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Judea after Herod the Great —Herodian Dynasty (4 BC-67 AD) according to the writings of Josephus Flavius—

Janusz KUCICKI

Introduction

Five days before Herod the Great died, he ordered with Caesar's permission the beheading of his son Antipater II, the strongest candidate to the throne of Judea (JW 1.661-664). Rather unexpectedly, the strongest candidate to the throne of the Judean kingdom after Herod's death, Archelaus¹, the son of Herod and Samaritan Malthace, whom Herod mentions in his will (JW 1.664). However, the will of Herod was not confirmed by Caesar Augustus, who divided the kingdom into three parts. Augustus gave to Herod Archelaus the title of ethnarch of Judea, which included the territory of Judea, Samaria and Idumea. His brother, Antipas, was appointed the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (JA 17.188)². Another son of Herod, Philip whose mother was Cleopatra

¹ Herod Archelaus (23 BC-18 AD), the son of Herod the Great and Malthace, became the ethnarch of Judea, Samaria and Idumea, and held the office since 4 BC until 6 AD. After Caesar Augustus banished Archelaus to Vienna, the ethnarchy of Judea was reduced to province of Judea administrated by Roman prefects and it was incorporated into the province of Syria. He is mentioned in the Gospel of Mathew (Mt 2, 22).

² Herod Antipas (20 BC-? after 39 AD), the son of Herod the Great and Malthace, who after the death of his father received title of tetrarch ruled the territory Galilee and Peraea from 4 BC till 39 AD. In 39 AD, Caesar Gaius (Caligula) banished Herod Antipas to Spain (probably) and his territory was given to Herod Agrippa I.

of Jerusalem, received Trachonitis and the neighboring districts Gaulonitis, Batanaea and Paneas (JW 1.668-669; JA 17.188-189)³. The sister of Herod, Salome received Jamneia, Azotus and Phasaelis (JA 17.189)⁴. In this way the Kingdom of Herod the Great was divided into three parts, as planned, but the successors differ from those who planned to rule the kingdom after Herod.

1. Judea after Herod the Great according to the Jewish Wars

Josephus' account of the Herodian dynasty after the death of Herod the Great almost exclusively concerns the history of Judea, the other two regions Galilee and Trachonitis are only occasionally mentioned in either the Jewish Wars or the Jewish Antiquities. Despite this fact, we will present separately the account concerning each of the territories.

1.1. Judea

At the behest of Herod the Great, Archelaus was appointed king of Judea, the one to whom the army and all officials swore loyalty (JW 1.665-670). However, the last wish of Herod the Great had to be recognized by Rome, before Archelaus officially became King of Judea. Archelaus' first act as king was the organization of a magnificent funeral for Herod the Great (JW 1.671-673). After a week of mourning, Archelaus visited the Temple, where he made a speech, which earned him the support of the crowd. He also made

³ Herod Philip II (24 BC-34 AD), the son of Herod the great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem, is known also as Herod II. After Herod death, he received the title of tetrarch and ruled the territories of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanaea and Paneas since 4 BC-34 AD.

⁴ Salome received only some cities and was not one of the successors after her brother.

sacrifices (JW 2.1-5). Soon after the funeral some people holding anti-Herodian sentiments started to recall the incident when a golden eagle was brought into the Temple, and asking Archelaus to punish some of Herod's favorites. The first one, whom the crowd wanted to punish, was the high-priest of the Temple (JW 2.6-7). Archelaus unsuccessfully attempted to argue with the crowd through his officers (JW 2.8-10), but in the end the situation turned to open conflict, when during the feast of Passover, Archelaus was forced to use troops to prevent a revolt, but this intervention brought about the death of some three thousand people (JW 2.11-13). After the incident in the Temple, Archelaus left for Caesarea, with the intention of later going to Rome, leaving the responsibility for the palace and the situation in Jerusalem with Philip, his half-brother (JW 2.14-15). Together with Archelaus to Rome also went his mother and some friends (Poplas, Ptolemy, Nicolas), in order to support his claims. Salome and her children also went with Archelaus under the pretense of supporting him, but in fact in order to officially blame him for the incident in the Temple, and to support Antipas, another claimant to the throne (JW 2.20). When, Archelaus left for Rome, and Varus, the governor of Syria returned to Syria from Jerusalem, Sabinus, the imperial financial officer for the province of Syria, went to Jerusalem and took possession of Herod's treasuries, although he had promised to Archelaus not to take any action until Caesar's decision respecting Herod's will (JW 2.16-19). Before Caesar Augustus in Rome the two parties appeared claiming their rights to succession after Herod (JW 2.21-25). Caesar Augustus first took council of eminent people of Rome, and afterwards he called upon the two parties to speak. The first to speak was Antipater, the son of Salome, who accused Archelaus of acting as king even though he was not yet confirmed as such by Caesar (JW 2.26-28), as well as of hypocritical

behavior after the death of this father (JW 2.29). Yet, the strongest accusation concerned the massacre of the crowd in Jerusalem (JW 2.30-32). Antipater sought to undervalue the claim of Herod the Great by pointing out the fact that Archelaus was named his successor during the time of Herod's insanity, only few days before he died⁵. All these accusations were easily undercut by a convincing speech from Nicolas, who represented Archelaus (JW 2.34-38). Caesar although sympathetic to Archelaus, took some time before he pronounced his decision.

During their stay at Rome, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus died, and also a report concerning a new uprising in Jerusalem reached Rome (JW 2.39-50)⁶. The scope and extent of the uprising in Judea was such that the Roman troops stationed in Jerusalem were unable to suppress it. This in turn saw the emergence of other aspirants to the throne of Judea, though they lacked royal background. (JW 2.57-65)⁷. The situation reached such an alarming level that Varus, governor in Syria, moved into Judea with two

⁵ Antipater was not only one accused. Varus sent to Rome fifty Jewish deputies, who accused Archelaus (JW 2.80). Josephus presents the accusation in JW 2.84-91, which mostly concentrates on cruelty of Herod's reign with a strong suggestion that Archelaus, the son of Herod should not become king. Varus also sent to Caesar Archelaus' brother Philip, who would support Archelaus, in case Caesar would divide Herod's estate, he would take a share (JW 2.83).

⁶ In the account concerning the uprising, Josephus wrote that one group of Jewish leaders were based on the south side of the city near the Hippodrome (also JA 17.255). The location of the hippodrome remains unknown. The account also contains information concerning burning of the temple's porticoes and robbery of the temple's treasury (JW 2.50). The uprising took shape of a war for independence (JW 2.53-54) and it spread into others parts of the Judean kingdom (JW 2.55-56). During the war, Herod's palaces in Jericho and at Betharamatha were burned by a royal slave Peraea Simon and his compatriots (JW 2.57-59).

⁷ Josephus mentions Athrongaeus and his four brothers (JW 2.60-65), Peraea Simon (JW 2.56-59) and Judas, the son of Ezechias (JW 2.56).

legions, and other allies, to forcibly pacify the region (JW 2.66-79)⁸. Varus gave no quarter, with the result that having reasserted Roman authority in Jerusalem, he then ordered the crucifixion of some 2000 Jews who'd participated in the revolt, and imprisoned many more (JW 2.72-75).

At the same time, Varus also solved the problem of the Idumaeans rebels, and on this occasion he sent the king's cousin Achiab together with others leaders, to Caesar for trial (JW 2.77-79) for failing to take proper action against the Idumaeans at the beginning of the war (JW 2.55-56).

In Rome, Caesar after hearing both sides of the conflict, came to the decision that Archelaus receive half of Herod's kingdom with the title of ethnarch (JW 2.93-94)⁹. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two other sons of Herod. Antipas received the provinces of Peraea and Galilee and two hundred talents (JW 2.94-95). Philip received the territories of Batanaea, Trachontis, Auranities and part of the dominion of Zeno called Zenodorus (JW 2.95). Herod's sister, Salome was declared mistress of Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis, but these places were de facto under Archelaus' jurisdiction (JW 2.98)¹⁰.

Concerning Archelaus reign', Josephus writes almost nothing except to describe his reign as a permanent and cruel persecution of those (Jews and Samaritans), who were counted among his opponents (JW 2.111). After nine years of ruling his kingdom as the ethnarch, Archelaus was banished from Judaea by Caesar Augustus, in response to complaints from both Jews and

⁸ During this time, Sepphoris and Emmaus were also burnt (JW 2.68-71).

⁹ Archelaus received Judaea, Idumaea and Samaria. The cities subjected to him, were Caesarea (Strato's Tower), Sebaste, Joppa, Jerusalem, Gaza, Gadara, Hippos (JW 2.96-97).

¹⁰ Others members of the Herod's family also received their share (JW 2.99-100). After the account concerning Caesar decision, Josephus gives an extensive account concerning one named pseudo Alexander (JW 2.101-110).

Samaritans¹¹. He was sent to the city of Allobroges in Gallis Narbonensis, on the east bank of the Rhone (today Vienne). After his banishment, the ethnarchy of Archelaus was incorporated into the province of Syria, but Salome was allowed to take possession of her property. On her death she bequeathed the property to the Julia, Augustus' wife (JW 2.167).

From 6 AD, the territory of Archelaus was reduced to the province of Judea, which was administrated by prefects (till 44 AD) and procurators (from 44 AD till 67 AD) who were sent by Rome (JW 2.117)¹². The first of them was Coponius, to whom full authority was entrusted. The only information concerning his time in office refers to Judas from Galilee, the sophist and the founder of a new sect, who incited the Jews to revolt against Rome (JW 2.117-118)¹³. Josephus gives no account concerning the three next prefects of Judea after Coponius (Marcus Ambibulus - 9-12 AD; Annius Rufus - 12-15 AD; Valerius Gratus - 15-26 AD), but he goes directly to an account concerning the fifth procurator of Judea (JW 2.169-177), Pontius Pilate (26-36 AD). Although, Pilate was staying in Caesarea, he had brought into Jerusalem standards with medallions portraying the image of Caesar, in transgression of Jewish Law (JW 2.170-171). When the Jews presented their objection to him in Caesarea, Pilate tried, under threat of military action, to force them to accept the

¹¹ This was foretold by a certain Simon from the sect of Essenes (JW 2.113). The property of Archelaus was confiscated and added to the imperial treasure (JW 2.111-112).

¹² See, appendix 1. Although there is no distinction in prerogative between these two terms, since 6 AD, until 41 AD, the term prefect was in use, but from 44 AD, until 66 AD, the term procurator was in use. During the years 41-44 AD, there was no prefect, because Herod Agrippa I was the king of the "Kingdom of Judea" which included, but also extended beyond the province of Judea.

¹³ At this point, Josephus gives an account concerning the three main religious sects: the Pharisees (JW 2.162-163), the Sadducees (JW 2.164-166) and the Essenes (JW 2.119-161).

raising of the standards in Jerusalem. The Jews took an uncompromising stance declaring they were ready to die rather than accept the unacceptable; Herod ordered the removal of the standards from Jerusalem (JW 2.172-174). Later, Pilate in order to finish the construction of an aqueduct used part of the sacred treasure of the Temple, leading to an uprising of the Jews. This time, the opposition was brutally suppressed by Pilate (JW 2.175-177).

