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JOSEPHUS
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOKS XII–XIII



Translated by
RALPH MARCUS

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JOSEPHUS

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JOSEPHUS, *Flavius*
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
BOOKS XII-XIII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
RALPH MARCUS



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

*First published 1943
Reprinted 1957, 1961, 1967, 1976, 1986, 1998
Jewish Antiquities bound in nine volumes beginning 1998*

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ISBN 0-674-99577-5

*Printed in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press Ltd,
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on acid-free paper.
Bound by Hunter & Foulis Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland.*

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΒ

(i. 1) Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προειρημένον καταστησά-
2 μενος τρόπον τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. μεταπεσοῦσης δ' εἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν κείθι ἐθνῶν, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον διεῖπεν, τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν εἶχε Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος
3 δὲ ὁ Λάγου τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰλήφει. στασιαζόντων δὲ τούτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς πολέμους τε συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς συνέβη γίνεσθαι¹ καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακοπαθεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀποβάλλειν τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὡς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τότε Σωτήρος χρηματίζοντος τὰναντία παθεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικλήσει.
4 κατέσχε δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δόλω καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος· εἰσελθὼν γὰρ σαββάτοις εἰς

¹ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι FVE: συνέβη γίνεσθαι L.

^a Josephus' sources for Hellenistic history will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK XII

(i. 1) ^a HAVING overthrown the Persian empire and settled the affairs of Judaea in the manner described above, Alexander, the king of Macedon, died.^b And his empire fell to the share of many, Antigonus becoming master of Asia, and Seleucus of Babylon and the nations thereabouts, while Lysimachus ruled the Hellespont, Cassander held Macedon, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Egypt.^c But, as these quarrelled and fought jealously with one another, each for his own kingdom, the result was that continual and prolonged wars arose, and the cities suffered through their struggles and lost many of their inhabitants, so that all of Syria at the hands of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who was then called *Soter* (Saviour),^d suffered the reverse of that which was indicated by his surname. And this king seized Jerusalem by resorting to cunning and deceit. For he entered the

Quarrels of
Alexander's
successors.

^b At Babylon, in June, 323 B.C.

^c He was appointed satrap of Egypt by Philip Arrhidaeus, the new Macedonian king, about 5 months after Alexander's death, and assumed the title of king about 305 B.C.; cf. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, pp. 18 ff.

^d According to Pausanias, i. 8. 6, it was the Rhodians who gave Ptolemy this surname. Bevan, p. 51, says he assumed the title "saviour and lord" between 308 and 306 B.C.

JOSEPHUS

τὴν πόλιν ὡς θύσων, μήτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸν
 ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν¹ γὰρ ὑπενόουν πολέμιον, καὶ
 διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀργίᾳ καὶ
 ῥαθυμίᾳ τυγχανόντων, ἀπόνως ἐγκρατῆς γίγνεται
 5 τῆς πόλεως καὶ πικρῶς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
 τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ὁ τὰς
 τῶν διαδόχων πράξεις συγγραψάμενος, ὀνειδίζων
 ἡμῖν δεισιδαιμονίαν ὡς δι' αὐτὴν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν
 6 ἐλευθερίαν, λέγων οὕτως· “ ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων
 λεγόμενον, οἳ πόλιν ὄχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχοντες
 Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην περιεῖδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ
 γενομένην, ὄπλα λαβεῖν οὐ θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 τὴν ἄκαιρον δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπὸν ὑπέμειναν
 7 ἔχειν δεσπότην.” Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ
 τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἀπεφώνησε. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος
 πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὄρεινῆς
 Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς
 Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν² Γαριζείν, κατώκισεν
 8 ἅπαντας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγών. ἐπεγνωκῶς³ δὲ
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ τε τὴν τῶν
 ὄρκων φυλακὴν καὶ τὰς πίστεις βεβαιωτάτους
 ὑπάρχοντας ἐξ ὧν ἀπεκρίναντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρεσ-
 βευσαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Δαρείου
 τῆ μάχῃ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια κατα-
 λοχίσας καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

¹ οὐδὲ FVW.

² ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ cod. NC ap. Hudson.

³ ἐγνωκῶς FLV.

^a Or “religious scrupulousness,” if we suppose that Josephus is giving the word δεισιδαιμονία a more favourable connotation (as in *Ant.* x. 42) than his source Agatharchides.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 4-8

city on the Sabbath as if to sacrifice, and, as the Jews did not oppose him—for they did not suspect any hostile act—and, because of their lack of suspicion and the nature of the day, were enjoying idleness and ease, he became master of the city without difficulty and ruled it harshly. This account is attested by Agatharchides of Cnidus, the historian of the Diadochi, who reproaches us for our superstition,^a on account of which we lost our liberty, in these words.^b “ There is a nation called Jews, who have a strong and great city called Jerusalem, which they allowed to fall into the hands of Ptolemy by refusing to take up arms and, instead, through their untimely superstition submitted to having a hard master.” This, then, was the opinion which Agatharchides expressed about our nation. Now Ptolemy, after taking many captives both from the hill country of Judaea and the district round Jerusalem and from Samaria and those on Garizein,^c brought them all to Egypt and settled them there.^d And, as he recognized that the people of Jerusalem were most constant in keeping their oaths and pledges, as shown by the reply which they gave to Alexander when he sent an embassy to them after defeating Darius in battle, he assigned many of them to his garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal

Ptolemy
Soter takes
Jerusalem.

Cf. Aristeas
§ 13.

^b The following statement, included in a longer excerpt from Agatharchides, is found in *Ap.* i. 205 ff.

^c Mount Gerizim, where the Samaritan temple stood, *cf. Ant.* xi. 310, 346.

^d This information is taken in part from the Letter of Aristeas, on which see § 11 note *b*, but the following sentence on the reply made by the Jews to the envoys of Alexander and on the alleged civic rights of the Jews is not found in *Arist.* The date of the settlement of Ptolemy's captives in Egypt is not known ; perhaps it was after the battle of Gaza between Ptolemy and Demetrius Poliorcetes in 312 B.C.

JOSEPHUS

- ποιήσας ἰσοπολίτας, ὄρκους ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ παραθεμένου τὴν πίστιν
 9 διαφυλάξωσιν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων ἐκουσίως¹ εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγένοντο, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 10 Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προκαλουμένης.² στάσεις μέντοι γε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀποσώζειν προαιρουμένοις ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν, τῶν μὲν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς³ ἱερὸν ἄγιον εἶναι λεγόντων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκεῖ πέμπειν ἀξιούντων, τῶν δὲ Σικιμιτῶν εἰς τὸ Γαριζεῖν ὄρος κελεύοντων.
- 11 (ii. 1) Βασιλεύσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕν,⁴ ἔπειτα τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλαβὼν ὁ Φιλάδελφος καὶ κατασχὼν

¹ ἐκουσίως om. P.

² Naber: προσκαλουμένης codd. E: invitati Lat.

³ Naber: αὐτοῖς codd.

⁴ καὶ ἕν om. E Lat.

^a The historicity of Josephus' various references to the civic rights of Alexandrian Jews will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

^b This statement is ascribed to Hecataeus of Abdera in *Ap.* i. 186 f., who is quoted as saying that after the battle of Gaza many of the inhabitants of Syria (= Palestine), "hearing of his kindliness and humanity (τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην), desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm," and that among these was "Ezechias, a chief priest (ἀρχιερεὺς) of the Jews." The authenticity of these quotations from Hecataeus is defended by (among others) H. Lewy, (*cf. Ant.* xi. 339 note) and A. Olmstead, who writes in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lvi., 1936, p. 244, "So long as this was the only reference to Ezechias, its authenticity might be denied, but by his excavations at Beth Zur Professor Sellers has given us

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 8-11

civic rights with the Macedonians ^a and exacted oaths of them that they would keep faith with the descendants of him who had placed them in a position of trust. But not a few of the other Jews as well came to Egypt of their own accord, for they were attracted by the excellence of the country and Ptolemy's liberality. ^b Their descendants, however, had quarrels with the Samaritans because they were determined to keep alive their fathers' way of life and customs, and so they fought with each other, those from Jerusalem saying that their temple was the holy one, and requiring that the sacrifices be sent there, while the Shechemites ^c wanted these to go to Mount Garizein.

(ii. 1) Alexander reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty-one ^d; then Philadelphus took over the royal power in Egypt and held it for

Ptolemy
Phil-
adelphus
orders a
translation

another witness, again contemporary, a Philisto-Arabian coin with the names of Jehohanan and Hezekiah in Hebrew [O. R. Sellers, *Citadel of Beth Zur*, 1933, pp. 73 ff.]. Jehohanan is Honnai or Onias I, the true high priest, Hezekiah or Ezechias is a high priest, his chief financial officer, what the Greeks called *διοικητής*, who naturally placed his name also on the coins he minted. With this unexpected proof that Hecataeus knew more than his critics, we are constrained to accept his other statements, that Jewish soldiers were taken to Egypt by Ptolemy I, given some sort of modified citizenship, and granted lands under military tenure." For detailed discussions of Jewish settlements in Egypt in the early Hellenistic period cf. L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens*, 1924, pp. 5 f., and A. Tscherikower, *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 278 ff.; for the literature consult W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 1918 pp. 329 f.

^c Gr. "Sikemites"; Shechem was the biblical name of the city later occupied by the Samaritans; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 75.

^d Variant "forty"; he was satrap from 323 to 305 B.C., and king from 305 to 283 B.C., thus ruling Egypt for 41 years.

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αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἔτη ἐνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα τὸν τε νόμον ἠρμήνευσε καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς δουλείας ὄντας

12 περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδάζων εἰ δυνατόν εἶη πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην συναγαγεῖν βιβλία καὶ συνωνούμενος, εἴ τι που μόνον ἀκούσειε σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὃν ἢ ἴδοι, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρέσει (μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν βιβλίων

13 εἶχε φιλοκάλως) συνηγωνίζετο. ἐρομένου δ' αὐτόν ποτε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πόσας ἤδη μυριάδας ἔχοι συνειλεγμένας βιβλίων, τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων εἶπεν εἶναι περὶ εἴκοσι, ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου εἰς πεντήκοντα

14 συναθροίσειν. μεμηνῦσθαι δ' ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίμων συγγράμματα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης, ἃ τοῖς ἐκείνων χαρακτηῆρσιν καὶ τῇ διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένα πόνον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον παρέξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενα

15 γλῶτταν. δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν Συρίων γραμμάτων ἐμφορῆς ὁ χαρακτήρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπηχεῖν, ἰδιότροπον

^a From 283 to 245 B.C.

^b Here begins Josephus' close paraphrase of the so-called Letter of Aristeas, a Hellenistic Jewish apologetic work, probably written sometime in the 2nd century B.C. The English reader may conveniently consult the following translations (with notes): H. St. J. Thackeray in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xv., 1903, pp. 337-391, also in a separate volume, revised, 1928; M. Andrews in *CAP* ii. 83-122; H. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 1932. The most learned and comprehensive edition, with translation and

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 11-15

thirty-nine years ^a ; and he had the Law translated ^b and released from slavery some hundred and twenty thousand ^c natives of Jerusalem who were slaves in Egypt, for the following reason. Demetrius of Phalerum,^d who was in charge of the king's library, was anxious to collect, if he could, all the books in the inhabited world, and, if he heard of, or saw, any book worthy of study, he would buy it ; and so he endeavoured to meet the wishes of the king, for he was very much devoted to the art of book-collecting. Now, when Ptolemy once asked him how many tens of thousands of books he had already gathered together, he replied that the present number was about two hundred thousand but that within a short time he would assemble some five hundred thousand. He added that he had been informed that among the Jews also there were many works on their law, which were worthy of study and of a place in the king's library, but, being written in the script and language of this people, they would be no small trouble to have translated into the Greek tongue. For, he said, though their script seemed to be similar to the peculiar Syrian (Aramaic) writing, and their language to sound like the other, it was, as it happened, of a

of the Jewish Law for his library. Aristeeas § 9.

commentary, is by R. Tramontano, *La Lettera di Aristeo a Filocrate*, 1931. For the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist. consult G. Stählin, *Josephus und der Aristeasbrief in Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, cii., 1930, pp. 323-331. Josephus reproduces about one-third of his original, the chief omissions being Arist. §§ 82-171 and §§ 187-292.

^c Arist. " a little more than 100,000 " ; *cf.* § 24 note.

^d A famous Athenian philosopher of the Peripatetic school, born *c.* 350 B.C. He came to Egypt in 297 B.C. and was employed in state affairs by Ptolemy I, but was dismissed and banished by Ptolemy Philadelphus soon after his accession to the throne. Arist.'s account of him is therefore fictitious.

- δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγε κω-
 λύειν καὶ ταῦτα μεταβαλόντα (δύνασθαι γὰρ τῆς εἰς
 ταῦτα χορηγίας εὐποροῦντα¹) ἔχειν ἐν τῇ βιβλιο-
 16 θήκῃ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις. δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένω² περὶ πλη-
 θος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
- 17 (2) Ἀρισταῖος³ δέ τις φίλος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
 τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ
 μετριότητα, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔγνω
 παρακαλέσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὅπως ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν
 18 ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, καιρὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον τοῦτον εἶναι
 δοκιμάσας τῆς δεήσεως, πρώτοις περὶ τούτου
 διαλέγεται τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων
 Σωσιβίῳ τῷ Ταραντίνῳ καὶ Ἀνδρέᾳ, συναγωνί-
 σασθαι περὶ ὧν ἐντυγχάνει μὲλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ
 19 παρακαλῶν αὐτούς. προσλαβὼν οὖν⁴ καὶ τὴν τῶν
 προειρημένων γνώμην ὁ Ἀρισταῖος, προσελθὼν
 τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο·
 20 “ οὐ χρῆν ἀπατωμένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περιορᾶν,
 ἀλλὰ τὰληθὲς ἀπελέγχειν· τοὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

¹ εὐποροῦντας PLW fort. recte.

² φιλοτιμούμενον LAVW et fort. Lat.

³ Ἀριστέος P: Ἀριστέας Arist.

⁴ FLV: δὲ rell.

^a Variant “ they.”

^b Variant “ had given him excellent advice in his (Demetrius’) zeal to obtain.”

distinct type. There was, however, nothing, he said, to prevent them from having these books translated and having the writings of this people also in their library, for he ^a had abundant resources from which to meet the expense. And so the king, deciding that Demetrius had given him excellent advice as to how to realize his ambition of obtaining ^b a large number of books, wrote to the high priest of the Jews that this might be done.

(2) Now a certain Aristaeus,^c who was one of the king's closest friends and was respected by him for his discreet behaviour,^d had even before this often made up his mind to urge the king to set free the Jewish captives throughout his kingdom, and, judging this to be a favourable moment for his request, he first spoke of it to the commanders of the bodyguard, Sosibius of Tarentum ^e and Andreas,^f and urged them to second his efforts in the matter on which he was about to petition the king. And so, when he had secured the assent of the forementioned men, Aristaeus went to the king and addressed him in the following words. "We ought not, O King, to allow ourselves to be deceived, but to show the truth as it is ;

Aristaeus
persuades
Ptolemy
Philadelphus
to free
the Jewish
slaves in
Egypt.
Aristeas
§ 12.

^c Gr. Aristaïos ; the name is spelled "Aristeas" in the original Letter.

^d Or, more literally, "moderation."

^e The only Sosibius known to have lived at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus was an historian who came from Sparta. Better known is the Sosibius mentioned by Polybius, xv. 25 ff., as the *ψευδεπίτροπος* of Ptolemy Philopator, *cf.* Bevan, pp. 220 ff. ; his son, also named Sosibius, was a member of the bodyguard of Ptolemy Epiphanes. For other persons of this name living in Egypt *cf.* Tramontano's note *ad loc.*

^f There seems to be only one prominent Andreas in Egypt known to us, a physician at the court of Ptolemy Philopator, *cf.* Polybius v. 81.

νόμους οὐ μεταγράψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθερμη-
νεῦσαι διεγνωκότες εἰς τὸ σοὶ κεχαρισμένον, τίνοι
καὶ λόγῳ χρώμενοι τοῦτο πράξαιμεν ἄν, πολλῶν
21 Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ σῆ βασιλείᾳ δουλευόντων; οὓς
τῇ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ χρηστότητι ποιῶν
ἀκολούθως ἀπόλυσον τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τὴν βασι-
λείαν σου διέποντος τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους
22 αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμοὶ πολυπραγμονήσαντι μα-
θεῖν ὑπήρξεν. τὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα συστησάμενον θεὸν
καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, Ζῆνα καλοῦντες
αὐτὸν ἐτύμως,¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν τὴν
ἐπικλήσιν αὐτοῦ θέντες.² ὅθεν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῖς ἐξαίρετον τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πεποιη-
μένοις³ ἀπόδος τοῖς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ
23 βίον ἀπολελοιπόσιν.⁴ ἴσθι μέντοι γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
ὡς οὔτε γένει προσήκων αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὁμόφυλος
ὢν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ· πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων
δημιούργημα ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆ⁵ γινώσκων

¹ A (corr.): ἐτοίμως *rell.*

² νοήσαντες *FVE.*

³ τοῖς . . . πεποιημένοις *ed. pr.:* τοὺς . . . πεποιημένους
codd.

⁴ ἀπειληφόσιν *FV:* ὅθεν . . . ἀπολελοιπόσιν] *quopropter ad honorem dei, quem eximia religione placant, liberos eos patriae moribusque suis restitue Lat.*

⁵ δῆ *om. PFLV.*

^a That is, to make a copy of the Hebrew original (to be obtained from Palestine); *μεταγράψαι*, however, is taken by

for, since we have decided not only to transcribe ^a the laws of the Jews but also to translate them for your pleasure, by what right should we do this while so many Jews are slaves in your kingdom? In accordance, therefore, with your magnanimity and goodness set them free from their misery, since the God who gave them their laws is the same who presides over your kingdom, as I have succeeded in learning after much study. For both they and we worship the God who created the universe, whom we call by the appropriate term *Zēna*,^b giving Him that name from the fact that He breathes life (*zēn*) into all creatures.^c Do you, then, for the honour of God restore (their freedom) to those who worship Him with peculiar devotion but have been deprived of their native land and the manner of life which they led there.^d You should, however, know, O King, that it is not because I am related to them by race or am their countryman that I ask these things on their behalf, but I urge you to do this because all men are the handiwork of God,

F. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, Pt. I, 1925, to mean "transliterate," that is, to transcribe the Hebrew text in Greek characters (as in Origen's Hexaplar). Proceeding on this assumption, Wutz attempts to prove that the Septuagint is a translation made not from a Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, but from a Hebrew text in Greek characters. This theory (first proposed by Tychsen in the 18th century) is generally rejected by scholars, rightly so in the opinion of the present writer.

^b Accus. case of "Zeus."

^c Such etymologizing of divine names to show the universal and natural attributes of the Greek gods was common in the Stoic writings of the late Hellenistic period; a similar etymology of "Zeus" appears in the fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (*ap. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica* xiii. 12. 7), τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα.

^d Text somewhat uncertain.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸν ἠδόμενον τοῖς εὖ ποιούσιν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ.”

- 24 (3) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀρισταίου ἀναβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰλαρῶ καὶ γεγηθότι τῷ προσώπῳ “ πόσας,” εἶπεν, “ ὑπολαμβάνεις τῶν ἀπολυθησομένων ἔσεσθαι μυριάδας; ” ὑποτυχόντος δὲ Ἀνδρέου, παρειστήκει γάρ, καὶ φήσαντος ὀλίγῳ πλείονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἔνδεκα¹ μυριάδων “ ἢ μικρὰν ἄρα,” εἶπεν, “ ἡμᾶς, Ἀρισταίε, δωρεὰν αἰτεῖς.”
- 25 Σωσιβίου δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων φησάντων ὡς ἄξιον αὐτὸν δέοι τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας τῷ παρεσχηκότι τὴν βασιλείαν θεῷ χαριστήριον ποιήσασθαι, διαχυθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλεῖν δραχμὰς
- 26 ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.² καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡξίου³ προθεῖναι γράμματα ὑπέσχετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀρισταίου προαίρεσιν βεβαιοῦντα καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθ' ἣν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἀπολύσειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐθις
- 27 ἐπεισήχθησαν. πλειόνων δ' ἢ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τὰ τῆς⁴ ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαιμένων ταῦτά τε συνεχώρει καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προσ-

¹ δέκα Zonaras Lat. Arist. : ἰβ' Syncellus.

² ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι] εἴκοσι Arist. hic et infra. ³ ἡξίου PFV.

⁴ τὰ τῆς Cocceji : τῆς codd. B.

^a This last sentence gives a somewhat different sense from the corresponding section in Arist., in which Aristetas expresses confidence that God will cause the king to grant his request because He favours men who pray with pure motives.

^b Arist. “ a little more than 100,000.”

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 23-27

and particularly because I know that He is pleased with those who do good.^a ”

(3) When Aristaeus had spoken these words, the king looked at him with a cheerful and happy expression, and asked, “ How many tens of thousands to be set free do you suppose there will be ? ” And when Andreas, who was standing beside him, replied that there would be a little more than a hundred and ten thousand,^b the king said, “ It is indeed but a small gift that you are asking, Aristaeus.” But Sosibius and the others present said that he ought to make a thank-offering worthy of his own magnanimity to God who had bestowed the kingdom on him, and so, being gently persuaded by them, he gave orders that, when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should also pay them a hundred and twenty drachmas ^c for every captive they had. And, as for what they ^d requested, he promised to publish a decree conceived in liberal terms and giving effect to the proposal of Aristaeus and, what was more, the will of God, in accordance with which he said that he would set free not only those brought by his father and his army, but also those who had previously been found in the kingdom and any who were subsequently brought in. And although they said that the cost of redeeming them would be more than four hundred talents,^e he

Ptolemy Philadelphus orders the ransoming of Jewish slaves. Aristaeus § 19.

^c Only 20 drachmas in Arist.

^d Variant “ he ” (Aristaeus).

^e So Arist. here, but *cf.* § 33 note *e*. The silver talent was equal to 6000 drachmas ; the reckoning in Arist. of a little more than 100,000 slaves at 20 drachmas each would give somewhat less than 400 talents, whereas Josephus’ reckoning of 110,000 slaves at 120 drachmas each would give 2200 talents. Thus he is inconsistent in here reproducing Arist.’s total of 400 talents (unless, indeed, 120 drachmas is a scribal error for 20).

τάγματος εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλο-
 28 φροσύνης ἔγνωσαν¹ διαφυλάξαι. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον·
 “ ὅσοι τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ἡμῶν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν
 τε Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
 καταστρεψάμενοι σώματα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτα
 διεκόμισαν εἰς τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπημπόλησαν, τοὺς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντας
 ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες νῦν εἰσήχθησαν,
 τούτους ἀπολυέτωσαν οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες, ὑπὲρ
 ἐκάστου σώματος λαμβάνοντες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν
 εἴκοσι, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται μετὰ καὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων,
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης κομι-
 29 ζόμενοι τὰ λύτρα. νομίζω² γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρὰ
 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον
 ἠχμαλωτίσθαι, τὴν τε³ χώραν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν στρα-
 τιωτικὴν ἀυθάδειαν κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν μεταγωγὴν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκ
 30 τούτου τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγονέαι. τὸ δίκαιον
 οὖν σκοπῶν καὶ τοὺς καταδεδυναστευμένους παρὰ
 τὸ προσῆκον ἐλεῶν, ἀπολύειν κελεύω τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
 οἰκετείαις ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, τὸ προγεγραμμένον
 κομιζομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κεφάλαιον τοὺς κεκτη-
 μένους, καὶ μηδένα περὶ τούτων κακουργεῖν, ἀλλ’
 31 ὑπακούειν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις. βούλομαι δὲ
 τὰς ἀπογραφὰς⁴ ἀφ’ ἧς ἐξεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τρεῖς
 ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ’⁵ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντας,
 παραδεικνύντας εὐθὺς⁶ καὶ τὰ σώματα· τοῦτο γὰρ
 τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πράγμασιν ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν. προσ-

¹ ἔγνω W: ἔγνω in quibusdam codd. teste Hudson.

² νομίζων PAW.

³ δὲ FLV.

⁴ ex Arist. Hudson: προγραφὰς codd.: dispositiones Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 27-31

granted it ; and as evidence of the king's munificence they ^a decided to preserve a copy of the decree, which was as follows : " All the slaves whom those serving in our father's army took captive after invading Syria and Phoenicia and subduing Judaea, and brought to our cities and our country and sold them, and those slaves who were formerly in my kingdom and any who have recently been imported—all these their owners shall set free and receive a hundred and twenty drachmas ^b for each slave, the soldiers to get this redemption money together with their wages, the others from the king's exchequer. For I believe that it was contrary to my father's intention and to what is right that they were made captives, and that their country was ravaged through the army's lack of discipline, and also that from their removal to Egypt the soldiers have greatly benefited. Having regard, therefore, to justice and feeling pity for those who have been unworthily oppressed, I command their owners to set free those Jews who are in their service, for whom they are to receive the forementioned sum, and no one shall act dishonestly in this matter, but they shall obey these orders. And it is my will that they present their lists ^c of slaves before those who are in charge of the matter within three days after the publication of this edict, and that they produce their slaves promptly. For I regard this as being to the interest of my government. And any-

Text of
Ptolemy's
decree.
Aristeas
§ 22.

^a Variants " he " and " I " ; Arist. has " I believe it will be useful to include (κατακεχωρίσθαι) a copy of the decree."

^b Cf. § 25 note *c*.

^c " Lists " is restored from Arist., the mss. of Josephus have " notices " (of sale).

⁵ P: ὑπ' rell.

⁶ αὐτοῖς ed. pr.

JOSEPHUS

αγγελῆτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ὁ βουλόμενος, ὧν τὰς οὐσίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κτῆσιν ἀνενεχθῆναι
 32 βούλομαι.” τούτου δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀναγνωσθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα¹ ἔχοντος, μόνου δὲ λείποντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν αὐθις εἰσηγμένων Ἰουδαίων μὴ διεστάλλθαι, προσέθηκεν αὐτὸς μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων φιλόανθρωπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων² δόσιν οὖσαν ἀθρόαν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῶν πραγμάτων³
 33 ἀπομερίσαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, ταχέως ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ δοχθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, τάλαντα δ' ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια τῶν λύτρων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων εἰσέπραπτον οἱ δεσπότες τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων διδόναι κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ προγράψαι ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου σώματος λαμβάνειν τὸ προειρημένον.
 34 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταύτ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δημήτριον εἰσδοῦναι⁴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς δόγμα· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰκὴ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν⁵ ὠκονομεῖτο,⁶ πάντα δὲ μετὰ

¹ ἄλλ' εἶ Naber.

² φόρων PLAW.

³ ταγμάτων FV Arist.

⁴ P Arist.: ἐκδοῦναι aut δοῦναι rell.

⁵ + τούτοις Hudson.

⁶ Bekker: ὠκονόμεται (-ιται P) PAW: ὠκονόμητο FLVE.

^a Arist. adds that the person denounced is to become the slave of the informer.

^b The variant, usually meaning “tribute,” is corrupt.

^c Variant (also in Arist.) “paymasters of the troops.”

^d Banking was a royal monopoly in Egypt; for a brief account of the royal bankers cf. Bevan, pp. 150 ff.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 31-34

one who so wishes may inform against those who disobey,^a and it is my will that their property be turned over to the royal estate." When this edict was read over to the king, it contained all the other provisions but omitted the directions concerning the Jews who had previously or subsequently been brought into the country, and so he himself magnanimously added his humane instructions concerning them as well; and as the money for expenses^b was to be paid out as a lump sum, he ordered it to be apportioned between the officials of the government^c and the royal bankers.^d When this was done, the decree of the king was quickly carried out in just seven days, and the redemption-money came to more than four hundred and sixty^e talents, for the slave-holders collected the hundred and twenty^f drachmas even for infants, as if the king had commanded that payment should be made for these too, when he announced that they should receive the forementioned sum for each slave.^g

(4) When this had been done on a lavish scale in accordance with the king's wish, he ordered Demetrius to present a memorial of the decree concerning the copying of the Jewish books, for nothing used to be directed by the kings in a haphazard manner, but

Demetrius of Phalerum presents a memorial of the proposed translation. Aristeeas § 28.

^a Arist. 660; cf. § 27 note e.

^f Arist. 20.

^g The totals in both Arist. and Josephus fail to agree with the sums indicated by the number of persons ransomed; in Arist. the sum of 660 talents is too great for 100,000 at 20 drachmas and their children, unless there were as many children as adults (in which case 660 talents would be just about right), while the 460 talents of Josephus (in itself a reasonable sum for 100,000 adults and a third as many children at 20 drachmas each) would suffice for only 23,000 persons at 120 drachmas each.

JOSEPHUS

35 πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπράττετο. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰσδόσεως¹ ἀντίγραφον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κατατέτακται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀναθημάτων καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἐκάστου κατασκευασθέν, ὡς ἀκριβεστάτην εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῖς ὄρωσι μεγαλουργίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἐξοχήν τὸν ἐκάστου δημιουργὸν εὐθέως ποιῆσαι² γνῶριμον. τῆς μέντοι γ' εἰσδόσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον
 36 ὑπῆρχε τοιοῦτον· “ βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν ἔτι λειπόντων εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης συγγραμμάτων, ὅπως συναχθῆ, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαπεπτωκότων, ὅπως τῆς δεούσης ἐπιμελείας τύχη, πάσῃ κεχρημένος περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῇ δηλώσοι τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία λείπειν ἡμῖν σὺν ἑτέροις· χαρακτηῆρσιν γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γεγραμμένα καὶ φωνῇ τῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀσαφῆ.
 37 συμβέβηκε δ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει³ σημάνθαι διὰ τὸ βασιλικῆς οὕπω τετυχηκέναι προνοίας. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ σοὶ διηκριβωμένα· φιλοσοφωτέραν γὰρ καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἂν οὖσαν θεοῦ.

¹ ἐκδόσεως cod. NC ap. Hudson, Eusebius.

² coní. Niese: ποιήσειν PAW: εἶναι FLV.

³ Dausius: ἔχει codd. E Lat. fort. recte.

^a Meaning slightly uncertain, possibly “ so that the great skilfulness of the craftsman was quite clear to any who saw (the offerings).”

^b νομοθεσία is a word frequently used by Hellenistic Jewish writers to denote the Pentateuch.

everything was done with great care. Therefore a copy of the memorial and of the letters has been set down here, as well as the number of the dedicatory offerings sent (to Jerusalem) and the workmanship of each, so that the great skilfulness of the craftsman may be quite clear to any who sees this account ^a and that the artificer of each may become known for the outstanding quality of his work. Now, as for the copy of the memorial, it read as follows: "To the great king from Demetrius. You have commanded, O King, that the writings which are still wanting to complete the library shall be collected and that those which are imperfect shall be given the necessary care, wherefore I have taken pains in this matter, and I wish to inform you that we still lack, among others, the books of the Jewish legislation.^b For being written in Hebrew characters and in the language of that nation they are unintelligible to us. And it so happens that they have been copied ^c with less care than they needed,^d because they have not yet been made an object of royal concern. But it is necessary that these too should be found among your books in an emended form, for their legislation is very wise and pure as a result of coming from God. For this reason,

^c The exact meaning of *σεσήμανται* in Arist., which Josephus has taken over in the infin. *σεσημάνθαι*, is a matter of dispute. Some scholars take it to mean "interpreted" and think it refers to previous Greek translations of the Pentateuch, cf. Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841, p. 61, note *k*. It seems clear from the context, however, that it refers to Hebrew mss. of the Pentateuch which have been carelessly copied from an original scroll (presumably kept in the Temple at Jerusalem).

^d Conjectured: mss. "than are" (cf. Arist. "than exist," which probably means "than exist elsewhere").

JOSEPHUS

- 38 διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὐκ ἐπιμνησθῆναί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἀγνῆς οὔσης καὶ μὴ δέον αὐτὴν βε-
- 39 βήλοισι στόμασιν διασαφεῖσθαι. εἰάν οὖν σοι δοκῆ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἕξ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν νόμων, παρ' ὧν τὸ τῶν βιβλίων σαφὲς καὶ σύμφωνον ἐκμαθόντες, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀκριβὲς λαβόντες, τῶν πραγμάτων¹ ἀξίως ταῦτα καὶ τῆς² σῆς προαιρέσεως συναγάγωμεν."
- 40 (5) Τοιαύτης οὖν τῆς εἰσδόσεως γενομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γραφῆναι περὶ τούτων, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν δουλευόντων παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων δηλοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν δὲ κρατήρων καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ σπονδειῶν ἔπεμψε χρυσοῦ μὲν ὀλκῆς τάλαντα πενήκοντα³ λίθων δὲ πολυτελῶν
- 41 ἀσυλλόγιστόν τι πλῆθος. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι, τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῖς τεχνίταις αὐτοῖς οὐπερ ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν εἶδους ἐπιτρέπειν. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας πρὸς
- 42 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῷ ἱερεῖ⁴ δοθῆναι. διηγῆσομαι δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς

¹ γραμμάτων A.

² καὶ τῆς ex Arist. Niese: τῆς codd. E.

³ + ἀργυρίου δὲ τάλαντα ἑβδομήκοντα ex Arist. Naber.

⁴ ἱερῷ FLAV.

^a Whether Arist. here cites the genuine work of the Greek historian Hecataeus, who wrote a History of Egypt and

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 38-42

Hecataeus of Abdera ^a tells us, the poets and historians have made no mention of it or of the men whose lives have been governed by it, on the ground that it was sacred and not to be revealed by profane mouths. If, then, O King, it be your pleasure, write to the high priest of the Jews to send six elders from each tribe who are most versed in their laws, in order that when we have learned from them the clear and consistent meaning of these and obtained an accurate translation, we may have a collection of these books which shall be worthy of their contents and of your design."

(5) Such, then, was the memorial, and, when it was submitted, the king ordered a letter to be written about these matters to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, informing him, at the same time, of the release of the Jewish slaves in their country; and for the making of mixing-bowls, shallow bowls and libation bowls he sent fifty talents' weight of gold ^b and an incalculable number of precious stones. He also ordered the keepers of the chests in which the stones lay to leave to the craftsmen themselves the choice of whatever kind they wished. He also directed that money to the amount of one hundred talents be given to the priest ^c for sacrifices and other necessities. Now I shall describe the objects and the form of their

was a contemporary of Ptolemy I (*cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on *Ap.* i. 183), or a Hellenistic Jewish pseudepigraph, ("Pseudo-Hecataeus") has long been disputed. H. Lewy (*cf.* § 9 note *b*) believes that the phrase (in Arist. § 31) "because the view of life contained in them (the books of Moses) has something sacred and solemn" is a quotation from the genuine Hecataeus. For a more detailed discussion of this point *cf.* Tramontano, pp. 94 ff.

^b Arist. adds "and 70 talents of silver."

• Variant "temple."

Ptolemy
Phil-
adelphus
orders gifts
to be sent
to the high
priest
Eleazar.
Aristeas
§ 33.

JOSEPHUS

δημιουργίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ προεκθέσθαι τὸ ἀντί-
 γραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης Ἐλεαζάρῳ
 τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ταύτην λαβόντι τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ αἰτίας
 43 τοιαύτης· τελευτήσαντος Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ
 παῖς αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίνεταί διάδοχος, ὁ καὶ δίκαιος
 ἐπικληθεὶς διὰ τε τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ
 44 πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὖνουν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ
 τούτου καὶ νήπιον υἱὸν καταλιπόντος τὸν κληθέντα
 Ὀνίαν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάζαρος, περὶ οὗ τὸν
 λόγον ποιούμεθα, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέλαβεν,
 45 ᾧ γράφει Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· “ βασιλεὺς
 Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. πολ-
 λῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ κατωκισμένων Ἰουδαίων,
 οὓς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὅτ’ ἐκράτουν
 ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐτίμησε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ στρα-
 τιωτικὸν κατέταξεν ἐπὶ μείζοσιν μισθοφοραῖς,¹
 τισὶν δὲ γενομένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ
 φρούρια καὶ² τὴν τούτων φυλακὴν παρέθετο, ἵνα
 46 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ᾧσιν φοβεροί, τὴν ἀρχὴν³ ἐγὼ
 παραλαβὼν πᾶσι μὲν φιλανθρώπως ἐχρησάμην,
 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις, ὧν ὑπὲρ δέκα μὲν
 μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων δουλευόντων ἀπέλυσα, τοῖς

¹ P: μισθοφορίαῖς rell. Arist.

² καὶ χωρία καὶ LAW.

³ τὴν δ’ ἀρχὴν P Lat.: ἀρχὴν οὖν LAW.

^a The following sections, §§ 43-44, come from another source than Arist. On Simon the Just and the other high priests of the pre-Maccabean period, cf. Appendix B.

^b Lit. “the fortresses and the guarding of these.”

^c The mss. of Arist. have ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχη διὰ τούτων, “in order that through them the Egyptian nation might not have any fear”; most editors of Arist., however, omit μὴ, “not,” as do Josephus and Eusebius, understand-

workmanship after I have reproduced a copy of the letter written to the high priest Eleazar, who obtained this office in the following way.^a On the death of the high priest Onias, he was succeeded by his son Simon, who was surnamed the Just because of both his piety toward God and his benevolence to his countrymen. But as he, when he died, left an infant son named Onias, his brother Eleazar, of whom we are now writing, took over the high priesthood, and it was to him that Ptolemy wrote in the following manner.

“ King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, greeting. There are many Jews settled in my kingdom who were made captives by the Persians when they were in power and whom my father honoured, enrolling some of them in his army with high pay, and entrusting to others, who came to Egypt with him, the guarding of the fortresses ^b in order that they might inspire the Egyptians with fear ^c ; and, when I took over the royal power, I showed kindness to all men, especially to your fellow-citizens,^d of whom I have set free over one hundred thousand captive slaves,^e paying their

Ptolemy's
letter to
Eleazar.
Aristeas
§ 35

ing Arist. to mean that the Jewish garrisons were intended to protect the Ptolemaic ruler against native uprisings.

^d This use of *πολίται*, both in Arist. and Josephus, to denote the co-religionists in Egypt of the Jews of Palestine is one of several instances which show how far it was from the Hellenistic mind, whether pagan or Jewish, to distinguish between race and nationality or between nationality and religion, as is assumed by S. Zeitlin in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. xxvi., 1936, pp. 313-348.

^e M. Rostovtzeff writes in *Yale Classical Studies*, iii., 1932, p. 68, “ Many Jewish slaves might have appeared on the Alexandrian market after or during the so-called First Syrian War of Ptolemy Philadelphus ; it seems probable that a little later a detail of that *διάγραμμα* was regulated by a special order, of which a fragment is P. Hib. 29 (c. 265 B.C.).” See also W. L. Westermann in *AJP* 59 (1938), 19-28.

δεσπόταις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λύτρα καταβαλόν.
 47 τοὺς δὲ ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸν στρατιωτι-
 κὸν κατάλογον κατέταξα, τινὰς δὲ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς
 καὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν εἶναι δυναμένων¹ ταύτης
 ἡξίωκα, νομίζων ἡδὺ τῷ θεῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
 προνοίας ἀνάθημα τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον ἀναθήσειν.
 48 βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις τὸν νόμον
 ὑμῶν ἔγνω μεθερμηνεῦσαι, καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑλ-
 ληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεταγραφέντα κείσθαι
 49 ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπι-
 λεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐξ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς
 ἡδὴ πρεσβυτέρους,² οἳ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπείρως
 ἔχουσι τῶν νόμων καὶ δυνήσονται τὴν ἐρμηνείαν
 αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι· νομίζω γὰρ τούτων
 ἐπιτελεσθέντων μεγίστην δόξαν ἡμῖν³ περιγενή-
 50 σεσθαι. ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι περὶ τούτων δια-
 λεξομένους Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ
 Ἀρισταῖον ἐμοὶ τιμιωτάτους, δι' ὧν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς
 ἀναθημάτων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀπέσταλκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἑκατόν. καὶ

¹ τὴν . . . δυναμένων] τῆς ἐμῆς αὐλῆς (βουλῆς A) πιστῶν εἶναι δυναμένων FLAV: περὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν ἰκανῶν Naber (qui verba εἶναι δυναμένων post περὶ ἡμᾶς repon.).

² + πέμψαι (πέμψας E) FLVE Lat.

³ ἡμῖν post ἐπιτελεσθέντων hab. PAW.

^a Text slightly uncertain; Arist. has τοὺς δὲ δυναμένους καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῆς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πίστεως ἀξίους. For similar phrases cf. § 215, τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν (also found in Herodotus), and 1 Macc. x. 37, καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστιν; the similarity of this last clause with the phrase in Arist. § 37 is one of the points of Momigliano's argument, *Prime Linee di Storia della Tradizione Maccabaica*, 1931, 26

owners the redemption-money out of my own purse. Those who were in the prime of life I enrolled in the army list, and on others, who might be of service to us and occupy positions of trust at court,^a I have conferred this honour in the belief that I should thus be making a welcome and also very considerable offering to God in return for His providential care of me. Being also desirous to confer a favour both on these Jews and on all those throughout the habitable world, I have decided to have your Law translated and, when it has been rendered from the Hebrew into a Greek text,^b to have it deposited in my library. You will, therefore, do well to select^c from each tribe six good men of advanced age who by reason of their age are well versed in the laws and will be able to make an accurate translation of it. For I believe that from this achievement the greatest glory will accrue to us. And I have sent Andreas, the commander of the bodyguard, and Aristaeus—men whom I hold in the greatest honour—to discuss these matters with you, and by their hands I have also sent dedicatory offerings as first-fruits^d for the temple, and one hundred talents of silver for sacrifices and other purposes.

p. 164, that Arist. is in part based on 1 Macc. Other parallels to the phrase in Arist. are cited by Tramontano in his note *ad loc.*

^b γράμμασι here (and in Arist.) means, of course, "literature" not "letters" (*i.e.* characters). This passage is therefore no support for the transcription theory of Wutz, *cf.* § 20 note *a.*

^c The variant adds "and send."

^d Lit. "first-fruits (or "oblations") of dedicatory-offerings"; ἀπαρχαί in LXX translates Heb. *t'rumāh* "offering" (to the priest or temple) as well as *rēšith* "first-fruits." Andrews takes the phrase as appositional with the "100 talents of silver."

σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστέλλων περὶ ὧν ἂν θέλῃς ποιήσεις
κεχαρισμένα.”

- 51 (6) Τῆς οὖν ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθείσης
πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀντιγράφει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς
ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως· “ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος
βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένων σοῦ τε
καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης καὶ τῶν τέκνων
52 καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει πάντα. τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν λαβόντες
μεγάλως ἤσθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει σου, καὶ
συναθροίσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἐμφανί-
ζοντες αὐτῷ ἦν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν.
53 ἐπεδείξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ἃς ἔπεμψας
χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατῆρας
πέντε καὶ τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, ἃ τε εἰς θυσίαν
καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ὧν ἂν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν τάλαντα
ἐκατόν, ἃπερ ἐκόμισαν Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἀρισταῖος
οἱ τιμιώτατοί σου τῶν φίλων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ
παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι.
54 ἴσθι δ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον, κὰν ἧ τι παρὰ φύσιν,
ὑπομενοῦντας· ἀμείβεσθαι γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τὰς σὰς
εὐεργεσίας πολυμερῶς εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας
55 κατατεθειςας. εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς σου καὶ τέκνων καὶ φίλων προσηγάγομεν
θυσίας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι
σοι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ φυλαχθῆναί σου τὴν βασιλείαν

^a This was Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and successively wife of Lysimachus, Ptolemy Keraunos and her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom she married between 279 and 274 B.C., after he had banished his first wife, Arisinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus.

^b Probably the children of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe I, adopted by Arsinoe II (*cf.* schol. on Theocritus xvii. 128).

And so, if you write to us what your pleasure is, you will confer a favour on us."

(6) Accordingly, when the letter of the king had been delivered to Eleazar, he wrote back in reply to it as obligingly as possible. "Eleazar the high priest to King Ptolemy greeting. If you and Queen Arsinoe ^a and your children ^b are in good health, all is well with us. On receiving your letter we were greatly pleased with your proposal, and gathering together the people, we read it to them and made plain to them the piety which you show toward God. We also showed them the twenty shallow bowls of gold, the thirty of silver and the five mixing-bowls and the table for offerings ^c and the hundred talents for sacrifices and for the other things which the temple may need, which gifts were brought by Andreas and Aristaeus, your most honoured friends, who are good men, eminent in learning and worthy of your own excellent qualities. Be assured that we shall submit to anything that is of benefit to you, even though it exceed our nature, ^d for we ought to make a return for the kindness which you have shown our fellow-citizens in various ways. We therefore promptly offered sacrifices on behalf of you and your sister and children and friends, ^e and the people offered up prayers that your plans may be realized and that your kingdom may be preserved in peace and that

The high priest's reply to Ptolemy. Aristeas § 41.

^c The table of shew-bread is meant (*cf.* §§ 60 ff.), which in LXX Chron. is called "the table of setting forth" (*προθέσεως*), with which *ἀνάθεσις* here is probably synonymous.

^d Lit. "beyond" or "against nature"; *παρὰ φύσιν* (in Arist.) is translated by Andrews "even though your request is very unusual."

^e For historical instances of sacrifices performed in the Temple at Jerusalem on behalf of pagan rulers *cf.* Schürer ii. 302 ff.

ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν τε τοῦ νόμου μεταγραφὴν ἐπὶ συμ-
 56 φέροντι τῷ σῶ λαβεῖν ὃ προαιρῆ τέλος. ἐπελέ-
 ξαμεν¹ δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἕξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς
 ἐκάστης, οὓς πεπόμφαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον.
 ἔσται δὲ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ
 μεταγραφέντα τὸν νόμον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι μετ'
 ἀσφαλείας τῶν κομιζόντων. ἔρρωσο."

57 (7) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντέγραψεν. ἐμοὶ
 δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν
 ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, οἳ τὸν νόμον ἐκόμιζον
 ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου πεμφθέντες, δηλοῦν· ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα
 58 ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. τὴν μέντοι γε
 τῶν ἀναθημάτων πολυτέλειαν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἦν
 ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον
 ἡγησάμην διελθεῖν, ὅπως ἅπασιν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως
 περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία φανερά γένηται· ἄφθονον
 γὰρ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην χορηγῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
 παρῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιβλέπων
 οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ραθύμως εἶα γίνεσθαι τῶν
 59 κατασκευασμάτων. ὧν ἕκαστον² οἷον ἦν³ τὴν
 πολυτέλειαν διηγῆσομαι, τῆς μὲν ἱστορίας ἴσως
 οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ
 βασιλέως φιλόκαλον καὶ μεγαλόφρον οὕτω συ-
 στήσειν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ὑπολαμβάνων.

60 (8) Πρῶτον δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκθήσομαι.
 εἶχε μὲν οὖν δι' ἐννοίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγεθέ-
 στατον τοῖς μέτροις ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ κατα-
 σκεύασμα, προσέταξε δὲ μαθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς

¹ ἐπελεξάμην PL Lat. fort. recte.

² ἕκαστου V.

³ οἷόν τε FV ed. pr.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 55-60

the translation of the Law may be of benefit to you and reach the end which you desire. We ^a have also chosen six elders from each tribe and have sent them along with the Law. And it will be the part of your piety and uprightness to send back the Law when it has been translated, together with those who are bringing it, in safety. May you keep well."

(7) This, then, was the high priest's reply. But I have not thought it necessary to report the names of the seventy ^b elders who were sent by Eleazar and brought the Law, their names being set down at the end of the letter.^c However, as for the magnificence and workmanship of the dedicatory offerings which the king sent to the temple of God, I have thought it not inappropriate to describe them, in order that the king's eagerness to honour God may be apparent to all. For the king gave unlimited sums to be spent for these gifts and was constantly with the craftsmen, and looking over their work, did not allow any of the objects to be carelessly or indifferently made. How magnificent each of these was I shall describe, although perhaps my History does not call for such an account, because I believe that in this way I shall bring home to my readers the king's love of art and his magnanimity.

(8) First of all I shall give a description of the table. Now the king had in mind to make this object of unusually large dimensions, and he gave orders to learn the size of the table which was set up (in the

Magnificence of Ptolemy's gifts to the high priest. Aristeas § 51.

Ptolemy designs a table for the temple. Aristeas § 52.

^b Arist. 72. Josephus carelessly forgets that there were 6 from each of the 12 tribes (§ 56). Possibly from this statement in Josephus comes the familiar designation of the Alexandrian version of Scripture as *οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα* or *ο'* (although *οβ'* also occurs in the mss.), in Latin *Septuaginta*.

^c Arist. §§ 47-50 (the names being fictitious).

JOSEPHUS

ἀνακειμένης ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τραπέζης πόσον
 τέ ἐστὶν καὶ εἰ δύναται τούτου μείζον κατα-
 61 σκευασθῆναι. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ἡλικὴ τις
 ἦν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῆς οὐδὲν κωλύει μείζονα γενέσθαι,
 φήσας καὶ πενταπλασίονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῷ
 μεγέθει βούλεσθαι κατασκευάσαι, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ
 μὴ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἄχρηστος διὰ τὴν ὑπερ-
 βολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους γένηται (βούλεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ
 ἀνακεῖσθαι μόνον εἰς θεὰν τὰναθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 62 πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εὐχρηστα) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 λογισάμενος σύμμετρον κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν προ-
 τέραν τράπεζαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ σπάνιν χρυσοῦ, τῷ
 μεγέθει μὲν οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ὑπερ-
 βαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς ὕλης
 63 ἀξιολογωτέραν κατασκευάσαι. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν συν-
 ιδεῖν πραγμάτων παντοδαπῶν φύσιν καὶ λαβεῖν
 ἐπίνοιαν ἔργων καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων, καὶ ὅσα
 ἦν ἄγραφα τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτὸς παρέχων διὰ τὴν
 σύνεσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς τεχνίταις, ἐκέλευσε
 ταῦτα κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα
 πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντας ὁμοίως
 ἐπιτελεῖν.

64 (9) Ὑποστησάμενοι τοίνυν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τρά-
 πεζαν, δύο μὲν καὶ ἡμίσεως πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος,

^a *i.e.* in Scripture.

^b In the following sections on the table of shew-bread Arist. (followed by Josephus) greatly amplifies the brief description given in the LXX, Ex. xxv. 23 ff., xxxvii. 10 ff., although the LXX was supposedly not yet in existence. Beside committing an anachronism the author of this pseudepigraph has freely used his imagination in describing the table, and his

temple) at Jerusalem, to see how large it was and whether it was possible for a larger one than this to be constructed. And when he learned what the size of the existing table was and that there was nothing to prevent a larger one being made, he said that he would like to construct one as much as five times as large as the one there, but was afraid that it might be of no use in the temple ministrations because of its excessive size, for it was his wish to make dedicatory-offerings not merely for show but also to be of use in the temple ministrations ; it was for that reason, he reflected, that the former table had been constructed of moderate proportions, and not through lack of gold ; and so he decided not to go beyond the existing table in size, but to construct one more remarkable for the variety and beauty of its materials. And, as he was clever in understanding the nature of all sorts of things and devising new and wonderful objects, he himself, where there were no written directions,^a furnished a design of his own invention and, after explaining it to the craftsmen, ordered them to make these objects, and, where there were written directions, he ordered the men to follow these exactly and complete their work similarly.

(9)^b Having, therefore, undertaken to make a table after this model,^c they constructed one two and a

Description
of the
table ;

description remains obscure in many places. The notes following are meant chiefly to clarify the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist. ; for fuller explanations of the architectural or decorative details the reader should consult the commentaries on Arist.

^c Other translators of Josephus render *ὑποστησάμενοι* merely by "having undertaken" (to make), neglecting its special sense "to make something after a model," and by placing a comma before *κατεσκεύαζον*, leave this verb as a needless doublet of *ποιούμενοι*.

JOSEPHUS

ἐνὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἐνὸς καὶ ἡμίσιους
 κατασκευάζον, ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἔργου
 καταβολὴν ποιούμενοι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεφάνην παλαι-
 στιαίαν εἰργάσαντο, τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτά τὴν
 ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινοειδῆ, τῇ τορεία θαυμαστῶς
 65 ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν μεμιμημένην. τριγώνων γὰρ
 ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐκάστη γωνία τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτυπώ-
 σεως¹ εἶχε διάθεσιν, ὡς στρεφομένων αὐτῶν μίαν
 καὶ μὴ διάφορον τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι.
 τῆς δὲ στεφάνης τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγ-
 κεκλιμένον² ὠραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἀποτύπωσιν,³ τὸ δ'
 ἔξωθεν περιηγμένον ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ κάλλει τῆς
 ἐργασίας ἦν ἐκπεπονημένον, ὡς ὑπ' ὄψιν καὶ
 66 θεωρίαν ἐρχόμενον. διὸ καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπεροχὴν
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὀξεῖαν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι,
 καὶ μηδεμίαν γωνίαν τριῶν οὐσῶν ὡς προειρη-
 κάμεν, περὶ τὴν μεταγωγὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἐλάσσονα
 βλέπεσθαι. ἐνδιέκειντο δὲ ταῖς σχοινίσιν τῆς
 τορείας λίθοι πολυτελεῖς παράλληλοι, περόναις
 67 χρυσαῖς διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι. τὰ δ' ἐκ
 πλαγίου τῆς στεφάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄψιν ἀνατείνοντα
 ὧν ἐκ λίθου καλλίστου πεποιημένων θέσει κατα-
 κεκόσμητο, ῥάβδοις τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν εἰκότων
 πυκναῖς, αἱ περὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς τραπέζης εἴληντο.
 68 ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν ὧν διατύπωσιν στέφανον περι-
 ἤγαγον οἱ τεχνῖται παντοίου καρποῦ φύσιν ἐντετο-
 ρευμένον, ὡς ἀποκρέμασθαί τε βότρυς καὶ στάχυας

¹ ἐκτυπώσεως PAW: formae Lat.

² Naber; ἐκκεκλιμένον P; ἐγκεκλεισμένον LAW: ἦν κεκλει-
 σμένον FV: inclusa Lat.

³ διατύπωσιν FV Arist.

^a Arist. 2 (as in Scripture).

^b So in Scripture and in Eusebius' paraphrase of Arist.;

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half^a cubits in length, one in width^b and one and a half in height, and made the whole foundation of the work out of gold. Moreover they wrought a rim of a hand-breadth and twisted wave-mouldings carved in low relief of a rope-design, of which the modelling was a marvellously faithful imitation, on all three surfaces. For these (rims) were triangular, and each angle had the same pattern worked in it, so that, when they were turned, the same form without any difference appeared on every surface. Now, on the rim, the side sloping down toward^c the table had lovely modelling, but the side turned outwards was adorned with even greater beauty of workmanship, since it came under the eye of the spectator. For that reason the upper edge, where the two surfaces met, was an acute angle, and no one angle, of which there were three, as we have said before, appeared less than the others when the table was carried round. And in the coils of the relief-work were set precious stones, one beside another, and they were secured with gold pins by which they were pierced. The side of the rim which slanted upward to meet the eye was ornamented with an egg-pattern made of most beautiful stone resembling in its carving the continuous flutings which ran all round the table. And below the egg-modelling the craftsmen set round a wreath on which were carved in relief the likenesses of all kinds of fruit, so that clusters of grapes hung down and ears

its rims.
Aristeas
§ 57.

the dimension of width is omitted in the mss. of Arist. itself, probably through an oversight.

^c Conjectured; mss. "turning out"; Arist. has τὸ μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπόκλιμα. The nature of the rim is puzzling; Dr. Thackeray, in his translation of Arist., helpfully suggests that it was a "triangular rotatory bar crowning the border and turning on pivots at the corner."

- ἀναστῆναι καὶ ῥόας ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ λίθους εἰς πᾶν γένος τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν, ὡς ἐκάστου τὴν οἰκείαν ἐντετυπῶσθαι χρῶαν, ἐξεργασάμενοι συνέδησαν τῷ χρυσῷ περὶ ὅλην τὴν
- 69 τράπεζαν. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέφανον ὁμοίως ἢ τῶν ὠῶν διάθεσις πεποιήτο καὶ ἡ τῆς ῥαβδώσεως ἀναγλυφή, τῆς τραπέζης ἐπ' ἀμφότερον μέρος ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἔργων καὶ γλαφυρότητος θεᾶν κατεσκευασμένης, ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων¹ κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης μηδὲ² τῆς τραπέζης ἐφ' ἕτερον μέρος ἐναλλαττομένης γίγνεσθαι διάφορον, τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ὄψιν τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως διατετάσθαι.
- 70 ἔλασμα γὰρ χρυσοῦ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων δακτύλων ποιήσαντες καθ' ὅλου τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης πλάτους εἰς τοῦτο τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἐνέθεσαν, ἔπειτα περόναις καὶ κατακλείσιν³ αὐτοὺς ἐνέσφιγγον τῇ τραπέζῃ κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην, ἵνα τὴν θεᾶν τῆς καινουργίας καὶ πολυτελείας, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἂν στήσῃ
- 71 τὴν τράπεζαν μέρει, παρέχωσι τὴν αὐτήν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης μαίανδρον ἐξέγλυψαν, λίθους αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον ἀξιολόγους ὡσπερ ἀστέρας ποικίλης ιδέας ἐνθέντες, τὸν τε ἄνθρακα καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον ἡδιστον προσαυγάζοντας αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον τοῖς ὀρώσιν, τῶν τε ἄλλων γενῶν ὅσοι περισπούδαστοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς φύσεως
- 72 ὑπάρχουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν μαίανδρον πλέγμα τι σχοινοειδὲς περιῆκτο ῥόμβῳ τὴν κατὰ μέσον ὄψιν

¹ ἄλλων om. FV Lat. Arist.

² μετὰ LAW.

³ κατακλείσεις FLAVW.

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of grain stood up and pomegranates were inclosed.^a And they fashioned stones for every species of the above-mentioned fruits, so that each was represented in its own colour, and they fastened them to the gold^b round the whole table. Similarly, below the wreath another egg-pattern was made, and flutings were carved in low relief, the table being constructed with the same appearance of variety of workmanship and elegance on both ends,^c so that, even when the table was turned the other way there was no difference in the two wave-mouldings and rims, but the same form of decoration extended right down to the feet. For they made a plate of gold four fingers wide along the whole width of the table, into which they set the feet and then fastened them to the table near the rim by pins and clamps, in order that, on whichever side the table was placed, they might present the same appearance of original workmanship and costliness. On the table itself^d they carved a meander, in the midst of which they set valuable stones of various forms like stars,^e such as the ruby and emerald, each of which sparkled most delightfully to the eye, and other kinds of stones which are most sought after and desired for their precious quality. Next to the meander was carried round a network of rope-design,^f with a

Top of the
table.
Aristeas
§ 66.

^a The exact meaning of ἀποκεκλείσθαι (not found in Arist.) is doubtful; it seems to be something like "were outlined distinctly."

^b Less probably (with Andrews) "with gold."

^c Whether ends or sides are meant is far from clear.

^d *i.e.* the top surface.

^e This detail, peculiar to Josephus, probably rests, as Dr. Thackeray suggests, on a reading πλειάδων πολυειδῶν "pleiads of various forms" in Arist. § 66, where our mss. have πυλιάδων, an unknown word.

^f The "rope-design" is a detail added by Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

ἐμφερές, ἐφ' οὗ κρύσταλλός τε λίθος καὶ ἤλεκτρον
 ἐντετύπωτο,¹ τῇ παραλλήλῳ τῆς ιδέας γειτνιασεί
 ψυχαγωγίαν θαυμαστήν παρέχον τοῖς βλέπουσιν.
 73 τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλίδες εἰς κρίνα με-
 μιμημένοι τὰς ἐκφύσεις, τῶν πετάλων ὑπὸ τὴν
 τράπεζαν ἀνακλωμένων, εἰς ὀρθὸν δὲ τὴν βλάστησιν
 74 ἔνδοθεν παρεχόντων ὁράν. ἡ δὲ βάσις αὐτοῖς ἦν
 ἐξ ἄνθρακος λίθου παλαιστιαία πεποιημένη, σχῆμα
 κρηπίδος ἀποτελουῦσα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀκτῶ δακτύλων
 ἔχουσα, καθ' οὗ τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα τῶν ποδῶν
 75 ἐρήρειστο. ἀνέγλυψαν δὲ λεπτομερεῖ καὶ φιλοπόνῳ
 τῇ τορεία τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστον, κισσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 κλήματα ἀμπέλων σὺν καὶ βότρυσιν ἐκφύσαντες,
 ὡς εἰκάσαι μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ γὰρ
 πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἄκρον²
 αὐτῶν ἔκτασιν κινούμενα, φαντασίαν τῶν κατὰ
 φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης μιμημάτων παρεῖχεν.
 76 ἐκαιούργησαν δὲ ὥστε τρίπτυχον οἶονεὶ τὸ σχῆμα
 τῆς ὄλης κατασκευάσαι τραπέζης, τῆς ἀρμονίας
 πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν οὕτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς
 ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ μηδ' ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὰς συμβολάς.
 ἡμισυ δὲ πήχεως οὐκ ἔλασσον τῇ τραπέζῃ τὸ πάχος
 77 συνέβαινε εἶναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτο κατὰ
 πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν τοιοῦτο τῇ τε
 πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς καλλονῆς
 καὶ τῇ μιμήσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν τορείαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν
 συντετελέσθη, σπουδάσαντος εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει

¹ ἐκτετύπωτο PAW: impositi Lat.

² ἐπ' ἄκρον] ἐπάνω FLV.

^a Lit. "parallel proximity (or "resemblance") of form"; no such phrase is found in Arist.

central panel shaped like a lozenge, into which were pressed stones of crystal and amber, and these by their appearance of regular alternation ^a afforded a wonderfully attractive sight to behold. As for the feet, they had capitals made to imitate unfolding lilies, with their petals bent back under the table, while within they held their stamens erect to be seen. And they had a base made of ruby a hand-breadth high, which presented the appearance of a pedestal ^b; it was eight fingers wide, and on it the whole shaft ^c of the foot rested. They also carved each of the feet in relief with most delicate and painstaking modelling, creating ivy and vine-branches and clusters of grapes, so that one would suppose they were not other than real. For, as they moved in the wind because of their lightness and fine-edged tenuousness, they gave the appearance of natural things rather than of artificial imitations. The workmen also showed originality in constructing the whole table in the form ^d of a triptych, the parts being so smoothly held together that the places where they were joined could not be seen or even suspected. And the thickness of the table was no less than half a cubit. And so this dedicatory-offering was finished, such being the preciousness of its material and the variety of ornament and the imitative skill of the craftsmen in modelling, in accordance with the great munificence of the king, for he was eager to produce a table which, if it was not to be greater in size than

^b κρηπίς (also found in Arist.) usually means "base" or "step" of a building, altar, etc.

^c Lit. "plate"; Andrews "expanse," Meecham "weight."

^d For σχῆμα "form" Arist. has στόμα "top" or "front" (lit. "mouth").

τῆς προανακειμένης τῷ θεῷ τραπέζης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι διάφορος, τῇ μέντοι γε τέχνῃ καὶ τῇ καιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀπεργάσασθαι.

- 78 (10) Τῶν δὲ κρατήρων χρύσειοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο, φολιδωτὴν δὲ εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ διαζώματος τὴν τορείαν, λίθων ταῖς σπείραις
 79 ποικίλων ἐνδεδεμένων. εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῆς¹ μαίανδρος πηχναῖος τὸ ὕψος ἐξείργαστο κατὰ σύνθεσιν λίθων παντοίων τὴν ἰδέαν κατ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ῥάβδωσις ἀνεγέλυπτο, καθ' ἧς πλέγμα ῥομβωτὸν δικτύοις
 80 ἔμφορὸς ἕως τοῦ χείλους ἀνείλκυστο· τὰ δὲ μέσα λίθων ἀσπίδια τετραδακτύλων ἀνεπλήρου τὸ κάλλος. περιεστέφετο δὲ τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ κρατήρος κρίνων σμίλαξι καὶ ἀνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινίαις
 81 εἰς κύκλον περιηγμέναις. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρυσεούς κρατήρας, δύο χωροῦντας ἑκάτερον ἀμφορέας, τοῦτον κατεσκεύασαν τὸν τρόπον· οἱ δ' ἀργύρειοι τῶν ἐσόπτρων τὴν λαμπρότητα πολὺ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν, ὡς τρανοτέρας διὰ τούτων τὰς τῶν
 82 προσφερομένων ὄψεις ὀραῖσθαι. προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιάλας τριάκοντα, ὧν ὅσα χρυσοῦς ἦν ἀλλὰ μὴ λίθῳ πολυτελεῖ διείληπτο, σμίλαξι κισσοῦ καὶ πετάλοις ἀμπέλων ἐσκίαστο
 83 φιλοτέχνως ἐντετορευμένων. ταῦτα δ' ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων θαν-

¹ αὐτῇ PAW.

^a "Of gold" is omitted in the mss. of Arist., probably through oversight.

^b Lit. "girdle."

^c Arist. "scales" (φολίδων).

the one already dedicated to God, should at least in artistry and originality and splendour of construction be far superior and generally admired.

(10) Of the mixing-bowls two were of gold,^a having scales in relief from the base to the middle,^b with various stones fastened in the coils.^c Then above this^d was a meander, a cubit in height, formed by the combination of stones of all kinds, and next to it was some carved fluting, and above this a pattern of interlacing lozenges, resembling a net, extended to the brim. The spaces between were filled with bosses of stones four fingers in depth, which added beauty. And the brim of the mixing-bowl was wreathed with the stalks^e and blossoms of lilies and clusters of grapes, which were carried round in a circle. Now this was the way in which they had made the mixing-bowls, each of which contained two *amphoreis*.^f As for the silver ones, they shone much more brilliantly than mirrors, so that the images of any who approached could be seen in them more clearly. The king also had them make, in addition to these, thirty^g shallow bowls of which the parts that were of gold but not studded with precious stones were overlaid^h with tendrils of ivy and vine-leaves,ⁱ artistically carved in relief. These excellent effects were achieved partly through the skilfulness of the workers, who

Description
of the
vessels.
Aristeas
§ 73.

^a *i.e.* the relief work (*τορείαν*); Arist. omits the pronoun.

^b The exact meaning of *συμλαξι* here (and in § 82) is uncertain; the word is not found in Arist.

^f Arist. "more than two *metretai*"; the *amphoreus* was the same as the *metretes*, equal to *c.* 9 gallons or 40 litres.

^g No number is given in Arist.

^h Lit. "were shaded."

ⁱ Arist. "about the rims they wove a wreath in relief work of ivy and myrtle and olive."

μασίων ὄντων περὶ τὴν τέχνην, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας 84 διαφερόντως ἀπηρτίζετο· οὐ γὰρ τῆς χορηγίας τὸ ἄφθονον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον τοῖς τεχνίταις παρέιχεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρηματίζειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκῶς αὐτὸς τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι παρῆν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἐργασίαν ἐπέβλεπεν. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιμελείας, οἱ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν ἀποβλέποντες φιλοπονώτερον τοῖς ἔργοις προσελιπάρουν.

85 (11) Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεμφθέντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου ἀναθήματα. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ἀναθεῖς αὐτὰ καὶ τιμήσας τοὺς κομίσαντας καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ δούς κομίζειν 86 ἀπέλυσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀκούσας Πτολεμαῖος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐληλυθότας, εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀνδρέαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρισταῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἐκόμιζον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ὅσα φράζειν ἀπὸ 87 λόγων ὑπέθετο¹ ταῦτα ἐδήλωσαν. σπεύδων δ' ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἤκουσι πρεσβυτέροις² ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς χρειῶν ἕνεκα παρεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολύσαι, παράδοξον τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ παρὰ 88 τὸ ἔθος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοιούτων αἰτιῶν ἀχθέντες διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ προσήεσαν, οἱ δὲ πρεσ-

¹ Nicse: ἐπέθετο PAW: ἐπέθετο FLV: iusserat Lat.

² ἤκουσι πρεσβυτέροις FLV ed. pr.: πρεσβύταις ἤκουσιν rell.

^a Here Josephus omits a large part of Arist. (§§ 83-171), which includes an account of the Alexandrian courtiers' visit

were admirable in their craft, but much more through the zeal and munificence of the king, for not only did he furnish the craftsmen with a lavish and generous abundance of material, but he also gave up attending to public affairs and himself came to see the artisans and supervised the whole work. This was the reason for the craftsmen's diligence, for, taking an example from the king and the zeal shown by him, they applied themselves to their tasks with greater will to labour.

(11)^a These, then, were the dedicatory-offerings sent to Jerusalem by Ptolemy. Now Eleazar, the high priest, after dedicating them to God and honouring the bearers, gave them gifts to take to the king, and sent them back to the king. And when they came to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard of their arrival and of the coming of the seventy^b elders, he at once sent for Andreas and Aristaeus, his envoys. Accordingly, when they came, they delivered to him the letters which they had brought him from the high priest, and reported to him all that the high priest had suggested that they should convey by word of mouth.^c Thereupon, being eager to meet the elders who had come from Jerusalem to translate the laws, he gave orders to dismiss any others who might be present on official business, thereby doing something very unusual and contrary to custom. For those who were brought by such reasons used to come before him on the fifth day, while envoys were admitted after a month. On this occasion, however, to Jerusalem, a description of the temple and *Akra*, and Eleazar's philosophical defence of the Mosaic law.

Arrival of
the Jewish
elders at
Alexandria.
Aristeas
§ 172.

^b Cf. § 57 note b.

^c Text and meaning of the last clause uncertain: Arist. has simply "we delivered the letters from Eleazar."

βεύοντες διὰ μηνός· τότε τοίνυν ἀπολύσας ἐκείνους,
 89 τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου περιέμενεν. ὡς
 δὲ παρήλθον μετὰ καὶ τῶν δώρων οἱ γέροντες ἅ
 τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίσαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ
 τῶν διφθερῶν αἰς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς
 νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς
 90 περὶ τῶν βιβλίων. ὡς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν
 ἐνειλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς
 τῆς ἰσχύουτος τοὺς ὑμένας καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ
 ἀνεπίγνωστον (οὕτως γὰρ ἤρμοστο) καὶ τοῦτο
 ποιήσας χρόνῳ πλείονι, χάριν εἶπεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τε
 ἐλθοῦσιν καὶ μείζονα τῷ πέμψαντι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων
 91 τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐκ-
 βοησάντων δ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν
 συμπαρόντων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, δι'
 ὑπερβολὴν ἡδονῆς εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, φύσει τῆς
 μεγάλης χαρᾶς πασχούσης καὶ τὰ τῶν λυπηρῶν
 92 σύμβολα. κελεύσας δὲ τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ
 τῆς τάξεως, τότε τοὺς ἀνδρας ἠσπάσατο, δίκαιον
 εἰπὼν εἶναι πρῶτον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψατο
 ποιησάμενον τοὺς λόγους, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους προσ-
 ειπεῖν. τὴν μέντοι γε ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἦλθον πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆ ποιήσειν καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπίσημον
 93 εἰς ὅλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐπηγγέλλετο· ἔτυχε
 γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς

^a I. Abrahams remarks, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xiv., 1902, p. 340, "there is some rabbinic confirmation that the χρυσογραφία ['writing in gold'] . . . was associated with the scrolls of the law used in Alexandria. The statement in Aristeeus confuses the whole ms. with the divine name. The name of God (according to *Tract. Sopherim*, i. 10) was so written in an Alexandrian codex."

^b This psychological explanation is added by Josephus.

he dismissed these people and awaited those who had been sent by Eleazar. Now when the elders came with the gifts which the high priest had given them to take to the king and with the leather skins on which the laws were written in letters of gold,^a he questioned them about these books. So they unrolled the wrappings and showed them to him, whereupon the king marvelled at the fineness of the membranes and the impossibility of telling where they were joined, so well were they fitted together; and, having done so for a long while, he said that he was thankful to them for coming, and more so to him who had sent them, but most of all to God, whose laws these were. Then both the elders and the others present cried out with one voice to wish the king happiness, at which he burst into tears through excess of pleasure, since it is natural for great joy to be expressed by the same signs as grief.^b He then ordered the books to be given to those in charge of the records,^c and only then did he greet the men, saying that it was right for him first to speak of the things for which he had summoned them and then to address them. He promised, moreover, that he would make a special occasion of the day on which they had come to him and would celebrate it every year so long as he lived, for, he said, the day of their coming happened to be the same as that of the victory

^a τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως in Josephus corresponds to εἰς τάξιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ τεύχη in Arist., which is generally translated "put the rolls back in their place" or "in order." Other scholars assume that Josephus has misunderstood this phrase, but his interpretation may be correct; cf. the phrase τὰ τῆς τάξεως βιβλία cited from the papyri by F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Aegyptens*, 1915, p. 169, and translated by him as "die Amtsakten" ("official records").

νίκης ἦν Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησεν· συνεστιαθῆναι τε αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καταλύσεις προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰς καλλίστας πρὸς τῆ ἄκρα.

- 94 (12) Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον καλέσας, ὃς εἶχε τὴν περὶ τούτων πρόνοιαν, ἐκέλευεν ἐτοιμάζειν ἐκάστω τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν.¹ διητέτακτο δὲ τοῦτον
 95 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τρόπον· κατὰ γὰρ πόλιν ἐκάστην, ὅσαι² τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθος πάντ' αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζετο, ἵνα τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης εὐωχοῦμενοι μᾶλλον ἤδωνται καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες³ δυσχεραίνωσιν. ὃ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγένετο, Δωροθέου διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον
 96 ἀριβειαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶτος. συνέστρωσε⁴ δε πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχάς, καὶ διμερῆ τὴν κλισίαν ἐποίησεν, οὕτως προστάξαν-

¹ ἐστίαν P: ἐστίασιν conl. Niese.

² ὅσαι P: ὅσαι οὐ FV: ὅσοι οὐ Naber.

³ ἔχον FV: corrupti extraneis Lat.

⁴ συνεστόρεσε LAW: συνεπόρισε Cocceji.

* If this is a reference to the battle of Cos c. 258 B.C. (for the date see the chronological note of W. Tarn in *CAH* vii. 862), it is an error or a deliberate correction of history, for Ptolemy Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas in that battle. No other naval battle between these two rulers is known to us. Some years later there was a naval battle at Andros between a Ptolemy and an Antigonus, but it is not certain whether the Ptolemy was Philadelphus or his successor Euergetes, or whether the Antigonus was Gonatas or his successor Dison, or finally whether the battle was a victory or a defeat for the Egyptians. Moreover,

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which he had gained over Antigonus in a naval battle :^a and so he invited them to dine with him, and directed that they should be given the best lodgings near the citadel.^b

(12) Accordingly Nicanor, who was the officer in charge of the reception of guests,^c called Dorotheus, who took care of these matters, and told him to prepare whatever food was required by each. Now these matters were arranged by the king in the following way : for each city that had its own^d habits of diet there was a person who looked after these and prepared all food for visitors in accordance with their customs, in order that they might have their usual kind of fare at the banquet-table, and so have the more pleasure and not take offence at anything to which they might be unaccustomed. And this is just what was done in their case, Dorotheus being put in charge of these matters because of his exactness in the details of living.^e He therefore spread out^f all the materials at his disposal for such receptions, and had the couches divided into two rows,

Ptolemy prepares a reception for the Jewish elders. Arist. § 182.

Arsinoe II is assumed in Arist. to have been alive at the time of this victory, and neither battle was fought before 269 B.C., when she died ; *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 68, and Tramontano, p. 113 (with literature).

^b The Jews of Alexandria lived near the royal palace or citadel (*cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note to *Ap.* ii. 33), in the north-eastern part of the city by the sea. The Palestinian elders, therefore, were appropriately lodged there.

^c In Arist. Nicanor is called ἀρχιητρός "chief physician," which most editors emend to ἀρχεδέατρος, probably meaning "chief steward" or "chief major-domo" (Tramontano).

^d Lit. "the same."

^e Arist. has προσεχέστατος ὦν, "because he was most attentive" or "conscientious."

^f Text and meaning uncertain ; perhaps "arranged in good order."

τος τοῦ βασιλέως· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ημίσεις ἐκέλευσεν
 ἀνὰ χεῖρα κατακλιθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μετὰ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας
 97 τιμῆς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτως κατεκλίθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν
 Δωρόθεον, οἷς ἔθεσι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι πάντες
 οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι, κατὰ
 ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱεροκῆρυκας καὶ
 θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὰς κατευχὰς ἐποιοῦντο,
 παρητήσατο, τῶν δὲ παραγενομένων ἓνα Ἐλισσαῖον
 ὄνομα ὄντα ἱερέα παρεκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιήσα-
 98 σθαι κατευχὰς. ὁ δὲ στὰς εἰς μέσον ἠΰχετο τῷ
 βασιλεῖ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
 εἶτα κρότος ἐξ ἀπάντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἦρθη,
 καὶ παυσάμενοι πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν
 99 τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐτράπησαν. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδοξεν ἀποχρῶντα καιρὸν εἶναι,
 φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν λόγους
 ἐπηρώτα φυσικούς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων
 θεωρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν
 λέγειν αὐτοῖς προβληθείη διασαφούντων, ἠδόμενος
 τούτοις¹ ἐφ' ἡμέρας δώδεκα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποιή-
 100 σατο, ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν

¹ τοιοῦτον FVE et fort. Lat.

^a The seating arrangement is not quite clear. Some scholars take ἀνὰ χεῖρα (conj. in Arist. for ἀναρχα of the mss.) to mean "at his right," and μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν to

the king having so commanded ; for he had ordered that half the guests should recline beside him and the others behind his own couch,^a thus neglecting nothing in which he might show them honour. And when they had been seated in this manner, he told Dorotheus to serve them after the fashion to which all those who had come to him from Judaea were accustomed. He therefore dispensed with the sacred heralds and sacrificers and the others who used to offer prayers, but, instead, the king called upon one of the visitors, named Elissaeus,^b who was a priest, to offer prayer. And so he stood in their midst and prayed for the happiness of the king and his subjects. Thereupon applause and cries of joy arose from all sides, and, when they had done, they turned to feasting and enjoying the good things that had been prepared. But the king, after waiting for what seemed a sufficiently long time, began to philosophize and asked each one of them about problems of nature,^c and when, after considering the questions, they gave precise explanations concerning every single problem suggested to them for discussion, he was delighted with them and made the banquet last for twelve ^d days, so that anyone who wishes to find out the details

mean " at his left," since it was the custom to recline on the left arm, and so those seated at the king's left would be somewhat behind him. Chamonard, however, renders the second phrase by " à une table placée derrière la sienne."

^b Gr. Elissaios = Heb. Elisha ; Arist. has Eleazar, which some editors correct to Elisha on the basis of Josephus' reading.

^c Or " problems of moral philosophy " ; for this meaning of φυσικός (esp. in Stoicism) cf. Chrysippus, ed. v. Arnim, fr. 68, οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκεν τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας παραληπτῆς οὔσης ἢ πρὸς τὴν περὶ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν διάστασιν.

^d Only 7 days in Arist. (§ 275).

ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι
 τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα.¹
 101 (13) Θαυμάζοντας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ βασι-
 λέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ φιλοσόφου προνοία
 διοικεῖσθαι πάντα φήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς καὶ
 τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν καὶ κάλλος εὐρῆσθαι, παύονται
 102 μὲν περὶ τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.² γεγενῆσθαι δ'
 αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγεν
 ἤδη παρόντων αὐτῶν· ὠφελῆσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν
 μεμαθηκότα πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν· κελεύει τε αὐτοῖς
 103 ἀνὰ τρία δοθῆναι τάλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀποκατα-
 στήσοντας ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν. διελθουσῶν δέ
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ
 διελθὼν τὸ ἑπταστάδιον χῶμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς
 τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν, προελθὼν
 ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη συνέδριον ἐποίησατο ἐν τῷ
 104 παρὰ τὴν ἡόνα κατεσκευασμένῳ οἴκῳ πρὸς διά-
 σκεψιν πραγμάτων ἡρεμίας καλῶς ἔχοντι. ἀγαγὼν
 οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παρεκάλει, πάντων ὧν³ δεηθεῖεν
 εἰς τὴν ἔρμηνείαν τοῦ νόμου παρόντων, ἀκωλύτως
 ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτίμως

¹ διὰ ταῦτα] καὶ εἰς μνήμην διὰ ταῦτα κατέλειπεν P.

² ἔτι ζητοῦντες PAE.

³ Niese: ὧν ἂν codd.

^a Thus Josephus summarizes the long section in Arist. (§§ 187-292), which reports the dialectical discussion at the banquet-table between the king and the several elders on matters of public morality.

^b Here Josephus reverts for a moment to the beginning of Arist.'s account of the symposium, §§ 201-202.

^c This celebrated philosopher from Eretria was a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus and a friend of Antigonus Gonatas. Most scholars doubt that he was ever in Alexandria, but Tramontano holds it possible, *cf.* his note *ad loc.*

of the questions discussed at the banquet can learn them by reading the book which Aristaeus composed on this account.^a

(13)^b Now it was not only the king who admired them, but also the philosopher Menedemus,^c who said that all things were governed by providence, and it is natural that through its power and beauty of speech are discovered^d; after this they left off inquiring into these problems. Then the king said that he had already experienced the greatest of blessings through their being there, for he had profited by learning from them how he ought to reign, and he ordered that each of them should be given three talents and have attendants to take them back to their lodgings.^e After an interval of three days Demetrius took them with him and, after walking seven stades^f along the sea-embankment to the island^g and crossing over by the bridge, proceeded to the north side and called a meeting in a house which had been built near the shore and was excellently fitted for the consideration of serious matters because it was so quiet there. And so he brought them there and requested them, since they had everything they might need for the translation of the law, to carry out their task without interruption. Thereupon they set to work as am-

The Jewish elders begin work on the translation. Aristaeus § 201.

Aristaeus § 293.

^a Josephus' Greek (from *καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'*) is obscure; Arist. is clearer, "it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God."

^e The corresponding passage in Arist. is obscure, *ἐκάστῳ δὲ τρία τάλαντα προσέταξεν ἀργυρίου δοθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀποκαταστήσοντα παῖδα*; it may mean, as Josephus paraphrases, that each elder was given his three talents by a slave and accompanied by the same slave to his lodging.

^f Somewhat less than a mile.

^g Of Pharos. A map of Alexandria, showing the sites mentioned here, is given in Bevan, *Ptol.*

καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιούμενοι
μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης πρὸς τούτῳ διετέλουν ὄντες,
105 ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάττοντο θερα-
πείαν, ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν χορ-
ηγουμένων, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ
106 αὐτοῖς παρέχοντας. πρῶτ' δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν
παραγινόμενοι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενοι,
πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπήεσαν τόπον, καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ
τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι καὶ καθαίροντες αὐτοὺς
οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνείαν ἐτρέποντο.
107 μεταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν
ἑρμηνείαν ἔργου τέλος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ
δυσὶν λαβόντος, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα καὶ μετ-
εβλήθησαν οἱ νόμοι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων
108 ἀνέγνω τούτους. τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ
τοὺς διασαφήσαντας πρεσβυτέρους τὸν νόμον,
ἐπήνεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς
μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς εὐρετὴν¹ γεγενημένον,
παρεκάλεσάν τε δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν

¹ εὐεργέτην PFL.

^a 3 P.M.

^b From this sentence (in the corresponding passage in Arist., §§ 304 ff.) it appears that the translators spent the late afternoon and evening at or near Ptolemy's palace, and after paying their respects at court every morning, left for the island of Pharos (for ἀπήεσαν, "went back," Arist. has ἀπελύοντο, "were dismissed"). For the bearing of this point on the date of the composition of Arist. see H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, 1924, p. 88, and Tramontano's note *ad loc.* (*versus* Willrich).

^c L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and*

bitiously and painstakingly as possible to make the translation accurate, continuing at their work until the ninth hour,^a when they took a recess to attend to their bodily wants, for food was liberally supplied them and Dorotheus, moreover, furnished them with many of the dishes prepared for the king—this by his command. And early each day they would go to the court, pay their respects to Ptolemy and then go back to the same place^b and, after washing their hands in the sea and purifying themselves,^c would betake themselves in this state to the translation of the laws. Now, when the Law had been transcribed and the work of translation brought to an end in seventy-two days, Demetrius assembled all the Jews at the same place where the laws had been rendered, and in the presence of the translators read them aloud. Thereupon the people expressed their approval of the elders who had interpreted the Law, and also praised Demetrius for conceiving the idea through which he had become the originator of great benefits to them, and they urged him as well

Greece, 1934, pp. 49 f., writes: "Although official Judaism has preserved no trace of a precept to that effect, there is abundant evidence that Jews in Hellenistic countries built their synagogues by preference in the proximity of water. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10, 23, para. 258, tells of a decision of the people of Halicarnassus to suffer the Jews to . . . build synagogues, as was their custom, by the sea. At Philippi the apostle Paul and his companions went forth on a Sabbath outside the town gate near the river where they supposed there was a synagogue (Acts xvi. 13).

"As we have seen, the synagogues of Delos, Aegina and Miletus in fact lie close to the edge of the shore." He adds in a note, "It seems plausible to seek the motive for this Jewish custom of the Diaspora in . . . the ritual uncleanness of the land of the Gentiles," and cites an illustrative passage from *Mekhilta*, the rabbinic commentary on Exodus (xii. 1).

ἀναγνῶναι τὸν νόμον, ἠξίωσάν τε¹ πάντες ὃ τε
 ἱερεὺς καὶ τῶν ἐρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐπεὶ καλῶς τὰ τῆς
 ἐρμηνείας ἀπήρτισται,² καὶ διαμεῖναι ταῦθ', ὡς
 109 ἔχει,³ καὶ μὴ μετακινεῖν αὐτά. ἀπάντων δ'⁴ ἐπαι-
 νεσάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευσαν, εἴ τις ἢ περισσόν
 τι προσγεγραμμένον ὄρα τῷ νόμῳ ἢ λείπον, πάλιν
 ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῦτο καὶ ποιοῦντα φανερόν διορθοῦν,
 σωφρόνως τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵνα τὸ κριθέν ἅπαξ
 ἔχειν καλῶς εἰς αἰεὶ διαμένη.

110 (14) Ἐχάρη μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ,
 τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν εἰς τι χρήσιμον ὄρων τε-
 τελειωμένην, μάλιστα δέ⁵ τῶν νόμων ἀναγνωσ-
 θέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν
 ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ νομοθέτου· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον
 ἤρξατο πρὸς τοὺς λόγους, πῶς οὕτως θαυμαστῆς
 οὔσης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν
 111 αὐτῆς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπεμνήσθη. ὁ δὲ Δη-
 μήτριος μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῆς τῶν νόμων τούτων
 ἀναγραφῆς ἄψασθαι διὰ τὸ θείαν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ
 σεμνὴν ἔφασκεν, καὶ ὅτι βλαβεῖεν ἤδη τινὲς τούτοις
 112 ἐγχειρήσαντες⁶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, δηλῶν ὡς Θεόπομπος⁷

¹ ἠξίωσάν τε FV : ἀξιώσαντες rell.

² ἀπήρτιστο LAW.

