judas the Iscariot...'Through what this the perfumed oil not was sold of three hundred denarii and was given to poor?' ... Said therefore the Jesus, 'Let go off her, in order that into the day of the burial of me she might observe it; the poor for always you are having with selves, me but not always....'" *John* 12:1-8.

The *John* account is followed textwise by a crowd arriving to greet Jesus, having heard that he was coming to Jerusalem.

C. The One Identification of the Bethany Anointer as Mary, sister of Martha (occurring textwise seemingly before the fact).

"Was but some (man) being sick, Lazarus from Bethany out of the village of Mary and Martha of the sister of her. Was but Mary the (one) having greased the Lord to perfumed oil and having wiped dry off the feet of him to the hairs of her, of whom the brother Lazarus was sick." *John* 11:1-2.

II. Mary Magdalene

A. Journeying with Jesus

(1) Jesus went "journeying through down city and village preaching,...and the twelve together with him, and women some who were having been cured..., Mary the (one) *being called* Magdalene [among others]...who were serving to them out of [their possessions.]" *Luke* 8:1-2; italics supplied.¹

Luke 8:1-2 is the only gospel that names Mary Magdalene in Jesus' company before the crucifixion. Sequentially (*i.e.* parallel textwise with the format of all four gospels) it would place her present during Jesus' second tour through the Galilee regions, when he made crossings of the sea of Galilee after addressing an assembly estimated at 4,000 people.

Matthew and *Mark* at the same point only make mention of a town in the Galilee sea region, which may have been Mary Magdalene's home:

(2) "[H]aving let loose the crowds he stepped in into the boat [somewhere along the sea of Galilee], and came into the regions of Magadan." *Matthew* 15:39.

(3) "And...[Jesus] came into the parts of Dalmanutha/[Magadan/Magdala]."² *Mark* 8:10.

B. Witnessing the Crucifixion

(1) "Were but there women many from far off viewing, who followed to the Jesus from the Galilee serving to him; in whom was Mary the Magdalene and Mary the of the James and Joseph mother and the mother of the sons of Zebedee." *Matthew* 27:55.

(2) "Were but also women from afar viewing, in which ones also Mary the Magdalene and Mary the of James the little and of Jose's mother and Salome, who when he was in the Galilee were following to him and were serving to him...." *Mark* 15:40.

(3) "Having stood but beside to the stake of the Jesus the mother of him and the sister of the mother of him, Mary the of the Clopas and Mary the Magdalene. Jesus therefore having seen the mother and the disciple having stood alongside whom he was loving is saying to the mother, 'Woman, see the *son* of you; next he is saying to the disciple, 'See the mother of you.' And from that the hour took the disciple her into the own." *John* 19:25-27.

¹ It should be noted that the first four letters [*kappy/alpha/lambda/omikron*] of the Greek word here translated [*kappa/alpha/lambda/omikron/ypsilon/my/epsilon/ny/eta*] form the prefix of many words attached to qualities of virtue, subtleness, goodness and beauty, and with an added *sigma* occur as the first word for English *beautiful*, *beauteous*, and third word for English *good*. *Greek Dict.* and its *Lexicon*, pp. 346; 29 and 117.

² *Dalmanutha* is given in later manuscripts of *Mark* 8:10, taken by some as an alteration, in that certain older manuscripts state either *Magadan* or *Magdala*. (It is not known whether foundation ruins enclosed in a locked compound near the sea in the vicinity of modern Migdol are, as some natives claim, the remains of Mary Magdalene's home. In 2000 a contributor to this compilation, as a tourist, was advised by the compound's caretaker that entry to the site was permitted only on approval of the archbishop of Tiberias.)

C. At the Tomb Site--Late Afternoon of the Day of the Crucifixion (the day “of Preparation, which is before the sabbath [“sabbaths”³].” *Mark* 15:42 [the plural appears in some cases--see quotations.]

After Jesus’ body was laid in a tomb provided by Joseph of Arimathea, said Joseph-- “having rolled toward stone big to the door of the memorial tomb he went off”--

(1) “Was but there Mary the Magdalene and the other Mary sitting from opposite the grave.” *Matthew* 27:61.

(2) “The but Mary the Magdalene and Mary the of Joses were viewing where he has been put.” *Mark* 15:47.

(3) “[T]he women [unnamed], who were having come together with out of the Galilee to him [Jesus], viewed the memorial tomb and as was put the body of him, having returned but they got ready spices and perfumed oils. And the indeed sabbath they rested....” *Luke* 23:55-56.

(4) *John* does not relate women viewing the site after the entombment.

D. At the Tomb and Ensuing Report to Others (after the sabbath).

(1) “After but of sabbaths, to the lighting up into one of sabbaths, came Mary the Magdalene and the other Mary to view the grave.” Finding the tomb open and empty of Jesus’ body, “having gone off quickly...they ran to report back to the disciples of him [Jesus].” *Matthew* 28:1; 8.

(2) “And having come to be through of the sabbath the Mary the Magdalene and Mary the (mother) of the James and Salome bought spices...etc.” Finding the tomb open, etc., “they fled from the memorial tomb, was having for them trembling and strong emotion were gripping them. And they told nobody anything, for they were in fear.” *Mark* 16:1-7.

(3) “To the but one of the sabbaths of dawn deep upon the tomb they [referring to the unnamed women in (3) above] came bearing...spices.” Finding the stone rolled away from the entrance, etc., “having returned from the memorial tomb they reported...all to the eleven and to all the leftover (ones). They [the women] were but the Magdalene Mary and Joanna and Mary the of James.” “... Peter...ran upon the memorial tomb; and...looking at the bandages alone;; and he went toward himself wondering....” *Luke* 24:1; 10-12.

(4) “To the but one (day) of the sabbaths Mary the Magdalene is coming early...and...stone having been lifted off.... She is running therefore and is coming towards Simon Peter and toward the other disciple whom was having affection for the Jesus,” and told them that “They lifted off the Lord out of the memorial tomb, and not we have known where they put him:’ Went out therefore the Peter and the other disciple...running...together...[etc.]” Afterward, “Went off therefore again toward themselves [understood, their homes,] the disciples. Mary but had stood toward the memorial tomb outside weeping.” *John* 20:1-11.