When Gaius (Caligula) became the emperor (37-41 AD) and the procurator of Judea was Marullus (37-41 AD), an order was made to place in the Jerusalem Temple the statue of Gaius, 'a new god' (JW 2.184-185). In charge of executing the order was Petronius, the governor of Syria, who moved from Syrian Antioch with an army to Jerusalem (JW 2.185-187). The peaceful but strong opposition of the Jews forced Petronius to negotiate with them in the town Ptolemais in Galilee (JW 2.188-198). Failing to reach any consensus with the Jews, Petronius unwilling to slaughter the Jews, who were ready rather to die than condone the erection of an image of Gaius in the Temple, went back to Antioch (JW 2.199-201). Later, he sent his report to Rome, in which he explained the reason for his unsuccessful mission in Judea, however, Gaius ordered him to be put to death, for neglecting the Emperor's will. Fortunately, before the messengers from Gaius with his order appeared in Syrian Antioch, Gaius was assassinated in Rome, and the order was not carried out (JW 2.202-203)¹⁴.

The next Caesar, Claudius was proclaimed as such by the army (41-54 AD), however the senate opposed to it, leading to civil war (JW 2.204-205). During this crisis, Agrippa (Herod Agrippa I) was in Rome and acted on behalf of Claudius in mediating with the senate (JW 2.206-214). When

¹⁴ After Gaius death, the army in Rome proclaimed Claudius to be the emperor, but it was not recognized by the senate of Rome, what led to the war about secession after Gaius (JW 2.204-205).

finally the senate accepted Claudius as the emperor, Agrippa was appropriately rewarded for his service. Agrippa was declared king of Judea, which included the province of Judea, his previous possessions (the tetrarchies of Philip and Herod Antipas), the district of Trachonitis and Auranitis, and the kingdom of Lysanias (JW 2.215)¹⁵. However Herod Agrippa I, though finally named as king of Judea died in third year of his reign (44 AD)¹⁶. He left three daughters (Bernice, Mariamme, Drusill) and one son Agrippa (Herod Agrippa II). Because, Herod Agrippa II was too young to succeed his father, the kingdom of Judea was again reduced to being a province ruled by procurators (JW 2.220)¹⁷.

When Cumanus (48-52 AD) became procurator of Judea, another slaughter of some thirteen thousand Jews took place during the Passover (JW 2.224-227). Insulting behavior by a Roman soldier provoked a strong Jewish protest, which included militant resistance, which in turn Cumanus responded to with an equally harsh use of military might to 'pacify' the crowd (JW 2.227). Another disturbance arose when during the pacification of a certain village, a Roman soldier ripped up a scroll of the Torah and set it on fire (JW 2.228-231). Jews brought their complaint to Cumanus in Caesarea, asking for punishment of the soldier, and Cumanus responded by meeting out appropriate

¹⁵ The edict was sent to the people, and the bronze tablets were deposited at Capitol in order to commemorate the event (JW 2.216-217). Brother of Agrippa, Herod was additionally presented with Kingdom of Chalcis (JW 2. 217). He died in 48 AD, (JW 2.221) and the kingdom of Chalcis was presented by Claudius to his nephew Agrippa II, the son of Agrippa I (JW 2.223). He left two sons Bernicianus and Hyrcanus (from wife Bernice) and one son Aristobulus (from his first wife Mariamme). Another brother of Agrippa I, Aristobulus died in privet station, leaving a daughter Jotape (JW 2.222).

¹⁶ He began to build the walls around Jerusalem but his death saw the project abandoned (JW 2.218-219).

¹⁷ See appendix 1, the procurators of the second series. The first two procurators were Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (JW 2.220) and the periods of their rule is described by Josephus as peaceful.

punishment. However there was one more incident that had severe consequences for the region and Cumanus. A Galilean heading for Jerusalem was murdered when passing through the Samaritan village of Gema (JW 2.232). This incident resulted in armed Galileans moving against Samaria intent on revenge. Some Jewish notables turned to Cumanus requesting that he move to prevent the attack by the Galileans. The Procurator pays insufficient attention to their petition. He viewed the crisis as but a minor incident (JW 2.233). After news of the Galileans' revenge reached Jerusalem, a mob of those who had gathered for the Passover festival went to Samaria under the command of a certain Eleazar son of Deinaeus, and took revenge on the Samaritans (JW 2.234-235)¹⁸. At that stage, Cumanus moved Roman forces into Samaria and pacified the mob led by Eleazar (JW 2.236-239). After peace was restored, the Samaritans went to Tyre to see the governor of Syria, Ummidus Quadratus, asking him to punish the Jews (JW 2.239). The Jewish delegation, including the high-priest Jonathan, son of Ananus in defense of their actions pointed to Cumanus' neglect of his duty as the reason for all the disturbances (JW 2.240). Quadratus in person investigated the case. He went first to Caesarea, where he crucified the prisoners taken by Cumanus, next he went to Lydda, where he heard the Samaritans case and consequently beheaded eighteen Jews responsible for the massacre (JW 2.241-242). His final decision was that a delegation of the Jews including the high-priests Jonathan, Ananias, Anaus and a delegation of Samaritans go to Rome. He also sent to Rome, Cumanus and the tribune Celer to render their account of the affair (JW 2.243-244). Caesar, after hearing together with Agrippa II from all three sides of the conflict, judged in

¹⁸ JW mention also a certain Alexander together with Eleazar, but JA does not mention him.

favour of Jews, condemning the Samaritans and banishing Cumanus (JW 2.245-246)¹⁹.

After Cumanus, Antonius Felix (52-58 AD) became the procurator of Judea, Samaria, Galilee and Peraea (JW 2.247). At that time, Caesar Claudius granted the former tetrarchy of Philip to Agrippa II, who became the king of Trachontis, Batanaea, Gaulanitis, the kingdom of Lysanias and the old tetrarchy of Varus (JW 2.247)²⁰.

During the reign of Nero (54-68 AD), Aristobulus, the son of Herod Agrippa II, received the kingdom of Armenia (JW 2.252). Nero also added to the kingdom of Herod Agrippa II four cities: Abila, Julia in Peraea, Tarichaeae, Tiberias in Galilee (JW 2.253). At that time, Judea was a province under the rule of a Roman procurator, whom since 52 AD, was Felix²¹. During the rule of Felix, Judaea was constantly troubled with various groups of bandits engaged in brigand. Josephus gives an account of Eleazer and his brigand band, who were sent to Rome for trial (JW 2.253), and the brigand group called *sicarii* (Assassins), who operated in Jerusalem, where they assassinated the high-priest Jonathan, and terrorized the whole city (JW 2.254-257). This time of

¹⁹ The tribune Celer was sent back to Jerusalem, where after his humiliation he was beheaded (JW 2.246).

²⁰ This occurred in 53 AD. One year after, in 54 AD, Caesar Claudius died (JW 2.248) and his successor was Nero, his adopted son. Because the reign of Nero was characterized by terror and brutality, Josephus diplomatically omitted the record concerning this part of Roman history, giving instead a short, negative and general account of the characteristics of Nero's times (JW 2.250-251).

²¹ Marcus Antonius Felix was the Greek freedman of Claudius or Claudius' mother, Antonia Minor. He was procurator of Judea from 52 AD, till 58 AD, and during his rule Judea became very dangerous place with a high level of crime (JW 2.254-257). Although, Felix put an end to the activities of Eleazar, whom he sent to Rome for trial (JW 2.253), his cruelty and licentiousness, together with his willingness to accept bribes, made Judea a hot-bed of uprisings and internal feuds. Felix is presented in a similar manner in Ac 23, 23-24, 27.

unrest in Judaea presented an opportunity to some self-proclaimed prophets, who exploiting the nationalistic sentiments present deceived the people and promoted one disturbance after another. Josephus mentions a certain prophet, who led into the desert a large body of men (JW 2.259). His actions were recognized by Felix as a potential source of rebellion, and he dispatched a mounted unit of Roman soldiers to pacify them (JW 2.260). Another example given by Josephus is of an Egyptian false prophet, who gathered thirty thousand men, with the purpose of liberating Jerusalem from Romans and declaring himself the king (JW 2.161-263). The Egyptian's troops were defeated by Felix, but the false prophet escaped (JW 2.263). In Josephus opinion, these disturbances were the beginning of a nationalistic movement, which frightened Romans and those who cooperated with them, and in the end led to the War (JW 2.264-265). Josephus also gives an account concerning the disturbances in Caesarea, where the Jews and the Syrian inhabitants found themselves in military conflict when the Jews pushed their claim that the city was a Jewish city (JW 2.266-270). A long and violent conflict, in the end saw Felix massacre the Jews in the market place, an act of overt favoritism in support of the Syrians. In order to bring an end the conflict Felix sent delegates from both parties to Rome, where they argued their respective cases before Nero (JW 2.270)²².

The next procurator of Judea, after Felix, was Festus (60-62 AD), who died in office (JA 20.200). A short account of his rule notes military actions against robbers and nationalistic brigands (JW 2.271).

The successor after Festus was Albinus (62-64 AD), about whom

²² In JW 2.284-288, Josephus notes that Caesar judged in favor of the Greeks, what soon led to conflict initiated by some Jews, who felt by actions of the Greeks (JW 2.289-292). The conflict in Caesarea became the beginning of the Jewish-Roman war.

Josephus gives, in the Jewish Wars, a very negative account. He is presented as irresponsible, corrupt, and an unjust procurator, who for his own private benefit neglected the duty of his office (JW 2.273-276). His unjust acts against citizens of Judea (extraordinary taxes), he for his own personal prosperity (financed by ransoms) allowed rebels and robbers to freely roam in the territory of Judea. Josephus blames Albinus also for allowing nationalistic elements to terrorize the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea.

Josephus gives an even more negative account of the last procurator of Judea, Gessius Florus (64-66 AD), who took office after Albinus (JW 2.277-279). He is presented as a cruel dictator, with an open hatred of the Jews, unjust in his exercise power, who cooperated and took his share of the spoils of criminals and robbers. His only interest seemed to be the collection of money. According to Josephus, Florus, to turn attention away from his dereliction of duty and in order to cover his crimes, sought to instigate a war between the Romans and the Jews (JW 2.282-283). Jews complained about Florus to the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, during his visit to Jerusalem but it didn't bring any results (JW 2.280-281).

1.2. Galilee

According to will of Herod the Great (JW 1.668-669), confirmed by Caesar Augustus (JW 2.93-98), Galilee and Peraea were given to Herod Antipas, who ruled it as tetrarch from 4 BC till 39 AD, (the year of his exile). He was confirmed as tetrarch (JW 2.168) by Tiberius (14-37 AD), successor of Octavius Augustus (24 BC-14 AD). Josephus informs us that Antipas built the city of Tiberius in Galilee and the city of Julia in Peraea (JW 2.168). However one year

before Caesar Tiberius died (AJ 18.126), accusations were brought against Herod Antipas, by Agrippa (Herod Agrippa I), son of Aristobulus (JW 2.178)²³. During the time he spent in Rome, Agrippa became an ally of Gaius, son of Germanicus, whom he predicted would one day become the emperor (JW 2.179). For that, Agrippa was imprisoned in Rome until the death of Tiberius (JW 2.180)²⁴. When, Gaius (Caligula) became the emperor (37-41 AD), he liberated Agrippa and declared him the king of Philip's region (JW 2.181)²⁵. Herod Agrippa I came to his kingdom in 38/39 AD, and a rivalry grew between him and Herod Antipas partly because of Agrippa's wife Herodias, who encouraged Agrippa to aspire to the throne of Judea (JW 2.181-182). Their rivalry ended when Gaius decreed that following the exile of Antipas, his lands become part of the territories of Herod Agrippa (JW 2.183)²⁶.

