

THE  
WORLD  
OF THE NEW  
TESTAMENT

CULTURAL,  
SOCIAL, AND  
HISTORICAL  
CONTEXTS

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# 5

## The Herodian Dynasty

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The Herodian dynasty provides the chronological framework for Palestine in NT times, from before the birth of Jesus under Herod the Great (d. 4 BC) until the death of Agrippa II in AD 100. The dynasty's interconnections with the Hasmoneans and the Romans provide the political context for the beginnings of Christianity. No other eastern client king's family is as well known as Herod's, thanks in large part to the Jewish historian Josephus.

### Origins

Josephus identifies Herod's father, Antipater, as "an Idumaeon by race" (*J.W.* 1.123),<sup>1</sup> but Idumea was more a geographical than an ethnic identification. From their homeland east and south of the Dead Sea, the Edomites had been displaced by the Nabatean Arabs and migrated to the west of the Dead Sea, so that Idumea in the late Hellenistic period comprised parts of what had been southern Judah, the northern Negev, and inland Phoenicia. Its inhabitants, therefore, comprised Jews, Arabs, Phoenicians, and Greeks in addition to Edomites. John Hyrcanus (ruled 134–104 BC) conquered Idumea for the Hasmonean Kingdom, and the inhabitants were converted, either forcibly or in some cases voluntarily, to Judaism.

1. Translations in this chapter are from LCL unless otherwise noted.

Among these converts was Herod the Great's grandfather, whom Alexander Jannaeus made governor of Idumea. Thus Herod was a third-generation proselyte. Herod's father, Antipater, advanced the family fortunes further. Josephus introduces him as a supporter of Hyrcanus II in the context of the struggle between the Hasmoneans Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II in the early 60s BC. Josephus pays Antipater several compliments: "on account of his ancestry, wealth, and other advantages" he was at the forefront of his nation (*J.W.* 1.123); he was "distinguished for piety, justice, and zeal for his country" (*Ant.* 14.283, author's translation).

Nicolas of Damascus, the court historian for Herod the Great, invented a Jewish ancestry from Babylon for the family in order to make Herod more acceptable to his Jewish subjects, but Josephus rightly discounts this claim (*Ant.* 14.9). On the other hand, the indication of Edomite ancestry may be only a supposition. That the Hasmonean Antigonus called Herod a "half-Jew" because he was an Idumean (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.403) is not a clear reference to Edomite ancestry and may be simply derogatory and not literal. Later Christian sources assign to the family a connection with Ascalon, whose population was Hellenized Phoenicians (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 100). Regardless of Antipater's ancestry, he was a man of energy, resourcefulness, military effectiveness, and negotiating skills.

Antipater consistently supported Hyrcanus against Aristobulus and his son Alexander, and in turn Hyrcanus gave to Antipater the greatest part in the military and financial administration of his kingdom (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.177). Antipater cultivated good relations with the king of the Arabs, and he married Cyprus, from the Arab nobility. By her he had four sons: Phasael, Herod, Joseph, and Pheroras, and one daughter, Salome (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.181; *Ant.* 14.121).

It was especially to the Romans that Antipater hitched his star. On the death of Pompey, Antipater went over to Julius Caesar. He assisted Caesar in Egypt (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.127–39), and for his valor and service Caesar granted Antipater Roman citizenship, exemption from taxes, and formal friendship (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.194). Later Caesar confirmed Hyrcanus as high priest against the claims of Antigonus, the other son of Aristobulus, and appointed Antipater procurator (*epitropos*) of Judea (*J.W.* 1.199; *Ant.* 14.143). Antipater made Phasael governor (*stratēgos*) of Jerusalem and Herod governor of Galilee (*J.W.* 1.203; *Ant.* 14.158).

By skillfully serving the interests of the Roman governors of Syria, of the triumvirs Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar, and successively of Cassius and Mark Antony, Antipater laid the foundation for his son Herod's prominence. His ability to change sides in the changing fortunes of Rome's civil wars in the mid-first century BC was a skill inherited by Herod.

According to Josephus, the Jews honored Antipater as if a king, but he remained loyal to Hyrcanus (*Ant.* 14.162). Some Jews, however, accused Antipater before Hyrcanus because Antipater and his sons were becoming so powerful (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.163–67). Antipater finally met his end when Malichus (a Jewish noble) had Hyrcanus's butler poison him (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.226; *Ant.* 14.281).



5.1. The kingdom of Herod the Great.

### Herod the Great (73–4 BC)

Herod's early career showed his ability and resourcefulness but was hardly indicative of his future greatness. The conventional designation of him as "the Great" came later and was not applied to him by his contemporaries. Josephus uses the epithet only in *Jewish Antiquities* (see 18.130, 133, 136), where it appears to mean "the older" to distinguish him from descendants of the same name. Herod's official designation was "friend and ally of the Roman people" (Jones, *Herods*, 62). He exemplified the social diversity of his time: by birth an Idumean, by ancestry perhaps Phoenician, in citizenship Roman, in culture a Hellenist, and in religion officially Jewish (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 350–51).



Lee Martin McDonald

5.2. Herod the Great built this aqueduct to bring fresh water to Caesarea from the springs at Shuni (more than twenty miles north). It was extended further in the second century AD by Hadrian.

Josephus gives various characterizations of Herod, mostly negative: “He was a man who was cruel to all alike and one who easily gave in to anger and was contemptuous of justice. And yet he was as greatly favored by fortune as any man has ever been” (*Ant.* 17.191; cf. 19.329). Herod’s faults included ruthlessness, murder of rivals and potential rivals, and a suspicious temperament. On the other side were his strong family affection (except when overridden by fears for his rule), untiring energy, and generous benefactions. As an example of the last, Herod generously used his own resources in relief of the effects of a severe drought (*Ant.* 15.299–316). His accomplishments included military ability (using a well-trained army of mostly foreign mercenaries) and personal investments that permitted vast expenditures yet left a full treasury and a prosperous country (Jones, *Herods*, 151–55). Josephus also comments on Herod’s physical strength—irresistible in combat, a skilled horseman, a hunter accurate with the javelin and the bow (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.429–30). Josephus offers his own estimate that both Herod’s magnanimous benefactions and his harsh punishments of even his closest relatives resulted from his love of fame and honors (*Ant.* 16.150–56).

