

## Week 14: Herodian and Roman Rule

*“But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down; and brake down a part of the fortifications. So the enemy poured in apace...”*

Josephus, *Antiquities* XV.4



After years of taking back the land of milk and honey from Gentile hands, Judaea has emerged from the throes of foreign oppression to enjoy autonomous rule under a new line of Maccabean priestly-kings, the Hasmoneans. But its woes are not yet over, for the Hasmoneans, although Jewish by blood, are no less pagan in custom than their Gentile predecessors, and the nation enters into a period fraught with scandal, religious disputes, and court intrigue. Meanwhile, across the Mediterranean festers an enemy unlike anything the world has yet witnessed, one which is ruthlessly and systematically conquering the far reaches of civilization one furlong at a time: Rome.

### Readings:

- Josephus, *Antiquities* XV, select chapters (below)

## Chapter 1.

*The war between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom: and how they made an agreement, that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private life: as also how Hyrcanus, a little afterward, was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.*

1. [An. 69.] We have related the affairs of Queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book: and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories. Declaring before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart, as this; that we may omit no facts, either through ignorance or laziness. (1) For we are upon the history and explication of such things, as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times: and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words, harmonically disposed; and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers: that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly; for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions; and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his High Priesthood on the third year of the hundred seventy seventh olympiad; (2) when Quintus Hortensius; and Quintus Metellus, who was called *Metellus* of *Crete*, were consuls at Rome: when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him. And as it came to a battel with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother. Upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel; where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother; as we have said already;<sup>1</sup> and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him, on these conditions; that Aristobulus should be King; that he should live without intermeddling with publick affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple; and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands,<sup>2</sup> and embracing one another, in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed: the one, Aristobulus, to the palace: and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's, an Idumean, called *Antipater*; who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man: who was at enmity with Aristobulus; and had differences with him on account of his good will to Hyrcanus. 'Tis true, that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea. But that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son; and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be King of the Jews: whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, (3) and that was his father's name also. Of whom they relate this; that King Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea; and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party; and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus; and was afraid of some mischief he might do him; because of his hatred to him. So he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said, that "It was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus; who had gotten the government unrighteously; and had

ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder; and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth.” And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus: and told him that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself and got shut of Aristobulus. For, he said, that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him; as being then and not before sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition; and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his, not disposing him to meddle with publick affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerate and unmanly. While Aristobulus was of a contrary temper; an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. [An. 65.] Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased day by day to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus; and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him. And so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia; and promised that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him [and go with him.] When Hyrcanus heard this, he said, that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a countrey that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the King of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he will not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus, to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus; and stole out of the city by night; and went a great journey; and came, and brought him to the city called *Petra*: where the palace of Aretas was. And as he was a very familiar friend of that King’s, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea; and this persuasion he continued every day, without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his Kingdom, he would restore that countrey, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians:<sup>3</sup> which were these; Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agalla, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

### Chapter 3.

*How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom. And how, upon the flight of Aristobulus to the fortress Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him; and ordered him to deliver up the fortresses whereof he was possessed.*

1. [An. 64.] A little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria. At which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also. For Aristobulus had sent him a great present; which was a golden vine; of the value of five hundred talents. (5) Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: “There came also an ambassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold. And out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden. They called the thing Τερωλή, *The delight*. However, we our selves saw that present, reposit at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; with this inscription: *The gift of Alexander, the King of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred talents. And the report is, that Aristobulus, the governour of the Jews, sent it.”

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him; Antipater from Hyrcanus; and Nicodemus from Aristobulus: which last also accused such as had taken bribes: first Gabinius, and then Scaurus: the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred. By which procedure

he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the countrey of Damascus. And as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia; which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built: and took cognisance of the countrey of Ptolemy Menneus; a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage. Yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents: with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called *Lysias*; of which Silas, a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis; and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus. And there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governours Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; who were at difference one with another: as also of the nation against them both; which did not desire to be under Kingly government. Because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped: and [they complained] that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form; in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus; and that he had text: hath but a small part of the country under him: Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him: and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder. And there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation. Which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alledged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was unactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government: and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him; for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title,<sup>7</sup> [of King,] it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent: whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court,] and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice; but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure; he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their countrey he would settle all their affairs; after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly; lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return. Which yet Aristobulus did. For without expecting any farther determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. [An. 64.] At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans; and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria; with the other Roman legions which he had with him; he made an expedition against Aristobulus. But as he passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ; which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the mid-land countries; where he came to a most beautiful fortress, that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*: whither Aristobulus had fled; and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came

down. And when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel: as Pompey gave him leave to do. And this he did two or three times: as flattering himself with the hopes of having the Kingdom granted him. So that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded: although at the same time he retired to his fortress; that he might not depress himself too low: and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held; and to send an injunction to their governours, under his own hand, for that purpose: for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands: he submitted indeed to do so; but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem; and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead;<sup>8</sup> and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