1.3. Trachonitis

According to will of Herod the Great (JW 1.668-669), which was confirmed by Caesar Augustus (JW 2.93-98), Trachonitis and the neighboring districts Gaulonitis, Batanaea and Paneas (JW 1.668-669; JA 17.188-189) was given to Philip the tetrarch (Herod Philip II), who ruled as tetrarch from 4 BC till 34 AD. He was confirmed as tetrarch (JW 2.168) by Tiberius (14-37 AD).

²³ The accusation was made in 36 AD. Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great, who was accused of conspiring against his father, he was beheaded (JW 1.551).

²⁴ Agrippa spent six months in prison.

²⁵ The tetrarch Philip died in 34 AD. Agrippa became the king of Philip's tetrarch in 37 AD.

²⁶ Agrippa sent to Rome, his freedman Fortunatus (AJ 18.252), who accused Herod Antipas of "cupidity". Herod Antipas together with his wife were banished by Gaius to Spain, where he died. According to AJ 18.252, he spent rest of his life in Lyon, in Gaul.

Josephus mentions that Philip built at the source of the Jordan River, the city of Caesarea in the region of Paneas, and the city Julias in Gaulantis (JW 2.168).

Conclusion: Characteristics of Josephus accounts in the Jewish Wars

The main purpose of Josephus' the Jewish Wars was to serve as an apologetic, as indicated at the beginning of Book 1 and the end of Book 7. Written shortly after the Jewish-Roman War, the Jewish Wars presents an account of the war from the Jewish point of view, because Josephus, a Jew, took an active part in the war. To this purpose five of the seven Books, Books 3 to 7 focus on chronicling the war. Only two Books, Books 1 and 2 refer to the time from the reign of Antioch Epiphanes, through the Hasmonean Dynasty and the Herodian Dynasty until the reign Caesar Nero and the beginning of the war. The war, which started in 66/67 AD, ended in 70 AD (except for the siege of Masada, which continued till 74 AD). In contrast with the narrative of the two hundred years from the time of Antioch Epiphanes till the time of the Herodian Dynasty, to which Books 1 and 2 (some 1326 parts) are devoted, the record of the seven years of the War are recorded in five books. (2674 parts)²⁷. The account of the period from Epiphanes until the beginning of the war (Books 1-2) is important but ultimately of preparatory character compared to the narrative of the war itself. The schematic character of the narrative is further evidence of its preparatory nature. The importance of Books 1-2 are found in their presentation of the historical background of the Jewish nation, which in the mind of Josephus explains the social, religious and political tensions leading in the end to the war, which was not just a spontaneous

²⁷ Paragraph counting is according to the LOEB edition of the Jewish Wars.

incident, but the consequences of a long period of oppression of their subjects by non-Jewish, imposed rulers. The first Book is concerned mostly with an account of Herod the Great's reign; the author's unmasked dislike towards Herod is clear to the reader. The second Book concerns the history of Herod's kingdom after his death. The account concentrates almost exclusively on the Province of Judea, the other two provinces receive brief mention when events in them are recorded, but even then they are never more than general summaries. Concerning the descendants of Herod the Great, considerable attention is given to Archelaus, however the longest account refers to Herod Agrippa II, who reign overlapped into the time of the war²⁸. Concerning the prefects of Judea (since 6 BC-41 AD) most of them are not even mentioned, with exception to Coponius and Pontius Pilate. Concerning the procurators of Judea (44-67 AD) all of them are mentioned, with special attention given to the last procurator of Judea, Gesius Florus, whose attitude towards the Jews is given as the direct reason for the war. In general, Josephus put much responsibility for the war on side of the inept and corrupt Roman administration left in the hands of lower ranking officials (procurators).

2. Judea after Herod the Great according to the Jewish Antiquities

After many years living in Rome, Josephus attempted to write the history of Jews from the beginning until his own time. Naturally, the Jewish Antiquities contains the history of that era which had been presented in the Jewish Wars, however the material was rewritten to accord with the change of focus and purpose of the author. For this reason, concerning the Herodian

²⁸ See: Appendix 2, at the end of the study.

Dynasty, the Jewish Antiquities presents not only material already known from the Jewish Wars but also many new events and historical information previously unrecorded.

2.1. Judea

According to the last will of Herod the Great, Archelaus was named as king of Judea (JA 17.188-189). This nomination was accepted by the army (JA 17.194-195) but it was not yet effective because all last testaments of king-clients had to be approved by Caesar (JA 17.195). After the funeral ceremonies and mourning for one week (JA 17.196-200), Archelaus visited the Temple, where he spoke to the multitude, in order to earn their god-will and their praise. He did not presume to name himself as king (JA 17.202), but he clearly indicates that he will repay their devotion to him (JA 17.202). After the speech, he listened to many petitions concerning the reduction of taxes and setting free prisoners. At the end of his visit he offered a sacrifice (JA 17.205). However not all the Jews were satisfied with Archelaus speech, and they pushed for the punishment of those who during the reign of Herod brought terror and destruction to the nation, as well as an amnesty for all imprisoned under Herod and the deposition of the High priest (JA 17.207-208). Archelaus attempt to postpone the problem in a diplomatic way by persuading them to accept his commitment to respond after Caesar confirmed him as the King of Judaea (JA 17.209). His opponents among the Jews, intent on revenge, on punishment of those responsible for the death of their relatives and friends, refused to allow any messenger sent by the king to speak (JA 17.211-212). The whole situation grew out of hand as the opposition group refused to follow the

guidance of their own community leaders and the crowd started to support them. The disturbance took the shape of open revolt during the Passover festival, when a great multitude from all over Judea came to Jerusalem. The opponents, using the cover of charitable activities in the Temple, agitated against the king (JA 17.214). In order to arrest the agitators, Archelaus sent a cohort of soldiers into the Temple, who were violently attacked and in the end overcome by the multitude (JA 17.216-217). In response Archelaus sent the army in strength against the multitude. Three thousand men died and the Passover festivities were cancelled (JA 17.218). After calming the situation in Jerusalem, Archelaus and his family went to Rome to obtain Caesar's approval of his nomination as King (JA 17.219-220)²⁹. All affairs concerning the household and the realm were left to Philip (JA 17.219-220).

²⁹ Archelaus together with his family including Salome, the sister of Herod, friends and relatives went to Rome filled with hope concerning his future. However, among his companions were those who intended to work against him (JA 17.220). Archelaus was not the only candidate, who went to Rome hoping to be declared king. Antipas, the son of Herod, encouraged by Salome, who also went to Rome together with Archelaus, his mother, Ptolemy (the brother of Nicolas) and a skillful advocate, Irenaeus (JA 17.225-227). At Rome, those who came with Archelaus, betrayed him and started support Antipas, who seemed to be the better option for them (JA 17.227). All these and even the letter complaining about Archelaus sent by Sabinus (the imperial procurator, who during the absence of Archelaus took possession of Herod's property in Jerusalem) to Caesar worked in favour of Antipas. Archelaus also sent a letter to Caesar concerning the will of Herod as well as the report given by Ptolemy concerning Herod's property (JA 17.228). After reading the letter from Sabinus and Varus on the one hand and the letters sent by Archelaus on the other hand, Caesar August had some doubts, and for this reason he ordered an interrogation of both sides (JA 17.228-229). First, Antipater, the son of Salome, gave a speech for the case against Archelaus (JA 17.230-239). The case was based on three major points. First, Archelaus acted as king even before Caesar confirmed the will of Herod. Second, he showed his cruelty (the incident in the Temple) what indicated his tyrannical character. Third, he acted unlawfully during the time of mourning after father's death. After this, the advocate of Archelaus was allowed to speak (JA 17.240). Behale Archelaus Nicolaus gave the speech which started with an apology concerning the Temple incident. At that point, Nicolaus first skillfully put responsibility on the side

During the period of Archelaus' absence from Judea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria moved to Jerusalem and took possession of Herod's property with exception the citadels (JA 17.221-223). Also, during this time, revolt in Judea reoccurred (JA 17.250). After Archelaus sailed to Rome, the nation became unruly and serious disturbances took place. The intervention of Varus, the governor of Syria, suppressing the rebellious activities did not however end the rebellion (JA 17.250-251). After Varus left for Antioch in Syria, Sabinus, the procurator of Judea, using his slaves for terrorist activities, caused disturbances among the Jews. He also attempted to take over the citadels, which were under control of Archelaus' soldiers, which in the end led to a new phase of rebellion (JA 17.252-253). Many Jews, who came for the festival of Pentecost, were ready and prepared to join the rebellion leaving Sabinus and his forces outnumbered (JA 17.254). The Jews easily took over control of the city and they surrounded Sabinus' forces on all sides (JA 17.255). Sabinus himself, found shelter in the fortress Phasael, but he ordered the soldiers to fight the Jews (JA 17.256-257), who effectively defended themselves in the porticoes that surrounded the outer court of the Temple. Suffering great losses, the Romans decided to burn down the porticoes (JA 17.260-262). All the rebels died and the porticoes were destroyed (JA 17.263-264). Sabinus and soldiers

of multitude in the Temple, and next accused Antipater of supporting those who opposed Caesar (JA 17.240-241). The rest of Nicolaus' speech contains an account, which shows unlawful attitude of Antipater (JA 17.242-243). The speech ends with strong argumentation for the credibility of Herod's testament (JA 17.244-247).

The interrogation ends without any decision by Caesar, who however gave a sign of his intentions to Archelaus by raising him up when he had thrown himself at Caesar's feet (JA 17.248-249).

took possession of the sacred funds, which were deposited in the Temple³⁰. However, it was not the end of the disturbances, because those Jews, who survived surrounded the place, where Sabinus was, and threatened to set fire to the building and exterminate all the inhabitants (JA 17.265). Sabinus' situation became quite difficult, due to the fact that some soldiers of Herod's army deserted and this greatly reduced the Roman's strength (JA 17.266-267). Although the rebels offered Sabinus safe passage to leave Jerusalem, he did not trust their words and stayed in the palace waiting for Varus's help (JA 17.168). Disturbances in Jerusalem resulted in disturbances across the whole of Judea, where many men for many different reasons fought the king's troops (JA 17.270). Josephus gives an account in which about two thousand deserters from Herod's army successfully fought against the king's army led by Herod's cousin Achiab (JA 17.270). Another account concern Judas, the son of brigand chief Ezekias, who terrorized Galilee and seized the royal palace at Sepphoris in the hope of becoming king by using force (JA 17.271-272). Another pretender to the throne of Judea was Simon, the slave of King Herod, who declared himself to be king. He took responsibility for burning the palace in Jericho and many other places (JA 17.273-275)³¹. His activities were ended by Gratus, who with help of the Romans defeated the troops of Simon, and beheaded Simon (JA 17.276-277). Another pretender to the throne of Judea, Athronges, was a simple shepherd of great stature and strength (JA 17.278-284). He together

³⁰ In JA, Josephus writes about soldiers who stole from the treasury and Sabinus, who took four hundred talents, but in JW he writes that the soldiers stole four hundred talents and Sabinus took the rest of the treasury (JW 2.50).