As governor of Galilee, Herod suppressed brigands, capturing one of their chiefs, Ezekias, and putting many to death (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.204; *Ant.* 14.159–60). His enemies goaded Hyrcanus II to summon Herod to trial for killing persons without a trial or permission from the king, but the governor of Syria, Sextus Caesar, secured his acquittal (*J.W.* 1.208–15; *Ant.* 14.165–70).

Following the death of Julius Caesar, Herod won the friendship of Cassius, one of the conspirators (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.218–21; *Ant.* 14.274), and with Cassius's approval, Herod arranged the assassination of Malichus in revenge for the murder of Antipater (*J.W.* 1.227–35; *Ant.* 14.288–93).

After Cassius fell at the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, Mark Antony made Phasaël and Herod tetrarchs over Judea (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.242–44; *Ant.* 14.326). When supporters of the Hasmonean Antigonus with Parthian support plotted against the brothers, Herod placed his family in the fortress of Masada and fled to Petra. Phasaël was captured and according to one report killed himself by dashing his head against a rock so as to avoid torture (*J.W.* 1.263–72; *Ant.* 14.367–69). Malchus, king of Arabia, refused to help Herod (*J.W.* 1.274–76; *Ant.* 14.370–73), so Herod made his way to Egypt and from there, in the urgency of his situation risking travel in winter, to Rome (*J.W.* 1.277–79; *Ant.* 14.374–80).

Antony, recalling the hospitality shown him by Antipater, welcomed Herod, as did Octavian (later Augustus). The Senate unanimously approved Antony's proposal to make Herod king of the Jews (40 BC). Antony and Octavian left the Senate house with Herod between them (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.282–85; *Ant.* 14.381–89; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.765; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9). From the Roman viewpoint, Herod made the ideal client king—loyal, an efficient administrator, and as a Jew presumably able to manage the religious affairs of his people (Jones, *Herods*, 66). A client king had considerable freedom in managing internal affairs of his realm, but he was not to pursue an independent foreign policy, and he was to supply soldiers and money at Rome's request. The position was personal, and on a king's death the kingdom returned to Rome.

In Judea, however, the Parthians had crowned Antigonus king. Hence, Herod had to win his kingdom against Antigonus, other Jews who opposed him, and Parthian troops in the region. On his return to Palestine, Herod gathered an army and, after relieving the siege of Masada, proceeded to take over Samaria and Idumea and drive out the resistance in Galilee (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.290–94; *Ant.* 14.394–98). While Herod led troops to assist Antony in the latter's siege of Samosata near the Euphrates, he left his brother Joseph in charge of the realm with instructions not to engage Antigonus until he returned. Joseph ignored these orders, however, and marched on Jericho with troops newly recruited in Syria and supplied by the Roman general in the east. Antigonus's soldiers routed the inexperienced soldiers, and Joseph was killed and beheaded (*J.W.* 1.323–25; *Ant.* 14.438, 448–50). Herod finally succeeded in taking Jerusalem, which he saved from pillaging and violation of the temple by the Roman troops through liberal gifts to the soldiers and officers (*J.W.* 1.349–57; *Ant.* 14.478–86). Antigonus was captured, carried in chains to Antony at Antioch, and beheaded (*J.W.* 1.357; *Ant.* 14.488–90; 15.9, quoting Strabo; Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 49.22). Herod now in 37 BC had secured the kingdom awarded him three years before.

The year 31 BC was a low point for Herod but saw another dramatic change in fortunes for him. Antony had sent him to war against the Nabatean Arabs, who

initially defeated him (but after this setback, he was victorious and was chosen by them as their protector; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.385; *Ant.* 15.159); an earthquake rocked his kingdom (*Ant.* 15.121); and he lost his patron Antony, defeated by Octavian at Actium (Richardson, *Herod*, 168). Herod had to follow his father's policy of changing allegiance with the change in Roman ruler. He met Octavian at Rhodes, where he freely acknowledged his loyalty to Antony and laid down his diadem, only asking "that the subject of inquiry will be not whose friend, but how loyal a friend, I have been" (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.388–90; *Ant.* 15.187–93). Octavian was won over; he placed the diadem on Herod's head and confirmed him as king (*J.W.* 1.391–93; *Ant.* 15.194–96). Herod's original kingdom granted in 40 BC comprised Judea, Galilee, Perea, and Idumea. After the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian returned the lands Cleopatra had appropriated and added the cities of Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower (*J.W.* 1.396–97; *Ant.* 15.217). Later, as Augustus, he progressively added to Herod's realm Samaritis, Hulitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea, Auranitis, and Trachonitis, resulting in a kingdom for Herod rivaling David's and Solomon's. These grants were based on Herod's loyalty to Augustus, his ability to govern the Jews effectively, and his commitment to Rome's policies (Richardson, *Herod*, 131, 145; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 1.400). After 30 BC Herod was preeminent in the eastern Mediterranean, with no significant rivals (Richardson, *Herod*, 173).



Lee Martin McDonald

5.3. Herod the Great's bathhouse at his winter palace in New Testament Jericho.

Herod, nevertheless, had to struggle to maintain peace and order in his realm. Government spying on its subjects is not a new phenomenon, for the suspicious

Herod “both in the city and on the open roads” had “men who spied upon those who met together” (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.366). He had Hyrcanus executed (different versions of the circumstances appear in *Ant.* 15.164–82). His pagan subjects disliked him because he was a Jew; Jews disliked him because he was not a Jew and because he was a vassal of Rome (Jones, *Herods*, 71).

Herod had even less success in resolving family conflicts. He had ten wives (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.562–63; *Ant.* 17.19–22 names the last nine as simultaneous, making Herod the only named polygamous person of the time), fifteen children, twenty grandchildren of whom we know, thirteen great-grandchildren, eight great-great-grandchildren, and two great-great-great-grandchildren (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 144; 363–66 lists in alphabetical order 144 individuals in the Herodian family tree; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.130–42). He chose his wives for their beauty and, with one exception, not for their status or his political advantage; “His first wife was a Jewess [from Jerusalem] of some standing, named Doris, by whom he had a son Antipater” (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.241).

