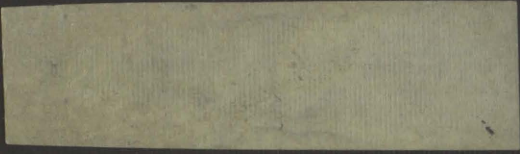
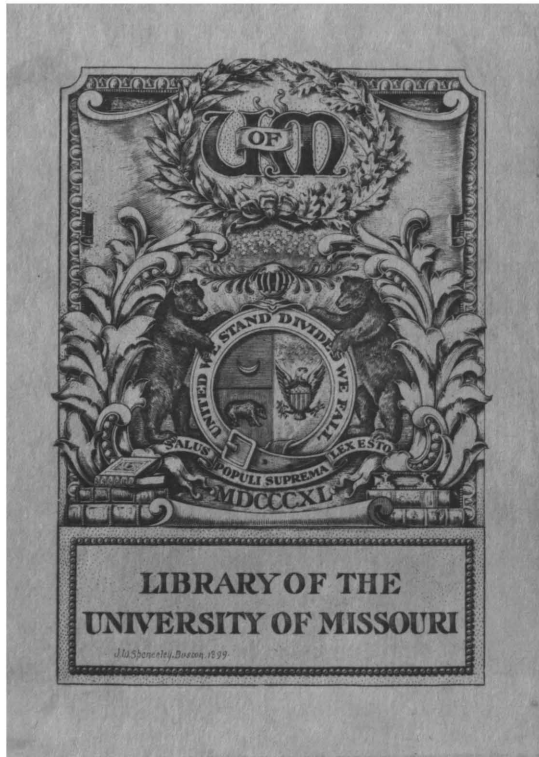


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HEROD AS A CLIENT PRINCE OF THE
// ROMAN EMPIRE.

by

Eleanor
KATHERINE PREHN, A. B., B. S. in Ed. 1888
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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS.

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PREFACE.

The present work is a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. The subject, Herod as a Client Prince of the Roman Empire, is doubly important, to the student of Roman History as the typical Client Prince, because we have the fullest account of his reign, to the student of Biblical History as the introducer of that Hellenism which modified Judaism, and, with this Judaism, formed the basis of Christianity.

In the preparation of this study, I have been assisted by the various members of the Department of History, especially by Dr. A. T. Olmstead, whose travels in the Orient, have given an accurate knowledge of the Historical Geography.

Columbia, Missouri.

Katherine Prehn.

May 15, 1911.

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CHAPTER 1.

The Early Relations of Rome and Palestine.

This thesis is not primarily intended to be a collection of new material concerning Herod, but rather an interpretation of the facts already known. There are many accounts of Herod, enumerating with great detail the important and even minor incidents of his life, but none of these make any serious attempt to treat his history from the Roman point of view. And since it was the Romans and not the Jews who really determined his conduct and the events of his reign, the aim of the following paper will be to treat Herod, not as a King of the Jews, but in his proper position, that is, as a Client Prince of the Roman Empire.

In order to understand Herod's dealings with the Romans, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the relations of the earlier Jewish rulers and Rome. The first Roman interference in affairs of the southeast Mediterranean was in 168 B. C., when Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, one of the Seleucidae, was ordered by a decree of the Roman Senate to withdraw his troops from Egypt, of which he had just taken possession. Tho "groaning in spirit," his reply to the decree was "that he would

do whatever the Romans demanded."¹ When compelled to lead his army from Egypt, Antiochus made an attack upon Jerusalem, for as Palestine belonged by nature to Egypt rather than to Syria, any interference in Egypt would be likely to affect southeastern Palestine.

Judas Maccabeus, the first Hasmonean ruler, obtained the power in Palestine in 166 B. C., when the Jewish people, rising in revolt against Antiochus, accepted him as their chief. Judas "had heard of the fame of the Romans," obviously in 168 B. C., when Rome interfered in Egypt, and in order to strengthen his own position, sent ~~ambassadors~~ ambassadors to Rome to make a treaty of friendship. The Romans willingly consented to this request, and the treaty stated that in case either party engaged in war, the other was to give aid. But the provision "if hereafter the one party or the other shall take counsel to add or diminish anything, they shall do it at their pleasure," reveals the fact that the Romans did not intend to bind themselves too closely to the treaty, for this act on the part of Judas gave them an opportunity to play one party against another. Antiochus had aimed to rival Rome, and in order that his successors might not become too powerful, the Romans supported Judas rather than Demetrius Soter, the claimant of the Syrian throne, as Judas would naturally be more of a ward. This was the old Roman policy of divide and conquer.²

1. Polyb. XXIX. 2, 27.

Justin, XXXIV, 3.

2. 1 Macc. 8.

Several years later, Jonathan, the brother of Judas, established his power as high priest by renewing the "covenant" which Judas had made with Rome.¹ An when Simon succeeded Jonathan in 141 B. C., he strengthened this alliance by sending a valuable shield to Rome. With this assurance of Roman friendship, the Jews made the office of high priest hereditary, and in order to protect him in his power, Ptolemy VII, Physcon, and Demetrius Soter, were ordered by Roman authorities to refrain from any attack upon Simon.²

In 133 B. C., John Hyrcanus became high priest, and sent an embassy to Rome, not only to renew the former alliance but further to entreat the Romans to restore the territory, Joppa, Gazara, and several cities, of which Antiochus VII, Sidetes, had deprived the Jews several years before, when he disregarded the decree of the Roman Senate, and invaded Judea. The Romans willingly renewed the treaty of friendship, but, fearing lest too hasty a decision prove harmful to their own interests in the East, they preferred to consider the other requests. When indeed, they had had time to consult about the matter, Hyrcanus sent a second embassy, and met with success, as Antiochus was ordered to restore the territory that he had seized during the war.³

1. Macc. 12.

2. Ib. 14f.

3. Jos. Ant. XIII, 259 ff. XIV, 247 ff.
See note "a" at end of chapter.

After this treaty there were no diplomatic relations between the Jews and Romans for nearly fifty years. The rivalry and disputes of the Seleucidae prevented the Syrians from interfering in the affairs of Palestine, and during the latter years of his reign, John Hyrcanus was practically independent. When he died, the government was left to his widow, but his eldest son Aristobulus, who was to be made high priest, seized the power of his mother, and even dared to make himself king.¹ The Maccabean rulers before this time had held the office of high priest, but the title of King was assumed by Aristobulus and his successors down to the time of Pompey's settlement in the East.² Alexander Jannaeus, who succeeded Aristobulus, reigned for twenty-seven years, and was constantly engaged in warfare. The Jews rose³ against him, and asked Demetrius III, Philopater, to come to their aid. He helped them for a time, but the Jews were finally reconciled to Alexander, and Demetrius' own power was too insecure to permit him to interfere in Jewish affairs. Alexander Jannaeus was thus able to attain success without the Roman alliance.³

-
1. Strabo, XVI, 2. 40, states that Alexander Jannaeus was the first to take the title of king. But Strabo was not writing a history of the Jews as was Josephus, so naturally failed to mention Aristobulus, since he ruled for only a year.
 2. Jos. Ant. XIII, 301 ff.
 3. Ib. 320 ff.

On the other hand, this was the period of Revolution and Civil War in Rome. The Revolution began in the same year that Hyrcanus I obtained the power in Palestine, 133 B. C., and the Romans were too much occupied with internal affairs to concern themselves with the East.

Thus we see that up to this time, Rome had not directly interfered in Jewish affairs. To be sure the Maccabees had invited her friendship in order to strengthen their own position, but Rome contented herself with a vague alliance in accordance with her tendency to neglect foreign affairs. Then, when the Jews forced themselves upon her attention, Rome boldly asserted her authority.

Note "a". Josephus attributes this second embassy to the time of Hyrcanus II, but all scholars are agreed that the decree in Ant. XIV, 247 ff. is inserted out of its proper position, and belongs to the time of Hyrcanus I. This opinion is undoubtedly correct, for the decree does not meet the conditions at the time of Hyrcanus II. Jos. Ant. XIII, 395, explicitly states that the Jews held possession of Joppa and other sea-port towns during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, and there was no Syrian king by the name of Antiochus who had made an invasion of Judea after the accession of Queen Alexandra. On the other hand, there is no statement in the decree that is really out of accord with this earlier period, that of Hyrcanus I. The restitution of the territory ordered by the Romans is that which was requested by the Jews in Ant. XIII, 261, and since Josephus does not state that it was Hyrcanus II, but simply the "high priest Hyrcanus," we may assume that the document concerns Hyrcanus I. But the phrase "Antiochus the King, the son of Antiochus", Ant. XIV, 249, has troubled all scholars, Schürer, Jewish People in the Time of Christ, I, 277 f. attributes the decree to Hyrcanus I, but thinks that

Josephus had written "Antiochus, son of Antiochus", for "son of Demetrius", since it must refer to Antiochus Sidetes. He conjectures that the decree of the Senate referred to in Ant. XIII, 259 ff. preceded the conclusion of peace with Antiochus Sidetes in Ant. XIII 246 ff. as Antiochus was afraid of Roman interference after the Jews had renewed the treaty of friendship, and restored Joppa and the other cities in return for tribute. Then he further argues that the successors of Antiochus Sidetes were not strong enough to regain possession of Joppa and keep a garrison there. But we can hardly accept these arguments of Schürer. According to the document in Ant. XIII 259 ff. the war is over, for the Jews ask the restoration of the territory "which Antiochus had taken from them in the war", and that an estimate should be made of the country "that had been laid waste in the war". And if the Romans now ordered Antiochus to restore the territory that he had seized, why should the Jews consent to pay the tribute and give the hostages which Antiochus demanded of them? Ant. XIII, 247. Ewald, History of Israel, V, 364, infers that the Syrian king is "Antiochus Grypus, son of Antiochus of Side", who attempted to place troops in Joppa, if he could not use the port for shipping, "free of toll". It was this threat that led Hyrcanus I to send an embassy to Rome, But this argument will not hold. Antiochus Grypus was not the son of Antiochus Sidetes, but the son of Cleopatra by a former marriage. Then, too, Antiochus was on friendly terms with the Jews during his entire reign; in fact, he realized that his power was none too strong, and made no attempt to enforce the treaty which Antiochus Sidetes had made. Bevan, House of Seleucus, 303, thinks that "Antiochus, son of Antiochus" refers to Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus, the son of Antiochus Sidetes. In reply to Schürer's argument that the successors of Antiochus Sidetes were too weak to have made an invasion of Judea, Bevan points out that, altho the political power of the Seleucidae was declining, they undoubtedly had "as captains of mercenary troops, moments of military strength, when they might make a successful coup". Accordingly, he conjectures that when Ptolemy Lathyrus, an ally of Antiochus Cyzicenus, sent him aid from Egypt after John Hyrcanus had taken Samaria, Ant. XIII, 275 ff., Cyzicenus overran Judea, seized Joppa, placed a garrison there, and then wrested several other cities from the Jews. Alarmed by Cyzicenus' moment of success, Hyrcanus I sent an embassy to Rome, and Cyzicenus was ordered to restore the cities that had just been seized. Josephus, however, makes no mention of this, but gives as the impression that Cyzicenus, was unsuccessful in this invasion of Judea. Bevan points out that this is due to the fact that Josephus was a Jewish historian, and would rather attribute success to Hyrcanus than to Cyzicenus.

It is true that Josephus was a Jewish historian, and a patriotic Jew, but if Cyzicenus had taken these cities Josephus would hardly have failed to mention the fact. On the other hand, he does state that Cyzicenus ravaged the country "after the manner of a robber", so Bevan's supposition is entirely out of place.

None of these scholars have succeeded in solving the problem so as to verify all of Josephus' statements. The author has evidently made a mistake somewhere in the narrative. But we have reason to believe that the decrees in Ant. XIII, 259 ff. and Ant. XIV, 185 ff. are genuine, even if they are inserted out of place, for Josephus, Ant. XIV, 266, states that he saw them "engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the Capitol".

Better proof of the authenticity of this document is found in an inscription from Pergamon, which dates from about the time of Hyrcanus I, Michel, Recueil d' Inscriptions Grecques, 519, where the same term "generals" is used for the officials at the head of the state, as in the decree given by Josephus. The passage that gives the trouble is evidently the one concerning the treaty between Antiochus and Hyrcanus. Ant. XIII, 245 ff. It is, however, probable that Josephus made an error in this place. In I Macc. 15 . 28 ff. we find that Antiochus had ordered Simon to surrender Joppa, Gazara and other cities, or pay 500 talents for them. Simon only offered to pay 100 talents for the cities. Antiochus refused so small a sum, and immediately made war upon Simon. Now we know that Josephus did not have as a source the last part of the first book of Maccabees, which contains this account of Simon, and the authority he did use for this period may have confused this treaty between Antiochus and Hyrcanus Ant. XIII, 245 ff. with the one that Antiochus wished to make with Simon, I Macc. 15. 28ff. But it is more probable that Antiochus offered these terms Ant. XIII, 245 ff. to Hyrcanus, but that the Jews would not accept them. Josephus gives us the impression that there was some disagreement about the treaty and it is very likely that the Jews, while considering whether or not to accept the terms, that of their friends, the Romans, and decided to make an appeal to them. Hyrcanus, then sent the embassies mentioned in the decrees, "Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus," then refers to Antiochus Sidetes, as Schürer has pointed out. Altho this line of argument is not entirely conclusive, it seems to be the most satisfactory explanation of a very difficult question.

CHAPTER II.

Antipater, the Founder of the Herodian Dynasty.