³¹ Simon was not the only one who destroyed the royal property. Josephus mentions other rebels who burnt the royal palace at Ammatha on the river Jordan (JA 17.277).

with his four brothers for very long time wrought havoc and destruction, not to mention suffering and injury equally to Romans and to Jews (JA 17.281)³².

Josephus summing up this period writes that at that time anyone could declare himself the king and gather brigands, who roamed freely over the whole territory of Judea (JA 17.285) because there was no king of Judea and the Romans presence was hardly tolerated (JA 17.277). The situation in Judea forced Varus, the governor of Syria to intervene militarily with two of the three legions stationed in Syria and four troops of cavalry sent by the kings and tetrarchs (JA 17.186-187). The army and the troops assembled at Ptolemais, where Varus sent one part of the army to fight in Galilee under the command of his son (JA 17.288), who captured Sepphoris, destroyed the city and put the inhabitants into slavery. Varus, went to Samaria (JA 17.289-290) and on the road to Jerusalem he burnt Emmaus, the village had already been abandoned by its inhabitants (JA 17.191-192). In Jerusalem Varus met Joseph, the cousin of Herod the Great and Gratus and Rufus commanders of Herod's army, who placed responsibility for the riot with the multitude gathered for festival rather than on the inhabitants of Jerusalem (JA 17.293-294)³³. Varus put the riot to an end by severely punishing those who were responsible for the disturbances (two thousand were crucified) or sending the prominent leaders to Caesar, who put to death only those relatives actively involved in the fight (JA 17.295-298). After the situation in Judea again became stable, Varus left for Antioch allowing the Jews to send a delegation (fifty men, who were supported by eight thousand Jews living in Rome) to Rome in order to ask for

³² They successfully fought the Romans (JA 17.282-283) until two brothers were subdued by Gratus and Ptolemy and the third brother was captured by Archelaus. The last brother surrendered to Archelaus (JA 17.283-284).

³³ Sabinus did not meet Varus in Jerusalem because he fled to the sea-coast.

autonomy for Judea (JA 17.299-300). During the meeting in the temple of Apollo in Rome, the delegation spoke against King Herod, describing his reign as a time of cruelty and bestiality (JA 17.307-310) and also against Archelaus, who was accused of the slaughter in the Temple among many other acts of wickedness (JA 17.311-314).

On behalf of Archelaus, supported by his relatives present in Rome and Philip from Syria sent by Varus (JA 17.301-303), Nicolaus spoke (JA 17.315-316)³⁴. First, Nicolaus pointed to the inaccuracy of the accusation against Herod, who was now dead, and then to the true reason for Archelaus' action in the Temple (JA 17.316). A few days after the hearing, Caesar made the final decision concerning succession after Herod the Great. Archelaus was appointed the ethnarch of half the territory of Herod's kingdom, with promise of the title of king if he proved by attitude and action he was capable to act as king should (JA 17.317)³⁵. The ethnarchy of Archelaus contained Judea, Idumaea, Samaria and some cities: Caesarea, Sebaste, Joppa, Jerusalem, Gadara, and Hipus (JA 17.319-320). The other half of Herod's kingdom was divided between other two sons of Herod. Antipas received Peraea and Galilee, and Philip received Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis and the domain of Zenodorus (JA 17.318-319)³⁶. Herod's sister, Salome received the cities of Jamneia, Azotus

³⁴ Josephus stresses that those, who supported Archelaus did it not with sympathy to him but for their own interest (JA 17.302-303).

³⁵ The condition, as well as many others details, is not mention in JW 2.93-105, concerning the same event.

³⁶ Archelaus yearly tribute amounted to six hundred talents. Antipas yearly tribute amounted to two hundred talents. Philip yearly tribute amounted to hundred talents. In the New Testament times measurement called talent refers to precious metal (gold) and 1 talent was equivalent of 58,9 kg of gold.

and Phasaelis according to will of Herod, as well, she received from Caesar the royal palace in Ascalon (JA 17.320-321)³⁷.

Archelaus after returning to the Judea, rebuilt the royal palace in Jericho (JA 17.339-341), erected the village of Archelais (about 10 km northern of Jericho), and a new palm-tree plantation near the village Neara (about 3 km northern from Jericho). He removed from the high priesthood Joazar, the son of Boethus and appointed Eleazar, the brother of Joazar, who however only remained in the position for a short time, being replaced by Jesus, the son of See (JA 17.339; 17.341). Archelaus ruled as ethnarch for ten years, and then he was exiled to Vienna in Gaul (today Vienne), because the Jews and Samaritans denounced him to Caesar for cruelty, tyranny and disobeying Caesar's instructions (JA 17.342-244)³⁸. Based on these accusations, Archelaus was called to Rome for a hearing, and after he was found guilty, Caesar banished him from Judea and confiscated his property³⁹.

The ethnarchy of Archelaus was subordinated to the province of Syria, where Quirinius was appointed as governor (JA 17.354)⁴⁰. The first

³⁷ All Salome's possession were on the territory ruled by Archelaus (JA 17.321). Other relatives received sums according to will of Herod, and some of them additionally received gifts from Caesar (JA 17.322-323). Caesar decided to marriage the two unmarried daughter of Herod to the sons of Pheroras (JA 17.222-223).

³⁸ Josephus mentions also the fact that Archelaus married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, who had been married to Alexander, the brother of Archelaus, but after his death she became the wife of Archelaus (JA 17.340). Since the Law prohibited marriage to the wife of a brother, Archelaus transgressed Jewish custom. We are told that before she died, she had dream about Alexander, her first husband, who reproached her for her behavior (JA 17.349-353).

³⁹ Josephus gives an account about Archelaus's dream, which was correctly interpreted by Certain Simon, a member of the Essenes (JA 17. 245-348).

⁴⁰ Probably it is the same Quirinius, whom Luke mention in Lk 2, 2 however the census in Syria took place in 6-7 AD (JA 18.26), and not in time of Herod the Great as Luke suggests.

procurator of Judea became Coponius (6-9 AD), who received the full authority appropriate to that office (JA 18.1-2). The first act of Quirinius concerned registration of Jewish property (JA 18.3), which gave rise to a revolt under the leadership of Judas, a Gaulanite from the city of Gamala, who was supported by Saddok, the Pharisee (JA 18.4-5), founder of a fourth philosophical school among the Jews (JA 18.8-10)⁴¹. The revolt ended in disaster, but Josephus did not write much on this subject (JA 18.7-8). The governor of Syria pacified the supporters of Archelaus and he gave to Herod Antipas and Philip full power over their tetrarchies (JA 18.26-27). He also removed the high priest Joazar from his office in favor of Ananus, the son of Seth (JA 18.26). Coponius stayed in office for only three years, and then he was dispatched by Quirinius, based on an incident in the temple during the Passover. Some Samaritans scattered human bones in the Temple, what caused the place to be declared unclean (JA 18.29-30)⁴². After the incident Coponius was replaced by Marcus Ambivulus (9-12 AD), about whom Josephus wrote only that at that time Salome, Herod's sister died (circa 10 AD) and her possessions (Jamnia, Phaselis, Archelais) she gave to Julia, the wife of Caesar (JA 18.31). The next procurator after

⁴¹ On this occasion, Josephus gives an account of four major Jewish philosophical schools, which in fact were four religious groups (JA 18.11-25). The presentation of the Pharisees is very positive (JA 18.12-15), of the Sadducees is rather negative (JA 18.16-17). The presentation of the Essenes talks of them as admirable (JA 18.18-22). The sect established by Judas, the Galilean is blamed for the anti-Roman sentiments which led whole nation into the war with Rome (JA 18.23-25).

⁴² The text seems to be consciously unfinished. Immediately after the account comes information about Coponius dispatched without presentation of the reason (JA 18.31). There is no reason offered within the account, what suggests that Josephus omitted the account of possible military action against the Samaritans, and because of that he was sent back to Rome. See explanation in: Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books XVIII-XX, Cambridge, 1965, p. 27.

Ambivulus was Annius Rufus (12-15 AD), about whom Jesephus wrote only that when he was in office as the procurator, Caesar Augustus died (14 AD)⁴³.

The third emperor of Rome mentioned is Tiberius Nero (14-37 AD), the son of Julia (Livia Drusilla) and step-son of Caesar August. The new Caesar replaced Antonius Rufus with Valerius Gratus (15-26 AD) as the procurator of Judea (JA 18.33)⁴⁴. Gratus made several changes concerning the office of the high priest (JA 18.34-35). First, he removed Ananus and appointed Ishmael (15-16 AD), the son of Phabi, who in turn was replaced by Simon (17-18 AD), the son of Camith, only to be replaced after one year by Josephus who is called Caiaphas (18-36 AD)⁴⁵.

After Gratus, Pontius Pilate became the procurator of Judea (26-36 AD). Concerning Pilate as the procurator of Judea, Jospheus (contrary to the four previous procurators) gives four accounts, which describe the most important events during his office.

The first incident concerns introduction into Jerusalem of military standards emblazoned with busts of the Emperor (JA 18.55-59), which called forth strong opposition from the Jews because the Law prohibited any images in Jerusalem but he refused to respond to them. Finally, Pilate called them to a gathering at the stadium in Caesarea, where, using arguments of power and threats of death, he tried to suppress Jewish opposition. However Jews were

⁴³ Caesar Augustus, the second emperor of Rome, ruled for fifty-seven years (44 BC-14 AD). He was seventy-seven years old then he died (JA 18.32).

⁴⁴ During the rule of Tiberius significant change in policy concerning the procurators took place. It refers to the length of the cadency in the office, which became not limited to the three years period.

⁴⁵ Joseph called Caiaphas (son in law of Ananus) was in office of high priest during the time of Jesus' trial and crucifixion (Mt 26, 57, Lk 3, 2; Jn 11, 49; 18, 13. 24. 28).

ready to die rather than accept a blatant transgression of the Law, so forcing Pilate to change his mind and take the standards out of the city⁴⁶.

The second incident concerns using of *Corbonas* the sacred treasures, which could be used only for the purchase of sacrificial animals, which Pilate used to build an aqueduct (JA 18.60). When Pilate came to Jerusalem (most probably on occasion of the Passover), the multitudes aggressive attitude offended Pilate, who had expected the opposition, and because of that ordered the soldiers to wear Jewish clothes and mix with the crowd. When the situation rose to a dangerous level, he ordered the soldiers mixed in with the crowd to attack the Jews with clubs. The action of the soldiers went out of control and many Jews were killed. Josephus writes that in this way the uprising was ended (JA 18.60-62).

The third account concerning Pilate refers to the death of Jesus (JA 18.63-64). Josephus gives a very affirmative account about Jesus (some scholars are suspicious about credibility of the passage) informs us that after the hearing Jesus was condemned to death by Pilate (JA 18.64).

The last account concerning Pilate refers to disturbances in Samaria, which took place when a certain man gathered armed men on Mount Gerizim seeking to pressure the Samaritans to show him the vessels left by Moses (JA 18.85). This gathering was interpreted by Pilate as an uprising, and because of that it was pacified with severe cruelty by armed forces (JA 18.87). Pilate's action saw the Samaritans formally protest his actions to Vitellius, the governor of Syria. According to them, the men, who were slain by Pilate were not rebels against Rome but refugees seeking shelter from persecution by Pilate

⁴⁶ This incident took place at the beginning of his office in Judea.