Herod’s Wives and Children  
(based on Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 206–45)

Wives	Children
Doris, Jewess of Jerusalem	Antipater II
Mariamme, daughter of Alexander (son of Aristobulus II)	Alexander, Aristobulus, unnamed son, Salampsio, Cyprus II
Mariamme II, daughter of Simon (a high priest)	Herod III
A niece	none
A cousin	none
Malthace of Samaria	Archelaus, Antipas II, Olympias
Cleopatra of Jerusalem	Herod IV, Philip
Pallas	Phasael III
Phaedra	Roxanne
Elpis	Salome II

After he secured the throne in 37 BC, Herod dismissed Doris and, probably in part to give more legitimacy to his rule in the eyes of the Jews, married Mariamme (also spelled Mariamne), a Hasmonean, daughter of Alexander and granddaughter of both rivals Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. By Mariamme he had five children—Alexander, Aristobulus, another son, and two daughters. Herod was passionately in love with her, but, writes Josephus, “her hatred of him was as great as was his love for her” (*J.W.* 1.436). She plotted on behalf of her two older sons, demeaned Herod’s family, and was constantly at odds with his sister Salome. Herod had Mariamme’s brother Aristobulus drowned out of jealousy for the



popular enthusiasm he aroused, perceived as a threat to his own rule (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.51–56). On two occasions (or are the stories duplicates? see Richardson, *Herod*, 216–20) when Herod had to be away in circumstances of danger, he left Mariamme under the charge of another (his sister Salome's husband, Joseph [or Herod's uncle Joseph], when he went to Antony [Josephus, *J.W.* 1.441–42]; his steward Joseph and Soemus the Iturean when he went to meet Octavian [Josephus, *Ant.* 15.185–86]) with instructions that if he did not return, Mariamme was to be killed lest someone else marry her. The guardian confided this information to Mariamme as a proof of Herod's love for her, but she did not take it this way. On Herod's safe return and learning that Mariamme knew the secret, he suspected adultery, a suspicion confirmed by Salome. In a rage, Herod ordered Mariamme put to death, but afterward his love returned, and for a long time he refused to believe she was dead (*J.W.* 1.438–44; *Ant.* 15.64–87; different circumstances in 15.218–43).

There was continued friction with Mariamme's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, and as antagonism grew, Herod brought back Doris's son Antipater, who fostered suspicions of his half brothers. Herod's sister Salome and brother Pheroras sided with Antipater because Alexander's wife Glaphyra (daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia) taunted Salome and Herod's wives for their low birth. Archelaus of Cappadocia, acting on behalf of his son-in-law, mollified Herod's attitude for a time.

Calumnies against the brothers as plotting against their father continued, intensified by Salome and Pheroras and by their older half brother Antipater after his recall. Herod, "his patience exhausted," imprisoned Alexander and Aristobulus and referred the case to Augustus by letter. Augustus recommended a trial, which Herod held at Beirut. As a result of the inquiry, Herod sent the brothers to Sebaste (Samaria), where he ordered them to be strangled (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.550–51; *Ant.* 16.392–94).

Other wives of Herod by whom he had children enter our story: a second Mariamme (mother of another Herod), Malthace of Samaria (mother of sons Archelaus and Antipas and a daughter Olympias), and Cleopatra of Jerusalem (mother of another Herod and of Philip).

Friction at court extended to Herod's brother Pheroras, whose wife stirred up contention. Herod tried unsuccessfully to convince Pheroras to divorce his wife and finally banished them both (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.578). When Pheroras fell ill, Herod went to him and tended to him until his death; nonetheless, there were rumors that Herod poisoned him (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.580–81; *Ant.* 17.58–59; for various rumors, see 17.61–67, 68–77).

Herod had designated Antipater, his eldest son, his successor. But Antipater had stirred up the suspicions about Alexander and Aristobulus and now plotted against his father. Widely disliked, Antipater found few friends when a plan to have his father poisoned was uncovered. Herod summoned Antipater from Rome to face trial before Varus, governor of Syria (6–4 BC): "The king had Antipater put in irons and dispatched messengers to the emperor to inform him of the catastrophe" (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.640; cf. *Ant.* 17.133). Five days before his death,

Herod, on receiving permission from Augustus, had Antipater executed (*J.W.* 1.664; *Ant.* 17.187).

Now seriously ill, Herod changed his will, naming Antipas king, passing over the older sons Archelaus and Philip; he bequeathed one thousand talents and other gifts to the emperor and assigned large tracts of territory and considerable sums of money to members of his family, honoring Salome with the most magnificent gifts of all (*Josephus, J.W.* 1.646; 17.146–47). Changing his will once again, he bestowed the kingdom on Archelaus and designated Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis and neighboring districts (*Josephus, J.W.* 1.668–69; *Ant.* 17.188–89).



Lee Martin McDonald

5.4. Recent restoration of the inside of the southeast corner of the temple mount, near the Triple Gate.

Herod's illness grew steadily worse. From the afflictions detailed by Josephus (*J.W.* 1.656; *Ant.* 17.169) various diagnoses have been put forward, from a cancer of the bowels to syphilis. Herod had gone to Jericho to seek relief in the healing baths of Callirrhoe across the Jordan, and at Jericho he died in 4 BC. To ensure mourning at his death, Herod had commanded the notable Jews to be gathered in the hippodrome at Jericho and gave orders to Salome and her husband, Alexas, to have them killed when he breathed his last; but before the death of the king became generally known, Salome and Alexas dismissed those who had been summoned to the hippodrome (*Ant.* 17.174–81, 193). Archelaus orchestrated a sumptuous funeral procession to Herodium, where Herod had planned for his burial (*J.W.* 1.671–73; *Ant.* 17.196–99).