#### Chapter 4.

*How Pompey, when the citizens of Jerusalem shut the gates against him, besieged the city, and took it by force. As also what other things he did in Judea.*

1. [An. 63.] Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho, (where the palm tree grows, (6) and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious: which, upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distils out thence like a juice:) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing; and came to Pompey, and [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his intreaty, forgave him; and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money, and the city. Yet was no part of this performed: but Gabinius came back; being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised: because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry; and put Aristobulus into prison; and came himself to the city: which was strong on every side, excepting the north: which was not so well fortified. For there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city; (7) and included within it the temple: which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. [An. 63.] Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city; who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances. While some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey. But Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates: because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others; and seized upon the temple; and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city; and prepared themselves to abide a siege. But the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city, and the King's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city, and in the palace to secure them; and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place he offered terms of accommodation to those within. But when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall. Wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions. But Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall,] on the north part of the temple: where it was most practicable. But even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, 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: however a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour;



while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth; he brought his mechanical engines, and battering rams from Tyre: and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh days, this bank could never have been perfected; by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made. For though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us; yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies; while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood; on those days which we call sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews; nor came to any pitch'd battle with them: but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn, how very great piety we exercise toward God, and the observance of his laws: since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege; but did still, twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar. Nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them. For altho' the city were taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, (8) upon the hundred seventy ninth olympiad; when Caius Antonius, and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls; and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple; yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away; neither by the fear they were in of their own lives; nor by the number that were already slain. As thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a meer brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false; but is the real truth; I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey: and among them to Strabo,<sup>9</sup> (9) and Nicolaus [of Damascus:] and besides these two Titus Livius,<sup>10</sup> the writer of the Roman history: who all bear witness to this thing. (10)

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down; and brake down a part of the fortifications. So the enemy poured in apace: and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall: and next to him Furius, the centurion, with those that followed, on the other part: while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle: with a strong body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter. Some of the Jews being slain by the Romans; and some by one another. Nay some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them; as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand: but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle, and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple it self: which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none. For Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also; and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see, but only for the High Priests. There were in that temple the golden table; the holy candlestick; and the pouring vessels; and a great quantity of spices: and besides these there were among the treasures, two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this; (11) on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God, and restored the High Priesthood to Hyrcanus: both because he had been useful to him in other respects: and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut

off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity; and he 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, which had elevated it self so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara, (12) which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man; 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: which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner; and adorned with havens, and temples; and changed its name to *Cesarea*. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom; and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; by raising a sedition one against the other. For now we lost our liberty; and became subject to the Romans; and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians; and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were High Priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus; with two Roman legions; and then went away to Cilicia; and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children. For he had two daughters; and as many sons. The one of which ran away. But the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

## Chapter 8.

*The Jews become confederates with Cesar, when he fought against Egypt. The glorious actions of Antipater; and his friendship with Cesar. The honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.*

1. [An. 48.] Now after Pompey was dead; and after that victory Cesar had gained over him; Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cesar, when he made war against Egypt; and that by the order of Hyrcanus. For when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries; and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium; but obliged to stay at Askelon; Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews armed men. He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance. [An. 47.] And on his account it was, that all the Syrians assisted him also: as not willing to appear behind hand in their alacrity for Cesar: viz. Jamblicus the ruler; and Ptolemy his son: and Tholomy, the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at mount Libanus; and almost all the cities.<sup>17</sup> So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium. And when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signaled himself here; and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest; whereby they might enter the city: and by this means Pelusium was taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews,<sup>18</sup> who dwelt in the country called *Onion*, would not let Antipater and Mithridates with their soldiers pass to Cesar. But Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party; because he was of the same people with them;<sup>19</sup> and that chiefly by shewing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the High Priest; wherein he

exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted. And accordingly when they saw Antipater and the High Priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them. So he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all *Delta*, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battel with the enemy, near the place called *The Jewish camp*. Now Mithridates had the right wing; and Antipater the left. And when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was, gave way; and was likely to suffer extremely; unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers, along the shore: when he 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. He also took their camp; and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off. Of whose soldiers eight hundred fell: but of Antipater's fifty.<sup>20</sup> So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cesar; and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation. Insomuch that Cesar commended Antipater then; text has a question mark here rather than a semicolon and made use of him all the rest of that war, in the most hazardous undertakings, he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements

3. [An. 47.] However, when Cesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly: and confirmed Hyrcanus in the High Priesthood: and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where. And 'tis reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the High Priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates; that "Mithridates at first went out alone; but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon: and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him; and encouraged other governours of the countrey to go along with him also: and that Hyrcanus, the High Priest, was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cesar; and "lamented his father's fate: and complained that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison; and his brother was beheaded by Scipio: and desired that he would take pity of him, who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence; and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defence, as to the accusations that were laid against him. "He demonstrated that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Cesar in mind, what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars; and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them: and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio; as being seized in committing robberies. And that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence, or injustice by him that did it."