E. Mary Magdalene Persona

Pistis Sofia (“Wise Faith”) contains discussions purported to have occurred some 11

³The name of the then-month was *Nisan* (which name replaced the *Abib* of Moses’ time). It was the first month of the Hebrew sacred lunar calendar, corresponding with part of our months, March and April. In *Nisan* there occurred the seasonal ceremonial convocation and feast of “Passover,” instituted by Moses to commemorate the exodus from Egypt (*Exodus* 12:2, 13:4; *Numbers* 33:3). When such a major sacred convocation happened to fall on the same 24-hour period of a regular weekly sabbath, it was referred to as a *great sabbath* (“...it was for great the day of that sabbath;” *John* 19:31). Gospel passages (e.g. “On the day first of the unfermented cakes,” *Matthew* 26:17) have led to much commentary concerning the actual timing of events immediately preceding Jesus’ crucifixion, viz. “In the month first on fourteenth the (day) of the month between the evenings, (is) the Passover...and on the fifteenth day...the feast of unleavened bread...seven days unleavened bread you shall eat; on the day first a gathering holy shall be for you, any work laborious not shall you do. ...and the day seventh a holy gathering, when work laborious not you shall do.” *Leviticus* 23:1-8. The word “Passover” also could refer to the entire festival period.

years after the crucifixion. Reported as present were Mother Mary, apostle Peter, a "Mary," and some other disciples. The "Mary" is a most avid questioner and debater. When Peter expresses resentment because Mary is monopolizing the conversation, she comments, "Peter hates women."

Pistis Sofia, a gnostic document, may not be considered a reliable source as to competition between Mary Magdalene and apostle Peter, fueled by shared understandings between her and Jesus. A scroll find at Nag Hammadi in 1945, however, echoes such suggested interaction.⁴ In one Greek fragment, dated to the early third century a.d., "Mary" is seen attempting to strengthen the resolve of the apostles and disciples, as they grieve the absence of their leader:

(1) "Peter said to Mary, 'Sister, we know that the Savior loved you more than the rest of women. Tell us the words of the Savior which you remember--which you know [but] we do not, nor have we heard them.'" Some of what Mary then relates has a mystical bent. Andrew refuses to believe Jesus was capable of such strange ideas, while Peter doubts Jesus would have spoken so privately with a woman. Then "Mary wept and said to Peter, 'My brother Peter, what do you think? Do you think that I thought this up in my own head and that I am lying about the Savior?' Levi said, 'Peter, you always have been hot-tempered; now I see you contending against the woman like your adversaries. But if the Savior made her worthy who are you, indeed, to reject her? Surely the Savior knew her very well.'" *The Gospel of Mary*; pages 472-3.

(2) "Simon Peter said to them, 'Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of Life.' Jesus said, 'I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she, too, may become a living spirit resembling you males.'" *The Gospel According to Thomas*; page 130.

(3) "There were three who always walked with the Master: Mary his mother and her sister⁵ and Magdalene, the one who was called his companion." ... "And the companion of the [...] Mary Magdalene. [...] her more than [...] the disciples [...] kiss her [...] on her [...]. The rest [...] by it [...]. They said to him, 'Why do you love her more than all of us?' The Savior answered and said to them, 'Why do I not love you like her? When a blind man and one who sees are both together in darkness, they are no different from one another.'⁶ *The Gospel of Phillip*; pages 135-6, with its lacunae.

III. 'Beloved Disciple'

A. At the 'Last Supper'

When Jesus revealed that one of the people present at supper was going to betray him,

Peter, "nodding therefore to this [one]...is saying **to him**, 'Say who it is about whom he [Jesus] is speaking.' Having fallen upward that [one] thus upon the breast of the Jesus **he** is saying to him 'Lord, who is it?'" *John* 13:24-26.

⁴ Quotations are from Robinson, James M., General Editor, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, San Francisco:Harper & Row, 1981.

⁵ Concluded to be Salome--refer to Appendix 4C, Salome.

⁶ Bracketed portions indicate where the ancient manuscripts are undecipherable.
App4C.Att1.DetailA

The unnamed 'beloved' disciple occupied the *bosom* position next to Jesus.⁷ It is not stated that only apostles attended the last supper.

B. At the Crucifixion

"Having stood but beside to the stake of the Jesus the mother of him and the sister of the mother of him, Mary the of the Clopas and Mary the Magdalene. Jesus therefore having seen the mother and the disciple having stood alongside whom he was loving is saying to the mother, 'Woman, see *the son* of you; next he is saying to the disciple, 'See the mother of you.' And from that the hour took the disciple her into the own." *John 19:25-27*.

C. At a Later Sighting of Jesus Near Tiberias

Some of the disciples were fishing; in the company were Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, and "the (ones) of Zebedee [James and John] and others out of his disciples two." As the sun rose a man approached who saw their nets come up empty. "Try again!," he told them. The nets then became so full the group lacked strength to lift them; and,

"Is saying therefore the disciple that whom was loving the Jesus to the Peter, 'The Lord it is.'" *John 21:7*"

A dialogue between Jesus and Peter follows in which Jesus probes the depth of Peter's love for him, after which, Peter turned and looked at "*the disciple whom was loving the Jesus...who also fell upward in the supper upon the breast of him...*," and:

"...Peter is saying to the Jesus, Lord, this (one) but what?"

Jesus replied:

"If ever *him* [that one?] I am willing to be remaining until I am coming, what toward you?' ... Went forth therefore this the word into the brothers that the disciple that not is dying."

The fourth gospel's writer then adds a clarification:

"Not said but to him the Jesus that not *he* is dying, but, 'If *him* I am willing to be remaining until I am coming, what toward you?'"

John 21:15-22.

D. Transcendence of Bodily Relationships

(1) Once Jesus was posed the following query: a woman in her life consecutively marries and is widowed by seven brothers. In the day of the resurrection, to whom does she belong? He answered:

(a) "You are mistaken not knowing the scriptures nor the power of the God; in for the resurrection neither they are marrying nor are they given in marriage, but as angels in the heaven they are...." *Matthew 22:29-30*.

⁷The then-standard ("triclinal") custom for formal banquets was to recline on couches which were backed against three sides of food tables, with the fourth side open for serving. It is believed one couch may have held as many as four or five occupants but that of the honored guest, only three. In taking food, the honored guest at center would have one person before his bosom and the other at his back.

(b) “Not through this are you erring [?--] not having known the scriptures not-but the power of the God? Whenever for out of dead they might stand up, neither they are marrying nor they are being given in marriage, but they are as angels in the heavens....” *Mark 12:24-25*.

(c) “The sons of the age this are marrying and they are given in marriage, the (ones) but having been counted worthy of the age that to attain and of the resurrection the out of dead neither are marrying nor are being given in marriage; neither for to die yet they are able, equal to angels for they are....” *Luke 20:34-36*.

(2) When Jesus was interrupted at a large Galilean assembly, to be told his family had arrived, he queried and answered himself:

(a) “‘Who is the mother of me, and who are the brothers of me?’ And having stretched out the hand of him upon the disciples of him he said, ‘Look! The mother of me and the brothers of me; whoever for likely should do the will of the Father of me, of the (one) in heavens, he of me brother and sister and mother is.’” *Matthew 12:48-50* (italics supplied).

(b) “‘Who is the mother of me and the brothers?’ And having looked around on the (ones) about him to circle sitting he is saying, ‘See the mother of me and the brothers of me; who likely should do the will of the God, this (one) brother of me and sister and mother is.’” *Mark 3:33-35*.

(c) “‘Mother of me and brothers of me these are the (ones) the word of the God hearing and doing.’” *Luke 8:21*.