Upon the death of Alexandra, (67 B. C.), the successor of Alexander Jannaeus, her eldest son Hyrcanus II ascended the throne. However, Aristobulus, his younger brother, more ambitious and capable of ruling, made war upon Hyrcanus, and forced the rightful ruler to transfer the royal title to him. But the person most concerned in the welfare of Hyrcanus was Antipater, a native of Idumea, a small country "in the western extremities of Judea, toward Cassius, and by the Lake Sirbonis".¹ By race, the Idumeans were representatives of the Biblical Edomites² who had dwelt on the eastern side of the Dead Sea. But from a comparison of their location in the Biblical and the classical references, we have to conclude that the Edomites had been driven by the Nabateans from their native home to the position they occupied at this time on the western side of the Dead Sea valley. John Hyrcanus conquered the Idumeans, but permitted them to remain in their own country on the adoption of the Jewish customs.³

1. Strabo, XVI, 2 . 34.

2. Strabo, l.c. is not correct in stating that "the Idumeans are Nabateans".

3. Jos. Ant. XIII, 257 f.

Among those made Jews by force at this time, was one Antipater, who was later made military governor of Idumea by Alexander Jannaeus. His son, also named Antipater, had succeeded his father in this office and was now the friend and chief adviser of Hyrcanus II. Being rich and very eager for power, he was not willing that Hyrcanus be deprived of the government. He laid the unjust conduct of Aristobulus before the people, and urged Hyrcanus, on the pretence that Aristobulus was threatening his life, to hasten to Petra, the capital of Aretas, the King of the "Arabians". By this term, Josephus really means the Nabateans, who occupied Arabia Felix,¹ including the territory formerly belonging to the Idumeans. Aretas had been bribed by Antipater's promise of a cession of territory and was willing to aid Hyrcanus. He led an army into Judea, defeated Aristobulus, and when he had forced him to seek safety at Jerusalem, besieged the city.²

It was while Hyrcanus II, and Aristobulus were thus contending for the throne, that the Romans again came into contact with Syria. Pompey had brought all Asia Minor under his control directly or indirectly, and now determined to demonstrate the power which the Romans actually possessed over Syria, and openly bring the Seleucid kingdom, so splendid in the eyes of the Romans, directly under the Roman rule. After Pompey had forced Tigranes, King of Armenia, into submission,

1. Strabo, XVI, 2 . 34.

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 1ff.

3. Ib. XIII, 419 ff.

he sent his legate Scaurus into Syria, where a single campaign by Tigranes had given him authority over that territory.¹

Since the friendship of the Romans seemed necessary for the success of the early Maccabean rulers, it is not surprising that Hyrcanus and Aristobulus now realized the strength of their power. For when Scaurus came into Judea, the rival brothers sent ambassadors to him, and promised a large sum of money if he would give assistance. Since Aristobulus was better able to fulfill the promise, as well as more difficult to eject from the throne, he won the favor of Scaurus. Aretas was ordered to depart and Aristobulus defeated both the Nabatean king and Hyrcanus at Papyron.² With the help of the Roman general, Aristobulus thus succeeded in establishing himself as king.³

A year or two later, 64 B. C., Pompey advanced to Damascus. As Aristobulus was rather doubtful of the permanence of the position which he had gained by the favor of Scaurus, who was only a legate of Pompey, he sent ambassadors to the more powerful Roman, with the present of a golden vine, which

1. Jos. Ant. XIII, 419 ff.

2. The location of Papyron is not certain, but according to the reading in Jos. Bell. Jud. I. 129 f. it is beyond Philadelphia, the early Rabbath-Ammon, in Perea. Aretas had crossed the Jordan and gone to Philadelphia. Aristobulus followed him there, and the battle must have taken place just east of this city.

3. Jos. Ant. XIV. 29 ff.

Josephus says was valued at 500 talents.¹ But Antipater, too far-sighted to let this opportunity of gaining power escape him, went at once to Pompey to plead in behalf of Hyrcanus. It was thus left to Pompey to decide the fate of the Jews. Before this time, the Roman interference had been external, but now they were given an opportunity to direct the internal affairs of the Jewish nation. Pompey ordered the Hasmonean brothers to appear before him, on the pretence of hearing their complaints, but in reality to find out which one would be the more suitable agent of Rome. He soon realized that it would be unwise to take the part of Aristobulus as Scaurus had done, for Aristobulus was headstrong, and too ambitious for power to submit to Roman rule, and he was already making preparations for war against Pompey, in case the latter should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. This prince on the other hand was, obviously "the more pliable instrument",² and seemed to be just the sort of person whom Pompey sought, "his chief recommendation for office being his unwillingness to meddle in public affairs".³ Although outwardly it seemed poor policy for a Roman to entrust the govern-

1. Josephus states that Strabo saw this vine in the Capitol, and that it was valued at 500 talents. This vine was evidently carried in Pompey's Triumphant procession at Rome, as Pliny, Hist. Nat. XII, 54, states "that since the time of Pompeius Magnus, we have been in the habit of carrying trees even in our triumphal processions."

2. Smith, Jerusalem, I, 411

3. Cf. Long, Decline of the Roman Republic III, 178.

ment to one who was indifferent and incapable of ruling, Pompey knew that these "public affairs" would be in the hands of Antipater, the minister of Hyrcanus, who had already given him evidence that he could safely be entrusted with the authority over the Jews. For Antipater was a diplomat. He knew that the person who now wished to rule in Judea would have to seek his appointment from the Romans, and rather than show opposition to Pompey as the impolitic Aristobulus had done, he came forward as the champion of Roman interests in Judea. So Pompey determined to support the weaker prince. Aristobulus saw the design, and immediately raised an army to oppose Hyrcanus. But soon repenting of this hasty step, he came to Pompey, promised to give him money, and abide by his decision. Pompey was willing to accept these terms, but when he sent Gabinius, his legate, to Jerusalem to collect the money, the soldiers of Aristobulus shut the gates against the Roman general. Pompey then arrested Aristobulus and determined to march upon Jerusalem to enforce his decision. The followers of Hyrcanus held the city, and opened the gates to Pompey. But the Temple, a strong fortress, was in the hands of Aristobulus' partisans, and made a determined resistance.¹ Pompey pitched his camp to the north of the Temple, which he perceived to be the only side for attack. But even here a deep ditch and huge

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 34 ff.

towers obstructed the approach. Strabo¹ well describes the difficulty of the siege when he writes "the site is rocky, within well provided with water, but without absolutely arid. It is surrounded by a barren and waterless territory". The siege was protracted for three months, and then it was only by making an attack on the Sabbath that Pompey captured the Temple, as it was against the religious scruples of its defenders, the priests, to offer any resistance on this day of Sacrifice. Josephus declares that twelve thousand Jews were killed. Pompey took this opportunity to satisfy his curiosity by penetrating into the Holy of Holies. However, to the surprise of all the Jews, he did not carry away the treasures of the Temple, the contributions of the whole race from every country and from the earliest times.²

After the capture of Jerusalem Pompey restored Hyrcanus to the high priesthood, because he had given him aid, doubtless thru the efforts of Antipater, in this attack upon Aristobulus. But Hyrcanus was no longer permitted to have the title of King. The Hellenistic cities of Coele-Syria, which the Jews had conquered, were detached from Judea, and added to the newly organized Roman province of Syria. Judea was also placed under the supervision of the Syrian proconsul. Pompey destroyed the walls of Jerusalem and according

1. Strabo, XVI, 2 . 40.
2. Jos. Ant. XIV. 54 ff.

to Josephus the city was made tributary to Rome.¹ Pompey left Scaurus in charge of Coele-Syria, and then hastened to Rome, taking Aristobulus and his son Alexander with him as prisoners to display in his triumph.²

Now there was a small party of the Jews, who disliked this subjection to the Roman rule, because it deprived them of the influence which they had gained after the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes. Mattathias, the father of Judas Maccabeus, had belonged to a little group known as "the pious", and had led the revolt of his party against the extreme Hellenistic projects of Antiochus, that they might abide by the "covenant" of their fathers, and not "forsake the law and the ordinances". After Judas had defeated Antiochus, he was practically at the head of the Jewish nation, and the people made him their high priest. Perhaps Judas and his brothers unduly emphasized the religious side of their

-
1. There seems to be some question whether or not Jerusalem was made tributary by Pompey. But it must have been about this time for among the favors shown to the Jews by Julius Caesar Ant. XIV, 185 ff. is a reduction of tributes. It has already been stated that these decrees are probably genuine as Josephus himself saw them "upon column and tables of brass in the Capitol", Ant. XIV, 266, Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire, II 190, n.1, thinks that Caesar gave the Jews complete freedom from the payment of tribute, and the fact that Herod was obliged to pay tribute from the districts leased from Cleopatra, Ant. XV, 106, seems to prove the view.
 2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 73 ff.

rule in their zeal to preserve the law of their fathers!¹
But John Hyrcanus was secularly inclined. He was more eager for political power, and broke away from "the pious", who were now called "the Pharisees", and attached himself to the nobility, or "the Sadducees". In fact he had so little regard for the religion of the pious that he ordered the traditional practices of the Pharisees to be abolished. The Sadducees once more gained power, and under Alexander Jannaeus they were practically supreme. But Queen Alexandra, in order to gain the good will of the people, favored the Pharisees. Their religious practices were restored and during her reign they were the rulers of the State, for altho Alexandra had "the name of Regent, the Pharisees had the authority". After her death, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus disputed the throne, and the Pharisees again lost their power, for since Aristobulus I had transformed the government into a kingdom, their authority depended upon the favor of the King, and was not as firmly established as they wished it to be. So when Pompey came into Syria, they also sent ambassadors to him, entreating him to restore the power to the high priests, "because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and tho these (Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II) were the posterity of priests yet did they seek to change the government of their nation

1. 1 Macc. Passim.

to another form, to enslave them" (the Pharisees). But a complaint such as this had no effect upon Pompey. He would not be so indiscreet as to restore the Pharisees to power, when they made it very evident to him that they were opposed to the present form of government, because it was a loss to their power. It was simply a further proof that he would be wise in committing the government to Antipater, who had been so much more artful as an ambassador than his adversaries.¹

After Pompey went back to Rome Antipater made himself useful to Scaurus. When the Roman general was leading his army against Petra, the capital of the Nabateans, Antipater provided him with all necessary supplies from Judea. Then he went as ambassador to Aretas, their King, and brot about a favorable agreement between the parties, that Scaurus was to abandon the expedition into Nabatea, in return for a sum of money.² This was really a twofold success for Antipater. He not only won greater favor among the Romans, but gained the friendship of Aretas, whose power was alarming him, for the Nabateans had driven Antipater's ancestors out of their native land, and were pressing more and more upon the Jewish territory.³

When Gabinius had been made governor of Syria, 57 B. C.,

1. Jos. Ant. XIII, 288 ff.

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 80-81.

3(See page 8.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus II, who had escaped from Pompey, on the way to Rome, led an army of anti-Romans Jews upon Jerusalem, and threatened to overthrow Hyrcanus. That ruler was unable to oppose his adversary, as he had just begun to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed. But Gabinius quickly gathered an army of Jews, Romans, and Idumeans, whom Antipater had secured, and defeated Alexander near Jerusalem. The Hasmonean then retreated to the fortress of Alexandrium, but Gabinius followed, and soon compelled him to surrender the stronghold.

This event proved to Gabinius that it was no longer safe to leave the power of the Judeans so strongly centralized in Jerusalem. Accordingly he weakened the unity of the state, by dividing it into five districts with an independent

-
1. The fortress Alexandrium was situated on one of the mountains between Scythopolis and Jerusalem. Judging from its name, it was probably built by Alexander Jannaeus, (102 - 75 B. C.). Various locations have been pointed out for Alexandrium, but most scholars identify it with Qarn Sartabeh, which agrees with Josephus' statement Bell. Jud. I, 134 that it was situated on a high mountain. The remains of the fortress on Qarn Sartabeh, are undoubtedly of Herodian origin as the "small stones with bevelled edges and rough top" correspond to those of the Herodian wall recently excavated at Samaria by the expedition sent out from Harvard. The stones in the lower part of the wall on Qarn Sartabeh are larger and seen to have been of an earlier type. These are probably the remains of the original structure erected by Alexander Jannaeus. Cf. N. Schmidt, Journal Bibl. Lit. 78 f.

Senate or Sanhedrin¹ in each. The capitols of these districts were Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sapphoris. This left Hyrcanus to be contented with merely his priestly office. Before this time, altho Pompey had taken away his title of King, Hyrcanus stood at the head of the government, and was subordinate to the Roman governor of Syria, but now his political power was transferred directly to the Romans.² Thus, "as protecting power was restored on the one hand, so was the pure theocracy on the other".³

A short time after this, Aristobulus escaped from Rome and fled to Jerusalem to wrest the government from Hyrcanus. He did not attempt an immediate attack but fled to Macherus

1. This is the first mention of the Sanhedrin in Josephus, but it is uncertain when the term was first used. The only earlier reference to it according to Bacher, Art. Sanhedrin, Hastings Dict. Bibl. IV, 397, is the translation in the Alexandrian Old Testament of the "deliberative assembly" mentioned in Proverbs. This idea is based on the now abandoned supposition that all books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek at the same time, but Proverbs belongs to the third group of books, the latest translated, and its translation may well have been made later than the period now under consideration.

We have to conclude that the Supreme Court of Justice at Jerusalem had been called the Sanhedrin for some time, and after the settlement by Gabinius, the court at Jerusalem was known as the "Great Sanhedrin" to distinguish it from those in the other districts.

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 82 ff.

3. Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire II, 189

because it was an isolated place, and as Pliny¹ says, "it was the second fortress of Judea after Jerusalem". But the Romans followed and came upon him before he was prepared. He was defeated, and carried to Gabinius, and who sent him back to Rome. Aristobulus had not only attempted to oppose Hyrcanus, but in doing so he threatened the position of Antipater. It was this fact that alarmed Gabinius, as Antipater was making himself so useful to the Romans.² He furnished all necessary supplies to the army which Gabinius had sent against Archelaus the King of Cappadocia. He secured the friendship of the Jews at Pelusium, who guarded the entrance into Egypt, and thus rendered a safe path for the army which Gabinius was leading into Egypt to restore Ptolemy XI, Auletes to the throne. When Gabinius returned from Egypt this campaign, he found that Alexander had led the anti-Roman Jews into another revolt, and had slain a number of Romans, who had fled for safety to Mount Gerizim. But Antipater again came to the rescue. He kept many of the Jews from joining the revolt and helped Gabinius defeat the Hamonean prince at Mount Tabor³: Antipater was then rewarded for his faithfulness as Gabinius made a settlement of the government in the Idumean favor.⁴ After Gabinius defeated the Nabateans, he

1. Hist. Nat. V, 72.

2. Strabo XII, 3 . 23, states that this is Archelaus, the son of Archelaus who was honored by Sulla.

3. For discussion of Mt. Tabor see Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 283.

4. Jos. Ant. XIV, 92 ff.

returned to Rome, and resigned to government to Crassus, who had obtained the province of Syria in the agreement of the First Triumvirate, and hoped to cover himself with glory in a way against the Parthians.