(JA 18.88). The Samaritans' accusation became the reason for Vitellius to send Pilate to Rome in order to face an interrogation before the emperor (JA 18.89)⁴⁷. It meant that after ten years in office, Pilate was dismissed. Pilate was replaced by Marcellus (36-37 AD), a friend of Vitellius⁴⁸.

After Pontius Pilate had been sent to Rome, Vitellius visited Jerusalem during the Passover and reclaimed the trust of the inhabitants by restoring some of the privileges, which had been taken from them by previous administrators⁴⁹. He remitted taxes put on agriculture products, and returned care of the high priest's vestments to the temple authorities. They had been kept in Roman care in the Antonia, a fort located in the north-west area of the temple (JA 18.90-91)⁵⁰. He also removed Joseph Caiaphas from the high priest's office and replaced him with Jonathan, son of Ananus (JA 18.95). A year later, in 37 AD, when conflict broke out between Herod Antipas and the king of Petra, Tiberius ordered Vitellius to take military action against Aretas. On the road to Petra, Vitellius visited Jerusalem in order to offer sacrifices to God during the Passover (JA 18.122-123). During the visit Vitellius again dispatched the high

⁴⁷ Before Pilate reached Rome, Tiberius died (37 AD), what allows us to determine the time of the incident in Samaria at 36 AD.

⁴⁸ The fact that Marcellus was appointed as procurator of Judea by Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who had no rights in this matter (only the Emperor possessed that rights), creates problem of this account's credibility. The case is exceptional, and it can be explained by two hypotheses: first, Vitellius possessed extraordinary power and rights about which we are not informed by Josephus, or second, Vitellius exceeded his competence, so putting his career in danger. However, both hypotheses lack foundations. The more probable solution is that Marcellus was not the procurator but only an official acting in the name of the governor of Syria, which seems to be attested to by use of the term ἐπιμελητής - *overseer*.

⁴⁹ The visit of Vitellius is recorded also in JA 15.405.

⁵⁰ The history of the stronghold Antonia and the high priest vestments, Josephus presents in JA 18.91-95.

priest Jonathan and appointed his brother Theophilus (JA 18.123). In Jerusalem, Vitellius heard news of the death of the Emperor Tiberius, and the election Gaius (Caligula) as the new Emperor. Because of this news, Vitellius set aside the order of Tiberius to take military intervention against Petra (JA 18.124)⁵¹. With a new Emperor, a new order was created, giving an opening to Herod Agrippa I⁵².

The account concerning Herod Agrippa I's career begins with the period of his stay in Rome, while Herod the Great was still alive (JA 18.143). In Rome, Agrippa became on "very familiar terms" with family of Tiberius, especially with his son Drusus and Antonia, the wife of the younger brother of Tiberius, Drusus the Elder (JA 18.143). Until the death of his mother Beronice, Agrippa controlled his temper in order not to offend the mother, but after she died, he returned to a life of luxury which soon reduced him to poverty and made his presence in Rome problematic (JA 18.144-146). Agrippa returned to Judea humiliated and deep in debt to the money-lenders, with no one was ready to pay off the debt for him. He was staying in the tower Malatha in Idumaea, his mind wavering in the face of thoughts of suicide. In these circumstances, Cypros, the wife of Agrippa asked Herodias, the wife of Herod Antipas the tetrarch for help. In response, Herod Antipas gave to Agrippa a dwelling place in Tiberias, with a fixed allowance and the position of commissioner of market in Tiberias.

Bankrupt though Agrippa was he only saw condescension in the actions of Herod Antipas and turned to Pomponius Flaccus, the governor of Syria (32-45 AD), and old friend from his time in Rome (JA 18.148-150). Flaccus

⁵¹ The Emperor Tiberius died on 15 March 37 AD.

⁵² Before Josephus gives an extensive account of Herod Agrippa I, he presents the detailed family tree of Herod the Great (JA 18.130-141).

welcomed Agrippa, who stayed in Syria until Flaccus was informed by Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, that Agrippa had been bribed by the Damascenes in order to influence Flaccus in a judgment on the territorial problem between Damascus and Sidon in favor of Damascus (JA 18.151-155). This incident ended the friendship between Agrippa and Flaccus, forcing Agrippa to sail to Rome (JA 18.155). In the face of numerous difficulties, but with the help of a friend, a freedman, Marsias, Agrippa made his way to Alexandria, where he asked Alexander Lysimachus for assistance (JA 18.155-159)⁵³. Although Alexander refused to help him directly he gave assistance to his wife Cypros, so making the journey to Rome possible (JA 18.159-160). However, Cypros left her husband and returned to Judaea (JA 18.160). Agrippa sailed to Capri, where Caesar Tiberius was living, and was warmly welcomed by him (JA 18.161-162) until a letter from Heronnius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, containing information that Agrippa was still in debt, some three hundred thousand drachmas, to the Imperial treasury, rousing Tiberius' anger and refusing to grant him an audience until the debt was repaid (JA 18.164). With the assistance of Antonia, the mother of Germanicus and Claudius, who was on good terms with Agrippa's mother Beronice, Agrippa was enabled to repay the debt and gain the trust and friendship of Tiberius, who recommended his grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus the Younger, to Agrippa (JA 18.166). Agrippa made also friends with Gaius, the grandson of Antonia and son of Germanicus (JA 18.166-167).

In order to repay the debt to Antonia and to be counted among the friends of Gaius, Agrippa borrowed from a Samaritan freed-man a million

⁵³ Alexander Lysimachus was a brother of Philo and in Alexandria he was the alabarch, the official in charge of collecting special taxes paid by Jews. He also decorated the gates of Jerusalem Temple with gold and silver (JW 5.205; JA 19.276; 20.100).

drachmas (JA 18.167). And that friendship was further solidified by a conversation between Agrippa and Gaius, in which he expressed his wish that Gaius replace Tiberius as soon as possible. Their conversation was however overheard by Eutyclus, a freedman and driver of Agrippa's chariot. Relations between them had been fragile since the time when Agrippa suffered from bouts of depression as he fled Rome. To protect himself he informed Piso, the prefect, by offering information on the personal security of Tiberius (JA 18.169), only to be sent in chains to Capri. Tiberius, as was his custom did not initially interrogate him (JA 18.170-178), resulting in Agrippa appealing to Antonia to secure a hearing for Eutyclus (JA 179.183-187)⁵⁴. Tiberius believed the accusation of Eutyclus and ordered Marco, the prefect of the praetorian after Sejanus, to imprison Agrippa (JA 18.188-191)⁵⁵. During his six months' of imprisonment Agrippa was treated with special consideration because of Antonia's influence and orders (JA 18.202-204). In prison, Agrippa met a certain German prisoner, who foretold his elevation to the highest position (JA 18.195-202)⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Josephus gives an account Antonia's role in saving the life of Tiberius in time of Sejanus' conspiracy (31 AD). Sejanus was the prefect of the praetorian cohorts, to whom from 26-31AD, Tiberius entrusted the affairs of Rome, while he was in Capri. Sejanus' power reached its zenith when he gained the support of the Senate and freedmen in a plot against Tiberius, who was unpopular in Rome Tiberius (JA 18.181-182). Tiberius, was informed by Antonia of the plot and had Sejanus and his most influential supporters executed.

⁵⁵ Herod Agrippa I was imprisoned in 36 AD, and stayed in custody for six months (probably 36/37 AD). Josephus writes about Thaumastus, the slave, who in time of Agrippa's imprisonment assisted in his daily needs, for which he was promised rewards Agrippa, his freedom and an office in Agrippa's kingdom (JA 18.192-194).

⁵⁶ He also foretold that Agrippa would see again the same owl, which he saw in prison, he would die in five days (JA 18.200).

After imprisoning Agrippa, Tiberius went back to Capri and became sick (JA 18.205). When the malady started to threaten his life, Tiberius had to make a decision about his successor, which he felt could only be one of two candidates (JA 18.205-206), Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus (grandson of Caesar Tiberius) and Gaius the son of Germanicus (nephew of Caesar Tiberius). Tiberius was convinced it was better to name as his successor his grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus, but he put faith in the decision of the gods rather than in his own. He decided to name as his successor the first of the two who paid him a visit the morning of the next day (JA 18.211-223). The one who first came to Tiberius was Gaius, to whom Tiberius, in accord with the will of the gods, entrusted the Roman Empire, with a strong warning to do no wrong to Tiberius Gemellus (JA 18.219-223), however as soon as Caesar Tiberius died (few days after he had made the decision) and Gaius became the Caesar, he put Tiberius Gemellus to death (JA 18.223)⁵⁷.

Agrippa heard the news of the death of Tiberius from the freedman Marsius (JA 18.228-234), and few days later on the order of Gaius, Agrippa was released from the prison (JA 18.235). Some days after the funeral of Tiberius, Gaius invited Agrippa to his house and appointed him the king of the tetrarchy of Philip and the Tetrarchy of Lysanias (JA 18.237)⁵⁸. Gaius appointed Marullus as the prefect of Judea (37-41 AD). In 38 AD, Agrippa returned to the

⁵⁷ Tiberius was emperor for twenty two years six months and twenty eight days (14-37 AD). Gaius his son was very popular among the military, and the Roman people. Germanicus, on the one hand had an advantage in the form of the good will of people toward him due to deep respect for his father, and on other hand due to a dislike of Caesar Tiberius, who was suspected of poisoning Germanicus (JA 18.206-210). Also Josephus writes about Gaius from the time before he became the emperor) in very affirmative manner (JA 18.206-210).

⁵⁸ See: JA 15.344; 19.275; 20.13). The tetrarchy of Philip was incorporated to the province of Syria after Philip's death in 34 AD.

former tetrarchy of Philip as the king (JA 18.238-239). His sister, Herodias, the wife of Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, became extremely jealous, and pushed her husband to seek to obtain the same dignity as Agrippa. (JA 18.240-244). Finally, Herod Antipas, with Herodias, sailed to Rome to ask Gaius for the dignity of kingship. Herod Agrippa, hearing about this, sent to Rome his freedman Fortunatus with a letter containing an accusation against Herod Antipas of conspiracy with Sejanus against Tiberius in the past, and now conspiracy with Artabanus, the king of Parthian against Gaius (JA 18.247-251). The proof of Antipas' guilt was that he had stored equipment sufficient for seventy thousand soldiers. Based on this evidence, Gaius relieved Antipas of his tetrarchy and banished him to the city of Lyon in Gaul⁵⁹. The tetrarchy of Herod Antipas was thus added to the kingdom of Herod Agrippa I (JA 18.252)⁶⁰.

Concerning Gaius, Josephus writes that at the beginning of his office, the first two years, he "*administrated the empire quiet highmindedly*" (JA 18.256), however later when he starts to think about himself as "a god", he made some decisions which were offensive to the God of Israel. The first act of Gaius concerns a conflict between the Greeks and the Jews in Alexandria, which in Josephus account is reduced to the record of a hearing of delegates from both sides before Gaius (JA 18.257-260). After hearing the accusation, given by Apion against the Jews, concerning the lack of disposition among the Jews to

⁵⁹ According to JW 2.183 Herod Antipas was banished to Spain. Herodias, although received from Gaius generous offer (because she was sister of Agrippa) to part with her husband and returned to her possession in Judea, she refused accept it, and for that she was banished together with her husband (JA 18.253-254). Josephus evaluates the event as the God's punishment on Herodias (JA 18.255).