³ ἔχει PLAW.

⁴ δὲ αὐτῶν AW.

⁵ μάλιστα δὲ E ; μάλιστα ὡς δὲ PAW ; ἤσθη δὲ μάλιστα FLV.

⁶ ἐπιχειρήσαντες FLAVE.

⁷ Θεόπομπος Dindorf : Θεόπομός τε codd.

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to give their leaders the Law to read ^a; and all of them, including the priest and the eldest of the translators ^b and the chief officers of the community, ^c requested that, since the translation had been so successfully completed, it should remain as it was and not be altered. Accordingly, when all had approved this idea, they ordered that, if anyone saw any further addition made to the text of the Law or anything omitted from it, he should examine it and make it known and correct it ^d; in this they acted wisely, that what had once been judged good might remain for ever.

(14) And so the king rejoiced at this act as well, seeing his design result in a useful accomplishment, but especially did he rejoice when the laws were read to him, and he was amazed at the depth of mind and wisdom of the lawgiver; and he began to discuss with Demetrius how it was that though this legislation was so admirable none of the historians or poets had made mention of it. Thereupon Demetrius explained that no one had ventured to undertake a description of these laws because of their divine and awful nature, ^e and that some who had already attempted this had been afflicted by God; and he

Ptolemy learns why the Jewish Law has remained unknown to Greeks. Aristeas § 312.

^a Arist. "urged him to have the whole Law copied and give (a copy) to their leaders" (the original translation being meant for the king's library).

^b Or "the elders who were the translators."

^c The organization of the Jewish community (*πολίτευμα*) in Alexandria will be described in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

^d Arist. "he (Demetrius) ordered them to pronounce a curse, in accordance with their custom, on any who should alter, by adding or changing, any of the words which had been written, or by omitting anything"; *cf.* Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32.

• *Cf.* § 38 note *a.*

- βουληθεῖς ἱστορήσαι τι¹ περὶ τούτων ἔταράχθη τὴν
 διάνοιαν πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ παρὰ
 τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐξιλιάσκετο τὸν θεόν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ
 γενέσθαι τὴν παραφροσύνην ὑπονοῶν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συμβαίῃ περιεργα-
 ζομένῳ τὰ θεία καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκφέρειν εἰς κοινούς
 ἀνθρώπους θελήσαντι· καὶ ἀποσχόμενος κατέστη
 113 τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοδέκτου τοῦ
 τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι ὅτι βουληθεῖς
 ἔν τινι δράματι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βίβλῳ γεγραμμένων
 μνησθῆναι τὰς ὄψεις γλαυκωθεῖη, καὶ συνιδῶν τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πάθους ἐξευμενισάμενος
 τὸν θεόν.
- 114 (15) Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ
 Δημητρίου, καθὼς προεῖρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς
 ἐκέλευσε πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων τὴν ἐπι-
 μέλειαν, ἵνα διαμείνη ταῦτα καθαρῶς, τοὺς τε
 ἐρμηνεύσαντας παρεκάλεσε συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ
 115 τῆς Ἰουδαίας παραγίγνεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ
¹ τι om. AWE.

^a A famous Greek historian from Chios, who flourished in the second half of the 4th century B.C., and came to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy I. Only fragments of his works, including the *Hellenica* and *Philippica*, have survived, some of them among the papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus. Josephus mentions him again in *Ap.* i. 221.

^b Andrews comments, "He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (*πολυπράγμων*), which gives point to the *περιεργασάμενος* of [*Arist.*] § 315." ^c Or "profane."

^d *Arist.* "And I have heard from Theodectes"; it is not clear in *Arist.*, however, whether Demetrius or Aristetas is the speaker.

^e Theodectes of Phaselis, who was a rhetorician as well as a tragic poet, lived most of his life at Athens, where he was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a friend of Aristotle (*cf. Eth.*

told how, when Theopompus^a wished to relate something about them, he had become disturbed in mind for more than thirty days and during lucid intervals had tried to appease God, suspecting that it was from this source that his madness came; not only that, but he learned from a dream that this misfortune had befallen him because he had been too curious^b about divine things and wished to disclose them to common^c men, and so he gave up his plan and recovered his reason. Demetrius also informed him that it was reported^d of Theodectes, the tragic poet,^e that, when he wished to mention in one of his dramas the matters written in the sacred book,^f his eyes were afflicted with cataracts, and, when he recognized the cause, he rid himself of this disease by propitiating God.

(15) The king, then, having received these books from the hands of Demetrius, did obeisance to them^g and ordered that great care should be taken of the books in order that they might remain intact; he also invited the translators to come to him frequently from Judaea, for this would be profitable for them

Ptolemy's gifts to the Jewish elders and high priest. Aristeeas § 317.

Nic. vii. 7. 6, 1150 b). He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in a rhetorical contest arranged by Artemisia at Halicarnassus. There seems to be no evidence that he visited Egypt.

^f A fragment of a Hellenistic drama on a biblical theme (the Exodus) survives in the excerpts from the *Exagōgē* of the Jewish poet Ezekiel in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 28 ff., separately edited by J. Wieneke, *Ezechielis Iudaei poetae Alexandrini . . . Exagōgē*, 1931.

^g Or, less probably, "having received these (explanations) from Demetrius, did obeisance to them (the Jews)"; the corresponding passage in Arist. apparently refers to the books (so Tramontano); moreover it is inherently more likely that the king did obeisance to the sacred books than to the Jews.

- πρὸς τιμὴν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ὠφελείας λυσιτελήσειν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἔλεγεν, ἔκουσίως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας τεύξεσθαι πάντων ὧν ἢ τε αὐτῶν ἐστὶν σοφία δικαία τυχεῖν καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μεγαλο-
- 116 φροσύνη παρασχεῖν ἱκανή. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς, δούς ἐκάστῳ στολὰς ἀρίστας τρεῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τὴν τοῦ συμποσίου στρωμνὴν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις
- 117 ἔχειν ἔδωρήσατο· τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνης ὀθόνης ἰστοὺς ἑκατόν, ἔτι γε μὴν φιάλας καὶ τρύβλια καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς πρὸς
- 118 ἀνάθεσιν δύο. παρεκάλεσε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὅπως, εἴ¹ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θελήσειάν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπιτρέψῃ, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ τυγχανόντων συνουσίαν, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἠδέως ἔχων κατατίθεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοιαῦτα παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι.
- 119 (iii. 1) Ἐτυχον δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἀσίας τιμῆς, ἐπειδὴ συνεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς·

¹ εἶποτε cod. NC ap. Hudson.

^a So our mss. of Arist. § 318, πολυδωρίας; some editors, however, follow Mahaffy in reading πολυωρίας, "consideration."

^b For κυλίκιον (also in Arist.) some editors read κυλικεῖον, "side-board," and one or two take "a talent" to be its weight, not its value.

both on account of the honour to be received from him and the gifts^a they would gain. At this time, he said, it was only right to send them home, but, if they came to him of their own will, they would obtain all that their wisdom deserved to obtain and his own generosity was able to provide. For the time being, therefore, he sent them home, giving each of them three very fine garments, two talents of gold, a small wine-cup worth a talent,^b and the covering for a banquet-table.^c Now these gifts he gave them to keep for themselves, but to the high priest Eleazar he sent by them ten couches with feet of silver and the furnishings belonging to them and a small wine-cup^d worth thirty talents and, in addition to these, ten garments, a purple robe, a very handsome crown and a hundred pieces of fine-linen weave, as well as shallow bowls and cups and libation-bowls^e and two golden mixing-bowls to be dedicated to God. He also requested of him by letter that, if any of these men wished to come to him, he should permit them to do so, for he highly valued the society of those possessed of learning, and took pleasure in using his wealth for the benefit of such persons. These, then, were the things done by Ptolemy Philadelphus in appreciation and honour of the Jews.^f

(iii. 1) They also received honour from the kings of Asia when they served with them in war.^g For

Seleucus
Nicator and
the Jews.

^c Or perhaps "a banquet-table for three with its furnishings."

^d Cf. note *b* above.

^e The libation-bowls are not mentioned in our mss. of Arist.

^f Here ends Josephus' paraphrase of Arist.

^g On the privileges here asserted to have been granted the Jews by the early Seleucid rulers, see Appendix C.

JOSEPHUS

καὶ γὰρ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ¹ ἐν αἷς ἔκτισε πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσία καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρία καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοῦς ἠξίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνε Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἑλλησιν, ὡς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην
 120 ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν· τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο² τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἄλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὠρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν³. ὁ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ λῦσαι προαιρουμένου, Μουκιανὸς ἡγεμὼν ὢν τότε τῆς
 121 Συρίας ἐτήρησεν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, δεηθέντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Ἀντιοχεῖς ἵνα τὰ δίκαια τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μηκέτι μένη τοῖς Ἰου-
 122 δαίοις, οὐκ ἐπέτυχον. ἐξ οὗ τις ἂν κατανοήσειεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, ὅτι καίτοι πολλὰ πονήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ παρέδοσαν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα μέχρι δ' ἐσχάτου πολεμοῦντες
 123 ὑπέμειναν, οὐδενὸς αὐτοῦς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν ἀφείλοντο· ἅμα γὰρ⁴ καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Ἀντιοχέων δήμων μεγίστων παρακλήσεως

¹ E cod. NC ap Hudson: Νικάνωρ codd. Lat.

² τούτου τὸ AWE: τὸ FLV.

³ ἐκέλευσεν om. FLVE Lat.

⁴ ἅμα γὰρ P Lat.: ἀλλὰ FLAVW.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 119-123

example, Seleucus Nicator ^a granted them citizenship in the cities which he founded in Asia and Lower Syria and in his capital, Antioch, itself, and declared them to have equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks who were settled in these cities, so that this citizenship of theirs remains to this very day ; and the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil ^b ; and, when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it ; and afterwards, when Vespasian and his son Titus became masters of the habitable world, and the Alexandrians and Antiochians asked that the Jews should no longer continue to have the rights of citizenship, they did not obtain their request. From this one may get some notion of the fairness and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, for in spite of having suffered great hardships in the war with the Jews and feeling bitter toward them because they had not laid down their arms and persisted in fighting to the very last, they still did not deprive them of their existing rights of citizenship, mentioned above ; indeed ^c they overcame their former anger as well as the demands of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were powerful

Vespasian and Titus maintain Jewish privileges. Cf. *B.J.* vii 110 f.

^a The founder of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria and Asia Minor ; he ruled (officially) from 312 to 281/0 B.C.

^b On the reluctance of the Jews to use gentile oil cf. *Vita* 74 and *B.J.* ii. 591 ; cf. also Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii. 178 f., commenting on a Greek inscription (*SEG* ii. 663) of a Hellenistic city from the time of Antiochus III, "the treasury also allows a certain quantity of olive oil for the needs of the city's palaestrae and gymnasia." See also Appendix C.

^c Variant "but."

JOSEPHUS

124 ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τούτους χάριτος μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμηθέντας μισοπονηρίας ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ λύσαι τι τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλανθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνταραμένους αὐτοῖς ὄπλα καὶ χωρήσαντας διὰ μάχης δεδωκένας τιμωρίαν φήσαντες, τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν¹ ἀποστερεῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

125 (2) Ὅμοιον δέ τι τούτῳ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν φρονήσαντα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἶδαμεν· τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων κινήθωντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππα² ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνός, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Θεὸς λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετέχωσιν,³ ἀξιούντων δ',
126 εἰ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν⁴ θεούς, καὶ δίκης περὶ τούτων συστάσης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς αὐτῶν⁵ ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, συνηγορήσαντος αὐτοῖς Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας ἀπεφῆνατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίζειν
127 ἐξεῖναι. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς εἴ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν,

¹ οὐκ ἐδικαίουν P: οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον AW Lat.: οὐ δίκαιον FLVE.

² Ἀγρίππου PFVE.

³ E: μετέλθωσιν codd.: possiderent Lat.

⁴ ἰδίους αὐτῶν FLV: Ἰουδαίους αὐτῶν E.

⁵ αὐτοῖς FLV.

^a Variant (after "penalty") "and it was not right to deprive those who had done no wrong."

^b The famous friend and son-in-law of the emperor Augustus, who visited the East as his vice-regent during the years 16-13 B.C., cf. *Ant.* xvi. 12 ff., and the recent biography by M. Reinhold, 1933.

^c Lit. "share," so the Epitome; the mss. have "seek."

communities, so that neither out of favour to these nor out of detestation of the people they had fought did they yield in any respect to the temptation of revoking any of the ancient acts of kindness to the Jews, but said that those who had taken up arms against them and engaged in battle with them had paid the penalty, and they would not allow those who had done no wrong to be deprived^a of their existing rights.

(2) And we know that Marcus Agrippa^b had a similar view concerning the Jews, for when the Ionians agitated against them and petitioned Agrippa that they alone might enjoy^c the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called *Theos*^d by the Greeks, had given them,^e and claimed that, if the Jews were to be their fellows,^f they should worship the Ionians' gods, the matter was brought to trial and the Jews won the right to use their own customs, their advocate being Nicolas of Damascus^g; for Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule.^h But if anyone wishes

Marcus Agrippa also preserves Jewish privileges in Asia Minor. Cf. *Ant.* xvi. 27 ff.

For *μετέχειν* = "enjoy" see *Ant.* xvi. 39, 41 and *B.J.* vii. 44; cf. p. 742.

^a He ruled from 262 to 247/6 B.C.

^e *αὐτοῖς*, "them," is, as Reinach remarks, ambiguous, being applicable either to the Greeks or to the Jews, or to both. It is, however, probable that the Greeks alone are meant; see the discussion in Appendix C, pp. 741-742.

^f Lit. "those of the same family" or "class."

^g Cf. *Ant.* i. 94 note *b*, and the Appendix to the last volume of this translation, on Josephus' sources for Hellenistic history.

^h The reason for Agrippa's favourable decision is somewhat differently explained in *Ant.* xvi. 60. The above, §§ 125-126, is included (as a paraphrase) among the fragments of Nicolas' *History*, by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Pt. II A, 1926, p. 379 (fr. 81).

JOSEPHUS

ἀναγνώτω τῶν Νικολάου ἱστοριῶν τὴν ἑκατοστὴν
καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην. περὶ μὲν
οὖν τῶν ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα κριθέντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσως
θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπολέμει τότε Ῥωμαίοις τὸ
128 ἡμέτερον ἔθνος· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ' ἄν τις καὶ Τίτου
τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην εἰκότως ἐκπλαγεῖη μετὰ
πολέμους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὓς ἔσχον πρὸς
ἡμᾶς μετριοπαθησάντων. ἐπανάξω δὲ¹ τὸν λόγον
ὄθεν² ἐπὶ ταύτ' ἐξέβην.

129 (3) Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἐπ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτυχεν αὐτοὺς
τε³ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακου-
μένης καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους.
130 πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Πτο-
λεμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον
ἐπικληθέντα δὲ Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινε
αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος καὶ πταίοντος ταῦτά⁴ πάσχειν,
ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς καὶ πο-
νουμένης⁵ ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, μεταξὺ
τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον
131 αὐτοῦ ῥοπῆς⁶ τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. νικήσας

¹ δὴ FL: οὖν AW.

² ὄθεν γοῦν FLV: ὄθεν νῦν Naber.

³ αὐτοὺς τε om. FVE Lat.

⁴ P: ταῦτα rell.

⁵ καὶ πονουμένης] καταπονουμένης Naber fort. recte.

⁶ conl. Niese: τροπῆς codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 127-131

to learn the details, let him read the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of Nicolas' *History*. Now concerning the decision of Agrippa there is perhaps no reason to be surprised, for at that time our nation was not at war with the Romans ; but one may properly be amazed at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus who acted with moderation after the wars and great struggles which they had with us. But I shall return to the account from which I digressed into these remarks.^a

(3) When Antiochus the Great reigned over Asia ^b it was the lot of the Jews to undergo great hardships through the devastation of their land, as did also the inhabitants of Coele-Syria. For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator and with his son Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes, they had to suffer, and whether he was victorious or defeated, to experience the same fate ^c ; so that they were in no way different from a storm-tossed ship which is beset on either side by heavy seas, finding themselves crushed between the successes of Antiochus and the adverse turn of his fortunes. When, however, Antiochus had de-

Antiochus
the Great
takes
Palestine
from the
Ptolemies.

^a That is, to the account of Jewish history under the Seleucids.

^b From 223 to 187 B.C.

^c The armies of Antiochus the Great and of Ptolemy Philopator fought in 221 B.C. near the Lebanon, and again between 219 and 218 B.C., in the same region and in the cities of the Decapolis (Polyb. v. 45, 70 ff.). In 217 B.C. Philopator decisively defeated Antiochus at the battle of Raphia near the sea-coast of Palestine, a few miles S.W. of Gaza ; as a result of this defeat Antiochus had to "evacuate the whole country up to the Lebanon" (Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 229). Philopator died in 203 B.C., and two years later his successor Ptolemy Epiphanes had to give up Palestine to Antiochus' victorious forces, *cf.* note *a*, p. 66.

JOSEPHUS

μέντοι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
 προσάγεται. τελευταίαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος
 ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν καὶ
 στρατηγὸν Σκόπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία, ὃς
 132 πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον
 οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Σκόπαν Ἀντίοχος νικᾷ συμβαλὼν
 αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ πολλὴν
 133 αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειρεν. ὕστερον δ' Ἀν-
 τιόχου χειρωσαμένου τὰς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία πόλεις
 ἃς ὁ Σκόπας κατεσχῆκει καὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν,
 ἐκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῇ
 πόλει δεξάμενοι πάσῃ¹ αὐτοῦ τῇ τε στρατιᾷ καὶ
 τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἀφθονίαν παρέσχον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ
 Σκόπα καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσο-
 λύμων φρουροὺς πολιορκοῦντι προθύμως συνεμάχη-
 134 σαν. ὁ οὖν Ἀντίοχος δίκαιον ἠγησάμενος τὴν τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
 ἀμείψασθαι, γράφει τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ

¹ πᾶσαν PFV.

^a From the following sentence it seems that by "Ptolemy" here Josephus means Ptolemy Philopator. After Philopator's death (203 B.C.) and Ptolemy Epiphanes' accession Antiochus defeated the latter's general, the Aetolian Scopas, in two campaigns between 201 and 198 B.C., and finally ended Ptolemaic rule in Palestine. Thus Josephus is inaccurate in saying that Antiochus defeated Ptolemy if, as is generally assumed, he means Ptolemy Philopator, cf. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 37, note 6, "Coele-Syria had thus to be conquered *twice* by Antiochus subsequently to Raphia. This is the real fact at the basis of Josephus' statement that Antiochus conquered it *before* the death of Ptolemy Philopator. Josephus makes a hasty inference from his knowledge that Scopas had *found the country in Seleucid occupation.*" I venture to suggest, however, that Josephus' inaccuracy is more apparent than

feated Ptolemy, he annexed Judaea.^a And on the death of Philopator his son sent out a great force with Scopas as general against the people of Coele-Syria, and he took many of their cities and also our nation, which went over to him after being attacked.^b But not long afterwards Antiochus defeated Scopas in a battle near the sources of the Jordan,^c and destroyed a great part of his army. And later, when Antiochus took possession of the cities in Coele-Syria^d which Scopas had held, and Samaria, the Jews of their own will went over to him and admitted him to their city and made abundant provision for his entire army and his elephants; and they readily joined his forces in besieging the garrison which had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem.^e Accordingly Antiochus, considering it just to requite the zeal and exertions of the Jews on his behalf, wrote to his governors^f

real. Above, in § 130, he speaks of Antiochus' victories and defeats in wars with Philopator *and* Epiphanes. In the present passage it is quite possible that by "Ptolemy" he means not Philopator but Epiphanes, and that we should render the δὲ in the following sentence by "for" and not by "and" or "but," thus making the sentence explanatory of the preceding one; *i.e.* the passage would read, "When, however, Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy (Epiphanes), he annexed Judaea. For on the death of Philopator his son (Epiphanes), etc."

^b Presumably this information comes from Polybius, *cf.* § 136.

^c At Paneion or Paneas, modern *Banias*, the Caesarea Philippi of the New Testament, so called after the Tetrarch Philip, *cf.* *Ant.* xviii. 28, *B.J.* ii. 168.

^d Possibly "Coele-Syria" here means the Decapolis, *cf.* below, § 136 and *Ant.* xi. 25 note; it may, however, be merely a repetition of Coele-Syria in § 131, which means Palestine and Syria south of the Lebanon.

^e *Cf.* § 252 note *e.*

^f Or "generals," *cf.* § 138 note *b.*

τοῖς φίλοις, μαρτυρῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ
 πρὸς αὐτῶν πάθοι, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπὲρ τούτων
 135 διέγνω παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζων. παραθήσομαι
 δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν
 γραφείσας, προδιελθὼν ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡμῶν
 τοῖς λόγοις Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ
 ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως· “ ὁ
 δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Σκόπας ὀρμήσας εἰς
 τοὺς ἄνω τόπους κατεστρέψατο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὸ
 136 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.” λέγει δ’ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ βίβλῳ
 ὡς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ’ Ἀντιόχου “ τὴν μὲν
 Βαταναίαν¹ καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἀβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα
 παρέλαβεν Ἀντιόχος, μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ προσεχώρησαν
 αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσ-
 αγορευόμενον Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες, ὑπὲρ οὗ
 καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἔχοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ² τῆς³
 γενομένης περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιφανείας,⁴ εἰς ἕτερον
 137 καιρὸν ὑπερθησόμεθα τὴν διήγησιν.” καὶ Πολύβιος
 μὲν ταῦτα ἱστόρησεν.⁵ ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπανάξομεν⁶ τὸν

¹ Βατανέαν Niese: Bataniam Lat.

² τὸ προσαγορευόμενον . . . μάλιστα περὶ om. PW Lat.

³ τῆς δὲ PW Lat.

⁴ περὶ τῆς γενομένης . . . ἐπιφανείας] διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπιφάνειαν
 FLV.

⁵ ἱστόρηκεν FV.

⁶ ἐπανάξομεν PLAW.

^a “ Friends ” here probably has its technical meaning ;
 in the Macedonian kingdoms there were two orders of the
 military aristocracy (as earlier in Persia), that of Kinsmen
 (of the king) and that of Friends, cf. Bevan, *II. Sel.* ii. 280 ff.

^b The following excerpts from Polybius (not elsewhere
 preserved) hardly “ attest ” Josephus’ statements about
 Antiochus’ appreciation of the help given him by the Jews,
 as is pointed out by Reinach, who suspects Josephus of
 “ throwing dust in his reader’s eyes.” On the other hand
 Bevan, *II. Sel.* ii. 297, holds “ that Antiochus should in such

and Friends,^a bearing witness to the Jews concerning the good treatment which he had received at their hands, and announcing the rewards which he had decided to give them on that account. I shall, therefore, cite the letters written to his governors concerning them, first explaining that Polybius of Megalopolis attests these statements of mine^b; for in the sixteenth book of his *History* he says the following. "Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, set out for the upper country^c and during the winter subdued the Jewish nation." And in the same book he says that, after Scopas was defeated by Antiochus, "Antiochus took Batanaia,^d Samaria, Abila^e and Gadara,^f and after a short time there also came over to him those Jews who live near the temple of Jerusalem, as it is called, concerning which we have more to say, especially concerning the renown of^g the temple, but we shall defer the account to another occasion." Now this is what Polybius relates. But we shall return to the

Polybius' account of Antiochus III's conquests.

circumstances have shown some favours to the Jews and made presents to the Temple is in itself extremely likely."

^c Northern Palestine is meant.

^d Roughly corresponding to bibl. Bashan, the region north and east of the Decapolis.

^e Not Abel-beth-maacah, modern *Abil* south of the Lebanon (*cf. Ant. xix. 275*) or Abel-shittim, modern *Khirbet el-Keffrein*, a few miles east of the Jordan in the latitude of Jericho (*cf. Ant. iv. 176 note b*), but a third Abel or Abila is meant, about 10 miles N.E. of Gadara, a little W. of the Yarmuk river where it flows north.

^f A city of the Decapolis, modern *Mukēs*, well known from the Gospels; it lies a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers. Josephus mentions it frequently in his account of later history (*B.J. i., Ant. xiv.-xvi.*).

^g Or "concerning the divine manifestation connected with," *ἐπιφάνεια* having both these meanings, and the context not being decisive, but *cf. Hecataeus ap. Diod. Sic. xl. 3. 3.*

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λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν, παραθέμενοι πρῶτον τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.

- 138 “ Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτικά μὲν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον, καὶ παραγενομένους δ’ εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρῶς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπαντησάντων, ἄφθονον δὲ τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεχελόντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροὺς τῶν
- 139 Αἰγυπτίων, ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ² τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους³ συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσει τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν
- 140 πάλιν συνελθόντων. πρῶτον δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν τὴν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου

¹ + μὲν FLAVW.

² ἡμεῖς FVL Lat.

³ ἀνθρώπους· FV.

^a The authenticity of the letters and decrees ascribed to Antiochus the Great in §§ 138-153 is discussed in Appendix D.

^b Probably Ptolemy, son of Thraseas, who was governor

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main subject of our narrative, after first citing the letters of King Antiochus.^a

“ King Antiochus to Ptolemy,^b greeting. Inasmuch as the Jews, from the very moment when we entered their country, showed their eagerness to serve us and, when we came to their city, gave us a splendid reception and met us with their senate^c and furnished an abundance of provisions to our soldiers and elephants, and also helped us to expel the Egyptian garrison in the citadel,^d we have seen fit on our part to requite them for these acts and to restore their city which has been destroyed by the hazards of war,^e and to repeople it by bringing back to it those who have been dispersed abroad. In the first place we have decided, on account of their piety, to furnish them for their sacrifices an allowance of sacrificial animals, wine, oil and frankincense to the

Letter of
Antiochus
III to his
governor
Ptolemy.

of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia under Antiochus the Great, cf. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 1900, No. 1229 (p. 858); Bevan, *II. Sel.* ii. 297, writes, “ In objecting that Ptolemy was made governor in 218, *Juden u. Griechen*, p. 40, Willrich is thinking of the date in which he was in the Egyptian service, Polyb. v. 65. 3. That he deserted to the Seleucid in 218 with Ceraeas and Hippolochus, Polyb. v. 70. 10, is conjecture only. When he was made governor of Coele-Syria there is absolutely nothing to show.” (Of this reply to his objection Willrich takes no notice in his later work, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, 1924.)

^c The *γερονσία*, lit. “ council of elders,” would be the chief Jewish legislative and judicial body under the presidency of the high priest, corresponding to the later Sanhedrin. In the books of Maccabees the members of this council are usually called “ elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*) of the people.” (For the Jewish *γερονσία* in the cities of the Diaspora, see the useful work by J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I, 1936, pp. lxxxv ff.) See further Appendix D.

^a Cf. § 252 note *e*.

^e Variant “ men.”

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καὶ λιβάνου, ἀργυρίου τιμὴν μυριάδας δύο καὶ
 σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερὰς¹ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον
 νόμον, πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους
 ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ἄλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους ἑβδομή-
 141 κοντα πέντε. τελείσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι
 καθὼς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἀπαρτισ-
 θῆναι ἔργον τὰς τε στοὰς καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον οἰκο-
 δομῆσαι δέοι. ἢ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω
 ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν²
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος.
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανεστέραν
 142 γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέη.³ πολι-
 τευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς
 πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ
 ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἱερο-

¹ *ἱερὰς* Niese: *ἱερὰς 5'* Grotius: pro *σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερὰς* ad similitam hab. Lat.

² *ἄλλοεθνῶν* conl. Niese.

³ Niese: *δέοι* codd.

^a Drachmas are meant.

^b Text uncertain; among other things we expect the number of *artabae* to be given. The *artaba* was an Egyptian (originally Persian) measure of varying capacity, normally about 40 litres, according to A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library), i. 447. According to F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, 1930, pp. 118 ff., the cost of an *artaba* of wheat in Egypt during the 3rd century varied from 2 to 5 drachmas (in exceptional years less than 2 or more than 5).

value of twenty thousand pieces of silver,^a and sacred *artabae* of fine flour^b in accordance with their native law,^c and one thousand four hundred and sixty *medimni*^d of wheat and three hundred and seventy-five *medimni* of salt.^e And it is my will that these things be made over to them as I have ordered, and that the work on the temple be completed, including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build. The timber, moreover, shall be brought from Judaea itself and from other nations^f and Lebanon without the imposition of a toll-charge. The like shall be done with the other materials needed for making the restoration of the temple more splendid. And all the members of the nation shall have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country, and the senate, the priests, the scribes of the temple^g and the temple-singers

^c Probably the temple measure is meant. We need not suppose that the mention of *artabae* indicates "an Egyptian redactor" of the letter, as Büchler and Reinach suppose. Ptolemaic measures continued to be used in Palestine even after the Seleucid conquest; moreover ἀράβη was a "Hebrew measure" (cf. Heb. 'ardāb) according to Epiphanius (cited by S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 395). Krauss equates the Ptolemaic *artaba* with the Heb. *hōmer*.

^d The (Attic and Sicilian) *medimnus* = c. 50 litres. Whether the number 1460 has any significance (= 365 × 4) and presupposes an Egyptian "solar year," as Büchler suggests, seems to me very doubtful.

^e This royal grant of provisions for the temple reminds us of those said to have been made by Cyrus, *Ant.* xi. 16 ff. (1 Esd. vi. 29; Ezra vi. 9 ff.), who gave 20,500 *artabae* of wheat (!); by Darius, *Ant.* xi. 62, 102 (1 Esd. iv. 52 ff.); and by Xerxes (bibl. Artaxerxes), *Ant.* xi. 127 (1 Esd. viii. 19 ff.).

^f Suggested emendation "foreigners" or "gentiles."

^g "Scribes of the temple" are mentioned in *Ant.* xi. 128 (1 Esd. viii. 22), cf. Appendix D.

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- ψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι καὶ τοῦ
 143 στεφανιτικοῦ¹ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἀλῶν.² ἵνα
 δὲ θᾶπτον ἢ πόλις κατοικισθῆ, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν
 κατοικοῦσιν καὶ κατελευσομένοις ἕως τοῦ Ὑπερ-
 βερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν εἶναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν.
 144 ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου
 μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν
 βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀρπαγέντες
 δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας
 αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν.”
- 145 (4) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν. σεμ-
 νύνων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρόγραμμα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 βασιλείαν ἐξέθηκεν περιέχον τάδε· “ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι³
 ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν
 ἀπηγορευμένον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ μὴ οἷς⁴ ἀγνισ-
 146 θεῖσιν ἐστὶν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον. μηδ'
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφερέσθω ἵππεια κρέα μηδὲ ἡμιό-
 νεια μηδὲ ἀγρίων ὄνων⁵ καὶ ἡμέρων, παρδάλεων

¹ στεφανίτου FV : regio Lat.

² Niese : ἄλλων codd.

³ ἐξὸν εἶναι FLVA marg.

⁴ Dindorf : οἷς ἂν codd.

⁵ ὄνων om. FLV Lat.

^a H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 73, objects that the Jews did not pay a poll-tax, or other taxes, directly to the Seleucid king, but we know too little of the Seleucid system of taxation to judge. It may be, moreover, that in Seleucid times the poll-tax, like the later Roman *tributum capitis* in the provinces, included a variety of personal and business taxes, cf. Arnold and Bouchier, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1914, pp. 199 ff. On the poll-tax in the Seleucid kingdom see Schürer i. 229 note 14, Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.* p. 111, Rostovtzeff, *HHW*, pp. 469, 471.

^b Emended text; mss. “other taxes.”

^c Roughly October, corresponding to Heb. *Tishri*, the

shall be relieved from the poll-tax ^a and the crown-tax and the salt-tax ^b which they pay. And, in order that the city may the more quickly be inhabited, I grant both to the present inhabitants and to those who may return before the month of Hyperberetaios ^c exemption from taxes for three years.^d We shall also relieve them in future from the third part of their tribute, so that their losses may be made good. And as for those who were carried off from the city and are slaves, we herewith set them free, both them and the children born to them, and order their property to be restored to them."

(4) Now these were the contents of the letter. And out of reverence for the temple he also published a proclamation throughout the entire kingdom,^e of which the contents were as follows. "It is unlawful for any foreigner to enter the enclosure of the temple which is forbidden to the Jews, except to those of them who are accustomed to enter after purifying themselves in accordance with the law of the country.^f Nor shall anyone bring into the city the flesh of horses or of mules or of wild or tame asses, or of leopards, first month of the year, according to the older Hebrew calendar.

Decree of Antiochus III concerning the temple and Jerusalem.

^a For other instances of tax-exemptions allegedly granted the Jews by foreign rulers, *cf.* *Ant.* xi. 61 (1 *Esd.* iv. 49—Darius), xii. 151 (Antiochus III), xiii. 52 (1 *Macc.* x. 29—Demetrius); Herod the Great also did so on at least two occasions, *cf.* *Ant.* xv. 303, xvii. 25. For an actual instance of such an exemption by Antiochus III to a Hellenistic city *cf.* Rostovtzeff, *CAH* vii. 179.

^e Even those scholars who consider this decree genuine admit that this phrase, "throughout the entire kingdom," is a later addition, or at least an exaggeration on Josephus' part.

^f On this prohibition *cf.* *B.J.* v. 194 note c, 227; for similar rabbinic restrictions *cf.* *Mishnah, Kelim* i. 8.

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τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων καὶ λαγῶν καὶ καθόλου δὲ¹ πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ζώων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· μηδὲ τὰς δορὰς εἰσφέρειν ἐξεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τρέφειν τι τούτων ἐν τῇ πόλει· μόνοις δὲ τοῖς προγονικοῖς θύμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τῷ θεῷ δεῖ καλλιερεῖν, ἐπιτετράφθαι² χρῆσθαι. ὁ δέ τι τούτων παραβὰς ἀποτινύτω τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισηχιλίας.”

- 147 Ἐγραψε δὲ μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ἥνικα νεωτερίζοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἐπύθετο καθ' ὃν ἦν καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, κελεύων Ζεῦξιν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλον πέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων· ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Φρυγίαν. γράφει δὲ
- 148 οὕτως· “ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ζεῦξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ
- 149 αὐτός. πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδία καὶ Φρυγία νεωτερίζοντας, μεγάλης ἐπιστροφῆς ἠγησάμην τοῦτό μοι δεῖσθαι, καὶ βουλευσαμένῳ μοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἔδοξεν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας Ἰουδαίων οἴκους δισχιλίους σὺν

¹ δὲ om. FLVAW.

² ἐπιτέτραπται LAW Lat. (vid.).

^a Jews were forbidden to eat the flesh of the animals here mentioned, but there is no evidence that they were forbidden to use them (at least the tame ones) for any purpose, or bring their skins into Jerusalem. In this curious prohibition Büchler sees another indication that Antiochus' decree originally applied to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim; cf. Appendix D.

^b There are extant a number of ancient Jewish Greek inscriptions which mention fines to be paid the Jewish community or synagogue treasury for violation of Jewish re-

foxes or hares or, in general, of any animals forbidden to the Jews. Nor is it lawful to bring in their skins or even to breed any of these animals in the city.^a But only the sacrificial animals known to their ancestors and necessary for the propitiation of God shall they be permitted to use. And the person who violates any of these statutes shall pay to the priests a fine of three thousand drachmas of silver.^b”

He also testified in writing to our piety and loyalty when, on the occasion of his being in the upper satrapies, he learned of revolts in Phrygia and Lydia, and ordered Zeuxis, his governor,^c and one of his close friends, to send some of our people from Babylonia to Phrygia. He then wrote as follows. “King Antiochus to Zeuxis, his father,^d greeting. If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in sound health. Learning that the people in Lydia and Phrygia are revolting, I have come to consider this as requiring very serious attention on my part, and, on taking counsel with my friends as to what should be done, I determined to transport two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important religious statutes, *e.g.* from Smyrna, Tlos, Hierapolis in Phrygia (1000 denarii), and Stobi in Macedonia (250,000 denarii !!).

Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis, governor of Lydia, ordering the transportation of Babylonian Jews to Phrygia.

^c It is generally assumed that this was the Zeuxis who was satrap (or governor, *στρατηγός*) of Babylonia *c.* 220 B.C. (Polyb. v. 45 ff.) and that he, in turn, was the Zeuxis who was satrap of Lydia *c.* 201 B.C. (Polyb. xvi. 1. 8). Assuming the identity of these three, we must further suppose that Zeuxis was transferred from Babylonia to Lydia sometime after 213 B.C. when Antiochus III conquered the provinces in Asia Minor held by Achæus.

^d Another instance of the title “father” given by a Seleucid king to his officer occurs in *Ant.* xiii. 127 (1 Macc. xi. 32—Demetrius to Lasthenes); *cf.* also *Ant.* xi. 218 (Apocr. Esther xiii. 6—Artaxerxes to Haman).

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- 150 ἐπισκευῆ μεταγαγεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ εὖνους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων φύλακας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν¹ εὐσέβειαν, καὶ μαρτυρουμένους δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων εἰς πίστιν οἶδα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς ἃ παρακαλοῦνται· βούλομαι τοίνυν, καίπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τούτους² μεταγαγεῖν, ὑποσχόμενος,³ νόμοις αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι⁴ τοῖς ἰδίοις.
- 151 ὅταν δ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃς εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, εἷς τε οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἐκάστω καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων, καὶ ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν
- 152 ἀνήσεις ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. μετρείσθωσαν δὲ καί, ἄχρις ἂν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς⁵ λαμβάνωσι, σῖτον εἰς τὰς τῶν θεραπόντων διατροφάς· διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσι τὸ αὐτάρκες, ἵνα τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες φιλανθρωπίας, προθυμο-
- 153 τέρους παρέχωσιν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. πρόνοιαν δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλῆται." περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀντιόχου φιλίας τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως εἰρήσθω μαρτύρια.

¹ + αὐτῶν FLV fort. recte: τὸ θεῖον conl. Holleaux.

² ex Vossiano Havercamp: τούτου AW: τοῦ rell.

³ ὑποσχομένους P: ὑποσχομένου LW: ὑποσχόμενον Cocceji: ut promittas Lat.

⁴ χρήσεσθαι Naber.

⁵ ἄρτους PAW.

° Variant "their God"; Holleaux emends to "the Deity" as being more appropriate in the mouth of a pagan

places. For I am convinced that they will be loyal guardians of our interests because of their piety to God,^a and I know that they have had the testimony of my forefathers to their good faith and eagerness to do as they are asked. It is my will, therefore—though it may be a troublesome matter—that they should be transported and, since I have promised it,^b use their own laws. And when you have brought them to the places mentioned, you shall give each of them a place to build a house and land to cultivate and plant with vines, and shall exempt them from payment of taxes on the produce of the soil for ten years.^c And also, until they get produce from the soil, let them have grain measured out to them for feeding their servants, and let there be given also to those engaged in public service ^d sufficient for their needs in order that through receiving kind treatment from us they may show themselves the more eager in our cause. And take as much thought for their nation as possible, that it may not be molested by anyone.” Concerning, then, the friendship of Antiochus the Great for the Jews let the testimony here given suffice.^e

ruler. If we accept the variant, there is, of course, no need to emend.

^b Text doubtful; one may also render (after “transported”), “and that (you) should promise that they may.”

^c Cf. above § 143 note *d*.

^d The meaning of τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσιν is somewhat doubtful, but cf. *Ant.* xiii. 67, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρεῖαις, which probably means “to serve your (Ptolemy Philometor’s) interests.”

^e Reinach properly reminds us that Josephus himself, *Ant.* xiv. 187, admits that many people doubted the authenticity of the Judaeophile decrees attributed to the Persians and Macedonians, because they were preserved only by the Jews and “other barbarians.”

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154 (iv. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλίαν καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς
τὸν Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντίοχος ἐποίησατο καὶ δίδωσιν
αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν πρὸς γάμον,
παραχωρήσας αὐτῷ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμα-
ρείας καὶ Ἰουδαίας¹ καὶ Φοινίκης φερνῆς ὀνόματι.
155 καὶ διαιρεθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν
φόρων, τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ὠνοῦντο
πατρίδας φορολογεῖν, καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προσ-
156 τεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλευσιν ἐτέλουν. ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σαμαρεῖς εὖ πράσσοντες πολλὰ
τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσαν, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν
τεμώντες καὶ σώματα διαρπάσαντες· ἐγένετο δὲ

¹ Ἰδουμαίας P.

^a The long section which follows, §§ 154-236, on the Tobiads, Joseph and Hyrcanus, has been the subject of much scholarly discussion because it is obviously derived from several sources, some trustworthy, others fictitious. The various problems, chronological and otherwise, are treated in the works cited in Appendix E.

^b Ptolemy Epiphanes, who reigned from 204/3 to 181/0 B.C.

^c The marriage took place c. 193 B.C.; it had been announced earlier, c. 196 B.C., cf. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 57 and Holleaux, *CAH* viii. 199.

^d Possibly "Coele-Syria" here means the Decapolis, or, more broadly, Transjordan, cf. *Ant.* xi. 25 note a, xii. 133 note d; Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 297, suggests Galilee (with a question-mark).

^e One ms. Idumaea.

^f This gift is mentioned in several ancient sources: Polyb. xxviii. 20. 9, ". . . the agreement which those in Alexandria asserted had recently been made between Ptolemy and his (Antiochus Epiphanes') father, to the effect that Ptolemy should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present (Egyptian) ruler"; Appian, *Syr.* 5, "Being about to make war on the Romans, he (Antiochus III) attempted to win over the neighbouring kings by alliances of marriage, and sent his daughter

(iv. 1) ^a After this Antiochus made a treaty of friendship with Ptolemy, ^b and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, ^c making over to him as her dowry Coele-Syria, ^d Samaria, Judaea ^e and Phoenicia. ^f And when the tribute was divided between the two sovereigns, ^g the prominent men purchased the right to farm the taxes in their several provinces ^h and, collecting the sum fixed, paid it to the royal pair. At this time the Samaritans, ⁱ who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves ^j; and this happened in Cleopatra, surnamed the Syrian, to Egypt to Ptolemy, giving him as a marriage-present Coele-Syria, which he had himself taken from Ptolemy"; so also Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chronicon*, mentioning Syria, Samaria and Judaea, and Jerome on Daniel xi. 17, who specifies "all of Coele-Syria." In view of the fact that the Seleucids ruled all of Palestine and Syria after the victories of Antiochus the Great over the army of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 200-198 B.C. (*cf.* § 131 notes), many scholars believe that the assignment of the revenues of Coele-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes was never carried out, but if by "Ptolemy" in § 158 (*cf.* note *ad loc.*) Epiphanes is meant, it follows that Josephus (or his source), at any rate, believed that Ptolemy actually had complete or partial control of Palestine and Transjordan, in spite of the earlier Seleucid conquest of the country; see the article of Cuq, cited in Appendix E.

Ptolemy Epiphanes and the high priest Onias.

^a That is, as Holleaux convincingly shows, *REJ* xxxix., 1899, pp. 161 ff., between Ptolemy Epiphanes and his wife Cleopatra, not between Ptolemy and Antiochus III. Only thus can we understand the point of the joke made by the Tobiad Joseph, § 178. For Momigliano's objection see his monograph cited in Appendix E.

^b Lit. "countries"; the subdivisions of Palestine and Transjordan are meant.

ⁱ Gr. Samaritans, *cf.* *Ant.* ix. 61 note *c.*

^j Büchler, *Tob.* p. 88, suggests that Josephus' authority here is a Samaritan, who originally referred to the attack of the Ptolemaic forces in Samaria on the pro-Seleucid party in Judaea in 218 B.C.

JOSEPHUS

157 ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ὀνίου. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ
 Ἐλεαζάρου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Μα-
 νασσῆς παρέλαβεν, μεθ' ὃν καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον
 Ὀνίας τὴν τιμὴν ἐξεδέξατο,¹ Σίμωνος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ
 158 δικαίου κληθέντος· Σίμων δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἐλεα-
 ζάρου, καθὼς προεῖπον. οὗτος ὁ Ὀνίας βραχὺς ἦν
 τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρον, ὃν τοῖς βασιλευσιν οἱ
 πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτέλουν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τάλαντα
 εἴκοσιν ἀργυρίου, μὴ δοὺς εἰς ὄργην ἐκίνησεν τὸν
 159 βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον.² καὶ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
 πρεσβευτὴν ἠτιᾶτο τὸν Ὀνίαν ὡς³ οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα
 τοὺς φόρους καὶ ἠπειλεῖ κληρουχῆσειν αὐτῶν τὴν
 γῆν οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικῆσοντας
 στρατιώτας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασι-
 λέως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνεχύθησαν, τὸν δὲ Ὀνίαν οὐδὲν
 τούτων ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν.

160 (2) Ἰώσηπος δέ τις, νέος μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπὶ

¹ ἐδέξατο FLVE.

² + τὸν Εὐεργέτην ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος PLAW
 quae secl. Niese, Naber.

³ ὡς om. FLVE Lat.

^a On the high priests here mentioned see Appendix B.

^b In § 44.

^c *i.e.* Ptolemy Epiphanes; after "Ptolemy" the variant adds, "Euergetes, who was the father of Philopator." This point is discussed in Appendix E; here it may suffice to remark that while the variant is not necessarily an "absurd gloss," as Reinach too decidedly calls it, it is probably an addition to Josephus' text made to remove the difficulty caused by representing Coele-Syria as subject to Ptolemy Epiphanes after the definitive conquest of the country by the Seleucids in 198 B.C. Since Josephus has already got beyond the reign of Euergetes (246-221 B.C.) and has already mentioned Epiphanes and his contemporary Antiochus III

the high-priesthood of Onias. For, when Eleazar died, his uncle Manasses took over the high priesthood, and, after he departed this life, the office came to Onias, who was a son of Simon, called the Just.^a And Simon was a brother of Eleazar, as I have said before.^b This Onias was small-minded and passionately fond of money and since for this reason he did not render on behalf of the people the tribute of twenty talents of silver which his fathers had paid to the kings out of their own revenues, he roused the anger of King Ptolemy.^c And the king sent an envoy to Jerusalem to denounce Onias for not rendering the tribute, and threatened that, if he did not receive it, he would parcel out their land and send his soldiers to settle on it. Accordingly, when the Jews heard the king's message, they were dismayed, but Onias was not put out of countenance by any of these threats, so great was his avarice.

(2) Now there was a certain Joseph, who was still a young man but because of his dignity and foresight

Joseph, the Tobiad, and his uncle, Onias II.

(§ 131 ff.), and since Joseph the Tobiad is obviously dealing with Epiphanes (*cf.* above, note *f*, p. 80) and not Euergetes, it is reasonable to suppose that the mention of Euergetes in the variant is an interpolation. On the other hand, in § 223 Josephus (or at least one of his sources) states that Joseph died about the time of Seleucus IV's accession, which was in 187 B.C., after being tax-collector for 22 years, so that he must have begun his work in 209 B.C. at the latest, that is, several years before the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes, which was in 204/3 B.C. Moreover, it is probable that he retired from office some years before his death in 187 B.C., probably at the time of the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria in 198 B.C., which would move back the beginning of his term of office to 221 B.C. at the end of the reign of Euergetes; so that the interpolation here appears to have been the work of someone who was aware of the inconsistency of the sources used by Josephus in his narrative of the Tobiads.

JOSEPHUS

σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ προνοία δικαιοσύνης¹ δόξαν ἔχων
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, Τωβίου μὲν πατρός, ἐκ
 δὲ τῆς Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς,
 δηλωσάσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ
 παρουσίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποδημῶν εἰς Φι-
 161 χόλαν² κώμην ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχεν), ἔλθων εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐπέπληττε τῷ Ὀνίᾳ μὴ προνοουμένῳ τῆς ἀσφα-
 λείας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς κινδύνους τὸ ἔθνος
 βουλομένῳ περιστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
 ἀποστέρησιν, δι' ἃ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν
 λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς
 162 ἐπιτυχεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐρωτικῶς οὕτως ἔχει τῶν χρη-
 μάτων ὡς δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσιν
 ἰδεῖν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν παθόντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς
 πολίτας, συνεβούλευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βα-
 σιλέα δεηθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι
 163 τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μέρους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀνίου μήτε
 ἄρχειν ἐθέλειν ἀποκριναμένου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερω-

¹ καὶ δικαιοσύνη FLVE.

² FVA corr.: Φικόλαν rell.: Ficulam Lat.

^a Variant (after "but") "because of his dignity (or seriousness) and care for justice had a (good) reputation."

^b Or perhaps "a Tobiad," *i.e.* a descendant of the Tobiah who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.

^c Variant Phicola (Gr. Phikola); the site has not been identified, but presumably was in Transjordan, since the Tobiads were originally Ammonites; *cf.* § 230 note c.

^d Whether *προστασίαν* here is merely a synonym of *τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς* or has a distinct, technical meaning, indicating a civil office (*cf.* Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 152) is still a matter of dispute. For a discussion on this see works cited in Appendix E. Here it may be noted that the passages following and outside texts favour the former alternative, *cf.*

had a reputation for uprightness^a among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, his father being Tobias,^b and his mother a sister of the high priest Onias; and, when his mother informed him of the envoy's arrival—for he himself happened to be away in the village of Phichola,^c from which he had originally come—he went to the city (of Jerusalem) and upbraided Onias for not regarding the safety of his fellow-citizens and for being willing, instead, to place the nation in danger by withholding the money on account of which, Joseph said, he had received the chief magistracy^d and had obtained the high-priestly office. But, if he was so passionately fond of money that for its sake he could endure to see his country endangered and his fellow-citizens suffer all sorts of things, he advised him to go to the king and request him to remit to him either the whole of the money or a part of it. As Onias, however, answered that he did not desire to hold office and said that he was ready to

Hecataeus *ap.* Diodor. Sic. xl. 4, τοὺς . . . μάλιστα δυνησομένους τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους προϊστασθαι, τούτους ἱερεῖς ἀπέδειξε, and Sirach xlv. 24, of Phineas, the priest, προστατεύων ἁγίων καὶ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ; we must remember also that in the early Hellenistic period the high priest was regarded as the chief magistrate of the Jews. Below, in § 285, Josephus says that after Mattathias' death, his son Judas succeeded to the *προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων*, which clearly means the assumption of chief authority or leadership of the rebels, and is therefore not a technical term of civil office (under the Seleucids). Nor does there appear to be sufficient ground for believing that Joseph later (*cf.* § 167) assumed the *προστασίαν* and thus deprived Onias of part of his official rank, as maintained by Büchler and, more recently, by Momigliano and Fruin. The same problem arises in connexion with the quarrel about the *agoranomia* between the *prostatēs* Simon and the high priest Onias, 2 Macc. iii. 4, on which see the works cited in Appendix G.

- σύνην δ', εἰ δυνατόν ἐστίν, ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθέσθαι λέγοντος, μήτε ἀναβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (μέλειν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων), εἰ πρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον¹ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
- 164 ἔθνους ἐπηρώτησεν. φήσαντος δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὃ Ἰώσηπος καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν ταραττεσθαι μηδὲ φοβεῖσθαι παρήνει διὰ τὴν Ὀνίου τοῦ θείου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκυθρωποτέρας ἐλπίδος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦς ἔχειν ἡξίου· πρεσβεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πείσειν αὐτὸν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν.
- 165 καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τούτων ἀκούσαν εὐχαριστεῖ² τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ, καταβὰς δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξενία τε ὑποδέχεται τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεπρεσβευκότα καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐστίασας φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας προέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φράσας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς
- 166 ἀκολουθήσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον γέγονει πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν τὴν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ προτρεψαμένου καὶ παρορμήσαντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ πάντων ὧν ἂν δέηται παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τυχεῖν αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένου· τὸ γὰρ ἐλευθέριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἥθους λίαν ἠγάπησεν.
- 167 (3) Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτῆς ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀγνωμοσύνην καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου χρηστότητος ἐδήλου,

¹ Εὐεργέτην Πτολεμαῖον PAW.

² ἠὲχαρίσσει FLV.

³ ἀπὸ FLVE: a Lat.

^a Observe that Onias offers to give up the office of high priest, not that of *prostatēs*.

give up the high-priesthood if that were possible,^a and would not go ^b to the king, for he was in no way concerned about these matters, Joseph asked him whether he would give him leave to go as an envoy ^c to Ptolemy ^d on behalf of the nation. And, when Onias gave his permission, Joseph went up to the temple and, calling the people together in assembly, exhorted them not to be disturbed or frightened because of his uncle Onias' neglect of them, and begged them rather to keep their minds free of fear and dark forebodings; for he promised that he himself would go as an envoy to the king and persuade him that they were not doing any wrong. And so, when the people heard this, they thanked Joseph, while he himself went down from the temple and hospitably received the envoy sent by Ptolemy; and after presenting him with valuable gifts and entertaining him lavishly for many days, he sent him on ahead to the king, telling him that he himself would follow. For he had, indeed, become even more eager to meet the king, when the envoy encouraged him and urged that he go to Egypt, and promised to see that he should obtain from Ptolemy whatever he desired; for the envoy greatly admired his liberality ^e and the dignity of his character.

(3) And so the envoy went to Egypt and reported to the king the arrogant behaviour of Onias, and informed him of the excellence of Joseph and that

Joseph prepares to visit Alexandria.

^b Lit. "go up," *i.e.* to a higher authority. The Jewish sources almost always speak of "going down" to Egypt from Palestine.

^c This expression seems to be another indication that our text does not imply a separation between the offices of high priest and civil ruler (under Ptolemaic suzerainty).

^d Variant "Ptolemy Euergetes," *cf.* § 158 note *c*.

^e Or "ingenuousness."

- καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξειν παραιτησόμενος τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ πλῆθος· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ προστάτην· ἀμέλει τοσαύτη τῶν¹ ἐγκωμίων τῶν περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου διετέλεσε χρώμενος περιουσία ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν προδιέθηκεν οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν
- 168 Ἰώσηπον οὕτω παρόντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος διαπέμψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐτοιμασάμενος ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς περὶ δισμυρίας δραχμὰς παρασκευασάμενος, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρεγένετο.
- 169 ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἀπὸ² τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὠνήν· κατ' ἔτος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν
- 170 ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. ὁρῶντες οὖν οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ πενία καὶ λιτότητι. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφικόμενος ἐν Μέμφει τὸν Πτολεμαῖον³

¹ Niese: *περὶ τῶν* codd.

² P: *ἐκ* rell.

³ *βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον* FLV.

^a That is, merely their spokesman or envoy (*cf.* § 161 note *d*), as the context indicates. If he had been formally elected by the people to the highest civil office, Josephus' source would have said so; at any rate the king himself would have had to recognize him as such.

^b Those scholars who believe (not without reason) that these events should be placed in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, whose queen's name was Arsinoe, may assume that Josephus' authority, living in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., was more familiar with the name Cleopatra, borne by several Ptolemaic queens after Epiphanes' wife, and thus made a natural slip in calling Arsinoe Cleopatra (unless, of course,

he intended to come to him to ask that the sins of his people be excused, for he was their protector.^a Indeed, he continued to use such extravagance of speech in praising the young man that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra^b to feel friendly toward Joseph even before his arrival. Now Joseph, after sending to his various friends in Samaria^c and borrowing money, made ready the things needed for his journey, such as clothes, drinking-vessels, and pack-animals, which equipment he procured for about twenty thousand^d drachmas, and came to Alexandria. But it so happened that at that time all the chief men and magistrates of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia were coming there to bid for the tax-farming rights which the king used to sell every year to the wealthy men in each city.^e When these men, therefore, saw Joseph on the road, they made fun of his poverty and bareness. But when he arrived at Alexandria, he heard that Ptolemy was in Memphis, and so he

Cleopatra is substituted for Arsinoe by Josephus himself, *cf.* Appendix E). Livy makes a similar slip, xxvii. 4. 10.

^c The friendship of the (Ammonite) Tobiads with the Samaritans goes back to the time of Nehemiah, *cf.* *Ant.* xi. 174 (Neh. iv. 3).

^d This and similar large sums freely mentioned in the Joseph-Hyrchanus story (*cf.* §§ 180 ff.) are in keeping with the fictitious nature of the *details* of the narrative, though the general contents and background may be quite historical.

^e *Cf.* Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii. 129 f., "The tax-farmers were local people, but the taxes were put up to auction not locally but at Alexandria. This is proved by various documents in the Zeno letters (esp. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59037) which show that the picture of an auction of provincial taxes drawn by Josephus in his wonderful story of the farmer of tribute from Coele-Syria . . . is on the whole accurate." The revenue system of Ptolemaic Egypt is admirably described by C. Præaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 1939, pp. 61-435.

JOSEPHUS

- ἤκουσεν ὄντα, ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ.¹
 171 καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὄχηματος μετὰ
 τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ Ἀθηνίωνος τοῦ φίλου (οὗτος
 δ' ἦν ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρὰ
 Ἰωσήπῳ ξενισθείς), θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀθηνίων
 εὐθὺς ἐποίει τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώριμον, λέγων τοῦτον
 εἶναι περὶ οὗ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων
 ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς ἀγαθός τε εἶη καὶ φιλότιμος νεα-
 172 νίσκος. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἡσ-
 πάσατο καὶ δῆ² ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα παρεκάλεσε
 καὶ καθεσθέντος ἤρξατο περὶ τῶν Ὀνία πραττο-
 μένων ἐγκαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ “συγγίνωσκε,” φησὶν,
 “αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ γῆρας· οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε πάντως
 ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ νήπια τὴν αὐτὴν
 διάνοιαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν. παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν ἔσται
 σοι τῶν νέων ἅπαντα, ὥστε μηδὲν αἰτιάσασθαι³.”
 173 ἦσθεις δ' ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοῦ
 νεανίσκου, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὡς ἤδη καὶ πεπειραμένος
 ἀγαπᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡς ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν
 κελεῦσαι δεικνῆσθαι⁴ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς
 174 ἐστιάσεως τῆς ἰδίας ἔχειν. γενομένου δ' ἐν Ἀλεξ-
 ανδρείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς
 Συρίας συγκαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀηδῶς
 ἔφερον.

¹ ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ PA marg.: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀνέβαινεν αὐτῷ FLV: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀναβαίνειν αὐτῷ διέγνω AW: ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ ἀνῆει E.

² καὶ δῆ P: καὶ rell.

³ αἰτιάσθαι P.

⁴ ἐνδιδαιτᾶσθαι V.

^a Text slightly uncertain.

^b Or “ambitious.”

^c That is, before he was greeted by Joseph; cf. *Ant.* xi. 331 for a similar courtesy shown by Alexander the Great to the Jewish high priest Jaddua.

met him there and presented himself to him.^a Now the king was sitting in a chariot with his wife and with his friend Athenion—this was the man who had been an envoy to Jerusalem and had been entertained by Joseph—, and as soon as Athenion caught sight of him, he introduced him to the king, saying that this was the person whom he had described to him, when he returned from Jerusalem, as an excellent and liberal^b young man. Ptolemy, therefore, first greeted him^c and even invited him to come up into his chariot, and when he was seated, began to complain about the actions of Onias. Then Joseph said, “Pardon him because of his age^d; for surely you are not unaware that old people and infants are likely to have the same level of intelligence. But from us who are young you will obtain everything so as to find no fault.” Thereupon Ptolemy, being pleased with the charm and ready wit of the young man, began to be still fonder of him as though he were an old and tried friend, so much so that he told him to take up his residence in the palace and had him as a guest at his own table every day. Accordingly, when the king came to Alexandria, and the chief men of Syria saw Joseph seated at his side, they were disagreeably affected.

^a According to §§ 44, 157, Onias was a son of Simon the Just whom Josephus makes a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was a child when his uncle Eleazar succeeded Simon, some time in Philadelphus’ reign. Thus Onias must have been at least 70 years old at this time, which is supposedly after 193/2 B.C., the date of Ptolemy Epiphanes’ marriage to Cleopatra (*cf.* § 154). Although Josephus is mistaken in placing Simon the Just so early in the 3rd century B.C. (*cf.* Appendix B), he is at least consistent in making Onias an old man at this time.

JOSEPHUS

- 175 (4) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε τὰ
τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, ἡγόραζον οἱ τοῖς
ἀξιώμασιν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν διαφέροντες. εἰς
ὀκτακισχίλια δὲ τάλαντα συναθροισμένων τῶν τῆς
κοίλης Συρίας τελῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ
176 Ἰουδαίας σὺν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ, προσελθὼν Ἰώσηπος
τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενους διέβαλλεν ὡς συνθεμένους
ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τιμὴν ὑφίστασθαι τῶν τελῶν, αὐτὸς
δὲ διπλασίονα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ τῶν ἀμαρ-
τόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναπεμψεῖν¹
αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο² τοῖς τέλεσι συνεπιπράσκετο.³
177 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἠδέως ἀκούσαντος καὶ ὡς αὔξοντι
τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ κατακυροῦν τὴν ὠνὴν τῶν
τελῶν ἐκείνῳ φήσαντος, ἐρομένου δ' εἰ καὶ τοὺς
ἐγγνησομένους αὐτὸν ἔχει δοῦναι,⁴ σφόδρ' ἀστείως
ἀπεκρίνατο· “ δώσω γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ ἀνθρώπους
ἀγαθοὺς τε καὶ καλοὺς, οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσετε.”
178 λέγειν δὲ τούτους οἵτινες εἶεν εἰπόντος, “ αὐτόν,”
εἶπεν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν
ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγγνησομένους δίδωμί σοι.”
γελάσας δ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ δίχα
179 τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἔχειν τὰ τέλη. τοῦτο σφόδρα
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας

¹ ἐκπέμψειν FLV.

² τοῦτο om. P: καὶ τοῦτο FLV: καὶ ταῦτα E.

³ συνεπίπρασκεν PAWE.

⁴ δοῦναι om. PAWE.

^a Cf. § 155 note h.

^b Probably Transjordan (and Galilee?), cf. § 154 note d and § 224.

^c This is obviously too large a sum in the light of other estimates of revenues which have come down to us (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, iii. 401): Jerome gives the revenue from

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 175-179

(4) Now when the day came round on which the rights to farm taxes in the cities were to be sold, bids were made by those eminent in rank in the various provinces.^a When the sum of taxes from Coele-Syria^b and from Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria added up to eight thousand talents,^c Joseph came forward and accused the bidders of having made an agreement to offer the king a low price for the taxes, whereas he for his part promised to give double that amount and send over to the king the property of those who had been remiss toward his house; for this right was sold^d along with that of farming the taxes. Thereupon the king, who heard him gladly, said that he would confirm the sale of the tax-farming rights to him, as he was likely to increase his revenue, but asked whether he also had some persons to give surety for him; he then answered very cleverly, "Yes, I will offer persons of the very best character, whom you will not distrust." And when the king asked him to tell who they were, he replied, "I offer you, O King, you yourself and your wife as the persons who will give surety for me, each to guarantee the other's share."^e At this Ptolemy laughed and granted him the tax-farming rights without guarantors. This act gave great pain to those who had come to Egypt from the cities, for they considered them-
Egypt itself (*de Aegypto*) in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus as 14,800 talents; Herodotus, iii. 91, gives 350 talents as the tribute taken by Darius from Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus: Cicero estimates the total revenue of Ptolemy Auletes as 12,500 talents. Cf. also 2 Macc. iv. 8 ff.

^a Variant "he (the king) sold."

^e The point of this witticism was first satisfactorily explained by Holleaux, cf. § 155 note *g*, "les deux μέρη sont les deux parts des impôts syriens . . . au roi Joseph offre pour garant sa femme, à la reine il offre son mari."

ἐλύπησεν ὡς παρευδοκιμηθέντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπανῆκον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι πατρίδας μετ' αἰσχύνης.

- 180 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν¹ στρατιώτας δισχιλίους² (ἠξίωσε γὰρ βοήθειάν τινα λαβεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονούντας ἔχη βιάζεσθαι), καὶ δανεισάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων
- 181 τάλαντα πεντακόσια, εἰς Συρίαν ἐξώρμησεν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐβούλοντο διδόναι ἀλλὰ καὶ προσύβριζον αὐτόν, συλλαβὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ὡς εἴκοσιν³ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς χίλια τάλαντα ἀθροισθείσας ἔπεμψε τῷ
- 182 βασιλεῖ, δηλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα. θαυμάσας δ' αὐτόν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας, ἐφίησιν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σύροι κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας χαλεπὸν ἔχοντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν ἄνδρας ἀνηρημένους, ἀνοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο προθύμως τὸν
- 183 Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐτέλουν. ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν ὑβρίζειν αὐτόν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ οὓς μηδὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐτέλουν, καὶ τούτων ἀποκτείνας τοὺς πρώτους τὰς
- 184 οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. συναγαγὼν δὲ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ κέρδη μεγάλα ποιήσας ἐκ

¹ πεζῶν μὲν PAE: excidisse fort. equitum numerum coni. Niese.

² χιλίους FL(V).

³ εἴκοσ ἦν PE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 179-184

selves slighted. And so they returned with discomfiture to their respective provinces.

(5) Then Joseph, after getting from the king two thousand ^a foot-soldiers—for he had asked to have some assistance, in order that he might be able to use force with any in the cities who treated him with contempt—and borrowing five hundred talents ^b in Alexandria from the friends of the king, set out for Syria. And coming to Ascalon, he demanded tribute from the people of the city, but they not only refused to give him anything, but even insulted him to boot ; he therefore arrested some twenty of their principal men ^c and put them to death, and sent their property, which all together was worth a thousand talents, to the king, informing him of what had happened. Thereupon Ptolemy, who admired his spirit and commended his actions, permitted him to do whatever he wished. When the Syrians heard of this, they were struck with consternation and, having a terrible example of the consequences of disobedience in the execution of the men of Ascalon, they opened their gates and readily admitted Joseph and paid the tribute. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis ^d also attempted to insult him and would not render him the tribute which they formerly paid without any dispute, he put to death their chief men as well and sent their property to the king. Having thus collected great sums of money and made great profits

Joseph uses force to collect taxes in Palestine.

^a Variant 1000 ; possibly, as Niese suggests, the number of horsemen also was originally given but has accidentally been omitted from the text.

^b Cf. § 168 note *d*.

^c The variant (after “ arrested ”), “ their principal men, as was natural,” is corrupt.

^d Cf. *Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.

JOSEPHUS

- τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν τελῶν, εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο, τὴν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τότε εὐτυχίας τηρεῖν φρόνιμον ἠγούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν αὐτὸς
- 185 ἐκέκτητο· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρα δῶρα ἔπεμπε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δυνατοῖς, ὠνούμενος διὰ τούτων τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν.
- 186 (6) Ἀπέλαυσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, πατὴρ μὲν γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς παίδων ἑπτὰ, ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σολυμίου θυγατρὸς ἓνα Ὑρκανὸν
- 187 ὄνομα. γαμεί δὲ ταύτην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποτε συνελθὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν¹ ἄγοντι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν, ὅπως αὐτὴν συνοικίση τινὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώματος Ἰουδαίων, καὶ δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦτο μηνύει, παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί, συγκρύψαντα τὸ ἀμάρτημα καὶ διάκονον ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ ὥστε
- 188 ἐκπλήσαι² τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν διακονίαν, κοσμήσας τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα νυκτὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ συγκατακοίμισε. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μέθης ἀγνοήσας τάληθές συνέρχεται τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὶ, καὶ τούτου γενομένου πολλάκις, ἠράσθη³ σφοδρότερον. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς κινδυνεύοι τῷ ζῆν ἐρῶν

¹ τῷ ἀδελφῷ . . . Ἀλεξάνδρειαν] σὺν τᾷ ἀδελφῷ ποτε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐλθὼν FLV.

from farming the taxes, he used his wealth to make permanent the power which he now had, thinking it prudent to preserve the source and foundation of his present good fortune by means of the wealth which he had himself acquired ; and so he surreptitiously sent many gifts to the king and to Cleopatra and to their friends and to all those who were powerful at court, purchasing their goodwill through these gifts.

(6) This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years,^a becoming the father of seven sons by one wife, and also begetting a son, named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married under the following circumstances. He once came to Alexandria with his brother as he was taking there his daughter, who was of marriageable age, in order that he might marry her to one of the Jews of high rank ; and when Joseph was dining with the king, a beautiful dancing-girl came into the banquet-room, and Joseph, having fallen in love with her, told his brother of this and begged him, since the Jews were prevented by law from having intercourse with a foreign woman, to aid in concealing his sin and do him a good service by making it possible for him to satisfy his desire. Thereupon his brother gladly undertaking to be of service, beautified his own daughter and brought her to him by night to sleep with him. But Joseph in his drunken state did not know how matters really were, and so he had intercourse with his brother's daughter, and when this had happened several times, he fell still more violently in love with her. He then told his brother that he

How Joseph
begot
his son
Hyrcanus

^a Cf. § 158 note c.

² πληρῶσαι FLV.

³ FV: ἦρα rell.

JOSEPHUS

ὀρχηστρίδος, ἧς ἴσως οὐκ¹ αὐτῷ παραχωρήσειν²
 189 τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ μηδὲν ἀγωνιᾶν
 παρακαλοῦντος, ἀπολαύειν δ' ἧς ἐρᾶ μετὰ ἀδείας
 καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν αὐτὴν φήσαντος, καὶ τάληθές
 αὐτῷ φανερόν ποιήσαντος, ὡς ἔλοιτο μᾶλλον τὴν
 ἰδίαν ὑβρίσαι θυγατέρα ἢ περιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν
 αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος τῆς
 φιλαδελφίας συνώκησεν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ
 παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν Ὑρκανόν,³ ὡς προειρή-
 190 καμεν.⁴ ἔτι⁵ δὲ ὢν τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν οὗτος ὁ παῖς
 νεώτερος ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ
 σύνεσιν, ὡς ζηλοτυπηθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν ὄντα πολὺ κρεῖττονα καὶ φθονηθῆναι
 191 δυνάμενον. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήπου γνῶναι θελήσαντος
 τίς αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πέφυκε, καὶ
 καθ' ἓνα πέμψαντος πρὸς τοὺς παιδεύειν τότε
 δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἱ λοιποὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας καὶ τῆς
 πρὸς τὸ φιλεργεῖν μαλακίας ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς
 192 ἐπανῆκον αὐτῷ· μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους τὸν νεώτατον
 Ὑρκανόν, δούς αὐτῷ τριακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, ἐξέ-
 πεμψεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δύο εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν σπεροῦντα
 193 τὴν γῆν, ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτῆρας ἱμάντας. ὁ δὲ
 γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τοὺς ἱμάντας οὐκ ἔχων,
 τῆς μὲν τῶν βοηλατῶν γνώμης κατηλόγησε συμ-

¹ οὐκ edd. : οὐκ ἂν codd.

² ἂν . . . παραχωρήσαι coni. Niese.

³ + ὄνομα V.

⁴ + μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν P.

⁵ ἐπεὶ FV.

^a In § 186. One ms. here "shortly before."

^b Willrich, *JG* pp. 93 ff., sees in this portrait of the young Hyrcanus an example of the Jews' admiration for "a bold and precocious intelligence," and compares him with the young Samuel, the young David, the young Daniel and the

was risking his life for a dancer whom the king would perhaps not allow him to have. But his brother urged him not to be anxious, telling him to enjoy without fear the woman whom he loved, and to make her his wife ; and he revealed the truth to him, how he had chosen to dishonour his own daughter rather than see him fall into disgrace, and so Joseph, commending him for his brotherly love, married his daughter and by her begot a son named Hyrcanus, as we said before.^a Now this child while still a young lad of thirteen years showed such natural courage and intelligence that he became an object of violent jealousy to his brothers because of his great superiority and enviable qualities.^b But when Joseph, wishing to learn which of his sons was naturally well disposed to virtue, sent them one after another to those who were then famed as teachers, the other sons because of their laziness and disinclination for work returned to him foolish and ignorant ; and after that he sent out his youngest son Hyrcanus a two days' journey into the wilderness to sow the ground, giving him three hundred yoke of oxen, but hiding the yoke-straps. He, however, on coming to the place without having the straps, disregarded the counsel of the ox-

The remarkable character of the young Hyrcanus.

historian Josephus himself (*cf. Vita* 7 ff.) ; in the further details of the narrative he detects traces of older biblical motifs, such as the deception practised by Laban on Jacob, the envy of Joseph's brothers, the favour shown to Joseph by Pharaoh. At the same time he traces a parallelism between the Tobiad story and the narrative concerning the high priests Jason and Menelaus in 2 Macc., concluding (p. 102) that " Joseph of the Tobiad story is really the Menelaus of 2 Macc., while Hyrcanus is a free remodelling (*Umgestaltung*) of Jason." There is, of course, no doubt that a large part of the Tobiad story is fiction, but historical elements also are to be found.

JOSEPHUS

βουλευόντων πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κομιοῦντάς
 τινὰς τοὺς ἱμάντας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος μὴ
 δεῖν ἀπολλύναι περιμένοντα τοὺς ἀποσταλησομένους,
 ἐπενόησέ τι στρατηγικὸν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύ-
 194 τερων. κατασφάξας γὰρ δέκα ζεύγη τὰ μὲν κρέα
 τοῖς ἐργάταις διένειμε, τεμῶν δὲ τὰς δορὰς αὐτῶν
 καὶ ποιήσας ἱμάντας ἐνέδησε τούτοις τὰ ζυγά, καὶ
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σπείρας ἧς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προσ-
 195 ἔταξε γῆν ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐλθόντα δ' ὁ
 πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπησε τοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ τὴν
 ὀξύτητα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τολμηρὸν
 ἐπαινέσας ὡς μόνον ὄντα γνήσιον ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἔστεργεν, ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.
 196 (7) Ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
 καιρὸν υἱὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ
 πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπηκόου
 χώρας ἐορτάζοντες τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν τοῦ παιδίου
 μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
 ἐξώρμων, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως κατείχετο, τῶν δὲ
 υἱῶν ἀπεπειράτο εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν βούλεται
 197 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παραιτη-
 σαμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσίας ἀγροϊ-
 κότερον ἔχειν φησάντων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Ὑρκανὸν

^a Ptolemy Epiphanes' elder son, Ptolemy Philometor, was born in 187 or 186 B.C. ; his younger son, Ptolemy Euergetes II (Physcon) was born sometime after 185 B.C., cf. Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 282-285.

^b Above, in § 160, Josephus has described Joseph as " still a young man " when he became tax-collector of Coele-Syria after Ptolemy's marriage with Cleopatra, which was

drivers, who advised him to send some men to his father to bring back the straps, for he thought that he ought not to lose time in waiting for those who might be sent, and instead conceived an ingenious plan worthy of an older man. Accordingly, he slaughtered ten yoke of oxen and after distributing their meat among the workmen, he cut up their hides and made straps with which he fastened the yokes; and when he had in this way sown the ground which his father had ordered him to sow, he returned to him. And when he came, his father was more than delighted with his good sense, and commending the quickness of his intelligence and the boldness combined with this, he loved him still more as if he were his only genuine son, and this vexed his brothers.

(7) About this time he was told by someone that a son had been born to King Ptolemy,^a and all the leading men of Syria and the territory subject to him were setting out with a great array for Alexandria to celebrate the birthday of the child; he himself was kept from going by his age, but he tried his sons to see whether any of them was willing to go abroad to the king.^b The elder sons, however, begged to be excused, saying they were too rough^c for such company, but they advised him to send their brother

Hyrchanus sets out for Alexandria to celebrate the birth of Ptolemy's son.

c. 193 B.C. It is therefore unlikely that at the birth of Ptolemy's son (whether elder or younger), he "was kept from going by his age" or had sons old enough to go abroad. This is one of several difficulties caused by Josephus' statements that Joseph's activity began in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

^c In this connexion we may mention the correspondence of an earlier Tobiad with Ptolemy Philadelphus preserved in the papyri (*cf.* works cited in Appendix E), which shows how "rough" an Ammonite chief could be, even when addressing a king.

JOSEPHUS

πέμπειν συμβουλευσάντων, ἠδέως ἀκούσας καλεῖ
 τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 198 βαδίσει καὶ εἰ πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἀνέκρινεν. ἐπαγ-
 γειλαμένου δὲ πορεύσεσθαι¹ καὶ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων
 οὐ πολλῶν φήσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν (ζήσεσθαι γὰρ
 ἐπιεικῶς ὥστε ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ δραχμὰς μυρίας),
 199 ἦσθη τοῦ παιδὸς τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. διαλιπὼν δὲ
 ὀλίγον ὁ παῖς συνεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ δῶρα μὲν
 αὐτόθεν μὴ πέμπειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοῦναι δὲ ἐπι-
 στολὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οἰκονόμον, ὅπως
 αὐτῷ παρέχῃ πρὸς ὠνὴν ὧν ἂν εὖρη καλλίστων καὶ
 200 πολυτελῶν χρήματα.² ὁ δὲ νομίζων δέκα ταλάντων
 ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δαπάνην,
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς παραινοῦντα καλῶς,
 γράφει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀρίονι,³ ὃς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διώκει, οὐκ ὄντα
 201 ἐλάσσω τρισχιλίων ταλάντων· ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὰ
 ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας χρήματα ἔπεμπεν εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν καὶ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης, καθ' ἣν ἔδει
 τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαριθμεῖν, ἔγραφε τῷ
 202 Ἀρίονι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ἀπαιτήσας
 τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστολὴν, λαβὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
 ὤρμησεν. ἐξελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ γράφουσιν οἱ

Hyrchanus ; gladly listening to them, therefore, he called Hyrchanus and asked him whether he was able and willing to travel to the king. And when he undertook to go, saying he would not need much money for the journey—for, he added, he would live reasonably, so that ten thousand drachmas would suffice him—Joseph was pleased with his son's moderation. But a little while afterward the son advised his father not to send the king gifts from where he was,^a but to give him a letter to his steward in Alexandria in order that he might provide him with money to buy the most beautiful and precious things which he could find. Joseph, therefore, thinking that the cost of the presents for the king would be ten talents, commended his son for his excellent suggestion, and wrote to his steward Arion, who managed all the wealth which he had in Alexandria, amounting to not less than three thousand talents.^b For Joseph used to send to Alexandria the money collected from Syria, and when the appointed day came on which he was required to pay over the tribute to the king, he would write to Arion to do this. And so, having asked his father for a letter to this man, and having received it, Hyrchanus set out for Alexandria. But when he had gone, his brothers wrote to all the

^a Jerusalem, *cf.* § 222.

^b *Cf.* § 176, where Joseph offers to pay Ptolemy double the sum of 8000 talents for the right to farm the taxes of Coele-Syria. Here the 3000 talents apparently represent his profits for several years. But these figures should not be taken too seriously, since, as we have seen, this part of the Tobiad story is largely fictitious.

¹ ed. pr. : πορεύεσθαι codd. E.

² χρημάτων FLMA corr.

³ Ἀρίωνι LVE hic et infra, PA infra : Ἀρείω W.

JOSEPHUS

ἀδελφοὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοις ἴν' αὐτὸν διαφθείρωσιν.

- 203 (8) Ὡς δὲ παραγεγόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀρίονι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐπερωτήσαντος αὐτοῦ πόσα βούλεται τάλαντα λαβεῖν (ἤλπισε¹ δ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσῃν δέκα ἢ βραχεῖ τούτων πλέον), εἰπόντος χιλίων χρήζειν, ὀργισθεὶς ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότι, καὶ πῶς² ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ συναγάγοι τὴν οὐσίαν πονῶν³ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων ἐδήλου, καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτὸν ἠξίου γενέσθαι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος· δώσειν δ' οὐδὲν πλέον ἔλεγε⁴ τάλαντων δέκα, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰς δωρεὰς
- 204 τῷ βασιλεῖ. παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς δεσμὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐνέβαλεν. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος γυναικὸς τοῦτο δηλωσάσης τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ δεηθείσης ὅπως ἐπιπλήξῃ τῷ παιδί (σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρίων ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῇ), φανερόν τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο
- 205 ἐποίησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔλεγε πῶς ἀποσταλεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε ὀφθείη αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι δήσειε τὸν οἰκονόμον· ἐλθόντα
- 206 οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ μηνύειν ἐκέλευσεν. τὸν δὲ φασιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν αὐτῷ ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κωλύων τὸν γενηθλιάζοντα⁵ γεύσασθαι θυσίας⁶ πρὶν⁷ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν

¹ ἤλπιζε FMV.

² ὡς Niese.

friends of the king that they should make an end of him.

(8) When he came to Alexandria, he delivered the letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he wished to have—he hoped that he would ask for ten or a little more—, but when he said he needed a thousand, Arion became angry and rebuked him for having chosen a dissolute way of life, and explained to him how his father had amassed his wealth by working hard and restraining his desires, and he advised him to imitate the example of his sire. He added that he would give him no more than ten talents, and these for presents to the king. At this the youth was provoked and threw Arion into chains. But Arion's wife informed Cleopatra of this and begged her to rebuke the youth—for Arion was held by her in great esteem—, whereupon Cleopatra made the matter known to the king. So Ptolemy sent to Hyrcanus, saying he was surprised that having been sent to him by his father, he had not appeared before him and had, moreover, imprisoned the steward. He ordered him, therefore, to come and explain to him the reason for his conduct. But Hyrcanus is said to have replied to the man sent by the king that he should tell him that there was a law in his country which prevented the celebrant of a birthday from partaking of a sacrifice before he had gone into the

Hyrcanus punishes his father's steward at Alexandria.

³ Niese: ὡς πονῶν (+ πλείον FV, + πλείονα M) codd.

⁴ ἔλεγε om. PFMV.

⁵ Herwerden: γεννηθέντα codd.

⁶ θυσιῶν P: τὸν . . . θυσίας] communes epulas prius attingere Lat.

⁷ πρὶν ἂν ὁ πατήρ suppl. Herwerden.

JOSEPHUS

- ἔλθη¹ καὶ θύσῃ² τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, περιμένων τὰ δῶρα κομίσει τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργέτη γεγεννημένῳ.
- 207 τὸν δὲ δοῦλον κολάσαι παρακούσαντα ὧν προσέταξεν· διαφέρειν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἶναί τινα δεσπότην ἢ μέγαν. “ ἂν οὖν μὴ κολάζωμεν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ σὺ προσδόκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων καταφρονηθήσεται.” ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν.
- 208 (9) Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀρίων ὅτι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτεθη τὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅτι μηδεμία βοήθειά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, δούς τὰ χίλια τάλαντα τῷ παιδί τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθη. καὶ τρεῖς διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὁ Ὑρκανὸς
- 209 ἤσπασατο τοὺς βασιλέας· οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν εἶδον καὶ φιλοφρόνως εἰστίασαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τιμὴν. λάθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπελθὼν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν παῖδας μὲν ἑκατὸν γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους, ἐνὸς ἑκάστου ταλάντου, ἑκατὸν δὲ παρθένους τῆς αὐτῆς
- 210 τιμῆς ἑκάστην. κληθεῖς δ' ἐφ' ἐστίασιν πρὸς τὸν

¹ ἔλθοι PLAW: ἔλθει M: ἂν ἔλθη Naber.

² θῦσαι AW: θύσει MV.

^a It seems necessary to adopt Herwerden's emendation γενεθλιάζοντα, "celebrant of a birthday," for γεννηθέντα, "one begotten" or "male child"; but we can hardly accept his second suggestion, which is to read "before his (the child's) father had gone into the temple," since Hyrcanus could hardly expect Ptolemy to believe that a Jewish law obliged a Jew to wait for a pagan father to sacrifice in a pagan temple. On the other hand, if we assume that Hyrcanus' excuse was that he had gone to a temple to sacrifice, the question remains what Jewish temple in Egypt he could have gone to (there is

temple and sacrificed to God^a; it was in accordance with this same principle that he himself had not come to the king, but was waiting to bring the gifts to him who had been his father's benefactor. As for the slave, he had punished him for disobeying the orders which he had been given; for it made no difference, he added, whether one were a small master or a great one. "For if we do not punish such fellows, even you may expect to be held in contempt by your subjects." When Ptolemy heard this, he fell to laughing, and admired the high spirit of the youth.

(9) But Arion, on learning that this was the way the king felt and that there was no help for him, gave the thousand talents to the youth, and was released from chains. And after letting three days go by, Hyrcanus paid his respects to the royal pair, who were glad to see him and entertained him in friendly fashion in honour of his father. Then he secretly went to the slave-dealers and bought from them a hundred boys who were well educated and in the prime of youth, at a talent apiece, and a hundred virgins at the same price. Now once when he was

Hyrcanus
is mocked
by his
rivals.

no indication in this story that Hyrcanus had renounced Judaism); the temple of Onias was founded considerably later, *cf.* §§ 387 ff. Furthermore, according to Josephus himself, *Ap.* ii. 205, Jewish law "does not allow the birth of our children to be made an occasion for festivity"—how much less the birth of pagan children; so also in the Talmud birthday anniversaries are mentioned as a pagan custom, *cf.* S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 8. Thus there could hardly be a law "in his (Hyrcanus') country" applying to this celebration (if by *θυσία* such a celebration is meant—the use of this word here is a further difficulty). Perhaps, the whole problem hardly merits serious consideration in view of Hyrcanus' obvious invention of a custom, and the fictitious nature of the narrative.

JOSEPHUS

βασιλέα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς χώρας, ὑποκατα-
 κλίνεται πάντων, καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἔτι τὴν
 ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς τόπους κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
 211 διανεμόντων. τῶν δὲ συγκατακειμένων πάντων
 τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ (ἀφήρουν¹ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς σάρ-
 κας) σωρευόντων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἵρκανοῦ ὡς
 πληρῶσαι τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τράπεζαν,
 212 Τρύφων ὃς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 σκώμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πότοις γέλωτας ἀπεδέ-
 δεικτο,² παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν κατακειμένων
 τῇ τραπέζῃ παρεστῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ, “ὄρας,” εἶπεν,
 “ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ παρακείμενα Ἵρκανῷ ὀστᾶ; ἐκ
 τούτου στόχασαι ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν Συρίαν
 ἅπασαν περιέδυσεν ὡς οὗτος ταῦτα τῶν σαρκῶν
 213 ἐγύμνωσεν.” γελάσαντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Τρύ-
 φωνος λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρομένου τὸν
 Ἵρκανὸν ὅτι τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ παράκειται ὀστᾶ, “εἰκό-
 τως,” εἶπεν, “ὦ δέσποτα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ
 ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασιν κατεσθίειν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι”
 (πρὸς τοὺς κατακειμένους ἀποβλέψας, ὅτι μηθὲν
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔκειτο) “οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸ
 κρέας ἐσθίουσι, τὰ δ’ ὀστᾶ ρίπτουσιν, ὅπερ ἄν-
 214 θρωπος ὢν καγὼ νῦν πεποίηκα.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
 θαυμάσας³ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ σοφὴν οὕτως
 γενομένην, πάντα⁴ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακροτῆσαι, τῆς
 215 εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος⁵ αὐτόν. τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ
 πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων πορευόμενος
 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ἠσπά-
 ζετο, παρὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπυνθάνετο⁶ τί μέλ-

¹ ἀνήρουν PFLV.

² ἀνεδέδεκτο FMV: ἐπεδέδεκτο E: ἐπεδείκνυτο Suidas.

³ θαυμάζει PAWE.