In order to procure sufficient means and make the campaign more splendid, Crassus went into Jerusalem 54 B. C., and robbed the Temple of the immense treasure which Pompey had spared. But the Parthians proved a more treacherous foe than he had expected. Crassus himself was slain and his entire army perished in the battle of Carrhae, 53 B. C., This great blow to Rome's prestige was a triumph for the national party in Judea. During the next year when the victors at Carrhae attempted an invasion of Syria, these anti-Roman Jews were ready to join them, hoping that the Roman supremacy would be overthrown, and they, themselves restored to power by the Parthians. They could not realize that the Parthians as well as the Romans would use Syria and Palestine as buffer states. Pitholaus, their leader, led an army against Cassius Longinus, who had been the legate of Crassus, but had escaped into Syria after the battle of Carrhae, and was not opposing the Parthians invasion. But the expectations of the anti-Roman Jews were dashed to the ground, for not only were the Parthians driven back but the entire army which had been sent under Pitholaus was captured. And when Antipater who had had good reason to tremble for his own success during these days, urged that Pitholaus be put

to death, Cassius granted the request. Such conduct on the part of Pitholaus needed to be punished with severity, and Antipater deserved reward for trying to preserve rather than to overthrow the arrangements which the Romans had made.¹

Several years later, 48 B. C., the contest arose between Caesar and Pompey for the mastery of Rome. Pompey fearing his rival, fled into the East to gather troops, when he had left, Caesar released Aristobulus from imprisonment at Rome, and intended to send him to Palestine² where the Pompeian party had so strong a hold. But the friends of Pompey prevented this scheme by murdering the Judean prince before he had an opportunity of leaving Rome.

The victory of Caesar seemed for the moment the downfall of Antipater, who had remained faithful to Pompey, until the latter met with death in Egypt. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus now hoped to gain the power as Caesar would not be likely to reward Antipater and Hyrcanus, the friends of his opponent. But Antigonus had too shrewd a rival. Antipater knew that he needed Caesar as a patron if he wished to keep the power he had, and was determined to place the Roman general under obligations to him. For-

1. Jos. Ant. XIV. 105 f.

2. Josephus says that Caesar had given Aristobulus two legions for this attack, but this statement can hardly be correct as it would be an unusual thing for a Roman to entrust a foreigner with legionary troops, who were Roman citizens.

tune favored him. Caesar stopped in Syria while in pursuit of the Pompeians and found himself without sufficient forces to conduct the campaign into Egypt. Antipater immediately supplied him with troops and led an army of Jews to assist Caesar's ally, Mithridates, King of Pontus, in his march upon Pelusium. And it was Antipater's aid that saved Mithridates from defeat. He came at the critical moment and persuaded the Jews of Egypt who were in possession of Pelusium to come to his assistance, "because he was of the same people with them", that is, a half Jew. This was indeed a great help to Caesar, as Pelusium was the gateway between Syria and Egypt, and with this once secured, Caesar could lead his troops safely into Egypt. Antipater offered his services to Caesar for the rest of the war, and because of his bravery and ability to conciliate the opposing parties, enabled Caesar to meet with great success.¹ It was in vain that Antigonus demanded the authority which he said had been unjustly taken from his father. Caesar was not one of the scrupulous kind who would rather do the right thing than seek his own welfare. With his keen insight into the character of men, he knew just how to deal with such a situation as this.

1. Josephus had probably exaggerated Antipater's services somewhat, for the author of the Bellum Alexandrium, who was on the spot, does not mention Antipater. This may be due to the fact that the account of the war in Bellum Alexandrium is very brief. Since we have evidence from the Roman side that the Jews did support Caesar. In the decree Ant. XIV, 193, which we have already shown to be genuine, p. 7, Caesar states that Hyrcenus "came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers."

For the actual services that the Idumean had performed were a better proof of friendship than the promises of Antigonus. It hardly needed Antipater's plea "that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome as one that was an enemy to the Romans," to gain the victory over his rival. Caesar had already intended to reward him. Hyrcanus was reestablished as high priest, and was appointed "ethnarch" of the Jews, which restored the political status of which he had been deprived by Gabinius. Antipater was made "procurator", that is, administrator of Judea,¹ for Caesar knew that the Idumean's real position was that of chief favorite of Hyrcanus, and as chief favorite he practically controlled the government. He was given the right of Roman citizenship and immunity from taxation. Caesar also granted favors to the Jews because they had helped him in the Alexandrian war. He gave them permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed. They were relieved of military services, and a certain amount of tribute.² Joppa, which had formerly been given to the Jews by a treaty of friendship with Rome,

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1. Josephus' use of technical terms is so vague, that we cannot tell just what is meant by the word "epimeletes". Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire II 189 n. is correct in stating that this is not equivalent to "procurator" as it is under the Empire, for Antipater was not made an official of Rome. He held the office of administrator of the Jews, a position similar to the procurator formerly appointed by the ethnarch, as in Jos. Bell. Jud. II, 483.
 2. See note 1 p. 14.

was again handed over to them, and obliged to pay tribute to the high priest. Lydda¹, and other previous possessions, which Pomey had probably taken away were restored, in addition to places held by the kings of Syria and Phoenicia.²

For these concessions which Caesar granted to the Jews, they might well have thanked Antipater, whose policy of being subservient to the Romans had led to their own welfare. Antipater, desirous of having an important office, knew better than his rivals how to obtain that position. Aristobulus and Antigonus had shown themselves hostile to the Romans and had met with swift defeat. The Pharisees, who were opposed to the Hellenistic influence in the East, were rapidly losing their control in the state. But Hyrcanus, induced by Antipater, had made himself useful to the Romans and succeeded in retaining his position. So had any Hasmonean other than ^{the weak} Hyrcanus been in power at this time, he would undoubtedly have led the Jews to oppose Caesar rather than ^{to} give him aid, and any opposition to the Roman would have meant a great increase of burden upon the Jews.

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1. The ancient Diospolis. For discussion see Baedeker, Syria and Palestine, p. 11.
 2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 123 ff.



CHAPTER III.

Herod, the Governor of Galilee.

The favors which Caesar had granted to Antipater placed him practically at the head of the affairs in Judea, and made him a king in reality, tho not in name. As Antipater had long realized that Hyrcanus was too indifferent in regard to his own rights to oppose his schemes of directing the State, he took advantage of the king's weakness and divided the government between his sons. Jerusalem was entrusted to Phasaelus, and Herod, a younger son was made governor of Galilee. Herod was only fifteen years of age¹

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1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 158,--probably on the basis of the history of Nicolaus of Damascus. Some scholars have placed Herod's age at this time at twenty-five, rather than fifteen. Schürer, Jewish People in the time of Christ, I, 383 n. 29, gives the following reasons for this age, 1) A youth of fifteen could not have accomplished what Herod had. 2)- Jos. Ant. XVII, 148, states that he was seventy years of age at his death. But we have good reason to doubt Schürer's arguments. In the first place, a youth of fifteen could have played an important role because of the early maturity of people in the East. And if Herod, the son of a father as distinguished as Antipater, was twenty-five at this time, why have we not heard of him before? In the second place, tho Josephus does state that Herod was about seventy years of age at his death, he also states that Herod is fifteen at the beginning of his career, and the first number is more apt to be correct, as seventy is a round number and may have been suggested by the "threescore years and ten", which the psalmist gives as the length of a man's life. Furthermore, there is another indication that Herod was no more than sixty years of age at the time of his death, since Nicolaus of Damascus, his most intimate friend and chief adviser, and in a sense his teacher, was only sixty years old when Archelaus, the son of Herod, succeeded his father to the throne. ^{Nicolaus} Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, III, 353.

but he at once gave evidence of his strength and daring by capturing a band of robbers, who had been molesting the Syrians. He then put many of them, including their leader Hezekias, to death upon his own authority. That Herod undertook so bold an enterprise was a proof that he had already learned where to seek support in establishing his power. For the chief beneficiary of this episode was Sextus Caesar, the Roman governor of Syria, as the robbers had constantly threatened the security of this country. Herod was thus following the policy of his father, in making it his chief aim to win the friendship of the Romans.¹

But the Pharisees had, for some time, realized that Antipater was the actual ruler of the Jews, and was sending Hyrcanus' money to the Romans as his own gift. Now that Herod was walking in the steps of his father, they had reason to fear that they would lose all of their influence in the state. The members of the Sanhedrin were especially aroused as Herod had executed the robbers without consulting the tribunal which alone had the right of inflicting the death penalty. Since Herod at this early stage of his career had dared to violate the law what might he not do later on?

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 156 ff. Graetz, History of the Jews, II, 77, does not realize that Judea had been directly under the Roman influence since the time of Pompey, when he writes "It was Herod who brought Judea at a bound captive to Rome; it was he who placed his feet triumphantly upon her neck".

They thot it best to rid themselves of this bold youth at once. So they made a complaint to Hyrcanus, and convinced him that he was king only in name, while those who claimed to be his friends had taken the management of the state upon themselves. They urged that Herod be called to account for this violation of the law. Hyrcanus was not at all inclined to confront the Idumean, but, lacking in firmness as he was, he felt himself obliged to comply with the request of the Pharisees, and summoned Herod before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem to answer to the charge brought against him. Instead of being clad in mourning as was the custom of the one accused, Herod appeared before the court arrayed in purple, and attended by a body guard. He immediately presented a letter from Sextus Caesar, which threatened Hyrcanus with death if he would not dismiss the accused person from the trial. A defendant so lacking in humility was quite unexpected, and the members of the Sanhedrin were considerably alarmed. In spite of this warning, however, Semeas, a leader of the Sanhedrin imbued the other members with such fear of Herod's future power that they determined to inflict the death sentence upon him. But, as Hyrcanus knew that his own life would be endangered if he allowed this proceeding, he appointed another day for the trial, and urged Herod, to take a secret departure from the city. Herod had undoubtedly realized that he would meet with opposition before he reached the goal of his ambition,

and he had foreseen the necessity of a place of refuge when he relieved the Roman governor of the robbers. Now that he was obliged to leave Jerusalem, he fled immediately to Damascus, and was well received by Sextus Caesar. Should Herod be sentenced to death, it would be a victory for the Sanhedrin, and for the nationalist party, and against the Roman interests in Judea. And Herod had not come empty handed. He looked for future favors when sufficient aid for the present seemed at hand. Sextus, in return, made him "general" of the army of Coele Syria. With it Herod advanced to attack the Sanhedrin but Antipater halted him before he had reached Jerusalem. Hyrcanus had already been frightened by this sudden move on Herod's part, and would now seek his friendship rather than become involved in further plots against him.¹

Soon after this event, Caecilius Bassus, an officer of the Pompeian party, murdered Sextus Caesar, and seized the government of Syria. For a short time he was master of that province, but when the Pompeians were finally defeated at Thapsus in 46 B. C., it became clear that Bassus was a rebel to the regularly constituted government.

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 163 ff.

Antipater and Herod therefore sent forces to Caius Antistius Vetus, one of Caesar's generals, and they took part in the Siege of Bassus in Apamea. But Pacorus, the son of Orodes, the king of Parthia, came to relieve Bassus "with an immense force",¹ and compelled Vetus to retreat. Julius Caesar then sent Statius Murcus to Syria with three legions, and he was also supported by Marcus Crispus, the governor of Bithynia. But Bassus with the aid of Pacorus, continued to hold out. This disturbance in Syria caused great alarm to the Romans, and, as Cicero² declares, war with Parthia seemed "imminent". Caesar at once began to make preparations to secure Syria and to protect the Eastern frontier. But his sudden death at this time (44 B. C.), put an end to the plans of an immediate war³.

When Antony determined to avenge Caesar's death, the leaders of the conspiracy made their escape from Rome to gather forces for the unavoidable conflict. Cassius went into Syria, and found Caecilius Bassus still besieged at Apamea. But the arrival of the conspirator soon changed the condition of affairs. In a letter to Cicero, Brutus⁴ writes "Cassius holds Syria and the legions stationed in it, having indeed been actually invited to come by Murcus, Marcius, and the army itself." Even the legion of Bassus went over to him⁵,

1. Cicero, ad Att. XIV, 9.

2. Ad Att. XIV, 9.

3. Jos. Ant. XIV, 268 ff.

cf. Long, Decline of the Roman Republic, V, 430.

4. Cicero, Brut. II, 3.

5. Ib. ad. Fam. XII, 11.

altho Bassus was "desperately unwilling."¹ Now that Cassius had so quickly levied all these troops, he found himself in urgent need of money to keep them up. Accordingly, he imposed a heavy tax upon Syria and Judea. This was the looked-for opportunity on the part of Herod and Antipater to render service to the Roman, who was now the master of the East. Antipater undertook to meet Cassius' demand in regard to Judea, and sent Herod and Phasaelus among others to collect the money. Herod began the task immediately, and by using force upon the inhabitants, managed to have the portion which was assigned to him, ready before the other collectors. Because he was so prompt in performing his duty, Cassius was induced to show him special favor. He was confirmed in his position as general of Coele-Syria, and given the promise of further advancement when the Civil War in Rome was over.²

This outcome of affairs was a great blow to the nationalistic party in Judea, who had hoped that the murder of Caesar would cause the downfall of the Idumeans. There was one

1. Cicero, ad. Fam. XII, 12.

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 268 ff.--Josephus is not justified in stating that the Roman generals, Bassus and Murcus, entrusted him with the forces which they had collected, and that they even handed over a fleet. It is not at all likely that the Romans had a fleet to spare at this time.