Herod deserves the designation “Great” as the great builder (Netzer, *Architecture*; see the list in Richardson, *Herod*, 197–202). He refurbished and expanded Hasmonean fortresses—including the tower of Antonia overlooking the temple

(named for Antony; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.402; 5.238–45), Alexandrium (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.419), Masada (*J.W.* 7.285–303), and Machaerus (*J.W.* 7.171–77); and he built others—Herodium (named for himself; *J.W.* 1.419–20; *Ant.* 15.323–25) and Cyprus, overlooking Jericho (named for his mother; *J.W.* 1.417; *Ant.* 16.143). Some of these served as residences as well; his palaces primarily for residences were in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 5.176–82; *Ant.* 15.318), guarded by three towers (named Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme; *J.W.* 5.161–72), Jericho (*J.W.* 1.407), and Caesarea. Cities he founded or refounded included Antipatris (named for his father; *J.W.* 1.417; Acts 23:31) and Sebaste (Samaria, now named for Augustus; *J.W.* 1.403; *Ant.* 15.292–96). Herod demonstrated loyalty to Rome by building temples to Augustus and Roma at Paneas (*J.W.* 1.404–6; *Ant.* 15.363), Sebaste (*J.W.* 1.403), and Caesarea (*J.W.* 1.414).

Herod's building projects extended to cities outside his realm. Notable were the Pythian temple at Rhodes, public buildings at Nicopolis, and a principal street in Antioch of Syria (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.146–48; 15.326–30). Furthermore, he provided an endowment for the Olympic Games (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.426–28; *Ant.* 16.149). These benefactions were primarily at cities with sizable Jewish populations, but the benefactions were not directly for them or any segment of the population but for the cities as a whole (Richardson, *Herod*, 94, 174–76, 272).

The most spectacular of Herod's foundations was the city of Caesarea built on the site of Strato's Tower (Holum et al., *Herod's Dream*). Employing the newly developed material of concrete, Herod's engineers constructed underwater breakers to create the largest harbor in the eastern Mediterranean, rivaling in size Piraeus, the port of Athens. In addition to the palace and the temple to Augustus with statues of Augustus and Roma, Herod's builders constructed warehouses at the harbor, a theater, a hippodrome, and civic buildings (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.408–15; *Ant.* 15.331–41). Caesarea became a center of commerce and government during the NT period and for subsequent centuries.

For the Jews the greatest of Herod's building projects was the reconstruction at his own expense of the temple in Jerusalem. Priests were trained as masons and carpenters so there would be no impurity attached to the work, and arrangements were made so there would be no disruption in the daily rituals. "The expenditure devoted to this work was incalculable, its magnificence never surpassed" (Josephus,

### Herod's Generosity outside His Realm

"He provided gymnasia for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, a wall for Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples, and market-places for Berytus [Beirut] and Tyre, theatres for Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct for Laodicea on sea, baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades . . . for Ascalon; . . . Cos [was] endowed with revenues to maintain the annual office of gymnasiarch. . . . Are not Athenians and Lacedaemonias [Sparta], the inhabitants of Nicopolis and of Pergamum in Mysia laden with Herod's offerings?" (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.422–25)

*J.W.* 1.401). Josephus devotes long sections in each of his major writings to describing the work (*J.W.* 5.184–227; *Ant.* 15.380–425). An innovation of the new temple complex, sections requiring progressive degrees of holiness were clearly demarcated. A large outer court, today called the Court of the Gentiles, was a public area. A stone balustrade with inscriptions warning foreigners to proceed no farther separated the area open to Israelites alone, itself with a separate section for women. The third, inner court was open only to priests and contained the altar for the daily burnt offering. The sanctuary itself contained a holy place (with the incense altar, table of showbread, and menorah) and a most holy place (or holy of holies), into which the high priest entered annually on the Day of Atonement. The magnificence and beauty of the temple was something on which Josephus and the rabbis agreed: “He who has not seen the temple . . . has never seen a glorious building in his life” (*b. Sukkah* 51b).

Herod’s appointments of high priests abandoned the precedent of inheritance by the Hasmonean family (with the exception of Aristobulus, grandson of Hyrcanus II) and the policy of life appointment. His choices came from undistinguished priestly families, and he changed the holder of the office frequently, eight during his thirty-three year reign (Richardson, *Herod*, 243).

Herod’s relation to Judaism remains ambiguous. The building of pagan temples in his realm was a standard expression of loyalty to Rome and outside his realm a customary form of benefaction, and these must be set alongside the far grander temple in Jerusalem. He generally respected the aniconic convictions of Jews, but he did set up a golden eagle on the temple, which aroused a violent reaction near his death (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.648–55; *Ant.* 17.151–63). His establishment of pagan athletic contests, chariot races, and wild-beast combats in Jerusalem greatly offended many Jews (*Ant.* 15.267–76). When a marriage was arranged between a



Lee Martin McDonald

5.5. Herodium fortress and palace and the Roman swimming pool, located east of Bethlehem and destroyed during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.

non-Jew and a female member of his family, he insisted on circumcision (*Ant.* 16.225), but the motive is not clear.

Herod enters the NT in connection with the birth of Jesus (*Matt.* 2:1–18). The “slaughter of the innocents” in Bethlehem has no independent attestation, but skepticism about its historicity is unwarranted. The story fits the character of Herod, who had his own children and other members of his family killed and particularly in his last years was filled with paranoia, and there was no reason for observers to take special notice of the killing of a few children in an obscure village in Judea.

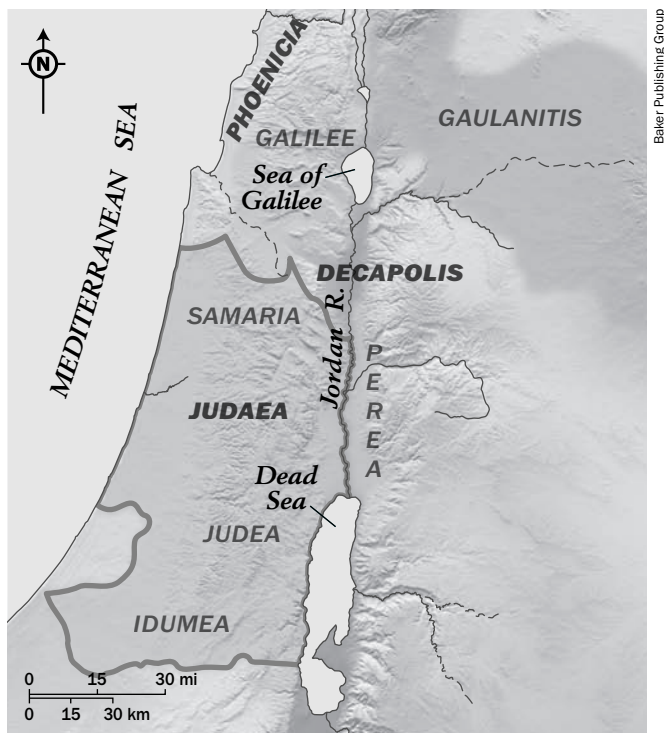
### Archelaus (Ethnarch 4 BC–AD 6)