5. [An. 47.] When Antipater had made this speech, Cesar appointed Hyrcanus to be High Priest; and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose; leaving the determination to himself. So he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the



walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him: for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the Consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol: The decree of the senate was this that follows: (17) “Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius, the Pretor, referr’d this to the senate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe; and Papirius, of the Quirine tribe; concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed: who came to renew that league of good will and friendship with the Romans, which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy; valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold: and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities, and to the Kings; that their countrey and their havens might be at peace; and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good will with them; and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of: and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus,<sup>21</sup> the High Priest and Ethnarch, in the month Panemus.” Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens; as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows: “Under the Prutaneia and Priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius; on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus; this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders; when Agathocles was Archon: and Eucles the son of Menander of Alimusia was the Scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prutaneia, (18) a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the High Priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people, Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the High Priest, and Ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner; and sees that they are conducted back in safety: of which we have had several former testimonies: it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power; to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law; and to erect his statue in brass, in the temple of Demus, and of the graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publickly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shews; while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shews also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity. That by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward: and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him; and desire him to accept of the honours we do him; and to endeavour alway to be doing some good to our city.” And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans, and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

## Chapter 9.

*How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod; and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus: as also, how Herod, upon the Jews envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.*

1. [An. 44.] Now when Cesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And as soon as Antipater had conducted Cesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey: and by coming thither he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet. For that, "If they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions: but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master, instead of a gentle governour; and Hyrcanus a tyrant, instead of a King; and the Romans, together with Cesar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers. For that they would never bear him to be set aside, whom they had appointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2.[An. 47.] And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governour of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it: but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son; who was then a very young man. For he was but fifteen years of age. (19) But that youth of his was no impediment to him: but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signaling his courage. For finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria, with a great troop of them: he seized him, and slew him: as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him. For which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians. For when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them. So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities; as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cesar, who was a relation of the great Cesar's, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions; and envied the fame he had thereby gotten: and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it. So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good will; while he held the city himself; but did neither manage its affairs improperly; nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to Kings; and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now, the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good will the nation bear to them; and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him. For indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman Emperours: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended; and sent it, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management: but took no care about it: nay, he rather was very glad of it. But the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically. So they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government? and that it is only the name of

a King which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee: nor do thou think to escape danger by being so careless of thy self and of thy kingdom. For Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thy self with such a notion: they are evidently absolute lords. For Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him; and hath thereby transgressed our law: which hath forbidden to slay any man, even tho' he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the Sanhedrim. (20) Yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation. For these women continued every day in the temple, persuading the King, and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim, for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. And accordingly he came. But his father had persuaded him to come, not like a private man; but with a guard for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial; but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey. Yet so that he should not come with so great a force, as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus; but still such an one as might not expose him naked and unguarded, [to his enemies.] However Sextus Cesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus; and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial: and threatened him beforehand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the Sanhedrim: for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the Sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all: and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him. But there was a deep silence; and no body knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was *Sameas*, (21) a righteous man he was; and for that reason above all fear; who rose up, and said: "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our King, I neither have ever my self known such a case; nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel; that one who is called to take his trial by us, ever stood in such a manner before us. But every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner; and like one that is in fear of himself; and that endeavours to move us to compassion: with his hair disheveled; and in a black and mourning garment. But this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple; and with the hair of his head finely trimmed; and with his armed men about him: that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us: and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself. He is to be sure more concerned for himself, than for the laws. But my complaint is against your selves, and your King; who give him a licence so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great: and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you, and your King himself also." Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction. For when Herod had received the Kingdom, he slew all the members of this Sanhedrim;<sup>22</sup> and Hyrcanus himself also: excepting Sameas. For he had a great honour for him, on account of his righteousness: and because, when the city was afterward besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, that "For their sins they would not be able to escape his hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial till another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city: for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the King. And when he had been with Sextus Cesar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus; that in case he were again summoned before the Sanhedrim, to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the Sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs; and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus, that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of. But his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him. [An. 46.] Nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him. For Herod came, and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus; as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim. But his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus] met him; and hindred him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper; and persuaded him to do no overt action; but only to affright them with threatenings; and to proceed no farther against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial; but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation; and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same. And that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him; and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battels: (22) and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his King, and him that had supported him; and bestowed many benefits upon him; and had done no thing it self very severe to him. For that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments: and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a shew of his strength before the nation: and done no more to it. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.