Malichus, a friend of Hyrcanus, who was especially anxious for a high position. He had been regarded with favor by Antipater, who had appointed him a collector of the taxes, and had even saved his life when Cassius considered him deserving of death. But as Malichus felt that the Idumeans stood in the way of his success, he made an attempt to take Antipater's life. His scheme, however, was unsuccessful. Shortly after this, when it was rumored that Herod was to be appointed king of Judea by the Romans, Malichus again determined to make an end of Antipater, whom he considered more dangerous than the son. He therefore caused the Idumean to be secretly poisoned. Malichus, pretending to be innocent of the murder, then assumed control of the State. But Herod was not deceived, and, was determined to avenge his father's death in accordance with the ancient custom of blood revenge. In order that this act might be further justified, he informed Cassius of the matter, and obtained the Roman's consent. Accordingly, Malichus was let to Tyre, and there murdered by some of Cassius' own soldiers. Altho Hyrcanus was surprised to hear of his friend's death, he did not show any displeasure at the act when he heard that it had been done with the approval of Cassius.¹

When Cassius left Syria in 42 B. D., Judea was in a state of great disturbance. Felix, who was left in Judea by Cas-

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 280, ff.

sus as general of the Roman troops, made an attack upon Phasaelus, Herod's brother, and the people joined in the sedition. Herod fled to Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and the Roman general advised him to assist Phasaelus, but disease prevented him from doing so. Phasaelus finally proved stronger than his opponent, and defeated him without his brother's support. After Herod had recovered, he won back all the cities that Felix had taken.¹ Shortly after this, another opposition arose to the Idumeans, and threatened Herod's position. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II, had won the support of the Roman general Fabius, by bribes, and, with the assistance of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus of Chalsis, attempted to make himself master of Palestine. Even Marion a "tyrant" whom Cassius had left in Tyre, led an army into Galilee, and stationed garrisons in a number of the fortresses. But Herod defeated them all and soon put down the revolt. After this display of his strength, no other opposition showed itself. Hyrcanus, too, was uneasy, for several times lately he had given his support to the enemies of the Idumeans. So when the conqueror of Antigonus now entered Jerusalem, both Hyrcanus and the people crowned him with a garland. And Hyrcanus sought still further safety by contracting a marriage between Herod and a member of his own house, his grand-daughter Mariamne.² Herod was seeking his political welfare in this marriage, for by marrying Mariamne he would be

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 294 ff.

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 297 ff.

connected with the old ruling house of the Hasmoneans, and his authority over the Jews would be recognized by the people. Furthermore, his sons would have a legitimate claim to the position of their great grandfather.

Herod had no sooner reestablished his position, than a more serious event threatened him. When the Republican party was defeated at Philippi, in 42 B. C., the triumvirs divided the Empire between them Antony taking the East, and Octavian the West. By this sudden agreement, all Asia came under the control of Antony. The nationalist party in Jerusalem again had hopes that the Idumeans would be overthrown, since Herod and Phasaelus had made every effort to support the opponents of the triumvirate. The situation was even more critical when some Jewish nobles met the victorious Antony in Bithynia, and complained of the brothers. But it was impossible for anyone to cope with Herod in seeking the favor of the Romans, as he knew how to turn every circumstance to his own advantage. It only needed his bribes and flatteries to win the support of Antony. While he was at Ephesus, Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him, and obtained the liberation of the Jews made captive by Cassius and the restoration of all the territory which had been conquered by the Tyrians. When the Roman reached Antioch, a number of eminent Jews again came to him and renewed their charges against the Idumeans. But one Messala pleaded in their behalf, and when Hyrcanus was asked to tell who were the best governors of the State,

he replied in favor of Herod and Phasaelus. Anthony thus paid no attention to the petition of the Jewish nobles. He remembered, too, that he himself had been intimately associated with Antipater several years before, when serving under Gabinius in Syria. And no doubt Antony supported the Edumean, because he saw in Herod the traits of Antipater, who had been so zealous in performing services for the Romans. Antony, therefore, deprived Hyrcanus of political power, and placed the government of Judea in charge of Herod and Phasaelus, and appointed them "Tetrarchs". This made them independent allied princes, but without the dignity of kings.¹ The nationalist party was obliged to submit to this settlement, as anyone who showed opposition was put to death by order of Antony.²

But when Antony returned to Rome in 40 B. C., the Anti-Roman Jews again revolted. This time they met with temporary success and shook the very foundations of Herod's power. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, led on by Ptolemy's son, Lysanias, sought the aid of the Parthians in a plot to murder Herod, and take charge of the government himself. The Parthians were willing to assist Antigonus because they were promised great returns, and it was a chance for them to attack their own enemies, the Romans, who had been hostile to them since the defeat of Crassus in 53 B. C. If Herod and

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1. Cf. Sands, Client Princes of the Roman Empire, 226
Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire, II, 192 n.
 2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 301 ff.; 324 ff.

and Phasaelus were now overthrown, the Parthians could hope to make themselves masters of Syria and Palestine, and push their own frontier further west. Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, and Barzaphranes a Parthian Commander, had already taken possession of Syria, and they now sent an army into Judea to support Antigonus. The nationalist party came at once to assist them, and they made their way to Hyrcanus' palace. But the partisans of Herod and Phasaelus drove them back, and blockaded them in the Temple. However, the Feast of Pentecost took place at this time, and a throng of Jews came to Jerusalem and defended the city and the Temple. But Herod and Phasaelus managed to seek places of refuge. Then Pacorus came into Jerusalem to assist Antigonus, tho pretending that his object was to repress the revolt. He induced Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who were unaware of his duplicity, to go as envoys to Bargaphranes. The Parthian received them cordially, but when some officers came to bind them they discovered that a plot had been made against them. As soon as Herod learned of this proceeding, he suspected the smooth speeches of the Parthians, and while they were deliberating how to get rid of him also, he made his escape from the palace. But as he took the members of his household, and his partisans with him, he was exposed to the greatest of dangers. Parties of Jews and Parthians attacked him in his flight, and Herod was about to kill himself in despair, but he finally succeeded in defeating his pursuers, and then made his way to Masada in the eastern part of the wilderness of Judea. Here he found refuge for the moment,

as Masada was a strong fortress, the name itself meaning a "mountain-stronghold."¹ Meanwhile the Parthians plundered Jerusalem, including the palace as well as the surrounding country. Then they made Antigonus king, and gave Hyrcanus and Phasaelus to him as prisoners. Antigonus gave orders that Hyrcanus' ears be cut off, in order that he might be disqualified for the office of high-priest.² Phasaelus deprived his enemies of any joy they might have in putting him to death by committing suicide.³

Herod, on the other hand, left his relatives at Masada in the care of his brother Joseph, and advised the rest of his followers to seek safety in Idumea. He then continued his flight to Petra, where he hoped to obtain sufficient aid from Malchus, the King of the Nabateans, to ransom his brother Phasaelus, whom he thought to be still alive. But Malchus did not wish to repay the former kindness which Herod had shown him, and pretending that he had been warned by the Parthians not to admit the Idumean, advised him to leave the Nabatean territory. Herod proceeded to Alexandria, where Cleopatra offered to give him a command in her army. But

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1. For discussion of Masada, cf. Baedeker, Syria and Palestine, 201.
 2. According to the Levitical Law, one that had the slightest defect, could not hold the high-priesthood. Lev. 21, 16ff.
 3. Jos. Ant. XIV, 330 ff.

Herod would not be detained, and, risking all dangers of the stormy season, made his way to Rome. As soon as he arrived he informed Antony of the situation in Judea, and of the miserable lot which had befallen him. At the same time he offered the Roman a large amount of money which he had wisely sent to Idumea when the Parthians were threatening him in the Captial.¹ Antony sympathized with Herod's misfortune, and was willing to assist him, for he remembered that the Idumean had been very lavish in paying him for former favors. Then, too, Herod had shown his friendship for the Romans, while Antigonus had openly sided with the Parthians. Antony wished to make Herod king of Judea, and consulted Octavian in regard to the matter. Octavian was also inclined to favor Herod and give him a high position because it was Antipater's bravery that had enabled Caesar to meet with great success in the Alexandrian War. Lepidus was not consulted, as he had already lost his influence with the other two triumvirs. But, as a matter of form, it was necessary to have the consent of the Senate in order to make Herod King of the Jews. The Senate gave its approval when Octavian suggested that this seemed a most expedient way to meet the Parthian danger. For the question of the Eastern frontier was giving the Romans considerable anxiety at this time. The Parthians

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 364.

had constantly troubled them since the defeat of Crassus in 53 B. C. They, soon after this, had made an inroad into Syria, and had incited many of the Jews to revolt. Only the capability of Cassius saved the province from complete invasion.

It was this serious problem that faced the Romans, and that needed immediate attention. As neither Antony nor Octavian could leave Rome at present, nothing seemed more advisable than to make Herod the King of the Jews. It was not because the Romans thought that he had been wrongfully ejected from his position that they now supported him. If Antigonus had shown a friendly attitude toward them, rather than toward the Parthians, Octavian and Antony might possibly have favored him, as it would be less difficult to place him upon the throne. But Herod was opposed to the Parthians, and was willing to endure the hatred of the radical Jews in order to further the Roman interests in the East. To their own advantage, therefore, the Romans made Herod an allied or a Client Prince,¹ for "if Client Princes were protected by the greatness of Rome against external Empires, it is also true that they acted as a barrier between Rome and such Empires, to de-

1. His relations to Rome were practically the same as those of the "rex socius", described by Miss Matthaei, Classical Quarterly, I, (1907), 182 ff.

fer or altogether prevent the otherwise inevitable collisions."¹ Herod had, in a sense been a Client Prince to the Romans since the beginning of his career. He had rendered services to Sextus Caesar, to Cassius, and to Antony, and had received protection from them in return. These relations, however, were only between Herod and the individual Romans who were ruling in the East. He was now freed from the interference of the Syrian governor, and made directly responsible to Rome. This placed him upon the same footing as the other Client Princes of the Empire. He received his appointment as king from Rome;² he was assisted by Roman troops in establishing his position;³ his opponent, Antigonus, was executed by the order of Antony;⁴ and a Roman legion was stationed near Jerusalem to protect him from his enemies.⁵ In return for this protection, Herod assisted the Romans against the Parthians,⁶ relieved Antony in the Siege of Samosata,⁷ sent troops to the Roman

1. Arnold, Roman Provincial Administration, 15. cf. Tacitus Ann. IV, 5.

In the Monumentum Ancyranum 27, we have another example of a buffer state between Rome and Parthia. Augustus informs us that he could have made greater Armenia a province, but preferred to follow the custom of his ancestors, and entrusted that kingdom to Tigranes, the grandson of Tigranes the Great.

Tacitus, Agricola, 14, speaks of it as "the ancient and long recognized practice of the Roman people which seeks to secure among the instruments of dominion even kings themselves."

2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 385.

3. Ib. 394, 410, 468.

4. Ib. XV, 9.

5. Ib. 72.

6. Ib. XIV, 420

7. Ib. XIV, 439

general, Aelius Gallus, who made an invasion into Arabia,¹ and helped Agrippa to put down a disturbance in Pontus,²

Herod was summoned to account, "evocatio", for murdering Aristobulus, because Antony considered that the king had gone beyond his authority.³ But soon after this, when he had presented Antony with valuable gifts, he was allowed autonomy in internal affairs.⁴ He appointed and deposed high-priests,⁵ and administered the revenues of his country.⁶ But he could not make war without Rome's consent. He was even obliged to have the approbation of the Syrian governor to suppress robbers when they were outside the borders of his kingdom.⁷ He consulted Augustus in all important domestic affairs. His sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he intended to make his heirs, were educated in Italy.⁸ When implicated in a plot against their father, these sons were taken to Rome and tried before Augustus.⁹ But when they

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1. Jos. Ant. XV, 317. Strabo. XVI, 4. 22 ff.
 2. Ib. XVI, 20.
 3. Ib. XV, 64
 4. Ib. 76
 5. Ib. 22, 39
 6. Ib. XV, 365; XVI, 64; XVII, 317
 7. Ib. XVI, 283.
 8. Ib. XV, 342 f.
 9. Ib. XVI, 90 ff.

were later accused of further intrigue, Augustus gave Herod permission to inflict upon them the punishment that he considered necessary.¹ Antipater, an elder son, who had formed a conspiracy against the king, was tried before the Syrian governor,² and put to death with the approval of the Emperor.³ Herod obtained the privilege, not usually granted to Client Princes, of settling the succession as he pleased,⁴ but his will had to be confirmed by Augustus,⁵ and his successor, Archelaus, could not take the title of king until the Emperor conferred it upon him.⁶ These relations between Herod and the Romans will be brought out more in detail in the following chapter.

1. Jos. Ant. 365.

2. Jos. Ant. XVII, 89

3. Ib. 182

4. Ib. XV, 343

5. Ib. XVII, 195, 202

6. Ib. 195, 202.

Cf. Sand's, Client Princes of the Roman Empire, 226 ff.

CHAPTER IV.

Herod, the King of the Jews.