Appendix 4D

SOME TERMS OF INTEREST

Adulterate/adultery

“adulterate...: to corrupt, debase, or make impure by additions of foreign or inferior substance...” *Webster*, page 13.

“adultery¹...: voluntary sexual intercourse between a married man and someone other than a wife or between a married woman and someone other than a husband.” *Webster*, page 13.

“[N]ot shall enter a bastard into the assembly of [Tet.]; even the generation tenth, none shall of his enter into the assembly....” *Deuteronomy 23:2*

“Not you shall commit *adultery*.” *Exodus 20:1; Deuteronomy 5:18*.

“If is found a man lying down with a woman married to a husband, then they shall die, even both of them.” *Deuteronomy 22:22*.

“As for *adultery*, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming...that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families that children should be known to be *genuine*,” *AJ III.XII.1*; italics supplied.

“It was said...”Who likely might divorce the woman of him, let him give to her certificate of divorce.” I...am saying...that everyone the divorcing the woman of him except of word of fornication is making her to commit adultery, and who if ever [woman] having been divorced might marry commits adultery.” *Matthew*, 5:31-32.

“[W]ho likely might divorce the woman of him not upon fornication and might marry another commits adultery.” *Matthew 19:9*.

“Who might likely might loosen from the woman of him and might marry another is committing adultery upon her.” *Mark 10-12*.

“Everyone the loosing off the woman of him and marrying different he is committing adultery, and the having been loosed off from male person marrying is committing adultery.” *Luke 16:18*.

See also Divorce and Fornication, this appendix.

Angel - See Messenger.

Anoint - See “messiah” and “christ”.

‘Beloved’ Disciple

- Refer to Appendix 4C, Attachment 1.

Blasphemy

“[H]e who blasphemes the name of [Tet.] surely shall be executed; surely shall cast stones at him all the congregation; as an alien, so a native.” *Leviticus 24:16*.

“And the person that does anything with a hand high, whether of native or of the alien, [Tet.] the same blasphemes; and shall be cut off person that from the midst of his people.” *Numbers 15:30*.

Byblus

“Aegyptian papyrus.” *Strabo*, Vol. VIII, page 59, footnote 2.

Carpenter

Tekton, tektonos: “a worker in wood, a carpenter, joiner, builder;...
2. any craftsman or workman, a master of any art....” *Greek Dict.*, p. 696

Uncertainty exists as to whether Joseph [A] was a simple carpenter and whether Jesus himself was a carpenter. Two *New Testament* sentences are involved, from which it

¹ Evolution of the definition of “adultery” vis-a-vis “adulteration” is not explored in this work.

has been taken that both Joseph [A] and Jesus were carpenters:

(a) *Matthew* 13:55 appears definitely to refer to Joseph [A] as a carpenter:

“Not this is the of the [tektonos/] *carpenter* son...?” (It is rendered, “Is this not the carpenter’s son?,” which corresponds well if commas are added to the transliteration: “Not this is the, of the carpenter, son...?”)

Joseph told Mary, “I must go to mind my trade of building.” *Protevanglion* VIII:16.

“...Joseph returned from his building houses abroad, which was his trade....”

Protevanglion X:1.

(b) In the *Mark* 6:3 parallel passage it is Jesus who appears designated a carpenter:

“Not this is the [tekton/] *carpenter*, the son of Mary, etc....?”

Perhaps worthy of consideration are potential effects over time in the copying, composition and transmittal of the scriptural sentences (e.g. secondary definitions in the Greek: (1) tau/epsilon/kappa/ny/omikron/ny = “*that which is borne or born, a bairn, child...*,” tau/epsilon/kappa/ny/omikron/omega, “(*teknon*), to furnish with children. II. to beget children, of the father....” (“Son...*teknon*”). *Greek Dictionary*, p. 696 (*Lexicon*, p. 222).

Commagena/Commagene

“[R]ather a small country; and it has a city fortified by nature, Samosata [‘Syria’], where the royal residence used to be; but [by the time of Strabo’s writing] it ha[d] now become a Roman province. *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. VII, tr. Jones, Ph.D., LL.D., Horace Leonard, London & NY: Putnam Sons, 1930.

It was at “Seleucia (a fortress of Mesopotamia)” which was placed “within the boundaries of Commagene by Pompey,” “that Tigranes slew Selene, surnamed Cleopatra, after imprisoning her for a time....” *Strabo*, Jones Transl., page 241.

“[A]ncient Commagene—Nemrut Dagi, [eastern] Turkey.” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, vol. 30, no. 2, Mar/Apr 2004, page 64.

Divorce

“When has taken a man a wife and married her, and it happens that not she finds favor in his eyes because he has found in her improper behavior and he writes her a bill of divorce, and put in her hand, and sends her out of his house, and if she leaves his house, and goes and becomes man’s another, and hates her the husband latter, and writes her a bill of divorce, and puts in her hand, and sends her out of his house, or if dies the husband latter, who took her to him to be his wife; not may her husband former who sent her away again take her to be his wife, after that she is defiled....” *Deuteronomy* 24:1-4.

“Pharisees were inquiring [of Jesus] if it is lawful to male person woman to loosen from....” He replied, “What to you commanded Moses?” They responded, “Made the concession Moses little book of dismissal to write and to loosen from.” *Mark* 10:2-4.

“Moses...conceded to you to divorce the women of you....” *Matthew* 19:8.

See also Appendix 3B, II, Sub-part IV, The Two Reports of Post-Repatriation Excommunications, where dismissal of “foreign” wives and children became a requisite for covenants in the Ezra/ Nehemiah reformation.

Salome I’s unilateral divorce from Costobarus was a unique event; see at Appendix 4B, II, fn. 8.

See also Adultery, this appendix.

“enomizeto”

This Greek word at *Luke* 3:23 is translated, by the interlinear *New Testament* referenced in this work, as, “it was being opined,” and reconstituted as, “as the opinion was.” The English and Greek Lexicon, under “Opinion,” does provide the root *nomizo* among several other words (p. 167). The dictionary, at its page 466 in the same volume; defines *nomizo* as: “to hold or own as a custom or usage: said of things recognised by convention or prescriptive right.... 2. to adopt, practise a custom or usage.... 3. to own, acknowledge, recognise as.... 4. absol. to be accustomed. 5. Pass. to be governed after old laws and customs. II. ...to make common use of, use; and in Att., to use as a current coin....” (p. 466).

Epoch Abbreviations -- subject still to indefinite uses.

New Oxford American Dictionary:

“**BC abbr.** Before Christ (used to indicate that a [year] is before the Christian Era [or, the specified number of years before the accepted year of Jesus’ birth]).” Page 141

“**AD abbr.** Anno Domini (used to indicate that a date comes the specified number of years after the accepted date of Christ’s birth).” Page 16

“**...USAGE:...**some writers have begun using the abbreviations CE (...Common Era) in place of AD, and BCE (...Before the Common Era) in place of BC.” Page 141.