⁴ καὶ πάντα PAWE.

invited together with the leading men of the country to feast with the king, he was placed at the foot of the table, being slighted as still a youth by those who assigned the places according to rank. And all those who reclined at table with Hyrcanus piled up before him the bones of their portions—from which they themselves had removed the meat—, so as to cover the part of the table where he reclined, whereupon Tryphon, who was the king's jester and was appointed to make jokes and raise laughter when there was drinking, with the encouragement of those who reclined at the table, stood up before the king and said, " My lord, do you see the bones lying before Hyrcanus ? From this you may guess that his father has stripped all Syria in the same way as Hyrcanus has left these bones bare of meat." The king then laughed at Tryphon's words, and asked Hyrcanus why there were so many bones lying before him, and he replied, " It is natural, my lord ; for dogs eat the bones together with the meat, as these men do "—and he looked toward those who reclined there, indicating that there was nothing lying before them—, " but men eat the meat and throw the bones away, which is just what I, being a man, have now done." Thereupon the king, who admired his reply for being so clever, and to show approval of his wit, ordered all to applaud.^a But the next day Hyrcanus, going to each of the king's friends and the men powerful at court, and paying his respects to them, inquired of their servants what gift

Hyrcanus by his wit and lavishness wins the favour of Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

^a Variant " ordered all to applaud and show their approval of his wit." A similar story is told by Herodotus iii. 32.

^b ἀποδεχομένους FLMV Lat. fort. recte.

^c ἀπεπυθάνετο PFMV.

JOSEPHUS

λουσιν διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς
 216 αὐτοῦ γενεσίῳ.¹ τῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ δέκα τάλαντα
 μέλλειν διδόναι φησάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀξία κατὰ τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς οὐσίας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ὑπεκρίνετο
 λυπεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοιαύτην προσενευ-
 κεῖν δωρεάν· πλεόν γὰρ πέντε τάλαντων οὐκ ἔχειν.
 οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς
 217 δεσπόταις. χαιρόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὡς καταγνωσ-
 θησομένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ προσκρούσοντος τῷ
 βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐνστάσης
 τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προσέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τάλαντων οἱ λίαν μεγαλοδωρεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐ
 πλείον² εἴκοσι, ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς οὓς ὠνήσατο παῖδας
 ἑκατὸν καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας ἀνὰ τάλαντον
 ἑκάστῳ φέρειν δούς προσήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν τῷ
 218 βασιλεῖ, τὰς δὲ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. πάντων δὲ θου-
 μασάντων τὴν παρ' ἐλπίδα τῶν δώρων πολυτέλειαν
 καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔτι καὶ
 τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως οὓσιν πολλῶν
 ἄξια τάλαντων δῶρα ἔδωκεν, ὡς διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ
 αὐτῶν κίνδυνον· τούτοις γὰρ ἐγεγράφεισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ
 219 ἀδελφοὶ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν Ὑρκανόν. Πτολεμαῖος
 δὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀγασάμενος³ τοῦ μειρακίου,
 προσέταπτεν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἣν βούλεται λαμβάνειν.
 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν πλεόν ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ
 ἢ γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ.
 220 τιμήσας οὖν αὐτὸν φιλοτιμότατα καὶ δωρεὰς δούς
 λαμπράς, καὶ τῷ τε πατρὶ γράψας καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόποις,
 221 ἐξέπεμψεν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τούτων

¹ γενεθλίῳ FLMV.

² V Lat. (vid.): πλειόνων rell.

³ ἀσπασάμενος FMV.

their masters were going to give the king for the child's birthday. And when they said that some were going to give gifts worth ten talents, while of the others, who were of high rank, each would give in accordance with the amount of his wealth, he pretended to be grieved at not being able to bring so large a present, saying he had no more than five talents. Accordingly, when the servants heard this, they reported it to their masters. And they rejoiced at the thought that Joseph would be judged unfavourably and offend the king by the smallness of his present; and when the day came, the others brought their offerings to the king, which in the case of those who believed themselves to be unusually munificent were not worth more than twenty talents, but Hyrcanus brought the hundred boys and hundred virgins whom he had purchased, and giving each of them a talent to carry, presented them, the boys to the king, and the girls to Cleopatra. And while all were astonished at the unexpected lavishness of his gifts, including the royal pair themselves, he also gave to the king's friends and to those who were in attendance on him gifts worth many talents so as to escape any danger from them; for Hyrcanus' brothers had written to them to make an end of him. Then Ptolemy in admiration of ^a the young man's magnanimity directed him to take whatever present he wished. But he asked that the king do no more for him than to write to his father and brothers about him. And so the king, after showing him the highest honour and giving him splendid presents, wrote to his father and brothers and to all his governors and administrators, and sent him away. But when Hyrcanus'

^a Variant "hailing" or "welcoming."

JOSEPHUS

- τετυχηκότα τὸν Ὑρκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης ἐπανερχόμενον τιμῆς, ἐξῆλθον ὑπαντησόμενοι καὶ διαφθεροῦντες αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰδότος· ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔνεκεν τῶν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς χρημάτων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ. τὴν ὀργὴν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀπεκρύπτετο, φοβούμενος τὸν βασιλέα.
- 222 συμβαλόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς μάχην, ἄλλους τε τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ δύο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτόν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς ἐδέχετο, δείσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν¹ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, κακεῖ διέτριβε φορολογῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους.
- 223 (10) Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Ἀσίας Σέλευκος ὁ Σωτήρ² ἐπικαλούμενος, υἱὸς ὧν
- 224 Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ πατὴρ Ἰώσηπος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐκ πτωχείας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθενῶν εἰς λαμπροτέρας ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου καταστήσας, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ δύο³ τὰ τέλη τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας

¹ τὸ LAMW Zonaras.

² Φιλοπάτωρ cod. NC ex chronographis, rec. Usser, Dindorf.

³ εἴκοσι . . . δύο] τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη cod. NC.

^a A. Tscherikower, *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 175 f., plausibly suggests that the real reason for Joseph's later hostility toward Hyrcanus and for the envy of Hyrcanus' brothers was the young man's success in taking from his father the position and perquisites he had obtained from Ptolemy.

brothers heard that he had obtained these favours from the king and was returning with great honour, they went out to meet him and do away with him, even though their father knew of it; for being angry with him because of the money which had been spent for the presents, he felt no concern for his safety; his anger at his son had, however, been concealed by Joseph, who feared the king.^a And when Hyrcanus' brothers encountered him in battle, he killed many of the men with them and also two of the brothers themselves, while the rest escaped to their father in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus therefore went to that city, but as no one admitted him, he withdrew in fear to the country across the river Jordan, and there made his home, levying tribute on the barbarians.^b

The struggle between Hyrcanus and his brothers.

(10)^c At that time there had begun to reign^d over Asia Seleucus, surnamed Soter,^e who was the son of Antiochus the Great. And then also died Hyrcanus' father Joseph, who had been an excellent and high-minded man and had brought the Jewish people from poverty and a state of weakness to more splendid opportunities of life during the twenty-two years when he controlled the taxes of Syria, Phoenicia

Death of the tax-collector Joseph.

^b Cf. § 229.

^c It is generally assumed, with reason, that the following section, §§ 223-236 (with the exception, of course, of the Spartan letter, §§ 225-227), comes from another and more historical source than the preceding section of the Tobiad story.

^d ἐβασίλευσε is probably an inceptive aorist; it may, however, be the "complexive" or "concentrative" aorist, meaning simply "reigned," as in § 234 (ἡρξεν).

^e The surname of Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.) was Philopator; Soter was the surname of his uncle Seleucus III (226-223 B.C.).

JOSEPHUS

- κατασχών. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ὀνίας,
 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμωνι τῷ παιδὶ καταλιπών.
 225 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διά-
 δοχος τῆς τιμῆς Ὀνίας γίνεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων βασιλεὺς Ἄρειος πρεσβείαν τε ἔπεμψε
 καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὧν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν ἐστι τοιοῦτο·
 226 “ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄρειος Ὀνία χαίρειν.
 ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὔρομεν ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς εἶεν
 γένους Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς
 Ἄβραμον¹ οἰκειότητος. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστὶν ἀδελ-
 φοὺς ὑμᾶς² ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς³ περὶ ὧν
 227 ἂν βούλησθε.⁴ ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο,⁵ καὶ
 τά τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κοινὰ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. Δημοτέλης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμ-
 ματα διαπέμπει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τὰ γεγραμμένα
 ἐστὶ τετράγωνα· ἡ σφραγὶς ἐστὶν ἀετὸς δράκοντος
 ἐπειλημμένος.”
 228 (11) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ⁶ τοῦ
 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τοῦτον περιείχε τὸν
 τρόπον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰωσήπου τὸν λαὸν

¹ Ἄβραμον (A. F) PFL: Abraham Lat.
² ἡμᾶς P. ³ ἀλλήλους P.
⁴ βουλοίμεθα P. ⁵ τὸ αὐτὸ FV Lat.
⁶ παρὰ V.

^a Cf. § 175, “the taxes of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria.”

^b Simon II.

^c Onias III, cf. Appendix B.

^d For literature on this letter (found in I Macc. xii. 20 ff. and referred to again in *Ant.* xiii. 167), see Appendix F.

^e More correctly Areus (as in some mss., *Ant.* xiii. 167). There were only two Spartan kings of this name, Areus I, 309–265 B.C., and Areus II, who died as a child in 255 B.C. Josephus is therefore mistaken in placing it in the time of

and Samaria.^a And death also came to his uncle Onias, who left the high priesthood to his son Simon.^b When he too died, his son Onias^c became his successor in office, and it was to him that the Lacedaemonian king Areios sent an embassy with a letter, of which the following is a copy.^d "Areios,^e king of the Lacedaemonians,^f to Onias, greeting. We have come upon a certain document from which we have learned that the Jews and Lacedaemonians are of one race and are related by descent from Abraham.^g It is right, therefore, that you as our brothers should send to us to make known whatever you may wish. We also shall do this, and shall consider what is yours as our own, and what is ours we shall also share with you.^h Demoteles,ⁱ the courier,^j is bringing this letter^k to you. The writing is square.^l The seal is an eagle holding fast a serpent^m."

Letter of
Areios, king
of Sparta,
to Onias.
1 Macc. xii.
20.

(11) Such, then, were the contents of the letter sent by the Lacedaemonian king. Now on the death Hyrcanus
withdraws
to his

Onias III instead of Onias I, who was high priest c. 300 B.C. (cf. *Ant.* xi. 347).

^f 1 Macc. Spartiates. (We must remember that the text of 1 Macc. here is a Greek translation of a Hebrew translation of the original Greek letter.)

^g So 1 Macc.; cf. *Ant.* xiv. 255 where the Pergamenes mention the friendship existing between their ancestors and the Jews in the time of Abraham.

^h The next three sentences are not found in 1 Macc.

ⁱ Reinach suggests that the name Demoteles is borrowed from Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. l. 32, where it is given to a Spartan herald (who acts as a messenger).

^j Lit. "who is carrying the letter."

^k ἐπιστολὰς here, like Lat. *litterae*, has the force of a singular.

^l Or perhaps "written on a square sheet" as Hudson suggests and Whiston translates.

^m This design was common on seals of the ancient Near East.

JOSEPHUS

συνέβη στασιάσαι διὰ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ
 πρεσβυτέρων πόλεμον ἐξενεγκαμένων πρὸς Ὑρ-
 κανόν, ὃς ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων,
 229 διέστη τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τοῖς πρεσ-
 βυτέροις συνεμάχουν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σίμων διὰ
 τὴν συγγένειαν· ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπανελθεῖν μὲν
 οὐκέτι διέγνω¹ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, προσκαθίσας δὲ
 τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεχῶς ἐπολέμει τοὺς
 Ἀραβας, ὡς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκτείνει καὶ λα-
 230 βεῖν αἰχμαλώτους. ὠκοδόμησε δὲ βάρην ἰσχυράν,
 ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ κατασκευάσας πᾶσαν μέχρι
 καὶ τῆς στέγης,² ἐγγλύψας ζῶα παμμεγεθέστατα,
 231 περιήγαγε δ' αὐτῇ εὐριπον μέγαν καὶ βαθύν. ἐκ δὲ
 τῆς καταντικρῦ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας, διατεμὼν αὐτῆς
 τὸ προέχον,³ σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος
 κατεσκεύασεν· ἔπειτα οἴκους ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς μὲν εἰς
 συμπόσια τοὺς δ' εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δίαιταν ἐποίησεν,

¹ FV: ἔγνω *rell.* E.

² γῆς PAMW *Lat.*

³ προσέχον P: *sinistram extensionem Lat.*

^a On the factional strife arising in Jerusalem from division of sympathies between the pro-Ptolemaic and pro-Seleucid parties see the works cited in Appendices E and G.

^b At least two problems are here involved, (1) the identity of the "high priest Simon," whether Simon II whose death has been mentioned above, § 225, or Simon the *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, whose quarrel with the high priest Onias is described in 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff.; (2) if, as is probable, the Simon here meant is Simon II, of the Oniad family, why does Josephus say that he favoured Hyrcanus' brothers "because of kinship with them"? All the sons of Joseph were related to the high priest Onias II through their father, *cf.* § 160; the statement of the "Tobiad romance," §§ 187 ff., that Hyrcanus was the son of Joseph by a different mother would only make his relation to the high priestly family closer, since his mother was also related to the high priest. It is just possible, how-

of Joseph there arose factional strife among the people on account of his sons.^a For the elder brothers made war on Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's children, and the population was divided into two camps. And the majority fought on the side of the elder brothers, as did the high priest Simon because of kinship with them.^b Hyrcanus, therefore, gave up his intention of returning to Jerusalem, and settled in the country across the Jordan, where he continually warred on the Arabs until he killed many of them and took many captive. And he built a strong fortress,^c which was constructed entirely of white marble up to the very roof,^d and had beasts of gigantic size carved on it,^e and he enclosed it with a wide and deep moat. He also cut through the projecting rock opposite the mountain, and made caves many stades in length; then he made chambers in it, some for banqueting and others for sleeping and living, and ever, that by *συγγέμειαν* Josephus means something like "common interests."

fortress in
Trans-
jordan.

^a The ruins of what was probably Hyrcanus' fortress have been discovered at 'Arāk el-'Emīr in Transjordan, c. 10 miles N.W. of Heshbon and c. 12 miles E. of the Jordan; they are fully described in *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904/5*. Momigliano points out, *I Tobiadi*, pp. 170 ff., that Josephus is mistaken in saying that Hyrcanus built the fortress, since, as the Zenon papyri show, there was a fortress (Gr. βᾶρις, Aram. birtā) there as early as the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The name Ἰὸβῖῶν (Tobiah) inscribed on the rock in one of the caves nearby probably refers to an early Tobiad, perhaps to the Tobiah who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.

^d Variant "down to the very ground." The context (see next note) seems to favour the reading adopted above.

^e The archaeological finds reveal a frieze of lions running across the wall just below the roof, cf. C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* ii., 1935, Tafel 22 (reconstruction after Butler).

JOSEPHUS

- 232 ὑδάτων δὲ διαθεόντων πλήθος, ἃ καὶ τέρψις ἦν καὶ
 κόσμος τῆς αὐλῆς, εἰσήγαγεν. τὰ μέντοι στόμια
 τῶν σπηλαίων, ὥστε ἓνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσδύναι¹ καὶ
 μὴ πλείους, βραχύτερα ἤνοιξεν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπίτηδες
 ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν καὶ² κινδυνεῦσαι ληφθεῖς κατεσκεύασεν.
 233 προσωκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τῷ μεγέθει δια-
 φερούσας, ἃς καὶ³ παραδείσοις ἐκόσμησε παμμήκεσι.
 καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τὸν τόπον Τύρον
 ὠνόμασεν. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
 Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,
 234 οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐσσεβωνίτιδος. ἤρξε δ' ἐκείνων
 τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτὰ, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν
 Σέλευκος τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ
 τούτου, μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεῖς
 235 Ἐπιφανῆς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν. τελευτᾶ δὲ καὶ
 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἐπικαλούμενος Ἐπιφανῆς, καταλιπὼν δύο παῖδας
 ἔτι βραχεῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος
 Φιλομήτωρ ἐκαλεῖτο, Φύσκων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος.
 236 Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὄρων μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντα τὸν
 Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δεῖσας μὴ συλληφθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 κολασθῆ διὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας αὐτῷ πεπραγ-

¹ εἰσιέναι FLV.

² καὶ om. FVM.

³ ἃς καὶ FLV : καὶ rell.

^a This is undoubtedly the meaning of αὐλή here (though below, in § 233, it seems to have its more common meaning of "court" or "enclosure"); cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 49, Feb. 1933, p. 29, "The residence of the Tobiad family may perhaps have been a fortified villa."

^b Tyre (*Tyros*) is the Gr. form of Aram. *tūrā*, "mountain" (cf. Heb. *šūr*, "rock" or "rock-fortress").

he let into it an abundance of running water, which was both a delight and an ornament to his country-estate.^a The entrances of the caves, however, he made narrower, so that only one person and no more could enter at one time; and this arrangement he made deliberately for the sake of safety, in order to avoid the danger of being besieged and taken by his brothers. In addition he also built enclosures remarkable for their size, and adorned them with vast parks. And when he had completed the place in this manner, he named it Tyre.^b This place is between Arabia and Judaea, across the Jordan, not far from Essebonitis.^c And he ruled over those parts for seven years, during all the time that Seleucus reigned over Asia.^d Now when this king died, his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, occupied the throne after him. And Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, who was also surnamed Epiphanes, died,^e leaving two sons who were still quite young, the elder being called Philometor,^f and the younger Physcon.^g As for Hyrcanus, seeing how great was the power which Antiochus had, and fearing that he might be captured by him and punished for what he had done to the

Accession of
Antiochus
IV Epi-
phanes.

^c Bibl. Heshbon, *cf.* § 229 note *c*.

^d Josephus' language is careless here; Seleucus IV ruled from 187 to 175 B.C. = 13 years. Possibly, as Otto suggests, *PW* ix. 530, he means that the 7 years of Hyrcanus' rule over Transjordan all came within the limits of Seleucus' reign.

^e Here too Josephus is somewhat careless, since Ptolemy Epiphanes died in 181 B.C., a few years before the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne.

^f He reigned from 181 to 145 B.C. (during part of which time his brother Physcon contested his right to the throne).

^g He reigned from 145 to 116 B.C., his official surname being Euergetes (II).

JOSEPHUS

μένα, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον αὐτόχειρ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος.
τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν Ἀντίοχος λαμβάνει.

- 237 (v. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ
Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ¹ τὴν
ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀντίοχος δίδωσιν· ὁ γὰρ παῖς ὄν
Ὀνίας καταλελοίπει νήπιος ἦν ἔτι. δηλώσομεν δὲ
τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστα.
238 Ἰησοῦς δὲ (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀδελφός) τὴν
ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφηρέθη προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ
ἀδελφῷ Ὀνία τὸννομα· Σίμωνι γὰρ οὗτοι τρεῖς
ἐγένοντο παῖδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἦκεν ἡ ἀρχ-
239 ιερωσύνη, καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς
Ἰάσονα αὐτὸν μετωνόμασεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη
Μενέλαος. στασιάσαντος οὖν τοῦ προτέρου ἀρχ-
ιερέως Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντα
Μενέλαον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διανεμηθέντος εἰς
ἐκατέρους, ἐκ τῆς Μενελάου μοίρας οἱ Τωβίου
240 παῖδες ἐγένοντο, τὸ δὲ πλεόν τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Ἰάσονι

¹ + Ἰησοῦ PAMW.

^a Cf. 2 Macc. iii. 11 ff. where we are told that the fortune of "Hyrceanus the Tobiad" (Ἰρκανοῦ τοῦ Τωβίου, cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 132 note 2, "nicht 'Sohn des Tobias,' sondern 'aus dem Geschlecht Tobias'") was seized from the treasury of the temple in Jerusalem by Heliodorus, the minister of Seleucus IV.

^b Onias III, cf. § 224.

^c Variant "his brother Jesus," see directly below.

^d Onias IV.

^e In §§ 387 ff. and *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff.

^f The three sons being Onias III, Jesus-Jason, and Onias (!)-Menelaus.

^g According to 2 Macc. iv. 23 Menelaus was a brother, not of Onias III, but of Simon, the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ; Simon, in turn, was, according to 2 Macc. iii. 4, ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμὴν φυλῆς—either of the tribe of Benjamin or of the priestly family

Arabs, he ended his life by his own hand. And all his property was seized by Antiochus.^a

(v. 1) About this same time the high priest Onias ^b also died, and Antiochus gave the high priesthood to his brother ^c; for the son whom Onias had left was still an infant. But we shall relate all the facts concerning this son ^d in the proper place.^e Jesus, however,—this was the brother of Onias—was deprived of the high-priesthood when the king became angry with him and gave it to his youngest brother, named Onias; for Simon had three sons, and the high-priesthood came to all three of them, as we have shown.^f Now Jesus changed his name to Jason, while Onias was called Menelaus.^g And when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him, the populace was divided between the two, the Tobiads being on the side of Menelaus, while the majority of the people supported Jason ^h; and being

Contention among the high priests under Antiochus Epiphanes.

of Benjamin (= Miniamin? *cf.* 2 Chron. xxxi. 15). Moreover, in contrast to what Josephus writes below about Jason expelling the Tobiads from Jerusalem, he says in *B.J.* i. 31 that it was Onias “one of the chief priests” who did so. Another difficulty is that Josephus’s language in the following sentence, “and when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him,” seems to indicate that Menelaus was *not* a brother of Jason. On the relation of this confused passage (which several scholars, including E. Meyer, think worthless) to other passages in Josephus and 2 Macc. see the works cited in Appendix G.

^h Observe that above, in § 229, the majority of the people (in Jerusalem) sides with the (presumably) pro-Seleucid Tobiads against the pro-Ptolemaic Hyrcanus, while here the majority sides with Jason against the pro-Seleucid Tobiads and Menelaus (Jason, of course, after his deposition by Antiochus must have become at least passively pro-Ptolemaic). Thus, according to Josephus here, the sympathy of the majority in Jerusalem changed from the Seleucids to the Ptolemies sometime after the accession of Antiochus.

JOSEPHUS

- συνελάμβανεν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πονούμενοι ὁ τε Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τοῦ Τωβίου πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀνεχώρησαν, δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλιπόντες καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλ-
 241 ληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν. παρεκάλεσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν, ὡς ἂν εἶεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδυσιν Ἕλληνας, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς πάτρια παρέντες ἐμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν¹ ἔργα.
- 242 (2) Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ χωρούσης κατὰ τρόπον, ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέγνω στρατεύσασθαι, πόθον αὐτῆς λαβὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου παίδων καταφρονεῖν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι τυγχανόντων καὶ μηδέπω πράγματα τηλικαῦτα διέπειν
 243 δυναμένων. γενόμενος οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ δόλῳ τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον ἐκπεριελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μέμφιν τόποις καὶ

¹ FLV: ἄλλων ἐθνῶν rell.

^a At this point begins Josephus's paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (i. 14-xiii. 42), which continues to *Ant.* xiii. 214 (cf. note *ad loc.* on his omission of the last three chapters of 1 Macc.). The English reader will find a convenient translation with commentary by W. Oesterley in *CAP* i. 1-66; the older commentary by C. Grimm in O. Fritzsche, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, 1853, is still valuable; also useful is a recent German translation with commentary by H. Bévenot, *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher* (in Feldmann und Herkenne, *Die heilige Schrift*), 1931; the topography of the Maccabean campaigns is discussed by Père F. Abel in *RB* xxii-xxv, 1923-1926. For works on the

hard pressed by him, Menelaus and the Tobiads withdrew, and going to Antiochus informed him that they wished to abandon their country's laws and the way of life prescribed by these, and to follow the king's laws and adopt the Greek way of life.^a Accordingly, they petitioned him to permit them to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. And when he had granted this, they also concealed the circumcision of their private parts in order to be Greeks even when unclothed, and giving up whatever other national customs they had, they imitated the practices of foreign nations.^b

The hellenizers appeal to Antiochus Epiphanes. 1 Macc. i. 11.

(2)^c But Antiochus, in whose own kingdom things were going well, determined to march against Egypt because he coveted it and also because he held in contempt the sons of Ptolemy, who were still weak and not yet able to govern so great a state. And so he arrived at Pelusium with a great force,^d and circumventing Ptolemy Philometor by cunning, occupied Egypt; and after he had arrived in the neighbour-

The Romans frustrate Antiochus' attempt on Egypt. 1 Macc. i. 16.

chronology and the date of the beginning of the Seleucid era used in 1 Macc. see Appendix J. I follow Bickermann in taking Oct. 312 B.C. as the beginning of the era for events of Seleucid history, and Nisan (roughly April) 311 B.C. for events of internal Jewish history.

^b 1 Macc. i. 11 ff. places these attempts at hellenization in "those days," *i.e.* after the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, while 2 Macc. iv. 10 ff. ascribes them to the high priest Jason, earlier, in the reign of Seleucus IV. Tscherikower, p. 205, makes the interesting suggestion that Jason and the hellenizers really wanted to establish a Greek *polis* in Jerusalem in order to secure the economic privileges enjoyed by Hellenistic cities.

^c In the following section, §§ 242-245, Josephus supplements from Greek sources the brief account of Antiochus' expeditions to Egypt given in 1 Macc. i. 17-19.

^d In the summer of 169 B.C.

JOSEPHUS

- κατασχὼν ταύτην ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς πολιορκία παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν
 244 ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντα χειρωσόμενος Πτολεμαῖον. ἀπεκρούσθη δ' οὐ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Αἰγύπτου, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ παραγγειλάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, καθὼς ἤδη πού καὶ
 245 πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. διηγῆσομαι δὲ κατὰ μέρος τὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τὴν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν ναόν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ μου πραγματεία κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιμησθεῖς ἀναγκαῖον ἠγησάμην νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ὑφήγησιν.
- 246 (3) Ὑποστρέψας γὰρ¹ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, ἀνοιξάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως ἦσαν.
- 247 ἐγκρατῆς δ' οὕτως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε τῶν τὰναντία φρονούντων, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

¹ τοῖνον E: om. PLAM¹W.

^a Ptolemy Physcon.

^b On the ultimatum delivered to Antiochus by Gaius Popilius Laenas, the head of the Roman embassy, see Polyb. xxix. 27. This, however, was in 168 B.C., cf. note *d* below.

^c Josephus is apparently referring to the very brief statement in *B.J.* i. 31 that "when Antiochus Epiphanes was disputing with Ptolemy VI the suzerainty of Syria, dissension arose among the Jewish nobles," although nothing is said there about the intervention of the Romans. Some scholars, therefore, consider this one of the non-verifiable cross-

hood of Memphis and taken possession of this city, he set out for Alexandria with the intention of reducing it by siege and getting into his power the Ptolemy^a who was reigning there. He was, however, repelled not only from Alexandria, but also from the whole of Egypt, for the Romans instructed him to keep away from the country,^b as we have already related somewhere in an earlier passage.^c But I shall give a detailed account of this king, how he became master of Judaea and the temple; for since in my first work I mentioned these things only in summary fashion, I have thought it necessary now to go back and give a more exact account of them.

(3) King Antiochus, then, returning from Egypt through fear of the Romans, marched against the city of Jerusalem, and entering it in the hundred and forty-third year of the Seleucid reign,^d took the city without a battle, for the gates were opened to him by those who were of his party. And having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he killed many of those who were in opposition,^e and taking large sums of money as spoil,^f he returned to Antioch.

Antiochus Epiphanes punishes the Jewish opposition in Jerusalem.

references (on which see the Appendix in the last volume of this translation). Even if Josephus is referring to a passage which is either non-existent or non-extant, it may be that in doing so he was under the impression that he had written about the Romans and Antiochus in *B.J.*, but did not take the trouble to look up the earlier passage. I hardly think that Reinach, following Destinon, is justified in labelling the present cross-reference an "étourderie," and holding that the formula "as we have already related, etc." is mechanically copied from his source, since he is here apparently paraphrasing the source, not copying it verbatim.

^d In the autumn of 169 B.C. after his first campaign in Egypt but before the Romans intervened.

^e Cf. *B.J.* i. 32, "slew a large number of Ptolemy's followers."

^f Cf. note e, p. 126.

248 (4) Συνέβη δὲ μετὰ ἔτη δύο, τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ
 τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει μηνὸς πέμπτη καὶ
 εἰκάδι, ὃς καλεῖται κατὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς Χασλεύ,¹ κατὰ
 δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ
 καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ, μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως
 ἀναβῆναι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσ-
 ποιησάμενον εἰρήνην ἀπάτη περιγενέσθαι τῆς
 249 πόλεως. ἐφείσατο δὴ τότε οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων
 αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλεον-
 εξίας (χρυσὸν γὰρ ἑώρα πολὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὸν
 ἄλλον τῶν ἀναθημάτων κόσμον πολυτελέστατον),
 ἵνα συλήσῃ τοῦτον, ὑπέμεινε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους
 250 αὐτῷ σπονδὰς παραβῆναι. περιδύσας οὖν τὸν ναόν,
 ὡς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάσαι λυχνίας
 χρυσᾶς καὶ βωμὸν χρύσειον καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ
 θυσιαστήρια, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καταπετασμάτων ἀπο-
 σχόμενος, ἅπερ ἦν ἐκ βύσσου καὶ κόκκου πεποιη-
 μένα, κενώσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς

¹ ex Lat. Naber: Κασελεύς AM: Χασελέφ, φ ex v corr. m
 I W: Ἐξελέους P: Ζαλαιούς F: Ζαλεούς V.

^a 168 B.C. The 145th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 168 to Oct. 167 B.C.; the second invasion, therefore, was only a little more than a year after the first, according to our reckoning, not "two years later," as the first invasion fell in the second half of the 143rd yr. Sel. and the second invasion in the first half of the 145th yr. Sel., but the interval was counted as 2 yrs. See further Bickermann, *GM*, pp. 160-168.

^b The mss. of 1 Macc. i. 54 have "15th day," but this is an error for "25th day," as is shown by other passages in 1 Macc. and by Jewish tradition.

^c Heb. Kislew, roughly December.

^d On the equation Chasleu-Apellaios, cf. *Ant.* xi. 148 note e.

^e The 153rd Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) extended

(4) Two years later, as it happened, in the hundred and forty-fifth year,^a on the twenty-fifth^b day of the month which by us is called Chasleu,^c and by the Macedonians Apellaios,^d in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad,^e the king went up to Jerusalem, and by pretending to offer peace, overcame the city by treachery. But on this occasion he did not spare even those who admitted him, because of the wealth of the temple,^f but through greed—for he saw much gold in the temple and an array of very costly dedicatory-offerings of other kinds—, and for the sake of taking this as spoil, he went so far as to violate the treaty which he had made with them. And so he stripped the temple, carrying off the vessels of God, the golden lampstands and the golden altar and table and the other altars, and not even forbearing to take the curtains, which were made of fine linen and scarlet,^g and he also emptied the temple of its hidden treasures,

Desecration
and spoiling
of the
temple by
Antiochus
Epiphanes.
1 Macc. i.
29, 54.

from July 168 to July 164 B.C. The events of the 25th of Kislew, however, were concerned with the desecration of the temple according to 1 Macc., not with Antiochus' plundering of the temple treasury and carrying off the temple vessels, which occurred in his first invasion of Jerusalem in 169 B.C. Moreover the desecration and massacre in 168 B.C. were not directed by Antiochus personally, but by his "chief tribute-collector" (*ἀρχοντα φορολογίας*) according to 1 Macc. i. 29. This official is to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch (commander of the Mysian guard, *cf.* Polyb. xxx. 25. 3) mentioned in 2 Macc. v. 24 (the reading *ἀρχοντα φορολογίας* in 1 Macc. was plausibly explained many years ago by Hitzig as arising from Heb. *śar ham-missîm*, "chief of taxes," for *śar ham-mûsîm*, "chief of the Mysians").

^f *i.e.* on the first occasion Antiochus had spared some of the inhabitants because he hoped through them to get the wealth of the temple. The Gr. may, however, mean that on this occasion his greed caused him to kill even his Jewish partisans.

^g The material of the curtains is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

ἀποκρύφους καὶ μηδὲν ὄλως ὑπολιπών, εἰς μέγα
 251 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις πένθος ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ
 γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ἃς προσέφερον τῷ
 θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν,
 καὶ διαρπάσας πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀπ-
 ἔκτεινε τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ
 τέκνοις ἔλαβεν, ὡς τῶν ζωγρηθέντων περὶ μυρίους
 252 γενέσθαι τὸ πλήθος. ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτῆς τὰ κάλ-
 λιστα καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ τεῖχη τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω
 πόλει ὠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν· ἦν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ
 ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας
 τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύργοις φρουρὰν Μακεδο-
 νικὴν ἐγκατέστησεν. ἔμενον δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν τῇ
 ἄκρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν
 τρόπον, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς πολίτας
 253 συνέβη παθεῖν. ἐποικοδομήσας δὲ καὶ τῷ θυσια-
 στηρίῳ βωμὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς σῶας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

^a All this plunder was taken in the *first* invasion, according to 1 Macc. i. 20 ff., *cf.* above, § 248 note *e*.

^b The number of those killed is not specified in 1 Macc.

^c 1 Macc. i. 31 has merely "burned it" (the city).

^d Schürer, i. 198 note 37, is probably right in assuming that this Seleucid citadel was built on the southern spur of the eastern hill, south of the temple (*cf.* *Ant.* vii. 62 notes), and

and left nothing at all behind,^a thereby throwing the Jews into deep mourning. Moreover he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God in accordance with their law, and after plundering the entire city, he killed some of the people, and some he took captive together with their wives and children, so that the number of those taken alive came to some ten thousand.^b And he burnt the finest parts ^c of the city, and pulling down the walls, built the *Akra* (citadel) in the Lower City ^d; for it was high enough to overlook the temple, and it was for this reason that he fortified it with high walls and towers, and stationed a Macedonian garrison therein. Nonetheless there remained in the *Akra* those of the people who were impious and of bad character, and at their hands the citizens were destined to suffer many terrible things.^e The king also built a pagan altar upon the temple-altar, and

distinguishing it from the earlier, Persian and pre-Hasmonaeon citadel north of the temple (*cf.* Neh. ii. 8 ff., *Aristeas* §§ 100 ff., *Ant.* xii. 133 ff., 2 *Macc.* iv. 12 ff.) which was rebuilt by the later Hasmonaeans (*cf.* *Ant.* xv. 403) and again by Herod, who named it Antonia (*cf.* *Ant.* xviii. 91, *B.J.* v. 238 ff.; its site and structure have recently been discussed by Père H. Vincent in *RB* xlii., 1933, pp. 83-113). The Seleucid citadel is located on the southern spur of the eastern hill also by E. Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 158, Dalman, *Sacred Sites*, p. 273; *cf.* also Tramontano, pp. 86 ff., who agrees substantially with Schürer.

^e 1 *Macc.* i. 34 says that the citadel was occupied by an *ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν, ἄνδρας παρανόμους* "a sinful nation, lawless men," probably intending the latter phrase to be in apposition with the "sinful nation" and meaning the Syrians. Josephus, however, assumes that two different groups are meant, the Syrian soldiers and the renegade Jews; the latter are mentioned separately in vs. 52 as the cause of much evil to the land. See further Bickermann, *GM*, pp. 71-73.

JOSEPHUS

κατέσφαξε, θυσίαν οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ πάτριον τῇ
 Ἰουδαίων θρησκείᾳ ταύτην ἐπιτελῶν. ἠνάγκασε
 δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφεμένους τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν
 θρησκείαν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι,
 οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει καὶ κώμη
 254 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς σὺς καθ' ἡμέραν προσέταξεν.¹ ἐκέλευσε
 δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν²
 ἀπειλήσας εἴ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὐρεθίη.
 κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐπισκόπους, οἱ προσαναγκάσου-
 255 σιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ποιεῖν. καὶ πολλοὶ
 μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ἔκοντι οἱ δὲ καὶ δι'
 εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τιμωρίας κατηκο-
 λούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο, οἱ δὲ δοκιμώ-
 τατοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐγενεῖς οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν
 αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ἐθῶν πλείονα λόγον ἔσχον
 ἢ τῆς τιμωρίας ἣν οὐ πειθομένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ
 256 πικρὰς βασάνους ὑπομένοντες³ ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ
 γὰρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι⁴
 ζῶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐμπνέοντες ἀνεσταυροῦντο, τὰς δὲ
 γυναικὰς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, οὓς περιέτεμνον
 παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἀπήγγχον, ἐκ

¹ προσέταξεν om. PFV.

² κολάσιν PFLV Lat. (vid.). ³ ὑποφέροντες FLV.

⁴ + καὶ πάντα δεινὰ καρτερήσαντες P.

^a 1 Macc. does not mention the sacrifice of swine on the temple-altar (although i. 44 ff. might be taken to imply this, since the sacrifice of swine in "the cities of Judah" is mentioned in connexion with the profanation of the temple); vs. 54 speaks of the erection on the temple-altar of a βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, which is the Gr. equivalent of the *šiqqûs m'šômēm* A.V. "abomination that maketh desolate") in Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11; this term, according to Nestle (*ap.* Montgomery, 130

slaughtered swine thereon,^a thereby practising a form of sacrifice neither lawful nor native to the religion of the Jews. And he compelled them to give up the worship of their own God, and to do reverence to the gods in whom he believed; he then commanded them to build sacred places in every city and village, and to set up altars on which to sacrifice swine daily. He also ordered them not to circumcise their children, threatening to punish anyone who might be found acting contrary to these orders. He also appointed overseers who should assist in compelling them to carry out his instructions. And so, many of the Jews, some willingly, others through fear of the punishment which had been prescribed, followed the practices ordained by the king, but the worthiest people and those of noble soul disregarded him, and held their country's customs of greater account than the punishment with which he threatened them if they disobeyed; and being on that account maltreated daily, and enduring bitter torments, they met their death. Indeed, they were whipped, their bodies were mutilated,^b and while still alive and breathing, they were crucified,^c while their wives and the sons whom they had circumcised in despite of the king's wishes were strangled, the children being made to

The Syrians
persecute
pious Jews.
1 Macc. i. 44.

Dan., p. 388), is "a contemptuous surrogate for the name of the highest pagan deity"—in this case, Zeus Olympios, *cf.* 2 Macc. vi. 2. The swine is also mentioned by Posidonius, fr. 109 *FGH* 2A, and in the rabbinic work on the Maccabean revolt, called *Megillath Beth Hašmōnai* or *Megillath 'Anti'ókōs* (ed. Kahana, *Siphrúth ha-histōriā hay-yisrā'ēlīth*, 1922, i. 17).

^b One ms. adds, "and bravely suffering all manner of terrible things."

^c The scourging and crucifixion are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

τῶν τραχήλων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνεσταυρωμένων γονέων ἀπαρτῶντες. ἠφανίζετο δ' εἶ που βίβλος εὐρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἷς εὐρέθη καὶ οὗτοι κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλλυντο.

- 257 (5) Ταῦτα δὲ βλέποντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται πάσχοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκέθ' ὠμολόγουν αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεῖν ναὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῇ φύσει ποιοῦντες ἀκόλουθα ἦν δεδηλώκαμεν, καὶ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς Μήδων ἀποίκους καὶ Περσῶν· καὶ γάρ εἰσιν τούτων ἀποικοί.
- 258 πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον πρέσβεις καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδήλουν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα· “ βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ θεῶ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν ἐν
- 259 Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων. οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διὰ τινὰς αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας¹ παρακολουθήσαντες ἀρχαία τινὶ δεισιδαιμονία, ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεῖν λεγομένῳ ὄρει ἱερὸν ἔθνον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκού-
- 260 σας θυσίας. σοῦ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἀξίως χρησαμένου, οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ διοικοῦντες, οἴομενοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις, ταῖς ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις περιάπτουσιν,² ὄντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Σιδωνίων· καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀναγραφῶν.

¹ αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας] συχνοὺς τῆς χώρας (τ. χώρας συχνοὺς tr. F) λοιμοὺς FLV Lat.: αὐχμοὺς E.

² προσάπτουσιν PAMWE.

^a For literature on the following section, §§ 257-264, not found in 1 Macc. (but cf. the brief allusion to Antiochus' 132

hang from the necks of their crucified parents. And wherever a sacred book or copy of the Law was found, it was destroyed; as for those in whose possession it was found, they too, poor wretches, wretchedly perished.

(5)^a But when the Samaritans saw the Jews suffering these misfortunes, they would no longer admit that they were their kin or that the temple on Garizein was that of the Most Great God, thereby acting in accordance with their nature, as we have shown^b; they also said they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, and they are, in fact, colonists from these peoples. Accordingly, they sent envoys to Antiochus with a letter in which they made the following statements. "To King Antiochus Theos Epiphanes,^c a memorial from the Sidonians in Shechem.^d Our forefathers because of certain droughts^e in their country, and following a certain ancient superstition,^f made it a custom to observe the day which is called the Sabbath by the Jews, and they erected a temple without a name on the mountain called Garizein, and there offered the appropriate sacrifices. Now you have dealt with the Jews as their wickedness deserves, but the king's officers, in the belief that we follow the same practices as they through kinship with them, are involving us in similar charges, whereas we are Sidonians by origin, as is evident from our state documents. We therefore

The Samaritans appeal to Antiochus Epiphanes.

consecration of the Samaritan temple to Zeus Xenios in 2 Macc. vi. 2, on which see § 261 note *c*) and taken by Joseph from another source (Jason of Cyrene?), see Appendix G.

^b Cf. *Ant.* ix. 291 note.

^c "God Manifest."

^d On this designation cf. *Ant.* xi. 344 note *c*.

^e Variant "because of frequent pestilences."

^f Or "religious scruple," cf. § 5 note *a*.

JOSEPHUS

- 261 ἀξιούμεν οὖν σε τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα προστάξαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχη καὶ Νικάνορι τῷ τὰ βασιλικὰ πράττοντι μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν προσάπτουσι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰτίας, ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλληνίου· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου παυσόμεθα μὲν ἐνοχλούμενοι, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις μετὰ ἀδείας προσανέχοντες μείζονάς σοι ποιήσομεν τὰς προσόδους."
- 262 ταῦτα τῶν Σαμαρέων¹ δεηθέντων ἀντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε· “ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Νικάνορι. οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι ἐπέδωκαν τὸ
- 263 κατακεχωρισμένον ὑπόμνημα. ἐπεὶ οὖν συμβουλευομένοις ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν φίλων παρέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτι μηδὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγκλήμασι προσήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς

¹ Σαμαρειτῶν FLV.

^a Probably to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch sent to Jerusalem by Antiochus in 168 B.C., cf. § 248 note e. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 15, believes that Josephus here designates Apollonius governor (*meridarch*) of Samaria on the basis of 1 Macc. iii. 10, which says that Apollonius set out from Samaria with an army to attack Judaea.

^b Grimm identifies Nicanor with the Nicanor, son of Patroclus, mentioned in 2 Macc. viii. 9 ff. (cf. § 298 note b) as one of the king's ministers who hoped to raise money for the payment of the Seleucid indemnity to Rome by selling Jewish captives as slaves.

^c Zeus Xenios (“protector of strangers”) according to 2 Macc. vi. 2. The latter reading is preferred by Cook, *Rel.*, p. 188, who writes, “the hospitable Zeus would reflect oriental ideas illustrated both in the old ‘covenant god’ of Shechem and in Allah as the protector of guest-clients”; so, earlier,

petition you as our benefactor and saviour to command Apollonius, the governor of the district,^a and Nicanor, the royal agent,^b not to molest us in any way by attaching to us the charges of which the Jews are guilty, since we are distinct from them both in race and in customs, and we ask that the temple without a name be known as that of Zeus Hellenios.^c For if this be done, we shall cease to be molested, and by applying ourselves to our work in security, we shall make your revenues greater." To this petition of the Samaritans the king wrote the following reply. "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians in Shechem have submitted a memorial which has been filed.^d Now since the men sent by them have represented to us sitting in council with our friends that they are in no way concerned in the complaints brought against the Jews, but choose to live in

Freudenthal, *Hell. Stud.*, p. 77 note, on the ground that the Samaritans would have worshipped the Phoenician Baal-Moloch (*cf. Ant.* viii. 145 note *d*) in the form of Zeus Xenios. Montgomery, *Sam.*, p. 77 note, makes the interesting conjecture that the epithet Xenios "may have been suggested by the first syllable of Gerizim, *ger*, *i.e.* 'stranger'" (in this connexion we may note that a Samaritan writer, "Pseudo-Eupolemus," *ap. Eusebius, Praep. Evang.* ix. 17, interprets the name Mount Gerizim—'Αργαριζίν as ὄρος ὑψίστου "Mount of the Most High"; this, of course, does not decide the question which epithet is correct). The epithet Hellenios would be the probable choice only if the Samaritans were stressing their Greek sympathies (*cf. § 263 and Ant.* xi. 344) while Xenios would be suitable whether they thought primarily of their Greek sympathies or their Phoenician (or Shechemite) origin. On the whole, Xenios is more likely to have been correct.

^a Or perhaps "the memorial (memorandum) herewith noted (or "enclosed")"; on the meaning of *καταχωρίζω* *cf. Preisigke, Fachwörter*, p. 107, and Welles, *Royal Corr.*, pp. 101 f., 181.

JOSEPHUS

ἔθεσιν αἰροῦνται χρώμενοι ζῆν, ἀπολύομέν τε αὐτοὺς τῶν αἰτιῶν, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερόν, καθάπερ ἠξιῶκασι, προσαγορευθήτω Διὸς Ἑλ-
 264 ληνίου." ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχει ἐπέστειλεν ἕκτω ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ¹ μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος Ὑρκανίου² ὀκτω-
 καιδεκάτη.

265 (vi. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις οἰκῶν ἐν Μωδαῖ³ κώμη τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὄνομα Ματθαθίας, υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου, ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐφημερίδος Ἰωάριβος,⁴ Ἱεροσολυμίτης.
 266 ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος Γάδδης⁵ καὶ Σίμων ὁ κληθεὶς Θάτις⁶ καὶ Ἰούδας

¹ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ add. Vaillant: om. codd. Lat.

² Hyrcani Lat.: om. ed. pr.

³ Μωδεεῖμ FV Suidas: Μωδαιεῖ L¹AMW: Μωδεεῖ L²: Μωδεῖ E: Modin Lat.: Μωδεῖ Exc.

⁴ FLV: Ἰώαβος rell.: Ioab aut Iobab Lat.

⁵ Γαδδῖς FAM: Γαδδεις Exc.

⁶ Θατῖς LAM: Μαθθῖς F: Μαθθῆς V: Θαθῆς W: Θαδῆς E: Mathias Lat.: Θάθεις Exc.: Θάσος Syncellus.

^a The "hundred" has been inadvertently omitted from the mss.

^b The 146th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 B.C.

^c The Attic (and Delian) month Hekatombaion corresponded to July-August (cf. *Ant.* iv. 84). What "Hyrcanios" means is an unsolved puzzle. Another instance of an unknown name given to a Greek (Macedonian) month occurs in 2 Macc. xi. 21, namely Διοσκοριθίου (*v.l.* Διοσκορίδου) but this has been plausibly emended to Διὸς Κρονίδου on the basis of Plutarch, *Thest.* 12, Κρονίου μηνὸς ὃν νῦν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσιν (cf. Büchler, *Tob.* p. 154 note). Is there any connexion between these two passages, and is

accordance with Greek customs, we acquit them of these charges, and permit their temple to be known as that of Zeus Hellenios, as they have petitioned." In this fashion he also wrote to Apollonius, the district-governor, in the hundred^a and forty-sixth year,^b on the eighteenth of the month Hekatombaion Hyrkanios.^c

(vi. 1) At this same time there was a man living in the village^d of Modai^e in Judaea, named Mattathias, the son of Joannes, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamonaios,^f a priest of the course^g of Joarib^h and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, Joannes called Gaddes,ⁱ Simon called Thatis,^j Judas called

Mattathias
and his
five sons.
1 Macc. ii. 1

"Hyrkanios" a corruption of "Kronios"? It seems strange, to be sure, that an Attic rather than a Macedonian month should be named in either passage, but Niese, *Kritik*, p. 107, argues that Antiochus "who introduced the Attic documentary style into Antioch" might well have adopted Attic month-names as well.

^a Called a "city" (πόλις) in 1 Macc. ii. 15 ff.

^e Variants Modeeim, Modai, Modin, etc. (most mss. in *B.J.* i. 36 have Modeein); 1 Macc. Modein; in rabbinic literature *Môdi'in* or *Môdi'ith*. Its site is the mod. *Ras Medieh* or *el-Medieh*, c. 7 miles S.E. of Lydda and c. 17 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

^f *Hašmônai* in rabbinic literature; he is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Josephus himself claims descent from the Hasmonaeans, *Vita* 2.

^g 1 Macc. "of the sons." On the priestly courses cf. *Ant.* vii. 365 note *c* and *Vita* 2 note *a*.

^h So 1 Macc. (=Heb. *Yôyārîb*); variants Joab, Jobab.

ⁱ Variant Gaddis (so most mss. of 1 Macc.). This surname is connected by some scholars with Gad, the Semitic god of fortune.

^j Variants Thathis, Matthis, etc.; 1 Macc. Thassi. Winer (*ap.* Grimm) long ago suggested a derivation from Aram. *t'esas* "boil, ferment," hence "the zealot," and so, more recently, Bévenot, but this etymology seems to me very far-fetched.

JOSEPHUS

- ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος¹ καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ κληθεὶς Αὐράν καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀφφούς.²
- 267 οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ματθαθίας ἀπωδύρετο τοῖς τέκνοις τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγὴν καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν σύλησιν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰς συμφοράς, ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατριῶν νόμων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν οὕτως ἀδόξως.³
- 268 (2) Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαῖν κώμην τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο, καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειε, διὰ δὲ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐπαιδίαν ἀξιούντων τὸν Ματθαθίαν προκατ-
- 269 ἀρχειν τῶν θυσιῶν (κατακολουθήσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως), ὁ Ματθαθίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν ποιήσειν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰλλα πάντα ἔθνη τοῖς Ἀντιόχου προστάγμασιν ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ δι' εὐαρέστησιν⁴ ὑπακούει, πεισθήσεσθαί ποτ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὴν
- 270 πάτριον θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ὡς δὲ σιωπήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσελθὼν τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μέσον ἔθυσε καθ' ἃ προσέταξεν Ἀντίοχος, θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ματθαθίας ὤρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ

¹ Μακαβαῖος P: Machabeus Lat.

² Ἀφφούς LAMW: Sappus Lat.: Σαπφούς Syncellus.

³ FV Lat.: ἀφόβως P: ἀσεβῶς rell.

⁴ εὐεργέτησιν FLV.

^a Gr. Makkabaios. Many different etymologies have been proposed for this name, the most widely accepted being from *maqqābāh*, "hammer," hence "the Hammerer," but in view of our uncertainty whether the Heb. (or Aram.) form

Maccabaeus,^a Eleazar called Auran,^b and Jonathan^c called Apphus.^d Now this Mattathias lamented to his sons over the state of things, the plundering of the city and the spoiling of the temple, and the misfortunes of the people, and said it was better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so ingloriously.^e

(2) But there came to the village^f of Modai the officers appointed by the king to compel the Jews to carry out his ordinances, and they ordered the inhabitants to sacrifice as the king had ordered; and as Mattathias was held in esteem because of various things and especially because of his goodly sons, they invited him to be the first to sacrifice—for, they said his fellow-citizens would follow him, and for that reason he would be honoured by the king—but Mattathias refused to do so, saying that even if all the other nations obeyed the commands of Antiochus whether through fear or through desire to please^g he himself and his sons would never be persuaded to abandon their native form of worship. But when he had ceased speaking, one of the Jews came forward and in their midst sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded, whereupon Mattathias in rage rushed upon

Mattathias
defies the
officers of
Antiochus
Epiphanes.
1 Macc. ii.
15.

had the consonants *m q b y* or *m k b y*, it seems unwise to accept any of those proposed.

^b 1 Macc. Auaran. Grimm suggests a derivation from Heb. *hur*, "to penetrate," hence "the Borer."

^c Gr. *Jōnathēs*.

^d Michaelis (*ap.* Grimm) connects this with the Heb. and Syr. root *hps*, and interprets the name as "the cunning one" ("der Schlaue"), but this root means "to dig, search," and it is difficult to understand the basis of his interpretation.

^e Variants "impiously" and (one ms.) "without fear."

^f *Cf.* § 265 note *d*.

^g Variant "or through beneficence."

JOSEPHUS

τῶν παίδων ἔχόντων κοπίδας, καὶ αὐτόν τε
 ἐκείνον διέφθειρε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως
 Ἀπελλῆν, ὃς ἐπηνάγκαζε, διεχρήσατο μετ' ὀλίγων
 στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν,
 271 “ εἴ τις ζηλωτῆς ἐστὶν τῶν πατρίων ἔθων καὶ τῆς
 τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἐπέσθω,” φησὶν, “ ἐμοί.”
 καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
 ἐξώρμησε καταλιπὼν ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτήσιν
 272 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ¹ ποιή-
 σαντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν
 ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διῆγον. ἀκούσαντες
 δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοί, καὶ τὴν
 δύναμιν ὅσῃν εἶναι συνέβαινε ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῶν
 Ἱεροσολύμων ἀναλαβόντες, ἐδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
 273 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν μετανοήσαντας αἰρεῖσθαι
 τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην
 274 ὥστ' αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι πολέμου νόμῳ². μὴ προσ-
 δεχομένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ τὰναντία φρονούν-
 των συμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην σαββάτων
 ἡμέρα, καὶ ὡς εἶχον οὕτως ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις
 αὐτοὺς κατέφλεξαν³ οὐδὲ⁴ ἀμυνομένους ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

¹ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ conl. Niese (ἄλλοι in ed.): ἄλλοι FLV: πολλοὶ rell. Lat.: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Zonaras.

² πολεμουμένοις PLAM: πολεμουμένους W: tamquam hostibus Lat.

³ κατέσφαξαν FLV.

⁴ οὐδὲν FLV Exc.

^a 1 Macc. does not mention here either the sons or the knives; the same amplification is found in *B.J.* i. 36.

^b His name is not given in 1 Macc., which calls him simply “the king’s man”; in *B.J.* i. 36 Josephus calls him Bacchides.

^c The killing of the soldiers is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

him with his sons, who had broad knives,^a and cut down the man himself, and also made an end of Apelles,^b the king's officer, who was compelling them to sacrifice, together with a few of his soldiers^c; and after pulling down the pagan altar, he cried out, "Whoever is zealous for our country's laws and the worship of God, let him come with me!" So saying, he set out with his sons into the wilderness,^d leaving behind all his property in the village. And many others^e also did the same, and fled with their children and wives to the wilderness, where they lived in caves. But when the king's officers heard of this, they took as many soldiers as were then in the citadel of Jerusalem,^f and pursued the Jews into the wilderness; and when they had overtaken them, they tried at first to persuade them to repent and choose a course which was for their own good, and not to bring upon the king's men the necessity of treating them in accordance with the laws of war^g; the Jews, however, did not accept their terms, but showed a hostile spirit, whereupon they attacked them on the Sabbath-day and burned^h them in their caves, just as they were, for not only did the Jews not resist, but they

The Jews
are attacked
on the
Sabbath.
1 Macc. ii.
31.

^a 1 Macc. ii. 28, "into the hills," but the wilderness is mentioned in the next verse.

^e Text emended after Zonaras; mss. "others" or "many."

^f 1 Macc. "the forces who were in Jerusalem, the city of David." Josephus must be right in assuming that the *Akra* is there meant.

^g Variant "treating them as enemies in war."

^h Variant "slaughtered"; 1 Macc. "killed." It is noteworthy that 2 Macc. vi. 11 speaks of refugee Jews being burned in the caves, to which they had fled to observe the Sabbath secretly, by the Phrygian general Philip, this being before the Maccabean revolt.

JOSEPHUS

τὰς εἰσόδους ἐμφράξαντας. τοῦ δὲ ἀμύνασθαι διὰ
 τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπέσχοντο, μηδ' ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι
 τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου τιμὴν θελήσαντες· ἀργεῖν γὰρ
 275 ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῇ νόμιμόν ἐστιν. ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν
 σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐμπνιγέστες τοῖς σπηλαίοις
 ὡσεὶ χίλιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διασωθέντες τῷ Ματ-
 276 ταθίᾳ προσέθεντο κακῆν ἄρχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ
 δὲ καὶ σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκε μάχεσθαι,
 λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τοῦτο, φυλαττόμενοι τὸ
 νόμιμον, αὐτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν
 κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων,
 αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἀμυνομένων, κωλύσειν τε μηδὲν
 277 οὕτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν
 ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἄχρι δεῦρο μένει παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ
 278 καὶ σαββάτοις, εἴ ποτε δεήσεις, μάχεσθαι. ποιήσας
 οὖν δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν Ματταθίας τοὺς τε
 βωμοὺς καθεῖλε καὶ τοὺς ἑξαμαρτόντας ἀπέκτεινεν,
 ὅσους λαβεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἠδυνήθη (πολλοὶ γὰρ δι'
 εὐλάβειαν διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη). τῶν τε
 παίδων τοὺς οὐ περιτετμημένους ἐκέλευσε περι-
 τέμνεσθαι, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κωλύειν καθεσταμένους
 ἐκβαλόν.
 279 (3) Ἄρξας δ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον

^a This rule was followed in the rabbinic period, although making war on the Sabbath is expressly forbidden in the book of Jubilees, l. 12 (cf. L. Finkelstein, *Some Examples of the Maccabaeian Halakah*, *JBL* xlix. 1930, pp. 20-42) and the Jews refrained from attacking the Romans on the Sabbath when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiv. 63); in the great war with Rome, however, the Jews were compelled to violate the Sabbath by fighting (*B.J.* ii. 517). Reinach in his note on the text above observes that Josephus dwells on this episode and amplifies the text of 1 Macc., where, he says, the 142

did not even stop up the entrances to the caves. And they forbore to resist because of the day, being unwilling to violate the dignity of the Sabbath even when in difficulties, for the law requires us to rest on that day. And so about a thousand with their wives and children died by suffocation in the caves; but many escaped and joined Mattathias, whom they appointed their leader. And he instructed them to fight even on the Sabbath, saying that if for the sake of observing the law they failed to do so, they would be their own enemies, for their foes would attack them on that day, and unless they resisted, nothing would prevent them from all perishing without striking a blow. These words persuaded them, and to this day we continue the practice of fighting even on the Sabbath whenever it becomes necessary.^a So Mattathias gathered a large force round him,^b and pulled down the pagan altars, and killed as many of those who had sinned as he could lay his hands on—for many of them in fear of him had scattered among the neighbouring nations; and as for the boys who had not been circumcised, he ordered them to be circumcised, and drove out the officers who had been appointed to prevent this.

Mattathias resolves to fight on the Sabbath when necessary. 1 Macc. ii. 40.

(3) But after being in command for a year, he fell initiative in this action is not attributed to Mattathias, and suggests that Josephus has here the intention of justifying his co-religionists for having fought on the Sabbath in the war with Rome. But 1 Macc. *does* attribute the initiative to Mattathias and his friends, and just about as much stress is laid on this episode in 1 Macc. as in Josephus' text. I doubt, therefore, whether Reinach's point is well taken.

^b Josephus omits any reference (*cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 42) to the *συναγωγὴ Ἀσιδαίων*, "company of pious men (Heb. *hasîdîm*)," who joined Mattathias at this time; *cf.* also § 396 note *d.*

JOSEPHUS

προσκαλείται τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ περιστησάμενος
αὐτοὺς “ ἐγὼ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ παῖδες, ἄπειμι τὴν
εἰμαρμένην πορείαν, παρατίθεμαι δὲ ὑμῖν τοῦμὸν
φρόνημα¹ καὶ παρακαλῶ μὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς αὐτοῦ
280 φύλακας, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένους τῆς τοῦ φύσαντος ὑμᾶς
καὶ θρεψαμένου προαιρέσεως ἔθη τε σώζειν τὰ
πάτρια καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν
πολιτείαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι, μὴ συμφερομένους τοῖς ἢ διὰ
281 βούλησιν ἢ δι’ ἀνάγκην προδιδούσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλ’
ἀξιῶ² παῖδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι³ καὶ βίας ἀπάσης
καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω
παρεσκευασμένους,⁴ ὥστε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν
νόμων, ἂν δέη, λογιζομένους τοῦθ’ ὅτι τὸ θεῖον
τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ’ ἀρετῆς
ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτούς,⁵ καὶ τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἐν ἧ ἤ ζήσεσθε μετ’ ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων
282 ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν ἀποκαταστήσει. θνητὰ μὲν γὰρ
τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρα, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἔργων
μνήμη τάξιν ἀθανασίας λαμβάνομεν,⁶ ἧς ἐρα-
σθέντας ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διώκειν τὴν εὐκλειαν, καὶ
τὰ μέγιστα ὑφισταμένους μὴ ὀκνεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
283 ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον. μάλιστα δ’ ὑμῖν ὁμονοεῖν
παραινῶ, καὶ πρὸς ὃ τις ὑμῶν πέφυκεν ἀμείνων
θατέρου πρὸς τοῦτ’ εἴκοντας ἀλλήλοις οἰκείαις

¹ τοῦμὸν φρόνημα] patrias leges Lat.

² ἀξίους FV Lat.: ἀξιῶσαι W.

³ ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι] ἐμοῦ V.

⁴ FLV: παρασκευασαμένους rell.

⁵ αὐτοῖς P: αὐτῶ F: αὐτὸ LVW: om. Lat.

⁶ λαμβάνει LV Lat. (vid.).

^a Variant “but being worthy sons of mine, to remain so.”

^b *i.e.* the laws; the variants give no clear grammatical object of “will give back.”

ill, and calling his sons, made them stand round him, and said, " I myself, my sons, am about to go the destined way, but my spirit I leave in your keeping, and I beg you not to be unworthy guardians of it, but to be mindful of the purpose of him who begot you and brought you up, and to preserve our country's customs and to restore our ancient form of government, which is in danger of passing away, and not to make common cause with those who are betraying it whether of their own will or through compulsion ; but since you are my sons, I wish you to remain constant as such ^a and to be superior to all force and compulsion, being so prepared in spirit as to die for the laws, if need be, and bearing this in mind, that when the Deity sees you so disposed, He will not forget you, but in admiration of your heroism will give them ^b back to you again, and will restore to you your liberty, in which you shall live securely and in the enjoyment of your own customs.^c For though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, we ^d can, through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality ^e ; it is this which I wish you to be in love with, and for its sake to pursue glory and undertake the greatest tasks and not shrink from giving up your lives for them. But most of all I urge you to be of one mind, and in whatever respect one of you is superior to the others, in that to yield to one another, and so make the best use of your several

Mattathias' dying charge to his sons. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 49.

^c In the preceding Josephus converts into philosophical language what is in 1 Macc. a simple appeal by Mattathias to his sons to remember the heroism of the great national figures from Abraham to Daniel.

^d Variant " they " (*i.e.* bodies).

^e In 1 Macc. Mattathias refers not to brief mortality in general, but to the short-lived glory of wicked men.

JOSEPHUS

- χρήσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. καὶ Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 συνέσει προύχοντα πατέρα ἡγείσθε καὶ οἷς ἂν οὗτος
 284 συμβουλεύσῃ πείθεσθε, Μακκαβαῖον δὲ τῆς στρα-
 τιᾶς δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἰσχὺν στρατηγὸν ἔξετε· τὸ
 γὰρ ἔθνος οὗτος ἐκδικήσει· καὶ ἀμυνεῖται τοὺς
 πολεμίους. προσίεσθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ
 θεοσεβεῖς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν¹ αὔξετε.”
- 285 (4) Ταῦτα διαλεχθεῖς τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐ-
 ξάμενος σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν
 ἰδίαν ἀνασῶσαι πάλιν τοῦ βίου συνήθειαν, μετ' οὐ
 πολὺ τελευτᾶ, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Μωδαί, πένθος
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ποιησαμένου.
 διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ παῖς
 αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει καὶ
 286 τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ. συναραμένων δ' αὐτῷ
 προθύμως τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε
 πολεμίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τοὺς παρα-
 νομήσαντας εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν ὁμοφύλων διεχρή-
 σατο, καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος
 τὴν γῆν.
- 287 (vii. 1) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τῆς Σα-
 μαρείας στρατηγός, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὤρμησεν
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμ-
 βαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
 ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον,
 οὗ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, ἣν χρήσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖνον,

¹ αὐτῶν mss.: αὐτῶν Capps.

^a 1 Macc. “you.”

abilities. And since your brother Simon excels in understanding, look upon him as your father, and follow whatever counsel he gives you; but Maccabaeus you shall take as commander of the army because of his courage and strength, for he ^a will avenge our nation and will punish our enemies. And also admit to your ranks the righteous and pious, and so increase their ^b power."

(4) Having addressed his sons in these words, he prayed to God to be their ally and to recover for the people its own way of life once more ^c; and not long afterwards he died and was buried in Modai, the entire people making great lamentation for him. And he was succeeded as first in authority by his son Judas, also known as Maccabaeus, in the hundred and forty-sixth year.^d Then Judas with the ready assistance of his brothers and others drove the enemy out of the country, and made an end of those of his countrymen who had violated their fathers' laws, and purified the land of all pollution.^e

Judas Maccabaeus succeeds his father as leader. 1 Macc. ii. 69.

(vii. 1) Hearing of this, Apollonius, the governor of Samaria,^f took his force of men and set out against Judas. But Judas on meeting him and engaging him in battle defeated him, and killed many of the enemy, among them their general Apollonius himself, and taking as spoil the sword which Apollonius was then

Victories of Judas over Apollonius and Seron. 1 Macc. iii. 10.

^b For *αὐτῶν* "their" Prof. Capps suggests *αὐτῶν* "your own."

^c 1 Macc. says merely, "he blessed them."

^d The official 146th year Sel. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 B.C., by Jewish reckoning (*cf.* § 240 note *a*), from April 166 to April 165 B.C.

^e This last sentence is a brief summary of 1 Macc. iii. 1-9 which poetically describes Judas' prowess.

^f Probably the same as Apollonius the Mysarch of 2 Macc., *cf.* § 248 note *e* and § 261 note *a*.

JOSEPHUS

σκυλεύσας αὐτὸς εἶχε, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας
 ἐποίησε, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 288 λαβὼν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεχώρησεν. Σήρων δ' ὁ τῆς
 κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ
 προσκεχωρήκασιν τῷ Ἰούδα καὶ δύναμιν ἤδη περι-
 βέβληται πρὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους ἀξιόλογον, ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν ἔγνω στρατεύσασθαι, προσήκειν ὑπολαμ-
 βάνων τοὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα
 289 παρανομοῦντας πειρᾶσθαι κολάζειν.¹ συναγαγὼν
 οὖν δύναμιν ὅση παρῆν αὐτῷ, προσκαταλέξας δὲ
 καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, ἐπὶ
 τὸν Ἰούδαν παρεγίγνετο· προελθὼν² δὲ ἄχρι
 Βαιθῶρων κώμης τῆς Ἰουδαίας αὐτόθι στρατοπε-
 290 δεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ συμ-
 βαλεῖν προαιρούμενος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἑώρα
 πρὸς τὴν μάχην διὰ τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ δι' ἀσι-
 τίαν (νενηστεύκεσαν γάρ) ὀκνοῦντας, παρεθάρσυνε,
 λέγων οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὸ νικᾶν εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν

¹ προσήκειν . . . κολάζειν om. E Lat.

² Niese: προσελθὼν codd.: perveniens Lat.

^a 1 Macc. "and Judas took the sword of Apollonius and was fighting therewith all his days."

^b 1 Macc. "commander of the army of Syria" (cf. next note and § 295 note a).

^c Conjectured; mss. "approached." The text of 1 Macc. iii. 15 reads, καὶ προσέθετο τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή, which is corrected by M. Schwabe and E. Melamed, *MGWJ* lxxii., 1928. pp. 202-204, to καὶ ἀνήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή on the theory that the original Heb. had *way-yē'esōrēh* "he gathered together," but the Gr. translator read *wayyōsērēh* "he continued." That Josephus has *συναγαγὼν* is not in itself clear evidence that he used a Heb. text of 1 Macc. (on which cf. F. Perles in *REJ* lxxxii., 1921, p. 179), since he may easily have guessed the Heb. lying behind the

using, kept it for himself ^a ; he also left more of them wounded, and after taking much booty from the camp of the enemy, he withdrew. But when Seron, who was governor of Coele-Syria,^b heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had already surrounded himself with a force to be reckoned with in a contest of war, he decided to march against him, considering it his duty to try to punish those who had violated the king's commands. He therefore gathered together whatever force he had, and having also enrolled the fugitives and irreligious men among the Jews, he came against Judas ; and having advanced^c as far as the village of Baithoron^d in Judaea, he encamped there. But Judas, meeting him there and intending to engage him, saw that his soldiers were shrinking from the battle because of their small number and lack of food—for they had fasted,^e—and so he began to encourage them, saying that victory and mastery

Gr. reading, or have supplied the inevitable *συναγαγών*. In this connexion, however, it may be worth while to mention Michaelis' suggestion (*ap.* Grimm) that Josephus' *Σήρων δ' ὁ τῆς κοίτης Συρίας στρατηγός* above is based on Heb. *śar hēl 'Arām* "commander of the army of Syria," which Josephus, taking *hēl* to mean "valley," translated "governor of Coele-Syria"; unfortunately, as Grimm remarks, *hēl* (construct of *hayl*) does not mean "valley" in Hebrew (though we have *haylā* "valley" in Aramaic); this too may be an instance of Josephus' guessing at the Heb. (or Aram.) original underlying his Gr. text of 1 Macc. There can be no question of his use of a Gr. text; whether he also had a Semitic text is doubtful.

^a 1 Macc. "to the ascent of Baithoron," *i.e.* between Beth-horon the Upper, *mod.* *Beit-'Ūr el-fôqâ*, and Beth-horon the Lower, *mod.* *Beit-'Ūr et-tahtâ*, *c.* 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the road which passes through Lydda and Jaffa.

^e 1 Macc. "we have not eaten to-day."

JOSEPHUS

- τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν.
 291 καὶ τούτου σαφέστατον ἔχειν παράδειγμα τοὺς προ-
 γόνους, οἱ διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων
 νόμων καὶ τέκνων ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλὰς πολλάκις
 ἤττησαν μυριάδας· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἰσχυρὰ
 292 δύναμις. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατα-
 φρονήσαντας τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοσε-
 χωρῆσαι τῷ Σήρῳ, καὶ συμβαλὼν τρέπει τοὺς
 Σύρους· πεσόντος γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πάντες φεύ-
 γειν ὤρμησαν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς
 ἀποκειμένης. ἐπιδιώκων δ' ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου
 κτείνει τῶν πολεμίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίου¹. οἱ δὲ
 λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν παραλίαν.
 293 (2) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος μεγά-
 λως ὠργίσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
 οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν
 νήσων μισθοφόρους παραλαβὼν ἠτοιμάζετο περὶ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.
 294 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διανείμας ἑώρα τοὺς θη-
 σαυροὺς ἐπιλείποντας καὶ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν οὔσαν
 (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φόροι πάντες ἐτελοῦντο διὰ τὰς τῶν
 ἐθνῶν στάσεις, μεγαλόψυχός τε ὢν καὶ φιλόδωρος
 οὐκ ἤρκειτο τοῖς οὔσιν), ἔγνω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν

¹ ὀκτακισχιλίου M²E Lat.

^a In 1 Macc. Judas does not allude to their forefathers; Josephus may here be thinking of Mattathias' dying speech, 1 Macc. ii. 50 ff., cf. §§ 279 ff.

^b 1 Macc. does not say explicitly that Seron fell, but that "Seron and his army were crushed."

^c 1 Macc. "to the land of the Philistines."

^d Nothing is said at this point in 1 Macc. about "mercenaries from the islands," but they are mentioned later (vi. 29)

over the enemy lay not in numbers, but in being pious toward the Deity. And of this they had the clearest example in their forefathers, who because of their righteousness and their struggles on behalf of their own laws and children had many times defeated many tens of thousands ^a; for, he said, in doing no wrong there is a mighty force. By saying this he persuaded his men to hold in contempt the great numbers of their adversaries and to encounter Seron, and so, after engaging the Syrians, he routed them, for when their commander fell,^b they all made haste to flee, thinking that their safety lay in that. But Judas pursued them as far as the plain, and killed about eight hundred of the enemy; the rest, however, escaped to the sea-coast.^c

(2) Hearing of this, King Antiochus was greatly incensed by what had happened, and having collected all of his own forces and taking with him many mercenaries from the islands,^d he made preparations to invade Judaea about the beginning of the spring.^e But when he had distributed the soldiers' pay, he saw that his treasuries were failing and that there was a lack of money—for not all the tribute had been paid because of uprisings among the (subject) nations,^f and also, being munificent and liberal with gifts, he had not limited himself to his actual resources,^g—

Antiochus Epiphanes sets out for Persia, leaving Lysias in command. 1 Macc. iii. 27.

in connexion with Antiochus Eupator. In bibl. language "the islands" usually include the Greek-speaking lands of the Mediterranean coasts.

^e 165 B.C., *cf.* below, § 297 note *f.*

^f 1 Macc. "and the tribute of the country was small because of the dissension and harm which he had brought upon the land."

^g The extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes is vividly described in Polyb. xxvi. 1.

295 Περσίδα πορευθεὶς τοὺς φόρους τῆς χώρας συν-
 αγαγεῖν. καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 Λυσίαν τινὰ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῷ¹ καὶ τὰ μέχρι
 τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὄρων καὶ τῆς κάτωθεν Ἀσίας ἀπ'
 Εὐφράτου διέποντα² ποταμοῦ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς
 296 δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, τρέφειν μὲν Ἀν-
 τίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος ἐν-
 ετείλατο ἕως ἂν³ παραγένηται, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ
 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἐξανδρα-
 ποδισάμενον ἀφανίσαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸ γένος
 297 αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας τῷ
 Λυσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν
 Περσίδα τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ
 ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Εὐφράτην
 ἀνέβαινε πρὸς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας.⁴
 298 (3) Ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ἐπιλεξάμενος Πτολεμαῖον τὸν

¹ Post αὐτῷ excidisse verba παραδοὺς αὐτῷ ex Lat. conii. Niese.

² ex Lat. Hudson: διήκοντα codd.

³ ἕως ἂν οὐ P.

⁴ τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας L² Lat.: τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας rell.

^a According to 1 Macc. iii. 32 Lysias was "of the family of the kingdom," ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τῆς βασιλείας; cf. 2 Macc. xi. 1, συγγενής "kinsman (of the king)"; this is not to be taken literally, but in the sense of a noble of high rank, cf. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 281. He had lately been governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, according to 2 Macc. x. 11, and if that is true, Josephus is mistaken in calling Seron governor of Coele-Syria at this time, cf. § 288 notes b and c.

^b Niese conjectures from the Lat. that after "held in honour by him" the words "and gave him" have fallen out. But if we accept Hudson's emendation (see next note), the text may be allowed to stand.

and so he decided first to go to Persia and collect the tribute of that country. He therefore left in charge of the government a certain Lysias,^a who was held in honour by him^b and ruled over the country from^c the Euphrates river as far as the borders of Egypt and Lower Asia,^d and he also left behind a part of his force and his elephants; and he charged Lysias to bring up his son Antiochus^e with the greatest care until he returned, and when he had subdued Judaea and reduced its inhabitants to slavery, to make an end of Jerusalem and destroy the Jewish race. Having given these instructions to Lysias, King Antiochus marched away to Persia in the hundred and forty-seventh year,^f and after he had crossed the Euphrates, went on into the Upper Satrapies.^g

(3) Thereupon Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of

^c If for *διέποντα* "ruled over," conjectured by Hudson from the Lat., we retain the mss. reading *διήκοντα* "extending," we shall have to accept Niese's further conjecture that the Gr. has lost two words after "held in honour by him," and read "and gave him the country extending from," etc.

^d "Lower Asia" is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; what Josephus means by the term is not clear.

^e Antiochus V Eupator, who was only 9 years old, according to Appian, *Syr.* 45.

^f The 147th year Sel. extended from Oct. 166 to Oct. 165 B.C. Although 1 Macc. speaks of Persia, it probably refers to Antiochus' first eastern campaign, against Artaxias, king of Armenia, *cf.* Appian, *Syr.* 45, Diod. Sic. xxxi. 17. The passage in Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8 probably refers to Antiochus Sidetes' expedition against the Parthians (*cf.* *Ant.* xiii. 253), not to Antiochus Epiphanes, *cf.* W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Abteilung, N.F. Heft 11)*, München, 1934, p. 85 note 3.

^g 1 Macc. "the upper country" (*τὰς ἐπάνω χώρας*)—a term used by Polybius and Arrian for Armenia, Media, Persia, etc.

JOSEPHUS

Δορυμένους καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας
 δυνατοὺς τῶν φίλων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παρα-
 δούς αὐτοῖς πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μυριάδας τέσ-
 σαραι, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν. οἱ δὲ ἄχρις Ἐμμαοῦς πόλεως ἐλθόντες
 299 ἐπὶ τῇ πεδινῇ καταστρατοπεδεύονται. προσγί-
 γνονται δ' αὐτοῖς σύμμαχοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς Συρίας καὶ
 τῆς πέριξ χώρας καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεφευγόντων
 Ἰουδαίων, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τινὲς ὡς
 ὠνησόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθησομένους, πέδας μὲν
 κομίζοντες αἷς δῆσουσιν τοὺς ληφθησομένους,
 ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσὸν τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταθησόμενοι.
 300 τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ
 Ἰούδας κατανοήσας ἔπειθε τοὺς οἰκείους στρα-
 τιώτας θαρρεῖν, καὶ παρεκελεύετο τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς
 νίκης ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ἵκετεύειν τῷ
 πατρίῳ νόμῳ σάκκουσ περιθεμένους, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες
 αὐτῷ σχῆμα τῆς ἱκεσίας παρὰ τοὺς μεγάλους
 κινδύνους ἐπιδείξαντας, τούτῳ δυσωπῆσαι παρα-
 301 σκεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κράτος. δια-

¹ ἐν FV: in Lat.

^a He bears the surname of Macron in 2 Macc. x. 12; he had been Egyptian governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (Polyb. xxvii. 13), but deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 13). Apparently he succeeded Lysias (or Seron?, cf. above, p. 152 note a).

^b The son of Patroclus, according to 2 Macc. viii. 9. If he is the same person as the Nicanor sent against Judas by Demetrius, who is said to have escaped from Rome with Demetrius in 162 B.C. (1 Macc. vii. 26 = §§ 402 ff., cf. Polyb. xxxi. 14), we must suppose that he went to Rome some time after Lysias assumed the regency.

Dorymenes,^a and Nicanor^b and Gorgias,^c persons of power among the Friends^d of the king, and giving over to them a force of forty thousand foot-soldiers and seven thousand horsemen, sent them out against Judaea. And when they had gone as far as the city of Emmaus,^e they encamped in the plain. Then there came to them allies from Syria and the surrounding territory, and many of the Jewish refugees,^f and also certain slave-dealers, who with the intention of buying the expected captives brought chains with which to bind those who might be taken, and a store of gold and silver to pay for them. But when Judas caught sight of the camp and the great numbers of his adversaries, he tried to persuade his own soldiers to have courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God and to make supplication to Him dressed in sackcloth according to their ancestral custom, and by exhibiting to Him this form of supplication, usual in time of great danger, to constrain Him to grant them victory over their foes.^g Then he

Lysias sends Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias against Judas. 1 Macc. iii. 38.

^c From what follows it appears that Gorgias most actively exercised the military command.

^d "Friends" has here its technical meaning, *cf.* § 134 note *a*.

^e The Christian Nicopolis; its site is the modern 'Amwas *c.* 15 miles N.W. of Jerusalem and *c.* 8 miles S.W. of Bethoron the Lower. If this Emmaus is the same as that mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13, we must assume that Luke's reckoning of 60 stades (*c.* 7 miles) for its distance from Jerusalem is an error (but a *v.l.* gives 160 stades = 18 miles); *cf.* Dalman, *Sacred Sites*, pp. 226 ff., and Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* vii. 217, which mentions another Emmaus, 30 stades (*c.* 3 miles) from Jerusalem.

^f The Jewish allies of the Syrians are not mentioned in 1 Macc., but *cf.* § 305 note *a*.

^g In 1 Macc. (iii. 47-53) there is a more detailed description of the ceremonies performed at Mizpeh.

JOSEPHUS

τάξας δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοὺς τρόπον καὶ πάτριον
κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξiάρχους,¹ καὶ τοὺς νεο-
γάμους ἀπολύσας καὶ τοὺς τὰς κτήσεις νεωστὶ
πεπονημένους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν
φιλοζωοῦντες ἀτολμότερον μάχωνται, καταστὰς
302 τοιούτοις παρορμᾶ² λόγοις πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς
αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας· “ καιρὸς μὲν³ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἄλλος
ἀναγκαιότερος τοῦ παρόντος, ᾧ ἑταῖροι, εἰς εὐ-
ψυχίαν καὶ κινδύνων καταφρόνησιν καταλείπεται.⁴
νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν καὶ δι’ αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἀγα-
303 πητὴν οὖσαν, ὑμῖν⁵ ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ θρησκευεῖν
τὸ θεῖον ἔτι ποθεινοτέραν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὡς
οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κειμένων ὑμῖν ταύτην τε ἀπο-
λαβεῖν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον ἀνα-
κτήσασθαι (οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν
πάτριον συνήθειαν) ἢ τὰ αἰσχιστὰ⁶ παθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ
304 σπέρμα τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθῆναι κακῶν ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ γενομένων, οὕτως ἀγωνίζεσθε, τὸ μὲν⁷ ἀπο-
θανεῖν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦσιν ὑπάρξειν⁸ ἡγούμενοι, τὸ
δ’ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἐπάθλων, ἐλευθερίας πατρίδος
νόμων εὐσεβείας, αἰώνιον τὴν εὐκλειαν κατα-
σκευάσειν⁹ πεπιστευκότες. ἐτοιμάζεσθε τοιγαροῦν
οὕτως τὰς ψυχὰς ἡντρεπισμένοι¹⁰ ὡς αὔριον ἅμ’
ἡμέρα συμβαλοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις.”

¹ καὶ ταξiάρχους om. PE Lat.

² παρῶρμα PE.

³ μὲν οὖν PAM.

⁴ καταλέλειπται (F)V.

⁵ ἡμῖν VW

⁶ ἔσχατα Cobet.

⁷ μὲν οὖν FLVW.

⁸ ὑπάρξον PW : ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν Naber.

⁹ Niese : κατασκευάσαι PAMW : κατασκευάζειν FLV.

¹⁰ ἡντρεπισμένοι om. PFLV.

^a “ And lower officers ” (καὶ ταξiάρχους ; on the meaning of this term cf. *Ant.* vii. 26 note d) is omitted in the variant ;

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 301-304

drew them up, according to the ancient custom of their fathers, under commanders of thousands and lower officers,^a and having dismissed the newly married men, and sent back those who had recently acquired property, in order that they might not, for the sake of enjoying these things, be too eager to live and so fight with too little spirit,^b he urged his soldiers on to the contest with these words.^c "No time will ever be given you, my comrades, when there will be more need for courage and contempt of danger than at the present moment. For if you now fight bravely, you may recover that liberty which is loved for its own sake by all men, but to you most of all happens to be desirable because it gives you the right to worship the Deity. Since, therefore, at the present moment it lies in your power either to recover this liberty and regain a happy and blessed life"—by this he meant a life in accordance with the laws and customs of their fathers—"or to suffer the most shameful fate and to leave your race without any seed by being cowardly in battle, exert yourselves accordingly, bearing in mind that death is the portion even of those who do not fight, and holding firmly to the belief that if you die for such precious causes as liberty, country, laws and religion, you will gain eternal glory. Make ready, therefore, and be prepared in spirit^d so that at daybreak to-morrow you may meet the enemy."

Judas encourages his troops
1 Macc. iii. 58.

1 Macc. has "commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds and commanders of fifties and commanders of tens" (*v.l.* omits the last).

^b On these exemptions see Deut. xx. 5 ff. (*Ant.* iv. 298).

^c In the following, §§ 302-304 Josephus greatly amplifies Judas' speech as given in 1 Macc. iii. 58-60.

^d Variant "make ready your spirits."

JOSEPHUS

305 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ταῦτα παραθαρσύνων τὴν
στρατιὰν ἔλεξεν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πεμψάντων
Γοργίαν μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων
ἰππέων, ὅπως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπέσῃ τῷ Ἰούδα,
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὀδηγοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ τινὰς τῶν
πεφευγόντων Ἰουδαίων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ματ-
ταθίου παῖς ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα διηρημένης
306 αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως. καθ' ὥραν οὖν δειπνοποι-
ησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ὥδευε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐν Ἐμμαοῦς τῶν πολεμίων. οὐχ εὐρῶν δ' ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Γοργίας, ἀλλ' ὑπο-
νοήσας ἀναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι κεκρύ-
307 φθαι, πορευθεὶς ἔγνω ζητεῖν ὅπου ποτ' εἶεν. περὶ
δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἐν Ἐμμαοῦς πο-
λεμίοις ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τρισχιλίων φαύλως ὀπλισ-
μένων διὰ πενίαν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἄριστα πεφραγμένους¹ καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολλῆς
ἔστρατοπεδευμένους, προτρεψάμενος τοὺς ἰδίους²
ὡς καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν μάχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ
θεῖον ἤδη πού καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι τὸ κατὰ τῶν
πλειόνων καὶ ὀπλισμένων κράτος ἔδωκεν, ἀγασά-
μενον αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐψυχίας, ἐκέλευσε σημηῆναι τοὺς
308 σαλπικτάς. ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν³ ἀπροσδοκῆτως τοῖς

¹ περιπεφραγμένους. FL.

² E: Ἰουδαίους codd. Lat.

³ ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν] ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ FV: quatenus invaderent Lat.

^a 1 Macc. "the men from the *Akra* (οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀκρας) were his guides"; here, as in § 252 (cf. note *ad loc.*), 158

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 305-308

(4) These were the words which Judas spoke to encourage his army. But the enemy sent Gorgias with five thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen to fall upon Judas by night, for which purpose he took some of the Jewish refugees as guides ^a; and when the son of Mattathias became aware of this, he decided to fall upon the enemy's camp himself, and to do this when their force was divided. Having, therefore, supped in good time and left many fires in his camp,^b he marched all night toward those of the enemy who were in Emmaus. And when Gorgias found that his foes were not in their camp, he suspected that they had withdrawn and hidden themselves in the mountains, and so he decided to go in search of them wherever they might be. But near dawn Judas appeared before the enemy at Emmaus with three thousand men poorly armed because of their poverty, and when he saw that his foes were excellently protected and had shown great skill in taking up their position, he urged his own men ^c on, saying that they must fight even if with unarmed bodies, and that the Deity had on other occasions in the past given the victory over more numerous and well-armed enemies to men in their condition because He admired their courage,^d and he ordered the trumpeters to sound the signal. Then falling upon the unsuspecting enemy and strik-

Judas
defeats the
Syrians at
Emmaus.
1 Macc.
iv. 1.

Josephus assumes that the *Akra* was occupied by renegade Jews.

^b These are details inferred from the statement in 1 Macc. iv. 6 that Judas surprised the enemy by his appearance early the next day.