Altho Herod had been proclaimed King of the Jews, he had much difficulty in taking possession of the throne, for Antigonus would not give up his power without a struggle. When Herod left Italy, he went to Ptolemais, and gathered an army to lead against his antagonist. The Roman generals Ventidius, Silo, and Dellius, the historian, were ordered to help him, for it was the usual experience that Client Princes met with opposition among their subjects, and Rome found it necessary to support her protege with Roman troops.¹ Herod first of all took Joppa, because it was hostile to him, and he did not wish to leave that city in the hands of his enemies after he had marched to Jerusalem. For Joppa was the principal seaport of Jerusalem, and Herod could not afford to be cut off from the sea while he was attacking the Capital. Then he led his army to Masada, where his relatives and friends had been since Antigonus took possession of the throne. These were besieged

1. Arnold, Roman Provincial Administration, p. 14. Tacitus, Ann. XIV, 26, gives a similar example in regard to another Client Prince. When Tigranes had been appointed by Nero to govern Armenia "he was supported with a force of a thousand legionaries, three allied cohorts, and two squadrons of Cavalry, that he might the more easily secure his new kingdom." For other examples, cf. Tacitus, Ann. XII, 15, 45.

by the anti-Roman Jews, and the Roman general Silo, who had been bribed by Antigonus, refused to come to their relief. But Herod now attempted to free them. Silo hastened to his aid from Jerusalem, and tho a band of hostile Jews followed, Herod put the enemy to flight near Masada, and saved Silo from defeat. Herod then released his partisans, and proceeded with a large army to Jerusalem, but before he could enter the city he met with forcible resistance. The partisans of Antigonus held Jerusalem, and they had no thot of yielding to the king appointed by the Romans for as Antigonus was a Hasmanean, they considered him the rightful claimant to the throne, while Herod was but an Idumean, "a half-Jew." ¹ Herod found himself without sufficient forces to suppress the opposition, so he left Silo and his generals stationed before the walls of Jerusalem, while he himself led a combined army of Romans and Jews against the nationalists in other parts of Judea. He soon captured the inhabitants that were left in Jericho, and plundered the city. He then wrested Galilee from Antigonus, and left his brother Pheroras to restore Alex-

1. See p. 8. According to Deut. 23 7, 8. descendants of three generations were regarded as real Jews. Herod's grandfather was living at the time when John Hyrcanus conquered the Idumeans.

andrium,¹ in order that they might provide a stronghold against Jerusalem from the north. Herod next determined to root out a band of robbers, who took refuge in the inaccessible cliffs of Arbela.² It was only by inventing cages in which his soldiers could be let down into the caves, that he was able to attack them. By this means, many of the robbers were killed, and the rest surrendered thru fear. Herod then found it necessary to return to Galilee, as some of its inhabitants had revolted, killed Ptolemy, whom Herod had left in charge there, and devastated much of the territory. Herod besieged and killed those that had taken part in this affair, and destroyed their fortifications.³

During the two years 40-39 B. C., Herod was constantly engaged in putting down revolts. The followers of Antigonus resisted him at every opportunity, because they had reason to believe the Parthians would soon be the masters of the East. Labienus, a Roman, had secured the Parthian aid for Brutus and Cassius in the Civil War. Naturally hostile to the Triumvirs after the defeat of the Republican part at Philippi, Labienus offered to lead a Par-

1. See note, p. 16

2. The modern Irbid, cf. Smith, Art. Arbela, Hastings Diet. Bibl. I, 141

3. Jos. Ant. XIV, 394ff.

thian army into Asia Minor, and, in 40 B. C., he had succeeded in wresting from the Romans, nearly all of that country, even as far west as Lydia and Ionia, and north to the Hellespont. The Parthian supremacy was recognized, while the mastery of Rome seemed lost. Even Strabo¹ speaks of "the Parthians being at this time masters of Asia." But in 39 B. C., Publius Ventidius was sent against Labienus and the Parthians, and defeated them in three successive battles, in which Labienus and Pacorus, the son of Orodes, the Parthian king, lost their lives. This was the final decisive victory over the Parthians and by 38 B. C., the Romans were again masters of Syria, while the Parthians were confined within the limits of Media and Mesopotamia.²

Now that the Parthians were driven back, the Romans were able to give more aid to Herod. Thus far he had depended mainly upon his own faithful partisans, and could not gather a large enough force to crush the enemy at a blow. When Antony came into Syria, after the victory of Ventidius, he ordered that Macheras be sent with a large Roman army to assist Herod in Judea. But Macherus had been bribed by Antigonus and was somewhat reluctant in performing services for Herod. This angered Herod and he was about to complain to Antony, when Macheras promised to take part in the war against Antigonus. Herod then united the Roman forces with those of his

1. XIV, 2. 24.

2. Plutarch, Ant. 28, 33, 34.

brother Joseph.¹ But Herod, becoming impatient to establish himself as king, began to despair of success, and hurried off to Antony. The latter was besieging Antiochus of Commagene in the city of Samosata, trying to force the king to come to better terms than he had offered, for having joined Labienus in the revolt against the Romans. But after the siege had been carried on for some time, the citizens of Samosata took up arms in defence, and Antony was unable to make any progress. It was while he was in this difficult position that Herod came to his aid with a fresh body of troops. Even with this additional strength, Antony was glad to make peace with Antiochus, and on even less favorable terms than had been first offered by the king.²

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 434 ff.

2. Ib. XIV, 439 ff.

Plutarch, Ant. 34.

Josephus and Plutarch disagree as to the result of this siege at Samosata. Josephus attributes the victory to Antony, stating that after Herod came to the Roman's assistance, Antiochus soon yielded up the fortress. Plutarch, however, says that Antony was glad to make peace with the king, and was willing to accept only a third of the sum which Antiochus had offered him before the siege. We will have to accept Plutarch's conclusion, as his source for this account is Dellius, the legate of Antony, who was very probably with his master during the campaign. At any rate, Dellius would not have given an unfavorable account of the siege if Antony had been successful.

After leaving Samosata, Antony placed Sosius in command of Syria, and ordered him to aid Herod.¹ Two legions were immediately sent into Judea, and Sosius followed with an Army. There was need of all this assistance, for during Herod's absence, the partisans of Antigonus had killed Joseph, whom Herod had left in charge of Jericho. This event led to the revolt of the Galileans, and many of Herod's followers were taken captive. Hearing of this misfortune, Herod at once led an army including a Roman legion, into Galilee, and defeated his opponents. Then, receiving another legion from Antony, he advanced to Jericho, and avenged his brother's death. He captured five of the cities that had revolted, put to death all their inhabitants, and gave orders that the cities themselves be burned. Antigonus now sent part of his forces under the command of Pappus against Herod who was at this time in Samaria, and the battle was fought at Cana. Pappus was killed, and his whole army was cut down except a few that managed to except by flight.²

As a result of these victories, Herod became master of all Palestine except the Capital, where Antigonus still held out. Had it not been winter, Herod would have made an attack upon Jerusalem at once. But he had probably heard of Pompey's experience and decided to wait for better weather. In the spring of 37 B. C., however, Sosius met him with a large army, making in all eleven legions with the necessary

1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 439 ff.
2. Jos. Ant. XIV, 448 ff.

auxiliaries, and they began to lay siege to Jerusalem. As in the case of Pompey, the assault was delivered on the north, the only feasible side of attack. Herod at once met all of difficulties of previous besiegers. The "barren and waterless" surroundings of the city¹ were a great disadvantage, and in addition to this, the partisans of Antigonus had previously gathered the few supplies that Herod might have found in the immediate neighborhood, so that he was obliged to secure provisions from a distance. The trees were cut down to furnish supplies, and ramparts were constructed, and by means of entines the besiegers began to tear down the walls. Those within the city resisted to the utmost. They burnt the engines, and fought boldly with the Romans. The outer wall, extending across the northern part of the city from the "Tower" at the northwestern corner of the Temple area to its junction with the western limit of the earlier northern wall, was taken in forty days. The inner wall, stretching from the point last mentioned directly east to the center of the western face of the Temple were burned to the ground. The besieged then took refuge in the Upper City, and in the Inner Court of the Temple. When, shortly after, they asked for animals to sacrifice, Herod granted their request, thinking that they meant to surrender. But when they continued their defense, the final assault was determined upon, and the besieged were slaughtered without mercy. The Roman allies began to plunder the captured city. Herod, in order to save

1. Strabo XVI, 2. 36

the property which he now considered to be his own, bought them off with the promise of a sum equivalent to the plunder which they might hope to obtain. Again Jerusalem fell on the Day of Atonement, just twenty-seven years after it had been captured by Pompey.¹

Thus, after three years of fighting, Herod at last took up his position as king, and immediately began to show his authority. Many of the leading men, especially the wealthy, who had favored Antigonus, were executed, in order to secure their treasures, for the rich plunder that Herod had obtained from the siege, he had sent to Antony, and other friends.² But as some of the Jews were still determined to have a Hasomean ruler, Herod bribed Antony to put Antigonus to death. Altho Antony was very eager to display Antigonus in his triumph, he willingly granted Herod's request, in order that the latter might be more secure upon the throne, and a Roman legion was stationed near Jerusalem to protect him.³ According to Strabo,⁴ this was the first time that a Roman ever ordered the death of a king.

Altho Antigonus was out of the way, there were one or two persons whom Herod yet feared might rival him. One of these was the aged Hyrcanus, thru whose easy-going temper, Herod had obtained the power. Hyrcanus had been taken captive by the Parthians, and had been given a home in Babylon,

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1. Jos. Ant. XIV, 465 ff.; cf. Smith, Jerusalem, II, 467 ff.
 2. Jos. Ant. XV, 14 ff.
 3. Jos. Ant. XV, 72
 4. Quoted in Jos. Ant. XV, 9.

by the Parthian king Phraates. The Babylonian Jews respected him highly, and regarded him as their king, but Hyrcanus was dissatisfied and longed to get back to Judea. At the same time, Herod was anxious to get the Hasmonean under his control, realizing the danger that the Parthians might use him as a rival in their next invasion of Syria. Accordingly, he urged Hyrcanus to return, promising to share the kingship with him. Led on by this persuasion, Hyrcanus hastened back to Judea where he was received with great respect, but kept under strict surveillance.¹

The other rival was Aristobulus, the sixteen-year brother of Mariamne, who, in spite of his youth, was considered by a large element of the people to have deserved the high priesthood. Herod, in order to have this office subject to himself, had appointed instead a certain Avanelus, humble priest, but of high-priestly origin. This, however, caused more serious trouble than Herod had expected. Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus, was determined that the royal power should be kept within the Hasmonean house, and now wished to have her son made high priest as the first step toward the throne. Perceiving that Herod had no intention of raising her son to the office, she now attempted to carry out her plan by force. She bribed Cleopatra to use her influence with Antony, but the latter was unwilling to interfere with the affairs of his friend. It

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 14 ff.

was not until Dellius gave him flattering reports of the youth, that Antony was persuaded to send for Aristobulus. But Herod, fearing to permit the youth to leave Judea, smoothed matters over for the present by appointing Aristobulus to the high priesthood, giving the very plausible excuse that he had not done so in the first place on account of the extreme youth of the prince. Yet he could not leave so dangerous a rival in this position. Not only was the popularity of the young man alarming, but also the fact that after her son had been made high priest, Alexandra was aiming to have him become king. Herod had already prevented an attempted escape of Alexandra and Aristobulus into Egypt, and in order to avoid any further plots, he caused the young Hasmonean, who was attending a feast at Jericho, to be drowned while "sporting" with his friends in the bath.¹ Alexandra suspected that it was murder, and complained to Cleopatra. The latter succeeded in making the crime so odious in the eyes of Antony, that he summoned Herod to meet him at Laodicea on the Syrian coast to answer to the charge. But Herod kept the favor of Antony in spite of the Queen's interference. When he presented the Roman with a large amount of money, and valuable gifts, Antony at once dismissed him. Herod had come at the opportune moment, for Antony was planning a Parthian invasion, (36B. C.), and needed the King's money and assistance. For this reason, Antony did not gratify Cleopatra, when she requested him to transfer the Jewish kingdom to her. But Her-

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 22 ff.

od was obliged to suffer when Antony, in making an extension of Cleopatra's territory, granted her the balsam-producing district of Jericho. This meant the loss of a large revenue, as the balsam was an exceedingly valuable plant and to quote Strabo,¹ "it bears a high price, especially as it is produced in no other place." Herod now had to pay tribute to Cleopatra not only for Jericho, but he even undertook to collect the tribute from the king of the Nabateans. Yet he concealed his indignation that the Egyptian Queen might not have a further chance of finding fault with him.²

But Malchus the Nabatean king was reluctant to meet the payments of the tribute, and Cleopatra, who wished to involve Herod in the perils of war, persuaded Antony to order Herod to fight the Nabatean. Herod, indeed, was exposed to the greatest of dangers. He had won a victory at Diospolis,³ and was preparing for a battle at Canata,⁴ when Athenio, an Egyptian general hired by Cleopatra perceiving that the Jews were likely to conquer, made a sudden attack upon Herod, captured the Jewish camp at Ormiza, and put many of the Jews to death. Herod, in great distress, could do nothing but carry on guerilla warfare, and when, shortly after this defeat,

1. XVI, 2. 41. Cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. III, 169.

2. Plutarch, Ant. 36; Jos. Ant. XV, 57 ff.

3. Pliny, Hist. Nat. V, 16, includes Diospolis in the group of cities called the Decapolis.

4. Probably the modern El-Qanawat, cf. Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 193.

an earthquake desolated the greater part of Judea, he was obliged to retreat across the Jordan. But Herod revived the courage of his men, and again crossing the Jordan, met the enemy near Philadelphia.¹ A long and desperate contest ensued for possession of a fortress that lay between the enemies' camps, and Herod was victorious. With the capture of this stronghold, he was able to bring the Nabateans again into subjection.²

The defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium in 31 B. C., meant another change of masters for the Idumean. This event, however, need not have placed Herod in the critical position that most scholars assume. He had been the friend of Antony, it is true, but this did not involve hostility to Octavian. Herod had offered his services to Antony, when the latter was preparing for the conflict at Actium, but Antony, complying with the wish of Cleopatra, preferred to have him fight the Nabatean King.³ And when Antony returned to Egypt after his defeat, and called upon the Idumean for assistance, Herod refused to give him any aid.⁴ He had no longer any con-

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 108 ff.; Bell. Jud. I, 364 ff.

2. Jos. Ant. XV, 159, writes that the Nabateans "made him ruler of their nation," but as Mathews, Jewish People in the Time of Christ, 119, n. 2, points out, there is no evidence that Herod was made king of the Nabateans.

3. Plutarch, Ant. 71, tells us that Herod had sent aid to Antony in the battle of Actium. According to Josephus, Ant. XV, 109 f., Herod offered his services to the Roman "but Antony said that he had no want of his assistance." Nor is it likely that Herod renewed the offer, as he was fighting the Nabateans in 31 B. C., and needed all his forces for this purpose. We can trust Josephus' account, as his authority for this period was undoubtedly Nicolaus of Damascus.