“**BCE abbr.** ... (used...esp. by non-Christians).” Page 141.

Fornication

Provisions in *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus* do not employ the word *fornication* in provisions of specified punishments and recompense in situations of “copulation,” “lying with,” etc., virgins and servant girls.

“fornicate...[LL *fornicatus*, pp. of *fornicare*, fr. L *fornic-*, *fornix* arch, vault, brothel]: to commit fornication....” *Webster*, page 329.

“fornication.... 1: human sexual intercourse other than between a man and his wife: sexual intercourse between a spouse and an unmarried person--used in some translations (as AV, DV) of the Bible (as in Mt 5:32) for unchastity (as in RSV) or *immorality* (as in NCE) to cover all sexual intercourse except between husband and wife or concubine. 2: sexual intercourse on the part of an unmarried person accomplished with consent and not determined adultery.” *Webster*, page 329.

Impalement

“If the wife of one man on account of another man has their mates murdered, both of them shall be *impaled*.” Provision 153 of the *Code of Hammurabi/Hammurabi*.²

Cyrus the Great said of his decree, “Whoever shall change word this let be torn out timber from his house and him *impaled* be affixed on it [*sic.*]” *Ezra* 6:11. Cyrus “commanded that whosoever should transgress...out of his own house should a tree be taken and he thereupon hanged.” *1 Esdras* 6:31.

“There is no evidence that the Greek work *stauros* meant a ‘cross.’ “In the classical Greek...*stauros* meant merely an upright stake pale...the verb *stauro'o* meant to fence with pales, to form a stockade or pallisade.” “There is no proof to the contrary” “that the writers of the...Greek scriptures...in the common (*koine*)

Greek...used the word *stauros* to mean the same thing as in the classical Greek.” (Greek/English Interlinear *New Testament* text referenced in this work, pp. 1155.)

“[W]ho not is taking the *stauron* [stake]....” *Matthew* 10:38.

“Jesus...hanged upon wood...;” “taken down from the wood....” *Acts* 5:30, 10:39, 13:29.

“Cursed upon every(one) the hanging self upon wood.” *Galatians* 3:13.

“body of him upon the wood.” *1 Peter* 2:24.

“**maiden**” - See [Virgin](#).

“messenger” vs. “angel”

“*aggelos*...a messenger, envoy. II. a messenger from God, an angel.” *Greek Dictionary*, page 4.

“Both Hebrew *mal'akh*’ and the Greek *ag'ge'los* literally mean ‘messenger.’” “When [it has been determined that] spirit messengers are indicated, the words are translated ‘angel(s),’ [e.g. *2 Kings* 19:35, an ‘angel’ of *Tet.* struck the Assyrian camp; cf. also the ‘angel’ Rafael of *Tobit*, Appendix 2C, V;] but if [it had been determined that] reference is to human creatures, the rendering is ‘messenger(s).’” *Aid* p. 77.

² Translated by L. W. King with commentary from Charles F. Horne, Ph.D. (1915) and the Eleventh Edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1910, by the Rev. Claude Hermann Walter Johns, M.A. Litt.D [on-line].

Other examples: “the lips of the priest should guard knowledge...for the messenger [malakh] of [Tet.]...is he,” *Malachi* 2:7; “To the angel [aggelo] in the congregation in Ephesus...write...,” *Revelation* 1:20.

Zachariah was told by an *aggelos* named Gabriel that “Elizabeth [is willing to] will generate son to you...” *Luke* 1:13, 19.

Mary [A] was told by an *aggelos* named Gabriel:

(a) that she had been “highly favored.... ...[and to] Not be fearing, Mary...you will conceive in belly and you will give birth to son....” Mary asked, “How will be this, since male person not am knowing?” Gabriel replied,

“...power of Most High will overshadow³ you; through which also the being generated holy will be called....” (“...the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, without any of the heats of lust”). *Luke* 1:26, 31, 34-35 (*Gospel of Mary*, VII:19); *The Protevangelion*, IX:13.

“messiah” and “christ”

Messiah, as understood from the literature, is derived from the Hebrew root word *mashahh*, to smear, which in Greek is [khi/hro/iota/omega] *krio*, from which was derived *khristos*, *Christ*.

The English translations, *anoint*, *anointed one*, appear in the scriptures in two general meanings:

(a) When reference is to an intangible, Tet.-imposed invisible marking of a person as a particular representative, which may or may not obtain corroboration in material ceremony.

(b) When a person or thing is marked in a ceremonial confirmation of his assumed leadership (Saul with oil, by Samuel; *1 Samuel* 10:1; David with oil, by Samuel, *1 Samuel* 16:13; Elisha sent a vial of oil to pour over Jehu’s head, Appendix 2A, IV, at fn. 80). In many cases of this type the actual act and substance are not related--e.g. the prophet Elijah was moved to “anoint Hazael, for king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi you shall anoint for king over Israel; and Elisha the son of Shaphat...you shall anoint for a prophet...,” with no ceremony or substance described; *1 Kings* 19:15-16.

‘Anointability’ in sense (b) was obtainable via established succession: “And took Zadok the priest the horn of the oil out of the tent, and anointed Solomon;” *1 Kings* 1:39.

The commingling of definitions, complicated by the Greek *krio* and *ho* [the] *theos*--see Tetragrammaton, this appendix--seems apparent in a discourse between Pharisees and Jesus. The discourse was related to language in *Psalms* 110, which states, “Of David a psalm. A statement of Tet. to my lord: Sit at my right hand, until I set your enemies a stool for your feet.” The discourse is transliterated in the *New Testament* referenced herein with punctuation and capitalization as follows, with Greek words as translated:

“What to you does it seem about the [*khristou*, tr.:] Christ? Whose son is he? They are saying to him of the David. He is saying to them How therefore David in spirit is calling him [*kyrios*, tr.:] Lord saying Said Lord to the [*kyrio*, tr.:] lord of me Be sitting out of right-hand of me until likely I should put the enemies of you beneath the feet of you? If therefore David is calling him [*kyrion*, tr.:] Lord, how son of him is he? And no one was able to answer....” *Matthew* 22:41ff.

Compare *Mark* 12:35ff., in which the question is reported as, “How are saying the scribes that the [*khristos*, tr.:] Christ son of David is?;” the sentence structure also is different but the forms *kyrio* and *kyrion* also are used. (‘How say you that the *anointed* son of David, is he?’)

In *Luke*, Jesus begins the question: “He said but toward them How are they saying the [*khriston*] to be of David son? ...[F]or David is saying in Book of Psalms Said [*kyrios*] to the [*kyrio*] of me Be sitting...feet of you; David therefore him [*kyrion*] is calling, and how of him son is he?” 20:41ff.

Naditum

“Like Sarah, Rebekah gave birth only once, after years of barrenness. So did

³ See “overshadow,” this appendix.