⁶⁰ Concerning the evaluation of the reign of Gaius, Josephus is on opinion that first two years he did his office highmindedly, but after he started to think about himself as god (JA 18.256).

worship Gaius as god, Gaius did not allow Philo to offer a defense on behalf of Jews⁶¹. The second act of Gaius concerned his attempt to erect his image in the Temple in Jerusalem (JA 18.161-309). When Gaius appointed Petronius (39-42 AD) as the governor of Syria, after Vitellius, he ordered him to set up in the Temple an image of Caesar (JA 18.261). In order to carry out the command, Petronius with his army set out for Jerusalem, during his progress he met strong but peaceful opposition from the Jews, first in Ptolemais (JA 18.263-268) and next in Tiberias (JA 18.269-272). In Tiberias, the delegation included Aristobulus, the brother of Herod Agrippa I, Helcias the Elder, the prefect and friend of Herod Agrippa I, and civil leaders, who convinced Petronius to write a letter to Gaius, explaining how stubborn the Jews were and their determination to defend the traditions of their ancestors. Carrying out the order would result in massive civil unrest, possibly beyond his control (JA 18.273-283). At that same time, Herod Agrippa I was in Rome giving a lavish party for Gaius (JA 18.289-293), who as an expression of his gratitude was ready to satisfy every wish of Agrippa. Herod Agrippa I asked for the cancellation of the order to establish Gaius' image in the Temple (JA 18.294-297). Gaius granted the request of Agrippa and sent to Petronius new orders concerning the issue (JA 18.298-301). However, after Gaius had sent the letter to Petronius, he received the letter from Petronius⁶², which saw Gaius look unfavorably on Petronius for neglecting the emperor commands (JA 18.302-309)⁶³. Soon after Gaius was assassinated (JA 19.15-114), and Petronius

⁶¹ The conflict between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria is the topic of Philo's two works, *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*.

⁶² The letter is mentioned by Josephus in JA 18.283.

⁶³ In JA 18.307-308 Josephus writes that Gaius condemned Petronius to the death, however in JW 2.203 Josephus writes that Gaius threatened to put Petronius to death.

received first the letter announcing the death of Gaius, and after that the letter of Gaius ordering him to committing suicide (JA 18.305-309). Josephus again mentions Petronius in JA 19.301-316 on the occasion of an incident in the city of Dora in Phoenicia, where a certain young man had provoked the Jews by putting in the synagogue an image of Caesar, which also irritated Herod Agrippa I (JA 19.301). An official letter of Petronius, addressed to inhabitants of the city, reminded them that provocation of the Jews was prohibited by a decree of Caesar Claudius (JA 19.305-311)⁶⁴.

After Gaius, came Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (41-54 AD)⁶⁵. Claudius is mention in an account concerning a plot against Gaius and his assassination (JA 19. 66-69; 19.102-117) and then in an account concerning political and social tensions, which came to the surface after Gaius' death (JA 19.119-273). Although the Senate opted for democracy, the military strongly supported Claudius as candidate for the office of Emperor (JA 19.162-166; 19.212-225) which naturally led to conflict (JA 19.226-254) in which in the end the army succeed (JA 19.254-273). Under these disturbing circumstances, Herod Agrippa I appears twice in Josephus' narration. The first time, he convinces Claudius to bid for the empire (JA 19.236-245) and the second he convinces the senate that they cannot oppose the army and then he offered himself a member of a delegation to Claudius in order to convince to him to

⁶⁴ The incident took place after Herod Agrippa I was declared king of Judea (41 AD) and Petronius was dismissed from office (42 AD). On this occasion, Josephus also informs us that Petronius was succeeded in the office of Governor of Syria by Vibius Marsus in 42 AD.

⁶⁵ Josephus accounts concerning Claudius: JW 2.204-228, 2.243-245; JW 3.5; 5.153; JA 3.20; JA 15.407; JA 18.164-165; JA 19. 13, 19.66-69, 19.102-117, 19.162-166, 19.212-327, 19.343-366; JA 20.7-15, 20.37, 20.104, 20.113, 20.131-151, 20.222.

lay down his office (JA 19.239-244). Before the delegation met Claudius, Agrippa had had a private meeting with Claudius, during which he informed Claudius about division in the Senate and advised him to speak to delegation rather imperiously (JA 19.245). The second time, Agrippa urges Claudius to spare the lives of senators who had been threatened by soldiers loyal to him (JA 19.264-265). For this service to Claudius, Herod Agrippa I was confirmed a king not only of the territory previously given to him by Gaius, but Claudius also added Judea and Samaria, so becoming King of Judea with the kingdom, with territory similar to that ruled by Herod the Great (JA 19.274). Additionally Herod Agrippa I received Abila (northern slope of Mount Hermon)⁶⁶, and the mountainous region of Lebanon (JA 19.275). Claudius also gave to Herod Agrippa I a portion of Cilicia and the land of Commagene, which formally belonged to Antiochus IV, King of Commagene (JA 19.276)⁶⁷. The friendship between Claudius and Agrippa was also formally secured by the marriage of Beronice, the daughter of Agrippa to Marcus, the son of Alexander (JA 18.159) a very close friend to Claudius (JA 19.277). After the death of Marcus, Beronice was married to Agrippa's brother Herod, who received from Herod Agrippa I, the kingdom of Chalcis (land in Lebanon valley). Claudius sent to the governor of Syria and others governors an instruction commending Herod Agrippa I to them as worthy of favorable treatment (JA 19.292). When Herod Agrippa I was still in Rome, the conflict between the Jews and Greeks in Alexandria, which during the reign of Gaius

⁶⁶ This territory belonged to Lysanias, the tetrarch of Abilene, who is mentioned in JA 18.237 and Lk 3, 1.

⁶⁷ The Josephus' information concerning Antioch IV, the king of Commagene differs from that in other sources. See: Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books XVIII-XX, Cambridge 1965, pp. 342-342.

was resolved in favor of Greeks, in reign of Claudius, again became reason for a Jewish petition to the Emperor. Respecting the petition of King Agrippa I and his brother king Herod of Chalcis, Claudius (contrary to Gaius) favored the Jews with his edict, which had universal character and encompassed all Jews living in the Roman Empire (JA 19.279-292).

Returning to Judea, Herod Agrippa I offered sacrifices in the Temple, paying attention to the necessary rituals and gave a golden chain to the sacred treasure-chamber (JA 19.293-296). He removed from the position of high priest Theophilus, the son of Ananus, and bestowed the office on Simon (surnamed Cantheras), the son of Boethus (JA 19.297-298), whose daughter was married to Herod the Great (JA 15.320-322). However, later he removed Simon Cantheras from the office of high priest and intended to bestow it on Jonathan, son of Ananus, but since he declined the king appointed Jonathan's brother Matthias as high priest (JA 19.313-316).

Herod Agrippa gained the trust and co-operation of the populace of Jerusalem by instituting tax remittances (JA 19.299). Later he fortified with walls that part of the city called "New City" without imposing new taxes. This however raised the suspicion of Marsus, who reported the matter to Claudius. Claudius, scenting the possible winds of revolt, ordered the halting of the project, which Herod Agrippa I did forthwith (JA 19.326-327). Josephus also mentions Herod Agrippa's generosity to the other nations⁶⁸, so hinting that in contrast with Herod the Great, who showed generosity for the Gentiles but not the Jews, Herod Agrippa was generous towards the Jews, and respected the

⁶⁸ Josephus mentions in particular Herod Agrippa's building activities in Berytus today Beirut (JA 19.335-337).

Law and the traditions of the ancestors (JA 19.328-331)⁶⁹. In military matters, Herod Agrippa initially appointed Silas, his faithful friend, as commander of the army (JA 19.299). However, he found Silas' frank manner, when he spoke with him, lacking in respect, and having initially imprisoned him, finally sent him back to his home country (JA 19.317-326).

When Herod Agrippa I established his reputation among others kings of the region, he invited them to Tiberias, where he entertained them until Marsus came. Marsus when he arrived suspected a conspiracy and dismissed all the kings (JA 19.338-341)⁷⁰. Since then, Agrippa and Marsus were on unfriendly terms with each other (JA 19.342).

In 44 AD, Herod Agrippa I went to Caesarea on the occasion of a festival of thanksgiving for the good health of Caesar. Wearing silver cloths, which glittered in the rays of the sun, Herod Agrippa appeared to people as being more than a man, and Herod Agrippa saw no reason to decline or undermine such public affirmation (JA 19.343-346). Shortly afterwards he saw the owl, which according to a prophecy given by German prisoner during his imprisonment was the sign of the end of his life. Five day later Herod Agrippa I died (44 AD) while experiencing severe abdominal pain (JA 19.347-349)⁷¹. He left behind a sixteen year old son, Agrippa, and three daughters; Beronice, who

⁶⁹ Josephus' account on this matter is tendentious and it contains information, which is contrary to his account concerning Herod the Great (restoration of the Temple). Further evidence of the contrasting approach he has to the history of the Herodian dynasty, always negatively evaluated, in comparison with the positive assessment given of the Hasmonean dynasty.

⁷⁰ Josephus also mentions Antiochus, king of Cimmagene; Sampsigeramus (his daughter Jotape was married to Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa), the king of Emesa (modern Homs in Syria Apamene on the Orontes River); Cotys, the king of Armenia Minor; Herod brother of Agrippa, the king of Chalcis.

⁷¹ Josephus also records that the people of Caesarea and Sebaste celebrated with a feast after hearing the news about Agrippa death (JA 19.355-359).

was married to Herod the king of Chalcis and two other children who were underage Mariamme and Drusilla (JA 19.354-355)⁷². At the time of death of his father, the young Agrippa (Herod Agrippa II) was in Rome. Due to his youth he was not appointed King of Judea (although Claudius thought about this possibility), resulting in the incorporation of Agrippa's kingdom into the province of Syria, and dispatched Cuspius Fadus (44-46 AD) as the procurator of Judea and the whole kingdom of Herod Agrippa I (JA 19.360-363). At the same time Claudius replaced Marsus with Cassius Longinus (45-55 AD) as of governor of Syria (JA 20.1)⁷³.

When Fadus came to Judea, he found the city of Perea at war with the city of Philadelphia over the boundaries of the village of Zia (JA 20.2). Because the action of the Pereaans was illegal (it was undertaken before Fadus' arrival and without authorization) and brought much suffering upon the people of Philadelphia, Fadus punished the three leaders (JA 20.2-4)⁷⁴. He also put to an end the activities of bandit bands in Judea, which had drastically increased after the death of Herod Agrippa I (JA 20.5). On another other occasion, Fadus suppressed a group who were following a false prophet (JA 20.97-99). In Jerusalem, he asked the high priest to deposit the high priest's vestments in the fortress Antonia, in accord with an earlier custom (JA 15.406; 18.93). However the Jews sent a delegation to Rome seeking a judgment from

⁷² Their marriage had already been already arranged. Letter Mariamme married Julius Archelaus, the son of Helcias (JA 20.140), but the marriage of Drusilla to Epiphanes, the son of Antioch the king of Commagene, never took place (JA 19.354-355).

⁷³ Herod Agrippa I was on unfriendly terms with Marsus, and many times asked Claudius for replacement, but this only happened after Herod's death to avoid giving Marsus cause to seek revenge on the inhabitants of Judea.