4. Plutarch. Ant. 72.

confidence in Antony since the latter, in order to please Cleopatra, had deprived him of so many of his rights. As he felt that there was no longer any profit in supporting his former Roman friend, Herod determined to try his fortune with Octavian.¹ The only rival whom he feared was the aged Hyrcanus, but he soon found a chance of executing him on the charge of conspiracy, as Alexandra, more than ever opposed to the Idumean, had persuaded Hyrcanus to assert his old rights with the help of Malchus, the Nabatean king.² Then, after Herod had assisted Didius, the governor of Syria, in putting down a band of Antony's gladiators who were on the road to Egypt to assist their master,³ he hastened to Rhodes to present himself before Octavian. He did not humble himself before the Roman

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1. Tarver.- Tiberius the Tyrant, 154, does not understand Herod's position when he states that Herod was obedient to Rome as long as she had power, "but if Rome showed signs of weakness, Herod had no scruples against making friends with a stronger power in order to further his own end." There is no evidence that Herod ever sought protection other than that of Rome.
 2. Jos. Ant. XV, 165 ff. gives two versions in regard to the death of Hyrcanus. One, taken from the Commentaries of Herod, justifies his execution, by giving proof of an actual conspiracy. The second version, the account of "other historians" states the charge of conspiracy as a mere pretext for the execution. Altho Herod would not have hesitated to put Hyrcanus to death if necessity had demanded, it is no at all unlikely that some conspiracy was going on, as Alexandra was implicated in the plot. She had made every effort to dethrone Herod, and this seemed a last resort. And as Hyrcanus was so easily influenced, it would have required very little effort to induce him to form a conspiracy with the Nabatean king.
 3. Jos. Ant. XV, 195.

victor, but appeared in his usual royal robes, only laying aside the diadem. Nor did he express any regret at having befriended Antony, but gave a frank account of their relationship. He could not have made his presentation in a shrewder way. Octavian saw that he could not do without the man, so restored him to the kingship and made it more secure by a decree of the Roman Senate. Herod, rejoicing in his success, returned to Judea, where he lost no time in showing his loyalty to Octavian. When, shortly after, the latter left Asia Minor and was on the road to Egypt, Herod met him at Ptolemais. He presented Octavian with many rich gifts, and provided every means of comfort and entertainment for the Roman army. He then proved his value to his new master by furnishing supplies and water to the Roman troops while crossing the desert which defended Egypt from the north east. After the death of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian restored the other territory of which Antony had deprived him in order to please Cleopatra. He also made valuable additions to the king's possessions by giving him Gadara and Hippos in the trans-Jordanic region as well as Samaria and also the sea-ports Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa and Strato's Tower. Even the four hundred Galatians who had composed the splendid bodyguard of Cleopatra, were handed over to him. Herod, highly elated by his success, accompanied Octavian to Antioch whence the latter sailed to Rome.¹

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 213ff.

In 24 B. C., the Romans, having heard of the wealth of the Arabians, sent an expedition against them under the command of Aelius Gallus, hoping either "to acquire opulent friends, or overcome opulent enemies," and Herod sent five hundred of his best body-guards to take part. But thru the treachery of Sylleus, the minister of the Nabatean king, the Romans met with many hardships, and the expedition resulted in complete failure.¹

About this same time, however, as a result of a slight disturbance in Syria, Herod received another grant of territory. Zenodorus, the ruler of a petty state in anti-Sebanon, had taken under his protection teh bands of robbers who were attacking merchants and devastating the country about Damascus. The inaccessibility of the mountains, and the great depth of the caves,² one of which is said to have been capable of containing 4000 men, were extremely advantageous to the robbers. Thus far they had remained unchecked. But when Octavian, now the Emperor Augustus, heard of their ravaging, he instructed Varro, the governor of Syria, to give that territory which included Trachointis, Batavea, and Auranitis, to Herod, who would be the one most capable of checking their raids. Herod did subdue the robbers for a time, and forced them to take up an agricultural life. Zenodorus was by no means pleased at being deprived of his share of the booty, and

1. Strabo XVI, 4. 22 ff.

2. Strabo XVI, 2. 20. Compare the remains of a great underground city at Edrei in the Hauran.

hastened to Rome to accuse Herod. But in vain. Shortly after this, when Agrippa made a visit in the East, some of the people of Gadara came to him with complaint against the Jewish king. Agrippa refused to listen to them, for Herod had already paid him his respects as soon as he had arrived in Mytilene. In 20 B. C., Octavian came into Syria, and again the citizens of Gadara at the instigation of Zenodorus, complained of Herod's government. Augustus considered the matter carefully. He was convinced that altho Herod made mistakes, he was to be respected, as he was really working for the interests of Rome and of her provinces in the East. So Augustus paid no heed to the demand of the Gadarenes, but favored Herod, believing him an "intelligent, active, and reliable character."¹ Augustus freed the king from all accusations; gave him the district between Trachonitis and Galilee; and appointed him procurator-general of Syria, with supervision over all the other procurators of the province. Herod also obtained permission to appoint his brother Pheroras as Tetrarch of Perea.²

When Agrippa came a second time into Asia in 16 B. C., Herod hastened to meet him, and persuaded him to visit Judea. The king entertained him most royally in the cities and palaces which he had newly built in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and gave the Roman many costly gifts. In the following year, Herod ac-

1. Cf. Ferrers - Decline of Roman Republic V, 38 f.
2. Jos. Ant. XV, 342 ff.

accompanied Agrippa to Sinope on the Pontus where they succeeded in quelling a disturbance which had arisen on account of a disputed claim to the crown of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.¹

Herod, however, had not completely subdued the people of Trachonitis. Several years after this when he went to Rome to accuse his sons before Augustus, they again began to plunder the country and harass the people around them, and received protection from Sylleus, the minister of the King of Nabatea. When he returned from Rome, Herod immediately fought the robbers and put many of their relations to death. The outlaws, attempting to secure their blood-revenge, caused still further disturbance, and Herod appealed to the Roman governors of Syria. He then demanded the surrender of the bandits whom the Nabateans had protected, and also the payment of a sum of money which he had loaned to Obodas, the Nabatean king. But his minister, Sylleus, who had gained control of the affairs of the kingdom, would not pay the money, and refused to surrender the robbers. Herod again appealed to the Roman governors, and they demanded that Sylleus obey the King's order. But Sylleus refused. Herod led a party of his men into the enemy's country, captured the outlaws at Raep²ta, and destroyed the fortress. He transported 3,000 Idumeans into Trachonitis, and transferred the robbers into Idumea. But Sylleus, who had gone to Rome just before this time, informed the Emperor of Herod's conduct and ^{was} so successful in his accusations,

1. Cf. Shuckburgh, Augustus, 182.

2. Probably the fortress Regaba in the neighborhood of Gerasa which Josephus mentions in Ant. XII, 398

of the king, that Augustus was greatly enraged. He informed Herod in a scathing letter,¹ that he would no longer treat him as a friend but as a subject. Herod immediately sent ambassadors to Rome, but the Emperor would not admit them. He even turned away a second embassy. It seemed as if the tide of Herod's fortune had turned, for he had never before been in such disfavor with Rome. But Herod sent a third time, and it was his agent, Nicolaus of Damascus, who freed the king from the charges laid against him, and turned the accusation upon Sylleus. By thus accusing the Nabatean, Nicolaus succeeded in restoring the friendship between Herod and the Emperor, and Augustus ordered Sylleus to be put to death.²

The remaining years of Herod's reign constitute a period of domestic difficulty. Many historians have unduly emphasized the importance of Herod's domestic affairs. As much of the account of his private life is mere gossip, and of practically no significance, an attempt will be made to treat only such phases as bear directly upon the subject. Herod was a typical Oriental in his relation to women. He had in all ten wives, but the only one for whom he had any real affection was Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus II, whom he married in

1. Nicolaus, Fragmenta, Historicorum Graecorum, III, 351.

2. Jos. Ant. XVI, 335 ff. This is put in the form of a speech of Nicolaus, and is perhaps historical, for Josephus could have referred to Nicolaus' history. Cf. Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, III, 351.



37 B. C.. So devoted was he to Mariamne, that when he was summoned to Laodicea to answer to the charge of Aristobulus' murder, he entrusted his wife to the care of his brother Joseph, and left orders that she should be put to death should he meet with the displeasure of Antony. But Joseph betrayed his mission, and when Herod returned and found that the secret had been disclosed he would have slain Mariamne at once, had it not been for the great affection he bore to her. From this time on, Mariamne began to distrust him, and when in 30 B. C., she had learned that Herod left a similar order for her death should Octavian fail to restore him to the throne, she refused to act as his wife. On account of this, Salome, Herod's sister, very jealous of the Queen, succeeding in persuading her brother that Mariamne had planned to poison him, Herod, in a fit of rage, had his wife put to death upon mere suspicion. But no sooner was the act committed than he repented of his hasty deed, for Mariamne was the only woman whom he ever loved. His grief for her was so intense, that for a considerable length of time he was unable to carry on his duties, and he seems to have mourned her sincerely during the remainder of his life.¹

Of Herod's sons, only the six who played some part in the history of his reign, need here concern us. These were Antipator, Alexander, Aristobulus, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. After the Emperor had given Herod permission to bequeath his kingdom as he pleased, he intended to make Alexander and Aristobulus his heirs as they were of Hasmonean descent thru their

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 55 ff.; 202 ff.

mother Mariamme.¹ Accordingly, they were sent to Rome, as it was the usual custom for princes to be educated there, in order that they might understand what Rome expected of them.² Then, when they had completed their education, Herod paid a visit to Augustus in Rome, and took his sons home. When the boys returned to Jerusalem they became popular with the people, but Salome feared that when the youths came into power, she would suffer for having been the instigator of Mariamme's death. She laid a plot against them, and caused the king, who had before shown great affection for his sons, to look upon them with disfavor.³ In 14 B. C., when Herod returned from Pontus, where he had assisted Agrippa in the war, he found a great disturbance in his household. Salome informed him that Alexander and Aristobulus were planning his murder, that they might revenge their mother's death. Herod allowed himself to be influenced by his sister. His eldest son Antipater, who had not previously been considered a candidate for the throne, as he was not of Hasmonean descent, and also because he was born before Herod became king, was now brought to the palace with the intention of making him the heir instead of his other sons. Soon after this, when Agrippa was returning

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 342 f.

2. Tacitus, Ann. XI, 8.

3. Jos. Ant. XVI, 7 ff.

to Rome after a visit in Asia,¹ Herod sent Antipater with him that he might win the favor of Augustus. While Antipater was at Rome, Herod went there with Aristobulus and Alexander and accused them before the Emperor. But Alexander succeeded in defending himself so well before Augustus that a reconciliation was brought about between the king and his sons. Herod then presented Augustus with a valuable gift of money to carry on the games, and the Emperor gave him a large share of the copper mines in Cyprus. After this settlement, Herod went back to Judea, taking Aristobulus, Alexander, and Antipater with him.² But the reconciliation was only temporary. For ^{since} Alexander and Aristobulus had regained the favor of their father, Antipater feared that they might be the heirs instead of himself. Again he made Herod believe that Alexander was planning to kill him. The king then had Alexander bound, and was taking him to Rome a second time for accusation, when Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, interceded because of the marriage of Alexander with his own daughter.³ But the dis-

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1. Jos. Ant. XVI, 86, states that Agrippa returned to Rome "after he had finished his ten years government in Asia Minor," which would be from 23 to 13 B. C. Josephus is mistaken in this statement. Agrippa went to Asia Minor in 23 B. C. but returned to Rome shortly after. In 19 B. C., he was in Gaul. In Ant. XVI, 12, Josephus himself writes that when Herod heard that "Marcus Agrippa had sailed out of Italy (15 B. C.), into Asia," he hastened to meet the Roman. The following year Herod and Agrippa were in Pontus, and from there the Roman returned to Italy. In 13 B. C., he made a third visit to Asia Minor, and Herod sent Antipater with him on his return to Rome.
 2. Jos. Ant. XVI, 87ff.
 - 3 . Jos Ant. XVI, 229 ff.

turbance still continued. Salome and Antipater considered themselves in danger as long as the youths were alive, and once more persuaded Herod that the boys were forming a conspiracy against him. Having obtained the Emperor's permission to execute his sons if they were convicted of the charge,¹ Herod had Alexander and Aristobulus judged before an Assembly at Berytus.² The evidence seemed to prove that they were guilty, and orders were given that the youths should be strangled.³ But this did not end Herod's domestic troubles. Antipater, eager to take possession of the throne before his father could settle the succession upon another son, planned to poison him. But Nicolaus became aware of the design, and succeeded in having the plotter condemned by Quintilius Varus, the governor of Syria. After the death sentence had been passed, Herod sent to Rome and obtained the ratification of it by Augustus.⁴ But Herod himself was at the point of death at this time. Not only had his sons made life miserable for him, but during the last few years of his reign, he had suffered from an in-

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1. Augustus granted the king this privilege as an apology for believing the accusation which Sylleus had brought upon him. Cf. Nicolaus, Op. cit. III, 351.
 2. This was in accordance with the Law, Deut. 21, 18 ff. which directed parents of a rebellious son to bring him before the elders of a township to be stoned.
 3. Jos. Ant. XVI, 356 ff. Cf. Nicolaus, Op. cit. III, 351.
 4. Jos. Ant. XVII, 182 ff. Cf. Nicolaus, Op. Cit. III, 351.

curable disease, He had been removed to Callirhoe, in a great gorge east of the Dead Sea, where the warm springs revived his health for a time. But when these no longer benefited him, He was taken back to Jericho.¹ If we are to believe, Josephus, this malady incited him to become exceedingly cruel. When a band of youths, at the instigation of the Pharisees, had torn down the eagle, a Roman emblem, which he had placed over the entrance of the Temple, he gave the command that these should be burned alive.² He imprisoned all the leading men in the nation, intending that they should be executed as soon as he himself expired, so that there would be a great lamentation at his death.³

Herod died at Jericho, in the sixtieth year of his life, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, in the year 4 B. C. Archelaus, his son, gave him a splendid funeral, and he was buried in the fortress which he had built at Herodium.⁴

Shortly before his death, Herod made a third alteration of his will. He named Archelaus, the son of Malthace, as king; Antipas, his younger brother, as tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and Philip, the son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem, as tetrarch of Gavlonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Panias. In order that the Romans might consent to the arrangements he had made, Herod bequeathed to Augustus ten million drachmae, equal to two million dollars in coin value, but repre-

1. Jos. Ant. XVII, 14 ff.

2. Ib. 149 ff.

3. This order, however, was not carried out. Jos. Ant. XVII, 193 ff.

4. Jos. Ant. XVII, 188 ff.

senting in reality a far greater sum. And knowing that Livia was very influential with the Emperor, he left to her a large amount of gold and silver, and a valuable quantity of fabrics.¹ The will was ratified, but not until after Archaelaus had gone to Rome, to plead, against the opposition of the Jews, for the throne which would be his only by the will of Augustus².

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1. Jos. Ant. XVII, 188 ff.
 2. Jos. Ant. XVII, 206 ff.

CHAPTER V.

Herod, the Hellenistic Prince.

We have already seen that Herod carried out one great principle of his policy, that of making himself a loyal Client Prince of Rome. We shall now attempt to show that he was even more successful in accomplishing his second aim, that of reviving the Hellenistic influence in Palestine. This wise and necessary policy he sought to realize by the reconciliation of Judaism and Hellenism. How successful Herod was in this attempt we shall now proceed to consider.