Samuel's mother, Hannah the Levite (*1 Samuel* 1). Rachel was long barren before bearing Joseph, and waited many years more until she conceived Benjamin.... None of these women [are reported to have had] daughters, and in each case the son was peculiarly blessed by God. Does this perhaps record a tradition of childlessness required from a *naditum* priestess...over a certain term of years--as from the Vestal Virgins at Rome--and of a peculiar sanctity enjoyed by any son born afterwards?" *Graves and Patai*, p. 190.

"A close parallel to the difficult relationship between Abram, Sarai and Hagar is found in the Laws of Hammurabi: 'If a man marries a priestess--*naditum* (a hierodule, or temple servant, forbidden to bear children)--and if she gives her husband a bond-maid to bear him children, and if afterwards this bond-maid demands equal honour with her mistress because of the children she has borne, the priestess must not sell her, but she may be returned to bondage among her fellow-slaves.' Casting a shoe across property was a ritual act of asserting possession (*Ruth* IV.7; *Psalms* LX.10). Sarai cast shoes in Hagar's face as a reminder of her servitude." *Graves and Patai*, p. 159; ["Hammurabi, Laws of. A legal code promulgated by Hammurabi (1728-1686 b.c.), the sixth king of the Old Babylonian (Amorite) Dynasty. See Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 163-180." *Ibid.*, p. 287.]

"If a father devote a temple-maid or temple-virgin to God and give her no present; if then the father die, she shall receive the third of a child's portion from the inheritance of her father's house, and enjoy its usufruct so long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers." *Code of Hammurabi*, no. 181. "If a father devote his daughter as a wife of Mardi of Babylon, and give her no present, nor a deed; if then her father die, then she shall receive one-third of her portion as a child of her father's house from her brothers, but Marduk may leave her estate to whomsoever she wishes." *Code of Hammurabi*, no. 182.

"And I took to record for me witnesses faithful, Uriah the priest and Zechariah the son of Jerebechiah. And I drew near to the prophetess, and she conceived and bore a son." *Isaiah* 8.2.

"And when the child [Mary A] was three years old, Joachim [her father] said, 'Let us invite the daughters of the Hebrews, who are undefiled, and let them take each a lamp, and let them be lighted, that the child may not turn back again, and her mind be set against the temple.... And they did thus till they ascended into the temple.... And the high priest received her....' *Protevangelion*, VII.3-4. Anna and Joachim, childless for 20 years, "vowed, if God should favour them with any issue, they would devote it to the service of the Lord;" "So Anna conceived, and brought forth a daughter;" "And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the temple...with offerings," "[T]he parents having offered up their sacrifice, according to the custom of the law, and perfected their vow, left the Virgin with other virgins in the apartments of the temple, who were to be brought up there, and they returned home." *Mary* I.5-6; III.11; IV:1 and 8.

"[T]he priest the highest of his brothers.... ... a wife in her virginity shall take; a widow, or one put away, or a polluted one, a harlot, these not he shall take, but rather a virgin of his people he shall take a wife; and not shall he pollute his seed among his people...." *Leviticus* 21:10ff.

It is not reported, however, that high priests were required to take their wives from the females dedicated to the temple.

"overshadow"

The Greek word at *Luke* 1:35 is *epsilon/pi/iota/sigma/kappa/iota/alpha/sigma/epsilon/iota* [*episkiasei*]:

episkiazō, "...to throw a shade upon, overshadow...." *Greek Dictionary*, page 260. In that volume's Lexicon, *episkiazō* is given as the fourth meaning of "Overshadow;" page 169; and provided at page 639 of the dictionary is, "skiazō...to shade, overshadow, darken: to throw a shadow on. II. to cover, veil."

Priest, "Chief" vs. "High"

Although Aaron was the first *de facto* 'chief' priest, he is referred to as 'high.' Under king David's administration, in addition to co-chief priests Abiathar and Zadok, each "house" or priesthood division apparently had its own 'high' priest, who served at temple at regular cyclic intervals (see Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A; *cf.* also the *New Testament*

Zachariah/Zechariah [father of John the baptizer], of the division of *Abijah*—Appendix 4C, Zachariah).

Subsequent to Solomon’s dismissal of Abiathar, and retention of Zadok as sole chief priest, interchanging use in the texts of the terms, ‘chief’ and ‘high,’ often hampers distinguishing individuals. (The tandem terms continue in the *New Testament*, e.g. descriptions of events involving either or both Ananus/Annas and Joseph Caiaphas.)

A single Greek word rendered as either “chief priest(s)” or “high priest(s)” occurs in six forms in the first four books of the *New Testament*. Full quotations are not included here, but the sites are as follows:

Form	Book : verse	Interlinear English	Person(s)	Reconstituted English
(1) <i>arkhiea</i>	<i>Matthew</i> 26:57	high priest	Caiaphas	high priest
	<i>Mark</i> 14:53	chief priest	undesigned	“
	<i>John</i> 18:24	high priest	Ananus/Annas	high priest
(2) <i>arkhiereis</i>	<i>Matthew</i> 26:59	chief priests	undesigned	chief priests
	“ 27:1	“	“	“
	“ 27:62	“	“	“
	<i>Mark</i> 14:53	“	“	“
	“ 14:55	“	“	“
	“ 15:1	“	“	“
	“ 15:3	“	“	“
	“ 15:10, 11	“	“	“
	<i>Luke</i> 22:52	“	“	“
	“ 22:66	“	“	“
	“ 23:4	“	“	“
	“ 23:10	“	“	“
	“ 23:13	“	“	“
	<i>John</i> 11:57	“	“	“
	“ 18:35	“	“	“
“ 19:6	“	“	“	
“ 19:15	“	“	“	
“ 19:21	“	“	“	
(3) <i>arkhiereus</i>	<i>Matthew</i> 26:62	chief priest	undesigned	high priest
	<i>Mark</i> 14:60	“	“	“
	“ 14:61	“	“	high priest
	“ 14:63	“	“	“
	<i>John</i> 11:49	chief priest	Caiaphas	high priest
“ 18:13	chief priest	Caiaphas	high priest	
“ 18:19	chief priest	undesigned	chief priest	
(4) <i>arkhiereon</i>	<i>Mark</i> 14:43	chief priests	“	chief priests
	<i>John</i> 18:3	“	“	“
(5) <i>arkhiereos</i>	<i>Luke</i> 22:50	chief priest	undesigned	high priest
	<i>John</i> 18:10	“	“	“
	“ 18:16	“	“	“
(6) <i>arkhierei</i>	“ 18:26	“	“	“
	<i>John</i> 18:15	“	“	“
	“ 18:22	“	“	chief priest

“sign”

Nicodemus remarked to Jesus, “Rabbi, we know that from [*Theos*] you have come teacher; no one for is able these the *signs* to be doing which you are doing....” (*John* 3:2)

The Greek letters of the word rendered *signs*, plural, as in the foregoing passage, are *sigma, eta, my, epsilon, iota, alpha* = semeia (singular, *sigma, eta, my, epsilon, iota, omikron, ny* = semeion). They form the root of English “*semeiography* [Gr. *semeion*, a sign + *grapho*, to write]...a description of the marks or symptoms of diseases.--*semeiology* [Gr. *semeion*, and

[logos, discourse.] The doctrine of signs.” (*Webster Encyclopedia Dictionary*, Chicago, Ill.: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1952.)