⁷⁴ He put to death Annibas, and banished Amaramus and Eleazar (JA 20.4).

Claudius (JA 20.6-8)⁷⁵. The young Herod Agrippa II, who was still present at the court of Claudius pleaded on their behalf, and obtained a judgment in their favour (JA 20.9- 14). Claudius also granted Herod, King of Chalcis, authority over the Temple, the holy vessels and the appointment of high priests (JA 20.15-16). The first decision of the Herod was to remove the high priest Canthers (more probably Elionaeus the son of Cantheras) and appointed Joseph the son of Camei (JA 20.16).

After Fadus, the procurator of Judea was one Tiberius Alexander (JA 20.100), the son of Alexander from Alexandria (JA 18.159-169, 18.259; 19.276-277)⁷⁶. During his office a great famine occurred in Judea (JA 20.49-53). He crucified James and Simon the sons of Judas Galilaeen (JA 18.4-23), who probably like their father militarily opposed Rome (JA 20.101-102). During the office of Tiberius Alexander, Herod, removed Joseph, the son of Camei from the office of high priest and appointed Ananias the son of Nedebaeus (JA 20.103-104).

After two years in office, Tiberius Alexander was replaced by Ventidius Cumanus (48-52 AD). During his time in office there were many civil disturbances in Judea (JA 20.103). The first incident took place during the Passover, when actions by a Roman soldier were considered insulting to God and the Jews gathered in the Temple. A restless and violent mob roamed the city and in the end saw the slaughter of twenty thousand Jews (JA 20.105-112). The second incident concerns the destruction of a copy of the Law by a Roman soldier during the pacification of village, where robbers had attacked Stephen, a slave of Caesar and deprived him of his possessions (JA 20.113-117). Jews

⁷⁵ It took place in 46 AD (JA 20.11).

⁷⁶ Procurator of Judea in 46-48 AD.

went to Caesarea, asking Cumanus to punish the soldier, and their petition was granted due to procurator's fear of further possible uprisings among the Jews (JA 20.116-117). The third incident was provoked by a conflict between Galileans, who on the road to Jerusalem passed through the territory of Samaria, and were killed by the Samaritans (JA 20.118). The Galileans' petition to punish the Samaritans was neglected by Cumanus (because of a bribe), which led the Jews under the command of a brigand, Eleazar, the son of Deinaeus to take revenge on a Samaritans' village (JA 20.121). This provoked Cumanu, who marched against the Jewish forces and destroyed them (JA 20.122). This action of the procurator further aroused nationalistic sentiments which were ameliorate only with great difficulty (JA 20.123-124). The Samaritans sent a delegation to Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria (50-60 AD), seeking justice (JA 20.125-129), but didn't receive a prompt judgment.

Later, Quadratus crucified the leaders of both sides, Jews and Samaritans, who were found guilty of fomenting the disturbances (JA 20.129-130). Also, in the village Lydda, he put to the death Doetus and four of his comrades, based on Samaritans' accusations concerning their activities leading the revolt against Rome (JA 20.134-135). He arrested the high priest Ananias, the captain Ananus and others and sent them to Rome for interrogation before Claudius. Also Quadratus sent off to Rome, leaders of Samaritans and Jews involved in conflict, as well as Cumanus, the procurator and Celer, the military tribune, in order have a judgment of the imperial court about the conflict (JA 20.131-133). The Emperor Claudius, again influenced by the young Herod Agrippa II, didn't find the Jews guilty of any crime, but put the whole Samaritan delegation to death. Claudius exiled Cumanus and sent

Celer back to Jerusalem ordering that he first be humiliated and then put to death (JA 20.134-136).

Claudius Felix (52-60 AD) was the next to be appointed as procurator (JA 20.137). He was the brother of Pallas (the freedman of Antonia), and married to Drusilla, the sister of Herod Agrippa II (JA 20.141-144). Of the administration of Judea by Felix, Josephus writes that he put an end to the activities of brigand bands by executing them, and imprisoning Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus, one of the leading figure among brigands, and sent him to Rome (JA 20.160-161). However he also used a band of brigands, led by Dorsa, to assassinate the high priest Jonathan, who opposed him, and even requested from Nero that Felix be dismissed from the office (JA 20.162-167)⁷⁷. Claudius Caesar had died in 54 AD, and the new Emperor Nero (54-68 AD), had ascended to the imperial throne through devious actions of his mother Agrippina and the support of the army (JA 20.151-152)⁷⁸. In short order he eliminated all his potential rivals including Britanicus (son of Claudius), Agrippina (his mother), Octavia (his wife) and many others (JA 20.152-153). Felix continued to suppress the brigands (JA 20.167-168) as well as a movement started by a certain Egyptian, a false prophet (JA 20.169-172). He also was forced to intervene in Caesarea, where conflict between Jews and Syrians, concerning civic rights, finally reached a state of a semi-war (JA 20.17-178). Further hints of opposition and rebellion among the Jews were summarily suppressed by military action on Felix's orders (JA 20.177-178).

⁷⁷ Josephus mentions that this way of solving problems became common during the rule of Felix (JA 20.165-166).

⁷⁸ Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (15.12.37 - 9.06.68 AD) was the son of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina the Younger, the sister of Caesar Caligula, who later married Caesar Claudius. His name was changed to Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, after he was adopted by Caesar Claudius.

However, the conflict did not end, and soon after Felix was replaced by Porcius Festus (60-62 AD) in the office of procurator, and a delegation of Jews from Caesarea went to Rome seeking the judicial punishment of Felix (JA 20. 182). At the same time Syrians dwelling in Caesarea, by using Beryllus, the tutor of Nero, sent a petition to annul the grant of equal civic rights to the Jews (JA 20.183). Felix was not punished, and equal rights for the Jews were annulled (JA 20.184)⁷⁹.

Josephus after informing his readers that Herod Agrippa II had conferred the high priesthood upon Ishmael, the son of Phabi (JA 20.179), gives a short and very negative description of conflict within the Jerusalem Temple between the high priest on one hand and the priests and leaders of Jerusalem on other hand, which led to their drifting into enmity (JA 20.180-181). This conflict led to social unrest, and created a favorable environment that once more saw a flourishing of brigand activities. The first action which Festus had to undertake was to pacify a group of brigands called *sicarii* (JA 20.185-187). He also put down one other messianic movement (JA 20.188). Festus and Herod Agrippa II faced further opposition from the Jews, who were annoyed by fact that the king from his palace in Jerusalem could watch the sacrifices offered in the Temple, but had built a wall to block the view (JA 20.189-191). However, because the wall blocked not only the king's view but also the view of the Roman guards Festus ordered it to be pulled down (JA 20.192-193). The Jews opposed this order and sent a delegation (including the high priest Ismael and Helcias, the keeper of treasury) to Nero with a petition to annul Festus' order. Due to the intervention of Poppaea, the wife of Nero, who was sympathetic

⁷⁹ According to Josephus, this decision of Nero escalated the problem, which in few years "*kindled the flame of war*" (JA 20.184).

towards Judaism, Nero granted their request (JA 20.194-195). Because of this incident, Herod Agrippa II removed from the office of high priest Ishmael and dispatched Joseph (Kabi), the son of the high priest Simon (JA 20.196).

After the unexpected death of Festus, for three months Judea was without procurator, and then Albinus (62-64 AD) was appointed as procurator of Judea (JA 20.197). Before Albinus took office, appointed by the king Agrippa, the high priest Ananus (follower of the Sadducees school) took advantage of the situation and put to death James and others followers of Jesus Christ (JA 20.200). Jews in Jerusalem recognized Ananus' action as an offence against the Law, and because of that they made petitions to king Agrippa II and Albinus, who was still on his way to Judea (JA 20.201-202). Both authorities condemned Ananus, and the king deposed him from the office, appointing to the office Jesus, the son of Damnaeus (JA 20.203).

Albinus, as with his processors, first had to face the problem of brigands (especially *sicarii*), who were roaming and terrorizing freely across Judea, and even in the Temple; at one point kidnapping the secretary of the Temple's captain Eleazar (JA 20.204-210). After, the king removed the high priest Jesus, the son of Damnaeus and appointed Jesus, the son of Gamaliel to the high priest office, the conflict between present high priest and his predecessor divided the priests of the Temple⁸⁰. Within the city itself, Costobar and Saul, brothers who were related to the king, established their own group, which plundered the property of others (JA 20.214). At that point Josephus concludes that Jerusalem was sinking into chaos. Also relations between the king and the Temple became more and more complicated after the king's

⁸⁰ Josephus mentions also some innovations concerning the rights of Levites (JA 20.215-218).

refusal to raise the height of the east part of Solomon's portico (JA 20.219-223). Albinus, shortly before he was replaced, put to death all prisoners guilty of serious offences but he released those with commonplace offences, which consequently enlarged the number of brigands (JA 20.215).

After Albinus, Gessius Flores became the procurator of Judea (64-66 AD), and is presented in a very negative light by Josephus (JA 20.252-258). Josephus counts him as the worst of all procurators of Judea, accusing him of cooperation with brigands (JA 20.255). According to Josephus, Florus was responsible for many Jews choosing the path of emigration, as well as for the Jewish war with Rome (JA 20.257).

2.2. Galilea

Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea fortified Sephoris and changed its name to Autocratoris and he built the walls around the city of Betharamphtha, which was renamed Julias (JA 18.27).

When Tiberius became Emperor, Herod Antipas built a city in Galilee on the shore of Lake Gennesaret and named it Tiberias. The city was built on the site of tombs, making impossible for Jews to live in such the place, since the Law prohibits it (JA 18.36-38). In order to inhabit the city, everyone despite their origin, status, and past were accepted and received house on the one condition: that they will not leave the city (JA 18.38).

When Vitellius on the order of Caesar Tiberius made a treaty with Artabanus the king of Parthia, which took place on the bridge on the river Euphrates, Herod Antipas laid out for them a rich feast in a luxury pavilion

built in the middle of the river especially for this occasion (JA 18.102)⁸¹.

Herod Antipas, who was married to the daughter of Aretas, the king of Petra, fell in love with Herodias (JA 18.109), the wife of his half-brother (different mothers) Herod Philip I (son of Herod the Great and daughter of Simon the high priest)⁸². In order to marry her, he was planning to divorce his wife, however she discovered all about the affair when Herod was paying a visit to Rome, and using the opportunity she ran away to her father (JA 18.110-112). King Aretas declared war on Herod Antipas and defeated him (JA 18.113-114)⁸³. Herod Antipas reported the affair to Caesar Tiberius, who ordered Vitellius, the governor of Syria to take military action against the king of Petra and send him alive or dead to Rome (JA 18.115). The army of Vitellius could not march through Judea due to Jewish opposition to the images attached to the military standards (JA 18.120-122), and they were forced to march through the passage between Galilee and Samaria called Great Plain (JA 18.122). While on the road, he went to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices to God during the Passover (JA 18.122-123). During this visit Vitellius removed the

⁸¹ This event took place in 35 AD, and because of that it should be placed in Josephus' writing before the account of Pilate's action in Samaria. Concerning the treaty between the Romans and Parthians, see JA 18.96-104. Herod Antipas sent ahead of Vitellius the report concerning the meeting to Caesar Tiberius, which highly annoyed the governor, who would take his revenge on Herod Antipas during the region of Gaius (JA 18.105).