Archelaus was born to Herod and Malthace about 23 BC. He and his brother Antipas were educated in Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.20), as was Herod’s custom with his male children. Archelaus married another Mariamme, but he divorced her to marry Glaphyra, widow of Archelaus’s half brother Alexander and divorced wife of King Juba of Mauretania (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.114, says Libya; *Ant.* 17.341 points out that it was contrary to Jewish law to marry the wife of a brother by whom she had borne children).

In the rioting during Passover after the death of Herod, Archelaus was convinced that it was “impossible to restrain the mob without bloodshed,” so he let loose his entire army against the rioters “busy with their sacrifices” at the temple and killed about three thousand mostly innocent people, a deed used against him in Rome by his enemies (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.13, 30, 32; *Ant.* 17.218, 237, 239, 313).

Archelaus went to Rome to present his case for succeeding his father as king (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.14; *Ant.* 17.219), but Antipas also went to present his case (*J.W.* 2.20; *Ant.* 17.224). Herod’s family took the side of Antipas, “not out of goodwill to him but because of their hatred of Archelaus” (*Ant.* 17.227; cf. *J.W.* 2.22). Antipas’s spokesman argued that Herod’s codicil was made when he was not in his right mind due to illness (*J.W.* 2.31). Nicolas of Damascus spoke for Archelaus, making the argument that since Herod’s codicil referred the final decision to Augustus, “one who was sane enough to cede his authority to the master of the world was surely not mistaken in his selection of an heir” (*J.W.* 2.34–36; cf. *Ant.* 17.240, 244). This event may be reflected in Jesus’ parable in Luke 19:11–27, but in Archelaus’s case he did not receive the kingdom, and he killed people before he left for Rome (although Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, did later kill others in suppressing the revolts; Richardson, *Herod*, 299–300).

Augustus’s decision basically followed Herod’s last will in dividing the kingdom, with the exception that he designated Archelaus ethnarch rather than king (holding out the prospect of his becoming king if he proved worthy); the money Herod bequeathed to Augustus was also distributed to Herod’s family (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.94–98; *Ant.* 17.317–23; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9).



5.6. The divisions of Herod the Great's kingdom.

One of the few items that Josephus reports concerning Archelaus's decade in office is that he followed his father's practice of not appointing high priests from the Hasmonean family (*Ant.* 20.249). Popular distrust and fear of Archelaus is reflected in Matt. 2:19–22.

Animosity to Archelaus remained strong, increased by his brutality. “In the tenth year of Archelaus's rule the leading men among the Jews and Samaritans, finding his cruelty and tyranny intolerable, brought charges against him before” the emperor (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.342; cf. *J.W.* 2.111). Augustus banished him to Vienne in Gaul and confiscated his property (*Ant.* 17.344). His territory was made a province under a Roman governor (*J.W.* 2.117; *Ant.* 17.355), who appointed the high priest and had control of the temple. Antipas and Philip continued to rule their tetrarchies (*J.W.* 2.167).

### Herod Antipas (Tetrarch 4 BC–AD 38)

Herod Antipas was born about 21 BC to Herod and Malthace. Estimates of Antipas vary from the “ablest of Herod's sons” (Jones, *Herods*, 176) to not “remarkable

either in deeds or misdeeds” (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 100). His title of “tetrarch” is correctly given in Matt. 14:1 and Luke 9:7. The title “king” in Mark 6:14, rather than being an error, may reflect a popular view, may be Mark’s deliberate paralleling him with the cruelty of his father, or may have been a translation issue, for the Aramaic *malkā* was used in a broad sense beyond “king” (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 40). His realm of Galilee and Perea meant that both he and his territory often enter the Gospel narratives.

The residents of Galilee were largely newcomers from Judea after the Hasmonean takeover under Aristobulus (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 6).

This circumstance would account for Joseph’s being from Bethlehem but living in Nazareth (Luke 2:4). The extent of Hellenization in Galilee is much debated. Archaeological finds indicate that in the early Roman period Galilee possessed a Jewish culture similar to that of Judea and the level of urbanization was not comparable to Caesarea Maritima and Scythopolis (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 8, 45). The villages that have been excavated indicate that Galilee flourished in the first half of the first century AD (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 178).

The few surviving coins issued by Antipas feature only floral decorations with Greek legends. The wider contacts of Antipas are indicated by an inscription from Cos: “Philon, son of Aglaos, but by birth son of Nikonos erected the (statue) in honor of Herod, son of Herod the King, tetrarch, his guest and friend” (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 203–4, 210).

Antipas founded two cities, Tiberias and Sepphoris. The building of Tiberias antagonized the Jews, because it was built over tombs (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.36–38). Antipas built his palace there (Josephus, *Life* 65), and Tiberias served as the capital of Galilee until Sepphoris became the capital under Nero (*Life* 37). Remains from the first century AD are sparse (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 135–49). Extensive excavation has been carried out at Sepphoris, located a short distance from Nazareth. Antipas fortified it to be “the ornament of all Galilee” (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.27), but most of what is visible now is post–AD 70 (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 149–62).

Antipas’s first wife was the daughter of Aretas IV, king of Nabatea in Petra. When visiting his half brother, he fell in love with his wife, Herodias, daughter of their brother Aristobulus and sister to Agrippa I. Herodias agreed to marry him if he divorced his wife, which he agreed to do. His wife escaped to her father, who

### The Herodian Dynasty

Antipater, procurator of Judea (55–43 BC)  
 Herod the Great (40/37–4 BC), married  
     to Mariamme I (d. 29 BC), granddaughter  
     of Hyrcanus II  
 Herod Archelaus over Judea, Samaria,  
     and Idumea (4 BC–AD 6)  
 Herod Antipas over Galilee and Perea (4  
     BC–AD 38)  
 Herod Philip over Batanea, Auranitis, and  
     Trachonitis (4 BC–AD 33/34)  
 Herod Agrippa I over Galilee (AD 40) and  
     later over all Israel (AD 41–44)  
 Herod Agrippa II over the territory of his  
     father from ca. AD 49/50 to 100

had other reasons to quarrel with Antipas, and war ensued. The army of Aretas destroyed Antipas's troops (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.109–15).