“Son of Man”/“Son of man”/son of Man”/”son of man”

There has been considerable exposition regarding the usage of this/these term(s), which appear(s) in both the *Old* and *New Testament* scriptures.

“In Hebrew this [expression] is mainly a translation of...*ben ‘a dham*’⁴ ...used generically for ‘mankind,’...in essence, a son of mankind, a human or earthling son.... The phrase is often employed in parallel with other Hebrew terms for ‘man,’ namely, ‘*ish*...and ‘*enosh*....” (*Aid*, page 1531.)

“Mankind, *alpha/ny/theta/hro/omega/pi/omikron/iota* [anthropoi]⁵....” *Greek Dictionary* (English and Greek Lexicon), page 152.

The following quoted examples are provided here as given in the transliterations, although it is not knowable whether or which words originally expressed were or were not capitalizable:

A. Use in *Old Testament*

“he said to me, Discern, O <i>son of man</i> ” (<i>Daniel</i> 8:17)	<i>ben ‘a dham</i> ’
“not shall dwell there man; not shall sojourn in it a <i>son of man</i> ” (<i>Jeremiah</i> 49:18)	“
(This is repeated at 50:40, except an “a” is supplied before “man” in the transliteration.)	
“he said to me, <i>Son of man</i> , these....;” “prophesy, <i>son of man!</i> ” (<i>Ezekiel</i> 11:2, 5)	“
“Let your hand be on...the <i>son of man</i> ” (<i>Psalms</i> 80:17)	“
“Do not trust in princes, in a <i>son of man</i> ” (<i>Psalms</i> 146:3)	“

The same Hebrew characters for the word, “man,” are employed in:

“Let us make *man*” (*Genesis* 1:26)
 “son of *man*” (*Daniel* 8:17)
 “son of *man*” (*Jeremiah* 49:18)
 “Son of *man*,” “son of *man*” (*Ezekiel* 11:2, 5)
 “the son of the *man*” (*Psalms* 80:17)
 “a son of *man*” (*Psalms* 146:3)

And employed also in:

“And the *man* knew Eve his wife.... ... “And knew *Adam*⁶ again his wife” *Genesis* 4:1, 25.
 “This the book of the generations of *Adam*....” *Genesis* 5:1.

B. Use in *New Testament*

In the Greek, the root word, *anthropoi* (in its various declensions) is employed both for *man*-undesigned and in the term, *son of man*:

“the...Son of the <i>man</i> is going away...woe but to the <i>man</i> that through whom the Son of the <i>man</i> is being given over” (<i>Matthew</i> 26:24)	<i>anthropoi</i>
“the...Son of the <i>man</i> is going under...woe but to the <i>man</i> that through whom the Son of the <i>man</i> is being given over” (<i>Mark</i> 14:21)	“
“and everyone who will say word into the Son of the <i>man</i> ” (<i>Luke</i> 12:10)	“
“to stand in front of the Son of the <i>man</i> ” (<i>Luke</i> 21:36)	“
“as...Moses put high up ⁷ the serpent in the desolate, thus...it is	

⁴ Linguistic connections with the proper name *Adam* (used once in the texts; at fn. 6) are not explored in this work.

⁵ From which has evolved the term “anthropology...[NL *anthropologia*, fr. *anthrop-* + *-logia* -logy] 1 a : the science of man....” *Webster*, page 38.

⁶ Introduction as proper name of an individual.

⁷ Not explored here is a potential alternate translation, ‘elevated,’ for the word rendered as, “to be put on high up,” *vis-a-vis* Moses’ ‘elevation’ during the exodus sojourn through the wilderness of the “Serpent” (*vis-à-vis*, in turn, whether “Serpent” symbolized an Egyptian leader after the signet on his headdress).

necessary the Son of the *man*....” (*John* 3:14) “
 The crowd questioned, “We heard that out of the law that the [anointed
 one] is remaining into the age; and how are saying you that it is
 necessary to be put high up the Son of the *man*? Who is this
 the Son of the *man*?”” (*John* 12:34)

Terms Involving Relationship by Marriage

In “Common Indo-European... .. There is a word in common for *daughter-in-law*...
 On the other hand, there is no Common Indo-European word for *son-in-law*; here and there
 we find a trace of similarity between the two branches of languages, but there is no
 consistent agreement amount a large number of branches. There are certain words in
 common for [a woman’s] *parents-in-law* (that is to day, the *husband’s* parents)” documented
 in all ten branches of the Indo-European family, and it is clear...that they applied only to the
 husband’s parents.” The parents of a wife “had different names, which do not agree in any
 two branches: *wife’s father* in Greek is *pentheros*...Armenian, *aner*” [etc.]. “For the
 relationship of brother-in-law and sister-in-law we have Latin *levir* ‘husband’s brother,’ *glos*
 ‘husband’s sister,’ and ‘janitrices,’ ‘brother’s wives [*sic.*],’ all ancient Indo-European names.
 On the other hand, there is no general Indo-European name for the wife’s brother or sister,
 for the sister’s husband, and so on.” Pedersen, Holger, *The Discovery of Language*, tr.
 Spargo, John Webster, Bloomington, Ind.:Indiana University Press, 1959, p. 332.

Tetragrammaton

Note: Study of the evolution of the scriptures in their evolution through translations
 and copyings is a vast library unto itself, far beyond the scope of this work. (One
 example is the scholarship pertaining to different expressive strands identified in
Genesis, including the [plural] term, *Elohim*.)

The following brief data is offered only indicatively.

Tetragrammaton is the term given to four joined Hebrew letters (*yohdh/iod, he’,
 waw/vau, he’*) which appear approximately six thousand times as the ‘name’ of God in the *Old
 Testament* manuscripts. The *tetragrammaton* has been found also printed in Aramaic
 characters, in some ancient fragments. In English it has been rendered as either YHWH or
 JHWH (from which latter evolved the term, “Jehovah.”).

(a) As to the *Old Testament*:

“[D]uring the early centuries of the Common Era, the practice developed of
 substituting the words *Kyrios*...and *Theos*...for the Divine Name...in copies of the
 Greek *Septuagint* translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Other translations, such as
 the Latin *Vulgate*, the *Douay Version* (based on the Vulgate), and the *King James* or
Authorized Version, as well as some modern translations..., followed a similar practice.”
Aid, p. 1016.