One of the first steps in carrying out this Hellenistic policy, was the introduction into Jerusalem of the Actian games, which were to be celebrated every five years in honor of Augustus' victory over Antony at Actium. Accordingly, he built a theater in or near the city,¹ and an amphitheater "in the plain" of Jerusalem.² Provision was made for every sort

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 268, states that "Herod built a theater in Jerusalem." Smith, Jerusalem, II, 493, points out that if the term "in Jerusalem" is to be taken literally, the theater must have been within the walls. There are two possible sites for the theater in Jerusalem itself, on the S. W. Hill, South of the Burj el-Kibrit, and on the East Hill, south of the Haram. But Smith thinks that Herod would have had more regard for the religious rites of the Jews than to place a theater within the walls. And there is evidence that his belief is correct, since the remains of a large theater have recently

been excavated to the south of the city on the hill beyond the Jebel Deir Abu For.

2. According to Jos. Ant. XV, 268, the amphitheater was "in the

of contest and amusement that delighted the populace of Rome. Athletes from all surrounding countries were invited to take part in the games, and musicians, Thymelici, came from Greece. Not only were chariot-races, gladiatorial combats, and other contests patterned after those of Rome, but the remains of the theater, discovered by Shick, are of the Graeco-Roman type, semi-circular in shape, cut out in a hillside, with stepped seats and chambers below, and a stage in front.¹ Inscriptions of the notable achievements of Augustus were placed upon the walls of the theater. Spoils which he had taken in war were set up in conspicuous places, and other numerous symbols of the Emperor's greatness adorned the interior of the structure.²

plain" of Jerusalem. Smith, Jerusalem, II, 493, says that it may have been out on the Buke'a, or on the plateau to the north of Jerusalem. But there is a site in the great basin on the Olivet range northeast of the City, which, according to tradition was "a Mēdān, or place of exercise, where strong men wrestled. Smith infers from this that Herod's athletic gatherings took place here. But Josephus would hardly have called this "the plain." What is known as the plain, is the Buke'a, southwest of Jerusalem, and there is a large level space here that indicates the possibility of there once having been an amphitheater

1. Smith, Jerusalem, II, 493.
2. Jos. Ant. XV, 268 ff.

In 24 B. C., Herod constructed a royal palace on the highest of the three terraces "in the Upper City" in the southwestern part of Jerusalem. The north and west walls of this citadel were the Old or First City walls, and included the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne.¹ A new wall of the same height was erected on the south and east, and towers were built at intervals. This palace was built as a citadel for his own protection, but as it would also be the place for the entertainment of his guests, Herod spared no cost in its adornment. The interior was composed of two divisions, one named Caesareum, and the other Agrippeum. And that it might have a little more of the Greek effect, he added colonnades and open courts. By building this citadel in the Upper City, Herod transferred the center of authority from the East to the South-west Hill.²

This citadel was not the only protection that Herod had provided for himself in Jerusalem. Even before the battle of Actium, he had refortified the castle north of the Temple, formerly known as the "Tower," but now called "Antonia," in honor of his patron Antony. This castle was situated on the Baris, or Acropolis of the Hasmoneans "at the corner of the two cloisters of the Court of the Temple, of that on the west, and that on the north." The basis of the structure was a rock 50 cubits high, and "precipitous" all around. Herod

1. cf. Wilson, Recovery of Jerusalem, 6.

2. Jos. Ant. XV, 318.

Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 402.

Smith, Jerusalem, II. 488 ff.

now covered the sides with slabs of stone to prevent capture by scaling. Above this was a rampart three cubits high, within which stood the castle of Antonia, rising to the height of 40 cubits. The interior was provided with every kind of room and all conveniences, baths, colonnades, and courts for encampments, so that "by having all conveniences which the city wanted, it might seem to be a city, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace." The plan as a whole resembled a tower, and it had smaller towers at each corner. Several passages¹ connected the Castle with the colonnade of the Temple, through which guards might pass in order to watch the people at the festivals, as Antonia was built for the purpose of guarding the Temple.²

1. Further proof of a space between the Temple and Antonia is given in Acts 21. 30 ff. When Paul was dragged out of the Temple, the military tribune rushed down with soldiers, seized the Apostle, and brought him upon the stairs leading to the Castle. Cf. Wilson, Recovery of Jerusalem, 176.

2. Jos. Ant. XV, 403 ff.

Bell. Jud. V, 238 ff.

Smith, Jerusalem II, 495 ff.

If the Temple stood to the west of the rock es-Sakhra, as many scholars believe, Smith gives evidence that a part at least of the site of Antonia can be identified. The rock of Antonia was at the north-west corner of the present Haram. The south side of this rock is scarped from 20 to 30 feet high. On the north is a deep ditch which separates the rock from Bezetha just as Josephus describes, Bell. Jud. V, 149. This seems to indicate that part, at least, of Antonia stood above these scarps. Smith states that the rock is not oblong. It has a projection to the south, and "at right angles from the west end of its southern face, another scarp, facing east across the Haram, runs to the Bab es Serai." But, as Smith points out, it is probable that "the high site of Antonia was an irregular gnomon, with its prolongation southwards to the Bab es-Serai." This supposition does not conflict with the account given in Josephus. It provides the space necessary for the interior of the Castle which he describes; it places the end of the Castle

Herod built another fortress called Herodium, in honor of himself about 60 stadia southeast of Jerusalem,¹ at the place where he had defeated the band of Jews that attacked him when he was making his escape from Jerusalem after the Parthians had taken his brother Phasaelus and Hyrcanus II prisoners. This fortress was erected upon a conspicuous hill whose height had been artificially increased. The interior was composed of a number of luxurious apartments, decorated with "much fine art."² The exterior and the surroundings of the main building, which was about the size of Hadrian's mausoleum, were equally beautiful. Traces are still to be seen of the "steps of polished stone" which led up to the fortress on the east.³ There are remnants of the towers at the four corners, connected by circular walls, which Herod had built.⁴ Remains of buildings around the hill indicate

closer to the north-west angle of the Temple, which according to Smith, "cannot have been situated much further north than the Bab en-Nazir;" and it also leaves enough space for the passage-ways between Antonia and the Temple.

1. Schürer, Jewish People in the Time of Christ, I, 435, n. 65, has pointed out the site of Herodium. According to Jos. Bell. Jud., IV, 518, it was near the village of Thecoe (Tekoa). Jos. Ant. XIV, 359; XV, 324. Bell. Jud. I, 265; 419, states that it was 60 stadia from Jerusalem. As the present Tekoa is more than 60 stadia south of Jerusalem, the site of Herodium must be to the north of Tekoa. At a distance of 64 stadia south of the Capital is a steep rock called Frank Mountain by Europeans, and Jebel-el-Fureidis by the natives. This is to be identified with Herodium.
2. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 419.
3. Ib. I, 420.
4. Ib.

the dwellings which he provided for the entertainment of the royal officials.¹ The modern name, Jebel el- Furedis, or Hill of the Little Park, and traces of a Herodian aqueduct prove that the grounds were laid out in sumptuous gardens.² Herodium not only furnished the king with an easily accessible refuge against the discontented Jews, but it was on the road to Masada, where Herod had provided another place of safety.³

Herod not only named palaces and fortresses after his Roman patrons, but entire cities were renamed in honor of them. Samaria, the ancient capital of Israel, was now called Sebastes, in honor of the Emperor whose title of Augustus was translated by Sebastos in the Greek.⁴ In this city Herod planted a military colony of the usual Hellenistic type, composed of his faithful soldiers who were now made citizens and given grants of land.⁵ Thanks to the description of Josephus, and to the excavations of the Harvard expedition to Samaria, we now know a considerable amount about the Sebos of Herod. Remains of a massive wall "of large, well-fitted blocks of stone," can be traced around the entire city, giving a circumference of 4000 meters, which is in agreement with the

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1. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 419.
 2. Schick, Ztf. Deutsch. Palästina Verein . 1880, 88 ff. Cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. V, 15 For photograph of Herodium, cf. N. Schmidt, Journal Bibl. Lit. XXIX, opposite p 79.
 3. Jos. Ant. XIV, 359, ff. XV, 323, ff. For photograph of Masada, cf. Journal Bibl. Lit. XXIX opposite p. 80.
 4. Strabo XVI, 2: 34
 5. Jos. Ant. XV, 296.

statement of Josephus that the wall which Herod built around Samaria was twenty stadia.¹ The main entrance to the city was on the west, and there between two circular towers is a magnificent gateway, whose masonry and architectural details are Herodian. This leads into a street adorned with a row of columns, many of which remain, some fallen, some still standing. These are identified with the great colonnade which Herod erected around the southern slope of the hill to the forum. This has not yet been excavated, but in the section adjoining it on the east and connected with it by a wide doorway, are the remains of a Herodian basilica, a large open stone-paved court, surrounded by a colonnade with a mosaic floor.² In the hollow north of this are traces of an amphitheater, dating from the same period. In the center of the city are the foundations of the very temple of Augustus which Josephus describes as belonging to this Sebaste. It consisted of "a stairway, a portico, a vestibule, and a cella with a corridor on each side." The masonry of the foundation wall is characteristic of the Herodian period, and this date is further confirmed by a copper coin of Herod which was found nearby. A short distance from the stairway, are the fragments

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 297.

2. A Greek inscription on the architrave bears the name of Annius Rufus, which indicates that the basilica had existed in his procuratorship. (12-15 A.D.E.I.)

of a large marble statue which appears to have been that of Augustus himself. A few feet west of the statue are the remains of a Roman altar, rising on a rough stone foundation, above which are six courses, decorated with mouldings, which are also very probably of Herodian origin.¹

Another one of the cities renamed by Herod was Strato's Tower,² situated on the Phoenician coast between Joppa and Dora, which was made over into a new city, and called Caesarea.³ Strato's Tower had been a place of comparatively small importance, but Herod, in order to promote commerce, made Caesarea one of the greatest ports along the coast. He constructed a large harbor, called Sebastus, of whose pier, enlarged at very great expense to provide a safe landing place for the merchants, we still find traces. A wall was built along the bank to protect the coast from the waves, and strong towers were erected upon it. Blocks of granite are still to be seen under water, belonging to the Drusium, the most important of these towers, which Herod named in honor of Drusus, the stepson of Augustus.

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1. Jos. Ant. XV, 292 ff.; Bell. Jud. I, 403 Harvard Theological Review, 1909, 102 ff.; 1910, 248 ff. Cf. photographs of excavations.
 2. The origin of this city is unknown. Stark says it was founded by the Ptolemies. L. Müller found a coin of Alexander with the letters $\Sigma \Upsilon$, which indicates that the city existed in the time of the Alexanders, and was probably founded by the people of Sidon, as the Sidonians were in possession of it in the time of the last kings of Persia. Pompey took all the cities along the coast including Strabo's Tower, from Judea, and placed them under the governor of the province of Syria. Augustus restored the cities to Herod. Cf. Beüßinger, Art. Caesarea. Paulg Wissowa, III, 1291.
 3. Pliny, Hist. Nat. V, 14.

A number of marble structures were set up along the coast. Of these, the most notable was the temple of Augustus, built on a prominent elevation, and traces of it also are to be seen at the present time. In this temple, Herod placed two large statues, one of the Emperor, and the other of Rome. In the southern part of Caesarea, are the ruins of a huge Herodian amphitheater, which was capable of accomodating 20,000 spectators. It was cheaply built of earth, and surrounded by a trench. The remains of a semi-circular structure in the center of this, may be identified with the theater built by Herod. By means of canals, this was at times filled with sea water and turned into a naumachia, to provide for naval combats like those enjoyed at Rome. Northeast of the amphitheater, we find the ruins of a hippodrome, which very probably dates from this period. Huge blocks of red Egyptian granite, highly polished, forming the metae and spina, can still be seen. In various parts of the city, Herod erected beautiful palaces,¹ and other costly structures. The streets, instead of being the narrow winding alleys of the typical Eastern city, wer now laid out according to the system of rectangular blocks. The building of Caesarea occupied twelve years, and when it was completed, (11 B. C.), a grand celebration took place. Games, races,

1. It was in one of these palaces that the Apostle Paul was kept when he was sent to Caesarea to be tried before the Roman governor Felix. Acts. 23. 35

combats and other forms of amusement were provided in imitation of the Actian games inaugurated by Augustus, and like these, were to be celebrated every five years in honor of the Emperor's victory over Antony.¹

In order to control the Nabatean trade route to the west, which naturally reached the coast at the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, Herod rebuilt the port of Anthedon,² which had suffered during the recent wars. This was to take the place of Gaza, the former terminus of the caravan route. Anthedon was now called Agrippeum, and Agrippa's name was placed upon the gateway of the temple to Augustus which Herod erected there.³ Further north, in the fertile plain of Cap-har Saba, Herod built a city which he called Antipatris,⁴ in honor of his father, Antipater. Antipatris, too, was an im-

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 331 ff.; Bell. Jud. I, 408 ff.

Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 273 f. Cf. Benzinger, Art. Caesarea, Pauly-Wissouwa, III, 1291.

2. Probably at the mouth of the present Wadi Esned, as this would furnish a small harbor.

3. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 416.

4. Jos. Ant. XVI, 142 f. Bell. Jud. I, 417.

Antipatris is probably to be identified with the large ruined mound above the source of the Anjah river northeast of Joppa. The site is now called Ras el'ain "The Springhead, from the nearby fountain, close to which are the ruins of a large arabic castle, probably on the site of the Mirabel in the 12th Century. The name Cap-har Saba is retained in the modern Kafar Saba, which is, however, nearly ten miles distant. Cf. Conder, Art. Antipatris, Hastings, Dict. Bibl. I, 107. Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 10, 274.

portant trade site. Although situated about ten miles from the sea, it was directly on the greatest of the ancient trade routes, that from Egypt to Babylonia and Asia Minor, which here turned inland to avoid Mount Carmel. It controlled three important routes, that from Jerusalem northwest to the seaport of Caesarea, and that from Samaria to the Southwest, to the seaport of Joppa, as well as the great trade route north to Damascus, and south to Gaza. In honor of his mother Herod fortified a citadel north of Jericho, which he called Cypros.¹ At the foot of the mountains, also in the Jordan valley, was Phasaelis, so named from his brother Phasaelus.²

After the defeat of Zenodorus and the robbers, Herod erected a costly temple of white marble to Augustus, in the country where he had been victorious. This was at Panium, "a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water; over it hangs a great cliff, (an outlier of Mount Hermon); and from the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan."³ This description is remarkably true, tho now the cave has been partially closed by an earthquake, and the water flows out some distance below .