In this account Josephus gives the name of the half brother of Antipas as Herod, but Mark 6:17 and Matt. 14:3 give the name as Philip. Later Josephus expands on the family relationships: "Herodias was married to Herod, the son of Herod the Great by Mariamme. . . . They had a daughter Salome, after whose birth Herodias, taking it into her head to flout the way of our fathers, married Herod, her husband's brother by the same father, who was tetrarch of Galilee; to do this she parted from a living husband" (*Ant.* 18.136). It is generally assumed that the Gospels give the name incorrectly as Philip, or an attempt is made to reconcile the accounts by postulating that the person bore both names, Herod and Philip (Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 131–36); another possibility is that Josephus is confused and that Herodias was first married to Herod, son of the second Mariamme, by whom she had Salome, but had left him for the tetrarch Philip (Kokinnos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 237, 265–69).

"To some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist" (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116)—with those words Josephus introduces his account of John the Baptist. In some respects his account agrees with that in the Gospels (moral message of John), in other respects it differs (purpose of baptism, Herod's fear that John's preaching could lead to sedition), and in yet others it supplements the Gospels (the information that the imprisonment and execution of John occurred at the fortress of Machaerus; *Ant.* 18.119).

Followers of Jesus included family members of Herod's staff (Luke 8:3; Acts 13:1). Conflict between Jesus and Herod must have gone beyond what the Gospels explicitly tell us (Mark 8:15; Luke 13:31), probably because Herod associated Jesus with the followers of John the Baptist (Luke 9:7–9). Jesus' designation of him as a "fox" (Luke 13:32) likely indicates an insignificant or base person (Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 343–47). At the trial of Jesus, Pilate referred his case to Herod because Jesus was from Galilee (Luke 23:6–16); Herod would have had no jurisdiction in Jerusalem, but Pilate sought a second opinion and perhaps thought he could get Jesus off his hands if Herod would take him back to Galilee.

When Pilate dedicated golden votive shields at the royal palace in Jerusalem, the Jews in protest sent a delegation to him headed by four sons of Herod the Great, which would have included Antipas, who was perhaps the spokesman, and sent letters to Tiberius. The result was that the shields were transferred to the temple of Augustus at Caesarea (Philo, *Legat.* 299–300, 303–5).

After successful negotiations for peace between Tiberius and the Parthian king Artapanus, Antipas gave a feast in a luxurious pavilion that he constructed on a bridge across the Euphrates, where the Roman commander Vitellius (proconsul of Syria) and Artapanus met (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.101–2), an indication that Antipas must have been a key figure in the negotiations. In a misstep afterward Antipas sent the news to Tiberius before Vitellius filed his official report. This angered



Vitellius and made another enemy for Antipas that he did not need when he later came before Gaius Caligula.

Herod Antipas had cultivated good relations with the emperor Tiberius, but when Gaius came to the throne, the situation changed. The appointment of Herodias's brother Agrippa as king of Judea prompted her to goad her husband to seek the same title (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.240–46). Despite his reluctance, at her insistence Antipas set sail for Rome, accompanied by Herodias (*Ant.* 18.247). There he discovered that Agrippa had sent letters of accusation against him (*Ant.* 18.247–51). Gaius, accepting the charges by Agrippa, banished Antipas to Lugdunum (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.181–83, says Spain, and there was a Lugdunum on the border of Spain, but *Ant.* 18.252 corrects this to Lugdunum in Gaul). Since Herodias was Agrippa's sister, Gaius offered her the opportunity to keep her property and not go into exile, but she stood by her husband (*Ant.* 18.254–55). Herodias's pestering Antipas to ask for kingship fits well with Matthew and Mark's account of her relationship with her husband in the execution of John (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 123). Antipas's tetrarchy was given to Agrippa (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.252).

Interpreters have presented two pictures of Antipas: either a ruler who brought a peaceful reign with economic prosperity and served as a buffer against excesses of Roman rule, offsetting the disadvantages of a Hellenistic style monarchy; or a passive, indecisive ruler whose realm seethed with political and economic conflict. The evidence is too limited to support either picture of Antipas and his reign (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 252–59).

### Philip (Tetrarch 4 BC–AD 33/34)

Philip was born about 20 BC to Herod and Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.562). Like his brothers he was brought up in Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.21). Antipater's slanders turned his father against Philip, at least for a time (*Ant.* 17.80, 146). Philip appears to have been close to Archelaus, who, when he went to Rome to claim the kingship, left him to look after affairs (*J.W.* 2.14; *Ant.* 17.219). At the urging of Varus, governor of Syria, Philip too went to Rome to support Archelaus's cause and if that failed to seek his share of Herod's estate (*J.W.* 2.83; *Ant.* 17.303).

The tetrarchy assigned to Philip by Augustus covered the regions north and east of the Sea of Galilee—Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, the neighborhood of Paneas, Gaulanitis, and Iturea (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.95; *Ant.* 17.189, 319; Luke 3:1). When Jesus withdrew from the territory of Antipas, he went into Philip's realm (Richardson, *Herod*, 301–5). The majority of the population of Philip's territory was non-Jewish.

According to Josephus, Philip married Herodias's daughter Salome (*Ant.* 18.137)—if this is not a mistake on Josephus's part (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 266–67). Philip died childless at Bethsaida (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.108).

Philip's poorer territory did not permit the building programs of his father or even Antipas, but he did rebuild Caesarea in the district of Paneas (Caesarea

Philippi; Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27) and Bethsaida Julias (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.168; *Ant.* 18.28). The coins he issued reflected his realm's non-Jewish population by carrying a human image and depicting the facade of a temple (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 198–200). An anecdote about how he proved the true source of the Jordan River shows his scientific curiosity (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.512).