An Initial belief, that the *tetragrammaton* was not used in the Greek *Septuagint
 Version* (*LXX*)--the first translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made in the third century
 B.C., “was based upon the copies of *LXX* as found in the great manuscripts of the
 fourth and fifth centuries A.D.... ..disproved by the...remains...of a papyrus roll of
LXX...the second half of the book of Deuteronomy [in which] [n]ot one...shows an
 example of [*kyrios* or *theos*]...but in each instance the Tetragrammaton is written
 in Aramaic characters.” *Greek Interlinear*, pages 11-12.

“Originally the Hebrew scriptures were written without vowels or punctuation, and
 without our present chapter and verse divisions. In the second half of the first
 millennium C.E. the Masorettes...Bible copyists, established a system of vowel points
 and accent marks.... ..[I]n [many] cases they changed the Tetragrammaton...to
 read either ‘Lord’ [*Adhonay*] or ‘God [*Elohim*].’” (*Aid*, pages 149, 36, 513.)

⁸ Here supplied, “Christ”--refer to “messiah” and “christ”.

⁹ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 c. 262 b.c.

¹⁰ Explanations have been explored for this plural word of the singular, *Eloah*. (See, for example, *Psalms* 82, translated,
 “[*Adhonay*] God stands in the company of [*EI?*] God in the midst of the [*adhonay*] gods...,” and *John* 10:34ff., “Not is it having been

As examples, in the interlinear text referenced in this work, the tetragrammaton is found translated 12 times in *2 Kings* 12:1-17 as “the Lord” and 11 times in *2 Chronicles* 24:1-14, while the twice-appearing Hebrew *adhonay* in the latter verses is rendered “God.”

(b) As to the *New Testament*:

Apart from why the *tetragrammaton* is absent completely from manuscripts of the *New Testament* (e.g. in material quoted therein from the *Old*), one issue posed relates to the manner in which it was decided when to employ *kyrios*, and when, *theos*.

Kyrios (kappa/ypsilon/hro/iota/sigma), “I. of men, *having power or authority over, lord*¹¹ or *master of....*” Greek Dictionary, page 400.

Khristos (khi/hro/iota/sigma/tau/omikron/sigma), “...*to be rubbed on....* II. *anointed....* 2 [preceded by *the-*]...Anointed One, the Christ, as a transl. of the Hebrew *Messiah*.” Greek Dictionary, page 790.

Theos (theta/epsilon/omikron/sigma), “...*God....*” Greek Dictionary, page 315.

“virgin”

The English word rendered from the Hebrew is given in brackets in the verses quoted:

In Hebrew, *bthulah* is “virgin:”

Rebekah, “a *bthulah* [virgin];” “the *bthulah* [virgin]” (*Genesis* 24:16; 24:43)

“...*bthulah* [virgin], daughter of Zion” (*Isaiah* 37:1)

“O *bthulah* [virgin] daughter of Babylon”¹² (*Isaiah* 47:1)

In Hebrew, *almah* is “maiden:”

Rebekah, “the *almah* [virgin]” (*Genesis* 24:43)

“...the *almah* [virgin] will conceive and bear a son....” (*Isaiah* 7:14)

“Parthenos...*a maid, maiden, virgin...*--sometimes masc., *an unmarried youth.*

... II. as Adj. *maiden, virgin, pure, chaste.*” (*Greek Dictionary*, page 533)

“The *parthenos* [virgin] in belly will have...” (*Matthew* 1:23)

“...toward *parthenon* [virgin]” (*Luke* 1:27)

written in the law of you that ['] I said, [theoi] *gods* you are?”)

¹¹ One of many examples of *kyrios* is at *Mark* 11:3/*Luke* 19:31, concerning Jesus' acquisition of an animal to ride into Jerusalem on the there-described occasion--refer to Appendix 2A, *King's Mule* and its fn. 9.

¹² Other instances of *bthulah*[virgin] may be found at *Leviticus* 21:13, 14, *Deuteronomy* 32:25; *Judges* 21:12, *1 Kings* 1:2, *Esther* 2:2.

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HISTORY OF THE DAUGHTERS

ERRATA

PAGE

CORRECTION

81	D. at page bottom belongs at top of page 82.
323*	Footnote 2 references are 28 and <u>29</u> .
332*	Footnote 4, remove (<i>fn.6</i>).
334	Footnote 11, remove extra <i>t</i> at end of word, <i>weigh</i> .
342	Footnote 27, <i>add</i> ... (Descendancies, Esau Wives) at <i>Timna</i> , <i>fn. 6</i> .
356	Footnote 15 is <i>Blank</i> .
399*	Paragraph 5, Cleopatra | (<i>not #1</i>).
453*	Second paragraph, <i>add</i> : "Stratonice's husband's son [<i>Antiochus A</i>] by a former wife [<i>Laodice</i>]...."
474*	Chart, line 6, Cleopatra C.
486*	Footnote 7, <i>add</i> line: "Shephelah" is usually applied to the region of low hills between Palestine's central mountain range and the coastal plains of Philistia; <i>Aid, 1488</i> .
487	Remove repeated title at <i>Ephai</i> .
492	Jeremiah item (6), line 2, <i>remove</i> extra <i>h</i> .
495	Title should be <i>Lachish/Lachish Letters</i> .
505	"Ahijahu" <i>should be</i> Ahiyahu.
843*	Chart, line 2, Cleopatra A <i>should be</i> Cleopatra C; heading line wrongly continues to next chart line. (Revised Pg. 843 to follow this page.)
852	Line 2 from bottom, <i>add</i> parentheses before (Umm....

TABLE OF NAMES

Add* , Part I: <i>Ezekiel,</i> <i>Book of</i>	Shephelah, 486, <i>fn. 7</i> . Section belongs in Part II, not Part I; remove page 798 reference.
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Appendix 4B, Attachment 4

**CHARTED EXPLORATION OF DESCENDANCIES
PTOLEMAIC MONARCHS/RELATIVES**

Ptolemy VIII *Physcon* to Cleopatra VII the Great

Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 6.

Ptolemy numbering continues from assignment of VII to Ptolemy *Neos Philopater* as "VII" [Appendix 4B, Attachment 6, at fn. 3].

(1) Ptolemy VIII/*Euergetes*/*Physcon*

/ + Cleopatra C [Ptolemy VIII's "sister"] / [Memphitis?]	/ + Cleopatra III Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI Selena/Seleuca [Lathryus' "younger sister"] (Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI continued in 4B, Att. 3)	/ + Ithaca/Irene ?
--	--	-----------------------

Cleopatra IV [3A, VI, Att. 6 (2)]¹

/-----+ Ptolemy VIII/*Euergetes*/*Physcon*-----/

Ptolemy IX <i>Lathurus</i> <i>Lathryus</i> [+ Cleopatra C? ²]	+ Selene A/Cleo VI ³	Ptolemy X <i>Alexander I</i> ⁴
/ + ? a "Ptolemy"	[/ + ? Memphitis?]	/ + ? Ptolemy XII/ <i>Alexander III</i>
/	/	/
Ptolemy XIII <i>Auletes</i> -----+-----	Cleopatra V <i>Tryphaena</i> --+--	Ptolemy XI <i>Alexander II</i>

-----Continued at (2)-----

Ptolemy VIII surnamed *Euergetes* and called *Physcon* (ostensibly due to his belly).