^c So the Epitome: mss. "the Jews."

^d Because of His mercy and the covenant with the fathers, according to 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

πολεμίοις καὶ ἐκπλήξας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ
 ταραξας, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνθισταμένους,
 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διώκων ἦλθεν ἄχρι Γαζάρων¹ καὶ
 τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας² καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ
 Ἰαμνείας· ἔπεσον δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους.
 309 Ἰούδας δὲ τῶν μὲν σκύλων παρεκελεύετο μὴ ἐπι-
 θυμεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἀγῶνά τινα καὶ μάχην εἶναι πρὸς Γοργίαν καὶ τὴν
 σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν· κρατήσαντας δὲ καὶ τούτων
 τότε σκυλεύσειν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔλεγε, τοῦτο μόνον
 310 ἔχοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐκδεχομένους. ἔτι δὲ
 αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας,
 ὑπερκύψαντες οἱ τοῦ Γοργίου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἦν
 ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ κατέλιπον ὀρώσι τετραμμένην,
 τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐμπεπρησμένον· ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς
 αὐτοῖς πόρρωθεν οὔσι τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δήλωσιν
 311 ἔφερεν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔμαθον οἱ σὺν
 Γοργίᾳ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰούδου πρὸς παράταξιν
 ἐτοίμους κατενόησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν
 312 ἐτράπησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὡς ἀμαχητὶ τῶν μετὰ
 Γοργίου στρατιωτῶν ἠττημένων ὑποστρέψας ἀνη-
 ρεῖτο τὰ σκῦλα, πολλὴν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ
 πορφύραν καὶ ὑάκινθον λαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν

¹ Γαζάρων FLA¹MV.

² Ἰουδαίας LM.

^a Variant (corrupt) Gadara. Gazara (so 1 Macc.) is the bibl. Gezer, modern *Tell Jezar*, on the Philistine-Judaeen border (*cf. Ant.* v. 83 note), and c. 5 miles N.W. of Emmaus.

^b So most mss. of Josephus and 1 Macc.; variant Judaea. Since Idumaea lay rather to the S.E. of this region, the reading seems strange, unless as Abel and Bévenot assume, "Idumaea" is here used as a vague term for the non-Jewish territory S. of Judaea.

ing terror into their hearts and throwing them into confusion, he killed many of those who opposed him, while the rest he pursued as far as Gazara ^a and the plains of Idumaea ^b and Azotus ^c and Jamneia, ^d and of these there fell some three thousand. Judas, however, exhorted his soldiers not to be too hungry for spoil, for there still awaited them a contest and battle against Gorgias and the force with him; but, he said, when they had conquered these also, then they might take spoil in security, having only this task and nothing else to undertake. ^e But while he was still addressing his soldiers in these words, the men with Gorgias looked down from the heights and saw that the army which they had left in the camp had been routed, and that the camp had been burned; for the smoke brought to them from a distance evidence of what had happened. Accordingly, when the men with Gorgias discovered that this was how things were, and perceived that Judas' men were ready for battle, they too became frightened and turned to flee. ^f Thereupon Judas, with the knowledge that the soldiers with Gorgias had been defeated without fighting, returned and carried off the spoil, and taking much gold and silver and stuffs of

Gorgias' force flees before Judas. 1 Macc. iv. 17.

^a Bibl. Ashdod, probably modern *Esdûd*, in the Philistine plain near the coast.

^b Bibl. Jabniel, modern *Yabneh* (*cf. Ant. v. 87*) also in the Philistine plain, *c.* 10 miles N.E. of Azotus.

^c The last phrase ("having only this task, etc.") is an addition to 1 Macc.

^f 1 Macc. adds *εἰς γῆν ἀλλοφύλων*, presumably to the Philistine plain, *ἀλλόφυλοι* "foreigners" being a standing bibl. designation for the Philistines; it is possible, however, that some other region is meant, *cf.* the use of *ἀλλόφυλοι* in 1 Macc. iv. 26 (=Syrians).

JOSEPHUS

ὑπέστρεψε,¹ χαίρων καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς
κατωρθωμένοις· οὐ μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ νίκη πρὸς
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συνεβάλλετο.

- 313 (5) Λυσίας δὲ συγχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέν-
των ἥττη, τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
ἐπιλέκτων συναθροίσας ἕξ, καὶ πεντακισχιλίου
λαβὼν ἵππεῖς, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν,² καὶ
ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν ἐν Βεθσοῦροις κώμῃ τῆς
314 Ἰουδαίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἀπήντησε δὲ μετὰ
μυρίων Ἰούδας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰδὼν τῶν πολεμίων
σύμμαχον ἐπ' αὐτὸ³ γενέσθαι⁴ τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος,
συμβαλὼν τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν πολεμίων νικᾷ τού-
τους, καὶ φονεύσας αὐτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίου τοῖς
315 λοιποῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος. ἀμέλει κατανοήσας ὁ Λυσίας
τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἔτοιμοι τελευτᾶν
εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ ζήσουσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ δείσας αὐτῶν
τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ὡς ἰσχύ,⁵ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν λοιπὴν
δύναμιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ διέτριβεν
ἐκεῖ ξενολογῶν καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος μετὰ μεί-
ζονος στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.
- 316 (6) Τοσαυτάκις οὖν ἡττημένων ἤδη τῶν Ἀν-

¹ + χάραν LAMW.

² Ἰδουμαίαν AMW.

³ Naber: αὐτὸν PAMW: αὐτῷ rell.

⁴ ἔσεσθαι PAMW: fieri Lat.

⁵ ἰσχυρὰν LAMW Lat.: εἶχεν Naber.

^a This would be the 148th yr. Sel. (cf. § 297), which extended from Oct. 165 to Oct. 164 B.C., more exactly in the autumn of 165 B.C., cf. § 321.

^b Variant Idumaea, and so most mss. of 1 Macc. ; either reading may be correct, since Bethsur was on the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

^c " Into the hill country " is a detail added by Josephus.

^d The modern *Khirbet et-Tubeiqah*, a few miles N.W. of

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 312-316

purple and hyacinth, returned home, rejoicing and praising God in song for his successes ; for this victory contributed not a little to the regaining of their liberty.

(5) But Lysias, who was dismayed at the defeat of the men sent out by him, in the following year ^a collected sixty thousand picked men and five thousand horsemen, and with these invaded Judaea, ^b and going up into the hill country, ^c encamped at Bethsura, ^d a village in Judaea. There Judas met him with ten thousand men, and seeing the great number of the enemy, he prayed to God to be his ally against them, ^e and on engaging the enemy's skirmishers, ^f defeated them and slew about five thousand of them, thereby becoming an object of fear to the rest. Indeed, ^g when Lysias saw the spirit of the Jews and that they were prepared to die if they could not live as free men, he feared this desperate resolution of theirs as strength, ^h and taking the remainder of his force, he returned to Antioch, where he remained to enlist mercenaries and make preparations to invade Judaea with a greater army.

Lysias and
Judas fight
at Bethsur.
1 Macc.
iv. 26.

(6) And now that the generals of King Antiochus

Hebron (*cf. Ant. viii. 246 note e*). It was an important citadel as early as the Persian period. For the archaeological finds of the Persian and Hellenistic periods see O. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, 1933.

^e The prayer is given at greater length in 1 Macc. iv. 30 ff.

^f For "skirmishers" 1 Macc. has simply "army"; possibly this reference is based on iv. 34, ἔπεσον ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν.

^g Gr. ἀμέλει calls attention to something unusual, and, if such colloquialisms were permitted in this translation, might well be rendered "believe it or not."

^h Text slightly uncertain; 1 Macc. does not give this particular motive.

JOSEPHUS

τιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκκλησιάσας ἔλεγε μετὰ πολλὰς νίκας, ἃς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, ἀναβῆναι δεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθαρῖσαι καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσφέρειν.

317 ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν ναὸν ἔρημον εὔρε καὶ καταπεπηρησμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ φυτὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτόματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναβεβλαστηκότα, θρηνεῖν ἤρξατο μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ναοῦ

318 συγχυθεῖς. ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τινὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν προσέταξε τούτοις ἐκπολεμῆσαι τοὺς τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττοντας ἄχρι τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸς ἀγνίσειε. καθάρας δ' ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν εἰσεκόμισε καινὰ σκεύη, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν βωμόν, ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα, ἀπήρτησε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκπετάσματα¹ τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐπέθηκεν, καθελῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ἐκ λίθων συμμίκτων

319 ὠκοδόμησεν² οὐ λελαξευμένων³ ὑπὸ σιδήρου. πέμπτη δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Χασλεύ⁴ μηνός, ὃν οἱ

¹ ἐμπετάσματα PFV: vela Lat.: περιπετάσματα ed. pr.: παραπετάσματα Naber.

² κατεσκεύασεν AMW.

³ λελατομημένων FLV.

⁴ ex Lat. Naber: Ἐξελέου P: Ξανθικοῦ F: om. L: Ζελαίου VF marg.: Χασλαίου AM: Τερέθου W.

^a 1 Macc. describes their distress in greater detail.

^b Cf. the statement in *B.J.* i. 39, "he expelled the troops from the upper city and confined them to the lower portion of the town, known as *Akra*," which is not based on 1 Macc.

^c The altar of incense.

^d This last detail is an addition to 1 Macc.

^e The altar of burnt-offerings. Josephus omits the detail (1 Macc. iv. 46) that the stones of the desecrated altar were

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 316-319

had been defeated so many times, Judas assembled the people and said that after the many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem and purify the temple and offer the customary sacrifices. But when he came to Jerusalem with the entire multitude and found the temple desolate, the gates burned down and plants growing up by themselves in the sanctuary because of the desolation, he began to lament with his men in dismay at the appearance of the temple.^a Then he selected some of his soldiers and commanded them to keep fighting the men who guarded the *Akra*^b until he himself should have sanctified the temple. And when he had carefully purified it, he brought in new vessels, such as a lampstand, table and altar,^c which were made of gold,^d and hung curtains from the doors, and replaced the doors themselves; he also pulled down the altar,^e and built a new one of various stones which had not been hewn with iron.^f And on the twenty-fifth of the month Chasleu,^g which the Mace-

Purification
of the
temple.
1 Macc.
iv. 36.

put away "on the temple-hill in a fitting place until a prophet should come and give a decision about them," perhaps because in Josephus' time it was the general belief that true prophetic inspiration had ceased with Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, but *cf. Ant.* xiii. 300 note *a*.

Rededica-
tion of the
temple.
1 Macc.
iv. 52.

^f This last detail is an expansion of 1 Macc. iv. 47, "and they took whole stones (*λίθους ὀλοκλήρους*), according to the Law, and built a new altar after the fashion of the former one"; here *λίθους ὀλοκλήρους* represents Heb. *'abanim š'lemôth* as in LXX Deut. xxvii. 6 *et al.*; elsewhere (*e.g.* Ex. xv. 25) LXX has *λίθους οὐ τμητούς* "stones not cut (by iron)."

^g Variants Exeleos, Zellaios, Chaslaios, etc., = Heb. Kislew, roughly December (165 B.C.); the same date is given in *Megillath Ta'anith* (ed. Lichtenstein, *HUCA* viii.-ix., 1931/2, p. 341), "On the twenty-fifth (of Kislew) is the festival of Hanukkah, lasting eight days, on which it is forbidden to fast" (*cf.* below, § 325 notes).

JOSEPHUS

Μακεδόνες Ἀπελλαῖον καλοῦσιν, ἡψάν τε φῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ ἐθυμίασαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέθεσαν καὶ ὠλοκαύτωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. ἔτυχε δὲ ταῦτα 320 κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι καθ' ἣν καὶ μετέπεσεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἅγιος θρησκεία εἰς βέβηλον καὶ κοινήν συνήθειαν, μετὰ ἔτη τρία. τὸν γὰρ ναὸν ἐρημωθέντα ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου διαμείναι τοιοῦτον ἔτεσι 321 συνέβη τρισίν· ἔτει γὰρ πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐγένετο, πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνός, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ. ἀνενεώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνός, ὀγδόῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τετάρτῃ. τὴν δ' ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ 322 συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Δανιήλου προφητείαν πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτῶ γενομένην ἔτων· ἐδήλωσεν γὰρ ὅτι Μακεδόνες καταλύσουσιν αὐτόν.

323 (7) Ἐώρταζε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν θυσίας ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, μηδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ἡδονῆς εἶδος, ἀλλὰ πολυτελέσι μὲν καὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς θυσίαις κατευωχῶν αὐτούς, ὕμνοις δὲ καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν μὲν θεὸν τιμῶν¹

¹ ἐτίμων PLAMW Lat. : ἐτίμα E.

^a The Macedonian month-name is not given in 1 Macc. ; on the equation Kislew-Apellaios cf. *Ant.* xi. 148 note e.

^b 2 Macc. x. 3 wrongly gives 2 years as the interval, on which cf. Otto, *Ptol.* p. 40 note 2, and Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 459.

^c Cf. above, § 248 notes.

^d December, 165 B.C. Although the 154th Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) is generally reckoned as extending

donians call Apellaios,^a they kindled the lights on the lampstand and burned incense on the altar and set out the loaves on the table and offered whole burnt-offerings upon the new altar. These things, as it chanced, took place on the same day on which, three years before, their holy service had been transformed into an impure and profane form of worship. For the temple, after being made desolate by Antiochus, had remained so for three years ^b ; it was in the hundred and forty-fifth year that these things befell the temple, on the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad.^c And the temple was renovated on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad.^d Now the desolation of the temple came about in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, which had been made four hundred and eight years before ^e ; for he had revealed that the Macedonians would destroy it.

(7) And so Judas together with his fellow-citizens celebrated the restoration of sacrifices in the temple for eight days, omitting no form of pleasure, but feasting them on costly and splendid sacrifices, and while honouring God with songs of praise and the

The Jews celebrate the festival of lights (Hanukkah).
1 Macc. iv. 56.

from July 164 to July 160 B.C., and thus cannot correspond to the 148th yr. Sel. which began in Oct. 165 B.C. (the official reckoning) or the spring of 164 B.C. (the Jewish reckoning), it is likely that, as Bickermann suggests, *PW* xiv. 784, Josephus' source was using the so-called Macedonian Olympiad-era, which preceded the Attic by a year ; possibly, however, as Bickermann remarks, Josephus' Olympiad reckoning is erroneous here as elsewhere.

^e This would be in 576 B.C., or, if "before" means "before the rededication," in 573 B.C. ; for the prophecy see Dan. xi. 31 and vii. 25 (*Ant.* x. 275).

JOSEPHUS

- 324 αὐτοὺς δὲ τέρπων.¹ τοσαύτη δ' ἐχρήσαντο τῇ περι-
 τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῶν ἐθῶν ἡδονῇ, μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν
 ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐν ἐξουσία γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας,
 ὡς νόμον θεῖναι τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐορτάζειν τὴν
 ἀνάκτησιν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ.
- 325 καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγομεν,
 καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας, οἶμαι,
 ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τὴν προσηγο-
 326 ρίαν θέμενοι τῇ ἐορτῇ. τειχίσας δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν
 πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων
 πύργους οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑψηλοὺς, φύλακας ἐν
 αὐτοῖς ἐγκατέστησε, καὶ τὴν Βεθσοῦραν δὲ πόλιν
 ὠχύρωσεν, ὅπως ἀντὶ φρουρίου αὐτῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ
 τῶν πολεμίων ἀνάγκας ἔχη χρῆσθαι.
- 327 (viii. 1) Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων τὰ περίξ ἔθνη
 πρὸς τὴν ἀναζωπύρησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Ἰου-
 δαίων χαλεπῶς διακείμενα πολλοὺς ἐπισυνιστάμενα
 διέφθειρεν, ἐνέδραις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ²

¹ δ' ἔτερπον PLAMW Lat.: ἔτερπε E.

² κρατήσειν LAME: ἐγκρατεῖσειν W.

^a Variant (after "sacrifices"), "and they honoured God with songs of praise and the playing of harps, and rejoiced."

^b Josephus explains the name "festival of Lights" as referring to the sudden deliverance which was like a light appearing in the darkness of despair (a somewhat similar explanation is given in the scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith*, "because they went out from oppression to deliverance" they made Hanukkah a permanent festival); it is puzzling, however, that he does not directly connect the name with the kindling of lights in the temple lampstand (cf. above, § 319). In connexion with the 8 days of the celebration, the scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith* briefly relates the finding of the single jar of oil which would have sufficed for only one day's illumination had not a miracle caused it to last 8 days; for other rabbinic passages cf. Schürer i. 209 note 61, or the more

playing of harps, at the same time delighted them.^a So much pleasure did they find in the renewal of their customs and in unexpectedly obtaining the right to have their own service after so long a time, that they made a law that their descendants should celebrate the restoration of the temple service for eight days. And from that time to the present we observe this festival, which we call the festival of Lights, giving this name to it, I think, from the fact that the right to worship appeared to us at a time when we hardly dared hope for it.^b Then Judas erected walls round the city,^c and having built high towers against the incursions of the enemy, he placed guards in them; and he also fortified the city of Bethsura in order that he might use it as a fortress in any emergency caused by the enemy.^d

(viii. 1) When these things had been done in this fashion, the surrounding nations, who resented the reviving of the strength of the Jews, banded together against them and destroyed many of them, whom they had got into their power^e through ambushes

Judas' victories over the surrounding nations. 1 Macc. v. 1.

recent work of O. Rankin, *The Origin of the Festival of Hanukkah*, 1930. In 2 Macc. the festival is called "Tabernacles (*σκηνοπηγία*) of the month of Kislew"; the usual rabbinic name is *Hanukkah* "dedication," cf. *ἐγκαίνια* in John x. 22, and the texts cited by Strack-Billerbeck, *ad loc.*, ii. 539. Derenbourg, p. 62 note 2, suggests that the name "Lights," which is not found elsewhere, may go back to an abbreviation of Heb. *yémé nêrôth šel Hanukkah* "days of (the festival of) the lights of dedication." The practice of lighting candles on each of the eight days of the festival (one on the first day, two on the second, etc.) is still observed by the majority of Jews.

^a 1 Macc. "Mount Sion," *i.e.* the temple-hill.

^b 1 Macc. "that the people might have a fortress over against Idumaea," cf. § 313 note b.

^c Variant "whom they thought to get into their power."

JOSEPHUS

γιγνόμενα.¹ πρὸς τούτους πολέμους συνεχεῖς ἐκ-
 φέρων ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς καταδρομῆς
 καὶ ὧν ἐποιοῦν κακῶν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπειράτο.
 328 καὶ τοῖς Ἡσαίου υἱοῖς² Ἰδουμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν κατὰ
 τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν³ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
 ἐσκύλευσεν. συγκλείσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ
 Βαάνου⁴ λοχῶντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους περικαθίσας
 ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ τοὺς τε πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρα
 329 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἐξώρμησε δύναμις μεγάλην καὶ
 πολυάνθρωπον ἔχοντας, ἧς⁵ ἠγεῖτο Τιμόθεος.
 χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους τὴν Ἰαζωρῶν⁶ ἐξαιρεῖ
 πόλιν, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα
 λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας εἰς
 330 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. μαθόντα δ' αὐτὸν τὰ

¹ γινόμενα ed. pr. : οἰόμενα LAMWE.

² + τοῖς καὶ Niese.

³ Ἀκραβατινὴν PL : Ἀκραβεττηνὴν F : Κραβεττινὴν V : sum-
 mitates Lat. : Ἀκραβεντήνη Syncellus.

⁴ Σαβαάνου LAMW.

⁵ ὧν P Lat.

⁶ Ἰάζωρον LW : Ἰαζωρόν AMV : Azororum Lat.

^a The phrase "ambushes and plots" is an amplification of 1 Macc. v. 2, "and they planned (ἐβουλεύσαντο) to destroy the race of Jacob."

^b 1 Macc. "against the descendants (lit. "sons") of Esau in Idumea (*v.l.* Judaea)," *cf.* note following.

^c Variants Akrobatine, Akrabetene, etc. : 1 Macc. (most mss.) Akrabbattine ; this may have been the Akrobatene near Shechem (*cf.* B.J. ii. 235, iii. 55 *et al.*), but more probably the bibl. Akrabbim (Num. xxxiv. 4, Jos. xv. 3), modern *Naqb es-Safa*, S.E. of the S. end of the Dead Sea ; Bévenot, however, following Hölscher, favours the former because of the reference to the Baanites (see note following) in the next sentence.

^d Lit. "sons of Baanes" : 1 Macc. "sons of Baian." Père Abel connects this name with the Beon (Ethiopic *Béwōn*)

and plots.^a Against these enemies Judas waged continuous war in an attempt to check their inroads and the mischief which they were doing the Jews. And falling upon the Idumaeans, the descendants of Esau,^b at Akrobatene,^c he killed many of them and took their spoil. He also hemmed in the Baanites,^d who were ambushing the Jews, and after besieging them closely, burned their towers and destroyed their men. Then he set out from there against the Ammanites, who had a great and numerous force, which was led by Timotheus. And when he had subdued them also, he took the city of Jazora,^e and after taking captive their wives and children,^f and burning the city,^g he returned to Judaea. Thereupon the

in Jubilees xxix. 10 and Beon (Heb. *B'ón*, *LXX Βαιάν*) in Num. xxxii. 3—the latter being explained by many scholars as haplogy for Baal Meon, modern *Ma'in*, c. 5 miles S.W. of Medeba in Moab.

^c 1 Macc. Jazer, identified by Père Abel with modern *Khirbet Šâr*, c. 10 miles W. of *'Ammân* and c. 7 miles N.E. of *'Arâq el-'Emîr*. Perhaps this identification finds support in the mention (1 Macc. v. 13) of the Jews in the territory of Tubias (*ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου*) if this means the Tobiad stronghold at *'Arâq el-'Emîr* (cf. § 230 note c), and not the bibl. Tob, S.E. of the Sea of Galilee.

^f The reference here to wives and children, not mentioned in 1 Macc. in connexion with Jazer, may, as Reinach assumes, be due to Josephus' misunderstanding of the phrase *τὴν Ἰαζήρ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας* "Jazer and its daughters (*i.e.* daughter-cities)"; it seems rather strange, however, that Josephus should have misunderstood so common a bibl. idiom, and the phrase may have been added to conform with the verse below (1 Macc. v. 13=§ 330) which mentions the wives and children of the Jews taken captive by Timotheus—these not being referred to by Josephus.

^g The burning of Jazer is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; perhaps Josephus has repeated this detail from the preceding passage (1 Macc. v. 5=§ 328) about the Baanites.

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γειτονεύοντα τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀναστραφέντα¹ συναθροί-
 ζεται εἰς τὴν Γαλααδίτιν² ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄροις
 αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες εἰς Διάθημα³
 τὸ φρούριον, πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰούδαν ἐδήλουν αὐ-
 τῷ ὅτι λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακε Τιμόθεος τὸ χωρίον εἰς
 331 ὃ συνεπεφεύγεσαν. ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τῶν
 ἐπιστολῶν τούτων, κακ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄγγελοι
 παραγίνονται σημαίνοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι τοὺς ἐκ
 Πτολεμαΐδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἔθνῶν⁴ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.
 332 (2) Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τῶν ἠγγελμένων
 χρείας σκεψάμενος ὁ Ἰούδας ὃ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν, Σί-
 μωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσέταξεν ὡς τρισχιλίους
 τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ βοηθὸν
 333 ἐξελθεῖν Ἰουδαίοις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἕτερος
 ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ὀκτακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ὤρμησαν
 εἰς τὴν Γαλααδίτιν· κατέλιπε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων
 τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰώσηπόν τε τὸν Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζα-
 ρίαν, προστάξας αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν καὶ συνάπτειν πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα, ἕως
 334 ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίμων παραγενό-
 μενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
 εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τῆς
 Πτολεμαΐδος διώξας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ
 τρισχιλίους, καὶ τὰ τε σκῦλα λαβὼν τῶν ἀνηρη-

¹ ἀνεστροφότα P: ἀναστρέφοντα LAMW.

² Γαλα(α)δινὴν PW.

³ Διάθημα P.

⁴ ἄλλογενῶν FV: aliis civitatibus Lat.

^a Bibl. Gilead, the territory lying between the Jarmuk and Jabbok rivers in Transjordan; perhaps it is used here in 1 Macc. in a wider sense to include the territory farther east (so Schürer and Père Abel).

neighbouring nations, on learning that he had returned, gathered together in Galaaditis^a against the Jews who were in their borders. But these fled to the fortress of Diathema^b and sent to Judas, informing him that Timotheus was making an effort to seize the place in which they had taken refuge. And while these letters were being read, there came messengers from Galilee also, announcing that a force had been raised against him by those in Ptolemais,^c Tyre and Sidon and the other nations^d of Galilee.

(2) Judas, therefore, considering what had to be done in both these cases of need which had been reported, commanded his brother Simon to take some three thousand of the picked men and go out to the help of the Jews in Galilee, while he himself and his other brother Jonathan with eight thousand soldiers set out for Galaaditis; and over the remainder of the force he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom he commanded to guard Judaea carefully and not to join battle with anyone until he himself returned. And so Simon went to Galilee, and engaging the foe, put them to flight, and after pursuing them as far as the gates of Ptolemais, killed about three thousand of them; then taking the spoil of the slain,

Simon
invades
Galilee.
1 Macc.
v. 16.

^b 1 Macc. Dathema; identified by Père van Kasteren (*ap. Abel*) with modern *el-Hošn* c. 20 miles E. of the Jordan in the latitude of Beth-shean (Scythopolis), and c. 35 miles W. of the supposed site of Bozrah, *Bosrâ eski-Şâm*; Bévenot, following Hölscher, identifies Dathema with *er-Ramtheh* c. 10 miles N.E. of *el-Hošn*.

^c Bibl. Accho, modern 'Akkâ, a famous city in Hellenistic times, at the N. end of the bay of *Haifa*, opposite Mount Carmel; it is described by Josephus in *B.J.* ii. 188 ff.

^d Variant "and the gentiles (ἀλλογενῶν)," *cf.* 1 Macc., "Galilee of the gentiles (ἀλλοφύλων)."

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μένων καὶ τοὺς ἠχμαλωτισμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν¹ ἀνέστρεψεν.

- 335 (3) Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης διαβάντες τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ὁδὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἀνύσαντες ἡμερῶν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις εἰρηνικῶς ὑπαντῶσι περιτυγχάνουσιν.
- 336 ὧν διηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι, ὡς πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος, καὶ παραινεσάντων αὐτῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ζητεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν σώζειν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, πεισθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ προσπεσὼν πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν Βοσόρραν² κατοικοῦσιν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτήν,³ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ μάχεσθαι
- 337 δυνάμενον διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑψήψεν. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ὀδεύσας δι' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔνθα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐγκεκλειῖσθαι συνέβαινε, περικαθεζομένου τὸ

¹ πάλιν om. FLAMVW Lat.

² Βοσόρραν FV: Βοσσόρραν L: Betsuram Lat.

³ + καταλαβὼν PAMW: + καταβαλὼν rell.

^a 1 Macc. does not specify Jewish captives, but "those from Galilee and in Arbatta (location uncertain) with their wives and children and all that belonged to them," presumably meaning the Jews resident among the gentiles of Galilee.

^b 1 Macc. "a three-days' journey in the wilderness."

^c Originally an Arab tribe (cf. *Ant.* i. 220 ff.) dwelling N.E. of the peninsular of Sinai; in the 6th century B.C. they occupied Petra, formerly held by the Edomites; during Hellenistic and Roman periods they spread north and east through Transjordan as far as Palmyra where many inscriptions (in Aramaic) have been found. Josephus gives further details of their history in *Ant.* xiii. 10 ff. For a convenient

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and bringing back the Jews who had been made captive by them, and their belongings,^a he returned once more to his own country.

(3) As for Judas Maccabaeus and his brother Jonathan, they crossed the river Jordan, and after covering a distance of three days' march from it,^b they came upon the Nabataeans,^c who greeted them peaceably. And they told him what had happened to those in Galaaditis, and that many of them were in distress after being shut up in the fortresses and cities of Galaaditis^d; and when they urged him to march speedily against the foreigners and to try to save his countrymen^e from them, he followed their advice, and returned into the wilderness; then falling first upon the inhabitants of Bosora,^f and taking that city,^g he destroyed all the males and those able to fight,^h and set fire to the city. And not even when night came on did he call a halt, but marched through the night toward the fortressⁱ where the Jews had been shut up when Timotheus invested

Victories of
Judas and
Jonathan
in Gilead.
1 Macc.
v. 24.

modern account of this people see G. Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, 1930, ch. xxviii. (by A. P. Scott).

^a The names of these cities are given in 1 Macc. v. 26 as Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Chasphor, Maked and Karnaim, cf. below, § 340.

^e There is no need to render *ὁμοθνεῖς* here or elsewhere by "coreligionists" rather than "countrymen," since the distinction is a modern one; 1 Macc. has "brothers."

^f Variants Bosorra, Bossora; 1 Macc. Bosor, probably bibl. Bozrah of Moab, modern *Boşrà eski-Şâm*, cf. § 330 note b.

^g Emended text: mss. add "and occupying it" or "and overthrowing it."

^h This last detail seems to be based on a careless reading of 1 Macc. v. 28, "he slew every male at the point of the sword."

ⁱ i.e. Dathema, cf. above, § 330.

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χωρίον Τιμοθέου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔωθεν ἐπ
 338 αὐτὸ παραγίνεται. καὶ καταλαβὼν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι
 προσβεβληκότας τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 κλίμακας ὥστε ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ μη-
 χανήματα προσφέροντας, κελεύσας τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν
 σημῆναι, καὶ παρορμήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ
 ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν διακινδυνεῦσαι προθύμως,
 εἰς τρία διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιπίπτει κατὰ νώτου
 339 τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον αἰσθόμενοι
 ὅτι Μακκαβαῖος εἶη, πείραν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον
 αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτυ-
 χίας εἰληφότες φυγῇ χρῶνται¹. ἐφεπόμενος δὲ μετὰ
 τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς²
 340 ὀκτακίσχίλιους. ἀπονεύσας δ' εἰς Μελλά³ πόλιν
 οὕτως λεγομένην τῶν ἀλλοφύλων λαμβάνει καὶ
 ταύτην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἅπαντας ἀποκτείνει,
 τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐμπύμπρησιν. ἄρας δ' ἐκεῖθεν
 τὴν τε Χασφομάκη⁴ καὶ Βοσόρ καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας
 πόλεις τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος καταστρέφεται.

341 (4) Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ Τιμόθεος δύναμιν
 μεγάλην παρασκευασάμενος, καὶ συμμάχους ἄλ-
 λους τε παραλαβὼν καὶ Ἀράβων τινὰς μισθῶ

¹ φυγῇ χρῶνται] εἰς φυγὴν χρῶνται P: εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται FLV Lat.

² ὡς P: om. FL.

³ Μαάφην FLV et AM marg.: Μάλλα W: Mellam Lat.

⁴ Χασθομακι P: Χασφωμακεῖ (F)V: Χασμοφάκην L: Κα-
 σοφομάχην (A)M: Κασθῶμακεῖ (sic) W: Castomachi Lat.

^a This last phrase is an addition to 1 Macc.

^b Cf. § 331 note d. 1 Macc. does not so describe the city here.

^c Variants Maaphe, Malla; 1 Macc. Maspha, probably bibl. Mizpeh of Gilead, which in turn is perhaps to be

the place with his force, and reached it at dawn. And finding that the enemy was already assaulting the walls, some bringing up ladders to scale them, and others siege-engines, he ordered the trumpeter to sound the charge; then, after urging his soldiers to face danger gladly for their brothers and kin, he divided his army into three parts, and fell upon the enemy's rear. And when 'Timotheus' men recognized Maccabaeus, of whose courage and good fortune in war they had already had proof,^a they took to flight; but Judas followed them closely with his army, and slew as many as eight thousand. Then turning aside to one of the gentile ^b cities called Mella,^c he took this also, and killed all the males, and burned the city itself. From there he moved on, and subdued Chasphomake ^d and Bosor ^e and many other cities of Galaaditis.

(4) Not long after this Timotheus made ready a great force, and taking, in addition to other allies, some of the Arabs whom he persuaded by payment of

Judas
defeats
Timotheus
and takes
Carnaim.
1 Macc.
v. 37.

identified with *Tell Masfa* near *Şûf*, c. 5 miles N.W. of *Jeraš* (Gerasa). But the reading *Maspha* in 1 Macc. is questioned by Père Abel, while the *Mella* of Josephus may just possibly, as Grimm surmises, be a corruption of *Alema*, mentioned earlier in 1 Macc. (v. 26).

^a Variants *Chasthomaki*, *Chasphomakei*, etc.; the readings of all the mss. of Josephus combine into one name those of two cities named separately in 1 Macc. *Chasphor* (*v.l.* *Chasphon*, *cf.* *Kaspin*, *Chaspin* in 2 Macc. xii. 13) and *Maked*; *Casphor* is identified by Père Abel, following Hölischer, with *el-Mezeirib* situated on one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk, where now the old Roman road, the Pilgrim road of the Muslims and the Hejaz railway all meet; *Maked* is more tentatively identified by Père Abel with *Tell el-Jamid* on the Yarmuk river, c. 10 miles due W. of *el-Mezeirib*.

^e Probably modern *Bușr el-Hariri*, c. 20 miles N.E. of *el-Mezeirib*.

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- πείσας αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν, ἤκεν ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν
 342 πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου Ῥομφῶν¹ ἄντικρυς (πόλις δ'
 ἦν αὕτη), καὶ παρεκελεύετο τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ
 συμβάλοιεν εἰς μάχην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προθύμως
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς διαβαίνειν τὸν
 χεῖμαρρον· διαβάντων γὰρ ἦτταν αὐτοῖς προέλεγεν.
 343 Ἰούδας δ' ἀκούσας παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν Τιμόθεον
 πρὸς μάχην, ἀναλαβὼν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν
 ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν
 χεῖμαρρον ἐπιπίπτει² τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 αὐτῶν ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' εἰς δέος
 ἐμβαλὼν ρίψαντας τὰ ὄπλα φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν.
 344 καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν διέδρασαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ καλού-
 μενον Ἐγκρανὰς³ τέμενος συμφυγόντες ἤλπισαν
 τεύξεσθαι σωτηρίας. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατα-
 λαβόμενος αὐτοὺς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ τέμενος
 ἐνέπρησε, ποικίλη χρησάμενος ἰδέα τῆς ἀπωλείας
 τῶν πολεμίων.
 345 (5) Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν
 τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι Ἰουδαίους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν
 καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευῆς, οἷός τε ἦν
 346 εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὥς δ' ἤκεν ἐπὶ τινα

¹ Ῥαμφῶν AM: Ῥαφῶν FLV: Rophon Lat.

² ἐμπίπτει FLAM.

³ ἐν κρναῖν F: ἐν καρναῖν LV: Ἐγκαρναῖν AM.

^a Variants Ramphon, Raphon (so 1 Macc.), Rophon; it is identified by Père Abel, following Buhl, with *Tell es-Siháb*, c. 4 miles S.W. of *el-Mezeirib*, near one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk river, which is probably "the stream" referred

money to join his campaign, he led his army across the stream opposite Romphon^a—this was a city—and exhorted his soldiers, if they engaged the Jews in battle, to fight eagerly and prevent them from crossing the stream ; for, he predicted, if the Jews crossed, they themselves would be defeated. But when Judas heard that Timotheus had made ready for battle, he took all his own force and hastened to meet the enemy ; and after crossing the stream, he fell upon his foes, and slew some of them who opposed him, and struck fear into the others and forced them to throw away their arms and flee. And so some of them escaped, while others took refuge in the sacred precinct called Enkranai,^b where they hoped to find safety. But Judas took this city, and killed the inhabitants, and also burned the sacred precinct ; thus he accomplished the destruction of the enemy under various forms.^c

(5) Having achieved these things and gathered together the Jews in Galaaditis with their children and wives and belongings, he was ready to lead them back to Judaea. But when he came to a certain city

Judas' further victories in Gilead. 1 Macc. v. 45.

to in the text above ; this identification is questioned by Bévenot, who prefers *er-Râfe*, c. 15 miles N.E. of *el-Mezeirib*. Grotius (*ap.* Grimm) and Hudson connect Raphon with the Raphana mentioned by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16, as one of the cities of the Decapolis.

^b Variant Enkarnain ; the readings of all the mss. of Josephus are corruptions of the phrase in 1 Macc. *ἐν Καρναίμ* "in Carnaim" ; this is the bibl. Carnaim, identified by Père Abel and Bévenot with *Šeikh Sa'ad*, c. 10 miles due N. of *el-Mezeirib*, and c. 2 miles N. by W. of *Tell 'Aštara* (bibl. Ashtaroth). Karnaim and Ashtaroth are coupled in Gen. xiv. 5 and Jubilees xxix. 10.

^c The phrase *ποικίλη . . . ἰδέα τῆς ἀπωλείας* is reminiscent of Thucydides, *cf.* Thuc. iii. 81. 5 and vii. 29. 5.

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πόλιν Ἐμφρών ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένην, καὶ οὔτε ἄλλην αὐτῷ τραπομένῳ βαδίζειν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἤθελεν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παρεκάλει τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντας ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν· τὰς τε γὰρ πύλας λίθοις
 347 ἐμπεφράκεσαν¹ καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἀπετέμοντο.² μὴ πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐμφραίων, παρορμήσας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κυκλωσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς προσκαθίσας ἐξαιρεῖ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄρρεν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας καὶ καταπρήσας ἅπασαν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔσχεν· τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν τὸ τῶν πεφονευμένων πλήθος, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδί-
 348 ζειν τῶν νεκρῶν. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἦκον εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδῖον, οὗ κεῖται κατὰ πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη, καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις.
 349 κακέϊθεν ὄρμηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεγένοντο ψάλλοντές τε καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις παιδιὰς ἄγοντες³. ἔθυσαν δὲ χαριστηρίου ὑπὲρ τε τῶν κατωρθωμένων θυσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος σωτηρίας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέθανεν.
 350 (6) Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὁ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζαρίας, οὓς κατέλιπε στρατηγούς ὁ Ἰούδας καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Σίμων μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πολεμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαΐδι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς

¹ ἐπεφράκεσαν Dindorf.

² ἀπετέμοντο FLV.

³ ἄδοντες M.

^a 1 Macc. Ephron, identified by Père Abel with mod. *et-Taybeh*, c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan, a little N. of the lati-
180

by the name of Emphron,^a which lay on his road, as it was not possible for him to avoid it by taking another road,^b and being unwilling to turn back, he sent to the inhabitants and requested them to open their gates and permit him to go on through their city ; for they had blocked the gates with stones, and had cut off any passage through it. The Emphraeans, however, would not consent to this, and so he urged on his men and surrounded the city and besieged it, and after investing it for a day and a night, he took the city, and killed all the males who were in it, and burned it all down,^c and so made a way ; but so great was the number of the slain that they had to walk over their dead bodies. And after crossing the Jordan, they came to the Great Plain, in front of which lies Bethsane,^d by the Greeks called Scythopolis. And setting out from there, they came to Judaea, playing harps and singing songs of praise and observing such forms of merry-making as are customary at celebrations of a victory^e ; then they offered the sacrifices of thanksgiving for their successes and for the safety of their army, for not one of the Jews had met death in these wars.

(6) Now Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas had left in command at the time when Simon was in Galilee warring against those in Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan

Gorgias
defeats the
Jewish
home-guard
at Jamneia.
1 Macc.
v. 55.

tude of *Beisân* (Scythopolis), and 8 miles W. by S. of *Irbîd* (Arbela) : it is probably the Γεφροῦν of Polyb. v. 70. 12, as suggested by Graetz.

^b Because of the difficult terrain.

^c 1 Macc. "uprooted it."

^d Bibl. Beth-shean, mod. *Beisân*, cf. *Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.

^e According to 1 Macc., it seems, the rejoicing began only when they reached Jerusalem.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι, βουλευθέντες κῆρα
αὐτοὶ δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι στρατηγῶν τὰ πολε-
μικὰ γενναίων, τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντες
351 ἦλθον εἰς Ἰάμνειαν. Γοργίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἰαμνείας
στρατηγοῦ ὑπαντήσαντος, συμβολῆς γενομένης δις-
χιλίους ἀποβάλλουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ φεύγοντες¹
352 ἄχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὄρων² διώκονται.³ συνέβη
δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο παρακούσασιν ὧν
αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐπέστειλεν, μὴ συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην
μηδενὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς
ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ στρατηγήμασιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ
τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν πταῖσμα θαυμά-
σειεν ἂν τις, ὃ συνῆκεν, εἰ παρακινήσουσί τι τῶν
353 ἐπεσταλμένων αὐτοῖς, ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας καὶ
οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους οὐκ
ἀνέεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, τὴν τε
Χεβρώνα πόλιν καταλαβόμενοι, ὅσον ἦν ὄχυρον
αὐτῆς καθεῖλον, καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμπρήσαντες
ἐδήρουν τὴν ἀλλόφυλον χώραν καὶ Μάρισαν⁴ πόλιν,
εἰς τε Ἀζωτον ἐλθόντες καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν διήρ-
πασαν. πολλὰ δὲ σκῦλα καὶ λείαν κομίζοντες εἰς
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν.

¹ φεύγουσιν ΛΜW Lat.: φυγόντες E.

² ὄρων FLAMW: om. E.

³ διώκονται om. PAMWE Lat.

⁴ Μάρισαν V.

^a Cf. § 308 note d.

^b Cf. § 298.

^c The variant omits "were pursued."

^d So 1 Macc. ; variant "mountains."

^e In place of the sentence about Judas' cleverness 1 Macc. gives the explanation that Joseph and Azariah were defeated

were in Galaaditis—they too wished to acquire the reputation of being generals valiant in action, and so they took their force and went to Jamneia.^a But Gorgias,^b the commander of Jamneia, met them there, and in the engagement which took place they lost two thousand men of their army, and fleeing, were pursued^c as far as the borders^d of Judaea. This reverse befell them because they disobeyed the instructions of Judas not to engage anyone in battle before his arrival; for in addition to the other instances of Judas' cleverness, one might well admire him also for having foreseen that such a reverse would come to the men under Joseph and Azarias if they departed in any respect from the instructions given them.^e Meanwhile Judas and his brothers were warring on the Idumaeans^f without ceasing, and pressed them closely on all sides; and after taking the city of Hebron, they destroyed all its fortifications and burned its towers^g; and they ravaged the foreign territory, including the city of Marisa,^h and coming to Azotus,ⁱ they took this city and sacked it.^j Then they returned to Judaea, carrying much spoil and booty.

Judas' victories in Idumaea.

because "they were not of the seed of those men (*i.e.* the Hasmonaeans) by whose hand salvation was given to Israel."

^f 1 Macc. "the sons of Esau," which, of course, means the Idumaeans.

^g 1 Macc. adds that they captured the villages near Hebron.

^h The reading "Samaria" in the Gr. mss. of 1 Macc. is generally recognized to be a corruption of "Marisa" (also found in most mss. of 2 Macc. xii. 35); it is the bibl. Mareshah near the Philistine border, *cf.* *Ant.* viii. 246 note *i.*

ⁱ Bibl. Ashdod, *cf.* § 308 note *c.*

^j 1 Macc. adds that they burned the carved idols found there.

354 (ix. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἀκούει πόλιν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πλούτῳ διαφέρουσαν Ἐλυμαῖδα τοῦνομα, καὶ πολυτελὲς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναθημάτων πλήρες εἶναι ἔτι γε μὴν ὄπλα καὶ θώρακας, ἃ καταλιπεῖν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φιλίππου βασιλέα δὲ Μακεδόνων
 355 Ἀλέξανδρον. κινήσεις οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων¹ ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλυμαῖδα, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντισχόντων, ἀποκρούεται τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἀπωσάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα φεύγοντα καὶ
 356 πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῆς στρατιᾶς. λυπούμενῳ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ταύτῃ προσαγγέλλουσί τινες καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἦτταν, οὓς πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατελελοίπει, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἤδη τὴν τῶν
 357 Ἰουδαίων. προσγενομένης οὖν καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων φροντίδος τῇ προτέρα, συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν, ἧς μηκυνομένης καὶ αὐξανο-

¹ ἐπὶ τούτῳ AMW.

^a His eastern campaign lasted from about the summer of 165 B.C. to the summer of 163 B.C., cf. §§ 297 note f, 361 note a.

^b So 1 Macc., probably referring to the province, not the city, of Elymais = bibl. Elam, and corresponding to Susiana, the eighth in the list of provinces of Darius' empire, as given by Herodotus. According to 2 Macc. ix. 2 it was Persepolis that Antiochus attempted to despoil.

^c So Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11). 1, cf. Jerome on Dan. xi., who gives the Latin form Diana, citing Polybius and Diodorus; Appian, *Syria* 66, gives the goddess's name as Aphrodite; 1 Macc. omits her name. Both names, Artemis and Aphro-

(ix. 1) About the same time King Antiochus, as he was entering the upper country,^a heard of a city in Persia of surpassing wealth, named Elymais,^b and that there was in it a rich temple of Artemis,^c which was full of all kinds of dedicatory offerings, as well as of arms and breastplates which he learned had been left behind by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And so, being excited by these reports, he set out for Elymais, and assaulted it and began a siege. As those within the city, however, were not dismayed either by his attack or by the siege, but stoutly held out against him, his hopes were dashed; for they drove him off from the city, and went out against him in pursuit, so that he had to come to Babylon^d as a fugitive, and lost many of his army. And as he was grieving over this failure, some men brought him news also of the defeat of the generals whom he had left to make war on the Jews, and of the strength which the Jews now had. And so, with the anxiety over these events added to his former anxiety, he was overwhelmed, and in his despondency fell ill; and as his illness lingered on, and his sufferings in-

Antiochus Epiphanes is stricken in Persia. 1 Macc. vi. 1.

Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. 1 Macc. vi. 8

dite, are merely hellenizations of the Oriental Nanaia or Anaitis, cf. 2 Macc. i. 13 and Cook, *RAP*, pp. 218, 223.

^a So 1 Macc.; Polybius gives the name of the city in which Antiochus died as Tabae in Persia. This is probably an error for Gabae, a city in Gabiane, a sub-province (*eparchia*) of Elymais, according to Strabo xv. 728 and xvi. 745. Ecbatana is given in 2 Macc. ix. 3 as the name of the city where Antiochus heard the news of the Jews' successes in the West; this, in turn, is identified by Kugler, pp. 387 ff., with Aspandana (mod. *Ispahan*), once apparently called Gai or Gabae. Niese, *GGMS* iii. 218 note 3, corrects Polybius' Tabae to Gabae, but in *Kritik*, pp. 19 f., suggests that here 2 Macc. confuses Antiochus Epiphanes with Antiochus Sidetes. See now W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria*, pp. 463-466.

JOSEPHUS

μένων τῶν παθῶν, συνεῖς ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, συγ-
 καλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὴν τε νόσον αὐτοῖς χαλε-
 πὴν οὖσαν ἐμήνυε, καὶ¹ ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχει κακώ-
 σασ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παρεδήλου, συλήσας²
 τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσας· καὶ ταῦτα
 358 λέγων ἐξέπνευσεν. ὥστε με³ θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον
 τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, ὃς ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν
 λέγει τὸν Ἀντίοχον βουλευθέντα τὸ τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συλῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι
 τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον οὐκ ἔστιν τιμωρίας ἄξιον.
 359 εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Πολυβίῳ δοκεῖ καταστρέψαι τὸν
 βίον Ἀντίοχον οὕτως, πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν
 ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι
 τὸν βασιλέα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου οὐ διαφέρομαι
 τοῖς τὴν⁴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου λεγομένην αἰτίαν
 παρὰ τὴν⁵ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῆ νομίζουσιν.⁶
 360 (2) Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν καλέσας
 Φίλιππον ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν
 ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, καὶ δούς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ
 τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδί
 αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε κομίσαντα δοῦναι, δεηθεὶς
 προνοῆσαι τῆς ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τηρῆσαι τὴν
 361 βασιλείαν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐνάτῳ καὶ

¹ καὶ τοῦτο FLV : τοῦτο PW.

² καὶ συλήσας AMWE : συλήσας γὰρ V : συλήσας τε Naber.

³ με om. PFLAM.

⁴ τοῖς τὴν Bekker : τὴν PFLAVW : τὴν εἴτε πρὸς τοὺς M.

⁵ παρὰ τὴν ed. pr. : ταύτην PFLAVW : ἢ ταύτην τὴν AM.

⁶ ed. pr. : νομιζόντων (νομίζοντος M²) codd.

^a Or "intimated."
Variant "one is."

creased, he perceived that he was about to die ; he therefore called together his friends and told them that his illness was severe, and confessed ^a that he was suffering these afflictions because he had harmed the Jewish nation by despoiling their temple and treating God with contempt ; and with these words he expired. Accordingly I am ^b surprised that Polybius of Megalopolis, who is an honest man, says that Antiochus died because he wished to despoil the temple of Artemis in Persia ^c ; for merely to wish a thing without actually doing it is not deserving of punishment. But although Polybius may think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died because of sacrilegiously despoiling the temple in Jerusalem. Concerning this matter, however, I shall not dispute with those who believe that the cause given by the Megalopolitan is nearer the truth than that given by us.^d

(2) Now before he died, Antiochus summoned Philip, one of his companions,^e and appointed him regent of his kingdom, and giving him his diadem and robe and seal-ring, ordered him to take these and give them to his son Antiochus ; and he requested Philip to look after his son's education and to guard the kingdom for him.^f And Antiochus died in the

Philip is appointed regent of the Seleucid kingdom. 1 Macc. vi. 14.

^c Cf. Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11), also referred to in *Ap.* ii. 84, together with Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor and Apollodorus.

^d Text slightly uncertain.

^e 1 Macc. " Friends," probably in a technical sense, cf. § 134 note a.

^f Earlier (cf. § 296 = 1 Macc. iii. 33) Antiochus had entrusted Lysias, his regent in the West, with this office, and it was Lysias who actually governed after Antiochus' death, cf. § 379.

JOSEPHUS

τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει. Λυσίας δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ δηλώσας τῷ πλήθει, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον (αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν) ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα, καλέσας αὐτὸν Εὐπάτορα.

- 362 (3) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὶ καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο· τοὺς γὰρ ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ¹ θῦσαι βουλομένους ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν· ἐπ-
363 ἔκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. τούτων οὖν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐξελεῖν διέγνω τὴν φρουράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει. ἔτος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου ἑκατοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστόν. κατασκευάσας οὖν μηχανήματα καὶ χώματα ἐγείρας, φιλοπόνως προσέκειτο τῇ τῆς ἄκρας αἰρέσει.
364 πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυγάδων νύκτωρ ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τινὰς τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν συναγαγόντες ἤκον πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα, οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερορᾶσθαι δεινὰ πάσχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ταυῦθ' ὑπομένοντας διὰ

¹ καὶ om. FVW Lat.

^a The 149th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 164 to Oct. 163 B.C. Other ancient sources indicate that Antiochus died in the spring or summer of 163 B.C., so, e.g., Eusebius, *Chronicon* (ed. Aucher 1. 348), who gives Olymp. 154.1 = July 164 to July 163 B.C.; this date is rather arbitrarily corrected by some scholars (cf. Niese, *GGMS* iii. 218 note 7) to Olymp. 153.4 = July 165 to July 164 B.C. Niese considers the date given by Josephus and 1 Macc. vi. 16 "a deliberate or careless alteration" of the real date, and prefers the account of 2 Macc. xi. 23 ff., which implies that Antiochus' death was known in Syria—or at least that his son Antiochus Eupator was recognized as king—as early as the 148th yr. Sel., that

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hundred and forty-ninth year.^a Then Lysias, after informing the people of his death, appointed his son Antiochus king—for he had charge of him,—and called him Eupator.

(3) At this time the garrison in the *Akra* of Jerusalem and the Jewish renegades ^b did much harm to the Jews ; for when they went up to the temple with the intention of sacrificing, the garrison would sally out and kill them—for the *Akra* commanded the temple.^c And so, as a result of these experiences, Judas determined to drive out the garrison, and gathering together all the people, he stoutly besieged those in the *Akra*. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the Seleucid reign.^d Accordingly, he constructed siege-engines, and erected earthworks, and assiduously applied himself to the capture of the *Akra*. But many of the renegades within the *Akra* went out by night into the country, and having gathered together some of the irreligious men like themselves, came to King Antiochus ^e and said that they did not deserve to be left to suffer these hardships at the hands of their countrymen, especially as they were enduring them for the sake of his father,

Judas besieges the Syrians in the citadel of Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 18.

is, before Oct. 164 B.C. Kugler, pp. 390 ff., dates Antiochus' death in March or April, 164 B.C.

^b The Jewish renegades are not mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. They are, indeed, mentioned further on, in vs. 21, *καὶ ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτοῖς* (the Syrians) *τινὲς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ Ἰσραήλ*, but 1 Macc. does not say that they were in the *Akra*, as Josephus states in § 364 ; cf. §§ 252 note *e*, 305 note *a*.

^c Here too Josephus amplifies 1 Macc.

^d The 150th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C. 2 Macc. xiii. 1 places the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator and Lysias (cf. § 367) in the 149th yr. Sel. = 164/3 B.C.

^e At Antioch, cf. § 367. 1 Macc. does not say where the king was.

JOSEPHUS

τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν μὲν πάτριον αὐτῶν κατα-
 λύσαντας θρησκείαν, ἣν δὲ προσέταξε ταύτης
 365 ἀντιποιουμένους· κινδυνεύειν οὖν ὑπὸ Ἰούδου καὶ
 τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἰρεθῆναι καὶ τοὺς
 φρουροὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθέντας, εἰ
 366 μὴ τις παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια πεμφθείη. ταῦτ' ἀκού-
 σας ὁ παῖς Ἀντίοχος ὠργίσθη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
 καὶ φίλους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε μισθοφόρους
 συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς στρατεύ-
 σιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. καὶ συνήχθη στρατὸς πεζῶν
 μὲν ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι,
 ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα.

367 (4) Ταύτην οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησεν
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Λυσίου πάσης τῆς στρα-
 τιᾶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ παραγενόμενος
 εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἀναβαίνει
 πόλιν σφόδρα ὀχυρὰν¹ καὶ δυσάλωτον, καὶ περι-
 368 καθίσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ἀντ-
 εχόντων τῶν Βεθσουραίων καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν
 αὐτοῦ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμπρησάντων (ἐπεξῆλθον
 γὰρ αὐτῷ) χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολι-
 369 ορκίαν. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσας
 ἀφίσταται μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἄκραν πολιορκεῖν, ἀπαντήσας
 δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶν
 στενωῶν ἔν τινι τόπῳ Βεθζαχαρία λεγομένῳ, στα-

¹ ἰσχυρὰν PM : ἐχυρὰν L¹A¹.

^a So most mss. of 1 Macc., but cod. A has "horses." In B.J. i. 41 Josephus gives the numbers as 50,000 foot-soldiers,
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for they had broken with their ancestral religion and had adopted that which he had commanded them to follow ; and now, they continued, the citadel was in danger of being taken by Judas and his men, as well as the garrison stationed there by the king, unless some assistance were sent by him. When the young Antiochus heard this, he became angry, and sending for his officers and Friends, ordered them to collect mercenaries and those in his kingdom who were of military age. And so an army was collected, which consisted of about a hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand horsemen ^a and thirty-two elephants.

(4) Thereupon he took this force and set out from Antioch with Lysias, who was in command of the entire army, and after coming to Idumaea, he went up from there to Bethsura,^b a very strong city and one difficult to take, and he invested the city and besieged it. However, as the people of Bethsura strongly resisted and burned his supply of siege-engines—for they sallied out against him,—much time was consumed in the siege. And when Judas heard of the king's advance, he left off besieging the *Akra*, and went to meet the king, pitching his camp near the mountain passes, at a place called Bethzacharias,^c

Antiochus V
Eupator
invades
Judaea.
1 Macc.
vi. 31.

5000 horsemen and 80 elephants (2 Macc. has 110,000 foot-soldiers, 5300 horsemen and 22 elephants). On the number of elephants (32) given above, Abrahams, *Campaigns*, p. 30, remarks, "this agrees with Polybius who (in the procession at Antioch in 165 B.C.), in addition to a few chariot elephants, describes the presence of 'thirty-six elephants in single file, with all their furniture on.' The coincidence of numbers is almost exact."

^b Cf. § 313 note b.

^c Mod. *Beit Skâria*, c. 10 miles S.W. of Jerusalem and 6 miles N.E. of Bethsur.

JOSEPHUS

370 δίους ἀπέχοντι τῶν πολεμίων ἑβδομήκοντα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βεθσούρας ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα στρατόπεδον, ἅμ' ἡμέρα δὲ πρὸς μάχην διέτασσε τὴν
 371 στρατιάν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλοισι ἔπεσθαι, διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος τετάχθαι. εἰς δὲ κύκλον ἐλέφαντος ἑκάστου συμπροῆσαν¹ πεζοὶ μὲν χίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι· ἔφερον δὲ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς² καὶ τοξότας. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐποίησεν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, τοὺς
 372 ψιλοὺς³ αὐτῆς προτάξας. κελεύσας δὲ ἀλαλάξαι τὴν στρατιάν προσβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, γυμνώσας τὰς τε χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας, ὥστε αὐγὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίεσθαι λαμπράν· συνεπήχει δὲ τὰ ὄρη κεκραγόντων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ὀρώων ὁ Ἰούδας οὐ κατεπλάγη, δεξάμενος δὲ γενναίως τοὺς πολεμίους
 373 τῶν προδρόμων περὶ ἑξακοσίου ἀναιρεῖ. Ἐλεά-

¹ συμπαρῆσαν FLV : προήεσαν E : properabant Lat.

² + καὶ ἰσχυροὺς AMW.

³ Naber : φίλους codd.

^a About 8 miles ; this estimate (not given in 1 Macc.) is a little more than the actual distance between Bethzacharias and Bethsur, given in the preceding note. Père Abel locates the actual battlefield at *Balluṭat el-Yerza*, c. ½ mile S. of *Beit Skária*.

^b Josephus omits the detail in 1 Macc. that the Syrians "showed the blood of grapes (*i.e.* red wine) and mulberries" to the elephants to make them fierce. It has been conjectured by Wellhausen (cited by Bévenot) that the Heb. original had *hirwâh* "intoxicated" and that this was corrupted to, or mistaken for, *her'âh* "showed."

which was seventy stades ^a away from the enemy. Thereupon the king set out from Bethsura and led his army to the passes and Judas' camp; and at day-break he drew up his army for battle.^b And he made his elephants follow one another, since they could not be placed side by side in an extended line because of the narrow space.^c Round each elephant there advanced together a thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen; and the elephants carried high ^d towers and archers.^e He also made the rest of his force ascend the mountains on either side, putting his light-armed troops ^f in front of them. Then he ordered his army to raise the battle-cry, and set upon the enemy, uncovering his shields of gold ^g and bronze so that a brilliant light was given off by them, while the mountains re-echoed the shouts of his men. Judas saw this, and yet was not terrified, but valiantly met the enemy's charge, and slew some six hundred of their skirmishers. And his brother Eleazar, whom they

The battle of Bethzacharias. 1 Macc. vi. 33.

^c This sentence is an amplification of the text of cod. A and Luc. in 1 Macc. vi. 35, "And they divided the elephants among the defiles," reading *φάραγγας* for *φάλαγγας* "phalanxes."

^d The variant adds "and strong."

^e 1 Macc. gives the number of men in the tower or howdah as 30 (*v.l.* 32), an impossible number, plausibly explained by Rahlfs, *ZAW*, N.F. xi., 1934, pp. 78 ff., as a corruption of Δ' = 4 to Λ' = 30. Perhaps Josephus has omitted this detail because of its incredibility.

^f "Light-armed troops" (*ψιλοῦς*) is Naber's conjecture for mss. "friends" (*φίλους*); although the conjecture has no support in the text of 1 Macc., it is plausible in view of the parallel in § 426.

^g The shields of gold (also mentioned in 1 Macc.) are a fictitious detail. Polybius tells us, xi. 9. 1, that Philopoemen had his soldiers keep their arms bright in order to inspire the enemy with fear.

JOSEPHUS

- ζαρος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν Αὐρὰν ἐκάλουν, ἰδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὠπλισμένον θώραξι βασιλικοῖς, καὶ νομίζων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, παρεβάλετο σφόδρα εὐκαρδίως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμήσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα κτείνας τοὺς ἄλλους διεσκέδασεν, ὑποδὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐλέφαντα.
- 374 ὁ δ' ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους. καὶ οὗτος¹ μὲν εὐψύχως πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσας, τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.
- 375 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὄρων τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἔπεμψε πολεμήσων αὐτήν, τῷ λοιπῷ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς² Ἱεροσόλυμα.
- 376 οἱ μὲν οὖν Βεθσουρίται τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες καὶ σπανίζοντα βλέποντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς, ὄρκους λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν³ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν διέθηκεν ἢ μόνον⁴ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατέστησεν
- 377 ἰδίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει. πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολιορκῶν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσεκαθέζετο, καρτερῶς τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένων· πρὸς ἕκαστον γὰρ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστησε μηχανήματα,
- 378 κακείνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. τροφή δ' αὐτοῖς⁵ ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἀπανηλωμένου καρποῦ,

¹ οὕτως FLAMW Lat.

² ἐπὶ τὰ FLAMWE.

³ δεινὸν VE.

⁴ ἢ μόνον] μόνον δὲ P.

⁵ M Zonaras: αὐτοὺς rell.

called Auran,^a on seeing that the tallest of the elephants was armed with breastplates like those of the king, and supposing that the king was mounted on it, risked his life by rushing upon it boldly, and after killing many of the men round the elephant and scattering the others, he slipped under the elephant's belly and killed it with a thrust. But the animal came down upon Eleazar and crushed the hero under its weight. And so, after bravely ^b destroying many of the foe, Eleazar met his end in this manner.

Eleazar is crushed by an elephant. 1 Macc. vi. 43.

(5) Thereupon Judas, seeing how strong the enemy was, retired to Jerusalem ^c and prepared himself for a siege. And Antiochus sent a part of his army to Bethsura to assault it, while he himself with the rest of his force came to Jerusalem. Now the inhabitants of Bethsura, being overawed by his strength, and seeing how scarce their provisions were, surrendered to him, after receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at the hands of the king.^d Then Antiochus took the city and did nothing to them beyond expelling them unarmed; and he stationed his own garrison in the city. But the siege of the temple in Jerusalem kept him there a long time, for those within stoutly resisted; and every siege-engine which the king set up against them, they, in turn, countered with another engine. Their supply of food, however, had begun to give out, for the present crop had been consumed, and the ground

Antiochus Eupator captures Bethsur. 1 Macc. vi. 49.

He then besieges Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 51.

^a Cf. § 266 note *b*.

^b Variant "And after so bravely."

^c According to *B.J.* i. 45 Judas withdrew to Gophna, N. of Jerusalem.

^d 1 Macc. says nothing of these "sworn assurances," but merely that the king "made peace with them."

JOSEPHUS

τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει μὴ γεωργομένης,¹ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος, καθ' ὃ νόμος ἡμῖν ἀργὴν εἶναι τὴν χώραν, ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας. πολλοὶ τοιγαροῦν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπεδίδρασκον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ὀλίγους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταλειφθῆναι.

379 (6) Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολιορκουμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοιαῦτα συνέβαινε εἶναι τὰ πράγματα. Λυσίας δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς,² ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ἤκων ἐδηλώθη³ τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν, εἶχον μὲν ὥστε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀφέντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐ μὴν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερόν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν
380 ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τὸν Λυσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ⁴ τε καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐν κοινῷ διαλεχθῆναι, μηδὲν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐμφανίζοντα, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν ὅτι χρονιωτάτῃ⁵ γένοιτ' ἂν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς

¹ E: γεωργημένης aut γεγεωργημένης codd.

² + Ἀντίοχος E Lat.

³ E Lat.: ἐδηλώθη καὶ codd.

⁴ αὐτοῖς ed. pr.: om. Lat.

⁵ πολυχρονιωτάτη LAMW.

^a Josephus here too amplifies somewhat. The date of this seventh (sabbatical) year is a matter of dispute. According to §§ 363 ff. Lysias' campaign against Bethsur began in the 150th yr. Sel., extending from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C.; as the sabbatical year was reckoned from Tishri (roughly October), we may assume that this one coincided with the 150th yr. Sel., and that it was toward the end of this year, about the summer of 162 B.C., that the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem began to feel the lack of food. This reckoning is supported by the statement in *Ant.* xiii. 234 that a sabbatical year began after Simon's death; as this occurred about February 135 B.C., the sabbatical year then began in

had not been tilled that year, but had remained unsown because it was the seventh year,^a during which our law obliges us to let it lie uncultivated.^b Many of the besieged, therefore, ran away because of the lack of necessities, so that only a few were left in the temple.

(6) Such were the circumstances of those who were besieged in the temple. But when Lysias, the commander, and the king were informed that Philip was coming against them from Persia to secure the government for himself, they were ready to abandon the siege and set out against Philip; they decided, however, not to reveal their plan to the soldiers and their officers,^c but, instead, the king ordered Lysias to address him^d and the officers publicly and say nothing of the trouble with Philip, but merely show that the siege would take a very long time, and the place was very strong, and explain that their supply of food had

Antiochus Eupator, threatened by Philip's advance, makes terms with the Jews in Jerusalem. 1 Macc. vi. 55.

Oct. 135 B.C., the sabbatical years being the following: (1) Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.C. (2) Oct. 156 to Oct. 155 B.C. (3) Oct. 149 to Oct. 148 B.C. (4) Oct. 142 to Oct. 141 B.C. (5) Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C. This reckoning seems however to be contradicted by the statement in *Ant.* xiv. 475 that Herod and Sossius captured Jerusalem during a sabbatical year, since that event occurred in the summer of 37 B.C., and thus the sabbatical year began in Oct. 38 B.C., which does not fit in with the table given above. But Josephus may have been inexact in language there, cf. note *ad loc.*

^b Cf. Ex. xxiii. 10 f., Lev. xxv. 2 ff.

^c Our text of 1 Macc. vi. 57 states that Lysias addressed the king, the officers and the men at the same time, *εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας*, but it is quite possible that Josephus' text of 1 Macc. read differently (some mss. and the Syriac version have "the nobles" for "the men"). It is likely, moreover, that Josephus infers secrecy on the king's part from the fact that Lysias does not mention Philip in his speech.

^d Variant "them."

JOSEPHUS

381 τροφῆς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ δεῖ
καταστήσαι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων, καὶ
ὡς δοκεῖ πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους
πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ὅλον
αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς
πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν ἀφαιρεθέντες νῦν ἐξεπολεμώ-
θησαν, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσίου
φήσαντος ἠρέσθη τό τε στράτευμα καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες
τῇ γνώμῃ.

382 (7) Καὶ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ
τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους εἰρήνην τε ἐπηγ-
γείλατο καὶ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρω-
μένους ζῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους¹
καὶ² λαβόντες ὄρκους τε καὶ πίστει ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ
383 ἱεροῦ. εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ θεασά-
μενος ὄχυρὸν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον παρέβη τοὺς ὄρκους,
καὶ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν περιστᾶσαν³ καθελεῖν τὸ
τεῖχος εἰς ἔδαφος. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν
εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπαγόμενος Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς
384 καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσε
τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ· τοῦ-
τον γὰρ ἄρξαι τῶν κακῶν, πείσαντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν

¹ παραγενομένους P: παραγενομένους λόγους F.

² καὶ om. PFLV.

³ παραστᾶσαν PFLA²V.

^a 1 Macc. "the king and the officers," cf. § 380 note c.

^b Variant "to accompany him." The above reading is closer to 1 Macc., καθεῖλεν τὸ τεῖχος κυκλόθεν.

^c The following section, §§ 383-388, is not taken from 1 Macc.

^d Zeitlin, *Meg. Taanit*, pp. 80 f., connects with this event

already begun to fail, and that it was necessary to put in order many of the affairs of the kingdom, and that it seemed much better to make a treaty with the besieged and seek the friendship of their whole nation by permitting them to observe their fathers' laws, the loss of which had caused them to begin the present war ; and that then they should return home. Lysias spoke in this manner, and both the army and their officers ^a were pleased with his advice.

(7) And so the king sent to Judas and those who were being besieged with him, and offered to make peace with them and allow them to live in accordance with their fathers' laws. Thereupon the Jews gladly accepted his proposals, and after receiving sworn assurances of his good faith, went out from the temple. But when Antiochus entered it and saw how strong the place was, he violated his oaths, and ordered his force to go round ^b and pull down the wall to the ground.^c After doing this, he returned to Antioch,^d taking with him the high priest Onias, who was also called Menelaus.^e For Lysias had advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he wished the Jews to remain quiet and not give him any trouble ; it was this man, he said, who had been the cause of the mischief

Antiochus
Eupator
pulls down
the temple
wall.
1 Macc.
vi. 60.

the statement in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the 28th of Shebat (roughly February) that " Antiochus departed (or " was made to depart ") from Jerusalem," while Derenbourg, p. 59, and Lichtenstein, *Fastenrolle* p. 279, connect with this period the statement in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the 28th of Adar (roughly March) that " the good news came to the Jews that they need not depart from the Law " (*cf.* 2 Macc. xi. 24 ff.), which statement the ancient scholion refers to the time of Hadrian. In view of the vagueness of these statements, it is safer not to connect them with known historical events.

^e He was, according to § 238, the youngest son of Simon II and the brother of Onias III and Jesus-Jason.

JOSEPHUS

πατέρα¹ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον
 385 θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον
 ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροϊαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν,
 ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενό-
 μενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, καὶ ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, τὸ ἔθνος
 ἀναγκάσαντα τοὺς ἰδίους παραβῆναι νόμους. ἀρχ-
 ιερὺς δὲ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν Μενελάου θάνατον
 386 Ἄλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος² κληθεῖς.³ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
 Ἀντίοχος εὐρῶν⁴ ἤδη τὸν Φίλιππον κρατοῦντα
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λαβὼν
 387 αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
 υἱὸς Ὀνίας, ὃν προείπομεν ἔτι παῖδα τελευτήσαντος
 ἀφείσθαι⁵ τοῦ πατρός, ἰδὼν ὅτι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ
 Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελὼν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην
 Ἀλκίμῳ δέδωκεν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὄντι
 γενεᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λυσίου πεισθεὶς μεταθεῖναι τὴν
 τιμὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον,
 φεύγει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα.
 388 καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιοθεὶς ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς

¹ + Ἀντίοχον AMW.

² Ἰάκιμος PFLW: Ἰωάκειμος A²ME: Ioachim Lat.

³ ἐπικληθεὶς LAMW.

⁴ ὄρων PFLA marg. V.

⁵ Bekker: ἀφίεσθαι codd. E: relictus Lat.

^a A similar account of Menelaus' execution is given in 2 Macc. xiii. 4.

^b This would place the beginning of his office about 172 B.C.

^c Gr. Alkimos. According to 1 Macc. vii. 5 ff. it was King Demetrius (cf. below) who appointed Alcimus high priest. 2 Macc. is inconsistent on this point; in xiv. 3 it states that Alcimus had been high priest before Demetrius became king, while in xiv. 13 it says that Demetrius ordered his general to "appoint" Alcimus high priest; possibly, however, the latter expression (καταστήσαι) may here mean "to reinstate." In any case Alcimus probably succeeded Menelaus toward the end of 162 B.C.

by persuading the king's father to compel the Jews to abandon their fathers' religion. Accordingly, the king sent Menelaus to Beroea in Syria, and there had him put to death ^a; he had served as high priest for ten years, ^b and had been a wicked and impious man, who in order to have sole authority for himself had compelled his nation to violate their own laws. The high priest chosen after the death of Menelaus was Alcimus, ^c also called Jakeimos. ^d Now when King Antiochus found ^e that Philip had already seized control of the government, he made war on him, and after getting him into his power, killed him. Then Onias, ^f the son of the high priest, ^g who, as we said before, ^h had been left a mere child when his father died, seeing that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus and had given the high priesthood to Alcimus, although he was not of the family of high priests, ⁱ because he had been persuaded by Lysias to transfer the office from this house to another, fled to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. And being treated with honour

Execution of the high priest Menelaus; accession of Alcimus.

Onias IV flees to Egypt and builds a temple there.

^a Variants Joakimos, Joakeimos (Joachim).

^b Variant "saw."

^f *i.e.* Onias IV (if we disregard Onias-Menelaus in the numbering of Oniad high priests).

^g Onias III. According to *B.J.* vii. 423 it was an Onias, son of Simon, who fled to Ptolemy—this would be Onias III and not Onias IV, as here and in *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff. The Onias who was slain at Daphne near Antioch by Andronicus, the minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, at the instigation of Menelaus, according to 2 Macc. iv. 32 ff., was Onias III, and not Onias IV; his martyrdom is probably alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, "the anointed one" (A.V. "Messiah"), meaning the anointed high priest.

^h In § 237.

ⁱ According to 1 Macc. vii. 14 the *Asidaioi* (=Heb. *Hasidim*) or pious Jews spoke of Alcimus as "a priest of the seed of Aaron," without specifying whether he was of the high-priestly family; *cf.* *Ant.* xx. 235.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρας λαμβάνει τόπον¹ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἑλιοπολίτῃ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὠκοδόμησεν ἱερόν. περὶ τούτου² μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν ἔσται διελθεῖν.

- 389 (x. 1) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν φυγῶν Δημήτριος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Σελεύκου υἱὸς καὶ καταλαβόμενος τῆς Συρίας Τρίπολιν,³ περιτίθησι μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, συναγαγὼν δέ τινας περὶ αὐτὸν μισθοφόρους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσῆλθε, πάντων αὐτὸν ἠδέως προσδεχομένων καὶ παραδιδόντων αὐτούς.
- 390 συλλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Λυσίαν ζῶντας ἀνάγουσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν κελεύσαντος Δημητρίου παραχρῆμα διεφθάρησαν, βασιλεύσαντος Ἀντιόχου ἔτη δύο, καθὼς ἤδη που
- 391 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις⁴ δεδήλωται. συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
- 392 αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεκτόνασι, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες καὶ περιμένοντες αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τούτους ἀπολωλέκασιν, αὐτοὺς τε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς ἐκβα-

¹ τόπον Herwerden: τόπον ἀξιώσας codd.

² τούτων V Lat.

³ τριοῖν PFV¹: Tyrum Lat.

⁴ ἄλλω PFLV.

^a In *Ant.* xiii. 62 ff.

^b 1 Macc. vii. 1 dates this event in the 151st yr. Sel., which extended from Oct. 162 to Oct. 161 B.C. The account in Polybius (see next note) pretty definitely fixes it in the autumn of 162 B.C.

^c Demetrius I Soter, the son of Seleucus IV Philopator and the nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes, had been a hostage in

by him and his wife Cleopatra, he received a place in the nome of Heliopolis, where he built a temple similar to that in Jerusalem. Of this, however, we shall give an account on a more fitting occasion.^a

(x. 1) About the same time ^b Demetrius, the son of Seleucus,^c escaped from Rome, and occupying Tripolis in Syria,^d placed the diadem on his own head; then he gathered round him a number of mercenaries, and entered the kingdom, where all the people received him gladly and submitted to him. They also seized King Antiochus and Lysias, and brought them to him alive. And by order of Demetrius these two were immediately put to death,^e Antiochus having reigned two years,^f as has already been related elsewhere.^g Then there came to him in a body many of the wicked and renegade Jews, among whom was the high priest Alcimus, and they accused their whole nation, especially Judas and his brothers, saying that they had killed all the king's friends, and had destroyed all those in the kingdom who were of his party and awaited his coming, and had driven the present speakers out of their country and made them aliens in Rome during the latter's reign. The story of his escape, when refused permission to return to Syria by the Roman Senate, is vividly narrated by his friend and counsellor, the historian Polybius, xxxi. 11 (19) ff.

^a So 2 Macc. xiv. 1; 1 Macc. has only "a city on the sea-coast" (of Phoenicia).

^e According to 1 Macc. Demetrius' order was given in a less explicit form, "Do not show me their faces," probably in order to evade direct responsibility for their execution.

^f 163 to 162 B.C. inclusive.

^g No such passage is found in Josephus; this may, however, be a reference to another historian, and not to Josephus' earlier writing; *cf.* the Appendix on the sources of Josephus for the Hellenistic-Roman period in the last volume of this translation.

Demetrius escapes from Rome and becomes king of Syria. 1 Macc. vii. 1.

Alcimus appeals to Demetrius for help against Judas. 1 Macc. vii. 5.

λόντες ἀλλοτρίας ἐπήλυδας πεποιήκασιν· ἠξίουν τε πέμψαντα τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ φίλων γνῶναι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τετολμημένα.

- 393 (2) Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος παροξυνθεὶς ἐκπέμπει Βακχίδην φίλον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς βασιλέως, ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἅπασαν πεπιστευμένον, δούς αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παραθέμενος αὐτῷ Ἀλκιμον, ἐντειλάμενος ἀπο-
 394 κτείνειν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐξορμήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βακχίδης μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, περὶ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενος· δόλῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν
 395 ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν· ἑώρα γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ στρατιᾶς πάρεστι τοσαύτης μεθ' ὅσης ἐπὶ πόλεμόν τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εἰρήνην ἔρχεται. τινὲς μέντοι γε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες οἷς ὁ Βακχίδης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, καὶ νομίσαντες οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀλκίμου πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὄντος ὁμο-
 396 φύλου, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ λαβόντες ὄρκους παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μήτε αὐτοί τι παθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας προαιρέσεως, ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν ὄρκων ἐξήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὅσοι διενοοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπέτρεψε,¹ τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν πίστιν μὴ φυλάξας.

¹ M: ἀπέστρεψε ed. pr.: ἐπέτρεψε FLAVWE: ἐπέστρεψε P: remorari fecit Lat.

^a 1 Macc. calls him "one of the Friends (cf. § 134 note a) of the king," without specifying which king, but presumably meaning Demetrius.

^b 1 Macc. "a great man in the kingdom and one faithful to the king."

a strange land ; and now they requested him to send one of his own friends and learn from him what bold crimes had been committed by Judas and his men.

(2) And so Demetrius, being roused to anger, sent out Bacchides, a friend of King Antiochus Epiphanes,^a and a worthy man,^b who had been entrusted with the government of all Mesopotamia,^c and giving him a force of soldiers, and putting Alcimus under his protection, instructed him to kill Judas and the men with him. Thereupon Bacchides set out with his force from Antioch, and when he came to Judaea, sent to Judas and his brothers to discuss friendship and peace, for he planned to take him by deceit. But Judas did not trust him, for he saw that he had come with such an army as one has when going to war, but not when making peace. Some of the citizens,^d however, giving ear to the peace proposals made by Bacchides, and believing that they would suffer no harm at the hands of Alcimus, who was their countryman,^e went over to them, and after receiving oaths from both men that neither they themselves nor those who were of their mind should suffer in any way, put themselves in their hands. But Bacchides made light of his oaths, and killed sixty of them ; and so, by not keeping faith with the first, deterred the others who were thinking of going over to him from doing so. And

Demetrius
sends
Bacchides
against
Judas.
1 Macc.
vii. 8.

^c Josephus misunderstands the phrase in 1 Macc., *κυριεύοντα ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, which means that he was governor of the country west of the Euphrates, whether North Syria (so Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 242 note 4) or Coele-Syria (so Wellhausen cited by Meyer, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note a), and not Mesopotamia.

^d These were the scribes and *Asidaioi* (= Heb. *Hasidim*) or pious and peace-loving Jews, who did not, it seems, fully sympathize with the Hasmonaeans, but *cf.* § 401 note a.

^e 1 Macc. " a priest of the seed of Aaron," *cf.* § 387 note i.

JOSEPHUS

397 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κώμην Βηρζηθῶ¹ λεγομένην ἐγένετο, πέμψας συλλαμβάνει πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολούντων καὶ τινὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτείνας προσέταξε τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πᾶσιν ὑπακούειν Ἀλκίμῳ· καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς τινος, ἵν' ἔχη τηρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ,² καταλιπὼν αὐτόν, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον ὑπέστρεψεν.

398 (3) Ἀλκιμος³ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος βεβαιώσασθαι, καὶ συνεῖς ὅτι κατασκευάσας εὖνουν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρξει, χρηστοῖς ἅπαντας ὑπήγετο λόγοις, καὶ⁴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκάστῳ καὶ χάριν ὀμιλῶν, ταχὺ δὴ μάλα χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ
399 δύναμιν περιεβάλετο· τούτων δ' ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφυγαδευμένων, οἷς ὑπηρέταις καὶ στρατιώταις χρώμενος ἐπήρχετο τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὅσους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Ἰούδα φρονούντας εὕρισκεν
400 ἐφόνευσεν. ὄρων δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιμον ἤδη⁵ μέγαν ὁ Ἰούδας γενόμενον⁶ καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθαρκότα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὀσίων τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπορευόμενος τὴν χώραν, διέφθειρεν τοὺς ταῦτά ἐκείνω φρονούντας. βλέπων δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλκιμος ἀντέχει

¹ Βηρζηθῶ FV : Birzitho Lat.

² Naber : αὐτοῦ codd.

³ Ἰάκιμος P : Ἰωάκειμος E : Ioachim Lat.

⁴ καὶ secl. Naber.

⁵ ἤδη om. PL Lat.

⁶ γινόμενον AWM corr.

^a Variant Bethzetho ; most mss. of 1 Macc. have Βηζέθ, but Luc. Βαιθζαρά. This Bezeth or Bethzetho is probably not the well-known Bezetha, the northern quarter of Jerusalem, since the text of 1 Macc. implies that Bacchides marched some distance from the city, but, as Père Abel suggests, mod. *Beit Zeita*, c. 3 miles N. of Bethsur. 1 Macc. speaks of Bacchides' victims being slaughtered near a great cistern, the

when, after marching out of Jerusalem, he came to a village called Berzetho,^a he sent his men to seize many of the deserters^b and some of the people, and after killing all these, commanded all who lived in the country to obey Alcimus; and leaving him with enough of an army to enable him to keep the country under his control, he returned to Antioch^c to King Demetrius.

(3) But Alcimus, wishing to strengthen his authority, and perceiving that by making the people feel friendly toward him he would govern with greater security, led them on with kind words, and speaking to everyone in a pleasant and gracious manner, very soon indeed acquired a large body of men and a force behind him,^d who were for the most part from the irreligious and renegades, and these he used as his attendants and soldiers in going through the country; and all those whom he found in it siding with Judas he slew. When Judas, therefore, saw that Alcimus had now become powerful and had put to death many of the good and pious men of the nation, he also went through the country, and put to death those who sided with the enemy. And when Alcimus saw that he was

Alcimus attempts to conciliate the Jews. 1 Macc. vii. 21.

ruins of which Père Abel thinks may still be seen at *Kûfin* close by *Beit Zeita*. Meyer, on the other hand, *Ursprung* ii. 244 note 1, adheres to the older view that Bezetha (or Bethesda) is meant, and connects the cistern in 1 Macc. with the "pool of Bethesda" mentioned in John v. 2.

^b 1 Macc. vii. 19 "those of the deserters who were with him," which may mean either the Jews who had deserted to the Syrians (*cf. vs. 24 = § 400*) and whom he was now punishing for their earlier disobedience, or the Jews who had first sided with the Syrians, but later went over to Judas.

^c 1 Macc. omits "to Antioch."

^d This explanation of the way in which Alcimus acquired a following is an addition to 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

τῷ Ἰούδα μὴ δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἠττώμενον¹ αὐτοῦ
 τῆς ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως
 401 συμμαχίαν ἔγνω τραπέσθαι. παραγενόμενος οὖν
 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν,
 κατηγορῶν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθοι κακά,
 πλείω δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθεῖη καὶ
 δοίη² δίκην, δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς ἀπο-
 σταλείσης.

402 (4) Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίους
 αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπισφαλὲς ἠγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ
 περιδεῖν Ἰούδαν ἐν ἰσχύι τοσαύτῃ γενόμενον,
 ἐκπέμπει Νικάνορα τὸν εὐνούστατον αὐτῷ καὶ
 πιστότατον τῶν φίλων (οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αὐτῷ συμφυγών), καὶ δούς
 δύναμιν ὅσην ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰούδαν, ἐκέλευσεν μηδεμίαν φειδῶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
 403 ἔθνους. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱερο-
 σόλυμα πολεμεῖν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ διέγνω τῷ Ἰούδα,
 δόλω δ' ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν κρίνας προσπέμπει λό-
 γους εἰρηνικοὺς αὐτῷ, μηδεμίαν μὲν ἀνάγκην εἶναι
 φάσκων πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὄρκους δ' αὐτῷ
 δίδοναι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν· ἤκειν γὰρ
 μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιῆσαι φανεράν αὐτοῖς τὴν

¹ ἀλλ' ἠττώμενον] ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ λειπόμενον AMW.

² Dindorf: δῶ codd.

^a 1 Macc. says merely that Alcimus accused Judas of evil deeds. It is noteworthy that 2 Macc. xiv. 6 ff. makes Alcimus

not able to withstand Judas, but was inferior to him in strength, he decided to turn for help to his ally King Demetrius. Accordingly, he went to Antioch and roused the king's anger against Judas, at whose hands he said in his accusation, he had suffered many injuries, which would become still greater unless Judas were first caught and brought to punishment by having a strong force sent against him.^a

(4) Thereupon Demetrius, beginning to believe that it would be hazardous to his own interests also to do nothing about Judas' growing strength, sent out Nicanor, the most devoted and faithful of his Friends^b—for it was he who had escaped with him from the city of Rome,^c—and giving him as large a force as he thought would be sufficient for him to use against Judas, ordered him to deal unsparingly with the nation. But when Nicanor came to Jerusalem, he decided not to fight Judas immediately, but chose to get him into his power by deceit, and so he sent him offers of peace, saying that there was no necessity for their making war and facing danger, but he would give Judas his oath that he should suffer no harm; for, he said, he had come with some friends to make clear to them what the intentions of King Demetrius

Demetrius
sends
Nicanor
against
Judas.
1 Macc
vii. 26.

denounce Judas as leader of the *Asidaioi*, really the peace-loving Jews, *cf.* § 396 note *d*.

^b 1 Macc. "one of his honoured officers (*ἀρχόντων*)," 2 Macc. xiv. 12 "the elephantarch."

^c Neither 1 Macc. nor 2 Macc. mentions Nicanor's having been in Rome with Demetrius, which information Josephus must have got from Polybius, *cf.* Polyb. xxxi. 14 (22). 4. It is doubtful whether he is the same Nicanor whom Lysias sent against Judas in 165 B.C., *cf.* § 298 note *b*. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 200 note 5, writes, "One suspects that Josephus had nothing to go upon, except that he knew from Polybius that a Nicanor had been on that occasion with Demetrius."