⁸² The name Philip is questionable, since in some manuscripts (codex D, Latin version of Mt) of Mt and Lk it is missing. Scholars think that Mark in his gospel is confusing the name of Herodias' son-in-law with the unknown name of her husband. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books XVIII-XX, Cambridge 1965, pp. 76-77. This Herod Philip I is different from the Philip the tetrarch.

⁸³ Josephus writes that, according to Jews, the defeat of Herod Antipas was divine vengeance for beheading John the Baptist (JA 18.116-119). Josephus writes that Herod was afraid of John's influence on the Jews, that it might lead to an uprising against him. He also gives the name of place of John's execution, the stronghold Machaerus, on the border between Herod's territory and that of King Aretas – JA 18.112).

high priest Jonathan from his office and appointed his brother Theophilus (JA 18.123). In Jerusalem, he learned about the death of Tiberius, forcing him to abandon his campaign against the king of Petra (JA 18.124)⁸⁴.

In the first year of his reign (54 AD), Nero granted to Aristobulus, the son of Herod and the king of Chalcis the government of Armenia Minor, with some part of Galilee including the city of Tiberias and Tarichaeae, as well as the city of Julias in Peraea (JA 20.158-159).

2.3. Trachonitis

Philip, the tetrarch renovated the city of Paneas and renamed it Caesarea. He also raised the village of Bethsaida to the status of city, which was fortified and renamed Julia (JA 18.28).

Philip died in 34 AD, childless, leaving any successor to his tetrarchy, what resulted in his tetrarchy being incorporated by Tiberius into the province of Syria (JA 18.108). He died in Julias, where he was buried (JA 18.108). He ruled his tetrarchy for twenty seven years with moderation because of his easy-going disposition (JA 18.106). He did not travel outside his territory, he had only a few friends and every time he was ready to judge the cases of his subjects (JA 18.107). Josephus evaluated Philip as a modest and just ruler.

In 53 AD, Caesar Claudius granted Herod Agrippa II the tetrarchy of Philip, Batanaea, Trachonitis and the tetrarchy of Abila (north-west of Damascus), but at the same time Claudius deprived him of the kingdom of Chalcis (JA 20.138)⁸⁵. After arriving in his tetrarchy, Herod Agrippa II, arranged

⁸⁴ The Emperor Tiberius died on 15 March 37 AD.

⁸⁵ The kingdom of Chalcis was granted to Herod Agrippa II by Claudius in 48 AD, after the death of Herod the king of Chalcis. At that time, he also received all prerogatives

family matters. First, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, the king of Emesa, who converted to Judaism (JA 20.139)⁸⁶. His daughter Mariamme was married to Archelaus, the son of Helicias, and she gave birth to a daughter Beronice (JA 20.140).

When Albinus was the procurator of Judea (62-64 AD), King Herod Agrippa II enlarged Caesarea Philippi and renamed it Neronias (JA 20.211). In the city Berytus, the king built a theatre at great expense. The fact that the king adorned the foreign city more than any of the Jewish cities gave birth to strong resentment towards him (JA 20.212).

Conclusion: Characteristic of Josephus' account in the Jewish Antiquities

Josephus successfully attempted to write the great history of his nation, which not only in style but also in general approach making it worthy to stand alongside the historical works of the Greeks and the Roman. He wrote a magnificent history of the Jews, who in any other account are inferior to the Romans or the Greeks. This approach is seen also in the period of Jewish history from the Herod the Great's death till the war against Rome. The Jewish nation is peaceful and loyal to Rome, is the main message, which despite obvious counterarguments Josephus constantly proclaims. This message is true concerning the royal elites, who always sought Roman favour and tried to secure their power by securing links, of friendship and marriage with the

concerning the Jerusalem Temple, which were granted to Herod the king of Chalcis (JA 20.15-16).

⁸⁶ The marriage of Drusilla to Azizus was dissolved because Felix, the procurator of Judea, persuaded her to divorce her husband and to marry him. They had son Agrippa, who died during the eruption of Vesuvius (JA 20.141-144).

Roman elite. For this reason Josephus pays much attention to a full account concerning relationships of each of the Herod's Caesar' court and influential people of Rome. Although, Josephus gives an extensive account of each of the Roman Emperors (with the exception of Nero), the most extensive account is given of Caesar Gaius (Caligula), the friend and benefactor of Herod Agrippa I, who was the creator of Herod's way to the throne of Judea, granted to Agrippa by Caesar Claudius. Accordingly, Herod Agrippa I received special attention by Josephus, who admired his extraordinary good fortune. This treatment comes from the fact that Herod Agrippa for four years (41-44 AD) was the king of Judea kingdom, with territory was equal to that of Herod the Great's kingdom, but most probably to the fact that his genealogical roots go back to the Hasmonean Dynasty; his grandmother was Mariamme, a Hasmonean. Josephus favours the Hasmoneans rather than the Herodians through all his works, and because of that he held in high esteem Herod Agrippa I, despite his sometimes reprehensible conduct, which Josephus records honestly and in detail.

It is much more difficult to prove the truth of the Josephus' statements regarding events in Jewish society, and the chronology of numerous civil disturbances and riots that took place before finally the build-up of enmity led to the war. Concerning this problem, Josephus points to the attitude of Roman prefects and procurators, as the reason for uneasiness of the nation. Although Josephus mentions all the prefects (from 6-41 AD), he wrote extensively only about Pilate's offences against the Law and the tradition. However, he casts much more negative light on the procurators of Judea (44-67 AD), who are usually presented as the officials in constant conflict with their subjects. In all cases the lack of understanding of the Jewish way of living and

lack of respect toward the Law and tradition create a situation that becomes impossible to bear for the Jews. Nationalist brigands rode this wave of resentment, but often were uncontrollable, constantly led the nation into conflict with the Roman authorities and the army. Indirectly Josephus blamed the Temple's authorities, and directly he blamed the procurators, who allowed the nationalists to light the flame of war.

Appendix 1 Chronological chart of rulers

In this chart we present the list of the Roman Emperor, the members of the Herodian Dynasty, the prefects and procurators in charge of the province of Judea, and the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple, in chronological order.

Concerning the list of the Herodian Dynasty, the three sons of Herod take the same number but with added different letter. Concerning Herod Agrippa I, he takes the same number with different letter to indicate a different benefactor (the Emperor of Rome). The same concerns Herod Agrippa II.

Concerning the Roman prefects and procurators of Judea province they take the numbers, which in those cases where the procurators reign in Judea extends into to the reign of another Emperor the name of the prefect/procurator is repeated with the same number.

Roman Emperors and the governors of Syria province	Herod Dynasty	Roman Prefects and Procurators	High priests of the Jerusalem Temple
1. Augustus	1. Herod the	1. Coponius	1. Antigonus,

<p>Life: 23.09.63 BC-19.08.14 AD Reign:16.01.27 BC-19.08.14 AD</p>	<p>Great (, King of Judea Kingdom: (40-4 BC) 2a. Herod Archelaus the ethnarch (23 BC – 18 AD), the ethnarch of Judea (4 BC-6 AD) 2b. Herod Philip I, the tetrarch (? BC-34 AD), the tetrarch of Gaulanitis and Paneas (4BC-34 AD) 2c. Herod Antipas (20 BC- ?, after 39 AD), the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (4 BC-39</p>	<p>(6/7-9 AD) 2. Marcus Ambibulus (9-12 AD) 3. Annius Rufus (12-15 AD)</p>	<p>son of Aristobulus II, 40-37 BC 2. Anaelus, 37-36 BC 3. Aristobus III, 36 BC 4. Ananelus, 36-30 BC 5. Joshua ben Fabus, 30-23 BC 6. Simon ben Boethus, 23-5 BC 7. Matthias ben Theiphilus, 5-4 BC 8. Joazar ben Boethus, 4 BC 9. Eleazar ben Boethus, 4-3 BC 10. Joshua ben Sie, 3 -? BC 11. Joazar ben Boethus, ? BC - 6 AD</p>
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	AD)		12. Ananus ben Seth , 6-15 AD
2. Tiberius Life:16.11.41 BC-16.03.37 AD Reign:18.09.14-16.03.37 AD	3. Herod Agrippa I (11 BC – 44 AD), since 34 AD the ruler of Philip’s tetrarchy (34-41 AD)	3. Annius Rufus (12-15 AD) 4. Valerius Gratus (15-26 AD) 5. Pontius Pilate 26-36 AD)	13. Ishmael ben Fabus , 15-16 AD 14. Eleazar ben Ananus , 16-17 AD 15. Simon ben Camithus , 17-18 AD 16. Josephus Caiaphas , 18-36 AD 17. Jonathan ben Ananus , 36-37 AD
3. Caligula Life:31.08.12 -24.01.41 AD Reign:18.03.37-24.01.41 AD	3a. Herod Agrippa I (11 BC – 44 AD), since 34 AD the ruler of Philip’s tetrarchy (34-41 AD)	5. Pontius Pilate (26-36 AD) 6. Marcellus (36-37 AD) 7. Marullus (37-41 AD)	18. Theophilus ben Ananus , 37-41 AD

	and since 39 AD ruler of Herod Antipas tetrarchy (39-41 AD)		
4. Claudius Life:1.08.10 BC-13.10.54 AD Reign:26.01.41-13.10.54 AD	3b. Herod Agrippa I (11 BC-44 AD), the King of Judea Kingdom: (41-44 AD) 4. Herod Agrippa II (27/28 AD-92 or 100 AD), the ruler of the kingdom of Chalcis (48-53 AD); 4a. Herod Agrippa II , since 53 AD the ruler of Philip's tetrarchy and	8. Cuspius Fadus (44-46 AD) 9. Tiberius Alexander (46-48 AD) 10. Ventidius Cumanus (48-52 AD) 11. Felix (52-60 AD)	19. Simon Cantatheras ben Boethus , 41-43 AD 20. Matthias ben Ananus , 43 AD 21. Elioneus ben Simon Cantatheras , 43-44 AD (same as Simon Cantatheras ben Boethus) 22. Jonathan ben Ananus , 44 AD 23. Josephus ben Camydus , 44-46 AD 24. Ananias ben

	the kingdom of Lysanias (53-92 or 100 AD)		Nebedeus , 46-58 AD
5. Nero Life:15.12.37-9.06.68 AD Reign:13.10.54-9.06.68 AD	4b. Herod Agrippa II , since 55 AD he received territory of : Tiberias and Taricheae in Galilee and Libias (Iulias), with fourteen villages in Peraea	11. Felix (52-60 AD) 12. Porcius Festus (60-62 AD) 13. Albinus (62-64 AD) 14. Gessius Florus (64-66 AD)	25. Jonathan , 58 AD 26. Ishmael ben Fabus , 58-62 AD 27. Joseph Cabi ben Simon , 62-63 AD 28. Ananus ben Ananus , 63 AD 29. Joshua ben Damneus , 63 AD 30. Joshua ben Gamaliel , 63-64 AD 31. Mattathias ben Theophilus , 65-66 AD 32. Phannis ben Samuel , 67-70 AD

Appendix 2 Index of Names

In this index we will provide all names included in the chart of the rulers (Appendix 1) as they appeared in the writings of Josephus (the Jewish Wars and the Jewish Antiquities, the Greek text provided by The LOEB Classical Library).

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