Ptolemy VIII's "succession was approved, though the wife [Cleopatra II] and the son [Ptolemy VII *Neos Philopator*] of the deceased monarch [Ptolemy VI] laid claim to the crown. Cleopatra [II] was supported in her claims by the Jews, but to avoid the dangers attendant upon a disputed succession, it was at last agreed that *Physcon* should marry the queen [Cleopatra II] and that her son [Ptolemy VII] would succeed on the throne at his [Ptolemy's] death. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, but on that very day the tyrant murdered Cleopatra's [II's] son [Ptolemy VII; 3A, VI, Attachment 6 (2)] in her arms. He ordered himself to be called *Euergetes*, but the Alexandrians refused to do it, and stigmatized him with the appellation of *Kakergetes*, or evil-doer." L 513; L 1826 Ed.

Ptolemy VIII fled to Cyprus from revolt in Egypt (after he had "murdered all the young men of Alexandria") "and Cleopatra [II] the divorced queen ascended the throne." L 513.

"Memphitis, a son of Ptolemy *Physcon* [or *Lathryus*?]...by his sister Cleopatra [C]."

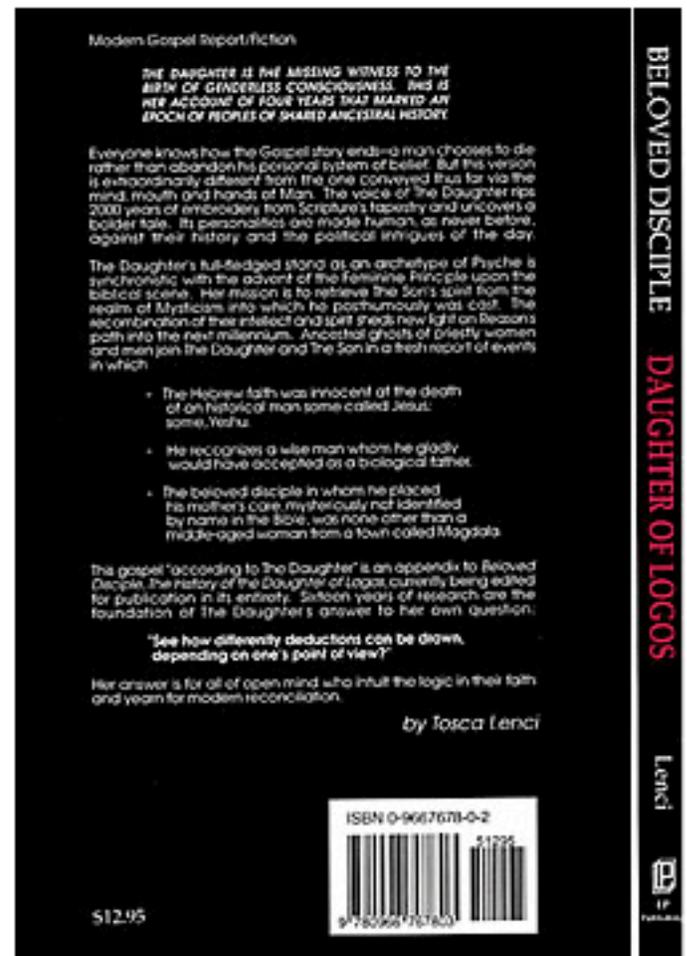
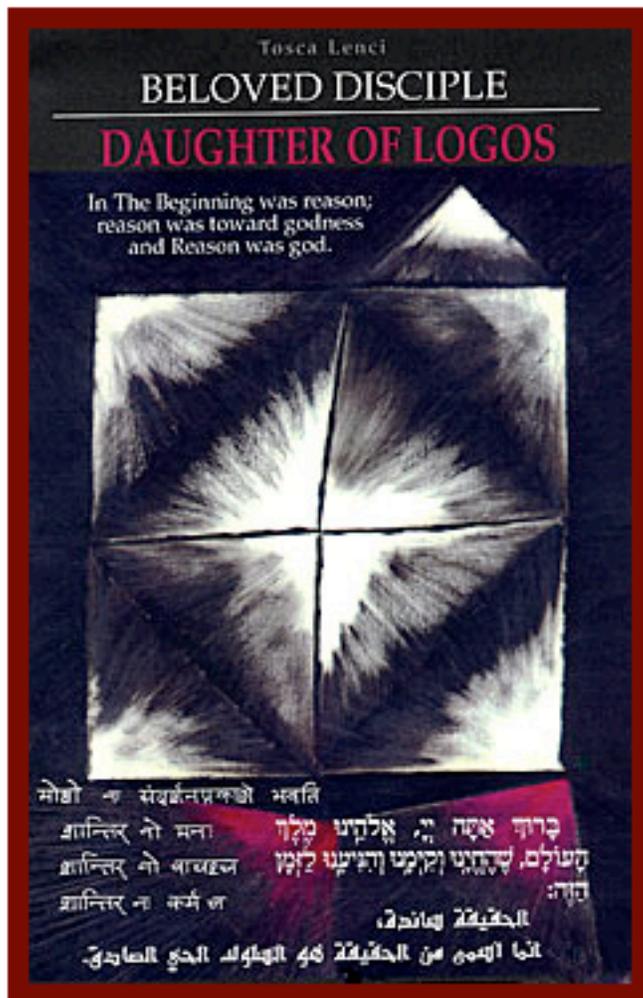
¹ Cleopatra IV as *Lathurus*' mother is obtained by the process of elimination in comparing data among the undesignated Cleopatras.

² Although Selene [A]'s marriage to *Lathryus* was her first, he may have had a prior marriage.

³ Because "Selene [A]...was also called Cleopatra" (*AJ* XIII.XVI.4), she is found with a Cleopatra roman numeral in many historical texts, which in turn is the reason Cleopatra the Great is known best as Cleopatra "VII" (whose daughter by Mark Antony named Selene--part 2 below--also is found referenced "Cleopatra Selene.")

⁴ "Strabo...skips" Ptolemy X *Alexander I* and Ptolemy XI *Alexander II*, "who apparently had no place in the official list of legitimate kings." *Strabo*, VIII, page 43, fn. 3.

Addendum 1



The addendum consists of a separately-published, historical novelette.

Regional events, personages and their interactions are depicted fictionally for only four epoch years, demonstrating variation of dramatization possible off one historical record.

The paperback addendum, composed by a project contributor, was put into print in 2000. At that time, major project research was complete; final draftings and website production processing, however, occupied another four-plus years.

Copies of *Beloved Disciple, Daughter of Logos*, can be ordered through [LP Publishing](#) for the cost of postage and handling only.