JOSEPHUS

Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοιαν, ὡς περὶ τοῦ
 404 γένους αὐτῶν φρονεῖ. ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσάμενου
 τοῦ Νικάνωρος ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ
 πεισθέντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπάτην ὑποπτεύσαντες
 διδῶσιν πίστει αὐτῷ καὶ δέχονται τὸν Νικάνωρα
 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἰούδα,
 405 μεταξὺ¹ προσομιλῶν δίδωσι τοῖς οἰκείοις τι σημεῖον
 ὅπως συλλάβωσι τὸν Ἰούδα. ὁ δὲ συνεὶς τὴν
 ἐπιβουλήν, ἐκπηδήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους² συνέφυγεν.
 φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας
 γενομένης ὁ Νικάνωρ³ πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν τῷ Ἰούδα·
 ὁ δὲ⁴ συγκροτήσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ
 πρὸς τὴν μάχην συμβάλλει κατὰ τινα κώμην
 Καφαρσαλαμά, καὶ νικήσας ἀναγκάζει αὐτὸν⁵ ἐπὶ⁶
 τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φεύγειν.
 406 (5) Ἔτι⁷ δ' αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἀπὸ⁸ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν ἀπαντήσαντες⁹ τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς καὶ πρεσ-
 βυτέρων ἠσπάζοντο, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον ἅς
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγον προσφέρειν¹⁰ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ

¹ V Lat. vid.: καὶ μεταξὺ rell.

² Ἰουδαίους PFLVEA marg.

³ γενομένης (ὁ) Νικάνωρ E: ὁ Νικάνωρ γενομένης codd.

⁴ ὁ δὲ Dindorf: ὡς Hudson: καὶ codd.

⁵ Dindorf: τὸν Ἰούδα codd.

⁶ εἰς AMWE.

⁷ ἐπεὶ PFLV.

⁸ ἐκ FLVE.

⁹ ὑπαντήσαντες LAM.

¹⁰ MV: ἐπιφέρειν rell.

^a 1 Macc. does not say that Nicanor spoke of Demetrius' attitude toward the Jews. Is there, perhaps, some connexion between this statement in Josephus and that of 2 Macc. xiv. 5, that Demetrius inquired of Alcimus how the Jews were disposed toward him?

^b Variant "the Jews." In the preceding sentences, Josephus amplifies somewhat.

were, and how he felt toward their race.^a This offer, which was made by the envoys of Nicanor, was believed by Judas and his brothers, and not suspecting any treachery, they gave pledges to him, and received Nicanor with his force. But he, after greeting Judas, and while conversing with him, gave his men a certain signal by which they were to seize Judas. He, however, saw through the plot, and dashing out, escaped to his own men.^b Accordingly, since his purpose and the trap had become known, Nicanor decided to make war on Judas; but the other, having organized his men and prepared for battle, engaged him at a certain village called Kapharsalama,^c and defeated him and forced him to flee to the *Akra* in Jerusalem.^d

Failure of
Nicanor's
plot. Cf.
1 Macc.
vii. 29.

(5) And again,^e as Nicanor was coming down from the *Akra* to the temple, he was met by some of the priests and elders, who greeted him and showed him the sacrifices which they said they were offering to God on behalf of the king. Thereupon he fell to

Nicanor
threatens
the Jews
of Jeru-
salem.
1 Macc.
vii. 33.

^c 1 Macc. Chapharsalama. Formerly identified with mod. *Kefar Sallâm* on the road from *Ramleh* to *Caesarea*, it is now located by Père Abel near *Khirbet Deir Sellam*, c. 5 miles N.E. of Jerusalem.

^d The text of this paragraph has been emended in two places by Dindorf; according to the ms. reading it was Nicanor who defeated Judas and forced him to flee to the *Akra*. It seems necessary to accept Dindorf's emendations for two reasons, first because 1 Macc. says plainly that Nicanor, having lost 500 men, fled to Jerusalem ("the city of David"), and second because the *Akra* was in the hands of the Syrians, and it must therefore have been Nicanor, and not Judas, who fled there. Schürer, however, i. 217 note 26, insists that Nicanor could not have suffered a "real defeat" since, according to 1 Macc., he lost only 500 men (a *v.l.* gives 5000).

^e ἐτι is preferable to the variant ἐπει "when"; it introduces another instance of Nicanor's treachery.

JOSEPHUS

δὲ βλασφημήσας αὐτοὺς ἠπέιλησεν, εἰ μὴ παραδοίη¹
 τὸν Ἰούδαν ὁ λαὸς αὐτῷ, καθαιρήσειν, ὅταν ἐπ-
 407 ανέλθῃ, τὸν ναόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπειλήσας ἐξ-
 ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς εἰς δάκρυα
 διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λύπην προέπεσον, καὶ
 τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐ-
 408 τοὺς. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
 ἐξελθὼν ἐγένετο κατὰ τινα κώμην Βηθωροῦν²
 λεγομένην, αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται, προσγενομένης
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλης ἀπὸ Συρίας δυνάμεως. Ἰούδας
 δὲ ἐν Ἀδασοῖς, ἑτέρα κώμη σταδίου ἀπεχούση
 τριάκοντα τῆς Βηθωροῦ, στρατοπεδεύεται, δις-
 409 χιλίουσ³ ἔχων τοὺς ἅπαντας.⁴ τούτους παρορμήσας
 μὴ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθος, μηδὲ
 λογιζέσθαι πρὸς πόσους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν,
 ἀλλὰ τίνες ὄντες καὶ περὶ οἴων ἐπάθλων κιν-
 δυνεύουσιν ἐνθυμουμένους, εὐψύχως ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι
 τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξάγει. καὶ συμβαλὼν
 τῷ Νικάνωρι καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης
 κρατεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ πολλοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἀπ-
 410 ἄγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν. οὐ πεσόντος οὐδὲ τὸ στρα-
 τευμα ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσαντες εἰς
 φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν ῥύψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας. ἐπι-

¹ Dindorf: παραδώη aut παραδῶ codd. E.

² Βηθωρου P: Βαιθωρῶν FL: Βεθωρὸν V: Bethoro Lat.

³ εἰς χιλίουσ AMW: χιλίουσ E Lat.

⁴ ἔχων τοὺς ἅπαντας LAMWE: ἅπαντας ἔχων FV: στρατιώτας ἔχων P: socios habens Lat.

^a 1 Macc. "burn."

^b Variant Baithoron, cf. § 289 note d.

^c Père Abel accepts the identification of Adasa with mod. *Khirbet Adaseh* earlier proposed by Guérin, although this

cursing them, and threatened that, if the people did not give Judas up to him, he would pull down ^a the temple when he returned. After making these threats, he left Jerusalem, while the priests burst into tears in their distress over his words, and supplicated God to deliver them from their enemies. Now after Nicanor had left Jerusalem, he came to a certain village called Bethoron,^b and there encamped, being joined by another force from Syria. And Judas encamped at Adasa,^c another village thirty stades ^c distant from Bethoron, with two thousand men in all.^d These he exhorted not to be overawed by the numbers of their adversaries nor to reflect how many they were about to contend against, but to bear in mind who they were and for what prize they were facing danger, and bravely encounter the enemy; and then he led them out to battle. And engaging Nicanor, he defeated his adversaries after a severe fight, and killed many of them; and finally ^e Nicanor himself fell, fighting gloriously. When he fell, his army did not stay, but having lost their commander, threw away all their armour, and turned to flight. But Judas

Judas' victory over Nicanor at Adasa. 1 Macc. vii. 43.

site is really 60 stades (c. 7 miles) from *Beit-'Ūr el-Fôqâ* (Bethoron), and not merely 30 stades as Josephus states (no distance is given in 1 Macc.). Other scholars, including Schürer, identify Adasa with mod. 'Adaseh N.E. of Bethoron in the vicinity of *Jifnâ* (Gophna), on the basis of *B.J.* i. 45 ff. where the account of Judas' retreat to Gophna after the battle of Bethzacharias (cf. §§ 369 ff.) is followed by that of his death (!) at Acedasa (= Adasa?), but the passage in *B.J.* is entirely unreliable. We must, it seems, suppose, with Père Abel, that Josephus errs here in giving the distance between Adasa and Bethoron as 30 stades.

^a Variant 1000; 1 Macc. 3000.

^e 1 Macc. says that Nicanor was the *first* to fall. Josephus also adds the phrase "fighting gloriously."

JOSEPHUS

διώκων δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐφόνευσε, καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι
 ταῖς περίξ κώμαις ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι νικῶη τοὺς πολε-
 411 μίους. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἀκούοντες ἐξεπήδων ὡπλισ-
 μένοι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπαντῶντες ἔκτεινον
 αὐτούς, γενόμενοι κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς
 μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν, ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν-
 412 νακισχιλίων. τὴν δὲ νίκην συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην
 τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ λεγομένου παρὰ
 μὲν Ἰουδαίοις Ἄδαρ κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρου.
 ἄγουσιν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος,
 καὶ ἑορτὴν νομίζουσι τὴν ἡμέραν. ἐξ ἐκείνου μέν-
 τοι τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος
 τῶν πολέμων ἀναπαυσάμενον καὶ εἰρήνης ἀπολαῦον,
 ἔπειτα εἰς ἀγῶνας πάλιν καὶ κινδύνους κατέστη.
 413 (6) Τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ βουλευθέντι
 καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου παλαιὸν ὃν καὶ κατ-
 εσκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων¹ προφητῶν, πληγὴ
 τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσέπεσεν, ὑφ' ἧς
 ἄφωνός τε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθη καὶ βασανισθεὶς
 ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν, ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη
 414 τέσσαρα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀρχ-

¹ ἁγίων MVE.

^a As far as Gazera (bibl. Gezer) according to 1 Macc., which adds that this was "one day's journey from Adasa." Gezer is, in fact, c. 20 miles W. of *Khirbet 'Adaseh*.

^b Their number is not given in 1 Macc.

^c Roughly March; it preceded by one day the festival of Purim, as noted in 2 Macc. xv. 36 (which calls the latter "Mordecai's Day").

pursued ^a and slew them, and caused the trumpets to signal to the surrounding villages that he was defeating the enemy. When their inhabitants heard this, they leaped to arms, and heading off the fugitives, met them face to face, and killed them, so that from this battle not a single man escaped out of the nine thousand who were in it. ^b Now the victory took place on the thirteenth of the month which is called Adar by the Jews, and Dystros by the Macedonians. ^c And the Jews celebrate their victory every year in this month, and observe this day as a festival. ^d But though the Jewish nation for a little while after that date had respite from war and enjoyed peace, thereafter it was again to undergo a period of struggle and danger.

(6) ^e As the high priest Alcimus was planning to pull down the wall of the Holy Place, ^f which was very old ^g and had been erected by the ancient ^h prophets, a sudden stroke from God ⁱ seized him, by which he was brought speechless to the ground, and after suffering torment for many days, he died, having been high priest for four years. ^j And when he died,

The painful death of Alcimus
1 Macc.
ix. 54.

1 Macc
viii. 1.

^a Cf. *Megillath Ta'anith* under this date, "On the 13th (of Adar) is the day of Nicanor," cf. also *Ant.* xi. 292 note c. The year of the victory over Nicanor is not given in 1 Macc., but on the basis of 1 Macc. ix. 3 we may date the battle in March 161 B.C.

^e The following section on Alcimus is placed in 1 Macc. (ix. 54 ff.) after the death of Judas, in the 153rd yr. Sel. = 160/59 B.C.

^f 1 Macc. "the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary."

^g Detail not found in 1 Macc.

^h Variant "holy."

ⁱ 1 Macc. omits "from God."

^j From 162 B.C. (cf. § 385 note c) to 159 B.C. inclusive (cf. above, note e), counting part of a year as a full year.

JOSEPHUS

ιερωσύνην ὁ λαὸς τῷ Ἰουδα δίδωσιν, ὃς ἀκούσας
 περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως καὶ ὅτι καταπεπο-
 λεμήκασι¹ τὴν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ
 Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα κεχείρωνται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Περσέα καὶ
 Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀντίοχον, ἔγνω φιλίαν
 415 ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν
 Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου
 υἱὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου, παρεκάλει δι'
 αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίῳ
 416 γράψαι ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ἔλθοντας
 δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰουδα πρεσβευτὰς
 ἢ σύγκλητος δέχεται, καὶ διαλεχθεῖσι² περὶ ὧν
 ἐπέμφθησαν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπινεύει. ποιήσασα δὲ
 περὶ τούτου δόγμα τὸ μὲν ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸ δ' εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον
 417 εἰς χαλκᾶς ἐγγράψαντες δέλτους ἀνέθεσαν. ἦν δὲ

¹ καταπεπονθήκασι PV.

² διαλεχθεῖσα PFLV.

^a This statement, repeated in §§ 419 and 434, has no basis in 1 Macc. ; it is, moreover, contradicted by Josephus himself, who says, *Ant.* xx. 237, that after the death of Alcimus there was no high priest in Jerusalem for seven years (*i.e.* until Jonathan became high priest). According to early rabbinic tradition, *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 58, Mattathias and his sons were all high priests. If not actually high priest, Judas was, at any rate, the head of the Jewish people, as Schürer points out, i. 219.

^b *Cf.* § 413 note *e*.

^c Either the territory of the Gauls in Asia Minor, which the Romans raided in 189 B.C. or Cisalpine Gaul, which the Romans conquered in 190 B.C.

^d 1 Macc. Σπανίας "Spain," which the Romans conquered in part in 201 B.C. 1 Macc. refers to the precious metals of this country.

^e A reference to the victory of the Romans at Zama in

the people gave the high priesthood to Judas^a; thereupon,^b having heard of the power of the Romans and that they had subdued Galatia^c and Iberia^d and Carthage in Libya,^e and in addition had conquered Greece^f and the kings Perseus,^g Philip^h and Antiochus the Great,ⁱ he decided to make a treaty of friendship with them.^j Accordingly, he sent to Rome his friends Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and through them requested the Romans to become his allies and friends, and to write to Demetrius that he should not make war on the Jews. When the envoys sent by Judas came to Rome, the Senate received them, and after they^k had spoken about their mission, agreed to the alliance. It also made a decree concerning this, and sent a copy to Judaea, while the original was engraved on bronze tablets and deposited in the Capitol.^l It read as

202 B.C. 1 Macc. does not mention the Carthaginians by name, but probably refers to them (viii. 4) as "the kings . . . from the end of the earth."

^f 1 Macc. "the Kitians," here meaning the Macedonians.

^g The last Macedonian king, who was defeated by L. Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.C.

^h The father of Perseus, defeated by T. Quinctius Flaminus at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. (1 Macc. mentions Philip before Perseus).

ⁱ Antiochus III, having been defeated in several battles by the Romans, the last at Magnesia in 189 B.C., was forced to pay a large indemnity and annual tribute to Rome. Josephus omits further details about the Romans given in 1 Macc. viii. 6-16.

^j On the problem of the first diplomatic relations between Judaea and Rome, and on the authenticity of the decree of the Roman senate quoted in §§ 417 ff. (= 1 Macc. viii. 23 ff.) see literature cited in Appendix J.

^k Variant "it" (the senate).

^l 1 Macc. says naïvely that the copy sent to Jerusalem was engraved on bronze tablets.

JOSEPHUS

τοιοῦτον· “ δόγμα συγκλήτου περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ
 εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. μηδένα
 τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν τῷ Ἰου-
 418 δαίων ἔθνει, μηδὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι χορηγεῖν ἢ σῖτον
 ἢ πλοῖα ἢ χρήματα. εἰάν δὲ ἐπίωσί¹ τινες Ἰου-
 δαίοις, βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν,
 καὶ πάλιν, ἂν τῆ² Ῥωμαίων ἐπίωσί¹ τινες, Ἰου-
 δαίους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ἂν δέ τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν
 συμμαχίαν θελήσῃ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἢ προσ-
 θεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, τοῦτο κοινῇ γινέσθω³ γνώμη τοῦ
 δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ δ' ἂν προστεθῇ τοῦτ' εἶναι
 419 κύριον.” ἐγράφη τὸ⁴ δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ
 Ἰωάννου παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἐλεαζάρου
 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἰούδα, στρατηγοῦ δὲ
 Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην
 Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν
 οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι.
 420 (xi. 1) Δημήτριος δ' ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς
 Νικάνορος τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ σὺν
 αὐτῷ στρατεύματος, πάλιν τὸν Βακχίδην μετὰ
 421 δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν. ὃς ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀντιοχείας ἐξορμήσας καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν

¹ ἐπιβῶσί LAMW.

² τινι LAMW.

³ γενέσθω F: γενέσθαι V: γίνεσθαι AMW.

⁴ δὲ τὸ P Lat.

^a Josephus substitutes this technical phrase for the informal one of 1 Macc. *καλῶς γένοιτο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει Ἰουδαίων* “may it go well with the Romans and the Jewish nation.” We must remember that the Greek text of the treaty in 1 Macc. is a translation from Hebrew, and this, in turn, a translation of the Greek original.

^b 1 Macc. adds “arms.”

follows. "A decree of the Senate concerning a treaty of alliance and goodwill ^a with the Jewish nation. No one of those who are subject to the Romans shall make war on the Jewish nation, or furnish to those who make war on them any grain, ships or money.^b And if any attack the Jews, the Romans shall assist them so far as they are able, and on the other hand, if any attack the Romans, the Jews shall help them as allies.^c And if the Jewish nation ^d wishes either to add anything to, or remove anything from, this treaty of alliance, this shall be done with the concurrence of the Roman people,^e and whatever may be added shall be valid."^f The decree was signed ^g by Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar, Judas being high priest of the nation, and his brother Simon commander.^h This, then, is how the first treaty of friendship and alliance between the Romans and the Jews came about.

The Roman treaty with the Jews. 1 Macc. viii. 23.

(xi. 1) Now when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor and of the destruction of the army with him, he again sent out Bacchides ⁱ with a force to Judaea. Setting out from Antioch, he came to

Demetrius sends Bacchides against Judas. 1 Macc. ix. 1

^c In these two sentences also Josephus alters the phraseology of 1 Macc. to conform with Greek usage.

^a 1 Macc. "if either side."

^e 1 Macc. ἐξ αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν "by their choice" (*i.e.* of both Romans and Jews); to the phrase *κοιῆ* . . . γνώμη τοῦ δήμου in Josephus Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* p. 241, cites parallels from other treaties, *e.g.*, *κοιῆ βουλῆ δημοσία* (Cibyra).

^f 1 Macc. adds that the Romans wrote to Demetrius warning him not to molest their Jewish allies.

^g Lit. "written."

^h This sentence is not found in 1 Macc. On the alleged high-priesthood of Judas, *cf.* § 414 note *a*.

ⁱ 1 Macc. adds "and Alcimus," which Josephus omits because he has already reported Alcimus' death, *cf.* § 413 note *e*.

JOSEPHUS

Ἰουδαίαν, ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίοις ὄντας (πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφεύγεσαν) ἐκπολιorkήσας καὶ λαβών, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα
 422 σπουδῆν ἐποιεῖτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔν τινι κώμῃ Βηρζηθῶ¹ τοῦνομα κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠπειγέτο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν δισμυρίων, ἰπέων δὲ δισχιλίων· τῷ Ἰούδα δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι.² οὗτοι τὸ Βακχίδου πλῆθος θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν,³ καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καταλιπόντες ἔφυγον
 423 πάντες πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων. Ἰούδας δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς συλλογὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεπόντων, οἷός τ' ἦν μετὰ τῶν ὀκτακοσίων συμβαλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ⁴ Βακχίδου, καὶ προτρεπόμενός γε⁵ τούτους εὐψύχως ὑφίστασθαι

¹ Βαρζηθῶ AMW: Βηρζηθῶ V: Ζηθῶ P: Βηρζηθοῖ E: Barziton Lat.: Βηθζηθῶ (cf. ad § 397) Naber.

² duo milia Lat.

³ θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν] δείσαντες AMWE.

⁴ μετὰ τοῦ FLAMVW.

⁵ τε P.

^a 1 Macc. "And they took the road to Galgala (*v.l.* "Galaad") and encamped against Maisaloth in Arbela." Josephus thus omits Maisaloth, and apparently equates Galilee with Judaea, probably using "Judaea" in the broader sense of "Jewish territory," as in *B.J.* i. 309. Père Abel follows Josephus in reading Galilee for Galgala or Galaad, and with Robinson explains Maisaloth, not as a proper name, but as the transliteration of Heb. *m^esillôth*, here meaning "ascent" (in the LXX of 2 Chron. ix. 11 ἀναβάσεις renders *m^esillôth*). This Arbela in Galilee would then be the same as that mentioned in *Vita* 188, 311 *et al.* as a region of caves, as Josephus describes it here, and is therefore to be identified with mod. *Irbîd*, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee, a little S.W. of Magdala and N.W. of Tiberias.

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Judaea and encamped at Arbela, a city in Galilee ^a; and after besieging those who were in the caves there ^b—for many had taken refuge in these,—he captured them, and departing from there, hastened toward Jerusalem. ^c But when he learned that Judas had encamped at a certain village by the name of Berzetho, ^d he pushed on to meet him with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen; while Judas' whole force amounted to only a thousand. ^e When these saw the great numbers of Bacchides' men, they became afraid, ^f and abandoning their lines, all but eight hundred fled. But Judas, although abandoned by his own soldiers, and with the enemy pressing him and allowing him no time to rally his force, was ready to engage Bacchides' men with his eight hundred; and so he exhorted these few ^g to

Judas encourages his small force.
1 Macc. ix. 7.

^b The caves (see preceding note) are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^c 1 Macc. dates this in the first month of the 152nd yr. Sel. = April 161 B.C.

^d Variants Barzetho, Birzetho, Zetho, etc.; 1 Macc. Berea, *v. ll.* Beerzath, Berethiim. This site was earlier identified (*cf.* Schürer i. 222 note 36) with *Bîr ez-Zeit* c. 2 miles N.W. of Gophna (mod. *Jifná*) and c. 15 miles N. of Jerusalem. Père Abel, however, positing the reading Bereth in 1 Macc., conjectures that the Heb. original had *Bîrath*, which he identifies with mod. *el-Bîreh* c. 10 miles N. of Jerusalem, commanding the road between Jerusalem and Samaria. He holds that this conjecture is supported by the fact that Elasa, mentioned in 1 Macc. as the site of Judas' camp over against Berea, can plausibly be identified with mod. *el-'Aššy* less than a mile S.W. of *el-Bîreh*.

^e Variant 2000; 1 Macc. "3000 picked men." Judas must have had much more than a 1000 men, if, after most of them had fled (*cf.* below), there were still 800 left.

^f Variant "these feared the great number of Bacchides' men."

^g Reading γε.

JOSEPHUS

- 424 τὸν κίνδυνον, παρεκάλει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. τῶν δὲ λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος στρατιᾶς ἀξιόμαχοι, συμβουλευόντων δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ¹ σώζειν αὐτούς,² αὐθις δὲ συναγαγόντα³ τοὺς ἰδίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμβαλεῖν, “ μὴ τοῦτ’,” εἶπεν, “ ἥλιος ἐπίδοι γενόμενον, ἵν’ ἐγὼ τὰ
425 νῶτά μου δείξω τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἄλλ’ εἰ καὶ τελευτήν ὁ παρών μοι καιρὸς φέρει καὶ δεῖ πάντως ἀπολέσθαι μαχόμενον, στήσομαι, γενναίως πᾶν ὑπομένων μᾶλλον ἢ⁴ τοῖς ἤδη κατωρθωμένοις καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν δόξῃ προσβαλῶν⁵ τὴν ἐκ τῆς νῦν φυγῆς ὕβριν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, παρακαλῶν τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντας ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔλεγεν.
- 426 (2) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς μάχην παρετάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας προέστησε πάσης τῆς
427 φάλαγγος, αὐτὸς δ’ ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως. οὕτως δὲ συντάξας τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ προσέμιξε τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ, σημήναι τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν στρατιάν ἀλαλάξασαν προσιέναι.⁶
- 428 τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ ποιήσας ὁ Ἰούδας συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καρτερῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῆς μάχης μέχρι δυσμῶν παρατεινομένης, ἰδὼν ὁ

¹ ἢ καὶ PFW.

² αὐτοὺς AMW corr.

³ συναγαγόντας PLAMW.

⁴ μᾶλλον ἢ conl. : τὸ μέλλον ἢ codd.

⁵ προσβαλῶ LAMW.

⁶ W : προσεῖναι rell. : προῖναι Bekker.

face danger bravely, and urged them to advance to battle. They, however, said that they were not sufficiently strong to fight so great an army, and advised him to retreat for the time being, and so save them, but, when he had assembled his men,^a to engage the foe then. "May the sun not look upon such a thing,"^b he replied, "as that I should show my back to the enemy. But even if the present moment brings death to me, and I must inevitably perish in the fight, I will stand my ground, valiantly enduring all things^c rather than flee now and so bring disgrace upon my former achievements and upon the glory won through them."^d So he spoke to those who were left, urging them to show contempt for danger and join battle with the enemy.

(2) Meanwhile Bacchides led his force out of their camp, and drew them up for battle; his horsemen he stationed on either wing, and the light-armed troops and archers he placed in front of his main body,^e while he himself was on the right wing. Having marshalled his army in this way, he came close to the enemy's lines, and ordered his trumpeter to sound the charge, and his army to raise the battle-cry and go forward. And Judas, doing the same, engaged the enemy, and as both sides fought stoutly, the battle was prolonged till sunset; but Judas, seeing

Bacchides
defeats
Judas at
Berzetho.
1 Macc.
ix. 11

^a Variant "when they had assembled their men."

^b Josephus varies the phrase in 1 Macc. μή μοι γένοιτο ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, which reflects the Heb. idiom = "God forbid!"

^c The variant, apparently a corruption through ditto-graphy, adds "that are to come."

^d 1 Macc. "Let us die bravely for the sake of our brothers, and let us not leave any stain on our reputation" (or "glory").

^e Lit. "the entire phalanx."

JOSEPHUS

Ἰούδας τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸ καρτερόν τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τυγχάνον, παραλαβὼν τοὺς
 εὐψυχοτάτους ὤρμησεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς
 τάξεως, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκεῖ διασπᾶ αὐτῶν τὴν
 429 φάλαγγα. ὡσάμενος δ' εἰς μέσους εἰς φυγὴν
 αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσατο, καὶ διώκει μέχρι Ἀζᾶ¹ ὄρους
 οὕτω λεγομένου. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν²
 ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι οἱ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες ἐκυ-
 κλώσαντο τὸν Ἰούδαν διώκοντα,³ καὶ λαμβάνουσι
 430 μέσον αὐτὸν κατόπιν γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ φυγεῖν οὐ
 δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περιεσχημένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,
 στὰς ἐμάχετο μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. πολλοὺς δὲ
 κτείνας τῶν ἀντιπάλων καὶ κατάκοπος γενόμενος
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσεν, ἐπὶ καλοῖς μὲν πρότερον γεγενη-
 μένοις, ἐφ' ὁμοίοις δέ, ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε, τὴν ψυχὴν
 431 ἀφείς. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰούδα, πρὸς μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἀφορᾶν ἔχοντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, στρατηγοῦ δὲ τοιούτου
 432 στερηθέντες ἔφυγον. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων ὑπόσπονδον Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης
 ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα, κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Μωδεεῖν⁴
 κώμην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἐτέθαπτο, κηδεύ-
 ουσι, πενθήσαντος ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους
 ἡμέρας καὶ τιμήσαντος κοινῇ τοῖς νενομισμένοις.

¹ Ἐζᾶ P: Gazara (om. ὄρους . . . λεγομένου) Lat.

² τὴν PFLVE.

³ διώκοντες V.

⁴ Μωδεεῖμ FV: Μωδεεῖ L: Μωδαιεῖ AMW: Modin Lat.

^a Variants Mount Eza, Gazara; 1 Macc. ἕως Ἀζώτου ὄρους "as far as Mount Azotus"—this cannot, of course, be the city of Azotus (bibl. Ashdod) in the Philistine plain. Michaelis (ap. Grimm) long ago ingeniously suggested that Azotus (= Ashdod) in 1 Macc. is a misunderstanding of Heb. 'ašdōth hā-hār "the slopes of the mountain (hill)," while

that Bacchides and the strongest part of his army were on the right wing, took his bravest men and made for that part of the line, and falling upon the troops there, broke their solid ranks. Then thrusting himself through their midst, he forced them to flee, and pursued them as far as Mount Aza,^a as it is called. But when those of the left observed the rout of their right wing, they encircled Judas as he was pursuing it,^b and coming up behind him, caught him in their midst. And so, being unable to flee, and surrounded by the enemy, he stood there with his followers and fought. But after killing many of his adversaries, he became worn out, and himself fell; and so, still performing glorious deeds as he was dying, like those which he had performed in the past, he breathed his last. When Judas fell, his followers, having no one to look to thereafter, and being deprived of so great a commander, fled forthwith.^c But Simon and Jonathan, the brothers of Judas, obtained his dead body from the enemy under a truce, and carrying it to the village of Modeein,^d where their father also had been buried, performed the last rites; and the people mourned him for many days, and publicly honoured him with the customary ceremonies. Such was the

The death
of Judas
Maccabæus,
1 Macc.
ix. 16.

Torrey, *JBL* liii., 1934, p. 32, less plausibly supposes that the original Greek of 1 Macc. was ἔως ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους rendering Heb. 'ad ma'alēh hā-hār "up to the slope of the hill." Both these attempts to eliminate the proper name seem less convincing than the proposal of Père Abel to explain ΑΖΑΟΡΟΥΣ in Josephus as an haplography of ΑΖΩΡΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ, and to identify this Azorus with mod. *el-'Aşûr*, a hilly site c. 6 miles N.E. of *el-Bîreh* (Berzetho).

^b Variant "they encircled and pursued Judas."

^c Josephus here amplifies the brief statement in 1 Macc. (ix. 18), "And Judas fell, and the rest fled."

^d Variants Modeei, Modaiei, etc., *cf.* § 265 note *e*.

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433 καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχευ Ἰούδαν, ἄνδρα
γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμον¹ γενόμενον, καὶ τῶν
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν Ματθαίου μνήμονα, καὶ πάνθ'
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δράσαι καὶ
434 παθεῖν ὑποστάντα. τοιοῦτος οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπ-
άρξας μέγιστον αὐτοῦ κλέος καὶ μνημεῖον κατέλιπεν,
ἐλευθερώσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μακεδόσιν
ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸ δουλείας. τὴν δ'² ἀρχιερωσύνην
ἕτος τρίτον κατασχὼν ἀπέθανεν.

¹ μεγαλότολμον conl. Niese.

² δ' P: om. rell.

end of Judas, who had been a valiant man and a great warrior,^a and mindful of the injunctions of his father Mattathias, had had the fortitude to do and suffer all things for the liberty of his fellow-citizens. And such was the prowess of this man that he left behind him the greatest and most glorious of memorials—to have freed his nation and rescued them from slavery to the Macedonians. And he had held the high priesthood for three years when he died.^b

^a Conjectured variant “greatly daring.”

^b Cf. § 414 note *a*. The final section, §§ 433-434, is an addition to 1 Macc.

BIBLION IG

(i. 1) Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι' ὅσων καὶ πηλίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης
2 βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τὴν Ἰούδου πάλιν¹ ὅσον ἦν ἔτι τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ παραβηρηκότων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐπεφύη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀκμάζον ἐκάκου.
3 συνελάμβανε δὲ τῇ τούτων πονηρίᾳ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν χώραν καταλαβὼν, ὡς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸ² μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τε³ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινοῖς ἀντέχειν αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Μακε-
4 δόνας. Βακχίδης δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον προηρημένους συναθροίσας, τούτοις ἐνεχείρισε τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπιμέλειαν, οἱ καὶ συλλαμβάνοντες τοὺς Ἰούδου φίλους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας τῷ Βακχίδῃ παρέδωσαν⁴. ὁ δὲ βασανίζων πρῶτον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αἰκιζόμενος ἔπειθ' οὕτως
5 διέφθειρεν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τηλικαύτης γενομένης ἡλικίης οὐκ ἦσαν

¹ AMW Lat.: παρ' V: πᾶν rell.

² τῷ Niese.

³ τε om. AMW: γε P.

⁴ παρεδίδοσαν AMWE.

BOOK XIII

(i. 1) IN what manner the Jewish nation regained its liberty after the Macedonians had subjugated it, and how many and how severe were the struggles through which their commander Judas went before he died fighting on their behalf, we have related in the preceding book. Now after the death of Judas^a all those who remained of the godless, and the transgressors against their country's manner of life once more rose up among the Jews, and flourishing on all sides, did them injury. And their wickedness was accompanied by a famine which seized upon the country, so that through the lack of necessities and their inability to hold out against the afflictions caused both by the famine and by their foes, many deserted to the Macedonians. Then Bacchides gathered together those of the Jews who had given up the customs of their country and had chosen the kind of life common to other nations, and entrusted to them the government of the country; and these men seized the friends of Judas and those who sympathized with him, and delivered them to Bacchides, whereupon he first tortured and maltreated them at his pleasure, and then made an end of them in this way. After this calamity had befallen the Jews, which was greater than any they had experienced

Bacchides
oppresses
the Jews
after
Judas's
death.
1 Macc.
ix. 23.

^a In 161 B.C.

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πεπειραμένοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οἱ περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Ἰούδου βλέποντες ἀπολλύμενον οἰκτρῶς¹ τὸ ἔθνος, προσελθόντες αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωνάθῃ μιμῆσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρόνοιαν ἠξίουσαν ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων² ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπροστάτητον τὸ ἔθνος
 6 μηδ' ἐν οἷς κακοῖς³ φθείρεται. ὁ δ' Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομισθεὶς κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τὰδελφοῦ, στρατηγὸς ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

7 (2) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἀκούσας τοῦτο⁴ καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ παράσχη πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀπο-
 8 κτεῖναι δόλω τούτον ἐζήτει. ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαθόντες οὗτοι καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἐταίρους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τὸ τάχος ἔφυγον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον
 9 λάκκον Ἀσφάρ αὐτόθι διῆγον. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης αἰσθόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπηρκότας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τυγχάνοντας, ὤρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
 10 στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν. Ἰω-

¹ πικρῶς PFLV: miserabiliter Lat.

² ἀπάντων ΛΜVWE: ἐκείνων PL: ἀπάντων ἐκείνων F.

³ κακῶς LA: κακῶ W: om. PFMV.

⁴ τοῦτο om. PF.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 5-10

since their return from Babylon,^a those of Judas' companions who survived, seeing their nation perish so miserably, went to his brother Jonathan and begged him to imitate his brother, who in his concern for his countrymen had died on behalf of the liberty of them all, and not suffer the nation to be without a defender or be destroyed by its present afflictions. Thereupon Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and so, being considered in no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed commander of the Jews.^b

(2) But Bacchides heard of this, and fearing that Jonathan might cause trouble to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had done before him, he sought to kill him by treachery.^c That this was his intention, however, was not unknown to Jonathan and his brother Simon, and when they learned of it, they took all their companions and fled in haste to the wilderness which was nearest to the city,^d and on coming to the body of water called the Pool of Asphar,^e remained there. But when Bacchides became aware that they had removed and were now in that place, he set out against them with his entire force and encamped across the Jordan and there rested his

Jonathan
escapes
from
Bacchides.
1 Macc.
ix. 32.

^a The return from Babylon is substituted by Josephus for "the time that a prophet was not seen among them," *cf.* 1 Macc. ix. 27, referring to Malachi probably.

^b 1 Macc. ix. 31 says simply, "and Jonathan at that time took the leadership upon him."

^c Bacchides' fear and treachery are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^d Of Tekoah, *c.* 6 miles S. of Bethlehem; *cf.* *Ant.* ix. 12. On this wilderness *cf.* Abel, *GP* i. 436-437.

^e Identified by Abel in *RB* with mod. *Bir ez-Za'feran*, *c.* 3 miles S. of Tekoah.

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νάθης δὲ γνούς τὸν Βακχίδην ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκοντα, πέμπει τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Γαδδὶν¹ λεγόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους Ἄραβας ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποθῆται τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἕως ἂν² πολεμή-
 11 σωσι³ πρὸς Βακχίδην· ἦσαν γὰρ φίλοι. τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκ Μηδάβας πόλεως οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες αὐτόν τε συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὅσα ἐπεκομίζετο κτείνουσι τὸν⁴ Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ πάντας. δίκην μέντοι γε τούτων ὑπέσχον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν.

12 (3) Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης γνούς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, παραφυλάξας τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκεν
 13 ὡς οὐ μαχοῦμενον ἐν ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁ δὲ παρορμήσας τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον εἰπών, μέσοις ἀπειλημ-

¹ Καδδειν P: Γαδδὶ FA¹: Γαδδὴν L².

² οὐ PFVE.

³ πολεμήσουσι E.

⁴ καὶ τὸν FLV: αὐτόν τε τὸν AMW.

^a That Bacchides "rested his force" is a detail apparently based on 1 Macc. ix. 34 (*cf.* § 12), καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, "and Bacchides knew (of it) on the Sabbath day." Josephus' text must have read, like Luc., τὴν ἡμέραν, which Josephus took to mean that Bacchides observed the Sabbath. Incidentally the verse is out of place, as Bacchides had no reason to cross the Jordan until he learned that the Jews were there; *cf.* below.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 10-13

force.^a Thereupon Jonathan, learning that Bacchides had come against him, sent his brother John, also called Gaddis,^b to the Nabataean Arabs^c to leave his equipment with them until they should fight against Bacchides, for they were friends of the Jews. But as John was on his way to the Nabataeans, the sons of Amaraïos^d lay in ambush for him outside the city of Medaba,^e and seized both him and his men, and after plundering all that they were carrying, killed John and all his companions. Nevertheless they suffered fitting punishment for this at the hands of his brothers, as we shall presently relate.^f

(3) Now when Bacchides learned that Jonathan had encamped in the marshes of the Jordan,^g he waited for the day of the Sabbath and then came against him, thinking that he would not fight on that day because of the Law. But Jonathan exhorted his companions, telling them that their lives were in danger, since they were hemmed in between the

Bacchides attacks the Jews on the Sabbath.
1 Macc. ix. 43.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xii. 266 note *i*.

^c Cf. *Ant.* xii. 335 note *c*.

^d *Bibl.* Jambri (Ἰάμβρι, *v.l.* Ἀμβρί); prob., as Clermont-Ganneau suggested long ago, from the name *Ya'amrû*, found on a Nabataean inscription near Medeba. Some of the older scholars held that the original Heb. of 1 Macc. had Amorite (*'emôri*), as Josephus' Greek implies, because Medeba is mentioned as an Amorite city in Num. xxi. 29-31. However Medeba was generally known as a Moabite city.

^e *Bibl.* Medeba, mod. *Mādabā*, *c.* 12 miles S.E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea.

^f In §§ 18-21. In 1 Macc. the story of Jonathan's and Simon's revenge comes directly after the story of John's murder.

^g The battle must have taken place on the East of Jordan, though this is not clear from 1 Macc., and apparently not clear to Josephus, who has Jonathan escaping across the river to Transjordan, *cf.* below, § 14.

μένοις τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς
 φυγεῖν¹ οὐκ ἔχουσιν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπήεσαν
 ὁ ποταμὸς δ' ἦν κατόπιν αὐτῶν), εὐξάμενος δὲ καὶ²
 τῷ θεῷ νίκην αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, συνάπτει τοῖς
 14 πολεμίοις. ὧν πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν, ἐπεὶ τολ-
 μηρῶς εἶδεν ἐπερχόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Βακχίδην, ἐξ-
 ἔτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ
 προῖδομένου³ καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκκλίναντος ἀπο-
 πηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
 διενήξατο, καὶ τοῦτον διασώζονται⁴ τὸν τρόπον εἰς
 τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβάντων⁵ ἀλλ'⁶ ὑποστρέψαντος εὐθὺς
 τοῦ Βακχίδου εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν.
 ἀπέβαλε δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς περὶ δισχιλίους.
 15 πολλὰς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταλαβόμενος πόλεις ὁ
 Βακχίδης ὠχύρωσε καὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα καὶ Ἀμ-
 μαοῦν⁷ καὶ Βαιθωρῶν⁸ καὶ Βήθηλα⁹ καὶ Θαμναθὰ
 16 καὶ Φαραθῶ καὶ Τοχόαν¹⁰ καὶ Γάζαρα, καὶ πύργους
 ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τείχη
 περιβαλὼν αὐταῖς καρτερὰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει δια-
 φέροντα, δύναμιν εἰς αὐτὰς κατέστησεν, ὅπως
 κακοῦν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχωσιν.
 17 μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὠχύρωσεν ἄκραν.
 λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἰουδαίας

¹ φυγὴν PL¹: φεύγειν F.

² καὶ om. LAMW.

³ Bekker: προειδομένου codd. E. ⁴ διασώζεται AMW Lat.

⁵ ἀντιδιαβάντων P.

⁶ ἀλλ' om. PE.

⁷ Ἐμμαοῦμ F: Ἀμμαθοῦν L: Ἀμαθοῦν AMW: Ἐμμαοῦν
V: Amathunteim Lat.

⁸ Βαιθαροῦν P: Βεθωρὸν V: Βαίθαρον W: Betharon Lat.

⁹ Βεθιλλὰ P: Βαιθήλλα F: Βέθηλλα L: Βεθήλλαν V: Bethelam
Lat.

¹⁰ Θοκόαν W: Toconam Lat. (vid.).

^a See note g on p. 233.

river and the enemy and so were unable to escape—for the enemy was attacking them in front, and the river was behind them—,^a and after praying to God to grant them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy. He had felled many of them when he saw Bacchides boldly advancing on him, and so he stretched out his right hand to strike him. But Bacchides saw the blow coming and evaded it, whereupon Jonathan leaped into the river with his companions and swam across, and in this manner they escaped to the other side of the Jordan, for the enemy no longer followed them across the river; and Bacchides straightway returned to the citadel in Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand^b of his army. Bacchides then occupied many cities of Judaea and fortified them, such as Jericho, Emmaus,^c Beth-horon,^d Bethel, Thamnatha,^e Pharatho,^f Tochoa^g and Gazara^h; in each of these cities he built towers, and surrounded them with strong walls of exceeding height, and stationed forces in them in order that they might be able to issue from them and harass the Jews. Above all he fortified the citadel in Jerusalem.ⁱ He also took the sons of the chief men of

^b Only 1000 in most mss. of 1 Macc. (v.l. 3000).

^c Variant Amathūs. Emmaus is mod. 'Amwās, c. 20 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. ^d Cf. *Ant.* xii. 289 note d.

^e Prob. bibl. Timnath-Serah, and mod. *Khirbet Tibna*, according to Abel, *GP*, ii. 482, c. 12 miles N.E. of Emmaus.

^f Identified by some with bibl. Pirathon and mod. *Far'ata*, c. 6 miles S.W. of Shechem (mod. *Nablūs*); this identification is questioned by Albright in *BASOR*, 49 (Feb. 1933), 26.

^g 1 Macc. has Tephon or Tephō, identified by Abel and others with bibl. Tappuah and mod. *Šeikh Abū Zarad*, c. 25 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

^h Cf. *Ant.* xii. 308 note a.

ⁱ Josephus omits Bethsur, mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 52.

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παῖδας ὁμήρους, εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῦς ἐνέκλεισε καὶ τοῦτον ἐφύλαττε τὸν τρόπον.

- 18 (4) Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν παραγενόμενός τις πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, τοὺς Ἀμαραίου παῖδας ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς γάμον ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἄγοντας ἀπὸ Ναβαθά¹ πόλεως θυγατέρα τινὸς οὖσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβιν, μέλλειν δὲ γίνεσθαι παραπομπὴν τῆς
- 19 κόρης λαμπρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Σίμωνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς τὴν ἐκδικίαν τᾶδελφοῦ νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς παραφανῆναι, καὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπολαβόντες, ἐξώρμησαν εἰς τὰ Μήδαβα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει λοχῶντες
- 20 ἔμενον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν παρθένον καὶ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ φίλων σὺν αὐτοῖς οἶον εἰκὸς ἐν γάμοις ὄχλον, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὄση τότε εἶπετο λεία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαβόντες
- 21 ὑπέστρεψαν. καὶ τιμωρίαν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου τᾶδελφοῦ παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμαραίου τοιαύτην ἀπέλαβον· αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ συνεπόμενοι τούτοις φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα διεφθάρησαν, ὄντες ὡς² τετρακόσιοι.
- 22 (5) Σίμων μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰωνάθης εἰς τὰ ἔλη τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑποστρέψαντες αὐτόθι κατέμενον. Βακχίδης δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς ἀσφαλι-

¹ Γαβαθᾶ V at fort. W.

² ὡς om. PVL.

^a Cf. above § 11 note f.

^b 1 Macc. has "of Canaan."

^c So some LXX MSS.; the majority have Nadabath, *v.l.*

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 17-22

Judaea as hostages and shut them up in the citadel and in this manner kept them under guard.

(4) About this time^a someone came to Jonathan and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of Amaraïos were celebrating a wedding and bringing the bride, who was the daughter of one of the distinguished men among the Arabs,^b from the city of Nabatha,^c and that the procession accompanying the girl would be a splendid and costly one. Thereupon Jonathan and Simon, thinking that a most favourable opportunity had arisen for avenging their brother, and believing that they could exact satisfaction from them with the greatest ease for the killing of John, set out for Medaba and lay in wait for their foes in the mountains. And when they saw them conducting the maid and her bridegroom and a great company of friends, as is usual at a wedding, they sprang out from their ambush and killed them all, and after taking as spoil the ornaments and the rest of the possessions that were then being taken along by these people, turned back. Such, then, was the punishment which they inflicted on the sons of Amaraïos for killing their brother John, for these men themselves and the friends who accompanied them, and their wives and children, perished to the number of about four hundred.^d

Jonathan and Simon
avenge the
murder of
their
brother
John.
1 Macc.
ix. 37.

(5) And so Simon and Jonathan returned to the marshes of the river and remained there, while Bacchides, after securing all Judaea with garrisons, Nabadath, Gabadan. Abel, *GP*, carte viii, locates it 2 miles S.W. of Medeba. Klein, *EY* 66, corrects the name to Narbatta, near Caesarea on the coast; with this the reading "of Canaan" seems to him to agree better than with a site in Transjordan.

Bacchides
returns to
Syria.
1 Macc.
ix. 42.

^a No number is given in 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

σάμενος ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ τότε μὲν
 ἐπ' ἔτη δύο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡρέμησε πράγματα.
 23 οἱ δὲ φυγάδες καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ὀρῶντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐνδιατρί-
 βοντας τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, πέμπουσι πρὸς
 Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι
 Βακχίδην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν· ἐδήλουν γὰρ
 αὐτὴν ἀπόνως ἐσομένην, καὶ νυκτὶ μιᾷ μὴ προσ-
 δοκῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας.
 24 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκπέμφαντος τὸν Βακχίδην, γενό-
 μενος οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πᾶσιν ἔγραψε τοῖς φίλοις
 καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συμμάχοις συλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν
 25 Ἰωνάθην. σπουδαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μὴ δυνα-
 μένων κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου (ἐφυλάττετο γὰρ
 σφόδρα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἡσθημένος¹), ὁ Βακχίδης
 ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς φυγάσιν ὡς ψευσαμένοις αὐτὸν τε
 καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πεντήκοντα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγου-
 26 μένους συλλαβῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης σὺν
 τὰδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις εἰς Βηθαλαγὰν² ἀνα-
 χωρεῖ κώμην οὖσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὸν
 Βακχίδην, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας πύργους καὶ τείχη
 περιβαλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἀσφαλῶς πεφρουρη-
 27 μένον. Βακχίδης δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας τὴν τε μεθ'

¹ αἰσθόμενος L²AMW.

² Vithalagam Lat.

^a At this point (ix. 54) 1 Macc. relates the death of the high priest Alcimus in the 153rd yr. Sel. = 160/59 B.C.; this has already been mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.* xii. 413.

^b According to 1 Macc. the two-years peace came after the death of Alcimus.

^c Cf. *Ant.* xii. 252 note *e*.

^d The guarding of himself is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

^e 1 Macc. ix. 61 reads, "and they seized of the men of the country, the leaders of the wickedness, about fifty men,

returned to the king.^a And thereafter the affairs of the Jews were peaceful for two years.^b But the renegades^c and godless men, seeing that Jonathan and his followers were living in the country in the greatest security because of the peace, sent to King Demetrius and urged him to send Bacchides to seize Jonathan, for this, they informed him, could be done without difficulty, and if his men fell upon them unexpectedly in one night they could kill them all. The king therefore sent Bacchides, and when he came to Judaea, he wrote to his friends, both Jews and allies, to seize Jonathan for him. And they all made an effort to do so, but were not able to get hold of Jonathan—for he had become aware of the plot and guarded himself closely—^d, whereupon Bacchides, being enraged at the renegades for having, as he thought, deceived him and the king, seized fifty of their leaders and killed them.^e But Jonathan, in fear of Bacchides, withdrew with his brother and his companions to Bethalaga,^f a village in the wilderness, and building towers and surrounding it with walls, kept himself safely protected. When Bacchides heard of this, he led out the army that was with him, and killed them.” Most commentators take this to mean that Jonathan killed fifty of the Jews who called Bacchides to Judaea. Perhaps Josephus takes Bacchides to be the subject here because of vs. 69 (see below, § 31), which says that Bacchides, angry at the siege he was forced to undergo by Jonathan and Simon, killed many of the Jews who had invited him to attack the Hasmonaeon forces.

^f Bethbasi in 1 Macc. Oesterley, *CAP*, suggested a connexion with the *Wady el-Bassah*, E. of Tekoah, and recently Père Abel has identified it more exactly with *Khirbet Beit-Bassa*, c. 3 miles N. by E. of Tekoah. Klein, *EY*, p. 56, suggests that the original name was Beth Nibshan, found in Josh. xv. 62. But the form Bethalaga in Josephus still remains a puzzle.

Bacchides
besieges
Jonathan.
1 Macc.
ix. 63.

JOSEPHUS

ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς
 συμμάχους παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἤκε, καὶ
 προσβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς
 28 αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν
 τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντι-
 στας Σίμωνα μὲν¹ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατα-
 λείπει² τῷ Βακχίδῃ πολεμήσοντα, λάθρα δ' αὐτὸς
 εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐξελθὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα πολλήν
 παρὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντων, νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει
 τῷ τοῦ Βακχίδου στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ συχνούς αὐτῶν
 διαφθείρας φανερός καὶ τὰδελφῷ Σίμωνι γίνεται
 29 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιπεσών. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος αἰσθόμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτεινομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέξεισιν
 αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ τε μηχανήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορ-
 κίαν ἐνέπρησε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ φόνον αὐτῶν
 30 ἱκανὸν εἰργάσατο. θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Βακ-
 χίδης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλημμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ³ τοὺς δ' ὀπισθεν προσκειμένους,
 εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἅμα καὶ ταραχὴν τῆς διανοίας ἐνέπεσε,
 τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀποβάντι τῆς πολιορκίας⁴ συγχυ-
 31 θείς. τὸν μέντοι γε ὑπὲρ τούτων θυμὸν εἰς τοὺς
 φυγάδας, οἳ μετεπέμψαντο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
 αὐτόν, ἀπέσκηψεν ὡς ἐξηπατηκότηας· ἐβούλετο δὲ
 τελευτήσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, εἰ δυνατόν, εὐπρεπῶς
 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαι.
 32 (6) Μαθὼν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰωνάθης πρε-
 σβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας,

¹ μὲν εἶασε AMWE.

³ αὐτῶν P.

² καταλείπει om. AMWE.

⁴ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν LAMW.

and taking along his Jewish allies, came against Jonathan and assaulted his fortifications and besieged him for many days. Jonathan, however, did not yield before the severity of the siege, but after holding out stoutly, left his brother Simon in the city to carry on the fight with Bacchides, and himself secretly went out into the country; then having gathered together a large force from among those who sympathized with him,^a he fell upon Bacchides' camp by night and slew a good many of them, thus making known to his brother Simon that he had fallen upon the foe. When Simon became aware that the enemy were being killed by him, he too sallied out against them and burned the engines which the Macedonians had used in the siege, and caused the slaughter of a considerable number of their men. But Bacchides, seeing himself hemmed in by his foes, some of them pressing him in front and others from behind, fell into a despondent and disturbed state of mind, for he was confounded at the unexpected outcome of the siege. However he vented his anger at these reverses on the renegades who had sent for him to the king, for he believed they had deceived him.^b And he wished to end the siege and, if possible, return home without dishonour.^c

(6) But Jonathan, learning what was in his mind, sent envoys to him to propose a friendly alliance and

Jonathan
and
Bacchides
make peace.
1 Macc.
ix. 70.

^a 1 Macc. ix. 66 reads, "And he (Jonathan) smote Odoares and his brothers and the sons of Phasiron in their tents." Possibly Josephus read *ἐπέταξεν* instead of *ἐπάταξεν* "he smote," and took the verse to mean that Jonathan enlisted the help of these tribes, not that he attacked them.

^b Cf. above, § 25 note *e*.

^c Or "to end the siege without dishonour, if possible, and return home."

JOSEPHUS

ὅπως ἀποδώσιν ἀλλήλοις οὓς εἰλήφασιν αἰχμαλώ-
 33 τούς ἑκάτεροι. νομίσας δὲ ταύτην εὐπρεπεστάτην¹
 ὁ Βακχίδης τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ στρατεύσειν ἔτι
 κατ'² ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδοὺς
 καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους³ κομισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀν-
 τιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν
 34 ἀναχώρησιν οὐκέτι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ
 δὲ Ἰωνάθης ταύτης τῆς ἀδείας λαβόμενος καὶ
 ποιούμενος ἐν Μαχμᾶ πόλει τὴν δίαιταν, αὐτόθι
 τοῖς ὄχλοις διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς
 καὶ ἀσεβεῖς κολάζων ἐκάθηρεν οὕτως ἀπὸ τούτων
 τὸ ἔθνος.

35 (ii. 1) Ἐπει δ' ἐξηκοστῶ καὶ ἑκατοστῶ τὸν Ἀν-
 τιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον⁴ ἀναβάντα
 εἰς Συρίαν συνέβη καταλαβέσθαι Πτολεμαῖδα ἐκ
 προδοσίας τῶν ἔνδον⁵ στρατιωτῶν· ἀπεχθῶς γὰρ
 εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν
 36 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον. ἀποκλείσας γὰρ αὐτὸν
 εἰς τετραπύργιον τι βασιλείον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν
 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, οὐδένα προσ-

¹ εὐπρεπεστέραν FLV Lat.

² ἐπὶ τὴν AM: ἔτι τὴν W.

³ οἰκείους P.

⁴ Ἀλέξανδρον om. PFVE Lat.

⁵ τῶν ἔνδον Niese: τῶν ἔνδοθεν AMWE: ἔνδοθεν FLV:
 ἔνδον P.

^a Josephus takes 1 Macc. ix. 70 to refer to an exchange of prisoners, although the context, esp. vs. 72, shows that the return of the Jewish prisoners only is meant.

^b 1 Macc. "to his own land."

^c Bibl. Michmash, mod. *Mukhmās*, c. 8 miles N.W. of

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 32-36

that each side might return to the other the prisoners they had taken.^a Thereupon Bacchides, considering this the most dignified way of withdrawing, made a compact of friendship with Jonathan, and they swore not to make war against each other again; and after returning the prisoners and getting back his own men, he returned to Antioch to the king,^b and after this withdrawal never again invaded Judaea. On obtaining this freedom of action, Jonathan made his residence in the city of Machma,^c and there administered the affairs of the people and punished the wicked and godless, and so purged the nation of them.

(ii. 1) Now in the hundred and sixtieth year,^d Alexander,^e the son of Antiochus Epiphanes,^f went up to Syria and succeeded in occupying Ptolemais^g through the treason of the soldiers within, for they were hostile to Demetrius because of his arrogance and unapproachableness. For he had shut himself in a palace with four towers which he had built not far from Antioch, and admitted no one, but was lazy

Alexander Balas invades Syria. Demetrius bids for Jonathan's support. 1 Macc. x. 1.

Jerusalem; *cf. Ant. vi. 98 note e.* Jonathan must have ruled in comparative peace for about seven years, from 160 to 153 B.C.

^a 153/2 B.C. Alexander arrived in Palestine in the summer of 152 B.C.

^e Variant omits the name.

^f So he is called in 1 Macc. The ancient Greek historians say that Alexander was an impostor put forward in their own interests by Attalus II of Pergamum and Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt, who persuaded the Roman Senate to recognize his claim to the Seleucid throne. On Alexander's surname Balas see § 119 note *a*. The following narrative, to § 37, is based on a Greek source, probably Polybius or Nicolas of Damascus. See the Appendix in vol. ix. of this translation.

^g Mod. 'Akkā, *cf. Ant. xii. 331 note c.*

JOSEPHUS

ἴετο, ἀλλὰ¹ περὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάθυμος ἦν καὶ
 ὀλίγωρος, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ παρὰ τῶν
 ὑποτεταγμένων μῖσος ἐξήφθη, καθὼς ἤδη καὶ ἐν
 37 ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. γενόμενον οὖν ἐν Πτολε-
 μαΐδι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσας ὁ Δημήτριος ἤγεν
 ἅπασαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν. ἔπεμψε
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ
 εὐνοίας· φθάσαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διέγνω, μὴ
 προδιαλεχθεὶς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σχῆ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ
 38 βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει φοβηθεὶς μὴ μνησικακή-
 σαι ὁ Ἰωνάθης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐχθρας συνεπιθῆται.
 προσέταξεν οὖν αὐτῷ συναθροίσειν δύναμιν καὶ
 κατασκευάζειν² ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους, οὓς τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων ἐνέκλεισε Βακχίδης ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν
 39 Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπολαβεῖν.³ τοιούτων οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν
 παρὰ Δημητρίου προσπεσόντων ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρα-
 γενόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀκουόντων τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ
 40 τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἀναγνωσθέντων
 δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ φυγάδες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλεως λίαν ἔδεισαν, ἐπιτετροφότος Ἰωνάθῃ τοῦ
 βασιλέως στρατιὰν συλλέγειν καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους
 ἀπολαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἴδιον
 41 ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν Ἰωνάθης ἐν Ἱεροσολύ-
 μοις τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο, καινίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν κατασκευάζων
 ἕκαστον.⁴ ἐκέλευσε γὰρ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὰ
 τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκ λίθων τετραγώνων, ὡς ἂν ἦ
 42 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους⁵ ἀσφαλέστερα.⁶ ταῦτα δ'

¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ FLAMVW Lat.

³ ἀπολαμβάνειν AMWE.

⁵ πολέμους PFV.

² προκατασκευάζειν PFLV.

⁴ ἕκαστα Cobet.

⁶ ἀσφαλέστερον AMWE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 36-42

and careless about public affairs, for which reason the hatred of his subjects was still more inflamed against him, as we have already related elsewhere.^a But when Demetrius heard that Alexander had come to Ptolemais, he took his entire army and led it against him. He also sent envoys to Jonathan to propose a friendly alliance, for he had determined to anticipate Alexander lest he should be before him in treating with Jonathan and obtaining assistance from him. This he did from fear that Jonathan might bear him a grudge for his former enmity, and therefore join in the attack on him. Accordingly he instructed him to collect a force and provide arms, and to recover the Jewish hostages whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. On receiving this message from Demetrius, Jonathan came to Jerusalem and read the king's letter in the hearing of the people and of those who guarded the citadel. And when these instructions were read, the godless men and the renegades of the citadel were in great fear, now that the king had permitted Jonathan to raise an army and recover the hostages. But he restored every one of them to his parents. So Jonathan took up his residence^b in Jerusalem, making various repairs in the city and arranging everything according to his own liking. Thus he ordered the walls of the city^c also to be built of square stones in order that they might be more secure against the

^a As there is no such passage in Josephus, we may assume that this phrase is taken over from his source.

^b τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 131), also found in *Ant.* viii. 350.

^c 1 Macc. x. 11, "the walls and the mount of Sion," that is, the temple hill, the walls of which had been destroyed by Antiochus Eupator; cf. *Ant.* xii. 382 ff. (= 1 Macc. vi. 60 ff.).

JOSEPHUS

ὄρωντες οἱ τῶν φρουρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
 φύλακες, ἐκλιπόντες αὐτὰ πάντες ἔφυγον εἰς Ἀν-
 τιόχειαν παρέξ τῶν ἐν Βεθσούρα πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐν
 τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἦ πλείων
 μοῖρα τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πεφευγόντων
 ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς φρουρὰς οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπον.

43 (2) Γνούς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τε ὑποσχέσεις
 ἃς ἐποίησατο Δημήτριος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, καὶ εἰδὼς
 καὶ¹ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅποσα διέθηκε πολεμῶν
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ πάλιν οἷα πεπονθῶς αὐτὸς
 εἶη ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Βακχίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου
 στρατηγοῦ, σύμμαχον οὐκ ἂν εὐρεῖν Ἰωνάθου
 ἀμείνω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 καιρῷ, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους² ἐστὶν ἀνδρεῖος,
 καὶ μῖσος οἰκεῖον ἔχει πρὸς Δημήτριον, πολλὰ

44 πεπονθῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ καὶ πεποικῶς. “ εἰ
 τοιγαροῦν δοκεῖ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ Δημη-
 τρίου, νῦν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄλλο τι³ χρησιμώτερον ἢ⁴
 παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.” δόξαν
 οὖν⁵ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἰω-

45 νάθην, γράφει τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· “ βασιλεὺς
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. τὴν μὲν
 ἀνδρείαν σου καὶ πίστιν ἀκηκόαμεν πάλαι, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο πεπόμφαμεν πρὸς σέ περὶ φιλίας καὶ⁶ συμ-

¹ καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ AMW: καὶ εἰδὼς L: καὶ tell.

² πολεμίους V Lat.

³ ἄλλο τι Dindorf: ἄλλοτε codd.

⁴ ἢ add. Dindorf.

⁵ δὲ LAMW.

⁶ φιλίας καὶ om. AMWE.

enemy.^a When the defenders of the garrisons in Judaea observed this, they all left their posts and fled to Antioch, with the exception of those in the city of Bethsur and those in the citadel of Jerusalem,^b for these consisted of the greater part of the godless and renegade Jews, and for that reason they did not abandon the garrisons.

(2) But when Alexander learned of the promises which Demetrius had made to Jonathan, knowing of his courage and what great things he had accomplished in the war with the Macedonians, and, on the other hand, how greatly he had suffered at the hands of Demetrius and Demetrius' general Bacchides, he told his Friends^c that at the present juncture he could find no better ally than Jonathan, who was courageous in battle^d and also had his own grounds for hating Demetrius, having suffered many injuries at his hands as well as having inflicted them on him. "If, then, we decide to make him our friend against Demetrius, nothing would be of more advantage just now than to invite him to make an alliance with us." Accordingly when it was decided by himself and his Friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote the following letter.^e "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have long heard of your courage and loyalty, and for this reason have sent to you to pro-

Alexander Balas tries to win over Jonathan by gifts and promises. 1 Macc. x. 15.

^a Variant "war."

^b Jerusalem is not specifically mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. For a brief summary of the recently discovered archaeological material bearing on the occupation of Bethsur see Albright in *BASOR*, 43 (Oct. 1931), pp. 2-12 or *Watzinger* ii. 24 f. and *Tafel* 3.

^c *Cf. Ant.* xii. 134 note.

^d Variant "against the enemy."

^e On the authenticity of this letter and that of Demetrius below *cf. literature* cited in Appendix J.

JOSEPHUS

μαχίας. χειροτονοῦμεν δέ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φίλον ἐμὸν καλεῖσθαι. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καὶ δωρεὰς στολὴν πορφυρᾶν καὶ στέφανον χρύσειον, καὶ παρακαλῶ τιμηθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὅμοιον γίνεσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς."

- 46 (3) Δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐνδύεται μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν¹ στολὴν, τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης, μετὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν ἀποθανεῖν (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεὺς τις ἐγεγόνει). συνάγει δὲ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὀπλων
- 47 ἐχάλκευεν. Δημήτριον δὲ ταῦτα σφόδρ' ἐλύπησε μαθόντα, καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι μὴ προλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς φιλανθρωπεύσαιτο² τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ καταλίποι καιρὸν εἰς τοῦτο. γράφει τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δη-
- 48 λούσαν τάδε· " βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ πειράσασιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ προσέθεσθε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινώ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν,³ ἀποληψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ'
- 49 ἡμῶν καὶ χάριτας. τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ὑμῶν ἀνήσω τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν συντάξεων ἃς ἐτελεῖτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί, νῦν τε ὑμῖν

¹ ἱερατικὴν P: sacerdotali Lat.

² E: ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο codd.

³ E: ἐπιμένειν codd.

^a The variant omits " friendly."

^b 1 Macc. x. 21, " in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year," i.e. in the autumn of 152 B.C. (here reckoning the spring of 311 B.C. as the beginning of the Seleucid

pose a friendly ^a alliance. We therefore elect you this day high priest of the Jews with the title of my Friend. I have also sent you as gifts a robe of purple and a gold crown; and I request you, who have been honoured by us, to act toward us in like manner."

(3) On receiving this letter, Jonathan, at the time of the festival of Tabernacles, put on the high-priestly robe, this being four years after the death of his brother Judas—for there had been no high priest during this time—,^b and gathered together a large force and forged a great number of arms. But Demetrius was greatly grieved on learning these things, and they caused him to blame himself for his dilatoriness in not anticipating Alexander by himself extending privileges ^c to Jonathan instead of leaving the other this opportunity. Accordingly he also wrote a letter to Jonathan and the people, which read as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan ^d and the Jewish nation, greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and in spite of their tempting offers have not joined yourselves to my foes, I commend you for this loyalty on your part, and exhort you to continue in the same course, for which you shall receive a recompense from us and our favour. For I shall release the greater part of you from the tribute and imposts which you have paid to my royal predecessors and to me, and for the

Demetrius makes counter proposals to Jonathan. 1 Macc. x. 21.

era, *cf. Ant. xii. 240 note a*). Judas died in 159 B.C.; thus Jonathan's accession to the high priesthood took place seven years after Judas' death, *cf. Ant. xx. 237*; for a similar contradiction *cf. Ant. xii. 414 and note*.

^c This meaning of *φιλανθρωπέειν* might have been included in the vocabulary given by Welles, *Royal Corr.*, p. 373.

^d 1 Macc. omits Jonathan's name.

JOSEPHUS

ἀφήμι τοὺς φόρους οὓς ἀεὶ παρείχετε. πρὸς τού-
 τοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἀλῶν καὶ
 τῶν στεφάνων, οὓς προσεφέρετε ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν
 τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσου τοῦ ξυλίνου
 καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον ἐμοὶ μέρος ὑμῖν ἀφήμι ἀπὸ
 50 τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐκάστης
 ὃ ἔδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούν-
 των καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
 προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Πε-
 ραίας, τούτου¹ παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν
 51 ἅπαντα χρόνον. καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν
 ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως
 τῶν ὄρων αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τελῶν.
 τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπιτρέπω τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ ὑμῶν Ἰωνάθῃ,
 οὓς δ' ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ πιστοὺς καὶ φίλους, τού-
 τους ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς² καταστήσαι,³ ἵνα φυλάσ-
 52 σωσιν ἡμῖν αὐτήν. καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς
 αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα
 ἀφήμι ἐλευθέρους. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι
 τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια· τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἑορτὴν
 ἅπασαν⁴ καὶ τρεῖς⁵ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας⁶ ἔστωσαν

¹ E: τούτους codd.

² φρουροὺς om. AMW.

³ Niese: καταστήσαι PFAMVWE: καταστήσω L.

⁴ ἑορτὴ ἅπασα E.

⁵ τρεῖς καὶ P: τρεῖς αἱ LAMW.

⁶ ἡμέραι LAMW.

^a On these and the following taxes see Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.* pp. 111-114.

^b On "toparchy" (for which 1 Macc. has "nome") as a subdivision of the nome see Schalit, pp. 21, 29 ff.

^c 1 Macc. x. 30 reads, "And now I release you and exempt all the Jews from the tributes (φόρων) and from the payment of the salt-tax and the crown-taxes; and a third of the seed and a half of the fruit of trees, which it is my due to receive, I give up my right to receive from to-day and henceforth

present I remit to you the tribute which you have always given. In addition I excuse you from payment of the salt-tax and crown-tax,^a which you have made to us, and in place of the third part of the grain and the half of the fruits of trees I remit to you my share thereof from this day on. And as for the poll-tax which was to be paid to me by the inhabitants of Judaea and the three toparchies^b adjoining it, Samaria, Galilee and Peraea, I exempt you from this now and for all time.^c And it is my wish that the city of Jerusalem shall be sacred and inviolable and be free to its borders from the tithe and tolls. And the citadel I place in the hands of your high priest Jonathan, and such men as he shall judge to be faithful and friendly to him, he may place in it as a garrison to guard it for us. And I also set free those Jews who have been taken captive and are in slavery in our realm.^d And I command that the Jews' beasts of burden shall not be requisitioned^e for our army, and that on the Sabbaths and all festivals and the three days preceding a festival^f the Jews

from the land of Judah and from the three nomes added to it, from Samaritis and Galilee." Several scholars delete "Galilee" and understand the text to mean three districts of Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned by name in 1 Macc. xi. 34, and alluded to in 1 Macc. x. 38; *cf.* § 125 note a. Josephus seems to have interpreted the passage in the light of the divisions of Jewish territory in the 1st century A.D. *Cf.* further Dr. Thackeray's note on *Ap.* ii. 43 and Büchler's remarks quoted in Appendix C to Book 11 of this translation.

^a *Cf.* the similar act of Ptolemy II Philadelphus narrated in *Aristeas* § 12 f. (*Ant.* xii. 17 ff.).

^e On this meaning of ἀγγαρεύεσθαι *cf.* Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 37.

^f 1 Macc. adds "and three days after."

53 ἀτελείς. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ
κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρε-
άστους ἀφήμι, καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ
βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρι τρισμυρίων ἐξέστω
τοῦτο· τῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ὅποι ἂν ἀπίωσι, τεύξονται
ᾧν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει. κατα-
στήσω δ' αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τινὰς δὲ¹
περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦμοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡγεμόνας
54 δὲ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν. ἐπιτρέπω δὲ
καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις² χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους
φυλάσσειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν³ τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις⁴
τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς⁵ ὑποτάσσεσθαι⁶ βούλομαι, καὶ
τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ δὲ⁷ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ἵνα μηδὲ εἰς Ἰου-
δαῖος ἄλλο ἔχη ἱερόν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν
55 Ἱεροσολύμοις. δίδωμι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν
δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ' ἔτος μυριάδας πεντε-
καίδεκα, τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων
ὑμέτερα εἶναι βούλομαι· τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμὰς
ἄς ἐλάβανον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὑμῖν ἀφήμι
διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουρ-

¹ δὲ καὶ FLV.

² Niese: πατρώοις codd.

³ τοὺς ἐν coni.: τοῖς codd.

⁴ ex Macc. Bekker: προκειμένοις codd.; propositis Lat.

⁵ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ex Macc. Grotius: ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νόμοις codd.

⁶ ἐπιτάσσεσθαι Grotius.

⁷ δὲ P: om. rell.

^a For a similar exemption (ἀτέλεια τῶν λειτουργιῶν) cf. Welles, *Royal Corr.*, p. 16.

^b 1 Macc. x. 37, "And some shall be placed over the affairs of the kingdom which are matters of trust."

^c Conj.: mss. "ancestral."

^d Cf. above, § 50 note c.

^e Text slightly uncertain.

shall be exempt from labour.^a In the same manner do I set free the Jewish inhabitants of my realm and assure them of not being molested; and to those who wish to serve in my army I give leave to do so, and this shall be permitted to as many as thirty thousand, and wherever they go they shall receive the same pay as my own army. Some of them I shall place in garrisons, and others in my body-guard, and I shall make them officers at my court.^b I also permit them to live in accordance with their country's^c laws and to observe them, and it is my will that those living in the three districts added to Judaea^d shall be subject to these laws,^e and that it shall be the concern of the high priest that not a single Jew shall have any temple for worship other than that at Jerusalem.^f And I give out of my own revenue one hundred and fifty thousand drachmas^g yearly for the expenses of the sacrifices, and it is my wish that whatever is left over from this sum shall be yours.^h As for the ten thousand drachmasⁱ which the kings used to receive from the temple, these I remit to you because they belong to the

^f 1 Macc. x. 38 merely says that the inhabitants of the three newly acquired districts "shall not obey any authority other than that of the high priest." Josephus paraphrases freely. He also omits the donation of Ptolemais in vs. 39.

^g 1 Macc. x. 40, "fifteen thousand shekels of silver" which would make only 30,000 drachmas or at most 60,000 (Attic) according to Josephus' reckoning in *Ant.* iii. 194.

^h 1 Macc. x. 41, "And all the overplus which the finance officials (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χρηιῶν*) did not give as in former times, from now on they shall give for the work of the temple," which seems to mean the additional grants to the temple formerly made by the Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) kings and recently withheld by Seleucid officials.

ⁱ 1 Macc. "5000 shekels"; cf. note *g* above.

JOSEPHUS

- 56 γούσιν¹ τῷ ἱερῷ.² καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἂν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα, ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ
- 57 ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς σῶα ἔστω. ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα. εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν ὃ συμφέροι τῇ χώρα τῇ Ἰουδαίων ὄχυρόν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν κατασκευασθήτω."
- 58 (4) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔγραψε Δημήτριος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐστράτευσεν.
- 59 καὶ μάχης γενομένης τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Δημητρίου τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, κτείνει τε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ διαρπάζει τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, οὐ συν-
- 60 ἐβαιεν εἶναι τὸν Δημήτριον, ἠττᾶται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγον, Δημήτριος δὲ γενναίως μαχόμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν πολεμίων, διώκων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσελαύνει³ τὸν ἵππον εἰς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ δυσεκπόρευτον, ἔνθα συνέβη πεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἵππου μὴ δυνάμενον διαφυγεῖν

¹ καὶ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς LAMWE.

² τῶν ἱερῶν LAMWE.

³ ἐλαύνει P.

^a 1 Macc. x. 46 f. states that Jonathan and the people distrusted the promises made by Demetrius, and remained loyal to Alexander Balas.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 56-60

priests who minister in the temple. And all those who take refuge in the temple at Jerusalem or in any place to which its name is attached, whether because they owe money to the king or for any other reason, shall be set free, and their possessions shall be left untouched. I also permit you to repair and rebuild the temple, the expense of which shall come out of my revenue ; and I give you leave to build the walls of your city and to erect high towers and to restore all these at my expense. Moreover, if there is any garrison which is to the advantage of the country of the Jews to have strengthened, this too shall be done at my expense."

(4) These, then, were the promises and favours^a which Demetrius offered when he wrote to the Jews. Meanwhile King Alexander gathered together a large force of mercenaries and soldiers from Syria who joined him, and marched against Demetrius.^b And in the battle which took place the left wing of Demetrius put their adversaries to flight, and pursuing them for a great distance, killed a great many of them and plundered their camp ; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was defeated. And though all the others fled, Demetrius fought valiantly and slew not a few of the enemy, but in pursuing the others, he rode his horse into a deep swamp from which it was difficult to get out, and as his horse fell just there, he was unable to escape, and

Demetrius
is slain in
battle with
Alexander
Balas.
1 Macc.
x. 48.

The following narrative, to § 80, is from a Hellenistic source. The section on the battle between Demetrius and Alexander is paralleled in Justinus xxxv. and Appian, *Syria* 67. Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 211, thinks all these accounts are based on Polybius, but T. Reinach and Kolbe point to the chronological discrepancy, see next note.

- 61 ἀναιρεθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμοιοι ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τὸν Δημήτριον πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠκόντιζον. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ὢν γενναίως ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ τελευταίου τραύματα λαβὼν πολλὰ καὶ μηκέτ' ἀντέχειν δυνάμενος κατέπεσεν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον τὸν Δημήτριον κατέλαβεν, ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἔνδεκα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις¹ δεδηλώκαμεν.
- 62 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς ὁμῶννος δὲ ὢν τῷ πατρί, ὃς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγὼν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Φιλομήτορα διῆγεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, ἰδὼν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μακε-
- 63 δόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω πέμψας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειε ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ Λευίτας καὶ
- 64 ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήσει.² τοῦτο δ' ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐα, ὃς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον³ γεγονὼς προεῖπεν, ὡς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ

¹ ἄλλοις συντάγμασιν ἡμῶν P.

² καταστήσειε Naber.

³ ἑξακοσίων πλείοσι AMWE.

^a Polybius and Eusebius give him a reign of 12 years. He began to rule in 162 B.C. (*cf. Ant. xii. 389 note b*), and his death probably occurred in 150 B.C., *cf. Kolbe, p. 56*. As both Demetrius and Alexander were usurpers, it is difficult to determine just how long their reigns should be considered to have lasted. Usurpers often issued coins before they were generally recognized as kings.

^b Variant "in other works of ours." There is no such

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 61-64

was slain. For the enemy, seeing what had happened to him, turned round, and encircling Demetrius, all threw their javelins at him. But though he was on foot, he valiantly fought them off, until finally, after receiving many wounds and no longer being able to hold out, he fell. Such was the fate that overtook Demetrius after a reign of eleven years,^a as we have related elsewhere.^b

(iii. 1) ^c Now the son of the high priest Onias, who had the same name as his father, having fled to King Ptolemy surnamed Philometor, was living in Alexandria, as we have said before ^d; and seeing that Judaea was being ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, and desiring to acquire for himself eternal fame and glory, he determined to send to King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and request of them authority to build a temple in Egypt similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint Levites and priests of his own race. In this desire he was encouraged chiefly by the words of the prophet Isaiah, who had lived more than six hundred years before and had foretold that a temple to the Most High God was surely to be built in Egypt by a Jew.^e Being, there-

The high priest Onias seeks a site for a temple in Egypt.

passage in Josephus; probably the formula is taken over from his source, *cf. Ant. xii. 390 note g.*

^c On this story of Onias IV and the parallel account in *B.J. vii. 423-432, cf. literature cited in Appendices E and G.*

^d In *Ant. xii. 386 ff.*

^e *Cf. Is. xix. 19, "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord."* Many commentators suspect vs. 18-25 of this chapter of having been interpolated by a writer of the Hasmonaean period; in vs. 18 some scholars emend 'ir ha-heres "city of destruction" to 'ir ha-heres "city of the sun," supposing this to be an allusion to the name Heliopolis "city of the sun."

JOSEPHUS

ταῦτα οὖν ἐπηρμένους Ὀνίας γράφει Πτολεμαίω
 65 καὶ Κλεοπάτρα τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· “ πολλὰς καὶ
 μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκώς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πό-
 λεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειας, καὶ
 γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, καὶ
 εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς
 66 Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ
 ἔθνους, καὶ πλείστους εὐρῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον
 ἔχοντας ἱερὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύσνους ἀλλήλοις, ὃ
 καὶ Αἴγυπτίοις συμβέβηκε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμοδοξεῖν,¹
 ἐπιτηδειότατον εὐρῶν τόπον ἐν τῷ προσαγορευο-
 μένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι, βρύνοντα
 67 ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζώων μεστόν, δέομαι
 συγχωρῆσαί μοι, τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν
 καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ
 θεῷ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 μέτροις ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν
 τέκνων, ἵν’ ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες
 Ἰουδαῖοι, εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
 68 λους ὁμόνοιαν, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρεῖαις· καὶ
 γὰρ Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προεῖπεν· ἔσται

¹ ὁμόδοξον FV.

^a Probably not the war between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor, but the war between Philometor and his rival Ptolemy VII Euergetes, in which case Onias is to be identified with the Jewish general Onias mentioned in *Ap.* ii. 49. Büchler conjectures (*Tobiaden*, pp. 246 ff.) that Onias' contemporary Dositheus, a Samaritan, sought to establish a rival temple in Egypt.

^b Most scholars, following Naville and Flinders Petrie, locate the site at the mod. *Tell el-Yehūdiyeh*, c. 30 miles N.E. of Memphis. In *B.J.* vii. 426 Josephus locates it at a
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fore, excited by these words, Onias wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. " Many and great are the services which I have rendered you in the course of the war,^a with the help of God, when I was in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, and when I came with the Jews to Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis^b and to other places where our nation is settled ; and I found that most of them have temples, contrary to what is proper, and that for this reason they are ill-disposed toward one another, as is also the case with the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples and their varying opinions about the forms of worship ; and I have found a most suitable place in the fortress called after Bubastis-of-the-Fields, which abounds in various kinds of trees and is full of sacred animals, wherefore I beg you to permit me to cleanse this temple, which belongs to no one and is in ruins, and to build a temple^c to the Most High God in the likeness of that at Jerusalem and with the same dimensions,^d on behalf of you and your wife and children, in order that the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt may be able to come together there in mutual harmony and serve your interests. For this indeed is what the prophet Isaiah foretold, ' There shall be an altar in Egypt to the

distance of 180 stades (c. 20 miles) from Memphis. For the literature on the topography see Schürer iii. 97 n. 25 and Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906. The temple was probably near the Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον " Jews' camp," mentioned in *Ant.* xiv. 133.

^c Tscherikower, pp. 286 ff., makes the interesting suggestion that the building of the temple was only incidental to the settling of a military colony of Jews by Onias.

^d In *B.J.* vii. 427 Josephus states merely that the altar of the Onias temple resembled that at Jerusalem.

θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον.”

69 (2) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ὀνίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφει. κατανοήσεις δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐξ ἧς ἀντέγραψαν¹ ἐπιστολῆς· τὴν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου κεφαλὴν ἀνέθεσαν· ἀντέγραψαν² γὰρ
70 οὕτως· “ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Ὀνία χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν παράκλησιν³ ἀξιούντος ἐπιτραπήναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων⁴ πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν εἰ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυθησόμενον ἱερὸν
71 ἐν ἀσελγεί τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ζώων ἱερῶν.⁵ ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ φῆς Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο προειρηκέαι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει⁶ τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξημαρτηκέαι.”

72 (3) Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ Ὀνίας κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ μου βίβλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν πολέμων⁷

¹ ex Lat. Hudson: ἀντέγραψεν codd.

² E: ἀντεγράψεν (-ψε FLMV) codd.

³ ἐπιστολὴν PFLV: petitionem Lat.

⁴ E Lat.: λεοντῷ πόλει P: Λεοντοπόλει rell.

⁵ ἀνιέρων AMWE: ἱερείων (del. ζώων) conji. Schlatter.

⁶ μέλλοι PLAMW.

⁷ πολέμων om. PFV: Iudaicae antiquitatis Lat.

Lord God,' and many other such things did he prophesy concerning this place."

(2) This, then, is what Onias wrote to King Ptolemy. And one may get a notion of the king's piety and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra from the letter which they wrote in reply, for they placed the blame for the sin and transgression against the Law on the head of Onias,^a writing the following reply. "King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, greeting. We have read your petition asking that it be permitted you to cleanse the ruined temple in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis, called Bubastis-of-the-Fields. We wonder, therefore, whether it will be pleasing to God that a temple be built in a place so wild^b and full of sacred^c animals. But since you say that the prophet Isaiah foretold this long ago, we grant your request if this is to be in accordance with the Law, so that we may not seem to have sinned against God in any way."

Ptolemy Philometor allows Onias to build a temple at Leontopolis.

(3) And so Onias took over the place and built a temple and an altar to God similar to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. But it has not seemed to me necessary to write about its dimensions and its vessels now, for they have already been described

The temple of Onias.

^a From what follows it would seem that the only possible sin consisted in choosing a pagan site for the temple. The problem of the validity of a sacrificial site outside Jerusalem, which most scholars believe to have been implicitly forbidden by the legislation of Deuteronomy, is not raised here. The rabbis, however, seem to have accorded the Onias temple some degree of sanctity, cf. Mishnah, *Menahoth*, xiii. 10, and the works cited in Appendix K.

^b Lit. "wanton"; ἀσελγεία "wantonness" is connected with idolatry in *Wisdom of Solomon*, xiv. 26.

^c Variant "unholy"; if "sacred" is the correct reading, it means "sacred to the Egyptians."

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73 ἀναγέγραπται. εὔρε δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκευόντας.¹ ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

74 (4) Τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἳ τὸ ἐν Γαριζεῖν ὄρει² προσεκύουν ἱερὸν οἰκοδομηθὲν³ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνους, συνέβη στασιάσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους ὠκοδομηθῆσαι⁴ τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμα-

75 ρέων τὸ ἐν Γαριζεῖν. παρεκάλεσάν τε⁵ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκούσαι λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἡττηθέντας θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποιήσατο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, τοὺς⁶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ
76 Μεσσαλάμου.⁷ ὤμοσαν δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἢ μὴν ποιήσεσθαι⁸ τὰς ἀποδείξεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, παρεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως ὄν ἂν λάβῃ παραβαίνοντα τοὺς ὄρκους ἀποκτείνῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων εἰς συμβουλίαν παραλαβὼν ἐκάθισεν ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόν-
77 των. οἳ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τυγχάνοντες Ἰου-

¹ Niese: θρησκευόντας codd. Lat.

² ὄρει om. PFV.

³ οἰκοδομηθὲν om. PFV.

⁴ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι FLV: οἰκοδομηθῆναι AMW.

⁵ γοῦν AMW: οὖν E.

⁶ τὸν AMW fort. recte.

⁷ Μεσσαλάμου P: Μεσσαλόμου AM: cf. Μοσόλλαμος c. Ap. i. 201.

⁸ Dindorf: ποιήσασθαι codd.

^a Variant "Judaica." The reference is to *B.J.* vii. 426 ff.

^b Conjectured: mss. "ministering" (present tense).

^c Cf. *Ant.* xi. 324.

in the seventh book of my *Jewish War*.^a And Onias found some Jews of his own kind, and priests and Levites to minister^b there. Concerning this temple, however, we have already said enough.

(4) Now there arose a quarrel between the Jews in Alexandria and the Samaritans who worshipped at the temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been built in the time of Alexander,^c and they disputed about their respective temples in the presence of Ptolemy himself, the Jews asserting that it was the temple at Jerusalem which had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and the Samaritans that it was the temple on Gerizim.^d And they requested the king to sit in council with his Friends and hear their arguments on these matters, and to punish with death those who were defeated. Accordingly, Sabbaeus and Theodosius made speeches on behalf of the Samaritans, while Andronicus, the son of Messalamus,^e spoke for the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea. And they swore by God and the king that they would give their proofs in accordance with the Law, and requested Ptolemy to put to death anyone whom he might find violating these oaths. And so the king brought many of his Friends into his council and sat to hear the speakers. And the Jews who were then in Alexandria were in great

Ptolemy
Philometor
favours the
Alexandrian
Jews in
their
dispute
with the
Samaritans.

^a For a similar, earlier controversy see *Ant.* xii. 10. Büchler (see note above) believes that the quarrel was not over the rival claims of the temples of Jerusalem and Gerizim but of the Jewish and Samaritan temples in Egypt. It may be noted here that it is extremely difficult to determine how much of this account is historical, and whether it is based on a Palestinian or Hellenistic Egyptian source.

^e The same name (a Greek form of Heb. *M^ešullām*) is written Mosollamos in *Ap.* i. 201.