5.7. Ruins of a portion of Herod Philip's and Herod Agrippa II's palace at Caesarea Philippi, first century AD.

Josephus acknowledges that Philip ruled well: “In his conduct of the government he showed a moderate and easygoing disposition. Indeed, he spent all his time in the territory subject to him” (*Ant.* 18.106). Philip carried his throne with him as he traveled about his territory, and when a petitioner approached him, he set up the throne and gave judgment (*Ant.* 18.197).

On Philip's death, Tiberius annexed his tetrarchy to Syria (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.108), but Gaius then gave it to King Agrippa I (*Ant.* 18.237), and eventually Claudius assigned it to Agrippa II (*Ant.* 20.138).

### Herod Agrippa I (King AD 37–44)

Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great and Mariamme and so with Hasmonean blood, and Berenice, daughter of Herod's sister Salome, had five children: Herodias (who married Antipas), Mariamme, Agrippa I, Herod of Chalcis, and Aristobulus II (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.552). When Agrippa was three, his father and his father's brother were executed, and his mother took him and his siblings to Rome, where she was close to Antonia the Younger, daughter of Mark Antony and mother of the future emperor

Claudius. Agrippa grew up with Drusus the Younger (Tiberius's son) and Claudius (Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, chap. 2.1; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 264, 271). With his wife, Cyprus, granddaughter of Herod's brother Phasael, Agrippa had five children—a son who died young, Agrippa II, and three daughters, the last of whom was Drusilla (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.220; *Ant.* 20.104; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 276–77).

According to Josephus, “Agrippa was naturally noble in spirit and lavish in giving” (*Ant.* 18.144). After Berenice died, his extravagances reduced him to poverty, and he left Rome to return to Judea (*Ant.* 18.145–47). Despondent, he considered suicide, but his wife deterred him (*Ant.* 18.147–48). In response to an appeal from her, Herodias and Antipas gave him the position of commissioner of markets in Tiberias (*Ant.* 18.149). Finding the taunts of his brother-in-law concerning his dependent status unbearable, Agrippa went to live with the governor of Syria, with whom he had been close in Rome (*Ant.* 18.150–51).

The governor of Syria broke off his friendship with Agrippa, who in dire financial difficulties returned to Rome. A generous loan from Antonia rescued the spendthrift Agrippa (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.155–66), who now cultivated friendship with her grandson Gaius. Agrippa expressed the desire that Gaius would soon succeed Tiberius as master of the world (Josephus presents two different circumstances in which the wish was expressed, in *J.W.* 2.179 and *Ant.* 18.168). The remark was reported to Tiberius, who indignantly imprisoned Agrippa (*J.W.* 2.180; *Ant.* 18.169, 186–90).

When Tiberius died six months later (AD 37), Gaius Caligula released Agrippa; in a stunning reversal of fortunes he appointed Agrippa king over the former tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias and gave him a gold chain of equal weight to his iron one (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.181; *Ant.* 18.237).

Returning to the East the following year to take up his kingdom, Agrippa passed through Alexandria. There the anti-Jewish elements in the population made fun of the king, even dressing up a well-known lunatic as a king and addressing him as “lord” in Aramaic. The prefect Flaccus indirectly if not openly encouraged the insults. Agrippa left the city, but riots ensued, with many calling for the setting up of images in the synagogues (Philo, *Flacc.* 25–43).

The banishment of Antipas in AD 39 resulted in Agrippa's returning to Rome to receive from Gaius Caligula an enlargement of his territory to include Galilee and Perea (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.183; *Ant.* 18.252). On passing through Alexandria again on his journey east, Agrippa received and transmitted the petition of the Alexandrian Jews to Gaius (Philo, *Flacc.* 103), thus playing a significant role in Flaccus's downfall while showing himself an advocate of Jews in the Diaspora (as did his grandfather; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, chap. 3.2).

Agrippa soon had another opportunity to defend the rights of Jews to Gaius, this time in Jerusalem. The emperor had the mad idea of having a statue of himself set up in the temple. Two wildly different versions of Agrippa's role in the episode (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.289–301; Philo, *Legat.* 261–333) agree that the Jewish king through his friendship with Gaius had a decisive influence in Gaius's withdrawing the plan and thereby averting what could have provoked a Jewish uprising a generation earlier

than it occurred in AD 66 (Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, chap. 3.3, who offers a third scenario of what happened). Gaius Caligula's death ended the episode (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9).

Sources presumably coming from Agrippa's court circles give him an exaggerated and unlikely part in the accession of Claudius. Agrippa, still in Rome, is presented as the mediator between Claudius and the Senate (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.206–13), persuading Claudius to take the crown (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.236) and not to attack the Senate (*Ant.* 19.265). Claudius confirmed Agrippa's kingship and his brother Herod as king of Chalcis, enlarging Agrippa's kingdom to include Judea, Samaria, and other territories to equal the lands ruled by his grandfather (*J.W.* 2.214; *Ant.* 19.274–75), and bestowed on him the rank of consul and on Herod the rank of praetor (Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 60.8.2).

Agrippa went to Jerusalem to take over his kingdom, and he dedicated at the temple the gold chain that Gaius Caligula had given him "that it might serve as a proof both that greatness may sometime crash and that God uplifts fallen fortunes" (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.292–96). Agrippa began to surround Jerusalem with an outer wall (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.214; described in 5.147–55), but when rumors of revolt arose, Claudius ordered him to desist (*Ant.* 19.326–27). On another occasion Agrippa aroused suspicions by Roman authorities: he entertained five eastern client kings (including his brother Herod of Chalcis) at Tiberias, but the new governor of Syria thought such a meeting was not in Roman interests and ordered each of the kings to return to his own territory (*Ant.* 19.338–42).

Josephus designates Herod Agrippa "the Great" (*Ant.* 18.110, 142), but in the context of other family members, this may indicate only his seniority over Agrippa II. Josephus compares him with his grandfather Herod the Great as being of gentler disposition and more of a benefactor to the Jews, in contrast to his grandfather's "evil nature, relentless in punishment and unsparing . . . against the objects of his hatred" (*Ant.* 19.328–30).