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1. Jos. Ant. XV, 143; Bell. Jud. I, 418. The exact site of Cyprus is not known.
 2. Jos. Ant. ~~XV~~, 144; Bell. Jud. I, 418. The modern Kirbet el Fusail. Cf. Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 153. Cf. N. Schmidt, Journal Bibl. Lit. XXIX, 77 f.
 3. Jos. Ant. XV, 363 f.; Bell. Jud. I, 404.

Then, in order that he might make himself more secure against the people of Trachonitis, he build a strong fortress in their territory.¹ He had already subdued the robbers, forcing some of them to take up an agricultural life, and others he deported. Their places were taken by Idumean captives, while he also encouraged the Jews to settle ther by freeing them from the customary taxes. In this way Herod introduced civilization into this country which had before been wild and barbarous, and laid the foundations for the prosperity which the Hauran enjoyed under the Roman Empire.

Herod strengthened the fotifications in various parts of his dominions. The foundations walls on Qarn Sartabeh have already been identified with the fortress of Alexandrium, restored by Herod.² Hyrcania, somewhere east of the Jordan, which Gabinius had destroyed because it had afforded a place of refuge to Alexander, was repaired.³ Machaerus, the fortification which Gabinius had demolished after Aristobulus II had been taken captive,⁴ was now restored, because Herod considered it necessary to have a stronghold in the neighborhood of Nabatea. He strengthened Machaerus with walls and towers,

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 23 f.; Bell. Jyd. I, 404

2. Cf. p. 16. For photograph of the fortress, cf. N. Schmidt, Journal Bibl. Lit. XXIX, opposite p. 77.

3. Jos. Ant. XIV, 89.

4. Ib. XIV, 96. For photograph, cf. N. Schmidt, Journal Bibl. Lit. XXIX, opposite p.80.

and built a city there, in the center of which a magnificent palace was erected.¹ Following a custom among the Romans, of establishing military colonies, Herod settled a company of veteran cavalry in Gaba, a city in the plain of Esdraelon.² This was not only a very suitable place for the drilling of the soldiers, but Gaba commanded the great north and south road thru Syria, and was also on the route from Damascus west to Ptolemais. Another colony was planted in the plain of Hesebonitis, in Perea.³ This position, too, was of strategic importance, as it was on the main road running north and south in the trans-Jordanic region, and also controlled the trade from Jerusalem to the East. Herod, a true Hellenistic Prince, even carried on his building projects in other parts of the Roman East, in order to win the praise of people of Hellenistic interest and descent. In Antioch, the capital of the Roman province of Syria, he erected a colonnade along the main thoroughfare, and paved the street with marble.⁴ He built a wall around Byblus; erected colonnades, temples, and forums at Berytus and Tyre, constructed aqueducts for the people of Laodicea on the Syrian coast, and provided baths and fountains for the people of Ascalon.⁵ But one of the

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1. Jos. Bell. Jud. VII, 171 ff.
 2. Ib. III, 35 f. ; Ant. XV, 294.
 3. Jos. Ant. XV, 294 f.
 4. Jos. Ant. XVI, 146 ff.
 5. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 422 ff.

most famous of his works in a distant city, was the temple of Apollo at Rhodes which he built from his own private fortune. He also gave the Rhodians money to repair their fleet.¹ Even as far west as Nicopolis, where Augustus had established a colony after his victory at Actium,² a number of public buildings were erected. Many cities received annual revenues, supplies of grain; or other benefits.³ The Olympian games, which had lost their importance, on account of a lack of funds, and also because the Actian games were taking their place, were now given a new lease of life by a grant of money.⁴ Gymnasiums were erected at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais, and theaters were built at Iidon and Damascus.⁵ Herod thus won great popularity in these Hellenistic cities, and when the Jews objected to his schemes on account of the heavy taxation imposed upon them, he answered their objection by saying that he did it "to please Caesar and the Romans."⁶ But while he was erecting temples, renaming cities, and celebrating games in honor of his great Roman friends, he also considered it necessary "to do something for Judaism." Accordingly in 20 B.C.,

1. Jos. Ant. XVI, 147.

2. Cf. Bunbury, Art. Nicopolis, Smith, Dict. Gk. and Rom. Geog. II, 426.

3. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 422 ff.

4. Jos. Ant. XVI, 149. Cf. Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals, 164, for the decline of the Olympian games during the first century B. C.

5. Jos. Bell. Jud. I, 422.

6. Jos. Ant. XV, 330.

he commenced the greatest of all his works, the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. The people, fearing that he intended to rob them of their sanctuary, were much opposed to his plan at first, but Herod assured them that he would not tear down the old Temple until all preparations were completed for erecting the new one. And in order to please the Jews he employed a thousand priests trained as carpenters to carry on the work, that the Temple might seem to be built only by sacred hands. Then, when all things were gotten ready, the old walls were taken down, and new foundations were laid upon the same site as the former Temple. But Herod doubled the sacred area, probably by an extension to the north and south.¹

The circumference of the Temple area, which was surrounded by a strong wall, now measured more than three quarters of a mile. Within this outer wall, Herod erected colonnades, the most magnificent of which was the southern or Royal Cloister, consisting of one hundred and sixty two Corinthian columns. The Temple itself was built of hard limestone, which had the appearance of marble, and was quarried from the hill Bezetha, about a quarter of a mile northwest of the site. This quarry, still in existence, extends into the hill for a distance

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 400. Some authorities consider that the present Haram area is the same as Herod's Temple area, but Warren, Recovery of Jerusalem, 134, 242, gives as proof that the latter did not extend much further north than the present Golden Gate, for the masonry of the southwest angle, which we know to be Herod's work, is quite different from that of the north wall of the Haram. In reconstructing the Temple, Herod probably used the foundation walls of the former structure on the west and east. But as he extended the area north and south, the walls on this side must have been new from the bottom. Cf. Smith, Jerusalem, I, 230 ff.

of nearly three hundred yards. Traces still remain of the manner in which the quarry was worked, the blocks being split off from the rock by moistened wooden wedges. Niches in the sides show where the lamps of the quarrymen were once fixed.¹

The ground plan of the Temple was much the same as that of the former one, for as it was intended for the worship of the Jews, Herod felt obliged to limit the amount of the Greek influence in it. Around the Temple proper, was the Court of the Gentiles, or the Assembly place of the people. Here in conspicuous places were Greek and Roman inscriptions, one of which is still preserved, forbidding any foreigner to enter the Sanctuary under pain of death. A flight of fourteen steps led up to the Court of the Women, and the gateway to this part of the Temple was closed by a magnificent door of Corinthian brass. Fifteen steps above this was the Court of Israel, as far as any one was admitted who was not of the priestly order. To the west of it was the Court of the Priests, which formed the open space around the Temple and the altar. By ascending twelve more steps, the priest reached the porch, a vast open space "for it represented the vault of heaven." Herod rebuilt this as a propyleum, and placed above its principal entrance, a golden eagle which bore the name of his distinguished friend Agrippa, the colleague of Augustus. The doorway leading into the Holy Place was decorated

1. Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, 104.

with a large golden vine and a magnificent Babylonian curtain. The Holy Place held the same furniture as the former Temple, that is, the Table of Shewbread, the Altar of Incense, and the Seven-branched Candlestick. Beyond the Holy Place was the Holy of Holies, which the Priest entered only once a year, on the great Day of Atonement. As these various courts were built on terraces, the Sanctuary, the highest of all, occupied a very commanding position and could be seen many miles distant. The erection of the Temple was completed in a year and a half, and then, amid much feasting and celebration, was dedicated on the anniversary of the day twenty years previously when Herod had made himself master of Jerusalem. In spite of the fact that this Temple was built explicitly for the worship of the God of the Jews, we find a considerable amount of the Greek influence in its architecture, and by hanging the golden eagle over the principal gate, Herod placed the Temple under the protection of Rome.¹

Herod also desired to have around him, men of Hellenistic interests. For example, Eurycles a Spartan philosopher on his travels, was entertained in his court, and sent away with a large fee. He also admired Greek literature and rhetoric, and was very anxious to become proficient in it. He invited Nicolaus of Damascus, who was well versed in the sciences and in

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 380 ff.; Bell. Jud. V, 184 ff. Cf. Smith, Jerusalem II, 499 ff.

the philosophy of Plato, to the palace to study with him. Nicolaus became not only his tutor, but his trusted friend and political adviser, and his agent in diplomacy.¹ A number of Greek officials resided in the King's Court. One Ptolemy was a director of the finances, and kept the king's seal.² Andromachus and Gemellus were not only important men in political affairs, but his intimate friends and tutors to his sons.³ Irenaus, a man noted for keen judgment in governmental questions, who had been in Herod's Court, was consulted in the settlement of affairs after the death of Herod.⁴

The very types upon his coins indicate the strong Hellenistic influence. Of these, the helmet, the caduceus, the aplustre, the tripod, the anchor, the pomegranate, the palm, the wreath, the cornucopia, and the Macedonian shield, four are distinctly pagan; the caduceus, the symbol of Hermes; the Tripod, of Apollo; the pomegranate, of Persephone, and the cornucopia, of Demeter. The wreath is secular, but not pagan, and points to the games instituted by Herod. The helmet, the shield, the aplustre, and the anchor are Greek symbols, but without religious significance. The palm alone may have been Jewish, but the probabilities are against it, as it would hardly have been the only one included among the

1. Nicolaus, *Op. Cit.* III, 350, 351.

2. *Jos. Ant.* XVI, 191; XVII, 228.

3. *Ib.* XVI, 242 f.

4. *Ib.* XVII, 226

non-Jewish symbols, and it, too, may have pointed to the games. Only bronze was coined, as Herod was a vassal of Rome. Their inscription, "Herod", or "King Herod" is in marked contrast with the Jewish inscriptions of his predecessors, and also further indicate his Hellenistic influence.¹

Beyond all doubt, Herod had succeeded in carrying out his Hellenistic policy. But in so doing he had been confronted by numerous difficulties in his kingdom. Many of the Jews, especially "the pious," intent upon preserving the law of their fathers, objected to the pagan deities and to the western civilization, and regarded Herod as an enemy of their religion. In constant fear of the rebellion of his subjects, he had strengthened the fortresses near Jerusalem as a means for his protection. He forbade public meetings; hired men as spies to inform him of the plots among the people, and, as a warning to conspirators he used his guards to torture "suspects" before the eyes of their fellow citizens.² And at one critical moment, he compelled all his subjects, excepted the trusted few, to take an oath of allegiance to him.³

Altho Herod ruled by force, he was not devoid of kindly feeling toward the Jews. In fact, he took the greatest care of their interests, not merely in Palestine, but thruout the

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1. Head, Historia Numorum, 683. For picture of coins of Herod the Great, cf. Jewish Encycl. VI, 356
 2. Jos. Ant. XV, 289 f.
 3. Ib. XV, 368 ff.

the Empire. It was due to his influence that Agrippa, during his visit in 15 B. C., granted many privileges to the Jews in Asia Minor,¹ for Herod considered it his duty to constitute himself the official protector of the Jewish people, making himself "known, loved, or feared, beyond his own frontiers, in order to support Jewish emigration, or overcome the difficulties which surrounded their colonies." In consequence of this, the Jews, with their colonies, their commerce, and their wealth attained a prominent position in the East.² He also bestowed many favors upon the Jews in his own kingdom. Once (20 B. C.), he remitted a third of the taxes,³ and several years later, a fourth.⁴ He seemed to show much concern, when (24 B. C.) a famine befell his country. As no provisions could be obtained near by, he sold much of the royal plate, and sent the money to Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, in return for a supply of grain.⁵ He made every effort to relieve the sufferers, and even those who had complained most bitterly of his actions, now praised his liberality, and had more regard for him.⁶ He satisfied the mob by giving them gifts of grain,

1. Jos. Ant. XVI, 27 ff.

2. Ferrero, Decline of the Roman Republic, V, 26. Ferrero Op. cit. 24, speaks of the Jews as an "obscure and uncivilized people," but in the above account he has shown they were really of some importance.

3. Jos. Ant. XV, 355.

4. Ib. XVI, 64.

5. Ib. XV, 305.

6. Ib. XV, 315 f.

and providing a theater and a circus for their amusement.¹
He also displayed the character of a Roman by having the
fundamental sense of order. He put down the robbers and
introduced civilization into the country beyond the Jordan
and Mount Hermon.² By building strong fortresses thruout
his kingdom, and protecting the frontier, he established
internal security. Then, too, he developed the natural
resources. The harbor which he constructed at Caesarea
furnished the havenless coast with its one good port.³
Traces are still seen of the aqueducts which he constructed
in Jerusalem and Herodium in order to bring pure water into
the cities. Likewise he improved the sanitation, by provid-
ing a better system of drainage.⁴ And finally, the restor-
ing of ruined fortresses, the rebuilding of neglected cities,
and the numerous structures which he erected, gave an at-
tractive appearance to the country.⁵

1. Jos. Ant. XV, 306 ff.; 267 ff.

2. Cf. p. 78.

3. Cf. p. 74

4. Smith, Jerusalem, I, 127 ff.; II, 488 f.

5. Even Graetz, History of the Jews, II, 188, who shows
the most bitter hatred toward Herod, has to admit
that "his rule was at all events distinguished by
external splendor, and by a certain amount of anima-
tion in the direction of public affairs."

This account of Herod shows that, altho he has often been depicted as a cruel and blood thirsty monarch, he really performed some notable achievements. From the beginning of his career, his conduct was determined by an ambition for absolute power. This ambition forced him to place himself under the protection of the Romans, and to cling to that protection, for it alone enabled him to hold his high position. He did not put to death the Hasmoneans, much less his wife and sons, merely because of a malicious feeling toward them , but because he feared the loss of his power. It was also due to the circumstances of his position that he was forced to rule in opposition to the nationalistic ideals. Being subjected to their hatred, he found it all the more necessary to keep his Roman patrons. Accordingly, he not only performed the ordinary functions of a Client, but made an effort to win especial favor, by making his kingdom a center of Hellenistic life. It is this position as a Client Prince of Rome, and not his relation to the Jews, that has to be taken into consideration if we are to understand the events of Herod's reign.



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