- δαῖοι σφόδρα ἠγωνίων περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἷς ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ¹ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις συνέβαινεν ἱεροῦ· χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἔφερον εἰ τοῦτό τινες καταλύσουσιν, οὕτως ἀρχαῖον καὶ διασημότατον τῶν
- 78 κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρχον. τοῦ δὲ Σαββαίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου συγχωρησάντων τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ πρώτῳ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἤρξατο τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐκ² τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἕκαστος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεξάμενος ἤρξε τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερόν ἐτίμησαν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ λαμπροτάταις δωρεαῖς, τοῦ δ' ἐν³ Γαριζεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ ὄντος οὐδεὶς λόγον οὐδ' ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο.
- 79 ταῦτα λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρίναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδοσίον. καὶ τὰ μὲν γενόμενα τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα ταῦτα ἦν.
- 80 (iv. 1) Δημητρίου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καθὼς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Συρίας παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν γράφει τῷ Φιλομήτορι Πτολεμαίῳ μνηστευόμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων τῷ τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν κομισαμένῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὴν προαχθέντι καὶ κρατήσαντι Δημητρίου καὶ μηδὲ τᾶλλα ἐσομένῳ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότη-
- 81 τος ἀναξίῳ συνάψαι συγγένειαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ προσδεξάμενος ἠδέως τὴν μνηστείαν ἀντιγράφει,

¹ περὶ PFLV.² ἀπό τε AM: om. W.³ δ' ἐν FLV: δὲ rell.

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anxiety about the men whose task it was to express indignation on behalf^a of the temple at Jerusalem, for they were resentful that any should seek to destroy this temple which was so ancient and the most celebrated of all those in the world. But as Sabbaeus and Theodosius permitted Andronicus to make the first speech, he began with proofs from the Law and the succession of the high priests, showing how each had become head of the temple by receiving that office from his father, and that all the kings of Asia had honoured the temple with dedicatory-offerings and most splendid gifts, while none had shown any respect or regard for that on Gerizim, as though it were not in existence. By these and many similar arguments Andronicus persuaded the king to decide that the temple at Jerusalem had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and to put to death Sabbaeus and Theodosius and their party. These, then, were the things that befell the Jews in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor.

(iv. 1)^b Now after Demetrius had died in battle, as we have related above,^c Alexander^d took over the royal power in Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor to ask for the hand of his daughter in marriage; for, he said, it was right that Ptolemy should form a connexion with one who had recovered his father's throne and had been restored to it by the providence of God, and had conquered Demetrius, and on other grounds as well would be not unworthy of such an alliance with him. And Ptolemy, who gladly accepted his suit, wrote a reply, saying that he rejoiced

Alexander Balas marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. 1 Macc. x. 51.

^a Variant "concerning."

^b Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees.

^c In § 61.

^d Surnamed Balas, cf. § 119.

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χαίρειν τε λέγων ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ πατρώαν οὔσαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται, συναντᾶν¹ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν μέχρι ταύτης παραπέμψειν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου,
 82 καὶ κεῖ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτα γράψας παραγίνεται μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα, Κλεοπάτραν ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα. εὐρῶν δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθὼς ἐπέστειλε προαπηνητηκότα, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα καὶ φερνὴν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν δοῦναι βασιλέα.

83 (2) Τῶν δὲ γάμων ἐπιτελουμένων Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ γράψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἦκειν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς λαμπρῶς,² τῆς
 84 παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τιμῆς. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασεν ἀποδυσάμενον³ τὴν οἰκείαν⁴ ἐσθῆτα λαβεῖν πορφύραν, καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, προσέταξε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς μέσσην μετ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντας τὴν πόλιν κηρῦξαι μηδενὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐφείσθαι μηδὲ
 85 παρέχειν αὐτῷ πράγματα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ὄρωντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κεκηρυγμένην Ἰωνάθῃ τιμὴν οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες ἀπέδρασαν, μὴ καὶ προσλάβωσί τι κακὸν δεδιότες. τῆσάυτη δὲ σπουδῇ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς

¹ ἀπαντᾶν PFV.
³ καὶ pr. PFV.

² λαμπρῶς P.
⁴ ἰδίαν P¹V.

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at Alexander's recovery of his father's throne ; and he promised to give him his daughter, and told him to meet him at Ptolemais where he would bring his daughter, for, he said, he would himself escort her from Egypt as far as that city, and there he would give him his child in marriage. And so, having written this, Ptolemy came in haste to Ptolemais, bringing his daughter Cleopatra.^a And finding Alexander waiting to meet him there, as he had instructed him, he gave him his daughter, and, for her dowry, as much silver and gold as a king was expected to give.^b

(2) While the wedding ceremonies were being celebrated, Alexander wrote to the high priest Jonathan, asking him to come to Ptolemais. Thereupon he came to the kings, and having made them splendid gifts,^c was rewarded with honours from both of them.^d And Alexander compelled him to take off his own garment and put on one of purple, and making him sit with him on the dais, ordered his officers to go with him into the midst of the city and proclaim that no one was permitted to speak against him or to cause him any trouble. When the officers had done this, those men who had been prepared to accuse Jonathan and were hostile to him, seeing the honour that was done him by the king's proclamation, ran away for fear that they might receive some further harm. And so great was the friendly interest

Jonathan
is honoured
by
Alexander
Balas and
Ptolemy
Philometor,
1 Macc.
x. 59.

^a This was, according to 1 Macc. x. 57, in Sel. yr. 162 = 151/0 B.C.

^b 1 Macc. says merely that the marriage was celebrated in great splendour. It was Jonathan (see below) who gave gold and silver to the two kings.

^c Cf. previous note.

^d 1 Macc. x. 60, "he found favour with them."

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρήτο, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον ἀναγράψαι τῶν φίλων.

- 86 (3) Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐξηκοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου μετὰ πολλῶν μισθοφόρων, οὓς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Λασθένης ὁ Κρής, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν.¹
- 87 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἔσπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ Δημή-
88 τριον ἐλθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς θῆται. κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τάον² ἡγεμόνα, ὃς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ἰάμνειαν ἐλθὼν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λέγων ἄδικον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀδείας ζῆν καὶ μετὰ ἐξουσίας, οὐχ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ. τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδος φέρει,³ ὅτι μὴ ὑποτάξειεν αὐτὸν⁴
89 τῷ βασιλεῖ. “ μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καθήμενος ἐξαπάτα, νομίζων ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' εἰ θαρρεῖς τῇ σαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον

¹ Σελεύκειαν conl. Bevan.

² PV Lat.: Δάον LAMWE: ὄντα F cum Macc.

³ φέρει PFLVW.

⁴ Naber: αὐτὸν codd.

^a 1 Macc. x. 65, “ inscribed him as one of his First Friends, and made him general and meridarch ”—that is, military and civil governor of Judaea, although the Syrian garrison remained in the citadel of Jerusalem, cf. below § 121.

^b The 165th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 148 to Oct. 147 B.C., or, by Jewish reckoning, from April 147 to April 146 B.C.

^c Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 301, suggests emending “ Cilicia ” to “ Seleucia ” (in Pieria, not far from Antioch). 1 Macc. x. 67 has, “ to the land of his fathers,” presumably meaning Syria. According to Justinus xxxv. 2-1 Demetrius II had been living 268

in Jonathan shown by King Alexander that he even inscribed him as his First Friend.^a

(3) But in the hundred and sixty-fifth year ^b Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, embarked from Crete with many mercenaries, with whom Lasthenes the Cretan had furnished him, and sailed to Cilicia.^c When Alexander heard of this, he was thrown into a state of anxiety and confusion, and at once hastened from Phoenicia to Antioch in order to make his position there secure before Demetrius should arrive. He also left as governor of Coele-Syria Apollonius ^d Taos,^e who came to Jamneia with a great force and sent to the high priest Jonathan, saying it was unjust that he alone should live in security and with freedom to do as he liked, not being subject to the king; it was, he said, bringing on him the reproach of all men that he did not make himself subject to the king.^f "Do not, therefore, deceive yourself," he added, "sitting in the mountains and thinking that you are strong; but if you have confidence in your force, come down to the plain and measure your force

Demetrius
II opposes
Alexander
Balas.
1 Macc.
x. 67.

at Cnidus (in Caria), in relation to which Cilicia, on the border of Syria, might be considered part of the "land of his fathers," and so interpreted by Josephus, even if he had no Hellenistic source. Moreover Demetrius fell back on Cilicia later, as Josephus tells us in § 145; it may therefore be assumed that he had originally set out from there as from his base of operations.

^a 1 Macc. correctly states that Apollonius was appointed by Demetrius, not by Alexander; it was on the latter's behalf that Jonathan fought against Apollonius.

^e Variant "Daos"; 1 Macc. x. 69, "Apollonius, who was over (τὸν ὄντα) Coele-Syria." Some scholars take Josephus' τάον to be a transposition of the two syllables ὄντα in 1 Macc., others take ὄντα to be a corruption of τάον. The point remains unsettled.

^f These references to the king are added by Josephus.

τῇ ἡμετέρα στρατιᾷ συγκρίθητι, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς
 90 νίκης ἐπιδείξει τὸν ἀνδρειότατον. ἴσθι μέντοι γε
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐμοὶ συστρα-
 τεύεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους οἱ αἰεὶ
 νικῶντές εἰσιν οὗτοι. ποιήσει¹ δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 ἀγῶνα ἐν τοιαύτῃ γῆ, ἐν ἣ ἰσθίους οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ'
 ὄπλοις ἀμύνασθαι² οὐδὲ τόπος εἰς ὃν ἠττώμενος
 φεύξῃ."

91 (4) Παροξυνθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἰωνάθης
 μυρίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ὤρμησεν ἐξ
 Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ καὶ Σίμωνος τᾶδελεφου, καὶ
 γενόμενος ἐν Ἰόππῃ στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως
 ἔξω, τῶν Ἰοππηνῶν ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς
 92 πύλας· φρουρὰν γὰρ ἔνδον εἶχον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου
 κατασταθεῖσαν. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνάθου πρὸς πολιορκίαν
 αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένου, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν
 αὐτῶν ἐξέλη κατὰ κράτος, ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς
 πύλας. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἰόππην
 κατειλημμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, τρισχιλίους ἰπ-
 πεῖς παραλαβὼν καὶ πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους³ εἰς
 Ἄζωτον ἦλθε, κακείθεν ἄρας ἡρέμα καὶ βάδην
 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν· ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην
 ὡς ἀναχωρῶν⁴ ἔλκει τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὸ πεδίον,
 τῇ ἵππῳ καταφρονῶν⁵ καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας
 93 ἔχων ἐν αὐτῇ. προελθὼν⁶ δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐδίωκεν
 εἰς Ἄζωτον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν τῷ
 πεδίῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον,⁷ ὑποστρέψας

¹ Naber: ποιήση codd.

² ἀγωνίσασθαι AMWE.

³ τετρακισχιλίους E.

⁴ ὡς ἀναχωρῶν Naber: ἀναχωρῶν PFV: ὡς ὑπαναχωρῶν
 LAMWE: tamquam recedens Lat.

⁵ μέγα φρονῶν AM.

⁶ προσελθὼν LAMW.

⁷ πόλεμον LAMW.

against my army, and the final victory will show which is the braver of the two. You should know, however, that the best men of each city are in my army, and these are the very men who have always been victorious over your ancestors. And you shall have a contest with us on ground where one cannot fight with stones, but with arms, and where there is no place to which you can flee when defeated.”

(4) Greatly angered by these words, Jonathan collected ten thousand picked soldiers and set out from Jerusalem with his brother Simon, and coming to Joppa, encamped outside the city, for the inhabitants closed their gates against him, having had a garrison stationed within the city by Apollonius. But as Jonathan was preparing to besiege them,^a they were afraid that he might take their city by storm, and so they opened the gates to him. And when Apollonius heard that Joppa had been occupied by Jonathan, he took three thousand horsemen and eight thousand foot-soldiers^b and came to Azotus,^c and departing from there, made an easy and slow march until he came to Joppa; here he retired and drew Jonathan into the plain, for he had sublime confidence^d in his horsemen, and placed his hopes of victory in them. Thereupon Jonathan advanced and pursued Apollonius to Azotus, and the latter, when once the enemy was in the plain, turned back and

Jonathan
defeats
Apollonius
the general
of Alex-
ander Balas.
1 Macc.
x. 74.

^a 1 Macc. x. 76 states that Jonathan had actually begun the siege when the city opened its gates.

^b The latter number is not given in 1 Macc. at this point, but is based on vs. 85 (see below, § 100), which gives 8000 as the number of the slain in Apollonius' force in the battle of Azotus.

^c Bibl. Ashdod.

^d On this meaning of *καταφρονεῖν* cf. *Ant.* vii. 61 note *b*.

- 94 εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλωνίου χιλίους ἰππεῖς καθίσαντος εἰς ἐνέδραν ἔν τιμι χειμάρρῳ, ὡς ἂν κατόπιν ἐπιφανεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἰωνάθης οὐ κατεπλάγη· τάξας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πλινθίῳ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι παρεσκευάσατο,¹ καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθεν² ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτὸν³ ἀντιτάξας.
- 95 τῆς δὲ μάχης ἕως ἐσπέρας προβαινούσης, δοὺς Σίμωνι τὰδελεφῶ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε συμβαλεῖν τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ προσέταξε φραξαμένους τοῖς ὄπλοις ὑποδέχεσθαι⁴ τὰ βέλη τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἰππέων.
- 96 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίησαν τὸ κελευσθέν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἰππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες τὰ βέλη μέχρι καὶ ἐξεκενώθησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον· οὐ γὰρ δικνεῖτο τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βαλλόμενα, συμπεφραγμέναις⁵ δὲ ταῖς ἀσπίσι⁶ καὶ συνηνωμέναις ὑποπυκνότητος ἐπαφιέμενα ῥαδίως ἐκρατεῖτο καὶ
- 97 ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμοι, νοήσας Σίμων κεκμηκότας αὐτοὺς συμβάλλει τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ προθυμῖα χρησαμένων πολλῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τρέπει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
- 98 εἰς φυγὴν. θεασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ ἰππεῖς οὐδ' αὐτοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάρετοι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ μέχρι δειλῆς μάχεσθαι, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλυίας, ἀκόσ-

¹ παρεκελεύσατο FLAMVW: hortatus est Lat.

² τοῖς ὀπισθεν AMWE: κατόπισθεν rell.

³ ἀντίον PFV: αὐτὸν L: ἐν αὐτὸν W: ἐαυτὸν E: ἐναντίον Naber.

⁴ Herwerden: ἀποδέχεσθαι aut ἀποδέξασθαι codd. E.

⁵ συμπεφραγμένοις P.

⁶ καὶ om P.

engaged him in battle. Now Apollonius had placed a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley^a to surprise the enemy in the rear, but Jonathan became aware of this and was not dismayed; he drew up his army in a square^b and prepared^c to fight the enemy on either line by opposing them whether they attacked his front or his rear. And as the battle continued until the evening, he gave his brother Simon part of his force and commanded them to engage the main body of the foe, while he ordered his own men to make a fence of their shields, and so receive the javelins thrown by the horsemen. Accordingly, they did as they were commanded, while the enemy's horsemen hurled javelins at them until they had no more left, without injuring them at all, for the missiles did not reach their bodies, but glanced off the shields that were joined in a fence and compactly united, and so they were easily turned aside and fell back harmless.^d And as the enemy were fatigued from throwing javelins at them from early morning until late evening, Simon, who perceived that they were weary, engaged their main body, and through the great ardour which his soldiers showed put the foe to flight. And when their horsemen saw the foot-soldiers fleeing, they no longer stayed, but being fatigued from fighting until evening, and having lost hope of aid from the foot-soldiers,

^a This valley is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^b This is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

^c Variant "exhorted (his men)."

^d The preceding is an amplification of the brief statement in 1 Macc. x. 80, "and they surrounded the camp (of Jonathan) and shot darts at his people."

JOSEPHUS

μως καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔφευγον, ὡς διασχισθέν-
 τας αὐτοὺς διὰ παντὸς σκορπισθῆναι τοῦ πεδίου.
 99 διώκων δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰωνάθης μέχρι τῆς Ἀζώτου καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀπογνόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἠνάγκ-
 ασεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαγῶνος ναὸν καταφυγεῖν, ὃς
 ἦν ἐν Ἀζώτῳ. λαβὼν δ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς Ἰωνάθης
 τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν
 100 κώμας. ἀπέσχετο δ' οὐδὲ τοῦ Δαγῶνος ἱεροῦ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ συμ-
 φυγόντας διέφθειρεν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλήθος τῶν ἐν τῇ
 μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ καταφλεγέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
 101 τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι. κρατήσας οὖν
 τοσαύτης δυνάμεως, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀζώτου εἰς
 Ἀσκάλωνα παραγίνεται, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύ-
 σαντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ προῆλθον¹ εἰς ἀπάν-
 τησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται, ξένια προσφέροντες
 αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς
 προαιρέσεως ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,
 πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος λείαν ἣν ἔλαβεν νικήσας τοὺς
 102 πολεμίους. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀκούσας ἠττημένον
 τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσεποιεῖτο
 χαίρειν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην Ἰωνάθης
 συνέβαλε φίλῳ ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ, καὶ πέμπει
 πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ γέρα καὶ τιμὰς

¹ Hudson: προσῆλθον codd. E: exierunt Lat.

^a The old West-Semitic grain-god, adopted by the Philistines, cf. *Ant.* vi. 1 ff. Hill, *Cat. Greek Coins Pal.* p. lxiv, doubts the attribution to Azotus of the 4th century stater representing a bearded fish-like sea-god, who might be meant for Dagon because popular belief associated him with fish (Heb. *dag* = "fish").

they too fled in disorder and confusion, with the result that their lines were broken and they were scattered all over the plain. And Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, slaying many of them, and forced those who despaired of being saved to take refuge in the temple of Dagon^a which was in Azotus. But Jonathan took the city by a sudden attack, and burnt it and the surrounding villages as well. Nor did he spare the temple of Dagon, but burnt this too and slew those who had taken refuge in it. And the total number of the enemy who fell in battle and were burnt to death in the temple was eight thousand. Then, having conquered so great a force, he marched off from Azotus and came to Ascalon; and as he was encamped outside the city, the inhabitants of Ascalon came out to meet him, bringing him presents to show he was welcome, and honouring him. He therefore expressed approval of their friendly intention,^b and returned from there to Jerusalem, taking along much booty which he had seized in the victory over his enemies. Now when Alexander heard that his general Apollonius had been defeated, he pretended to be pleased, as if it had been against his will that Apollonius^c fought with Jonathan who was his friend and ally, and he wrote to Jonathan, testifying to his worth by giving him

^b Jonathan's approval is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^c As was remarked above, § 88 note *d*, Apollonius was fighting for Demetrius II, not for Alexander Balas. The following section is therefore a distortion of 1 Macc. x. 88-89, which tells how Alexander honoured Jonathan for his victory over Apollonius. Josephus' phrase *προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν* "pretended to be pleased" is in direct contradiction to the phrase in 1 Macc., *προσέθετο ἔτι δοξάζειν τὸν Ἰωνάθην* "he continued still further to honour Jonathan."

JOSEPHUS

διδούς πόρπην χρυσέαν,¹ ὡς² ἔστιν ἔθος δίδοσθαι τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων συγγενέσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀκκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς εἰς κληρουχίαν ἐπιτρέπει.

103 (5) Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ναυτικὴν ἄγων δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν εἰς Συρίαν ἦκε, συμμαχῶ-
104 σων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· γαμβρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πᾶσαι προθύμως αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος ἐκδεχόμεναι παρέπεμπον ἕως Ἀζώτου πόλεως, ἔνθα πάντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεπρησμένου ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν Δαγῶνος, κατηγοροῦντες Ἰωνάθου τοῦτο ἀφανίσαντος καὶ τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντος.
105 καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἠσύχασεν· Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίῳ ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης, ἔπειτα προπέμφσας αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

106 (6) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι, παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν μικροῦ διεφθάρη Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπι-

¹ πόρπην χρυσέαν secl. Niese.

² ὡς Niese.

^a For similar gifts given to Jonathan by Antiochus VI see § 146.

^b "Kinsmen" is, of course, an honorary title, cf. *Ant.* xii. 295 note a.

^c *Bibl. Ekron* (cf. *Ant.* v. 87), mod. 'Aqir, the northernmost of the Philistine cities, a little E. of Jamneia.

^d In contrast to Josephus and Diodorus xxxii. 9, 1 Macc. xi. 1 says that Ptolemy came to Syria with treachery toward Alexander. Whatever his original intentions may have

rewards and honours, including a gold brooch,^a such as are customarily given to kinsmen of kings,^b and he turned over to him Akkaron^c and its district as land for settlement.

(5) It was also at about this time that King Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, came to Syria with a force of ships and foot-soldiers to fight as an ally of Alexander, who was his son-in-law.^d And all the cities, at Alexander's command, gladly welcomed him, and escorted him as far as the city of Azotus, where all the inhabitants clamorously demanded satisfaction from him for the burning of their temple of Dagon, and accused Jonathan of destroying it and wasting their territory with fire and killing many of their men. And while Ptolemy heard these complaints in silence, Jonathan went to meet him at Joppa, and received from him splendid gifts and all kinds of honours; he then escorted him as far as the river called Eleutherus,^e and again returned to Jerusalem.

Ptolemy Philometor comes to the aid of Alexander Balas. 1 Macc. xi. 1.

(6) ^f But when he came to Ptolemais,^g Ptolemy, contrary to all expectation, came near being slain when

been, his friendly behaviour toward Jonathan, the ally of Alexander, seems to show that he did not at first manifest hostility toward Alexander, but did so only when he realized the weakness of Alexander's position or, as Diodorus says, *καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς παντελεῖ ἄδυναμίαν.*

Ptolemy Philometor discovers Alexander Balas' plot against him

^e The mod. *Nahr el-Kebîr*, N. of Orthosia, on the border between Phoenicia and Seleucid Syria. Reinach thinks it doubtful that Jonathan accompanied Ptolemy further than Ptolemais.

^f The following section, to § 109, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus, to judge from the use of *προσκεκρουκῶς* in § 108; *cf.* also below, p. 279 note *c.*

^g Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 219, suggests that Ptolemais was the seat of the court of Alexander.

JOSEPHUS

- 107 βουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' Ἀμμωνίου, ὃς
 ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ φίλος ὢν. φανερᾶς ἔ τῆς ἐπι-
 βουλής γενομένης Πτολεμαῖος γράφει τῷ Ἀλεξ-
 ἀνδρῷ πρὸς κόλασιν ἑξαιτῶν τὸν Ἀμμώνιον,
 ἐπιβουλευθῆναι λέγων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκην διὰ
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιῶν. οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος¹ δέ
 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, συνεῖς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν
 108 ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διετέθη. τοῖς
 δ' Ἀντιοχεῦσι καὶ πρότερον ἦν προσκεκρουκῶς
 Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ πεπόνθεισαν κακά. τιμωρίαν μέντοι τῶν
 τετολμημένων Ἀμμώνιος ὑπέσχε, κατασφαγεῖς
 αἰσχροῦς ὡς γυνή, κρύπτειν ἑαυτὸν σπουδάσας
 στολῇ γυναικείᾳ, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.
 109 (7) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ τε
 συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς τε συμ-
 μαχίας τῆς κατὰ Δημητρίου, διαλύεται τὴν πρὸς
 110 αὐτὸν συγγένειαν· ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα
 πέμπει πρὸς Δημήτριον εὐθύς περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ
 φιλίας συντιθέμενος, τὴν τε θυγατέρα δώσειν αὐτῷ
 ὑπισχνούμενος γυναῖκα,² καὶ καταστήσειν αὐτὸν εἰς
 τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἤσθεις τοῖς

¹ ἐκδιδόντος PFV: concedente Lat.

² εἰς γυναῖκα PFV.

^a This incident appears to be referred to in 1 Macc. xi. 10, in which Ptolemy says, "I regret having given him (Alexander) my daughter, for he has sought to kill me." Ammonius is not mentioned in Diodorus xxxii. 9 c.

^b There is no such passage in Josephus; he has taken over the formula from his source. The story of Ammonius being disguised as a woman has a curious parallel in Diodorus's account, xxxii. 10, of Herais, the daughter of Diophantus, who lived in Arabia, whither Alexander fled

a plot was formed against him by Alexander through Ammonius, who happened to be his friend. And when the plot was discovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander and demanded that Ammonius be given up to him for punishment, saying that a plot had been formed against him by Ammonius, for which he expected him to pay the penalty.^a But when Alexander refused to give him up, he understood that it was Alexander who had plotted against him, and so he felt very bitter toward him. Now Alexander had earlier offended the Antiochians because of Ammonius, for they had suffered many evils at his hands. Nevertheless Ammonius met with punishment for his reckless crimes, being cut down shamefully as a woman, for he had made an effort to conceal himself in a woman's dress, as we have related elsewhere.^b

(7) ^c Ptolemy, however, who blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for making an alliance with him against Demetrius, dissolved the connexion with him; and having taken his daughter from him, he promptly sent to Demetrius, proposing a friendly alliance, and promising to give him his daughter to wife, and to restore to him his father's throne. Thereupon De-

Ptolemy
Philometor
deserts
Alexander
Balas for
Demetrius
II. Cf.
1 Macc.
xi. 10.

(see below § 117). Herais, having suffered a mysterious change of sex, adopted male attire, and as a mounted soldier, accompanied Alexander on his flight.

^c The following section, to § 121, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source, though there are some verbal parallels to 1 Macc. xi. 10-20. Here again Nicolas of Damascus appears to be the immediate source, partly because of such words and phrases as ἀγώνισμα in § 111 and ἡδίστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα in § 118 (cf. *Ant.* v. 125, going back to Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1 31).

JOSEPHUS

111 πεπρεσβευμένοις δέχεται τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον. ἔν δὲ ἔτι Πτολεμαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγώνισμα ὑπελείπετο, πείσαι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι Δημήτριον, ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος εἰς αὐτοὺς παρηγόρησεν.

112 κατεπράξατο δὲ¹ καὶ τοῦτο· μισοῦντες γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν, ῥαδίως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξέβαλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας

113 ἦκεν² εἰς Κιλικίαν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀναδείκνυται, καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περιτίθεται διαδήματα, ἔν μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἕτερον δὲ

114 τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. χρηστὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ δίκαιος καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν³ οὐκ ἐφιέμενος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα λογίσασθαι⁴ συνετός, φείσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφθονος ἔκρινε, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πείθει

115 δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτοῦς, λέγων οὐδενὸς μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν εὐεργετηθέντα, διδάσκαλός τε ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμῶν⁵ ἔσεσθαι διωμολογήσατο καὶ φαύλοις ἐγχειροῦντι⁶ πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ὑπέσχετο. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφασκεν ἀρκεῖν τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον.

116 (8) Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ

¹ δὴ LAW: om. E.

² ἦλθεν P.

³ ἀλλοτριῶν LAMWE Lat.

⁴ συλλογίσασθαι AMW.

⁵ διδάσκαλός . . . ἡγεμῶν] διδάσκαλόν τε ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ (αὐτὸν V: post ἔσεσθαι tr. P) καὶ ἡγεμόνα PFLV.

metrius, being pleased with the offer made through his envoys, accepted the alliance and the marriage. But one difficult task still remained for Ptolemy, which was to persuade the Antiochians to accept Demetrius, toward whom they felt hostility because of the lawless acts committed against them by his father Demetrius. But he accomplished this also, for the Antiochians hated Alexander on account of Ammonius, as we have related,^a and were ready to drive him out of Antioch. And so, being expelled from Antioch, he came to Cilicia. And Ptolemy, on coming to the Antiochians, was proclaimed king by them and their armies, and was compelled to put on two diadems, one being that of Asia, and the other that of Egypt. However, being a good and upright person by nature, and not being ambitious of dazzling fortune,^b and, in addition, being skilled in reading the future, he determined to refrain from appearing to give the Romans any reason for disliking him; and bringing together the Antiochians in assembly, he sought to persuade them to accept Demetrius, saying that if Demetrius were well received by them, he would not bear them any grudge on account of his father, and he agreed to be a counsellor of good and a guide to Demetrius, and promised that if Demetrius attempted any unworthy acts, he would not permit him to carry them out. For himself, he asserted, the throne of Egypt was enough. And with these words he persuaded the Antiochians to accept Demetrius.

(8) Meanwhile Alexander, who had set out from

^a In § 108.

^b Variant "of the possessions of others."

^c ἐγχειροῦντα PFLVE Lat. (vid.).

Death of
Ptolemy
Philometor
and
Alexander
Balas.

JOSEPHUS

καὶ μεγάλη παρασκευῇ ὀρμήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων γῆν ἐμπρήσαντος καὶ διαρπάσαντος, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξεστράτευσε μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Δημητρίου (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν θυγατέρα), καὶ νικήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο τὸν Ἀλέξ-

117 ανδρον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀραβίαν φεύγει. συνέβη δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πτολεμαίου φωνῆς ἀκούσαντα ἐλέφαντος ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσεισάμενον καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμηῆσαι καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν περὶ θανάτου καταστήσαι· τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυλάκων αὐτὸν ἐξαρπασάντων, χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας μήτε συνέιναι τι μήτε

118 φθέγγασθαι δυνηθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάστης ἀποτεμὼν Ζάβειλος¹ ἀπέστειλε Πτολεμαίῳ, ὃς τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνενεγκὼν² ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ φρονήσας ἠδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀκούει καὶ

119 θεᾶται. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεθνηκότι χαρᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

Cilicia for Syria with a large army^a and a great supply of arms, burned and plundered the territory of the Antiochians, whereupon Ptolemy marched against him with his son-in-law Demetrius—for he had already given him his daughter in marriage—and they defeated Alexander and put him to flight.^b And so he fled to Arabia. Now it happened that in the battle Ptolemy's horse was alarmed on hearing the trumpeting of an elephant, and unseating Ptolemy, threw him to the ground; and when the enemy saw this, they rushed upon him and inflicted many wounds on him about the head, so as to bring him to the point of death; and when his bodyguards snatched him from their hands, he was in so serious a condition that for four days he was unable either to understand anything or to utter a word. Meanwhile the Arab chieftain Zabeilus^c cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovered from his wounds on the fifth day and coming to his senses, at the same time heard the news of Alexander's death and saw his head—most pleasant things to hear and to see. But soon afterwards having his fill of joy at Alexander's death, he himself passed away. Now Alexander,

^a In 145 B.C.; cf. below, § 119 note *b* and Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 305 n. 1.

^b At the river Oenoparas in the plain of Antioch; cf. Strabo xvi. 751.

^c He is called Zabdiel in 1 Macc. xi. 17. According to Diodorus, xxxii. 9, Alexander was murdered by two of his officers, named Heliades and Casius. Moreover Diodorus calls the Arab chief Diocles.

¹ Ζάβιλος F A corr. M: Ζάβηλος LA¹VW: Ζάβελος E: Zabibilus Lat.

² ἀναγερευκῶς PFLV: elevatus Lat.

JOSEPHUS

Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔτη πέντε, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.¹

- 120 (9) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Δημήτριος ὁ Νικάτωρ² ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὑπὸ πονηρίας ἤρξατο διαφθείρειν τὸν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατιωτικόν, τῆς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ ὅτι πενθερὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγενής. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται φεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πείραν³ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων
- 121 Δημήτριος ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται. Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν, προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινὰς καὶ πεφευγόντων τὴν πάτριον
- 122 συνήθειαν. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουσιν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν, πεπιστευκότες τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου, νυκτὸς δὲ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἤκον πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας
- 123 ἐμήνυσαν.⁴ ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις παροξυνθεὶς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἤκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι γράφει

¹ δεδήλωται LAMW fort. recte.

² Hudson: Νικάνωρ codd. E Lat. Syncellus.

³ πονηρίαν LAMW.

⁴ P: ἐμήνουσιν rell.

^a Grimm, on 1 Macc. x. 1, and Schürer, i. 227 n. 11, point out that Strabo, xvi. 251, calls him Balas Alexander; cf. Justinus xxxv. 1. 6. Evidently Balas was his given name; it is probably from Aram. *Ba'al*, a hypocoristic theophorous name.

^b Officially from 150 to 145 B.C., as his coinage indicates.

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surnamed Balas,^a was king of Asia for five years,^b as we have related elsewhere.^c

(9) But after assuming the royal power, Demetrius, surnamed Nicator,^d wickedly began to destroy the troops of Ptolemy, quite forgetting the alliance with him and that Ptolemy was his father-in-law and related to him through his marriage with Cleopatra. Accordingly the soldiers fled from his attack^e to Alexandria, but Demetrius secured possession of the elephants. Meanwhile^f the high priest Jonathan gathered together an army from all Judaea, and assaulted and besieged the citadel in Jerusalem which held a Macedonian garrison and some of the godless Jews who had abandoned their native customs. These men at first made light of Jonathan's devices for capturing the citadel, for they had confidence in the strength of the place, but some of the worthless fellows in it went out by night and came to Demetrius to inform him of the siege of the citadel. Being, therefore, greatly angered by this report, he took his force and came against Jonathan from Antioch. And when he reached Ptolemais, he wrote

Accession
of De-
metrius II
Nicator.
Cf. 1 Macc.
xi. 19.

He appeared as a claimant to the throne in 152 B.C., *cf.* § 35 note *f.* 1 Macc. dates the accession of Demetrius II in the 167th year Sel., which extended from Oct. 146 to Oct. 145 B.C.

^c Variant "has been related elsewhere," which would have to mean in the works of other historians, since there is no such cross-reference in Josephus. If we accept the reading given in the translation, we must assume that Josephus has taken over the phrase from his Hellenistic source.

^d Conjectured: mss. Nicanor. His full name was Demetrios Theos Nikator Philadelphos, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 223.

^e Variant (corrupt) "villainy."

^f Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Macc. (xi. 20).

JOSEPHUS

124 *κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολε-
 μαΐδα. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσε, τοὺς
 δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς
 ἱερεῖς, καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ
 πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων, ἤκε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον,
 καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν
 ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμ-
 βάνει βεβαίαν¹ ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καθὼς καὶ
 125 παρὰ² τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτητο. κατ-
 ηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ Δημήτριος οὐκ
 ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαντος³ αὐτὸν ὅπως
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρ-
 χιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης⁴ καὶ Γαλιλαίας τρια-
 κόσια τελεῖ τάλαντα, δίδωσι καὶ⁵ περὶ πάντων ἐπι-
 126 στολάς, αἱ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. “ βασιλεὺς
 Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
 ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλ-
 127 καμεν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε. βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος
 Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει
 ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι
 τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς*

¹ βεβαίως AMWE.

² ἐπὶ LAMW.

³ παρακαλοῦντος LAMWE.

⁴ Περαιίας Naber, cf. § 50.

⁵ καὶ om. AM Lat. (vid.).

and commanded Jonathan to hasten to him there. Thereupon Jonathan, although he did not stop the siege, took with him the elders of the people and the priests, and came to Demetrius, bringing gold and silver and garments and a multitude of presents; and when he presented him with these, he softened the anger of the king; and being honoured by him, he received confirmation of his tenure of the high-priesthood, just as he had obtained it from the kings before him. Nor did Demetrius give credence to the renegades who brought accusations against Jonathan, but when Jonathan requested him to let him pay three hundred talents for all Judaea and the three toparchies of Samaria and Joppa and Galilee,^a he did so, and gave him a letter concerning all these matters, of which the contents were as follows.

“ King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the Jewish nation, greeting. We have sent you a copy of the letter which I have written to our Kinsman Lasthenes,^b in order that you may know what is in it. ‘ King Demetrius to his father ^c Lasthenes, greeting. Inasmuch as the Jewish nation is friendly to us and justly observes its obligations toward us, I have decided to present to it, in return for its good-

The letter of
Demetrius
1110
Jonathan.
1 Macc.
xi. 30.

^a 1 Macc. xi. 28 reads, “ And Jonathan requested the king to make Judaea free of tribute and the three toparchies and Samaritis, and promised him three hundred talents.” We should read, as Josephus did, “ the three toparchies of Samaritis (Samaria),” namely, Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned in § 127 (1 Macc. xi. 34); *cf.* § 50 note *c*. Joppa (in § 50 Peraea) and Galilee are added by Josephus.

^b Lasthenes the Cretan (*cf.* above, § 86) was probably governor of Coele-Syria.

^c For an earlier instance of this honorary title see *Ant.* xii. 148.

JOSEPHUS

νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα¹ καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαίν,² οἱ
 τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος,
 128 καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις· ἔτι³ τε ὅσα παρὰ
 τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ
 ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς
 καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν,
 καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἀλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους
 ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφήμι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν παρα-
 βιβασθήσεται⁴ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν
 ἅπαντα⁵ χρόνον. φρόντισον οὖν ἵνα τούτων ἀντί-
 γραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ
 129 τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῆ.” τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα
 ταῦτα ἦν. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οὔσαν
 καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρ-
 χοντα, διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν
 ἐμείωσε, καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον ἐχορήγει τοῖς ξενο-
 λογηθεῖσιν, οἱ συνανέβησαν ἐκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ
 130 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ
 μῖσος ἐκ τούτου γίνεται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς

¹ ἀφήμι ρεμὰ (ῥεμμὰ M: ρειμὰ W) LAMW: Ἀφερεμὰ V.

² Ῥαμαθαίμ F: Ῥαμαθά LAMW: Ῥαμαθέμ V: Ramathe
 Lat. ³ νῦν AMW Lat.

⁴ extorqueatur Lat.: παραβιασθήσεται ed. pr.

⁵ ἐπιόντα FVW: ἔπειτα LAM: in posterum Lat.

^a Previously granted to the Jews by Demetrius I, *cf.* above, § 50.

^b Probably the mod. *et-Taiybeh*, c. 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, and the same site as the Ephraim of the New Testament, John xi. 54; *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 135 and Dalman, p. 217, also Klein, pp. 137-138. The older name of this site was *Afra*, according to Dalman.

^c The later Diospolis, mod. *Ludd*, c. 10 miles S.E. of

will, the three districts,^a Aphairema,^b Lydda^c and Ramathain,^d which have been taken from Samaria and annexed to Judaea, together with what appertains to them. And, in addition,^e whatever the kings before me received from those who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem, and whatever they received of the fruits of the earth and trees, and the other things due to us, as well as the salt marshes and the crowns that were brought to us—all these I remit to them,^f and none of these things shall be wrongfully taken from them either now or for all time.^g See to it, therefore, that a copy of these instructions be made and given to Jonathan and set up in a conspicuous place in the holy temple.' ” Such were the contents of the letter. And when Demetrius saw that peace obtained and that there was no danger or fear of war, he dismissed his army and reduced their pay,^h and continued to give their pay only to the mercenaries who had come up with him from Creteⁱ and from the other islands. Accordingly, he incurred the enmity and hatred of the soldiers to Jaffa and 6 miles W. of Modin, the birthplace of the Hasmonaean rulers.

^a Variants Armathaim, Ramatha. It is the mod. *Rentis*, c. 15 miles N.E. of Lydda, the native place of Joseph of Arimathaea, and perhaps the home of Samuel, *cf. Ant. v. 342*.

^e Variant “now.”

^f *Cf.* the similar exemptions promised by Demetrius I, § 48. In the last clause, “none of these things,” Josephus by a slight alteration, *παραβιβασθήσεται* for *ἀθετήσεται* of 1 Macc. xi. 36, covers up the incompleteness of vss. 34-35, where we miss some mention of the payment expected by Demetrius II.

^g Variant “or in the future.” The text adopted agrees with 1 Macc.

^h The reduction of pay is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

ⁱ Crete is not specifically mentioned in 1 Macc.

αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρείχεν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ' εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν, ἵν' εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν, εἰ δεήσειέν ποτε, προθύμους.

- 131 (v. 1) Ἀμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τὴν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον Ἀλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγός, Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος, Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθεῖς, παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἀραβα, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον· βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν
- 132 ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχεν ὑπ' ἀπιστίας, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ προσλιπαρήσαντος τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐκνικᾶται τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἃ Τρύφων παρεκάλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τὰνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπήρχεν.
- 133 (2) Ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης ἐξελθεῖν¹ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρούς,² πέμψας πρὸς Δημήτριον δῶρα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχυρώμασι
- 134 τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον αὐτῷ

¹ ἐξελεῖν LAMW cod. Bus. E corr.: ἐπέξελθεῖν V²: capere Lat.: ὑπέξελεῖν Hudson.

² ἀπάσῃ . . . φρουρούς] ἅσασι τοῖς (τοὺς P) ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρίοις PFV.

^a The preceding sentence is an amplification of 1 Macc. xi. 38, "and all the forces of his fathers became hostile to him."

^b That his given name was Diodotus and his native place Apamea (more exactly Casiana, near Apamea) are facts taken by Josephus from a Hellenistic source; cf. Diodorus xxxiii. 4 and Strabo xvi. 752.

whom he no longer gave any money, whereas the kings before him had continued to give them the same pay even in time of peace, in order to keep them loyal and make them zealous to fight for them if there should ever be need.^a

(v. 1) It was natural, therefore, that when this disaffection of the soldiers toward Demetrius was perceived by one of Alexander's generals Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon,^b who was a native of Apamea, he went to Malchus^c the Arab, who was bringing up Alexander's son Antiochus,^d and after revealing to him the army's dissatisfaction with Demetrius, persuaded him to give Antiochus over to him, saying that he would make him king and would restore to him his father's throne. Now Malchus at first opposed this because of distrust, but finally, after Tryphon had pleaded with him a long while, he was won over to the plan which Tryphon was urging him to accept.^e Such, then, was the state of this man's affairs.

Tryphon sets up Antiochus VI as a rival to Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 39.

(2) Meanwhile the high priest Jonathan, who wished the men in the citadel of Jerusalem to leave,^f as well as the Jewish renegades and godless men and the garrisons in the entire country, sent envoys with gifts to Demetrius,^g and requested him to expel those who were in the fortresses of Judaea. There-

Jonathan aids Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 41.

^c In 1 Macc. his name is Imalkue. Diodorus has Iamblichus (Ἰάμβλιχος), which is the usual Greek transcription of Arabic or Nabataean *ymlkw*. Perhaps, as Grimm suggests, he was the successor of Zabeilus (variants: Zabdiel, Diocles; cf. § 118), who killed Alexander Balas.

^d Tryphon gave him the official name Antiochos Theos Epiphanes Dionysos.

^e In mentioning Malchus' mistrust of Tryphon, Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xi. 40.

^f Variant "wished to expel the men, etc."

^g The envoys and gifts are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

παρέξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον· τούτῳ γὰρ νῦν ἀσχολεῖν.¹ ἡξίου δ' αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι, δηλῶν ἀποστηναὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωνάθης μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν.

- 135 (3) Ἀντιοχεῖς δὲ μισοῦντες τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθεισαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς, ἀπεχθανόμενοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντα, καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν λαβεῖν καθ' ὃν ἐπίθοντο αὐτῷ. νοήσαντες δὲ συμμαχίαν παροῦσαν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ὅτι πολλὴν ἀθροίσει δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες προκαταλάβοιεν αὐτόν, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ περιστάντες τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ πολιορκίας καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους διαλαβόντες ἐζήτουν
- 137 χεῖρῶσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὀρῶν τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκπεπολεμωμένον πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ὄντα, παραλαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαίους συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ βιασθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν (πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες) ἠττᾶται. βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς κρατοῦντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας τῶν βασιλείων ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῖ τι πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὄντες πορρωτάτῳ διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ποιοῦντες δ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μάχε-

¹ V: εὐσχολεῖν *rell.* E.

^a This refers to the revolt of the Antiochenes and Larissans and others, caused by Tryphon.

^b The following section, to § 144, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source.

upon Demetrius promised not only to grant this request, but also to do more for him at the end of the war which he had on his hands; for, he said, all his time was just now taken up with this.^a And he asked Jonathan to send him assistance, informing him that his force had revolted. And so Jonathan sent him three thousand picked soldiers.

(3) ^b But the Antiochians, who hated Demetrius because of the ill-treatment they had received at his hands, and also were hostile to him on account of the many crimes which his father Demetrius had committed against them, were waiting for an opportunity which they might seize to fall upon him. And so, becoming aware that assistance had come to Demetrius from Jonathan, and reflecting that unless they acted quickly to anticipate him, he would collect a great force, they hastily seized their arms, and surrounding his palace as if in a siege, blocked the exits and sought to get the king into their hands. But when he saw that the populace of Antioch was ready to make war on him and was under arms, he took his mercenaries and the Jews sent by Jonathan, and engaged the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them—for many tens of thousands^c were there—and was beaten. Now when the Jews saw the Antiochians getting the upper hand, they went up to the roofs of the palace buildings, and from there hurled missiles at the Antiochians^d; and while they themselves, being high above their opponents, were too far away to be hurt by them, they could inflict much damage on them by fighting from above;

The Jews help Demetrius II subdue Antioch. Cf. 1 Macc. xi. 45.

^c 120,000, according to 1 Macc. xi. 45.

^d The fighting from the roofs and other details are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

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- 139 σθαι, τῶν σύνεγγυς αὐτοὺς οἰκιῶν ἀπώσαντο· καὶ ταύταις μὲν εὐθὺς πῦρ ἐνήκαν, ἣ δὲ φλόξ ἐφ' ὄλην διατείνουσα τὴν πόλιν, πυκνῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ ξύλων ὠκοδομημένων, πᾶσαν
- 140 αὐτὴν ἐνέμετο. οἱ δ' Ἀντιοχεῖς μὴ δυνάμενοι βοηθῆσαι μηδὲ κρατῆσαι τοῦ πυρός, εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ δώματος ἐπὶ δῶμα διαπηδόντων καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς διωκόντων τὸν τρόπον, παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν δίωξιν.
- 141 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὄρων τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐσπουδακότας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηκέτι μαχομένους, δι' ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται στενωπῶν, καὶ συμβαλῶν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι ρῖψαι τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ
- 142 παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τῷ Δημητρίῳ. συγγνοὺς δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν τετολμημένων καταπαύει τὴν στάσιν. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ταῖς ἐκ τῶν σκύλων ὠφελείαις, καὶ ὡς αἰτιωτάτοις τῆς νίκης αὐτῷ γεγεννημένοις εὐχαριστήσας, ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς συμ-
- 143 μαχίας.¹ ὕστερον δὲ πονηρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατο, καὶ πόλεμον ἠπειλήσεν εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποδώσει, οὓς ὄφειλε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ Τρύφων αὐτὸν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀντιμετέσπασεν εἰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ²
- 144 φροντίδας. ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου (μειράκιον

¹ τὴν συμμαχίαν con. Schmidt.

² αὐτοῦ PFLV.

and so they drove them out of the adjoining houses, which they quickly set on fire; and as the houses were close together and mostly built of wood, the flames spread over the whole city and entirely consumed it. Thereupon the Antiochians, being unable to give help or to control the fire, turned to flight. But the Jews, leaping from roof to roof, pursued them in this manner, and a very strange manner of pursuit it was. Now when the king saw that the Antiochians were striving to save their children and wives, and for that reason were no longer fighting, he set upon them from other narrow streets, and on encountering them, killed many of them, so that they were forced to throw down their full armour and surrender to Demetrius. But he forgave them their acts of defiance, and so put an end to the uprising. He then presented the Jews with the spoils he had gained, and thanked them for having been chiefly responsible for his victory, after which he sent them back to Jerusalem to Jonathan with an acknowledgment of his assistance. Later on, however, he behaved basely toward him and belied his promises, threatening him with war unless he paid him all the kinds of tribute which the Jewish nation was required to pay from the time of the first kings.^a And this threat he would have carried out, if Tryphon had not kept him from doing so and diverted his preparations against Jonathan into concern for his own interests.^b For Tryphon had returned to Syria from Arabia with the

Demetrius
II's in-
gratitude
toward
the Jews.
1 Macc.
xi. 53.

^a The demand of tribute is not mentioned in 1 Macc., which says merely (xi. 53) that "he belied all that he had said, and became estranged from Jonathan, and did not reward him for the loyalty which he had shown him, and oppressed him severely."

^b Variant "concern about him (Tryphon)."

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δ' ἦν οὗτος ἔτι¹ τὴν ἡλικίαν) περιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα. καὶ προσχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ παντός, ὃ κατελελοίπει τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν μισθῶν, πόλεμον ἐκφέρει πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν λαμβάνει.

- 145 (4) Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν ἠττηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ὃ δὲ παῖς Ἀντίοχος πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρεσβευτὰς καὶ γράμματα φίλον τε καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐβεβαίον καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων παρεχώρει νομῶν οἷ
- 146 τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν. ἔτι γε μὴν σκευὴ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθήτα, χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέπων, ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πόρπη δ' αὐτὸν δωρεῖται χρυσέα, καὶ τῶν πρώτων² αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι φίλων.³ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ κλίμακος⁴ τῆς Τυρίων
- 147 ἕως Αἰγύπτου καθίστησιν. Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς

¹ ἔτι om. PFV.

² τῶν πρώτων] τὸν πρῶτον P: πρῶτον LAMW.

³ φίλον PFLAMW.

⁴ ex Macc. Hudson: κλίματος (pr. τοῦ PFV) codd.: regione Lat.

^a 1 Macc. xi. 55 says that the troops turned against Demetrius because he had "told them to go to the devil (ἀπεσκοράκισεν)."

^b The elephants (1 Macc. xi. 56 has "beasts") were probably those brought by Ptolemy Philometor (*cf.* above, § 117) which later came into the possession of Demetrius.

^c 1 Macc. does not tell where Demetrius fled; Livy, *Epit.* lii., gives Seleucia (on the coast), which is probably the correct reading, if, as stated by Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 227, Tryphon "had some footing in Cilicia."

young Antiochus—he was still a mere lad—, and placed the diadem on his head. And as the entire body of soldiers who had deserted Demetrius because they had not received their pay^a went over to him, he declared war against Demetrius, and engaging him in battle, overcame him and took possession both of the elephants^b and of the city of Antioch.

(4) Demetrius, therefore, on being beaten, retired to Cilicia,^c while the young Antiochus sent envoys with letters to Jonathan, proposing to make him his friend and ally, to confirm him as high priest, and to yield to him the four districts which had been added to the territory of the Jews^d; moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold and purple garments, with permission to use them, and presented him with a gold brooch and the right to be called one of his First Friends.^e He also appointed Jonathan's brother Simon commander of the army from the Ladder^f of Tyre to Egypt. Thereupon^g Jonathan, being pleased

Antiochus
VI honours
Jonathan.
1 Macc.
xi. 57.

^a The clause "which had been added to the territory of the Jews" is not found in 1 Macc. Modern scholars who do not assume that Josephus added it erroneously are divided in opinion concerning the location of the fourth district; some think Ptolemais is meant, some Akkaron (Ekron), given to Jonathan earlier by Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 89); Abel, *GP* ii. 135, suggests Acrabattene. Others, rejecting Josephus' interpretation, assume that Judaea itself is meant. The first three districts are, of course, those taken from Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathain (*cf.* above, § 127).

^e 1 Macc. xi. 57, "one of the Friends of the king." On the title *πρώτοι φίλοι* *cf.* Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.* p. 41.

^f "Ladder" is conjectured; the mss. have "region." The Ladder of Tyre was the coastline between Tyre and Ptolemais, including the mod. *Rās el-Abyad* and *Rās en-Nāqūra*.

^g § 147 is an addition to 1 Macc.

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παρ' Ἀντιόχου γεγενημένοις εἰς αὐτὸν ἤσθεις, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν τε καὶ Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτάς, εἶναί τε φίλος ὡμολόγει καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμήσειν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Δημήτριον, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδ' αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀποδοίη¹ πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐν οἷς ἔδειτο τυχῶν, ἀλλὰ προσαδικήσειεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ πάθοι.

- 148 (5) Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι πολλὴν ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τοῖς Δημητρίου πολεμήσαι στρατηγοῖς, εὐθύς ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ² τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ λαμπρῶς μὲν αὐτὸν³ ἔξεδέ-
- 149 ξαντο, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔδοσαν. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκείθεν πρὸς⁴ Ἀσκάλωνα πόλιν, καὶ τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν φιλοτίμως αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων ἀπαντησάντων, αὐτούς τε τούτους παρεκάλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίας πόλεων ἐκάστην ἀποστᾶσαν Δημητρίου προσθέσθαι μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμούσας πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ Δημητρίου δίκην λαμβάνειν ὧν ἀμάρτοι ποτὲ εἰς αὐτάς· εἶναι δ' αὐταῖς βουλομέναις
- 150 ταῦτα φρονεῖν πολλὰς αἰτίας. πείσας δ' ὁμολογήσαι⁵ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντιόχον συμμαχεῖν τὰς πόλεις, εἰς Γάζαν παρεγένετο, προσαξόμενος καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων εὐνοίαν Ἀντιόχῳ. πολὺ δ' εὗρε τῆς προσδοκίας τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχοντας· ἀπέκλεισαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν Δημή-

¹ Dindorf: ἀποδώη codd.

³ αὐτὸν om. PFV.

² εἰς PFLV.

⁴ εἰς FLVE.

⁵ ὁμολογήσειεν LAMW.

^a In §§ 148-153 Josephus greatly amplifies (from a now lost Hellenistic source) 1 Macc. xi. 60-62.

^b Phoenicia is not mentioned in 1 Macc., which says, xi. 60,

with the honours conferred upon him by Antiochus, sent envoys both to him and to Tryphon, professing to be his friend and ally, and agreeing to fight with him against Demetrius, for, he explained, Demetrius had shown him no gratitude for the many favours he had received from him in time of need, but had, on the contrary, done him further wrong in return for the kindnesses he had received.

(5) ^a Accordingly, when Antiochus gave him leave to gather together a large force from Syria and Phoenicia ^b and fight against Demetrius' generals, Jonathan at once set out for the cities thereof. But these, while they received him splendidly, gave him no troops.^c And so from there he went to the city of Ascalon, where the inhabitants met him with honours and gifts, whereupon he urged them and every one of the cities in Coele-Syria as well to abandon Demetrius and join Antiochus, and to fight together with him in an attempt to exact satisfaction of Demetrius for whatever wrongs he may have done them; for, he said, there were many reasons why they should be willing to take his side.^d And when he had persuaded the cities to agree to an alliance with Antiochus, he went to Gaza in order to gain for Antiochus their goodwill also. But he found the people of Gaza much more hostile than he had expected, and they shut their gates against him, and

Jonathan rouses the Syrian cities against Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xi. 60.

“ And Jonathan went out and marched beyond the river (probably through Transjordan, not through Transeuphrates = Syria, as Bévenot supposes) and in the cities, and the whole force of Syria gathered to him as allies.”

^c This last sentence contradicts 1 Macc. xi. 60, quoted in the preceding note.

^d § 149, from the words, “ whereupon he urged them ” is an addition to 1 Macc.

τριον ἐγκαταλιπόντες¹ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἀντιόχῳ
 151 προσχωρήσαι. τοῦτο παρώξυνεν εἰς πολιορκίαν
 τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν² τὴν κάκωσιν·
 μέρος γὰρ τῆς στρατιᾶς περικαθίσας τῇ Γάζῃ, τῷ
 λοιπῷ τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν διέφθειρε καὶ ἐν-
 επίμπρα. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ
 Γαζῖται³ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ Δημητρίου βοήθειαν
 αὐτοῖς γινομένην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἤδη παρόν,
 τὸ δ' ὠφελῆσον μακρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ παρα-
 γένοιτο, σῶφρον ἔκριναν εἶναι τοῦτ' ἀφέντες περι-
 152 μένειν⁴ ἐκεῖνο⁵ θεραπεύειν. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς
 τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν τε ὠμολόγουν καὶ συμμα-
 χίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πείρας τῶν δεινῶν
 οὐ συνιάσιν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔν τιμι κακῷ
 γενόμενοι τύχῳσιν, τότε γνωσιμαχήσαντες ἂ
 μηδ' ὄλως βλαβέντας ἄμεινον ἦν ποιεῖν ταῦτα
 153 ὕστερον ζημιωθέντες αἰροῦνται. ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ λαβῶν ὁμήρους, τούτους
 μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν
 χώραν ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθεν ἄχρι Δαμασκοῦ.
 154 (6) Τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν⁶ ἀκουσθέντων⁷
 αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν⁸ εἰς Κέδασαν⁹ σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ
 (μεταξὺ¹⁰ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς

¹ τὸν . . . ἐγκαταλιπόντες aut post ἔγνωσαν aut post προσ-
 χωρήσαι collocanda esse putat Holwerda.

² αὐτῶν om. PFLV.

³ Γαζεῖς AMW: Γαζαῖοι VE Lat.

⁴ Bekker: παραμένειν codd.

⁵ ἐκεῖνον AMW.

⁶ στρατιωτῶν PFLV.

⁷ ἀκουσθέντων om. PFLV.

⁸ προσελθόντων PFLV: προσελθεῖν E.

⁹ + πόλιν PFLV.

¹⁰ πλησίον PFLV.

^a The desertion of Demetrius is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

though they had deserted Demetrius,^a resolved not to go over to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them and to ravage their territory, and investing Gaza with a part of his army, he himself with the rest of it overran their land, destroying and burning it. When the people of Gaza saw in what a plight they were, and that no help was coming to them from Demetrius, but that, on the contrary, distress was already upon them, while the likelihood of assistance was still remote and it was uncertain whether it would come at all, they decided that it would be wise to give up waiting for assistance, and to remedy their distress.^b Accordingly, they sent to Jonathan and proposed a friendly alliance. For before they experience misfortune, human beings do not understand what is good for them; only when they find themselves in some difficulty and after stubbornly resisting what they might better have done when they were quite unharmed, do they finally choose to do this when once they have been afflicted.^c And so Jonathan made a friendly agreement with them and accepted their hostages, and sent these off to Jerusalem, while he himself marched through the whole country as far as Damascus.

(6) But when news came to him that Demetrius' generals were advancing^d to Kedasa^e with a great army—this city lies between the land of Tyre and

Jonathan
invades
Galilee;
Simon
captures
Bethsur.
1 Macc.
xi. 63.

^b This sentence is an addition to 1 Macc.

^c Similar moralizing additions to biblical passages may be found in the earlier books of *Ant.* As in the present instances they often contain Thucydidean echoes.

^d Variant "But when Demetrius' soldiers were advancing."

^e LXX Κάδες (*v.l.* Κήδες), Luc. Κέδες: it is the bibl. Kadesh of Naphtali, N.W. of Lake *Huleh*, *cf.* *Ant.* v. 63.

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Γαλιλαίας· ἀπάξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας
 ὑπέλαβον ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὡς σύμμαχον¹· τοὺς
 γὰρ Γαλιλαίους ὄντας αὐτοῦ² οὐ περιόψεσθαι
 πολεμουμένους), ὑπήντησεν³ αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 155 Σίμωνα καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὃς καὶ⁴ στρατὸν
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν ὡς ἐνῆν ἰκανώτατον, τὴν
 Βεθσούραν πολιορκῶν προσεκάθητο, χωρίον τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας ὀχυρώτατον· κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸ φρουρὰ
 Δημητρίου. δεδήλωται δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτο καὶ πρό-
 156 τερον. ὡς δὲ χώματα μὲν ἐγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος,
 μηχανήματα⁵ δ' ἰστάντος⁶ καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ χρω-
 μένου περὶ τὴν τῆς Βεθσούρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν
 οἱ φρουροὶ μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ
 χωρίου διαφθαρῶσιν, πέμψαντες⁷ πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα
 ἠξίου, ὄρκους λαβόντες ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 παθεῖν, καταλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον
 157 ἀπελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δούς ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστεις
 ἐκβάλλει μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δὲ
 φρουρὰν καθίστησιν⁸ ἰδίαν.
 158 (7) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῶν
 ὑδάτων τῶν Γεννησάρων λεγομένων (ἐκεῖ γὰρ
 ἐτύγγχανεν ἐστρατοπεδευκῶς) εἰς τὸ καλούμενον

¹ Γαλιλαίαν ὡς σύμμαχον] τῶν Γαλιλαίων συμμαχίαν AMW.

² τοὺς . . . αὐτοῦ] τῆς γὰρ Γαλιλαίας ὄντας αὐτοὺς PFV.

³ + οὖν AMWE.

⁴ τὸν PFV: om. A.

⁵ Hudson: pr. καὶ AMWE: μηχανήματος PFLV.

⁶ ἐνστάντος PFLV: constituisse Lat.

⁷ Pr. καὶ PFLAM.

⁸ ἐγκαθίστησιν Herwerden.

^a More exactly Kadesh was in the territory of Tyre, north of Galilee; cf. Carte VIII in Abel, *GP*, vol. ii.

^b Variant "to the assistance of the Galilaeans." Josephus here paraphrases 1 Macc. xi. 63, βουλόμενοι μεταστῆσαι αὐτὸν τῆς χρείας, which seems to mean, "wishing to draw him (Jonathan) off from his purpose," i.e. of helping Antiochus

Galilee^a; for they supposed that they could draw him off from Syria to Galilee as an ally of the latter country,^b and that he would not suffer the Galilaeans, who were of his own people, to be attacked by the enemy—,^c he went out to meet them, leaving his brother Simon in Judaea; and Simon also gathered together as considerable an army as was possible from this country, and encamped before Bethsur^d to besiege it, this being a very strong fortress in Judaea, which was held by a garrison of Demetrius. But of this we have spoken before.^e And when Simon raised earthworks and set up siege-engines and showed much vigour in besieging Bethsur,^f the garrison were afraid that the place might be taken by storm and they be destroyed; and so they sent to Simon and requested that they might leave the place and go back to Demetrius, on receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at his hands.^g He therefore gave them these pledges, and putting them out of the city, stationed his own garrison therein.

(7) Meanwhile Jonathan set out from Galilee from the waters of Gennesar,^h as they are called—for this was where he was then encamped—, and proceeded

vs. Demetrius. Moreover for *χρείας* Josephus, as Grimm remarks, seems to have read *χώρας*, as do some LXX MSS.

^e This reference to the kinship of the Galilaeans and Jews is an addition to 1 Macc. It should be noted that at this time Galilee was still chiefly gentile, and was not judaized until the time of Hyrcanus or Aristobulus; *cf.* Schürer i. 276.

^d *Cf.* *Ant.* xii. 313 note *d.*

^e In § 42.

^f These details are not found in 1 Macc.

^g 1 Macc. says nothing of these conditions of surrender.

^h See the detailed description of Gennesar (Gennesareth) in *B.J.* iii. 506-521.

Jonathan
defeats
Demetrius
II in
Galilee.
1 Macc.
xi. 67.

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Ἄσωρ πεδίον προῆλθεν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ
 159 τοὺς πολεμίους. μαθόντες δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας οἱ
 τοῦ Δημητρίου μέλλειν Ἰωνάθην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδί-
 ζειν, ἐνέδραν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς λοχήσοντας¹ ἐν τῷ
 ὄρει καθίσαντες αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπῆντων
 εἰς τὸ πεδίον· οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐτοιμοὺς πρὸς
 160 στρατιώτας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς ἠδύνατο. τῶν δὲ
 εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν
 κατασταθέντων κατὰ νότου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενο-
 μένων, δείσαντες μὴ μέσοι ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται,
 161 φεύγειν ὄρμησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν
 Ἰωνάθην κατέλιπον, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ὡς περὶ πεντή-
 κοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Μαθθίας ὁ
 Ἀψαλώμου καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Χαψαίου, τῆς ἀπάσης
 δυνάμεως ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, οἱ τολμηρῶς² καὶ μετὰ
 ἀπογνώσεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενοι τῷ τε
 θάρσει κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπ-
 162 ἔστρεψαν εἰς φυγὴν. οἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν
 Ἰωνάθου στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον τοὺς πολεμίους
 τραπέντας, ἐπισυλλεγέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὄρμησαν
 αὐτοὺς διώκειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν μέχρι Κεδασῶν,
 οὗ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίσις.³

¹ λοχήσαντας PFMV.

² οἱ τολμηρῶς] τολμηρῶς δὲ PFV.

³ τῶν πολεμίων FLV Lat.

^a Bibl. Hazor, S.W. of Lake Huleh; cf. *Ant.* v. 199 note *d*.

^b Jonathan's ignorance of the enemy's position is implied but not stated in 1 Macc. xi. 68, "And behold, the host of foreigners met him in the plain."

^c That the enemy knew the day before of Jonathan's

to the plain of Asor,^a not knowing that the enemy were there.^b But as Demetrius' men had learned the day before^c that Jonathan was coming against them, they set an ambush of men to lie in wait for him in the mountains, while they with the main army went to meet him in the plain. And when Jonathan saw them ready for battle, he too prepared his own soldiers for the contest as well as he could. Thereupon the men placed in ambush by Demetrius' generals appeared on the rear of the Jews, and they, fearing that they would be caught between two fires and be lost, made haste to flee. And so they all abandoned Jonathan, except a few, some fifty in number,^d who stood their ground, among them Matthias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapsaios,^e who were the commanders of the entire force; and these with recklessness and despair pushed back the enemy, and dismaying them by their courage and strength, made them turn and flee.^f And when those of Jonathan's soldiers who had retreated saw the enemy in rout, they rallied after their flight and hastened to pursue them, which they did as far as Kedasa,^g where the enemy had their camp.

coming is a detail not found in 1 Macc., but possibly based on Josephus' mistaken reading of the clause in 1 Macc. xi. 67, "and they (Jonathan's men) got up early in the mornir.g (ἄρθρισαν τὸ πρωί) to go to the plain of Asor."

^d 1 Macc. gives no number, and mentions only Matthias and Judas.

^e 1 Macc. Χαλφί or Χαλφεί.

^f Josephus slightly amplifies the account of the two heroes' deed; on the other hand he omits the detail of Jonathan's rending his garments and praying, with earth on his head, in distress at the rout of his men.

^g Cf. § 154 note e.

- 163 (8) Κρατήσας οὖν Ἰωνάθης τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς
καὶ δισχιλίουσ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκτείνας ὑπέστρεψεν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁρῶν δὲ¹ ὅτι πάντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ
νοῦν προνοία θεοῦ χωρεῖ, πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρεσ-
βευτὰς ἀπέστειλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν
γενομένην τῷ ἔθνει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν φιλίαν.
164 τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς² πρεσβευταῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ῥώμης ἀναστρέφουσι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀφ-
ικέσθαι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνήσαι φιλίαν καὶ
συγγένειαν. οἱ δ' ὡς ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, παρελ-
θόντες εἰς τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰπόντες, ὡς πέμψειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
165 τῇ τῆς συμμαχίας βεβαιώσει,³ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπι-
κυρωσάσης τὰ πρότερον αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων
φιλίας ἐγνωσμένα, καὶ δούσης ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς
ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης
καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς κομίζειν, ὅπως
ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κομιδῆς δι' αὐτῶν
τύχωσιν, ἀναστρέφοντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην παρ-
εγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἰω-
166 νάθου αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωσαν. τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον ἦν τόδε·
“ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ
ἡ γερουσία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων⁴ Λακεδαι-

¹ οὖν P: om. E Exc.

² αὐτοῦ AMVE Lat. Exc.

³ τὴν . . . βεβαίωσιν PFV.

⁴ Ἰουδαίων V.

^a 3000, according to 1 Macc.

^b 1 Macc. xii. 1, “ And Jonathan saw that the occasion aided him ” (ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖ). 1 Macc. is notably sparing in allusions to divine intervention.

^c In the time of Judas; cf. *Ant.* xii. 415 ff. (1 Macc. viii. 1 ff.).

(8) Having, therefore, won a brilliant victory, in which he killed two thousand ^a of his foes, Jonathan returned to Jerusalem. And when he saw that by God's providence all his affairs were going to his liking, ^b he sent envoys to the Romans, for he wished to renew the friendship which his nation had formerly had with them. ^c These same ^d envoys he instructed to visit the Spartans on their return from Rome, and to remind them of the Jews' friendship and kinship with them. ^e Accordingly, when they came to Rome, they appeared before the Senate and delivered the message of the high priest Jonathan, saying that he had sent them to confirm the alliance, whereupon the Senate ratified its former decrees concerning friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to take to all the kings of Asia and Europe and to the magistrates of the cities, ^f in order that through them they might obtain safe-conduct to their own country; and on their return they came to Sparta and delivered to them the letter which they had received from Jonathan, of which the following is a copy. "Jonathan, high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate and council of priests ^g to their brothers, the ephors

Jonathan renews the treaty with Rome. 1 Macc. xi. 74.

The Jews' letter to the Spartans. 1 Macc. xii. 6.

^a Variant "And his."

^b On Jews and Spartans see works cited in Appendix F.

^f Here Josephus expands and clarifies the obscure statement in 1 Macc. xii. 4, "And they (the Romans) gave them letters to those in every place."

^g Variant "community (κοινόν) of Jews." 1 Macc. xii. 6 reads, "Jonathan, high priest, and the senate of the nation and the priests and the rest of the people (δῆμος) of the Jews." The variant, κοινόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, would seem to correspond closely to the expression *heber ha-Yehudim* found on coins of John Hyrcanus, cf. Schürer i. 269 n. 25; for examples of the narrower meaning of κοινόν (= council) see Schalit, p. 117 n. 14.

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μονίων ἐφόροις καὶ γερουσίᾳ καὶ δῆμῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. εἰ ἐρρωμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, οὕτως ἂν ἔχοι ὡς
 167 βουλόμεθα· ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐπειδὴ τοῖς
 ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κομισθείσης Ὀνία τῷ γενομένῳ
 παρ' ἡμῖν¹ ἀρχιερεῖ παρὰ Ἀρείου² τοῦ βασιλεύ-
 σαντος ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῆς διὰ Δημοτέλου περὶ τῆς
 ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς³ συγγενείας, ἧς ὑπο-
 τέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, τὴν τε ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεθα
 προθύμως καὶ τῷ Δημοτέλει καὶ τῷ Ἀρείῳ εὐ-
 νοϊκῶς διετέθημεν, οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης
 ἀποδείξεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν πεπιστεῦ-
 168 σθαι⁴ γραμμάτων· τὸ μὲν οὖν⁵ προκατάρχειν τῆς
 ἀναγνωρίσεως οὐκ ἐδοκιμάζομεν⁶ μὴ καὶ προ-
 αρπάζειν δοκῶμεν τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν διδομένην δόξαν,
 πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων διαγεγενημένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς ἀναποληθείσης⁷ ἡμῖν οἰκειότητος, ἐν ταῖς
 ἱεραῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἡμέραις θυσίας τῷ θεῷ
 προσφέροντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τε
 169 καὶ νίκης αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦμεν. πολλῶν δ' ἡμᾶς

¹ παρ' ἡμῖν om. PF.

² Ἀρεως P: Ἀρεος FV et sim. mox infra.

³ ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς P.

⁴ πεπεῖσθαι AMW: credidimus Lat.

⁵ οὖν om. PF.

⁶ οὐδὲ δοκιμάζομεν PFV.

⁷ ἀναπληρωθείσης LAMW.

^a 1 Macc. has merely, "to the Spartiates, their brothers." Some commentators take "brothers" here to connote ethnic relations.

^b This formula is not found in 1 Macc.

^c Demoteles is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; cf. *Ant.* xii. 227 note *i*.

^d Gr. Areios, variant Areus (the more correct form); 1 Macc. Dareios, cf. *Ant.* xii. 226 note *e*.

^e The letter of the Spartans, 1 Macc. xii. 19-23, is given

and senate and people of Lacedaemon,^a greeting. If you are well, and your public and private affairs are proceeding satisfactorily, it would be as we wish; we are also well.^b When in former times there was brought by Demoteles^c to Onias, who was our high priest, from Areius,^d your king, a letter, of which a copy is appended,^e concerning the kinship which exists between us and you, we gladly received the letter and showed ourselves kindly disposed toward both Demoteles and Areius, although we needed no such evidence since the kinship had been made certain through our sacred writings; nor did^f we see fit to be beforehand in recognizing the relation, lest we might seem to be greedy in seeking the honour conferred by you^g; and though a long time has passed since our kinship was first discussed,^h yet, when we offer sacrifices to God on the holy days and memorial days,ⁱ we continue to entreat Him for your well-being and victory. And though we have been involved

earlier, in *Ant.* xii. 225 ff., by Josephus, who assumes that the Onias meant is Onias III. ^f Variant "do."

^g The preceding (from "although we needed no such evidence") is an amplification, based on a misunderstanding or different reading of 1 Macc. xii. 9, "We, therefore, although we have no need of these things (*i.e.* the alliances with Sparta), since we find comfort in the holy writings which we possess."

^h Variant "was first completed." 1 Macc. xii. 10 has, "Much time has elapsed since you sent to us."

ⁱ 1 Macc. xii. 11 reads, "both on our festivals and on the other appropriate days we remember, etc." Possibly the "memorial" (or "eponymous") days refer to the Jewish New Year on the 1st of Tishri, called a "memorial of blowing of trumpets" in Lev. xxiii. 24. There may also be a connexion with the usage of "eponymous" in *archon eponymos*, whose accession marked the new year in several Greek states.

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πολέμων περιστάντων διὰ τὴν τῶν γειτνιώντων πλεονεξίαν, οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἄλλω¹ τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν² ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν. καταγωνισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, πέμποντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Νουμήνιον τὸν Ἀντιόχου³ καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν Ἰάσονος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὄντων παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τιμῇ, ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολάς, ὅπως ἀνανεώσωνται τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς⁴ ἡμῖν συγγέ-
 170 νειαν.⁵ καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφοντες ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν δέησθε ἐπιστέλλοντες ὡς εἰς ἅπαντα προθυμησομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας προαιρέσεως." οἱ δὲ⁶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ ψήφισμα ποιησάμενοι περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν.

171 (9) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἵρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, αἱ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ
 172 Ἑσσηνῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσι, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς⁷ ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν γένος πάντων τὴν

¹ ἄλλοις LAMW Lat.

² ὑμῖν PFLV.

³ Ἀντιμάχου FLAMVW.

⁴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς] ὑπάρχουσαν AMW.

⁵ φιλίαν AMW.

⁶ μὲν οὖν PFVL.

⁷ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς LAMWE.

^a 1 Macc. does not mention the covetousness of the neighbours of the Jews. ^b Variant Antimachus.

^c This clause is added by Josephus.

^d Variant "may renew the friendship that exists between us."

in many wars through the covetousness^a of our neighbours, we resolved not to trouble you or any other people connected with us. But having overcome our enemies, we have sent to the Romans Numenius, the son of Antiochus,^b and Antipater, the son of Jason, who belong to our senate and are held in honour by us,^c and have given them a letter to you also, in order that they may renew our ties with you.^d You will do well, therefore, also to write us and instruct us concerning anything you may need, being assured that we shall be eager to carry out your wishes in all respects.”^e And the Lacedaemonians received the envoys in a friendly manner, and after making a decree concerning a friendly alliance with the Jews, sent them on their way.

(9) ^f Now at this time there were three schools of thought among the Jews, which held different opinions concerning human affairs; the first being that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. As for the Pharisees, they say that certain events are the work of Fate,^g but not all; as to other events, it depends upon ourselves whether they shall take place or not. The sect of Essenes, however, declares that

The three Jewish schools of thought.

^a The last sentence amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 18.

^f The following passage on the Jewish sects will be discussed, together with related passages, in an appendix in the last volume of this translation. Here it may suffice to note that Josephus (or his source—probably Nicolas of Damascus) presents the varying religions and social philosophies of the three groups in such a way that they will be more intelligible to Greek readers.

^g Fate is here, of course, the Greek equivalent of what we should call Providence. Cf. further G. F. Moore, “Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to Josephus,” *HTR* xxii. (1929), 371-389.

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173 εἰμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ μηδὲν ὁ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντᾶ. Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδέ¹ κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κείσθαι,² ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς³ γινομένους καὶ τὰ χεῖρω παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβεστέραν πεποίημαι δῆλωσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς πραγματείας.

174 (10) Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἤτταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πλείω τῆς προτέρας δύναμιν συναγαγόντες ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ὁ δὲ ἐπιόντας πυθόμενος ὀξέως ἀπήνητησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀμαθίτιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω σχολὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ὥστ' εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν 175 ἐμβαλεῖν. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄπωθεν σταδίοις πενήκοντα, πέμπει τοὺς κατοφομένους αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πῶς εἶεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. τῶν δὲ κατασκοπῶν πάντ' αὐτῷ φρασάντων καὶ τινὰς συλλαβόντων νυκτός, οἱ αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμήνυον, 176 προγνοὺς ἠσφαλίσατο, προφύλακάς τε ποιησάμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἔχων ἅπασαν, καὶ παρηγγελ-

¹ Dindorf: οὔτε codd. E.

² P: τίθενται rell. E: supponunt Lat.

³ αὐτοῦς om. P.

^a B.J. ii. 119-166.

^b Gr. Amathitis, elsewhere in Josephus (e.g. *Ant.* i. 138, vii. 107) called Amathūs or Amathē; it is the mod. *Hamā*. The city of Hamath, in the Hellenistic period called Epi-phanias, lay on the Orontes river, c. 50 miles N.E. of the

Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree. But the Sadducees do away with Fate, holding that there is no such thing and that human actions are not achieved in accordance with her decree, but that all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness. Of these matters, however, I have given a more detailed account in the second book of the *Jewish History*.^a

(10) Now Demetrius' generals, wishing to make good the defeat they had sustained, gathered together a force larger than their former one, and came against Jonathan. But he had learned of their advance, and went quickly to meet them in the region of Hamath,^b for he determined not to allow them time enough to invade Judaea. And he encamped at a distance of fifty stades^c from the enemy, and sent men to spy on their camp and see how it was laid out. When the scouts had reported all these things to him, and by night^d had captured some men, who revealed to him that the enemy were about to set upon him, he, being forewarned, took measures for his safety by placing outposts outside the camp and keeping his force under arms throughout the entire night; and

Jonathan's further victories over Demetrius II. 1 Macc. xii. 24.

Eleutherus river mentioned below in § 179. In "the region of Hamath" Josephus must include territory considerably south of the city of Hamath; otherwise we fail to understand why the Syrians should have retreated across (*i.e.* to the north of) the Eleutherus.

^c C. 6 miles. No distance is mentioned in 1 Macc.

^d Perhaps the word *νυκτός* "by night" should be placed after the relative pronoun *οἱ*, to agree with 1 Macc. xii. 26, which says that the scouts reported that the enemy intended to attack by night.

κὼς αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωμένους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς
 διανοαῖς οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶ
 δεήσειε μαχομένους,¹ ὥστε μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν
 177 προαίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ πυθό-
 μενοι τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐγνωκότα,² οὐκέτι τὴν γνώμην
 ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐτάραττεν αὐτοὺς τὸ καταφώρους
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γεγονέναι, καὶ μηδενὶ προσδοκᾶν³
 αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσειν⁴ ἐτέρῳ, τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δι-
 ημαρτημένης· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φανεροῦ διακινδυνεύοντες
 178 οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνάθου ἀξιόμαχοι. φυγὴν
 οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ πυρὰ καύσαντες πολλά, ὡς⁵
 ὄρωντες οἱ πολέμιοι μένειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοιεν,⁶
 ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἔωθεν προσμίξας
 αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτό,
 179 συνεῖς ὅτι πεφεύγασιν, ἐδίωκεν. οὐ μέντοι φθάνει
 καταλαβεῖν· ἤδη γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον διαβεβηκότες
 ποταμὸν ἦσαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. ποιησάμενος οὖν
 ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ
 πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνοὺς καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν
 λείαν ἀπελάσας καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ἐλθὼν εἰς
 180 Δαμασκὸν ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀπέδοτο. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν

¹ edd.: μαχομένους aut μαχησομένους codd.

² μεμαθηκότα AMWE: cognovisse Lat.

³ προσδοκῶντων LAMW: προσδοκοῦντας ed. pr.

⁴ ἔτι κρατήσειν AMW: ἔτι ἐπικρατήσειν L.

⁵ P: ὡς ἂν rell. E.

⁶ P: ὑπολάβωσιν L: ὑπολαμβάνωσιν rell. E.

^a In the preceding two sentences Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 27-28.

^b The mod. *Nahr el-Kebīr*, mentioned earlier in § 105 (cf. note there).

^c The phrase "were on safe ground" is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. viii. 39. 4.

^d 1 Macc. xii. 31-32, "And Jonathan turned aside against

he exhorted them to keep their spirits high and their senses alert enough to fight even at night if necessary, that their enemy's plan might not take them unaware. But when Demetrius' generals discovered that Jonathan knew their plan, they were no longer able to use sound judgment, and were disturbed at having been found out by their foes; nor could they expect to overcome them by any other means, now that their stratagem had failed, for they did not consider themselves a match for Jonathan's men, if they were to fight in the open. They therefore resolved on flight, and after lighting many fires in order that, when the enemy saw them, they might believe they were still there, they retreated.^a And when Jonathan came close to their camp at dawn and found it deserted, he realized that they had fled, and went in pursuit of them, but was not quick enough to overtake them, for they had already crossed the Eleutherus river^b and were on safe ground.^c He therefore turned back from there to Arabia and made war on the Nabataeans, driving off many of their cattle and taking captives, and then went to Damascus, where he sold them all.^d About the same time his

the Arabs called Zabadaeans, and defeated them and took their spoil. And removing thence he came to Damascus and marched through the whole country." Perhaps Josephus connects the Zabadaeans of 1 Macc. with the Nabataean Arabs, who then lived considerably further south, because he associates them with "Zabdiel the Arab," who cut off the head of Alexander Balas (§ 118 = 1 Macc. xi. 17). Some older commentators, however, (*ap.* Grimm) mention Zabdini, a district N.W. of Damascus, near the Eleutherus. Whence Josephus derived the detail of Jonathan's sale of the cattle in Damascus is more difficult to explain. Possibly for διώδευσε "he marched through" Josephus read διέδωκε "he distributed" or the like.

καιρὸν καὶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν ἐπελθὼν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἕως Ἀσκάλωνος, ἠσφαλίσατο τὰ φρούρια¹ καὶ ποιήσας ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὀχυρώτατα καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς, ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰόππην, καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν μεγάλην φρουράν· ἤκουσε γὰρ τοὺς Ἰοππηνοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς Δημητρίου στρατηγοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν.

- 181 (11) Ταῦτ' οὖν διοικησάμενοι ὃ τε Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἦλθον² εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τά τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπισκευάσαι³ τείχη, καὶ τὸ καθηρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς ἐξοχυρῶσαι
- 182 τὰ περὶ αὐτό, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἄλλο τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομησαμένους ἀποφράξαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῖς τὴν πόλιν,⁴ καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας αὐτοὺς τῶν σιτίων τοῦτον ἀποκλείσαι τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρούρια ποιῆσαι πολὺ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείας
- 183 ἰσχυρότερα. τῆς δὲ γνώμης καὶ τῷ πλήθει δοκιμασθείσης καλῶς ἔχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὤκοδόμει, Σίμωννα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν

¹ τὰ φρούρια AMWE: φρουρίους rell.

² ὑπέστρεψαν AMWE Lat.

³ ἐπικατασκευάσαι P: ἐπικατασκευάσασθαι AMWE.

⁴ ἀγορὰν AMWE.

^a Palestine here = Philistia. The two countries are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^b Variant "making them secure with fortresses (or garrisons)."

^c 1 Macc. xii. 33 says merely that Simon 'marched

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brother Simon went through all Judaea and Palestine ^a as far as Ascalon, making their fortresses secure ^b and strengthening them with works and guards, ^c and then went to Joppa, occupied it and introduced a large garrison into it ^d; for he had heard that the inhabitants of Joppa were ready to deliver up their city to Demetrius' generals.

(11) And so, having regulated these matters, both Simon and Jonathan came ^e to Jerusalem. Here Jonathan gathered all the people together in the temple ^f and advised them to repair the walls of Jerusalem, and to set up again the part of the wall round the temple which had been thrown down, and to fortify the temple precincts by high towers, ^g and, in addition, to build still another wall in the midst of the city to keep the garrison in the citadel from reaching the city, ^h and in this way cut off their large supply of provisions; he further advised them to make the fortresses throughout the country far stronger than they were in their present state of security. And so, when this plan was approved by the people, Jonathan himself began the building in the city, and sent out Simon to make the fortresses

Jonathan fortifies Jerusalem. 1 Macc. xii. 35.

through the country as far as Ascalon and the neighbouring fortresses."

^a The introduction of the large garrison is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Joppa had earlier been taken by the Jews, *cf.* §§ 92 ff. (1 Macc. x. 76 ff.).

^e Variant "returned."

^f The temple is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

^g 1 Macc. does not mention the temple wall (and towers), destroyed earlier by Antiochus Eupator, *cf.* *Ant.* xii. 383 (1 Macc. vi. 62). On the text of 1 Macc. here see C. Torrey *JBL* liii. (1934), 32-33.

^h Variant "the market-place" (*agora*). The "city" is the western part of Jerusalem or "Upper City."

JOSEPHUS

- 184 ἐξέπεμψεν ἀσφαλισόμενον. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος δια-
 βὰς¹ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἦκε, ταύτην τε βουλό-
 185 μενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄνω
 σατραπειῶν ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖσθαι
 τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμὰς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτη
 κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες συνεχῶς
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο,
 παραδώσειν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι, συγκατα-
 πολεμήσειν δὲ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα.
 186 ταύταις ἐπαρθεῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὤρμησεν πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς, εἰ καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν
 αὐτῷ δύναμις, τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμήσαι διεγνωκῶς
 καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν
 προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν
 ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην, καὶ τὴν στρατιάν
 πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη, καθὼς καὶ ἐν
 ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.²
 187 (vi. 1) Τρύφων δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον
 ἔγνω τοιοῦτο λαβόντα τέλος, οὐκέτ' ἦν Ἀντιόχῳ
 βέβαιος, ἀλλ' ἐπεβούλευεν ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας
 τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν. ἐνεπόδιζέ γε μὴν

¹ καταβὰς PFL: ἀναβὰς conl. Niese.

² δεδηλώκαμεν AMW Lat.

^a Josephus omits the statements in 1 Macc. xii. 37-38 about the condition of part of the city wall, and Simon's capture of Adida in the Shephelah.

^b The following section, to § 187, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.

^c The countries E. of the Euphrates. Demetrius invaded Parthia c. 140 B.C. According to 1 Macc. xiv. 1 it was in the Sel. yr. 172 = 141/0 B.C.; according to Porphyry it was

in the country secure.^a Meanwhile^b Demetrius crossed into Mesopotamia, wishing to occupy both that country and Babylon, and, by taking possession of the Upper Satrapies,^c to make these his base for an attempt to control the entire kingdom. For the Greeks and Macedonians living in this region were in fact continually sending envoys to him, promising to go over to him, if he would come to them, and to join him in making war on Arsaces, the king of the Parthians.^d Elated by these hopes, he set out for their country, being determined that, if he should subdue the Parthians and acquire a force of his own, he would make war on Tryphon and drive him out of Syria. And as the people of the country received him gladly, he gathered a force together and made war on Arsaces, but lost his entire army and was himself taken alive,^e as has been related elsewhere.^f

Demetrius II is captured by the Parthians.

(vi. 1) As for Tryphon, when he learned that Demetrius' undertaking had come to such an end, he ceased to support Antiochus, but, instead, plotted to kill him and seize the throne himself.^g There was,

Tryphon's designs on the throne and his plot against Jonathan. 1 Macc. xii. 39.

in Olymp. 160, 2 = 139/8 B.C. For a discussion of the chronology of the campaigns, partly based on cuneiform records, see Debevoise, pp. 22-25.