Agrippa's coins minted in Jerusalem retain features of Jewish coinage, but those minted elsewhere continue pagan style, including his own head (Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 201–2). In inscriptions Agrippa is called "king" and "friend of the emperor"; he is called "great" on his coins and in inscriptions. Inscriptions give his full Roman name, Marcus Julius Agrippa (Richardson, *Herod*, 209–10).

Josephus reflects the favorable Jewish opinion of Agrippa, no doubt exaggerating: "He scrupulously observed the traditions of his people. He neglected no rite of purification, and no day passed for him without the prescribed sacrifice" (*Ant.* 19.331). King Agrippa became a "stock figure" in rabbinic literature. The anecdotes about him have little historical value but are important as reflecting the estimate of him as a prudent ruler, willing to give up some of his usual privileges but thereby receiving greater praise. The rabbinic literature supports Josephus's view of him as "loving honor" but not his picture of Agrippa as an observant Jew, for he is linked only with the "showy externals of the Temple cult" (Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, chap. 6.4). Caligula's estimate of his seeking to please the Jews (reported by Philo, *Legat.* 332) matches Acts 12:1–3. The use of "Herod" for him in Acts 12:1, 21, contrary to the

usual designation “Agrippa,” is likely Luke’s linking him with his grandfather’s cruelty in suppressing dissent and with his gruesome death.

The account in Acts 12:20–23 of Agrippa’s being hailed as a god and then struck down and eaten by worms is told more fully in Josephus. Both accounts attribute his death to his accepting divine honors from his gentile subjects (Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, chap. 6.1). Josephus elaborates on his radiant garments, his not rebuking the flattery of him as “more than a mortal,” and especially his painful death (*Ant.* 19.343–50), which occurred in mid-AD 44 (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 378–80). Reasonable guesses of the medical cause of death are clotting of the blood supply to the abdominal organs or a gastric/duodenal ulcer (Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, appendix 10).

On Agrippa’s death Judea was placed under procurators, and authority over the temple, holy vessels, and selection of the high priest was given to Herod of Chalcis (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.15), but custody of the high priest’s robe was turned over to the Romans (*Ant.* 15.405).

### Herod Agrippa’s Death

“[In Caesarea] he celebrated spectacles in honor of Caesar. . . . On the second day of the spectacles, clad in a garment woven completely of silver, . . . he entered the theatre at daybreak. There the silver, illumined by the touch of the first rays of the sun, was wondrously radiant and by its glitter inspired fear and awe in those who gazed intently upon it. Straightway his flatterers raised their voices from various directions, . . . addressing him as a god. . . . He felt a stab of pain in his heart. He was also gripped in his stomach by an ache that he felt everywhere at once and that was intense from the start. . . . Exhausted after five straight days by the pain in his abdomen, he departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his life and the seventh of his reign.” (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.343–45, 346, 350)

### Agrippa II (King AD 49/50–100)

Because of his youth at Agrippa I’s death, Agrippa II did not succeed his father (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.360–62). Claudius gave the territory of Herod of Chalcis (died in AD 48) to him in 49 (*Ant.* 20.104). In AD 53 Claudius transferred him from Chalcis to the territory of Philip and Lysanias (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.247; *Ant.* 20.138). Nero added four cities to his realm, including Tiberias (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.252; *Ant.* 20.159; *Life* 38).

Being pro-Roman but regarded by the Romans as an expert on Jewish affairs thrust Agrippa II into an ambiguous role. His kingdom was a mixed population of Jews and Syrians (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.57). Josephus describes Agrippa II and all his family as “persons thoroughly conversant with Hellenic culture” (*Life* 359). He was given responsibility for overseeing religious affairs at the Jerusalem temple. He appointed high priests (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.179, 213), and he deposed Ananus for the stoning of James the brother of Jesus (*Ant.* 20.200–203). Thus he maintained a palace in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 20.189–93). He embellished the pagan cities of

Paneas (*J.W.* 3.514) and Beirut, in the latter case angering the Jews because of his expenditures there (*Ant.* 20.211–12). Yet he supplied the materials for enlarging the Jerusalem temple, a project interrupted by the revolt in 66 (*J.W.* 5.36).

Agrippa II gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to the king of Emesa, who consented to circumcision (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.139). She left him to become the wife of Governor Felix (*Acts* 24:24). There were rumors that Agrippa II lived in an incestuous relationship with his older sister Berenice (Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.157–58; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 321–22). They were together when they met Paul in *Acts* 25:13–26:32. Agrippa II left no children.

During the First Jewish Revolt of 66–73 Agrippa II consistently supported the Romans while trying to protect Jews not involved in the revolt. Josephus records a long speech by the king at Jerusalem to dissuade the Jews from war (*J.W.* 2.344–407), no doubt Josephus's own composition. Agrippa II, "anxious that the Romans should not lose the Jews nor the Jews their temple and mother city," sent troops to aid the pro-Roman element in the population (*J.W.* 2.241), but the insurgents prevailed. He also supplied troops to assist Cestius, governor of Syria, in putting down the revolt and personally accompanied Cestius to guide him (*J.W.* 2.500, 502). Agrippa II attempted a parley with the rebels, but the insurgents assaulted the king's embassy (*J.W.* 2.523–26).

Agrippa II sent auxiliaries with Vespasian, whom he entertained at Caesarea Philippi (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.68, 443). Out of regard for Agrippa II, Vespasian forbade his troops to pillage Tiberias (*J.W.* 3.461). For his part, Agrippa II induced some cities not to revolt (*J.W.* 4.4).

When Titus, representing his father, Vespasian, left for Rome to salute Nero's successor Galba, Agrippa II accompanied him. Galba was assassinated, so Titus turned back, but Agrippa II went on to greet Otho. Titus was now the lover of Berenice, but social and political pressure in Rome forced him to send her away (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 329–30).

Agrippa II's army followed Titus for his final attack on Jerusalem in AD 70 (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.1.2). Later Josephus presented Agrippa II a copy of his history of the Jewish war (Josephus, *Life* 362; *Ag. Ap.* 1.5). He claimed that Agrippa II wrote letters testifying to his accuracy (*Life* 364–66).

Agrippa II died in AD 100 (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 396–99), and with him died the place of the Herods in the world of the NT.

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