^a This was Arsaces VI, Mithridates I, who ruled from 171 to 138 B.C.

^b In 138 B.C. He was treated honourably and given the daughter of Mithridates in marriage.

^c Not in Josephus' works. The formula is taken over from his source, unless it means "in the works of others."

^d Josephus, in amplifying 1 Macc. xii. 39, agrees with Appian, *Syr.* 67-68 and Justinus xxxvi. 1 in placing Tryphon's usurpation after the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians. But, as the coins show and as is indicated by 1 Macc. xiii. 31, 41, Tryphon's reign is to be dated from 142 or 141 B.C.; cf. Schürer i. 172 and Bevan in *CAH* viii. 527.

JOSEPHUS

- αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην ὁ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου φόβος φίλου τυγχάνοντος Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωνάθην πρῶτον ἔγνω,
- 188 καὶ τότε τοῖς περὶ¹ τὸν Ἀντιόχον ἐγχειρεῖν. ἀπάτη δ' αὐτὸν καὶ δόλῳ κρίνας ἀνελεῖν, εἰς Βεθσάν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας παραγίνεται τὴν καλουμένην ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολιν, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ μυριάδων Ἰωνάθης ἀπήντησεν ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ·
- 189 πολεμήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤκειν ὑπέλαβεν.² ὁ δ' ἔτοιμον εἰς μάχην γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην³ ὑπέρχεται δώροις αὐτὸν καὶ φιλοφρονήσει, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ πειθαρχεῖν Ἰωνάθῃ προσέταξε, τούτοις πιστώσασθαι βουλόμενος εὐνοίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξελεῖν εἰς τὸ καταφρονήσαντα λαβεῖν ἀφύ-
- 190 λακτον, οὐδὲν προορώμενον. τὴν τε στρατιὰν συνεβούλευεν ἀπολύσαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολέμου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐχούσης τὰ πράγματα· κατασχόντα μέντοι γε περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγους εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα συνελθεῖν παρεκάλει· παραδώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶν ὀχυρώματα ποιήσειν ὑπ'⁴ αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕνεκα παρῆναι.
- 191 (2) Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωνάθης οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπονοήσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς τὸν Τρύφωνα συμβουλεῦσαι ταῦτα πιστεύσας, τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἀπέλυσε, τρισχιλίους δὲ κατασχὼν μόνους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν χιλίων ἦκεν εἰς
- 192 Πτολεμαῖδα σὺν τῷ Τρύφωνι. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ

¹ P: ἐπὶ rell.

² ὑπελάμβανεν P.

³ γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην] Ἰωνάθην ἰδὼν AMWE Lat.

however, an obstacle to this plan, namely his fear of Jonathan, who was Antiochus' friend, and for that reason he determined first to get rid of Jonathan, and then make the attempt on Antiochus. And deciding to make an end of him by deceit and treachery, he went from Antioch to Bethsan,^a called Scythopolis by the Greeks, where Jonathan met him with an army of forty thousand picked men, for he suspected that Tryphon had come to attack him. Accordingly, when Tryphon discovered that Jonathan was ready for battle, he flattered him with presents and friendliness, and ordered his officers to obey Jonathan, for he hoped by these means to convince him of his goodwill and to remove all his suspicions, in order that Jonathan might make light of these and be taken off his guard, foreseeing nothing.^b He also advised him to dismiss his army, for now, he said, there was no need to bring it with him, since there was no war, and peace reigned over all; he invited him, however, to keep a few men about him and go with him to Ptolemais, saying that he would deliver up that city to him and give into his power all the other strongholds that were in the country; it was for this reason, he said, that he had come there.

(2) And so, having no suspicion of these things, but believing that Tryphon had given him this advice out of goodwill and in sincerity, Jonathan dismissed his army and kept only three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, while he himself with a thousand went to Ptolemais with Tryphon.

Tryphon captures Jonathan by treachery. 1 Macc. xii. 46.

^a Mod. *Beisān*, cf. *Ant.* v. 83 note *h*.

^b Tryphon's motives are not stated at this point in 1 Macc.

JOSEPHUS

Πτολεμαΐδι κλεισάντων τὰς πύλας (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος προστεταγμένον), τὸν μὲν Ἰωνάθην ἐζώγησε, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ καταλειφθέντας δισχιλίους, ὅπως ἂν καὶ

193 τούτους ἀπολέσωσιν· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβηκότων ἔφθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφικέσθαι, φραξάμενοι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθέντες ἰδόντες ἐτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ὑπέστρεψαν.

194 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκούσαντες τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλειαν, αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὠλοφύροντο καὶ δεινὴ τάνδρος ἐπι-

195 ζήτησις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἦν, δέος τε μέγα καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσὸν ἐλύπει, μὴ τῆς Ἰωνάθου ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ προνοίας ἀφηρημένων τὰ περίξ ἔθνη, χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ Ἰωνάθην ἡρεμοῦντα, νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισυστῆ, καὶ πολεμοῦντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνους

196 ἀναγκάζονται καθίστασθαι. καὶ δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπενόουν συνέπεσε· τὸν γὰρ Ἰωνάθου ἀκούσαντες θάνατον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἀποροῦντας ἡγεμόνος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τρύφων δύναμιν συναγαγὼν¹ γνώμην εἶχεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν

¹ συλλέγων AMW.

^a This important detail is omitted by 1 Macc.

But the inhabitants of Ptolemais shut their gates—this they had been ordered to do by Tryphon—,^a and he ^b took Jonathan alive and killed all the men with him. He also sent troops against the two thousand men who had been left in Galilee,^c in order to destroy them as well, but they, at the rumour of what had befallen Jonathan and his men, protected themselves with their arms and succeeded in getting out of the country before the arrival of the men dispatched by Tryphon; and when the troops sent against them by Tryphon saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they returned to Tryphon without molesting them in any way.

(3) But when the inhabitants of Jerusalem heard of the capture of Jonathan and of the destruction of the soldiers with him, they lamented the fate that had befallen him above all, and sorely did they all miss the hero; at the same time, as was natural, a great fear fell upon them and troubled them that now, when they were deprived of both the courage and foresight of Jonathan, the surrounding nations, who were hostile to them and had remained quiet only because of Jonathan, might rise up against them, and that they might be forced to do battle and undergo the most extreme dangers. And what they suspected did in fact befall them, for when the foreign nations heard of Jonathan's death, they began to make war on the Jews, thinking them to be without a leader. As for Tryphon, he too gathered a force together with the intention of going up to Judaea and making war on its inhabitants. There-

The Jews are dismayed by Jonathan's capture
1 Macc. xii. 52.

^b 1 Macc. "they" (the inhabitants of Ptolemais).

^c 1 Macc. xii. 49 adds, "and the great plain" (of Esdraelon).

197 αὐτῇ. Σίμων δὲ ὄρων πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυ-
 μίτας καταπεπληγότας, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ
 ὑποστῆναι προθύμως ἐπιόντα τὸν Τρύφωνα θαρ-
 ραλεωτέρους ποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, συγκαλέσας τὸν
 δῆμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν
 198 ἤρξατο· “ τὸ¹ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας,
 ὁμόφυλοι,² μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί
 μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως³ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκέτ’
 ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιούτων εὐποροῦντός
 μου, κακ τοῦ θηήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
 θρησκείας τοὺς⁴ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους⁵
 ἡγησαμένου⁶ φόβος οὐδὲ εἰς ἔσται τηλικούτος, ὅς
 ταύτην ἡμῶν⁷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς,
 ἀντεισάξει δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζωΐαν καὶ δόξης κατα-
 199 φρόνησιν. ὅθεν ὡς⁸ οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἡγεμόνος οἴου
 τε καὶ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ δρᾶν,
 ἔπειθέ μοι προθύμως ἐφ’ οὓς ἂν ἡγῶμαι· οὔτε γὰρ
 κρείττων ἐγὼ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα φείδωμαι
 τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὔτε χείρων, ἵν’ ὁ κάλλιστον
 ἐκείνοις ἔδοξε, τὸ τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ
 τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν, τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ φύγω καὶ
 200 καταλίπω. οἷς δέ με δεῖ γνήσιον ἐκείνων ἀδελφὸν
 φανῆναι, τούτοις ἐμαυτὸν⁹ ἐπιδείξω· θαρρῶ γὰρ ὡς
 καὶ δίκην ληψόμενος παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πάν-
 τας ὑμᾶς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ὕβρεως ῥυσόμενος, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ
 τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξω· τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη βλέπω κατα-

¹ ὅσα LAMWE.

² ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι LAMWE.

³ ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως] ἐτολμήσαμεν ὡς LAMW: ἐτολμή-
 σαμεν E.

⁴ τοῖς LA: τῆς MW: om. FV.

⁵ δεδομένου AMW: δεδομένου E.

⁶ Bekker: ἡγησαμένους PFLV: om. AMWE.

⁷ ὑμῶν PV.

⁸ ὡς om. FLV.

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upon Simon, seeing that the people of Jerusalem were dismayed at these happenings,^a and wishing by his words to make them more courageous and resolute in opposing Tryphon who was advancing against them, called the people together in the temple^b and there began to exhort them as follows. "It was for your liberty, my countrymen, that I and my brothers together with our father have gladly^c dared death, as you cannot fail to know by now. And having such good examples before me, and believing^d that the men of my house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion, I know not any fear great enough to drive this thought from my^e mind or to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory. Wherefore, as you are not without a leader who is able to suffer and do the greatest things on your behalf, follow me eagerly against whomsoever I may lead you. For neither am I better than my brothers, that I should spare my own life, nor am I worse, that I should flee from or reject what seemed to them the noblest thing of all, that is, to die for the laws and the worship of your God. But in whatever way I must show myself to be a true brother of theirs, in that way I will show it. For I am confident that I shall take vengeance on the enemy, and that I shall deliver you all with your wives and children from their violence, and that with God's help I shall preserve the temple inviolate; for I see that the

Simon encourages the Jews. 1 Macc. xiii. 1.

^a The phrase "seeing that . . . were dismayed at these happenings" is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 59. 3.

^b 1 Macc. does not mention the temple; cf. § 181 note *f*.

^c Variant omits "gladly."

^d Text slightly emended.

^e Variant (corrupt) "your."

^g ἀδελφὸν ἑμαυτὸν P.

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φρονήσαντα ὑμῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὠρμηκέναι.”

201 (4) Τούτους ποιησαμένου τοῦ Σίμωνος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεθάρσησε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεδωκὸς ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνηγέρθη¹ πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς ἀθρόως πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐκβοῆσαι τὸν Σίμονα αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ Ἰούδου καὶ Ἰωνάθου τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προστασίαν ἔχειν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς ὃ τι κελεύσει
202 πειθηνίους. συναθροίσας δ' εὐθύς πᾶν² ὅσον ἦν τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος, ἔσπευδε τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομηῆσαι, καὶ πύργοις αὐτὴν ὑψηλοτάτοις καὶ καρτεροῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέστειλε μὲν Ἰωνάθην τινὰ φίλον Ἀψαλώμου παῖδα μετὰ στρατιᾶς εἰς Ἰόππην, προστάξας αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ παραδῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν τῷ Τρύφωνι. αὐτὸς δ' ὑπομείνας ἐφύλαττε τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

203 (5) Ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἄρας ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγίνεται,³ καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δέσμιον ἄγων. ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς Ἀδδίδα πόλιν, ἣτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει ὑφ'⁴ ἧς
204 ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. γνοὺς δὲ Τρύφων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Σίμονα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

¹ ἀνήρθη AMWE.

² παρεγένετο AMWE.

³ P: πᾶν εὐθύς tr. rell.

⁴ ed. pr.: ἀφ' aut ἐφ' codd.

^a Josephus, as is his wont, rhetorically embellishes Simon's speech as given in 1 Macc. xiii. 3-6.

^b Simon's election as leader of the Jews is dated in Sel.

nations hold you in contempt as being without a leader, and are eager to make war.”^a

(4) By making this speech Simon restored courage to the multitude, and from having been crushed in spirit through timidity they were now raised to a better spirit and good hope, so that all the people cried out with one voice that Simon should be their leader and have authority over them, and so take the place of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, saying they would be obedient to whatever commands he would give them.^b Thereupon he quickly collected all those of his own force who were able to fight, and made haste to rebuild the walls of the city; and when he had made it secure with very high and strong towers, he sent one of his friends, Jonathan, the son of Absalom,^c with an army to Joppa, ordering him to drive out its inhabitants, for he was afraid that they might deliver up the city to Tryphon.^d He himself remained to guard Jerusalem.^e

The Jews elect Simon their leader. 1 Macc. xiii. 7.

(5) Meanwhile Tryphon set out from Ptolemais with a great army and came to Judaea, bringing also Jonathan as his prisoner. And Simon with his force met him at the city of Addida,^f which is situated on a hill, with the plains of Judaea lying below it. But when Tryphon learned that Simon had been

Tryphon's further treachery toward the Jews. 1 Macc. xiii. 12.

yr. 170 = 143/2 B.C. by 1 Macc. xiii. 41 f., xiv. 27. Cf. also § 212 note b.

^c Some commentators identify him with the Absalom whose son Mattathias was one of Jonathan's trusted officers, cf. above § 161 (1 Macc. xi. 70).

^d This motive is not stated in 1 Macc.

^e So Josephus understands 1 Macc. xiii. 11, which reads, “and he (Jonathan the son of Absalom) remained there (at Joppa) in the city.”

^f Mod. *el-Hadîthe*, c. 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 340.

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καθεσταμένον, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπάτη καὶ δόλω περιελθεῖν βουλόμενος, κελεύων αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει λυθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην, πέμψαι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ δύο τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἰωνάθου ὁμήρους, ὅπως μὴ ἀφεθεῖς ἀποστήσῃ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν βασιλέως· ἄρτι γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησάμενος ὤφειλε, 205 φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον. ὁ δὲ Σίμων τὴν τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Τρύφωνος οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλὰ συνεῖς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπολέσει δούς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ λύσει, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδώσει τῷ πολεμίῳ, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ διαβληθῆ ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αἴτιος αὐτὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, συναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδήλωσεν 206 αὐτῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ἐνέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλήν ἔχει· ὅμως αἰρετώτερον εἶναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ὑπακούσαντα λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας. καὶ Σίμων μὲν τοὺς τε Ἰωνάθου παῖδας ἐξέπεμψε¹ 207 καὶ τὰ χρήματα. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τρύφων οὐκ ἐτήρησε τὴν πίστιν οὐδὲ ἀπέλυσε τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκπεριῆλθε τὴν χώραν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀναβαίνειν διεγνώκει τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἤκεν εἰς

¹ ἔπεμψε LAMWE.

^a 1 Macc. xiii. 15 reads, "because of the money which your brother Jonathan owes the royal treasury through the office he holds (δι' ἧς χρείας), we are keeping him under

appointed by the Jews as their leader, he sent to him with the intention of getting the better of him by deceit and treachery, and told him, if he wished his brother Jonathan to be released, to send a hundred talents of silver and the two sons of Jonathan as hostages, to ensure that when he was set free, he would not cause Judaea to revolt from the king; at the moment, he said, he was being kept in chains on account of the money which he had borrowed from the king and still owed him.^a Now Simon was not unaware of Tryphon's artfulness, but clearly saw that he would lose any money he might give him, and still not free his brother, and along with him would be giving over his sons to the enemy; fearing however, that he might be denounced to the people as being the cause of his brother's death if he gave neither the money nor his sons for him, he gathered his army together and informed them of Tryphon's offer, adding that it held a snare and a plot, but that, in spite of this, it was better to send him the money and Jonathan's sons than to refuse to listen to Tryphon's proposals, and so incur blame, as if he were unwilling to save his brother.^b Simon therefore sent off Jonathan's sons and the money as well. But Tryphon, on receiving them, did not keep his pledge nor release Jonathan, but, instead, took his army and marched all through the country; and deciding to go up to Jerusalem through Idumaea

guard." Josephus takes *χρείας* "office" in another sense, "debts." The allusion in 1 Macc. is to tribute demanded from Jonathan as a vassal of the Seleucid king, *cf.* above § 125 (1 Macc. xi. 28).

^b Josephus invents the detail of Simon's consulting his army, and greatly amplifies the two verses, 1 Macc. xiii. 17-18, which describe Simon's suspicions of Tryphon.

"Αδωρα¹ πόλιν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας. ἀντιπαρῆγε δ' ὁ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, αἰὲ καταστρατοπεδευόμενος ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ.

- 208 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πεμφάντων πρὸς Τρύφωνα καὶ παρακαλούντων σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τροφὰς αὐτοῖς πέμψαι, παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἵππον ὡς διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐσόμενος. ἀλλὰ χιῶν διὰ νυκτὸς πολλὴ πεσοῦσα καὶ τὰς τε ὁδοὺς καλύψασα καὶ ἄπορον ἵπποις μάλιστα πεζεύειν² ὑπὸ βάθους τὴν πορείαν παρασχοῦσα³ διεκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. διόπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ὁ Τρύφων εἰς τὴν κοίλην ἀφικνεῖται Συρίαν, σπουδῇ τε εἰς τὴν Γαλααδίτιν ἐμβαλὼν, τὸν τε Ἰωνάθην ἀποκτείνας αὐτόθι καὶ ταφῆναι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ὑπέστρεψεν.
- 210 ὁ δὲ Σίμων πέμψας εἰς Βασκὰ πόλιν μετακομίζει τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὄστα, καὶ κηδεύει μὲν ταῦτα ἐν Μωδεεῖ τῇ πατρίδι, πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα πᾶς ὁ
- 211 λαὸς ἐποίησατο. Σίμων δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον μέγιστον ἀκοδόμησε τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἀνεξεσμένου. εἰς πολὺ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περίοπτον ἀναγαγὼν ὕψος στοᾶς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται, καὶ στύλους μονολίθους, θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν

¹ ex Macc. Hudson: Δῶρα codd. Lat.

² ὀδεύειν FLV, om. E.

³ παρέχουσα FLV: κατασχοῦσα AMW.

^a Tryphon's design on Jerusalem is inferred by Josephus from the words ἐκύκλωσαν ὁδὸν in 1 Macc. xiii. 20.

^b Conjectured from 1 Macc. for Dora in the mss. of Josephus (who criticizes Mnaseas, cited by Apion, for a similar mistake, cf. *Ap.* ii. 116). Adora is bibl. Adoraim, mod. *Dūra*, 5 miles S.W. of Hebron, near the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

thereafter,^a he finally came to Adora,^b a city in Idumaea. Simon, however, with his army marched in the same direction, always encamping opposite him.

(6) But when those in the citadel^c sent to Tryphon and urged him to hasten to them and send them provisions, he made ready his cavalry in the expectation of being in Jerusalem that very night. A heavy snow, however, fell during the night, which covered the roads and lay so deep that it made the way impassable, especially for the feet of horses, and so prevented his coming to Jerusalem.^d For this reason Tryphon set out from Adora, and reaching Coele-Syria,^e hurriedly invaded Galaaditis, where he killed Jonathan^f and ordered that he be buried, and then returned to Antioch. But Simon sent to the city of Basca^g and brought back the bones of his brother, which he buried in Modeei,^h his birthplace, while all the people made great lamentation over him. And Simon also built for his father and brothers a very great monument of polished white marble, and raising it to a great and conspicuous height, made porticoes round it, and erected monolithic pillars, a

Jonathan
is killed by
Tryphon.
1 Macc.
xiii. 21.

^c The Syrian garrison and Jewish renegades in the *Akra* of Jerusalem.

^d The picturesque details of the snowstorm are added by Josephus.

^e Here "Coele-Syria" includes Transjordan, *cf. Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*.

^f In the city of Bascama, see next note.

^g Bascama (Βασκαμά) in 1 Macc.; it is identified by Bévenot with mod. *Tell Bāzūk*, N.E. of the lake of Galilee; this identification is questioned by Abel, *GP* ii. 261, who suggests *el-Gummeize* ("the sycamore") in the same region, on the basis of the supposed etymology of Bascama.

^h *Bibl. Modin*, *cf. Ant.* xii. 265 note *e*.

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χρῆμα, ἀνίστησι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πυραμίδας
 ἑπτὰ, τοῖς τε γονεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑκάστῳ
 μίαν, ὠκοδόμησεν, εἰς ἔκπληξιν μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα
 212 καὶ κάλλους πεποιημένας, αἱ καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο σώ-
 ζονται. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνάθου ταφῆς καὶ τῆς
 τῶν μνημείων οἰκοδομίας τοῖς οἰκείοις Σίμωνος
 τοσαύτην σπουδὴν οἶδαμεν γενομένην. ἀπέθανε δὲ
 Ἰωνάθης ἀρχιερατεύων,¹ ἔτη τέσσαρα προστὰς τοῦ
 γένους.² καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἐν
 τούτοις ἦν.
 213 (7) Σίμων δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πλήθους, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἔτει τῆς
 ὑπὸ³ Μακεδόσι δουλείας τὸν λαὸν ἠλευθέρωσεν ὡς
 μηκέτι φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν· ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ
 ἀνεῖσφορον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ
 ἑκατὸν ἔτη τῶν Συρίας⁴ βασιλέων⁵, ἐξ οὗ χρόνου
 Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ⁶ ἐπικληθεὶς κατέσχε Συρίαν,
 214 ὑπῆρξεν. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ τὸν
 Σίμωνα φιλοτιμία, ὥστ' ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους

¹ ἀρχιερατεύσας LWE.

² Iudaeorum Lat.: ἔθνους conit. Herwerden: post γένους
 suppl. Scaliger τὰ πάντα ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

³ ἐπὶ τοῖς P.

⁴ Ἀσσυρίων PFLV.

⁵ τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων secl. Niese: τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας
 leg. Naber cum V.

⁶ Spanheim: Νικάνωρ codd.

^a I Macc. does not mention the porticoes; Josephus, on the other hand, omits the panoply and carved ships of the monument. On the architecture see Watzinger, *Denkmäler*, ii. 22; see also W. W. Tarn in *JHS* 59 (1939), 125-126.

^b In *Ant.* xx. 238 Josephus gives 7 years for Jonathan's term as high priest. The correct figure is 10 years; Jonathan

wonderful thing to see.^a In addition to these he built for his parents and his brothers seven pyramids, one for each, so made as to excite wonder by their size and beauty; and these have been preserved to this day. Such was the zeal which we know to have been shown by Simon in burying Jonathan and building monuments to his family. Now when Jonathan died as high priest, he had been ruler of the nation for four years.^b These, then, were the circumstances of his death.

(7) And Simon, after being chosen high priest by the populace, in the first year of his high-priesthood liberated the people from servitude to the Macedonians, so that they no longer had to pay tribute to them. This liberation and exemption from tribute came to the Jews in the hundred and seventieth year of the Syrian^c kingdom, reckoned from the time when Seleucus, surnamed Nicator,^d occupied Syria.^e And so great was the respect of the people for Simon that in their contracts with one another, as well as

Simon
liberates
Judaea from
Seleucid
rule. Cf.
1 Macc.
xiii. 36.

died in 143/2 B.C. (cf. § 201 note b), and was officially recognized as high priest by Alexander Balas in 152 B.C. (cf. § 46 = 1 Macc. x. 21), thus ruling 10 years. Either Josephus is careless here, as in *Ant.* xx., or there is a scribal error. Perhaps, as Reinach suggests, the *τέσσαρας* is an expansion of the numeral letter δ', which in turn was an abbreviation of an original δέκα "ten."

^a Variant "Assyrian."

^b Correction of ms. "Nicanor," a scribal error also found in *Ant.* xii. 119 and xviii. 372.

^c The 170th yr. Sel., by Jewish reckoning (cf. *Ant.* xii. 240 note a), began in April 142 B.C. 1 Macc. xiii. 34-40 gives in some detail the concessions made by Demetrius II to the Jews before his Parthian expedition (cf. below, § 218 note b); these constituted recognition of their political independence. On the Jewish coins supposedly coined under Simon see the works cited in Appendix M.

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συμβολαίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ¹
 πρώτου ἔτους γράφειν Σίμωνος τοῦ² εὐεργέτου
 Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου³. εὐτύχησαν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν⁴ τῶν περιοίκων ἐκράτησαν.
 215 κατεστρέψατο γὰρ Σίμων Γάζαρά⁵ τε πόλιν καὶ
 Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν
 ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν
 καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀρμητήριον ἦ
 καταλαμβανομένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὡς καὶ
 τότε. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ
 συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι
 συνέβαινε καθελεῖν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον⁶ ἦ τὸ ἱερόν.
 216 καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ
 πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἔπαθον ὑπὸ τῶν
 φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν φυγάδων Ἰουδαίων ὑπομιμνή-
 σκων, ἃ τε πάθοιεν ἂν, εἰ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν
 βασιλείαν ἀλλόφυλος, φρουρᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ καταστα-
 217 θείσης. ταῦτα λέγων πείθει τὸ πλῆθος, παραινῶν

¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ Naber: ἐπὶ τοῦ (τοῦ om. P) codd.

² τοῦ LV: τοῦ καὶ F: καὶ rell.

³ ἐπάρχου AMWE.

⁴ ἐθνῶν LA marg. M marg.

⁵ Γάζαν PFLV.

⁶ ὑψηλὸν PAMWE.

^a Conjectured for ms. "in."

^b Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 42, "Simon, the high priest and general (στρατηγοῦ) and leader (ἡγουμένου) of the Jews." "Ethnarch" was the title given to later Hasmonaean rulers by the Romans, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 151, 191 *et al.*

^c Variant "nations."

^d Here, with 1 Macc. xiii. 42, ends Josephus' paraphrase (though not necessarily his use) of the apocryphal book, although it contains three and a half more chapters covering the rule of Simon. For this and the following periods Josephus relies on Hellenistic sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus), which he had earlier used for his account of the later Hasmonaean and Herodian periods in his *Jewish*

in public documents, they dated them "from ^a the first year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews" ^b; for under his rule they prospered exceedingly and overcame the foes ^c that surrounded them. ^d For Simon subdued the city of Gazara ^e and Joppa and Jamneia, and also took the citadel at Jerusalem by siege, razing it to the ground that it might not serve his foes as a base to occupy and do mischief from it, as they were then doing. ^f Having done this, he thought it would be an excellent thing and to his advantage to level also the hill on which the citadel stood, in order that the temple might be higher than this. Accordingly, he called the people to an assembly and sought to persuade them to have this done, reminding them how they had suffered at the hands of the garrison and the Jewish renegades, and also warning them of what they would suffer if a foreign ruler should again occupy their realm, and a garrison should be placed therein. With these words he persuaded the people,

War (cf. § 225 note c). Various explanations have been given of Josephus' abandonment of 1 Macc. at this point; some scholars hold that the last three and a half chapters of 1 Macc. were a late addition, not known to Josephus (cf. the discussions in Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 86 and Ricciotti, *Introduzione*, pp. 140-143). It is more likely that Josephus found it more convenient to use only his Hellenistic sources for Simon's period than to continue excerpting from them to fill out the narrative of 1 Macc.

^e Variant "Gaza" as in 1 Macc. xiii. 43 (but Gazara in xiii. 53); *B.J.* i. 50 has Gazara, which is correct. On the site cf. *Ant.* xii. 308 note a. 1 Macc. xiii. 53 tells us further that Simon left his son John (Hyrcanus) as governor of Gazara.

^f The expulsion of the Syrian garrison is dated the 23rd of Iyyar (roughly May) in 1 Macc. xiii. 51 and *Megillath Ta'anith*.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτῶ τὰ συμφέροντα. καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθήρουν τὸ ὄρος, καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας ἀπολυόμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τρισὶν αὐτὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔτεσιν κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξείχεν ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερόν, τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν καθηρημένων.¹ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σίμωνος πραχθέντα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον.

- 218 (vii. 1) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Δημητρίου τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὃς καὶ Θεὸς ἐπεκλήθη, Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων αὐτοῦ, τέσσαρα βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη. καὶ τὸν μὲν,
219 ὡς χειριζόμενος² ἀποθάνοι, διήγγειλεν· τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους διέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν, εἰ βασιλέα χειροτονήσουσιν αὐτόν, Δημήτριον μὲν ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμάλωτον γεγονέναι μηνύων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὰ ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς κακά, τῆς
220 ἀποστάσεως ἀμυνόμενον. οἱ δ' ἐλπίσαντες εὐπορίαν ἐκ τῆς Τρύφωνι δοθησομένης³ βασιλείας ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς ὁ Τρύφων διέδειξε τὴν αὐτοῦ

¹ ἀνηρημένων (-ον LVW) LAMVW: κατηριπωμένων A marg. M marg.

² ὡς χειριζόμενος] προσχαριζόμενος ὡς AMWE: ὡς σχαζόμενος Naber. ³ δοθείσης P.

^a Josephus' statements here and in *B.J.* i. 50 that Simon levelled the (S.E.) hill, on which the citadel (*Akra*) stood, are in contradiction to 1 Macc. xiv. 37, which says that Simon fortified the citadel. More correct is Josephus' statement in *B.J.* v. 139 that the Hasmonaeans (*i.e.* one of Simon's successors—probably John Hyrcanus) levelled the citadel hill, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on the last passage.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 217-220

since he was recommending what was to their advantage. And so they all set to and began to level the hill, and without stopping work night or day, after three whole years brought it down to the ground and the surface of the plain. And thereafter the temple stood high above everything else, once the citadel and the hill on which it stood had been demolished. Such was the nature of the things accomplished in the time of Simon.^a

(vii. 1) Not long after Demetrius had been taken captive,^b Tryphon, acting as the guardian of Alexander's son Antiochus, surnamed Theos,^c put him to death after he had reigned four years.^d And while he gave out that Antiochus had died under the hands of the surgeon,^e he sent his friends and intimates to go among the soldiers, promising to give them large sums of money if they would elect him king, pointing out that Demetrius had been made captive by the Parthians, and that if his brother Antiochus^f came to the throne, he would make them suffer severely, in taking revenge for their revolt. And so, hoping for an easy living if the throne were given to Tryphon, they made him their ruler. But on becoming the master of the state, Tryphon revealed his rascally

Tryphon
kills
Antiochus
VI and
claims the
throne.

^b Tryphon's usurpation preceded Demetrius' captivity, *cf.* above § 187 note *e*.

^c For his full regnal title see § 131 note *d*.

^d From 145 to 142 B.C. He was about seven years old at his death, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 230 note 4.

^e Variant "died of excessive indulgence"; conjectured variant "died while being bled." A similar story is told in Livy, *Epit.* lv. The other sources, 1 Macc. xiii. 31, Diodorus xxxiii. 28, Appian, *Syr.* 68, Justinus xxxvi. 1. 7, do not tell how Antiochus was killed.

^f Antiochus VII (Sidetes), *cf.* § 222 note.

JOSEPHUS

- φύσιν ούσαν πονηράν· ιδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐθερά-
 πευε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετριότητα ὑπεκρίνετο,
 δελεάζων αὐτὸ τούτοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ¹
 βασιλείαν λαβὼν ἀπεδύσατο τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ ὁ
 221 ἀληθῆς Τρύφων ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐχθροὺς διὰ ταύτ'
 ἐποίει κρείττονας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸν
 μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Δημητρίου
 γυναικα, τότε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
 222 ἐγκεκλεισμένην. ἀλωμένου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
 Δημητρίου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ, καὶ
 μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα,
 πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα, καλοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὴν
 ἐπὶ τε γάμῳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων αὐτὴν ἀναπεισάν-
 των, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκδιδόντας τινὰς² ἐκ τῆς
 Σελευκείας τῷ Τρύφωνι δείσασα.
- 223 (2) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος
 καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης
 ὤρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας
 αὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν
 Φοινίκην, διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης, εἰς τε Δώραν φρού-
 ριὸν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα
 224 περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ προσ-
 δέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά

¹ μέντοι AMW.

² ἐκδιδόντας τινὰς conl.: ἐκδιδόντων (ἐνδιδόντων P: διδόντων FV) τινῶν codd.

^a Daughter of Ptolemy Philometor and former wife of Alexander Balas, cf. § 80.

^b Cf. below, § 244 and *Ant.* vii. 393 where Josephus calls him Antiochus Eusebes. Neither Eusebes nor Soter (the
 338

nature ; for while he was a private person he had courted the multitude and assumed a character of mildness, thus leading them on to do as he wished, but once he had obtained the royal power, he threw off all pretence and became the Tryphon he really was. Now by this course he strengthened his foes, for the army, which hated him, revolted and went over to Cleopatra,^a the wife of Demetrius, who with her children was at that time shut up in Seleucia. And as Demetrius' brother Antiochus, surnamed Soter,^b was wandering about, for at Tryphon's instance no city admitted him, Cleopatra sent to him, inviting him to come and marry her and take the throne.^c The reason why she invited Antiochus on these terms was partly that her friends persuaded her to do so, and partly that she feared that some of the people of Seleucia might deliver up the city to Tryphon.

(2) Antiochus, therefore, came to Seleucia, and as his strength increased daily, he set out to make war on Tryphon ; and having defeated him in battle, he drove him out of Upper Syria into Phoenicia, where he pursued him, and when he took refuge in Dora, a fortress difficult to take, besieged him there. He also sent envoys to Simon, the high priest of the Jews, to propose a friendly alliance.^d And Simon gladly accepted his offer, and lavishly supplied the

Demetrius
II's brother
Antiochus
Sidetes
forms an
alliance
with Simon.

latter was the surname of Demetrius I) appears elsewhere as a surname of Antiochus VII, whose official surname was Euergetes, and whose popular name was Sidetes (from the city of Side in Pamphylia, where he was brought up).

^c Thus Antiochus VII became the third husband of Cleopatra, *cf.* above, § 221 note *a*.

^d Antiochus's letter to Simon is quoted in 1 Macc. xv. 1-9. Tryphon's flight to Dora is mentioned in vs. 11.

JOSEPHUS

τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφήν τοῖς τὴν Δώραν πολιορκούσι
 στρατιώταις, πέμψας πρὸς¹ Ἀντίοχον, ἀφθόνως
 ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς
 ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων
 ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς
 ἐν αὐτῇ πολιορκία διεφθάρη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.
 225 (3) Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας καὶ φανλό-
 τητος λήθην τῶν ἐκ Σίμωνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς
 χρείας ὑπηρετηθέντων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δύναμιν
 στρατιωτικὴν Κενδεβαίῳ τινὶ παραδοὺς τῶν φίλων
 ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας πόρθησιν καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος
 226 ἄλωσιν ἐξαπέστειλεν. Σίμων δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀν-
 τιόχου παρανομίαν, καίτοι² πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη,
 ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δικαίων τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχου
 γινομένων τυγχάνειν παρορμηθεὶς, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας
 φρόνημα κρεῖττον λαβὼν, νεανικῶς ἐστρατήγει τοῦ
 227 πολέμου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς μετὰ τῶν μαχιμω-
 τέρων προεκπέμπει³ στρατιωτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατ'
 ἄλλο μέρος προῆει⁴ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πολ-

¹ τὸν PV.

² AM: καὶ rell.: καίπερ coni. Niese.

³ ἐκπέμπει FAMWE.

⁴ προσῆει LAMWE fort. recte.

^a According to 1 Macc. xv. 26-31 Antiochus VII refused to accept help from Simon, and broke off their alliance, demanding the return of Joppa and Gazara, or indemnity and tribute.

^b More exactly 4 years, from 142 to 138 B.C., according to the coinage, cf. Bevan in *CAH* viii. 527.

^c The war between Antiochus VII and Simon is described in greater detail in 1 Macc. xv. 38-xvi. 10.

At about this point in *Ant.* begins the parallelism between

soldiers who were besieging Dora with great sums of money and provisions, which he sent to Antiochus, so that for a short while he was considered one of his closest friends.^a As for Tryphon, he fled from Dora to Apamea, and on being besieged and captured there, was put to death, after reigning three years.^b

(3) ^c Antiochus, however, through covetousness and dishonesty forgot the services which Simon had rendered him in his necessity, and giving a force of soldiers to Cendebaeus, one of his Friends, sent him off to plunder Judaea and seize Simon. But Simon heard of Antiochus' lawless conduct, and though he was now an old man, nevertheless was aroused by the unjust treatment he had received from Antiochus, and being filled with a spirit stronger than his years, took command in the war like a young man.^d And so he sent his sons ^e on ahead ^f with the soldiers who were the best fighters, while he himself advanced ^g

Antiochus
Sidetes
turns
against the
Jews.

Ant. and *B.J.* Josephus in writing this portion of *Ant.* made use of the same sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo) which he had before him earlier in writing *B.J.* i. and ii., but with variations in wording, some corrections and considerable additions. Moreover, as Dr. Thackeray has succinctly formulated the relation between the parallel accounts (in an unpublished note), "*Ant.* besides reverting to and making fuller use of the original sources, has had *B.J.* before him (*sic*) and aimed at avoiding repetition. The greater freedom with which *B.J.* had treated the source left *Ant.* at liberty to adhere more closely to its language." See further the Appendix on Josephus' sources, in the last volume of this translation.

^a According to 1 Macc. xvi. 3 Simon took no part in the war and gave the command to his sons; but the wording of vss. 4-7 might easily lead one to suppose that the pronominal subject is Simon (Luc. supplies the name Joannes = John).

^e Judas and John, *cf.* 1 Macc. xvi. 2.

^f Variant "sent his sons out."

^g Variant "came near."

JOSEPHUS

λοὺς ἐν τοῖς φαραγγώδεσι τῶν ὄρων τόποις¹ εἰς ἐνέδραν καταστήσας διαμαρτάνει μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, κρατήσας δὲ διὰ πάσης τῶν πολεμίων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν λοιπὸν διήγαγε χρόνον, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

228 (4) Ἦρξε μὲν οὖν ὀκτῶ τὰ πάντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτη, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν συμποσίῳ, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστησάμενου, ὃς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας συλλαβὼν καὶ δεδεμένους ἔχων ἔπεμψε καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τρίτον (τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς
229 ἦν ὄνομα) τοὺς διαφθεροῦντας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὁ νεανίσκος, διαφυγὼν² τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπειέγετο, θαρρῶν τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ὄχλοις μίσος. σπουδάσαντα δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον εἰσελθεῖν δι' ἄλλης πύλης ὁ δῆμος ἀπέώσατο, τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἤδη προσδεδεγμένος.

230 (viii. 1) Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἓν³ τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων ἀνεχώρησε, Δαγὼν λεγόμενον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν πατριὸν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτα ταῖς⁴ θυσίαις παραστησάμενος,⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ προσβαλὼν

¹ Niese: τούτους aut τούτων codd.

² διαφεύγων FV: καὶ διαφυγὼν AMWE.

³ ἓν om. LAMW.

⁴ πρῶτα ταῖς Niese: πρῶτα LAMWE: πρώταις rell.

⁵ παραιτησάμενος LAMVWE: placavit Lat.

^a The chief engagement took place near Cedron, mod. *Qatra*, c. 6 miles N.E. of Azotus.

^b The details of the alliance are given in 1 Macc. xv. 16-24.

^c From 142 to 135 B.C. According to 1 Macc. xvi. 14

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with his force in another direction, and posting many of his men in ambush in the defiles of the mountains, came through without losing a single engagement ^a; and after defeating the enemy everywhere, he passed the rest of his life in peace. He also made an alliance with the Romans.^b

(4) Now he ruled over the Jews for eight years in all,^c and died while at a banquet, as a result of the plot formed against him by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who then seized and imprisoned his wife and two sons,^d and also sent men to put to death his third son John, also called Hyrcanus.^e But the youth, being aware of their coming, escaped danger at their hands and hastened to the city,^f trusting in the people to help him because of his father's good deeds and the masses' hatred of Ptolemy. When, therefore, Ptolemy also made an effort to enter through another gate, the populace drove him away, for they had already admitted Hyrcanus.

Simon is treacherously slain by his son-in-law Ptolemy.

(viii. 1) And so Ptolemy withdrew to one of the fortresses above Jericho, which was called Dagon.^g But Hyrcanus, having assumed the high-priestly office of his father, first propitiated God with sacrifices, and then marched out against Ptolemy and attacked his stronghold; and though in all other

Hyrcanus succeeds his father Simon.

Simon was killed in the eleventh month, Shebat, of the 177th yr. Sel. = February 135 B.C. (This date is brought down a year by Kolbe, *Beiträge*, p. 27.)

^a Mattathias and Judas. They and their mother were killed, *cf.* below, § 235. 1 Macc. xvi. 16, in reporting the death of the sons, fails to mention their mother.

^b He was at Gazara, according to 1 Macc. xvi. 19, which ends its account of John Hyrcanus here.

^c Jerusalem is meant.

^d A corruption of Dok (1 Macc. xvi. 15), the mod. 'Ain Duq, c. 3 miles N.W. of Jericho.

JOSEPHUS

τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις περιῆν αὐτοῦ, ἡττάτο δὲ
 μόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
 231 οἴκτῳ. τούτους γὰρ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνάγων ἐπὶ τὸ
 τεῖχος ἐξ ἀπόπτου ἠκίζετο, καὶ κατακρημνίσειν
 οὐκ ἀφισταμένου τῆς πολιορκίας ἠπείλει. ὁ δ'
 ὅσον ἐνδοίη¹ τῆς περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ χωρίου
 σπουδῆς, τοσοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἡγού-
 232 μενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν, ἐξέλυε τὸ πρό-
 θυμον. ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ ὀρέγουσα τὰς χεῖρας
 ἰκέτευε μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
 πλέον ὀργῇ χρώμενον ἐλεῖν² σπουδάσαι τὸ χωρίον,
 καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ³ ποιήσαντα τιμωρῆσαι
 τοῖς φιλτάτοις· ἡδὺν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν μετ' αἰκίας
 εἶναι θάνατον, εἰ δίκην ὑπόσχοι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς
 233 παρανομίας ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν πολέμιος.⁴ τὸν δὲ
 Ὑρκανὸν ταῦτα μὲν λεγούσης τῆς μητρὸς ὀρμή τις
 ἐλάμβανε πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ φρουρίου, ἡνίκα δὲ
 αὐτὴν ἴδοι τυπτομένην καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐξελύ-
 ετο καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν μητέρα πραττομένοις
 234 συμπαθείας ἡττων ἐγίνετο. ἐλκομένης δὲ οὕτως
 εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο
 καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀργεῖν· κατὰ δὲ
 ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐβδο-
 235 μάσιν ἡμέραις. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ὑπὸ ταύτης
 ἀνεθείς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἰτίας ἀποκτείνει τοὺς
 ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τοῦτο

¹ ὅσον ἐνδοίη Niese duce Dindorf: ὅσον ἂν ἐνδώη (ἐνδῶν P) codd. E.

² ἔχειν PF.

³ Naber: ὑπ' αὐτῷ codd.: ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν E.

respects he was superior to him, in one thing he was at a disadvantage, that is, in feeling pity for his mother and brothers. For Ptolemy had brought them up on to the wall and maltreated them in the sight of all, threatening to hurl them down headlong if Hyrcanus did not give up the siege. And so, reflecting that the more he slackened his efforts to capture the place, the greater was the kindness he would show those dearest to him by sparing them suffering, Hyrcanus relaxed his eagerness. His mother, however, stretched out her hands, beseeching him not to weaken on her account, but to give way to his anger so much the more, and make every effort to take the place and get his foe into his power and avenge those dearest to him. For, she said, it would be pleasant for her to die in torment if the enemy,^a who was doing these things to them, paid the penalty for his crimes against them. Now when his mother said these things, Hyrcanus was seized with a powerful desire to capture the fortress, but when he saw her being beaten and torn apart, he became unnerved and was overcome with compassion at the way in which his mother was being treated. But while the siege was being protracted in this manner, there came round the year in which the Jews are wont to remain inactive, for they observe this custom every seventh year, just as on the seventh day.^b And Ptolemy, being relieved from the war for this reason, killed the brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, and

^a Variant "Ptolemy" (who is named at this point in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 58).

^b This sabbatical year extended from Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C., cf. *Ant.* xii. 378 note *a* and xiv. 475 note *a*.

⁴ Πτολεμαῖος Α¹Μ.

JOSEPHUS

δράσας πρὸς Ζήνωνα φεύγει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα
 Κοτύλαν, τυραννεύοντα τῆς Φιλαδελφείων πόλεως.
 236 (2) Ἀντίοχος δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὸ
 Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλε τε-
 τάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς
 Ἰρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ
 237 καὶ δευτέρῃ. δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν, τὸν Ἰρκανὸν
 εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέκλεισε τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἑπτὰ στρατο-
 πέδοις περιλαβὼν ἦννε μὲν οὐδὲν ὄλως τὸ πρῶτον
 διὰ τε τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν
 τῶν ἐμπολιορκουμένων, ἔτι γε μὴν ὕδατος ἀπορίαν,
 ἧς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὄμβρος κατενεχθεὶς πολὺς
 238 δυομένης πλειάδος. κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ
 τείχους, καθ' ὃ συνέβαινε αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον εἶναι,
 πύργους ἀναστήσας ἑκατὸν τριωρόφους, ἀνεβίβασεν
 239 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα. καὶ προσβολὰς
 ὀσημέραι ποιησάμενος, τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν καὶ
 πολλὴν τὸ εὖρος καὶ διπλὴν τεμόμενος,¹ ἀπετείχισε
 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀντ-
 επινοοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀφυλάκτοις που προσπέσοιεν

¹ διπλὴν τεμόμενος] διπλὴν τετρωμένος P: διὰ πλειόνων θέμενος
 AMW: θέμενος E: construens Lat.

^a τύραννος "tyrant" and τυραννεύειν are applied by Josephus
 to native rulers of small territories.

^b Bibl. Rabbath Ammon, mod. 'Ammān in Transjordan.

^c The several dates here given do not synchronize. The
 fourth year of Antiochus' reign and the first of Hyrcanus'
 was 135/4 B.C., while the 162nd Olympiad began in July
 132 B.C. Although Porphyry (ap. Eusebius, *Chron.* ed.
 Schoene i. 255) also places Antiochus' siege of Jerusalem

after doing so, fled to Zenon, surnamed Cotylas, who was ruler ^a of the city of Philadelphia.^b

(2) But Antiochus, being resentful of the injuries he had received from Simon, invaded Judaea in the fourth year of his reign and the first of Hyrcanus' rule, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.^c And after ravaging the country, he shut Hyrcanus up in the city itself, which he surrounded with seven camps, but at first he accomplished nothing whatever because of the strength of the walls and the valour of the besieged, and also, indeed, because of the lack of water, although of this they were relieved by a great downpour of rain which came with the setting of the Pleiades. Thereupon on the north side of the wall, where the ground happened to be level, he erected a hundred towers, each three stories high, on which he mounted companies of soldiers. And every day he made an attack, and by cutting a deep double ^d ditch of great width, shut the inhabitants up within the walls. They, however, contrived to make frequent sallies against the enemy, and whenever they took them off their guard, inflicted much

Antiochus
Sidetes
invades
Judaea.

in the (third year of the) 162nd Olympiad, Schürer, i. 259 note 5, suspects the text of Eusebius; he partially reconciles the contradictions by suggesting that the war lasted from 134 to 132 B.C. That the siege lasted more than a year is indicated, as Schürer points out, by the fact that near its beginning occurred the November rains (*δυομένης πλειάδος*, § 237) and that it was still going on the following October, when the festival of Tabernacles came round (§ 241). Moreover, if Josephus' source here used the so-called Macedonian Olympiad era which preceded the Attic by a year (according to Bickermann, *cf. Ant. xii. 321 note d*), the discrepancy becomes still less. No dates or details of the siege are given in the parallel, *B.J. i. 61.*

^d The variants make no reference to the ditch being double.

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τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ ἔδρων αὐτοῦς, αἰσθομένων¹
 240 δὲ ἀνεχώρουν εὐμαρῶς.² ἐπεὶ δὲ βλαβεράν κατ-
 ενόησεν Ὑρκανὸς τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν, ἀναλισκο-
 μένων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τάχιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ
 μηδενὸς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολυχειρίας ἔργου γινομένου,
 τὸ μὲν ἀχρεῖον αὐτῆς ἀποκρίνας ἐξέβαλεν, ὅσον δ'
 ἦν ἀκμαῖον καὶ μάχιμον, τοῦτο μόνον κατέσχευεν.
 241 Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀπολεχθέντας ἐξελεῖν
 ἐκώλυεν, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τείχεσι πλανώμενοι
 καὶ προαναλούμενοι³ ταῖς βασάνοις⁴ ἀπέθνησκον
 οἰκτρῶς. ἐνστάσης⁵ γε μὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορ-
 τῆς, ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο.
 242 πέμψαντος δ' Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ σπονδὰς
 ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀξιόσαντος γενέσθαι,
 τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ εἰκὼν σπένδεται, καὶ
 προσέτι θυσίαν εἰσέπεμψε μεγαλοπρεπῆ, ταύρους
 χρυσοκέρωτας⁶ καὶ μεστὰ παντοίων ἀρωμάτων
 243 ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ. καὶ τὴν μὲν
 θυσίαν δεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων οἱ πρὸς
 ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες ἄγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, Ἀντίοχος
 δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰστία, πλείστον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
 Ἐπιφανοῦς διενέγκας, ὃς τὴν πόλιν ἔλων ὕς μὲν
 κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν,⁷ τὸν νεῶν δὲ τῷ ζωμῷ
 τούτων περιέρρανε, συγχέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα
 καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεπολε-

¹ Cocceji: αἰσθομένους codd.: αἰσθομένους δ' εἰ καταμάθοιεν
ex Lat. Holwerda: αἰσθομένοις Hudson.

² εὐχερῶς PFLV: innocui Lat.

³ πλανώμενοι καὶ προαναλούμενοι] κακούμενοι P.

⁴ ταῖς βασάνοις] τῷ λιμῷ V: om. E.

⁵ Niese: ἐπιστάσης codd.

⁶ ταῦρον χρυσοκέρωτα LAMWE Lat. Exc.

⁷ τῶν βωμῶν Niese: τὸν βωμὸν codd.

damage on them, and if the enemy perceived them, they easily retired. When, however, Hyrcanus observed that his great numbers were a disadvantage because of the rapid consumption of provisions by them, and that the work which was being accomplished in no way corresponded to the number of hands, he separated from the rest those who were useless, and drove them out, and retained only those who were in the prime of life and able to fight.^a But Antiochus, on his side, prevented those who had been rejected from going out, and so, wandering about the walls between the lines, they were the first to be exhausted by their cruel sufferings and were on the point of perishing miserably. Just then, however, the festival of Tabernacles came round, and those within the city took pity on them and admitted them again. And Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, requesting a truce of seven days on account of the festival, which Antiochus, deferring to his piety toward the Deity, granted and moreover sent a magnificent sacrifice, consisting of bulls with gilded horns and cups of gold and silver filled with all kinds of spices. And those who were at the gates received the sacrifice from the men who brought it, and took it to the sanctuary, while Antiochus feasted his army, being very different from Antiochus Epiphanes who, when he captured the city, sacrificed swine upon the altars and bespattered the temple with their grease, thus perverting the rites of the Jews and the piety of their fathers, by which acts the nation was driven

The
chivalry of
Antiochus
Sidetes.

^a There are several Thucydidean reminiscences in the preceding description of the siege: *προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος* and *ἀφυλάκτοις προσπέσοιεν* in § 239, *ἐκ πολυχειρίας* and *τὸ ἀχρεῖον* in § 240; cf. Thuc. iv. 31. 1 and ii. 77 f. Cf. also below, § 245 note.

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- 244 μῶθη τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως εἶχεν. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας Εὐσεβῆ πάντες ἐκάλεσαν.
- 245 (3) Ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν Ὑρκανός, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδὴν, ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν τὴν πάτριον αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δ' οὐκ¹ ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολήν,² τῶν μὲν παραινούντων ἐξελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους³ αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης ἀμιξίαν
- 246 οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε, πειθόμενος δὲ κατ' εὐσέβειαν πάντα ποιεῖν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο παραδοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ δασμὸν αὐτῷ τελεῖν Ἰόππης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν περίξ⁴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, φρουρὰν δὲ δεξαμένους ἐπὶ τούτοις
- 247 ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τὰλλα μὲν ὑπέμενον,⁵ τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐχ ὠμολόγουν, διὰ τὴν ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι⁶ πρὸς ἄλλους.⁷ ἀντὶ μὲν-

¹ δ' οὐκ Niese: δ' aut δὲ codd.

² Niese: ἐπιβουλήν PFLVW: συμβουλήν AM: βουλήν Exc.

³ Exc. Hudson: ἀλλήλους codd.

⁴ τῶν περίξ] πάρεξ FVE Exc.

⁵ ὑπομένειν P: ὑπέμειναν FV.

⁶ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι AMWE Exc.

⁷ E Exc.: ἀλλήλους codd.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xii. 253 ff.

^b So Josephus calls him in *Ant.* vii. 393, although this surname is not found elsewhere, cf. above, § 222 note *b*.

^c Similar charges of separateness are made against the Jews by the advisers of Antiochus VII in the parallel account in Diodorus xxxiv. 1, of which most scholars, following C. Müller, consider Posidonius to be the source. Josephus probably knew Posidonius at second hand through Nicolas of Damascus (whom he quotes below, § 251). The phrase used of the Jews in Diodorus is *μόνους γὰρ ἀπάντων*

to war and became his implacable enemy.^a This Antiochus, on the other hand, because of his exaggerated devoutness was by all men called *Eusebes* (the Pious).^b

(3) Now Hyrcanus, being favourably impressed by his affability, and learning of his reverence for the Deity, sent envoys to him with the request that he restore to the Jews their native form of government. And Antiochus did not thrust his letter aside, nor did he take note of those who urged him to extirpate this nation because of the separateness of their way of life,^c but, as he believed that in all things they had acted with piety, he replied to the envoys that the besieged should hand over their arms, pay tribute to him for Joppa and the other cities bordering on Judaea, and receive a garrison, and that on these terms they might be freed of the war. But the Jews, while they were ready to accept the other terms, would not agree to the garrison, since they did not come into contact with other peoples because of their separateness. In place of the garrison, however,

Hyrcanus comes to terms with Antiochus Sidetes.

ἔθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντα, "they alone of all nations do not take part in social intercourse with other nations, and regard them all as enemies." The charge of ἀμιξία "separateness" appears elsewhere in pagan writers on Judaism, cf. the summary in Juster i. 46. Classic expression is given to this accusation by Haman (Est. iii. 8), cf. *Ant.* xi. 212, where Josephus supplies the adjective ἄμικτον "unfriendly" or "clannish." Incidentally, much is to be said for the view of Derenbourg, pp. 76-78, that ἀμιξία is the translation (better, the equivalent) of Heb. *p'erîšûth*, i.e. separatism from paganism, whence the name Pharisees "separatists," applied to this group by their priestly and militarist opponents (the Sadducees); see further the Appendix on the Jewish sects in the last volume of this translation.

JOSEPHUS

248 *τοι γε τῆς φρουρᾶς ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια, ὧν εὐθὺς τὰ τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προσδεξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδοσαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀδελφός, καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ*
τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσας ἀνεχώρησεν.
 249 (4) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ τὸν Δαβίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς πλούτῳ τοὺς πώποτε βασιλεῖς ὑπερέβαλε, τρισχίλια μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξεκόμισεν, ὀρμώμενος δὲ ἀπὸ¹ τούτων πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ξενοτροφεῖν ἤρξατο. γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφθόνως πάντα τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμως παρέσχεν. καὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους αὐτῷ στρατείαν συνεξώρμησεν Ὑρκανός. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐστὶν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός, οὕτως ἱστορῶν.
 251 “ τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ, νικήσας Ἰνδάτην² τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγόν, αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο, δεηθέντος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διὰ τινα ἑορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ἣ τούτοις
 252 Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν.” καὶ ταῦτα

¹ Cocceji: ὑπὸ codd. E.

² Σινδάτην PFV: Σίνδαν τινὰ Syncellus.

^a This brother's name is unknown. Two of Hyrcanus' brothers had recently been killed (*cf.* § 235) and, as Reinach notes, Josephus in § 228 seems to imply that they were his only brothers.

^b Some historians take this to mean that only the battlements of the walls (*στεφάνην* = “crown”) were destroyed. But, as Schürer points out, the other ancient sources speak of the destruction of the walls themselves (later rebuilt by Hyrcanus, *cf.* 1 Macc. xvi. 23); *cf.* Diodorus xxxiv. 1 and Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene i. 255).

they offered hostages and five hundred talents of silver, three hundred of which and the hostages they gave at once among them being Hyrcanus' own brother^a; and these the king accepted, and pulled down the walls encircling the city.^b And so, on these conditions, Antiochus raised the siege and withdrew.^c

(4) Hyrcanus also opened the tomb of David, who surpassed all other kings in wealth, and took out three thousand talents of silver, and drawing on this sum, became the first Jewish king to support foreign troops.^d And^e he made a friendly alliance with Antiochus, and admitting him into the city, lavishly and generously supplied his army with all they needed. And when Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Parthians, Hyrcanus set out with him.^f On this we have the testimony of Nicolas of Damascus, who writes as follows. "After defeating Indates, the Parthian general, and setting up a trophy at the Lycus river,^g Antiochus remained there two days at the request of the Jew Hyrcanus because of a festival of his nation on which it was not customary for the Jews to march out." Nor does he speak

Hyrcanus assists Antiochus Sidetes in his Parthian campaign; the death of Antiochus and return of Demetrius II.

^c Possibly this event is referred to in *Megillath Ta'anith* under date of 28th of Shebat (Feb.-March), "Antiochus departed from Jerusalem"; cf. Lichtenstein, *Fastenrolle*, pp. 287-288 and *Ant.* xii. 383 note *d*.

^d According to *Ant.* vii. 393 Hyrcanus gave part of this money to Antiochus to raise the siege. It was probably on this occasion that Hyrcanus appealed for help to Rome, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 260-265, xiv. 247-255.

^e §§ 250-253 have no parallel in *B.J.*

^f In 130 B.C. The campaign is described in Diodorus xxxiv. 15-17, Justinus xxxviii. 10, Livy, *Epit.* lix., Appian, *Syr.* 68, Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 255). The ruler of Parthia was Phraates II; cf. Debevoise, pp. 31-34.

^g The Greater Zab in Assyria.

μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων· ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ
 ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε
 253 ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὀδεύειν. συμ-
 βαλὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος Ἀρσάκη τῷ Πάρθῳ πολλήν
 τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται,
 τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
 διαδέχεται Δημήτριος, Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς
 αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος
 εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν
 ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.¹

254 (ix. 1) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀντιόχου θά-
 νατον εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἐξεστρά-
 τευσεν, οἰόμενος αὐτὰς εὐρήσειν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐρήμους
 255 τῶν μαχίμων καὶ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένων. Μήδαβαν
 μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ ταλαιπωρη-
 θείσης, ἔκτω μηνὶ εἶλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαμόγαν² καὶ
 τὰ πλησίον εὐθύς αἶρεῖ, Σίκιμά τε πρὸς τούτοις
 256 καὶ Γαριζεῖν τό τε Χουθαίων γένος, ὃ περιοικεῖ³
 τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, ὃν
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέτρεψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι Σαναβαλλέτη
 τῷ στρατηγῷ διὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μανασσῆν τὸν

¹ δεδήλωται] ἡμῶν δεδήλωται συγγράμμασιν P.

² Σαμωγαν L: Σαμέγαν V.

³ Niese: ὃ περιοίκει P: ὅπερ οἰκεῖ F: ὅπερ ᾤκει rell.: quae possidebat Lat.: ὃ παρῴκει Naber.

^a This passage, as Reinach notes, may have a bearing on the relations of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees and Sadducees (see below, §§ 288 ff.), if we assume that Pentecost fell on the first day of the week (Sunday) not by accident, as it might in the Pharisaic system of the calendar, but by intention, as in the Sadduceean system, based on a literal interpretation of Leviticus xxiii. 11 ff.

falsely in saying this ; for the festival of Pentecost had come round, following the Sabbath,^a and we are not permitted to march either on the Sabbath or on a festival. But on engaging Arsaces the Parthian in battle, Antiochus lost a great part of his army and was himself slain ^b ; thereupon his brother Demetrius ^c succeeded to the throne of Syria, after Arsaces had released him from captivity at the time when Antiochus invaded Parthia, as has already been related elsewhere.^d

(ix. 1) So soon as he heard of the death of Antiochus,^e Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of Syria, thinking to find them, as indeed they were, empty of fighting men and of any able to deliver them. And he captured Medaba ^f after six months, during which his army suffered great hardships ; next he captured Samoga ^g and its environs, and, in addition to these, Shechem and Garizein and the Cuthaeen nation, which lives near the temple built after the model of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which Alexander permitted their governor Sanaballetes to build for the sake of his son-in-law Manasses, the

Hyrcanus destroys the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim and judaizes Idumaea.

^b On the confusion in some ancient sources between the deaths of Antiochus IV and of Antiochus VII *cf.* *Ant.* xii. 355 note *d* and Otto in *ABAW*, Phil.-Hist. Abt., *N.F.M.* 11 (1934), p. 85 n. 3.

^c Demetrius II, *cf.* §§ 184 ff.

^d Variant "related elsewhere in our writings." The formula is taken over from Josephus' source, unless, of course, "elsewhere" means the writings of other historians.

^e In 129 B.C. ; the parallel in *B.J.* i. 62 says that Hyrcanus marched out immediately after Antiochus' invasion of Parthia, at least half a year earlier.

^f The ancient Moabite city, mod. *Mādabā*, at this time in Nabataean hands, *cf.* § 11.

^g Variant "Samega" ; identified by Abel, *GP* ii. 443, with mod. *Samak*, c. 8 miles N.E. of Medaba.

Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφόν, ὡς πρότερον δε-
 δηλώκαμεν. συνέβη δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἔρημον
 257 γενέσθαι μετὰ ἔτη διακόσια. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς
 Ἰδουμαίας αἰρεῖ πόλεις Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν, καὶ
 ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος
 ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περι-
 τέμνοντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμοις¹
 258 χρῆσθαι θέλοιν. οἱ δὲ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου γῆς καὶ
 τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου δίαιταν
 ὑπέμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους ποιήσασθαι.
 κακέϊνος² αὐτοῖς ὁ³ χρόνος ἦρχεν⁴ ὥστε εἶναι τὸ
 λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους.

259 (2) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν βουλόμενος πέμπει πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς πρεσβείαν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὰ
 παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν
 260 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ· “ Φάνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατη-
 γὸς βουλὴν συνήγαγε⁵ πρὸ ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν Φεβρουα-
 ρίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ⁶ παρόντος Λουκίου Μαλλίου⁷
 Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μενηνία⁸ καὶ Γαῖου Σεμπρωνίου

¹ νομίμοις AMWE.

² V: κακέϊνοις rell.

³ ὁ χρόνος Herwerden: χρόνος PFV: χρόνοις rell.

⁴ ὑπῆρχεν PFV.

⁵ ἤγαγε PFV.

⁶ Brissonius: Κόππῳ P: Κόμπῳ F: Κομπίῳ rell.: campo Lat.: πομπίῳ Exc.

⁷ ex Lat. Niese: Μαννίου aut Μανίου (om. P) codd.

⁸ Manutius: Mentina codd.: Τρομεντία Ritschl.

^a In *Ant.* xi. 322-324.

^b This would place the building of the temple c. 330 B.C., cf. Appendix B, Books 9-11. The destruction of the Samaritan temple by Hyrcanus is probably alluded to in *Megillath Ta'anith*, under date of 21st of Kislew (December), as “the day of Mount Gerizim.”

^c Cf. above, § 207 note e.

brother of the high priest Jaddua, as we have related before.^a Now it was two hundred years later that this temple was laid waste.^b Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaeen cities of Adora^c and Marisa,^d and after subduing all the Idumaeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws^e of the Jews. And so, out of attachment to the land of their fathers, they submitted to circumcision and to making their manner of life conform in all other respects to that of the Jews. And from that time on they have continued to be Jews.^f

(2) ^g Now as the high priest Hyrcanus wished to renew the friendship with the Romans, he sent an embassy to them. And the Senate received his letter, and made an alliance of friendship with him in the following terms. "Fannius, the son of Marcus, the praetor,^h convened the Senate on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitiumⁱ in the presence of Lucius Mallius,^j the son of Lucius, of the Menenian^k tribe, and of Gaius Sempronius,^l the

Hyrcanus renews the treaty with Rome.

^a Bibl. Mareshah, mod. *Tell Sandahanna*, cf. *Ant.* viii. 246 note *i*.

^b Variant "customs" or "ordinances."

^c The remarks on the building of the Samaritan temple and the judaizing of the Idumaeans have no parallel in *B.J.* i. 62-63.

^d On the problem whether the following document is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus VII Sidetes (c. 132 B.C.) or in the reign of his son, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (c. 105 B.C.), see the works cited in Appendix J.

^e *σπαρτηγός* is the translation of Lat. *praetor*, cf. *Magie*, pp. 6, 11.

^f Conj. for corrupt readings of mss.

^g Conj. for mss. "Man(n)ius."

^h Conj. for mss. "Mentinan."

ⁱ G. Fannius and G. Sempronius were praetors in 132 B.C., cf. *Münzer* in *PW* 6. 1988 and *IIA*. 1441.

Γαίου¹ υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσε Σίμων
 Δοσιθέου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Διό-
 δωρος Ἰάσονος, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πεμφ-
 261 θέντες ὑπὸ δήμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ διελέχθησαν
 περὶ φιλίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τούτοις καὶ συμμαχίας
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων,
 ὅπως τε Ἰόππη καὶ λιμένες καὶ Γάζαρα² καὶ Πηγαι
 καὶ ὅσας πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄλλας καὶ χωρία πολεμῶν
 ἔλαβεν Ἀντίοχος παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα,³
 262 ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῆ, ἵνα τε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς
 βασιλικοῖς μὴ ἐξῆ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ
 τῶν⁴ ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν⁵ διέρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὰ
 κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνον ψηφισθέντα⁶ ὑπὸ Ἀν-
 τιόχου παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἄκυρα
 263 γένηται, ἵνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθῆναί τε
 αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι τὰ ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα,
 καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
 διεφθαρμένην, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς πρὸς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ
 δήμους ἐλευθέρους γράμματα δῶσιν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν
 264 τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἐπανόδου. ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ τούτων
 ταῦτα· ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς
 ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ δήμου πεμφθέντας ἀγαθοῦ

¹ ed. pr.: Πενναίου aut Πεννέου codd.: Γναίου Cobet.

² Γάζωρα PFA¹W. Zora Lat.

³ δόγμα ἀφείλετο LAMW (quae post πολεμῶν om. ἔλαβεν).

⁴ καὶ τῶν om. LAMW Exc. Lat.

⁵ ὄντων LAMW Lat.: om. Exc.

⁶ ψηλαφηθέντα FLV: gesta Lat.: λεηλατηθέντα Naber.

^a So ed. pr.: mss. "Pennaesus."

son of Gaius,^a of the Falernian tribe, to discuss the matters presented by the envoys Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, worthy and excellent men sent by the Jewish people, who also spoke of the friendship and alliance existing between their people and the Romans, and of public affairs such as their request that Joppa and its harbours and Gazara and Pegae^b and whatever other cities and territories Antiochus took from them in war,^c contrary to the decree^d of the Senate, be restored to them, and that the soldiers of the king be not permitted to march through their country or those of their subjects, and that the laws made^e by Antiochus during this same war contrary to the decree of the Senate be annulled, and that the Romans send envoys to bring about the restitution of the places taken from the Jews by Antiochus and to estimate the value of the territory ruined during the war, and also that they give the Jewish envoys letters to the kings and free cities to assure their safe return homeward. Concerning these matters, therefore, it has been decreed that the alliance of friendship be renewed with the worthy men who have been sent by a worthy and friendly

^b Mod. *Rās el 'Ain*, c. 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, cf. *BASOR* 11 (Oct. 1923), pp. 6 ff.

^c If this decree was passed in the time of Antiochus VII, the reference is probably to his recapture of the cities and harbours (on the Philistine coast) for which he had earlier demanded tribute from the Jews, cf. above, § 246.

^d *δόγμα* is usually the translation of Lat. *senatus consultum*, sometimes of *senatus decretum*, cf. A. A. Schiller, *Textbook of Roman Law*, p. 112.

^e Variant "things attempted" (lit. "groped after"); conjectured variant "spoil taken."

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- 265 καὶ φίλου.” περὶ μέντοι τῶν γραμμάτων¹ ἀπεκρίναντο βουλευέσθαι,² ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ σύγκλητος εὐσκολήση, σπουδάσειν τε τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα τοιοῦτο γενήσεσθαι, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατηγὸν Φάννιον χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ὅπως³ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανεέλθοιεν.
- 266 Φάννιος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀποπέμπει τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεις, χρήματα⁴ δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ δόγμα συγκλήτου πρὸς τοὺς διαπέμψοντας⁵ καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρεξομένους τὴν οἴκαδε παρουσίαν.
- 267 (3) Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμουμένῳ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο καιρὸς οὐδ’ ἀφορμή, τῶν τε Σύρων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθανομένων (πονηρὸς γὰρ ἦν) καὶ πεμφάντων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φύσκωνα ἐπικληθέντα πρέσβεις, ὅπως τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου γένους παραδῶ αὐτοῖς ἀποληψόμενον⁶
- 268 τὴν βασιλείαν. τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Ζεβινᾶν⁷ ἐπιλεγόμενον, καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἠττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ φεύγει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν

¹ πραγμάτων AMW Exc.: rebus ablatis Lat.

² Hudson: βουλευέσθαι V: βουλευσασθαι rell.

³ Naber: ὅπως ἂν codd.

⁴ + τε AMW Exc.

⁵ διαπέμψαντας PFLV Exc.

⁶ ἀποληψόμενος V: ληψόμενον LAME: λειψόμενον W.

⁷ Ζεβίναν PW: Zebenna Lat., cf. § 273.

^a Variant “ matters.” As Reinach notes, the reference is probably to the Jewish appeal to Rome to intervene in their quarrel with Antiochus, which the Senate politely tabled.

people." Concerning the letters,^a however, they replied that they would deliberate when the Senate should have leisure from its own affairs, and that they would take care that no similar injustice should be done them in future, and also that the praetor Fannius should give them money from the public treasury for their return home. Accordingly Fannius dismissed the Jewish envoys in this manner, giving them money from the public treasury and a decree of the Senate to those who were to conduct them on their way and furnish them a safe return home.

(3) ^b Such, then, was the situation under the high priest Hyrcanus. As for King Demetrius, who was eager to march against Hyrcanus, he found neither the time nor the occasion for doing so, as both the Syrians and his soldiers were hostile to him—for he was a scoundrel—and sent envoys to Ptolemy, surnamed Physcon,^c asking him to give them someone of the family of Seleucus to occupy the throne. Ptolemy therefore sent Alexander, also called Zebinas,^d with an army, and a battle with Demetrius took place,^e in which Demetrius was defeated; he then fled to

Alexander
Zebinas
seizes the
throne from
Demetrius
II.

^b The following section, chiefly on Seleucid history, to § 275, like the Roman decree preceding, has no parallel in *B.J.*

^c Ptolemy VII Euergetes II, nicknamed Physcon ("fat paunch"); he was a brother of Ptolemy Philometor, and reigned from 146 to 116 B.C.; on his enmity to the Jews of Egypt see *Ap.* ii. 51-55.

^d This name, written Zabinas in some ancient sources, is the Gr. form of Aram. *Zebînâ* "the bought one"; it occurs as a Jewish name in Ezra x. 43. According to Justinus, xxxix. 1. 4, Zebinas was an Egyptian youth whom Ptolemy put forward as an adopted son of Antiochus Sidetes; according to Porphyry (*ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene i. 257), he was represented to be a son of Alexander Balas.

^e Near Damascus, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 250.

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τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένης αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τύρον ἀπελθὼν ἀλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν μισούντων
 269 ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ἔπειτα¹ πολεμήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικληθέντος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ διαφθείρεται.

270 (x. 1) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύειν εὐλαβῆς ἦν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκούων τὸν ὁμομήτριον (Ἀντίοχος δὲ κακῆϊνος ἐκαλεῖτο) δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 271 ἀπὸ Κυζίκου συλλέγειν. μένων δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔγνω παρασκευάζειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν τὰδελφοῦ, ὃς Κυζικηνὸς μὲν ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τὸ τραφῆναι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, πατὴρ δ' ἦν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπικληθέντος, ὃς ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπέθανεν· οὗτος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Δημητρίου τοῦ Γρυποῦ πατρός. συνέβη μέντοι μίαν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς γῆμαι Κλεοπάτραν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱστορήκαμεν.²
 272 ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀντίοχος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμῶν

¹ + δὲ LAMWE.

² δεδηλώκαμεν AMW: rettulimus Lat.

^a His former wife, who had married his brother Antiochus Sidetes when Demetrius was captured, *cf.* above, §§ 221-222. Cleopatra was reunited with Demetrius on the death of Antiochus Sidetes.

^b According to Appian, *Syr.* 68, and Livy, *Epit.* lx., it was Cleopatra who ordered Demetrius to be killed. This was in 126/5 B.C.

^c In 123/2 B.C.

Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra,^a but as his wife would not receive him, he went from there to Tyre, where he was captured and put to death after suffering severely at the hands of those who hated him.^b Thereupon Alexander took over the royal power and made friends with the high priest Hyrcanus. Later,^c in a battle with Demetrius' son Antiochus, surnamed Grypus,^d he was defeated and killed.

(x. 1) But when Antiochus took over the royal power in Syria, he was wary of marching upon Judaea, for he heard that his brother on his mother's side—he too was called Antiochus^e—was collecting a force against him from Cyzicus.^f And so he decided to remain in his own land and prepare himself to meet the incursion of his brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus because he had been brought up in the city of Cyzicus, being the son of Antiochus, surnamed Soter,^g who had met death among the Parthians; this Antiochus (Soter) was a brother of Grypus' father Demetrius, for it so happened that Cleopatra had been married to the two brothers, as we have narrated elsewhere.^h And Antiochus Cyzicenus came into Syria and waged continuous war upon his brother

Antiochus
Grypus
becomes
king, and is
attacked by
Antiochus
Cyzicenus.

^a Antiochus VIII Grypus, the son of Demetrius II by Cleopatra, *cf.* § 271 and next note.

^e Antiochus IX Cyzicenus was the son of Antiochus Sidetes; thus he was both a step-brother and a cousin of Antiochus Grypus, as Josephus explains in § 271.

^f Reinach suspects the words "from Cyzicus" of being interpolated, but gives no reason for his suspicion. Possibly in Josephus' source these words originally followed the surname "Cyzicenus" to explain it.

^g "Soter" is not elsewhere given as a surname of Antiochus VII, *cf.* § 222 note *a*.

^h *Cf.* § 222. However, as Reinach notes, Josephus may have taken over the cross-reference from his source.

273 διετέλει. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ πάντα ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγεν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἀν-
 τίοχου τελευτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέστη καὶ οὔτε
 ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρ-
 εῖχεν,¹ ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει
 πολλῇ καὶ ἀκμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζεβι-
 ναίου καιροὺς καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελ-
 φοῖς.² ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς πόλεμος
 σχολὴν Ὑρκανῷ καρποῦσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπ'
 274 ἀδείας παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος χρημάτων
 συναγαγεῖν. τοῦ μέντοι γε Κυζικηνοῦ τὴν γῆν
 κακοῦντος, φανερώς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ προαί-
 ρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συμ-
 μάχων ἔρημον ὄρων τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ αὐτόν τε
 πράττοντα κακῶς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσιν, ἀμφοτέρων κατεφρόνησεν.³
 275 (2) Καὶ στρατεύει μὲν ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν πόλιν
 ὀχυρωτάτην, περὶ ἧς, ὅτι καλεῖται νῦν Σεβαστὴ
 κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, κατὰ χώραν⁴ δηλώσομεν.
 προσβαλὼν δὲ αὐτῇ φιλοπόνως⁵ ἐπολιόρκει, μισο-
 πονηρῶν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν Μαρισηνοὺς
 ἀποίκους ὄντας Ἰουδαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἠδίκησαν,

¹ προσεῖχεν coni. Niese.

² τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν coni. Richards-Shutt.

³ + Ὑρκανός LAMWE.

⁴ σχολὴν FLV.

⁵ φιλοφρόνως PFV.

^a From 122 to 113 B.C. Grypus ruled alone; from 113 to 111 B.C. he was kept out of Syria by Cyzicenus; in 111 B.C. he returned and took the greater part of the country from Cyzicenus, who had to be content with ruling Coele-Syria (Phoenicia and Palestine). Hostilities between them continued until the death of Grypus in 96 B.C.

^b "All this time" means the years 129 to 104 B.C., when Hyrcanus died.

for many years.^a But during all this time Hyrcanus lived in peace^b; for after the death of Antiochus (Sidetes) he too revolted from the Macedonians, and no longer furnished them any aid^c either as a subject or as a friend; instead, his government progressed and flourished greatly during the reign of Alexander Zebinas^d and especially under these brothers. For the war between them gave Hyrcanus leisure to exploit Judaea undisturbed, with the result that he amassed a limitless sum of money. Moreover, when Cyzicenus ravaged his land,^e he openly showed his intention,^f and seeing that Antiochus had been deserted by his Egyptian allies^g and that both he and his brother were faring badly in their struggle with each other, he^h showed contempt for both of them.

Hyrcanus makes himself independent of the Seleucids.

(2) And so he marched against Samaria, a very strongly fortified city; how this city was foundedⁱ by Herod under the name of Sebaste, as it is now called, we shall relate in the proper place.^j And he attacked and besieged it vigorously; for he hated the Samaritans as scoundrels because of the injuries which, in obedience to the kings of Syria, they had

Hyrcanus besieges Samaria.

^a Lit. "furnished anything," for which Niese conjectures "held to them."

^d Cf. above, § 268.

^e Cf. § 278.

^f i.e. his hostility.

^g In 106 B.C. Ptolemy VIII Soter II Lathyrus came to Syria as an ally of Cyzicenus, while his mother Cleopatra III was supporting Grypus, cf. Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 328-330, and §§ 278 ff.

^h Variant "Hyrcanus."

ⁱ Or, as we should say, "refounded." On the technical concept of city-founding see A. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen vom Alexander d. Gr. bis auf die Römerzeit* (*Philologus*, Supplbd. xix, H. 1), 1927.

^j Variant "in good time"; the reference is to *Ant.* xv. 296 ff.

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276 ὑπακούοντες τοῖς τῶν Σύρων βασιλεῦσιν. περιβαλὼν οὖν τάφρον πανταχόθεν τῇ πόλει καὶ διπλοῦν τεῖχος ὡς¹ σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐφίστησιν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. ὧν ἐγκειμένων² εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ προαχθῆναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἄψασθαι μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀήθων, ἐπικαλέσασθαι δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν

277 Κυζικηνόν. ὃς ἐτοίμως ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἠττᾶται, διωχθεὶς δ' ἄχρι Σκυθοπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διέφυγεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες συγκλείουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦς, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐπικαλέσασθαι σύμμαχον πέμψαντας τὸν³

278 αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὃς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου μεταπεμφάμενος ἄνδρας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὓς ἀκούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅσον οὐπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκυίας ἔξαπέστειλε, τὸ⁴ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ χώραν μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ληστρικῶς, μάχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐ τολμῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἢ δύναμις αὐτοῦ) νομίζων δὲ τῇ κακώσει τῆς

¹ ὡς Niese: ὡς ἀπὸ P: ἀπὸ rell.

³ πρὸς τὸν AMWE.

² ἐπικειμένων PFV.

⁴ ὡς τὸ AMWE.

^a Marisa, an Idumaeen city, had recently been captured by Hyrcanus, *cf.* § 257; but it is difficult, as Reinach remarks, to see how the Samaritans could have got to a city in Idumaea. I suggest, therefore, that "Marisa" is a textual error for "Samaria," meaning that part of Samaria the territory, not the city, presumably colonized by Hyrcanus after he took Shechem and other Samaritan cities, *cf.* § 255.

done to the people of Marisa, who were colonists and allies of the Jews.^a Accordingly he made a trench round the city on all sides, and a double wall for a distance of some eighty stades,^b and placed his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus in charge. And as they pressed the siege, the Samaritans were finally brought by famine to such a state of need^c that they were forced to take for food even things that are not used for that purpose, and at the same time to call upon Antiochus Cyzicenus for help.^d He readily came to their assistance, but he was defeated by Aristobulus and was pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis, where he made his escape. The brothers then returned to Samaria and once more shut up the Samaritans within the wall,^e so that a second time they had to call upon this same Antiochus for aid; he thereupon applied to Ptolemy Lathyrus^f for six thousand men, which the latter sent to him against the wish of his mother,^g who all but drove him from the kingdom when she heard of it; and with these Egyptians Antiochus at first invaded and ravaged Hyrcanus' territory like a brigand, for he dared not meet him in battle face to face—his force was not adequate for that—, but supposed that by damaging

A similar confusion occurs in the mss. of 1 Macc. v. 66, *cf.* *Ant.* xii. 353 note *h*. ^b *C.* 9 miles.

^c A Thucydidean phrase (*Thuc.* i. 49. 7) found also in § 382, but not in the parallel *B.J.* i. 64.

^d The parallel in *B.J.* i. 65 has "Antiochus Aspendius," meaning Antiochus VIII Grypus; if that is correct, the siege must have taken place before 113 B.C., *cf.* § 272 note *a*. But, as Schürer remarks, i. 268 n. 22, the appeal of Antiochus to Ptolemy Lathyrus favours a later date, shortly before 107 B.C.

^e The following sections, to § 299, have no parallels in *B.J.* (except for a brief phrase or two in §§ 281 and 288).

^f See note *a*, p. 370. ^g Cleopatra III, *cf.* § 274 note *g*.

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γῆς ἀναγκάσειν Ὑρκανὸν λύσαι τὴν τῆς Σαμαρείας
 279 πολιορκίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 ἀπώλλυεν ἐνέδραις περιπίπτων, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τρί-
 πολιν, Καλλιμάνδρῳ καὶ Ἐπικράτει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψας.

280 (3) Καλλίμανδρος μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις προσενεχθεῖς¹ εἰς φυγὴν τραπόμενος² παρα-
 χρῆμα διεφθάρη. Ἐπικράτης δὲ ὑπὸ φιλοχρη-
 ματίας τὴν τε Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτη
 χωρία προὔδωκε φανερώς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τὴν δὲ
 281 Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν διαλύειν³ οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ὑρ-
 κανὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας
 οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν
 ἠφάνισεν, ἐπὶ κλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας·
 διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε εἰς χαράδρας⁴ μετα-
 πεσεῖν, τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν
 282 ἀφείλετο. παράδοξον δέ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
 Ὑρκανοῦ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς
 λόγους ἦλθεν· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν
 ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ
 συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὢν ὁ⁵
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἀκούσειε φωνῆς ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νε-
 283 νικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ τοῦτο

¹ ἀποκρινάμενος PFV: συμβαλὼν E.

² θρασύτερον . . . τραπόμενος] adversariis fugam simulan-
 tibus et post reversis Lat.

⁴ χαράδραν LAMW.

³ λύειν AMWE.

⁵ ὁ οἰη. PA¹VE.

^a On the Syrian coast, N. of Berytus.

^b According to the parallel in *B.J.* i. 66 the Jews took Scythopolis by arms after the fall of Samaria, and then

his territory he would compel Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. However, after losing many of his men by falling into ambushes, he went off to Tripolis,^a leaving Callimandrus and Epicrates to direct the war against the Jews.

(3) But as Callimandrus attacked the enemy too recklessly, he was put to rout and killed on the spot. As for Epicrates, out of greed for money he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews,^b but could not bring the siege of Samaria to an end. And so Hyrcanus captured the city after besieging it for a year, but not being content with that alone, he effaced it entirely and left it to be swept away by the mountain-torrents,^c for he dug beneath it until it fell into the beds of the torrents, and so removed all signs of its ever having been a city.^d Now about the high priest Hyrcanus an extraordinary story^e is told how the Deity communicated with him, for they say that on the very day on which his sons fought with Cyzicenus, Hyrcanus, who was alone in the temple, burning incense as high priest,^f heard a voice saying that his sons had just defeated occupied the country between Scythopolis (mod. *Beisān*) and Mount Carmel.

Hyrcanus
destroys
Samaria.

^c Variant "a mountain-torrent." For evidences of Hyrcanus' destruction see Reisner, Fisher, Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria (1909-1910)*, 2 vols., 1924.

^d The capture of (the wall of) Samaria is mentioned in *Megillath Ta'anith* under the date of 25th of Heshwan (November).

^e For a rabbinic parallel to this story, see Derenbourg, p. 74.

^f Presumably on the Day of Atonement, on the 10th of Tishri, cf. Lev. xvi. 12 ff.; if that is so, there is a chronological discrepancy between this story and the notice in *Megillath Ta'anith* (cf. above, note d). The rabbinic parallels to Josephus' account do not indicate when Hyrcanus received the revelation.

προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερόν
ἐποίησε, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν
περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

- 284 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔτυχε τὸν καιρὸν μὴ μόνον
τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίους
εὐπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατ-
285 οικουῦντας καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κύπρῳ· Κλεοπάτρα
γὰρ ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν στασιάζουσα Πτο-
λεμαῖον τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπιλεγόμενον κατέστησεν
ἡγεμόνας Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν, υἱοὺς ὄντας Ὀνίου
τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ
νομῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν¹
286 δεδηλώκαμεν. παραδοῦσα δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα
τὴν στρατιὰν οὐδὲν δίχα τῆς τούτων γνώμης
ἔπραττεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Στράβων ἡμῖν ὁ Καπ-
287 πάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· “ οἱ γὰρ πλείους, οἳ τε
συγκατελθόντες² καὶ³ οἱ ὕστερον ἐπιπεμπόμενοι
παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Κύπρον, μετεβάλλοντο
παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ
τῆς Ὀνίου λεγόμενοι⁴ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέμενον διὰ τὸ
τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν μάλιστα παρὰ τῇ
βασιλίσσῃ Χελκίαν τε καὶ Ἀνανίαν.” ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν ὁ Στράβων φησίν.

¹ ἐν ἄλλοις PFLV.

³ ἡμῖν καὶ FLV.

² συνελθόντες PFV.

⁴ γενόμενοι P.

^a Lathyrus (“ chick-pea ”) was the popular name of Ptolemy VIII Soter II, cf. § 274 note g.

Antiochus. And on coming out of the temple he revealed this to the entire multitude, and so it actually happened. This, then, was how the affairs of Hyrcanus were going.

(4) At this time not only were the Jews in Jerusalem and in the country (of Judaea) in a flourishing condition, but also those who lived in Alexandria and in Egypt and Cyprus. For Queen Cleopatra, who was at war with her son Ptolemy, surnamed Lathyrus,^a appointed as her generals Chelkias^b and Ananias,^c sons of the Onias who had built the temple in the nome of Heliopolis, which was similar to the one at Jerusalem, as we have related before.^d And having entrusted her army to them, Cleopatra did nothing without their approval, as Strabo of Cappadocia also testifies, when he writes as follows. "For the majority, both those who came back from exile and those who were later sent to Cyprus by Cleopatra, immediately went over to Ptolemy. And only the Jews of the district named for Onias remained faithful to her, because their fellow-citizens^e Chelkias and Ananias were held in special favour by the queen."^f This, then, is what Strabo says.

The favourable position of the Jews in Egypt under Cleopatra.

^b The Gr. form of bibl. Hilkiyah (*Hilqiyāhū*).

^c The Gr. form of bibl. Hananiah (*Hananyāh*).

^d Variant "elsewhere"; cf. §§ 62-73.

^e Or "co-religionists," cf. *Ant.* xii. 46 note *d*.

^f Gutschmid (cited by Fuchs, p. 16) suggests that Chelkias is the unnamed general of Cleopatra III, referred to in Justinus xxxix. 4, who was executed for letting Ptolemy escape her hands. Reinach, *REJ* xl. (1900), pp. 50 ff., identifies as a son of Chelkias the στρατηγός of the Heliopolitan nome mentioned in an inscription of 102 B.C. The struggle referred to in the excerpt from Strabo was that between Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III during the years 107-102 B.C., cf. Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 329-331.

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288 (5) Ὑρκανῶ δὲ φθόνον ἐκίνησε παρὰ τῶν Ἰου-
 δαίων ἢ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν¹ εὐπραγία, μάλιστα
 δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κακῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον, αἵρεσις
 ὄντες μία τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω
 δεδηλώκαμεν. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ
 τῷ πλήθει ὡς καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες καὶ
 289 κατ' ἀρχιερέως εὐθὺς² πιστεύεσθαι. μαθητῆς δὲ
 αὐτῶν ἦν³ καὶ Ὑρκανός,⁴ καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 ἠγαπάτο. καὶ δὴ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἐστίασιν καὶ
 φιλοφρόνως ὑποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ σφόδρα ἠδομένους
 ἑώρα, λέγειν ἤρξατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἴσασιν μὲν
 αὐτὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντα
 ἐξ ὧν ἀρέσειεν ἂν τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς (οἱ⁵ γὰρ
 290 Φαρισαῖοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν), ἠξίου γε μὴν, εἴ τι
 βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
 δικαίας ἐκτρεπόμενον, εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανάγειν καὶ
 ἐπανορθοῦν. τῶν δὲ μαρτυρησάντων αὐτῷ πᾶσαν
 ἀρετὴν, ὃ μὲν ἦσθη τοῖς ἐπαίνοις,⁶ εἰς δέ τις τῶν
 291 κατακειμένων Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, κακοήθης ὢν φύ-
 σει καὶ στάσει χαίρων, "ἐπεὶ," φησὶν, "ἠξίωσας
 γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ θέλεις⁷ εἶναι δίκαιος, τὴν
 292 ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόθου, καὶ μόνον ἀρκείτω σοι τὸ
 ἀρχεῖν τοῦ λαοῦ." τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου

¹ τε . . . υἱῶν om. PFVE.

² εὐθὺς PFLAMW: facile Lat.

³ ἦν om. LAMWE.

⁴ + ἐγεγόνει AMWE.

⁵ αὐτοῖ WE.

⁶ ἐπαινοῦσιν PFLV.

⁷ θέλεις δὲ PFL.

^a The following story of Hyrcanus' break with the Pharisees, §§ 288-298, has a parallel in the Bab. Talmud, *Qiddušin* 66a, for which see Derenbourg, pp. 79-81; there the Hasmonaeian ruler is called Yannai (= Alexander Jannaeus)

(5) ^a As for Hyrcanus, the envy of the Jews was aroused against him by his own successes and those of his sons ^b; particularly hostile to him were the Pharisees, who are one of the Jewish schools, as we have related above.^c And so great is their influence with the masses that even when they speak against a king or high priest,^d they immediately gain credence. Hyrcanus too was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And once he invited them to a feast and entertained them hospitably, and when he saw that they were having a very good time, he began by saying that they knew he wished to be righteous and in everything he did tried to please God and them—for the Pharisees profess such beliefs; at the same time he begged them, if they observed him doing anything wrong or straying from the right path, to lead him back to it and correct him. But they testified to his being altogether virtuous, and he was delighted with their praise. However, one of the guests, named Eleazar,^e who had an evil nature and took pleasure in dissension, said, “Since you have asked to be told the truth, if you wish to be righteous, give up the high-priesthood and be content with governing the people.” And when Hyrcanus

The
Pharisees
ask
Hyrcanus
to give up
the high
priesthood.

instead of Johanan (John); on the confusion of the two names in Hebrew *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 80 note 1, p. 95 note 1.

^b The variant omits “and those of his sons.”

^c §§ 171-173.

^d As Reinach notes, the distinction here made between the king and the high priest indicates Josephus' use of a source of Herod's time, presumably Nicolas of Damascus. To this I may add the observation that the style of most of the passages on the Jewish sects suggests the hand of Nicolas.

^e The Hasmonaean ruler's critic is called Judah in the Talmudic parallel.

δι' ἣν ἀπόθοιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην “ ὅτι,” φησίν,
 “ ἀκούομεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμάλωτόν
 σου γεγονέναι τὴν μητέρα βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου
 τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς.” ψευδῆς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἦν· καὶ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν Ὑρκανὸς παρωξύνθη, καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ
 Φαρισαῖοι σφοδρῶς ἠγανάκτησαν.

- 293 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς Σαδδουκαίων αἰρέσεως, οἱ τὴν
 ἐναντίαν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν,
 Ἰωνάθης¹ τις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὢν Ὑρκανῶ
 τῇ κοινῇ πάντων Φαρισαίων γνώμῃ ποιήσασθαι τὰς
 βλασφημίας τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔλεγεν· καὶ τοῦτο
 ἔσεσθαι φανερόν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων τίνος
 294 ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κολάσεως. τοῦ δὲ
 Ὑρκανοῦ τοὺς Φαρισαίους ἐρομένου τίνος αὐτὸν
 ἄξιον ἠγοῦνται τιμωρίας (πεισθήσεσθαι² γὰρ οὐ
 μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γεγονέναι τὰς βλασφη-
 μίας, τιμησαμένων αὐτὸν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς δίκης)
 πληγῶν ἔφασαν καὶ δεσμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λαιδο-
 ρίας ἔνεκα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φύσει
 πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιεικῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.
 295 πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν ἐχαλέπηνε, καὶ δοκοῦν³ ἐκείνοις
 ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνό-
 μισεν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάθης
 296 καὶ διέθηκεν οὕτως, ὥστε τῇ Σαδδουκαίων ἐποίησε⁴
 προσθέσθαι μοίρα, τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάντα καὶ
 τά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ

¹ Ἰωάννης AMWE hic et infra, § 295.

² πειραθήσεσθαι PFL.

³ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν LAMWE.

⁴ ποιῆσαι FV: ποιεῖσθαι Hudson: om. Naber cum E.

^a This would have been a violation of the laws, based on Lev. xxi. 14, concerning the genealogical qualifications of the high priest.

asked him for what reason he should give up the high-priesthood, he replied, " Because we have heard from our elders that your mother was a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." ^a But the story was false, and Hyrcanus was furious with the man, while all the Pharisees were very indignant.

(6) Then a certain Jonathan, ^b one of Hyrcanus' close friends, belonging to the school of Sadducees, who hold opinions opposed to those of the Pharisees, said that it had been with the general approval of all the Pharisees that Eleazar had made his slanderous statement; and this, he added, would be clear to Hyrcanus if he inquired of them what punishment Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And so Hyrcanus asked the Pharisees what penalty they thought he deserved—for, he said, he would be convinced that ^c the slanderous statement had not been made with their approval if they fixed a penalty commensurate with the crime—, and they replied that Eleazar deserved stripes and chains; for they did not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments. At this Hyrcanus became very angry and began to believe that the fellow had slandered him with their approval. And Jonathan in particular inflamed his anger, and so worked upon him that he brought him to join the Sadducean party and desert the Pharisees, and to abrogate the regulations ^d which they had established

Hyrcanus forsakes the Pharisees for the Sadducees.

^b Variant John (Gr. Joannes); the Sadducean spokesman is called Eleazar in the Talmudic parallel.

^c Variant " would test whether."

^d These legal innovations are noted in the Mishnah, *Ma'aser Sheni*, v. 15, *Soṭah* ix. 10.

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καταλύσαι καὶ τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὰ κολάσαι.
 μῖσος οὖν ἐντεύθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς παρὰ
 297 τοῦ πλήθους ἐγένετο.¹ περὶ μέντοι τούτων αὖθις
 ἐροῦμεν. νῦν δὲ δηλώσαι βούλομαι ὅτι νόμιμά
 τινα² παρέδωσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων
 διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος
 νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων
 γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα
 τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων
 298 μὴ τηρεῖν. καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ
 διαφορὰς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας, τῶν μὲν
 Σαδδουκαίων τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ
 δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἐπόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ
 Φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ
 περὶ μὲν τούτων τῶν δύο καὶ τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν ἐν τῇ
 δευτέρα μου³ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀκριβῶς δεδήλωται.⁴
 299 (7) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν καὶ μετ'
 αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησά-
 μενος τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα,
 τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν υἱοὺς πέντε, τριῶν τῶν μεγίσ-
 των ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους
 300 καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας· συνῆν

¹ E: διεγένετο aut αἰεὶ ἐγένετο codd.: concitatum est Lat.

² πολλά τινα ed. pr.

³ + βίβλω L: secundo volumine Lat.

⁴ δεδηλώκαμεν (+ βίβλω P) PFLV Lat.

for the people, and punish those who observed them. Out of this, of course, grew the hatred of the masses for him and his sons, but of this we shall speak hereafter.^a For the present I wish merely to explain that the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadduceean group, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture), and that those which had been handed down by former generations^b need not be observed. And concerning these matters the two parties came to have controversies and serious differences, the Sadducees having the confidence of the wealthy alone but no following among the populace, while the Pharisees have the support of the masses. But of these two schools and of the Essenes a detailed account has been given^c in the second book of my *Judaica*.^d

(7) ^e And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak,^f and lived happily thereafter; and when he died after administering the government excellently for thirty-one years,^g he left five sons. Now he was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the rule of the nation, the office of high-priest, and

The providential gifts of Hyrcanus.

^a In §§ 301 ff., 320 ff.

^b Lit. "by the fathers."

^c Variant "we have given."

^d *B.J.* ii. 119 ff.

^e At this point the parallelism with *B.J.* resumes, *cf.* *B.J.* i. 67.

^f Meaning the opposition of the Pharisees to Hyrcanus and his sons, as is more clearly stated in the parallel in *B.J.*

^g The mss. of the parallel, *B.J.* i. 68, give 33 years, but Hegesippus agrees with this passage and *Ant.* xx. 240 in giving 31 years, which is correct, since Hyrcanus ruled from 135 to 104 B.C.

γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρό-
γνωσιν παρέιχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν
οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
αὐτοῦ παίδων ὅτι μὴ μενοῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων
κύριοι προεῖπεν. ὦν τὴν καταστροφὴν εἰς τὸ
μαθεῖν ὅσον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπέβησαν¹ εὐτυχίας
ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι.

- 301 (xi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ
πρεσβύτατος Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασι-
λείαν μεταθεῖναι δόξας (ἔκρινε γὰρ οὕτω) διάδημα
πρῶτος περιτίθεται² μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἀριθμὸν
ἐτῶν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μηνῶν τριῶν ἀφ'
οὔ τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίοις³ δουλείας ἀπαλλαγείς ὁ
302 λαὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κατῆλθεν.⁴ στέργων δὲ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον, τοῦτον μὲν
τῶν ὁμοίων ἡξίου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς.
εἶρξε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ
διενεχθεῖσαν (ἐκείνην γὰρ Ἵρκανὸς τῶν ὄλων
κυρίαν κατελελοίπει⁵) καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος
προῆλθεν, ὥστ' αὐτὴν καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι⁶ δεδε-
303 μένην. προστίθησι δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν

¹ ὑπερέβησαν PFL

² ex Argumentis Niese: ἐπιτίθεται codd.

³ Βαβυλῶνος PFLV.

⁴ ἐπανῆλθε FLV Zonaras.

⁵ καταλείπει PFL: καταλίποι V: reliquerat Lat.

⁶ διέφθειρεν PAMW: διαφθείρειν F.

^a Thus he possessed the attributes of the ideal ruler, according to Stoic belief and Philo; for similar passages in Hellenistic literature cf. P. Wendland, *Die hellenistische-römische Kultur*, and recent works on Philo, such as those by Bréhier and Goodenough. It should be noted that Josephus (or his source) does not use "prophecy" in the
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the gift of prophecy ^a; for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future; so, for example, he foretold of his two elder sons that they would not remain masters of the state. And the story of their downfall is worth relating, to show how far they were from having ^b their father's good fortune.

(xi. 1) After their father's death the eldest son Aristobulus saw fit to transform the government into a kingdom, which he judged the best form, and he was the first to put a diadem on his head, ^c four hundred and eighty-one years and three months after the time when the people were released from the Babylonian captivity and returned to their own country. ^d Now of his brothers he loved only Antigonus, who was next in age, and considered him worthy of a position like his own, while he kept his other brothers in chains. He also imprisoned his mother, who had disputed the royal power with him—for Hyrcanus had left her mistress of the realm—, and carried his cruelty so far that he caused her to die of starvation in prison. And to the death of his mother he added that of

Aristobulus
I becomes
ruler with
the title of
king.

biblical sense, *cf.* *Ant.* xii. 318 note *e*, and Moore, *Judaism* i. 421.

^b The variant "how far they surpassed" is obviously corrupt; *cf.* also the parallel in *B.J.* i. 69, ἀπέκλιναν.

^c Strabo, xvi. 2. 40, attributes this innovation to Aristobulus' successor, Alexander Jannaeus. The title "king" (*melek*) does not appear on the Heb. coins of Aristobulus, *cf.* works cited in Appendix L. The statement below that Hyrcanus left his wife mistress of the realm gives plausibility to Ricciotti's suggestion that stories about Alexander Jannaeus have become confused with those about Aristobulus.

^d *B.J.* i. 70 gives 471 years. Both numbers are too large, since the return from Babylon was in 537 B.C.; *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note to the parallel in *B.J.*

Ἀντίγονον, ὃν στέργειν ἔδοκει μάλιστα καὶ κοινω-
 νὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ διαβολῶν ἀπαλλοτριω-
 θεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν, αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευσε,
 τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτόν οὐ προσέχων τοῖς
 λεγομένοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ φθονούμενον ἡγούμενος
 304 διαβάλλεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου ποτὲ λαμπρῶς
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανελθόντος, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθ'
 ἣν σκηνοπηγοῦσι τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν
 ἐνστάσης, ἔτυχε¹ τὸν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς νόσον
 καταπεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπιτελοῦντα τὴν
 ἑορτὴν ἀναβῆναι λαμπρῶς σφόδρα κεκοσμημένον
 μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν ὀπλιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ
 305 πλείω περὶ τῆς τᾶδελφοῦ σωτηρίας εὔχεσθαι, τοὺς
 δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ διαστῆσαι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν
 ἐσπουδακότας, ἀφορμῇ χρησαμένους τῇ τε περὶ²
 τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου φιλοτιμία καὶ τοῖς ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ κατωρθωμένοις, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ
 κακοήθως ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐξαίρειν τὰ περὶ τὴν πομ-
 306 πὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ ὡς οὐ κατ' ἰδιώτην
 ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος ἐν-
 δειξιν εἶχε³ βασιλικῶς τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὡς κτεί-
 νειν αὐτόν μέλλει⁴ μετὰ στίφους ἐληλυθὼς καρ-
 τεροῦ, λογιζόμενον⁵ εὐθήθως αὐτόν, βασιλεύειν ἐνόν,
 τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα δοκεῖν μεγάλων τυγχάνειν.
 307 (2) Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τούτοις ἄκων⁶ πειθόμενος,
 καὶ τοῦ ἀνύποπτος εἶναι τᾶδελφῷ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς

¹ ἔτυχεν ὥστε LAMWE.

² πρὸς PFLV.

³ E: ἔχειν codd.

⁴ E: μέλλοι codd.

⁵ λογιζομένου FV: λογιζόμενος Cocceji.

⁶ τούτοις ἄκων] τούτων ἀκούων καὶ AMW.

his brother Antigonus, whom he seemed especially to love and had made his associate in the kingdom, for he was alienated from him by calumnies which at first he did not believe, disregarding the things that were said, partly because he loved Antigonus and partly because he believed that he was being calumniated out of envy. But on one occasion when Antigonus had returned from a campaign with glory,^a as the season of the festival during which tabernacles are erected to God was at hand, it chanced that Aristobulus fell ill, and Antigonus, arrayed in great splendour and with his heavy-armed soldiers about him, went up to the temple to celebrate the festival and to pray earnestly for his brother's recovery; thereupon the unscrupulous men who were bent on disrupting the harmonious relation between them, found in Antigonus' ambitious display and in the successes he had achieved, a pretext to go to the king and maliciously exaggerate the pomp of his appearance at the festival, saying that everything that had been done was out of keeping with the behaviour of a private person and that his actions rather had the indications of one who imagined himself a king, and that he had come with a strong body of troops with the intention of killing Aristobulus, reasoning that it would be absurd for him to believe that he had won any great distinction in having a share in high office when he might just as well be king himself.

Aristobulus becomes envious of his brother Antigonus.

(2) Aristobulus reluctantly began to believe these charges,^b and taking care not to be suspected by his

Aristobulus has Antigonus murdered.

^a Probably in the Lebanon region, *cf.* below, § 319, or in Galilee, *cf.* *B.J.* i. 76.

^b Variant "Aristobulus hearing these charges and believing them."

JOSEPHUS

ἀσφαλείας ἅμα φροντίζων, δίστησι τοὺς σωματο-
 φύλακας ἐν τινι τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστῳ (κατέκειτο
 δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνία) καὶ
 προσέταξεν ἀνόπλου μὲν ἄπτεσθαι μηδένα,¹ κτείνειν
 δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἂν ὀπλισμένος πρὸς αὐτὸν
 308 εἰσίῃ. πέμπει μέντοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον αὐτός, ἄν-
 οπλον αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἤκειν. ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα καὶ οἱ
 συνεπιβουλεύοντες αὐτῇ κατ' Ἀντιγόνου πείθουσι
 τὸν πεμφθέντα² τὰναντία λέγειν, ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς
 ἀκούσας ὅτι κατασκευάσειεν ὄπλα καὶ κόσμον
 πολεμικόν, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ
 309 ὀπλισμένον, ὅπως ἴδοι τὴν κατασκευήν. ὁ δ'
 Ἀντίγονος μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος³ κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ
 θαρρῶν τῇ παρὰ τᾶδελφοῦ διαθέσει, ὡς εἶχεν ἐνδε-
 δυμένος τὴν πανοπλίαν παρεγίνετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀρι-
 στόβουλον, ἐπιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὄπλα. γενόμενον δ'
 αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Στράτωνος καλούμενον πύργον, οὗ
 συνέβαιεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι σφόδρα τὴν πάροδον,
 310 ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ σωματοφύλακες. διέδειξέ γε μὴν
 ὁ τούτου θάνατος ὅτι μηδὲν μήτε φθόνου μήτε
 διαβολῆς ἰσχυρότερον, μηδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον εὐνοίαν καὶ
 φυσικὴν οἰκειότητα δίστησιν ἢ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη.
 311 μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις θαυμάσειε καὶ Ἰούδαν τινά,
 Ἐσσηνὸν⁴ μὲν τὸ γένος, οὐδέποτε δ' ἐν οἷς προεῖπεν
 διαψευδάμενον τᾶληθές· οὗτος γὰρ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀν-
 τίγονον παριόντα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τοῖς
 ἐταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ γνωρίμοις, οἱ διδασκαλίας ἕνεκα

¹ μηδενὸς LAMWE Lat.

² + ἀγγελοῦντα AMWE.

³ Cocceji: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.

⁴ Ἐσσαῖον AMWE Lat. (γρ Ἐσσηνὸν marg. AM).

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brother and at the same time thinking of his own safety, stationed his bodyguards at intervals in a dark underground passage—for he was lying ill in the castle afterwards called Antonia^a—and gave orders that none of them should touch Antigonus if he were unarmed, but should kill him if he came to the king with his armour on. Moreover he himself sent to Antigonus, asking him to come unarmed. But the queen and the men who were plotting with her against Antigonus persuaded the messenger to say the opposite, namely that his brother had heard that he had equipped himself with arms and military gear,^b and invited him to come to him armed, in order that he might see his equipment. Accordingly, Antigonus, who had no suspicion of foul play and was confident of his brother's friendly feeling towards him, came to Aristobulus just as he was, in full armour, to show him his arms. But when he reached Straton's Tower, as it is called, just where the very dark passage was, the bodyguards killed him. Now his death clearly proves that there is nothing more powerful than envy and calumny, nor anything that more easily disrupts friendship and the ties of nature than these influences. And in this connexion one may well wonder at the story of a certain Judas of the Essene group, who had never been known to speak falsely in his prophecies, but when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and disciples, who were together with him for the purpose of receiving instruction in *forebaris* (cf. *B.J.* i. 76), rebuilt by the Hasmonaeans and later by Herod, cf. *Ant.* xii. 251 note *d.* To the literature cited there add Watzinger, *Denkmäler* ii. 31 ff.

The prophecy of Judas the Essene.

^b The parallel in *B.J.* i. 76 adds, "in Galilee, and that illness prevented him from paying a visit of inspection."

- 312 τοῦ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα παρέμενον, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ καλὸν διεψευσμένῳ ζῶντος Ἀντιγόνου, ὃν σήμερον τεθνήξεσθαι προειπὼν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στράτωνος πύργῳ περιόντα¹ ὄρα, καὶ τοῦ μὲν χωρίου περὶ² σταδίου ἀπέχοντος νῦν ἑξακοσίους, ὅπου φονευθήσεσθαι προεῖπεν αὐτόν, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἤδη τὸ πλείστον ἠνυσμένον, ὥστ' αὐτῷ κινδυνεύειν
- 313 τὸ μάντευμα ψεῦδος εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦντος ἀγγέλλεται τεθνεὺς Ἀντίγονος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος ὁμώνυμον τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν.
- 314 (3) Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθύς εἰσηλθε μετάνοια καὶ νόσος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσουσ κεκακωμένης, ὡς διαφθαρέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκράτου τῆς ὀδύνης τῶν ἐντὸς αἷμα ἀναφέρειν. ὃ τῶν διακονουμένων τις παίδων, κατὰ δαιμόνιον, οἶμαι, πρόνοιαν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὗ σφαγέντος Ἀντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου συνέβαιεν εἶναι, κομίζων ὀλισθῶν ἐξέχεεν.
- 315 γενομένης δὲ βοῆς παρὰ τῶν ἰδόντων ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκχέαντος ἐκεῖ τὸ αἷμα, ἀκούσας Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνεται μαθεῖν, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοούντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι
- 316 χεῖρονα τὰ σιγώμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου τοῖς φόβοις τάληθές εἶπον, προχεῖται μὲν

¹ παρίοντα LAMWE.

² περὶ om. LAMVWE.

^a Variant "present."

^b C. 65 miles.

telling the future, that it would be well for him to die as one who had spoken falsely, since Antigonus was still alive, although he had foretold that he would die at the place called Straton's Tower, and now he saw him alive ^a; for the place where he had foretold that Antigonus would be murdered was some six hundred stades ^b from where he now was, and the greater part of the day had already passed, so that his prophecy was unfortunately likely to prove false. But as he was saying this and lamenting, the news came that Antigonus had been killed in the underground passage, which was also called Straton's Tower—by the same name, that is, as Caesarea on the sea-coast.^c It was this fact, therefore, that had confused the prophet.

(3) But Aristobulus was soon seized by remorse for the murder of his brother, and this was followed by illness, his mind being so troubled by his guilty deed that his inward parts were corrupted by intense pain, and he vomited blood. And once one of the servants who waited on him was carrying this blood away and slipped and spilled it—by divine providence, I believe—on the very spot where the stains made by the blood of the murdered Antigonus were still to be seen. Thereupon a cry went up from those who saw this that the servant had spilled the blood there deliberately, and when Aristobulus heard it, he asked what the reason for it was, and as they did not tell him, he became still more determined to find out, for in such cases men naturally suspect the worst in what is covered by silence. But when, under his threats and the constraint of fear, they

Aristobulus' remorse and fatal illness.

^c Herod changed the name of Straton's Tower to Caesarea, cf. *Ant.* xv. 331-341.

αὐτῷ πληγέντι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότης
πολλὰ δάκρυα, βύθιον δὲ ἀνοιμώξας, “ οὐκ ἄρ’,”
εἶπε, “ λήσειν ἐπ’ ἀσεβέσιν οὕτω καὶ μιαιοῖς
τολμήμασι τὸν θεὸν ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ με ταχεῖα ποινὴ
317 συγγενοῦς φόνου μετελήλυθεν. καὶ μέχρι τίνος, ὃ
σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, ψυχὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀδελφοῦ
καὶ μητρὸς καθέξεις δαίμοσιν; τί δ’ οὐκ ἀθρόαν
αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀποδίδως, κατὰ μέρος δ’ ἐπισπένδω¹
318 τοῦμὸν αἷμα τοῖς μαιφονηθεῖσιν;” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν
ἐπαποθνήσκει τοῖς λόγοις, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν,
χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην, πολλὰ δ’ εὐεργετήσας
τὴν πατρίδα, πολεμήσας Ἰουραίους καὶ πολλὴν
αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος,
ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων
319 νόμους ζῆν. φύσει δ’ ἐπιεικεῖ ἐκέχρητο καὶ
σφόδρα ἦν αἰδοῦς ἡττων,² ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ
Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οὕ-
τως· “ ἐπιεικῆς τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ
τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος· χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς
προσεκτήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουραίων
ἔθνους ὠκειώσατο, δεσμῷ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων
περιτομῇ.”

¹ ἐπισπένδεις E.

² κρείττων FL.

^a The words attributed to Aristobulus are more Hellenistic than Jewish in spirit, and remind one of the dramatic passages on Herod's family relations; they point to Nicolas of Damascus as the source.

^b From 104 to 103 B.C.

^c As we have no coin of Aristobulus I with a Greek inscription, we do not know for certain whether he officially used the title Philhellene. But Schürer's suggestion, i. 275 n. 6, that *χρηματίσας Φιλέλλην* means only “he behaved

told him the truth, he was stricken in mind by his consciousness of guilt, and weeping freely, with deep groans exclaimed, "I was not destined, I see, to escape the notice of God in committing such impious and unholy crimes, but swift punishment has overtaken me for the murder of my kin. How long, then, O most shameless body, will you keep within you the life that is forfeit to the spirits of my brother and mother? Why, instead of giving this up to them at one stroke, do I merely offer my blood drop by drop as a libation to those who have been so foully murdered?"^a And scarcely had he spoken these words when he died; in his reign of one year,^b with the title of Philhellene,^c he conferred many benefits on his country, for he made war on the Ituraeans^d and acquired a good part of their territory for Judaea and compelled the inhabitants, if they wished to remain in their country, to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Jews. He had a kindly nature, and was wholly given to modesty, as Strabo also testifies on the authority of Timagenes,^e writing as follows. "This man was a kindly person and very serviceable to the Jews, for he acquired additional territory for them, and brought over to them a portion of the Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision."

like a Philhellene" can hardly be accepted in preference to the translation given above, as Meyer rightly insists, *Ursprung* ii. 277 n. 1. The detail about Aristobulus' title and the following section to § 320 have no parallels in *B.J.*

^d They lived in the Lebanon region with the Phoenician hinterland on the W., and the country S. of Damascus on the E.; cf. Strabo 753-756. Aristobulus' conquests must have extended to northern Galilee, cf. *B.J.* i. 76 and Schürer i. 276.

^e Historian of the 1st century B.C., cf. *Ap.* ii. 84 note c.

320 (xii. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου Σαλίνα¹
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξ-
 άνδρα, λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ (δεδεμένους
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς προειρήκαμεν),
 Ἰανναῖον² τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησι,
 321 τὸν καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν πρῶχοντα καὶ μετριότητα, ᾧ
 καὶ³ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθύς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε⁴
 εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε
 322 λέγεται γενέσθαι· στέργων δὴ⁵ μάλιστα τῶν παίδων
 Ὑρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀρι-
 στοβούλον, φανέντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν
 θεὸν ἐπηρώτα τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἔσεσθαι
 διάδοχος. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτῆρας
 δείξαντος, λυπηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων
 οὗτος ἔσται κληρονόμος, γενόμενον εἶασεν ἐν τῇ
 Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο
 323 τὸν Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν Ἀρι-

¹ Σαλώμη LAMWE Lat.: Σαλίνα etiam Eusebius, Syn-
 cellus.

² Ἰάναιον P: Ἰαννέαν WE: Ianneum Lat.

³ καὶ om. LAMWE.

⁴ μηκέτι P.

⁵ δὲ E: om. PF.

^a Variant "Salome" (her name is not given in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 85). Her Heb. name was probably *Šelamsiyôn* (*cf.* *Σαλαμψιῶ*, *Ant.* xviii. 170), of which "Salome" might be a diminutive, *cf.* Derenbourg, p. 102, n. 2. "Salina" is probably a hellenized form of her Heb. name, perhaps influenced by that of her contemporary, Selene (*cf.* § 420). That Josephus considered Aristobulus' widow to be identical with Alexander Jannaeus' wife Alexandra is clear from the context and chronology, although he does not make this explicit by saying that Salina married Jannaeus. Madden, p. 71, is one of the few scholars who distinguish between the

(xii. 1) On the death of Aristobulus his wife Salina,^a by the Greeks called Alexandra, released his brothers—for Aristobulus had imprisoned them, as we have said before—,^b and appointed as king Jannaeus,^c also known as Alexander, who was best fitted for this office by reason of his age and his evenness of temper^d; but it had been his fate to be hated by his father from the time he was born, and never to come into his sight so long as he lived. Now the reason for this hatred is said to have been as follows. Of all his sons Hyrcanus loved best the two elder ones, Antigonus and Aristobulus; and once when God appeared to him in his sleep, he asked Him which of his sons was destined to be his successor. And when God showed him the features^e of Alexander, he was grieved that this one should be the heir of all his possessions, and so he let him be brought up in Galilee from his birth.^f God, however, did not deceive Hyrcanus. For after the death

Alexander
Jannaeus
becomes
king.

two queens. On the problem whether the widow of the presumably childless Aristobulus was required by Jewish law to contract a levirate marriage with his brother see the discussions in Aptowitz xviii-xx and Klausner ii. 122 f.

^b In § 302.

^c The Gr. Iannaios is a hellenization of Heb. *Yannai*, cf. § 288 note *a*.

^d Or perhaps *μετριότης* here means, as sometimes in Byzantine Gr., "knowing his place," indicating that Alexandra expected to dominate her second husband. If so, she must have been disappointed, as the sequel shows. The following sections, to § 356 (except for brief phrases in §§ 323 and 337) have no parallels in *B.J.*

^e Chamonard translates *χαρακτῆρας* as "letters of the name," and Reinach notes that the meaning of the Gr. is very doubtful. It seems clear to me.

^f This does not necessarily mean that Galilee was wholly judaized in Hyrcanus' time, cf. Schürer i. 276 n. 10.

στοβούλου τελευτήν οὗτος παραλαβών, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεχρήσατο, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν προαιρούμενον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ.

324 (2) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖδα· τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαῖς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ
 325 Δῶρα.¹ τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμοῦντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων, ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοή-
 326 θεια παρ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκῶς καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ παρῆν² σύνταγμα τρέφων³ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσι παρ-
 327 εβοήθει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ' ἐλπῖσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἐκάτεροι γὰρ ταῦτὸ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἱ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργία καὶ ἀναπαύσει δια-

¹ Quae sequuntur in §§ 325-327 corrupta esse putat Niese.

² παρῆν ante καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ hab. PF.

³ φέρων M.

^a Named Absalom, and later father-in-law of Aristobulus II, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 71.

^b Here Josephus resumes the narrative of the Has-
 390

of Aristobulus it was he who took over the royal power, putting to death one of his brothers who had designs on the throne, while he held in honour his other brother ^a who preferred to live without taking part in public affairs.

(2) ^b Then, leaving his realm in a condition which he thought advantageous to himself, Alexander marched against Ptolemais, and after defeating its inhabitants in battle, he shut them up in the city and surrounding it, besieged them. For of the cities on the coast there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be subdued by him, and also Straton's Tower ^c and Dora, ^d which the local ruler ^e Zoilus held. Now as Antiochus Philometor ^f and his brother Antiochus, surnamed Cyzicenus, were fighting each other and destroying their own forces, no help could be given by them to the people of Ptolemais; but while they were being hard pressed in the siege, Zoilus, who held Straton's Tower, appeared with a company of soldiers that he maintained, ^g and as he had ambitions to make himself absolute ruler because of the struggle between the two kings, he gave some slight help to the people of Ptolemais. Nor were the kings so friendly to them that they could hope for any assistance from them, for both of them were in the position of athletes whose strength is exhausted but who are ashamed to yield, and so continue to prolong the commonaeans' struggle to wrest Palestinian territory from the Seleucids, *cf.* §§ 274 ff.

Alexander
Jannaeus
attacks
the cities
on the coast
of Syria.

^c The later Caesarea, *cf.* § 313 note *f*.

^d *Cf.* *Ant.* v. 83 note *g*, xiii. 223.

^e On this meaning of *τύραννος* see § 235 note *c*. Zoilus seems originally to have been ruler of Gaza, *cf.* below, § 334.

^f The official surname of Antiochus VIII Grypus.

^g The phrase *σύνταγμα τρέφειν* is also found in the citation from Strabo in *Ant.* xiv. 116.

328 φέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. λοιπὴ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς ἦν ἢ
 παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον
 ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς
 μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον
 παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτο-
 λεμαεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν
 Ἰαλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύον-
 329 τας. ἐπελπισάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβειων, ὡς
 διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἔξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ
 τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους
 καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων,
 ἐπαρθεῖς πρὸς¹ τὸν ἔκπλου ἐσπευδεν.
 330 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαεῖς Δημαίνετος,
 πιθανὸς ὢν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, μετα-
 βαλέσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἔπεισεν,² ἄμεινον εἶναι φήσας
 ἐπ' ἀδήλω τῷ γενησομένῳ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἰουδαίους μᾶλλον ἢ φανεράν εισδέξασθαι δουλείαν,
 δεσπότη παραδόντας αὐτούς, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μὴ
 τὸν παρόντα μόνον ἔχειν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ
 331 μείζω τὸν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τὴν γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν οὐ
 περιόψεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Πτο-
 λεμαῖον ἐκ γειτόνων, ἀλλ' ἤξειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ
 μεγάλης στρατιᾶς· σπουδάσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε καὶ
 τῆς Κύπρου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβαλεῖν· εἶναι δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ
 μὲν διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποφυγῆν³ πάλιν τὴν⁴
 332 Κύπρον, αὐτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον⁵ τὸν ἔσχατον. ὁ μὲν

¹ τὰ πρὸς LAMWE.

² ἐποίησεν PF.

³ Gutschmid: ἀποφυγεῖν codd. Lat.

⁴ εἰς τὴν ed. pr.

⁵ κινδύνων AMW.

^a Cleopatra III and her younger son Ptolemy IX Alexander.

^b Cf. § 274 note *g*.

test by periods of inactivity and rest. The only hope that was left them was in the sovereigns of Egypt^a and in Ptolemy Lathyrus, the ruler of Cyprus, who had been driven from his realm by his mother Cleopatra, and had come to Cyprus.^b And so the people of Ptolemais sent to him and begged him to come to their aid and save them from the hands of Alexander, by whom they were endangered. The envoys led him to hope^c that when he crossed to Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais, as well as Zoilus, and they told him further that the Sidonians and many others would join him; being, therefore, full of high hope, he made haste to sail.^d

The people of Ptolemais appeal to Ptolemy Lathyrus for aid against Alexander Jannaeus.

(3) Meanwhile, however, the people of Ptolemais had been persuaded to change their plans by Demaenetus, who had their confidence at that time and influenced the people; he said that it would be better for them to risk a contest with the Jews, although the outcome was uncertain, than to accept open servitude by delivering themselves up to an absolute ruler, and in addition not only have the present war on their hands, but also a much more serious one arising from Egypt. For Cleopatra would not permit Ptolemy to provide himself with an army from the neighbouring cities but would come against them with a great force, since she was eager to drive her son out of Cyprus too. Moreover, if Ptolemy were disappointed in his expectations, he could again find a refuge in Cyprus, whereas they themselves would be in the greatest danger. Now though

Ptolemy Lathyrus sails for Syria.

^c ἐπελπισάντων is a Thucydidean word (Thuc. viii. 1. 1) found also in *Ant.* viii. 205, xv. 207, 353.

^d On the numismatic evidence for the expedition of Ptolemy Lathyrus see A. Brett in *AJA* xli. (1937), 452-463.

JOSEPHUS

- οὖν Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόρον¹ μαθὼν τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαίων μεταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔπλευσε, καὶ καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην² Συκαμίνων³ ἔνταυθοῖ
- 333 τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ πᾶς στρατὸς αὐτῷ πεζοὶ τε ἅμα καὶ ἵππεῖς περὶ τρισμυρίους, οὓς προαγαγὼν πλησίον τῆς Πτολεμαίδος καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπεὶ μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἐδέχοντο μήτε τῶν λόγων ἠκροῶντο, μεγάλως ἐφρόντιζεν.
- 334 (4) Ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζώϊλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθομένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπόν, λάθρα μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερώς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν
- 335 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τετρακόσια⁴ δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, χάριν ἀντιτούτων αἰτῶν Ζώϊλον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἠδέως τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώϊλον.
- 336 ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας λάθρα διαπεμφάμενον⁵ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν, λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρκους, καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαίδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας στρατηγούς καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν

¹ τὴν πορείαν AMWE.

² λεγομένην FLME

³ ex Lat. Niese: Συκάμινων codd.

⁴ quattuor milia Lat.

Ptolemy on the way over learned of the change of mind of the people of Ptolemais, he nevertheless sailed on, and landing at Sycamina,^a as it is called, there disembarked his force. The army with him, both foot and horse, numbered some thirty thousand in all, and these he led to the neighbourhood of Ptolemais and encamped there; but as they would neither admit his envoys nor listen to his proposals he was in great anxiety.

(4) However when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him with the request that he would aid them, as their territory was being ravaged by the Jews under Alexander, Alexander in fear of Ptolemy raised the siege and led his army home again, and thereafter resorted to cunning; for while secretly sending for Cleopatra to attack Ptolemy, he openly proposed a friendly alliance to him, thus acting a part. He also promised to give him four hundred talents of silver, asking him in return to put the local ruler Zoilus out of the way and to assign his territory to the Jews. And so Ptolemy at that time gladly formed a friendship with Alexander, and laid hands^b on Zoilus. But later, when he heard that Alexander had secretly sent^c to his mother Cleopatra, he broke the sworn agreements he had made with him, and attacked Ptolemais, and when it refused to admit him, besieged it. Then, leaving his generals and a part of his force to carry on the siege, he set out

Alexander
Jannaeus
attempts
to trick
Ptolemy
Lathyrus.

^a A port just S. of the promontory of Carmel, the Talmudic *Šiqmōna*, mod. *Tell es-Semak*.

^b It is not certain from the Gr. whether Ptolemy killed Zoilus or merely imprisoned him.

^c Variant "was secretly sending."

⁵ P Lat. : διαπεμπόμενον rell.

JOSEPHUS

337 Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψόμενος ὄρμησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διάνοιαν μαθὼν συνήθροισε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ πέντε μυριάδας τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτώ, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν Ἀσώχει τῇ¹ τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλει σάββασιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ μύρια σώματα καὶ πολλὴν ἑτέραν ἔλαβε λείαν.

338 (5) Πειράσας δὲ καὶ Σέπφωριν μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς πεπορθημένης, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἦει πολεμήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὑπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Ἀλέξανδρος περὶ τινα τόπον λεγόμενον Ἀσωφῶν² οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, καὶ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον πλησίον τῶν

339 πολεμίων. εἶχε μέντοι τοὺς προμαχομένους ὀκτακισχιλίους, οὓς ἑκατονταμάχους προσηγόρευσεν, ἐπιχάλκοις χρωμένους τοῖς θυρεοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προμαχοῦσιν ἐπίχάλκοι αἱ ἀσπίδες. τοῖς μέντοι γε ἄλλοις ἔλαττον ἔχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εὐλαβέστερον συνῆψαν εἰς τὸν

340 κίνδυνον. θάρσος δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησεν ὁ τακτικὸς Φιλοστέφανος, διαβῆναι κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν, οὗ μεταξὺ³ ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ

¹ Ἀσώχει τῇ LAMW: Ἀσωχεῖ E: Ἀσωχειτω P: Ἀσωχεῖ τῷ F: Asochiton Lat.

² Ἀσαφῶν LAMW Lat.

³ super quem Lat.

^a The Talmudic *Šihin*, mod. *Khirbet el-Lōn*, c. 5 miles N.W. of Sepphoris, cf. Avi Yonah, p. 32. The city and

with the rest of his army to subdue Judaea. But when Alexander learned of Ptolemy's intention, he also collected an army, consisting of about fifty thousand natives, or eighty thousand, as some writers state, and taking this force went out to meet Ptolemy. Ptolemy, however, made a sudden attack on Asochis,^a a city of Galilee, on the Sabbath, and taking it by storm, captured about ten thousand persons and a great deal of booty besides.

(5) He also made an attempt on Sepphoris at a little distance from the city which had just been sacked,^b but lost many of his men, and went on to fight Alexander. Alexander met him in the neighbourhood of the river Jordan, at a place called Asophon,^c not far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp close to the enemy. He had, moreover, eight thousand front-line fighters, whom he called "hundred-fighters," carrying long shields covered with bronze. Now Ptolemy's front-line fighters also had round shields covered with bronze, but as his troops were inferior to the enemy in other respects, they were more cautious about risking an engagement. However they were not a little encouraged by the tactician Philostephanus, who told them to cross the river, which was between their camp and the enemy's.^d And Alexander decided not to prevent

Ptolemy
Lathyrus
defeats
Alexander
Jannaeus
near the
Jordan.

plain of Asochis are several times mentioned in *Vita*, e.g. §§ 207, 233, 304. Ptolemy's attack on Asochis is mentioned, without details, in *B.J.* i. 86.

^b *i.e.* Asochis.

^c Variant "Asaphon." It is probably the bibl. Saphon, mod. *Tell Sa'idiye*, a little E. of the Jordan, where the *Wadi Kafrinji* flows into the river, *cf.* Albright, *ap.* Abel ii. 448.

^d The Gr. construction is awkward, but the meaning is clear; evidently οὐ μεταξὺ has the force of a gen. abs. with ὄντος understood.

JOSEPHUS

ἔδοξεν· ἐνόμιζε¹ γάρ, εἰ κατὰ νότου λάβοιεν τὸν
 ποταμόν, ῥᾶον αἰρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους, φεύγειν ἐκ
 341 τῆς μάχης οὐ δυναμένους. κατ' ἀρχὰς² μὲν οὖν
 παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας
 παραπλήσια, καὶ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων
 τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὑπερτέρων δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 γινομένων, Φιλοστέφανος διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν δε-
 342 ξιώσ τοῖς ἐνδιδοῦσιν ἐπεκούρει. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶ
 κλιθέντι μέρει τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσβοηθοῦντος τού-
 τους μὲν συνέβαινε φεύγειν, μὴ βοηθούντων μηδὲ
 τῶν πλησίον ἀλλὰ κοινωνούντων τῆς φυγῆς, οἱ
 δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τάναντία τούτων ἔπραττον·
 343 ἐπόμενοι γὰρ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὸ
 τελευταῖον τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ἐδίωκον
 φονεύοντες³ ἕως οὗ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἠμβλύνη
 344 κτείνουσι καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθησαν. τρισμυρίους
 γοῦν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν⁴ ἀποθανεῖν (Τιμαγένης δὲ
 πεντακισμυρίους εἶρηκεν) τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν
 αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεία
 διαφυγεῖν⁵ χωρία.
 345 (6) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην προσκατα-
 δραμῶν⁶ τὴν χώραν, ὀψίας ἐπιγενομένης ἔν τισι
 κώμαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατέμεινε, ἃς γυναικῶν
 εὐρῶν μεστὰς καὶ νηπίων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρα-
 τιώτας ἀποσφάττοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κρεουργοῦντας,
 398

their crossing, thinking that he would the more easily take the enemy if they had the river behind them and so were unable to flee. And at first both sides equally performed deeds of prowess and daring, and great was the slaughter in both armies; but as Alexander's men were getting the upper hand, Philo-stephanus divided his force and skilfully came to the relief of those who were giving ground. And as no one came to aid that part of the Jewish force which was falling back, it had to flee; and not even those near them helped them, but joined in their flight. Ptolemy's men, however, did just the opposite, for they followed the Jews and killed them, until finally, when they were completely routed, they tracked them down to slaughter them until their swords became blunted with killing, and their hands were utterly tired. It was said, in fact, that thirty thousand of them perished—Timagenes^a says there were fifty thousand—, while as for the rest, some were taken captive, and others escaped to their native places.

(6) After this victory Ptolemy overran^b other territory, and when evening fell, halted in some villages of Judaea, which he found full of women and infants; he thereupon commanded his soldiers to cut their throats and chop them up and then to fling the pieces

Ptolemy
Lathyrus
invades
Judaea.

^a Cf. § 319 note e.

^b Variant "seized."

¹ ἐνόμισε FLAMW.

² ὡς δὲ συνῆψαν κατ' ἀρχὰς cod. Busb. ap. Hudson.

³ οἱ φονεύοντες PFL.

⁴ ἀνδρῶν AMW Lat.: ἄνδρας E.

⁵ Niese: διαφεύγειν PFL: φεύγειν rell. E.

⁶ προσκαταλαβὼν PF.

JOSEPHUS

346 ἔπειτα εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας ἐνιέντας τὰ μέλη
 ἀπάρχεσθαι.¹ τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ δια-
 φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντες
 σαρκοφάγους ὑπολάβωσιν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς καταπλαγῶσι ταῦτα
 347 ἰδόντες. λέγει δὲ καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος ὅτι
 τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο² τὸν τρόπον, καθὼς καγὼ
 προείρηκα. ἔλαβον³ δὲ καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα κατὰ
 κράτος, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις φανερόν πεποιήκαμεν.
 348 (xiii. 1) Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ὀρώσα τὸν υἱὸν ἀξανά-
 μενον καὶ τὴν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἀδεῶς πορθοῦντα καὶ
 τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ὑπήκοον ἔχοντα, περιδεῖν οὐκ
 ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ὄντα καὶ ποθοῦντα⁴
 349 τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μείζω γενόμενον,⁵ ἀλλὰ παρα-
 χρήμα μετὰ ναυτικῆς καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν ἐξώρμησεν, ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅλης στρατιᾶς
 ἀποδείξασα Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.
 τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πλοῦτου αὐτῆς⁶ καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς
 350 καὶ διαθήκας πέμψασα Κώοις παρέθετο. κελεύ-
 σασα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στόλῳ μεγάλῳ
 παραπλεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην⁷ ἢ Κλεοπάτρα, μετὰ πάσης

¹ ἀπέρχεσθαι Naber.

² ἐχρήσατο Gutschmid.

³ ἔλαβε AMWE Lat.

⁴ φοβοῦντα Naber.

⁵ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις . . . γενόμενον] dum iam in portis suis eum praesentem sperarat esse futurum et amari ab aegyptiis propter virtutem eius putaret eum Lat.

⁶ αὐτοῖς L: om. PF.

⁷ εἰς Φοινίκην] εἰ δὴ φυγὴ γένοιτο LAMWE Lat.

^a There is no need to emend ἀπάρχεσθαι to ἀπέρχεσθαι "go away," as Naber does. As Richards and Shutt note, the former reading is right in the sacrificial sense. It may be added that the incident here related bears a partial resemblance to the story told in Herod. iii. 11 of the Greek

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into boiling cauldrons and to taste of them.^a This order he gave that those who had escaped from the battle and had returned to their homes might get the notion that the enemy were eaters of human flesh, and so might be the more terrified by this sight. And both Strabo and Nicolas say that they treated the Jews in the manner which I have just mentioned. Ptolemy's men also took Ptolemais by storm, as we have shown elsewhere.^b

(xiii. 1) When Cleopatra saw her son growing in power, and ravaging Judaea with impunity and holding Gaza subject to him, she decided not to be idle while he, having grown greater, was at her gates and coveted the throne of Egypt; and so she at once set out against him with a sea and land force, appointing as leaders of her entire army the Jews Chelkias and Ananias.^c At the same time she sent the greater part of her wealth and her grandsons^d and her testament to Cos for safe keeping.^e Then she commanded her son Alexander^f to sail toward Phoenicia^g with a

Cleopatra
forces
Ptolemy
Lathyrus
to leave
Syria.

mercenaries in Egypt who slew the sons of the traitor Phanes. "When the last was dead, water and wine were poured into the bowl, and all the soldiers tasted of the blood, and so went into battle."

^b No such passage is found in Josephus, unless he refers to the siege in § 336; the formula is probably taken over from his source.

^c On these Jewish generals see § 287 note *f*.

^d Bevan, *Ptol.* p. 330, writes, "One of these grandchildren was apparently the young Ptolemy Alexander [Ptolemy X], a son of Alexander I [Ptolemy IX]; who the others were we do not know (Bouché-Leclercq conjectures children of Soter and Selene [*cf.* Justinus xxxix. 4. 1])."

^e In the sanctuary of Asclepius.

^f Ptolemy IX.

^g The variant (to "toward Phoenicia") "if flight should take place" makes no sense.

JOSEPHUS

- αὐτῆ¹ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα, μὴ δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἐπολιόρκει
 351 τὴν πόλιν. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔσπευσεν, αἰφνιδίως αὐτὴν οἰόμενος κενὴν οὔσαν στρατιᾶς καθέξειν· ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐλπίδος. κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ² τὸν χρόνον συνέβη καὶ Χελκίαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡγεμόνων ἀποθανεῖν περὶ κοίλην Συρίαν, διώκοντα Πτολεμαῖον.
- 352 (2) Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐχ ὄν προσεδόκα τρόπον προκεχώρηκεν αὐτῷ, πέμψασα μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ³ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ὑποστρέψας τὸν
 353 χειμῶνα διέτριβεν⁴ ἐν Γάζῃ. Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι φρουρὰν ἐκ πολιορκίας λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' αὐτῆ⁵ μετὰ δώρων προσελθόντος⁶ καὶ θεραπείας ὁποίας ἄξιον ἦν, πεπονθότα μὲν κακῶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, καταφυγῆς δ' οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ ταύτης εὐποροῦντα, τινὲς μὲν τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθούσῃ κατασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἐνὶ τοσοῦτο πλήθος ἀγαθῶν
 354 Ἰουδαίῳ⁷ κείμενον. Ἀνανίας δὲ συνεβούλευε τούτοις ἐναντία, λέγων ἄδικα ποιήσῃ αὐτήν, εἰ σύμμαχον ἄνθρωπον ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς ἰδίας ἐξου-

¹ Holwerda: αὐτῆς codd. E.

² γὰρ AMW: om. Lat.: δὲ Niese.

³ ἀπὸ PV.

⁴ διέτριβεν PLV.

⁵ αὐτὴν PF.

⁶ περιελθόντος P.

⁷ Naber: Ἰουδαίων codd. Lat.

° Text slightly emended.

great fleet, while she herself^a came to Ptolemais with her entire force, and when the inhabitants refused to admit her, besieged the city. Thereupon Ptolemy^b left Syria and hastened to Egypt,^c thinking to get possession of it suddenly while it was left without an army, but he was disappointed of his hope. It was just at this time that Chelkias, one of Cleopatra's two commanders, died in Coele-Syria while in pursuit of Ptolemy.

(2) When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt and learned that his plans concerning Egypt had not prospered as he had expected, she sent a portion of her army against him and drove him out of the country. And so he left Egypt once more and spent the winter at Gaza.^c Meanwhile Cleopatra besieged the garrison in Ptolemais and took it and the city itself. And when Alexander^d came to her^e with gifts and such marks of attention as were to be expected after the harsh treatment he had suffered at the hands of Ptolemy—for he had no other course of safety than this—, some of her friends advised her to take these things and at the same time invade his country and occupy it, and not suffer such an abundance of resources to belong to one man, who was a Jew.^f Ananias, however, gave the opposite advice, saying that she would commit an injustice if she deprived an ally of his own possessions,^g “especi-

Cleopatra is dissuaded from invading Judaea.

^b Ptolemy VIII Soter (Lathyrus).

^c His mother's naval force stopped him at Pelusium. He presently returned to Cyprus (c. 102 B.C.), cf. § 358.

^d Alexander Jannaeus.

^e Variant “got round her.”

^f Text slightly emended: the mss. reading, “such an abundance of good Jews to belong to one man,” is obviously corrupt.

^g Or “authority.”

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σίας, “καὶ ταῦτα συγγενῇ ἡμέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαί σε,” φησὶν, “ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἄδικον ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς σοι τοὺς
 355 Ἰουδαίους καταστήσει.”¹ ταῦτα δὲ Ἀνανία παρ-
 αινέσαντος, ἢ Κλεοπάτρα πείθεται μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἐποίησατο ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.
 356 (3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερω-
 θεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν,
 αἰρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μηνῶν, αἰρεῖ δὲ
 καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν
 Ἰορδάνην κατωκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ²
 σπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν. ὃς οὐ
 προσδοκῶσιν ἐπιπεσῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μυρίους
 αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 357 διαρπάζει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ καταπλήττει τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστρατεύει τοῖς θαλαττίοις
 μέρεσιν, Ῥαφία καὶ Ἀνθηδόνη, ἣν ὕστερον Ἡρώ-
 δης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγριππιάδα μετωνόμασε,³ καὶ
 358 κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ ταύτην. ὄρων δὲ τὸν μὲν
 Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης εἰς Κύπρον ἀνακεχω-
 ρηκότα,⁴ τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς Γαζαίοις ὅτι Πτο-
 λεμαῖον ἐπεκαλέσαντο βοηθόν, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν,
 359 καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προενόμευσεν. Ἀπολ-

¹ κατασκευάζει PL: κατασκευάσει E: habebis Lat.

² κάλλιστα καὶ] μάλιστα Niese.

³ προσηγόρευσε P (F).

⁴ μετακεχωρηκότα LAMWE.

^a §§ 356-357 have parallels in *B.J.* i. 86-87.

^b Here meaning Transjordan, *cf.* *Ant.* xi. 25 note *a*.

^c Mod. *Mukes*, a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers, *cf.* *Ant.* xii. 136 note *f*.

ally one who is our kinsman. For I would have you know that an injustice done to this man will make all us Jews your enemies." By this exhortation of Ananias Cleopatra was persuaded not to do Alexander any wrong, but instead she made an alliance with him at Scythopolis in Coele-Syria.

(3) ^a Thereupon Alexander, being rid of his fear of Ptolemy, at once marched on Coele-Syria ^b and took Gadara ^c after a siege of ten months, and also took Amathūs, ^d the greatest stronghold of those occupied beyond the Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zenon, kept his best and most valuable possessions. This man fell upon the Jews unexpectedly and killed ten thousand of them, and plundered Alexander's baggage. ^e These misfortunes did not, however, dismay Alexander, who marched on the cities of the coast, Raphia ^f and Anthedon, ^g the name of which King Herod later changed to Agrippias, ^h and took this ⁱ too by storm. And ^j when he saw that Ptolemy had withdrawn from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra to Egypt, in his anger with the Gazaeans for having summoned Ptolemy to help them, he besieged their city and plundered their territory. But

Alexander
Jannaëus
destroys
Gaza.

^a Mod. *Tell 'Ammata*, a few miles N.E. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, in the same latitude as Shechem.

^e He also recovered his own property, according to *B.J.* i. 87.

^f Mod. *Refah*, c. 20 miles S.W. of Gaza, near the Egyptian border.

^g Mod. *Khirbet Tīda*, according to Abel ii. 245, c. a mile N. of Gaza.

^h Cf. *B.J.* i. 416, where it is called Agrippeion.

ⁱ Apparently "territory" is to be supplied.

^j The following sections, to § 372, have no parallels in *B.J.*

λοδότου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Γαζαίων μετὰ
 δισχιλίων ξένων καὶ μυρίων οἰκετῶν¹ νύκτωρ
 ἐπιπεσόντος τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδῳ, ἐφ'
 ὅσον μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ νύξ ἐνίκων οἱ Γαζαῖοι, δόκησιν
 παρέχοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἐπεληλυθότος αὐτοῖς
 Πτολεμαίου, γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς δόξης
 ἐλεγχθείσης, μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τάληθες ἐπι-
 συστρέφονται, καὶ τοῖς Γαζαίοις προσβαλόντες
 360 ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους.² τῶν δὲ Γαζαίων
 ἀντεχόντων καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πλήθους τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐνδιδόντων (πᾶν γὰρ
 ὄτιοῦν ὑπέμενον παθεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ πολεμίῳ γενέ-
 σθαι) προσεπήγειρεν αὐτῶν³ τὴν εὐψυχίαν⁴ καὶ
 Ἄρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἤξειν
 361 αὐτοῖς σύμμαχος.⁵ ἀλλὰ συνέβη πρῶτον τὸν
 Ἀπολλόδοτον διαφθαρῆναι. Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ὁ
 ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς
 πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν, κτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ στρατιω-
 τικὸν συγκροτήσας ἐκδίδωσιν⁶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν
 362 πόλιν. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς μὲν εἰσελθὼν ἡρέμει, μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Γαζαίοις, ἐπι-
 τρέψας τιμωρεῖν αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῆ
 τρεπόμενοι⁷ τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δ'
 οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς

¹ civium Lat.; οἰκετῶν haud rectum esse putat Niese.

² δισχιλίουσ W.

³ αὐτῶν Hudson cum E: δ' αὐτῶν codd.

⁴ προθυμίαν PFV.

⁵ + ἐπαγγειλάμενος FLAMVW.

⁶ ἐνδίδωσιν PLAMW.

⁷ τραπόμενοι VE.

^a Lat. (reading οἰκείων for οἰκετῶν) has "citizens," a reading adopted by Chamonard.

Apollodotus, the general of the Gazaeans, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand slaves,^a and so long as night lasted, the Gazaeans were victorious, for they made the enemy believe^b that it was Ptolemy who had attacked them; but when day came, and this belief proved false, the Jews, on learning the true state of things, reformed their ranks and attacked the Gazaeans and slew about a thousand^c of them. The Gazaeans, however, held their ground and did not yield either through lack of supplies or because of the number of their slain—for they were ready to suffer any fate rather than fall into the hands of the enemy—and their courage^d was heightened by the expectation that Aretas, the king of the Arabs, would come to their assistance.^e But first, as it happened, Apollodotus was put to death, for his brother Lysimachus, who was envious of his prestige with the people of the city, killed him; he then united^f the army and delivered the city to Alexander. On first entering, Alexander acted peacefully, but subsequently he loosed his force on the Gazaeans and let his men avenge themselves on them. And so they went off, some in one direction and others in another, killing the Gazaeans. These, however, were by no means mean-spirited, but on the contrary defended themselves

^b *δόκησιν παρασχόντες* is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 84. 1).

^c One ms. "two thousand."

^d Variant "zeal."

^e Most mss. add "as he had promised." The Nabataean king Aretas II is to be distinguished from Aretas III who played an important part in Jewish history in the time of Hyrcanus II, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 14 ff.

^f Or "disciplined."

JOSEPHUS

παραπίπτουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ
 363 ἐλάττονας αὐτῶν¹ διέφθειραν. ἔνιοι δὲ μονούμενοι
 τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξ² αὐτῶν
 λάφυρον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν
 τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτόχειρες ἐγένοντο, τῆς
 ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοὺς δουλείας οὕτως ἀπαλ-
 364 λάττειν ἠναγκασμένοι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν ἦσαν³
 οἱ πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες⁴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν (συνεδρευόντων γὰρ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν
 συνέβη γενέσθαι). ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτους τε
 ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατασκάψας
 ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας.
 365 (4) Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ Ἀν-
 τίοχος ὁ Γρυπὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ
 Ἡρακλέωνος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τεσ-
 σαρακόνητα καὶ πέντε, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ
 366 εἴκοσι. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς
 αὐτοῦ Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἀδελφῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, νικῆ-
 367 σας δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παῖς Ἀντιόχος⁵ ὁ Εὐσεβῆς
 καλούμενος παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Ἀραδὸν καὶ περι-

¹ Naber: αὐτῶν codd.

² ἐξ om. FLAMVW.

³ ἦσαν δ' Niese.

⁴ συμφυγόντων Niese cum E.

⁵ Hudson auctore Petavio: Ἀντιόχος καὶ Ἀντιόχος P:
 Ἀντιόχος καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος (Ἀντώνιος FE) rell. E Lat.

^a One gets the impression from § 358 that the siege of Gaza began soon after Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III withdrew from Palestine, c. 102 B.C. But in § 365 Josephus synchronizes the end of the siege with the murder of Antiochus Grypus which took place in 96 B.C. However the phrase "about this same time" may be a vague indication

against the Jews with whatever weapons came to hand and slew as many of them as they themselves had lost. And some of them, being left alone, set fire to their houses in order that nothing might remain in them for the enemy to take out as spoil. Others with their own hands made away with their children and wives, this being the means by which they were compelled to deliver them from slavery to their foes. Of the councilmen there were five hundred in all who took refuge in the temple of Apollo—for the attack had come just when they were sitting in council—, but Alexander slew them there, and having pulled the city down upon them, returned to Jerusalem after spending a year on the siege.^a

(4) About this same time Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, met death as the victim of a plot formed by Heracleon ; he was forty-five years of age and reigned twenty-nine.^b And his son Seleucus,^c on succeeding to his throne, waged war with his father's brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, and after defeating him, captured and killed him.^d But not long afterward Antiochus,^e the son of Cyzicenus, who^f was called Eusebes (the Pious), came to Aradus,^g and having

The fratricidal wars of the Seleucids.

of time, as elsewhere in Josephus. We may therefore suppose that Gaza was taken nearer 100 B.C. than 96 B.C.

^b This would make his reign begin 125/4 B.C., the usual reckoning, *cf.* Schürer i. 176. But Antiochus Grypus began to rule Syria *de facto* c. 122 B.C., *cf.* § 272 note a.

^c Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator.

^d According to Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 260, Cyzicenus was carried by his horse into the enemy's lines, and killed himself to avoid capture.

^e Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.

^f *i.e.* the son.

^g On the Syrian coast, *c.* half-way between Laodicea and Tripolis.

JOSEPHUS

θέμενος διάδημα πολεμεί τῷ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ κρατή-
 368 σας ἐξήλασεν¹ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Συρίας. ὁ δὲ
 φυγὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Μόψου
 ἐστία πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰσέπραττε χρήματα. ὁ δὲ τῶν
 Μοψουεστιέων δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας ὑφῆψεν αὐτοῦ
 τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.
 369 Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παιδὸς² βασιλεύοντος
 τῆς Συρίας, Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου ἀδελφὸς ἐκφέρει
 πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλυται μετὰ
 τῆς στρατιᾶς. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
 Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος διάδημα μέρους τινὸς τῆς
 370 Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάθουρος
 τὸν τέταρτον³ αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον τὸν
 Ἄκαιρον⁴ λεγόμενον ἐκ Κνίδου μεταπεμψάμενος
 371 κατέστησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ βασιλέα. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς
 δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καρτερῶς ἀνθιστάμενος Ἀντίοχος
 ταχέως ἀπέθανεν. Λαοδίκη⁵ γὰρ ἔλθὼν σύμμαχος
 τῇ τῶν Σαμηνῶν⁶ βασιλίσση, Πάρθους πολεμούση,
 μαχόμενος ἀνδρείως ἔπεσεν. τὴν δὲ Συρίαν οἱ δύο

¹ παραγενηθεὶς . . . ἐξήλασεν Hudson: παραγενηθέντες εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ περιθέμενοι διαδήματα (διάδημα PE) πολεμοῦσι τῷ Σελεύκῳ καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐξήλασαν codd. E Lat.

² παιδὸς om. PE Lat.

³ τρίτον P.

⁴ Εὔκαιρον ed. pr.

⁵ ἐν Λαοδίκῃ LW: ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ FAM¹VE.

⁶ Γαλιήνων LW: Γαλιηνῶν AME: Γαλιλαίων F: Γαλααδηνῶν V: Gaminorum Lat.: Γαλαδηνῶν ed. pr.

^a The singular number of the verbs in this sentence has been substituted by Hudson for the plural of the mss.

^b Cf. Appian, *Syr.* 69, "he was burned at the gymnasium." Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 262, says that he committed suicide to escape being burned in the palace.

put on the diadem, waged war with Seleucus, and after defeating him, drove him ^a out of the whole of Syria. Seleucus thereupon fled to Cilicia, and coming to Mopsuestia, again tried to exact money from its inhabitants. But the people of Mopsuestia were indignant at this, and setting fire to his palace, destroyed him together with his friends.^b Then while Antiochus,^c the son of Cyzicenus, was reigning over Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war on him, but was defeated and perished with his army. And after his death his brother Philip ^d put on the diadem and began to reign over a part of Syria. Thereupon Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for their fourth^e brother, called Demetrius Akairos^f (the Ill-timed), from Cnidus and made him king at Damascus. These two brothers were courageously opposed by Antiochus,^g but he soon died; for he went to the aid of Laodice, queen of the Samenians,^h who was waging war with the Parthians, and fell fighting bravely.ⁱ And so Syria was held by the two brothers

^c Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphus.

^d Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus.

^e One ms. has "third," either a scribal error or unjustified correction.

^f Demetrius III Theos Philopator Soter was nicknamed Eukairos, "The Timely" (so the *ed. pr.* reads here); *B.J.* i. 92 agrees with the mss. of *Ant.* in reading "Akairos."

^g Cyzicenus' son, Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.

^h Variants "Galieni," "Galilaeans," "Galaadenians," "Gamini." The Samenians were an Arab tribe, according to Stephanus of Byzantium; for further discussion see J. Dobiaš in *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931), 221-223 (cited by Debevoise, p. 46 n. 66).

ⁱ According to Appian, *Syr.* 49, 70, Antiochus Eusebes was driven out of Syria by the Armenian king Tigranes (83 B.C.); according to Porphyry, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 261, he had earlier fled to the Parthian court.

κατεῖχον ἀδελφοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλιππος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώται.¹

- 372 (5) Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων (ἐπανεστή γὰρ αὐτῷ² τὸ ἔθνος) τῆς³ ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, καὶ ἐστῶτος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ θύειν μέλλοντος, κιτρίοις αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον, νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτριῶν (δεδηλώκαμεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις). προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων⁴ γεγονότα καὶ
 373 τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον· ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργισθεὶς κτείνει μὲν αὐτῶν περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, δρύφακτον δὲ ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι, τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους
 374 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέφραττεν⁵ εἴσοδον. ἔτρεφε δὲ καὶ ξένους Πισίδας καὶ Κίλικας· Σύροις γὰρ πολέμιος ὢν οὐκ ἐχρήτο. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων Μωαβίτας καὶ Γαλααδίτας εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, κατερείπει⁶ μὲν Ἀμαθοῦντα, Θεοδώρου μὴ τολ-
 375 μῶντος αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν. συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς

¹ δεδηλώκαμεν LAMW.

² PE: ἐπ' αὐτὸν rell.

³ τῆς om. PE: *festivitas tabernaculorum* Lat.

⁴ ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων] αἰχμάλωτον PFV: *de captiva* Lat.

⁵ ἐπέφραττεν LAMWE.

⁶ Niese: κατερίπει P: κατέρριπεν W: κατέρριπτε rell.: *expugnavit* Lat.

^a Variant "as we have related."

^b *i.e.* by other historians. If the reading δεδηλώκαμεν "we have related" is adopted, the formula must be explained as taken over from Josephus' source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.

^c At this point the parallels with *B.J.* are resumed; the

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Demetrius and Philip, as has been related^a elsewhere.^b

(5) ^c As for Alexander, his own people revolted against him—for the nation was aroused against him—at the celebration of the festival,^d and as he stood beside the altar and was about to sacrifice, they pelted him with citrons, it being a custom among the Jews that at the festival of Tabernacles everyone holds wands made of palm branches and citrons—these we have described elsewhere^e; and they added insult to injury by saying that he was descended from captives and was unfit to hold office^f and to sacrifice; and being enraged at this, he killed some six thousand of them, and also placed a wooden barrier about the altar and the temple as far as the coping (of the court) which the priests alone were permitted to enter, and by this means blocked the people's way to him.^g He also maintained foreign troops of Pisidians and Cilicians, for he could not use Syrians, being at war with them. And after subduing the Arabs of Moab and Galaaditis, whom he forced to pay tribute, he demolished Amathūs, as Theodorus did not venture to meet him in the field.^h

Alexander
Jannaeus
oppresses
his Jewish
adversaries.

details of §§ 372-373, however, are not found in *B.J.* For rabbinic parallels to this story and other traditions concerning Alexander Jannaeus see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

^d Variant "a festival," as in *B.J.*: Lat. "the festival of Tabernacles." "The festival" would correspond exactly to the rabbinic Heb. term *he-hāg*, indicating the festival of Tabernacles as *the festival par excellence*.

^e *Ant.* iii. 245.

^f As high priest, *cf.* § 292.

^g The allusion to the barrier is puzzling, since such a barrier (called *γείσιον* or *θριγκός*) had been built by Solomon, according to Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 95, and was presumably found in the second temple, as in Herod's temple, *cf.* *B.J.* v. 226.

^h *Cf.* §§ 356-357.

Ὁβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐν χωρίοις τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις, ὑπὸ πλήθους καμήλων εἰς βαθεῖαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα κατὰ Γάραδα¹ κώμην τῆς Γαυλανίδος² καὶ μόλις αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ' ἐκείθεν εἰς Ἱερο-
 376 σόλυμα παραγίνεται. καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἔθνους, πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸ ἔτεσιν ἕξ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε μυριάδας. παρακαλοῦντος δὲ παῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσμένειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα. πυνθανομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὀφείλον καὶ τί βούλονται γενέσθαι, πάντες³ ἐβόησαν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀκαιρον ἔπεμψαν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν.

377 (xiv. 1) Ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔλθων καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους, περὶ Σίκιμα πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ μισθοφόρων ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, Ἰουδαίων τε περὶ δισμυρίους οἱ ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν, ἀντεπήει τῷ Δημητρίῳ· τούτῳ δ' ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν
 378 τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέροις ἐπράχθη, τοῦ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὡς ὄντας Ἕλληνας πειρωμένου, τοῦ

¹ γὰρ ἄδρα L· Γάδαρα PFV: χαράδρα W.

² Γαυλανίδος ex B.J. conl. Niese: Ἰουδάνιδος P: Γαλααδίτιδος rell.

³ τὸ ὀφείλον . . . πάντες] conl.: τὸ ὀφείλον γενέσθαι πάντες FLAMVW: τί βούλονται πάντες γενέσθαι P: τί δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντες E.

^a Variants "Gadara," "Charadra." The fact that the place is a village makes the reading "Gadara" (a city) doubtful. See next note.

^b Emended, with Schürer, Niese and others, from B.J.:

Then he engaged in battle with Obedas, the king of the Arabs, and falling into an ambush in a rough and difficult region, he was pushed by a multitude of camels into a deep ravine near Garada,^a a village of Gaulanis,^b and barely escaped with his own life, and fleeing from there, came to Jerusalem. But when the nation attacked him upon this misfortune, he made war on it and within six years slew no fewer than fifty thousand Jews. And so when he urged them to make an end of their hostility toward him, they only hated him the more on account of what had happened. And when he asked what he ought to do and what they wanted of him,^c they all cried out, "to die"; and they sent to Demetrius Akairos, asking him to come to their assistance.^d

(xiv. 1) Thereupon Demetrius came with his army, and taking along those who had summoned him, encamped near the city of Shechem. And Alexander on his side took six thousand two hundred mercenaries and about twenty thousand Jews who favoured his cause, and went out to meet Demetrius, who had three thousand horse and forty thousand foot.^e Now there was much activity in both camps, the one side attempting to cause Alexander's mercenaries to desert because they were Greeks, while the other

Demetrius
Akairos
defeats
Alexander
Jannaeus.

one ms. "Iūdanis," the rest "Galaadetis." From the description of the locality Abel, *GP* ii. 149 n. 3, conjectures that it is the mod. *Sqūfiye*, c. a mile E. of the Sea of Galilee, N.E. of Hippos.

^c Text slightly emended.

^d C. 88 B.C.; cf. Schürer i. 282 n. 19 and Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 261.

^e These numbers differ from those of *B.J.* i. 93, which gives: for Alexander, 9000 mercenaries (1000 horse+8000 foot) and 10,000 Jews; for Demetrius, 3000 horse and 14,000 foot.

JOSEPHUS

δὲ τοὺς σὺν Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους. μηδετέρου δὲ πείσαι δυνηθέντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην συμβαλόντων, νικᾷ Δημήτριος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόροι πάντες, πίστεώς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν.

- 379 (2) Φυγόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὰ ὄρη, κατ' οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς συλλέγονται παρ' αὐτῶ¹ Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. καὶ τότε μὲν δείσας ὑποχωρεῖ Δημήτριος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπολέμουν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ νικώμενοι πολλοὶ ἀπ-
- 380 ἔβησκον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν Βεθομαῖς² πόλει ἐπολιόρκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγεν³ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πάντων ὠμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν· ἐστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔτι ζώντων παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις ἀπ-
- 381 ἐσφαττεν,⁴ ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἠδίκητο ἀμυνόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ταύτην εἰσπραττόμενος τὴν δίκην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐταλαιπωρήθη τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς⁵ πολέμοις καὶ εἰς τοῦσχατον ἦκε κινδύνου ψυχῆς τε πέρι καὶ βασιλείας,

¹ παρ' αὐτόν A : παρ' αὐτῶν FLW : παρὰ τῶν P.

² βαιθομμει P : Βεθωμᾶς L : Βεθόμας AM : Βεθόμη V : Βαιθόμη F : Βεθόμαις E : Bethomis Lat.

³ ἀνήγαγεν P.

⁴ ἐπέσφαττεν ed. pr.

⁵ πρὸς αὐτοὺς P Lat. : παρ' αὐτοῦ F : πρὸ αὐτοῦ rell. : πρὸς αὐτόν ed. pr.

^a §§ 379-389 have only partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 95-99.

made the same appeal to the Jews who were with Demetrius. But as neither side could persuade the other, they engaged in battle, and Demetrius was victorious, while all the mercenaries of Alexander met death after giving proof of their loyalty and courage. Many of Demetrius' soldiers, however, also died.

(2) ^a Alexander thereupon fled to the mountains, where out of pity for him at this reverse six thousand Jews gathered to his side. And at this Demetrius withdrew in alarm.^b But later on the Jews fought against Alexander and were defeated, many of them dying in battle. The most powerful of them, however, he shut up and besieged in the city of Bethoma,^c and after taking the city and getting them into his power, he brought them back to Jerusalem; and there he did a thing that was as cruel as could be: while he feasted with his concubines in a conspicuous place, he ordered some eight hundred of the Jews to be crucified, and slaughtered their children and wives before the eyes of the still living wretches. This was the revenge he took for the injuries he had suffered; but the penalty he exacted was inhuman for all that, even though he had, as was natural, gone through very great hardships in the wars he had fought against them, and had finally found himself in danger^d of losing both his life and his throne, for they were not

Alexander
Jannaeus'
excessive
cruelty
toward
the Jews.

^b Probably because he was now at war with his brother Philip, *cf.* § 384.

^c *B.J.* has "Bemeselis." Klein, in *Tarbiz* i. (1929/30), 157, corrects the spelling to Bemelchis=Heb. *Bet ha-Melek*. The city is probably mod. *Misilye*, c. 10 miles N.E. of Samaria (Sebaste), *cf.* Avi Yonah, p. 26, Abel, *GP* ii. 173.

^d A Thucydidean phrase, *cf.* ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀγῶνος ἐλθεῖν, Thuc. iv. 92. 4.

οὐκ ἀρκουμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς,
 382 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαγόντων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
 εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ἀγόντων ὥστε ἦν κατεστρέψατο
 γῆν ἐν Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Γαλααδίτιδι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ¹
 χωρία τῶν Ἀράβων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι, ὅπως
 ἂν μὴ ξυνάρηται σφίσι τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ πόλεμον,
 ἀλλὰ τε μυρία εἰς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πρα-
 383 ξάντων· ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ² ἐπιτηδείως δοκεῖ³ ταῦτα
 δρᾶσαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν
 ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θρακίδα.
 οἱ δ' ἀντιστασιῶται αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες περὶ
 ὀκτακισχιλίους, φεύγουσι νυκτός, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἔζη
 χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἦσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ οὗτος
 μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς ἐκ τούτων ταραχῆς μετὰ
 πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἡρεμίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

384 (3) Δημήτριος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθὼν εἰς
 Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον,
 ὄντων αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, χιλίων δὲ ἰππέων.
 Στράτων δὲ ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ
 συμμαχῶν Ἀζίζον⁴ τὸν Ἀράβων φύλαρχον ἐπ-
 385 θαίει καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρ-
 θυαίων ὑπαρχον.⁵ ὧν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς
 δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκούντων Δημήτριον ἐντὸς τοῦ
 χαρακώματος, εἴσω τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καὶ τῇ δίψῃ

¹ ἐν αὐτῇ om. P.

² οὖν οὐκ om. P Lat.

³ P: δοκεῖν rell.

⁴ ex Diod. Sic. Niese: Δείζον P: Ζίζον rell. Lat.

⁵ ἔπαρχον E.

^a Again a Thucydidean phrase, Thuc. i. 49. 7.

^b i.e. the Arab king.

^c Variant "seems to have done this thing deliberately."

^d The Thracians had a reputation for great ferocity.

satisfied to carry on the struggle by themselves but brought foreigners as well, and at last reduced him to the necessity^a of surrendering to the king of the Arabs the territory which he had conquered in Moab and Galaaditis and the strongholds therein, in order that he^b might not aid the Jews in the war against him; and they committed countless other insulting and abusive acts against him. But still he seems to have done this thing unnecessarily,^c and as a result of his excessive cruelty he was nicknamed Thrakidas (the "Cossack") by the Jews.^d Then his opponents, numbering in all about eight thousand, fled by night and remained in exile so long as Alexander lived.^e And he, being rid of the trouble they had caused him, reigned thereafter in complete tranquillity.

(3) Now when Demetrius returned from Judaea to Beroea^f he besieged his brother Philip with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. Thereupon Straton, the ruler of Beroea, allied with Philip, called in Azizus,^g the phylarch^h of the Arabs, and Mithridates Sinakes, the governor of the Parthians.ⁱ And so they came with a large force and besieged Demetrius in his barricaded camp, and under pressure of arrows

Demetrius Akairos is exiled to Parthia.

^e It is thought by some scholars that this exile is alluded to in *Megillath Ta'anith* under date of the 17th of Adar, where the scholiast connects the text with Alexander Jannaeus. Some scholars also believe that the flight and exile of Alexander's Jewish opponents is to be connected with the founding of the sect that produced the so-called Covenant of Damascus. See the works cited in Appendix K.

^f Mod. Aleppo (*Haleb*), c. 60 miles E. of Antioch.

^g Emended from Diodorus Siculus (xl. 1a, b): one ms. "Deizus," the rest "Zizus."

^h *i.e.* tribal chief (*sheikh*).

ⁱ Probably governor of Mesopotamia, *cf.* Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 261, Debevoise, p. 49.

- συνέχοντες αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σφᾶς
 παραδοῦναι. λαφυραγωγῆσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παραλαβόντες, τὸν μὲν τῷ
 Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι Πάρθων ἔπεμψαν,
 τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους Ἀντιοχέων εἶναι πολίτας
 συνέβαινε¹ τούτους προῖκα τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἀπ-
 386 ἔδωκαν. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς
 τὸν Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ τῇ πάσῃ μέχρι νόσῳ
 κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον. Φίλιππος δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς ἐπ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἔλθων καὶ κατα-
 σχῶν αὐτὴν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Συρίας.
- 387 (xv. 1) Ἔπειτα Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Διόνυσος,²
 ἀδελφὸς ὢν Φιλίππου, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιοῦμενος
 εἰς Δαμασκὸν παραγίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγ-
 μάτων ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐκστρα-
 τεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας Φίλιππος ὁ
 ἀδελφὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἦλθεν.
- 388 Μιλησίου δ', ὃς κατελέλειπτο τῆς ἄκρας φύλαξ
 καὶ³ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν,
 ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ὢν
 ἐλπίσας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν παρασχῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ'
 αὐτοῦ φόβῳ βουληθεὶς δοκεῖν παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν
 ἢ τῇ χάριτι τῇ Μιλησίου δωρούμενος⁴ αὐτὸν οἷς
 389 μασκουῦ· ἐξορμήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς ἵππόδρομον

¹ αἰχμαλώτων . . . συνέβαινε] Ἀντιοχέων ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους
 εἶναι συνέβαινε V.

² Διονύσιος LAMWE: liber pater Lat.

³ simul cum Lat.: μετὰ Hudson: μετὰ καὶ Holwerda:
 secl. Ibbetson, Naber: καὶ post ὃς tr. Warmington.

⁴ μὴ δωρούμενος AM.

and thirst they compelled the men inside with him to surrender. Then they carried off the spoil of the country, and taking Demetrius with them, sent him to Mithridates, who was then reigning over the Parthians,^a while those captives who happened to be citizens of Antioch they restored without ransom to the Antiochians. But Mithridates, the king of Parthia, held Demetrius in the greatest honour until Demetrius' life came to an end through illness. Philip, however, immediately after the battle marched on Antioch, and after seizing it, became king of Syria.

(xv. 1) Then Antiochus, called Dionysus,^b who was a brother of Philip and had designs on the throne, came to Damascus, and getting the government of the city into his hands, became king.^c But when he set out on a campaign against the Arabs, his brother Philip heard of it and marched on Damascus. Thereupon Milesius, who had been left to guard the citadel and ^d the Damascenes, delivered up the city to him; but as he showed himself ungrateful to Milesius and gave him none of the things which Milesius had hoped for when he admitted him, but on the contrary tried to make it seem as if he had taken the city through the fear inspired by him instead of rewarding Milesius as he ought for his services, he became an object of suspicion and was again driven out of Damascus; for once, when he had set out for the hippodrome,

Antiochus
Dionysos
invades
Judaea,
but is slain
by the
Arabs.

^a Mithridates II, who reigned c. 123 to 88/87 B.C., cf. Debevoise, p. 50 n. 79.

^b Variant "Dionysius." This was Antiochus XII Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus, the youngest son of Antiochus VIII Grypus.

^c In 86/5 B.C., according to the coins.

^d Perhaps we should read "of."

ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἀντιόχῳ διεφύλαξεν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας, στρατεύεται δ' εὐθὺς ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὀπίταις μὲν
 390 ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις. δεῖσας δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθεῖαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβαρσαβᾶ¹ καταρξάμενος, ἣ νῦν Ἀντιπατρίς καλεῖται, ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰόππην θαλάσσης, ἣ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἐπίμαχον· τεῖχός τε ἐγείρας καὶ πύργους ἀναστήσας ξυλίνους καὶ μεταπύργια² ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα³ τὸν Ἀντίοχον
 391 ἐξεδέχετο. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμπρήσας διεβίβαζε ταύτῃ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ἀναχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀραβος τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα μετὰ μυρίων ἵππέων ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφανέντος, ὑπαντήσας τούτοις Ἀντίοχος καρτερῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ δὴ νικῶν ἀπέθανε παραβοηθῶν τῷ πονοῦντι⁴ μέρει. πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει εἰς Κανὰ κώμην, ἔνθα τὸ πλείστον αὐτῶν λιμῶ φθίρεται.

392 (2) Βασιλεύει δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀρέτας, κληθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν

¹ Χαβερσαβᾶ P: Χαρζαβὰ FV: Cafarsaba I.at.

² μεσοπύργια FVE.

³ ἐξήκοντα P.

⁴ νικοῦντι P.

^a According to *B.J.* i. 99, Antiochus Dionysus was merely passing through Judaea to attack the Arabs.

^b Here is resumed the close parallelism with *B.J.*, down to § 395.

^c Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 142. More exactly Chabarsaba (Heb. *Kepharsābā*, mod. *Kefr Saba*) lay near Antipatris, cf. Klein, *EY* 79 and Abel, *GP* ii. 245; the latter locates Chabarsaba c. 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, and identifies Antipatris with mod. *Fejja* c. 6 miles further south.

Milesius shut the gates on him and kept Damascus safe for Antiochus. And when Antiochus heard of Philip's experience, he returned from Arabia and at once took the field, marching on Judaea^a with eight thousand heavy-armed soldiers and eight hundred horse. Thereupon^b Alexander, who feared an invasion by him, dug a deep trench, beginning at Chabarsaba, which is now called Antipatris,^c as far as the sea at Joppa, where alone it was possible to attack; and he erected a wall and set up wooden towers and firing-platforms^d for a distance of a hundred and fifty stades,^e and then awaited Antiochus's attack. But Antiochus burned all these constructions and so made his army pass through this way to Arabia.^f At first the Arab king retreated but afterward suddenly appeared with ten thousand horse, and though Antiochus on meeting them fought valiantly, he was killed just as he was gaining the victory and was coming to the aid of part of his army that was in difficulties.^g And when Antiochus fell, his army fled to the village of Kana,^h where the greatest part of it perished of hunger.

(2) After his death Aretas began to reign over Coele-Syria,ⁱ being called to the throne by those who

Aretas
invades
Judaea.

^a Lit. "spaces between the towers" for artillery, *cf.* *B.J.* iii. 80. They are not mentioned in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 99.

^e One ms. "sixty." 150 stades = c. 17 miles.

^f The Nabataean Arabs under Aretas III had pushed on to the S. and E. of Judaea, and soon held Transjordan as far north as Damascus, *cf.* below, § 392.

^g One ms. "was victorious." The battle took place c. 85 B.C.

^h Not the bibl. Cana in Galilee but mod. *Qina*, a few miles E. of the southern end of the Dead Sea, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 149.

ⁱ Here = the region about Damascus.

JOSEPHUS

Δαμασκὸν ἔχόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μειναίου μῖσος. στρατεύσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ περὶ Ἄδιδα χωρίον μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

393 (3) Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐλάσας αὐθις ἐπὶ Δίον¹ πόλιν αἰρεῖ ταύτην, καὶ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Ἔσσαν,² οὗ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια Ζήνωνι συνέβαινε εἶναι, καὶ τρισὶν μὲν περιβάλλει τείχεσιν τὸ χωρίον, ἀμαχί³ δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Γαύλαναν καὶ Σελεύκειαν ἐξώρμησεν.

394 παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας, προσεξέειλε καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου λεγομένην φάραγγα καὶ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πολλὰ Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι περιέδυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πεπληρωκῶς ἔτος τῆς στρατείας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψε, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν δεχομένων.

395 (4) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Φοινίκων πόλεις εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πρὸς θαλάσση μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον

¹ Hudson: Δίαν codd.: Λίαν Syncellus: Πέλλαν B.J.

² Essamon Lat.: Γέρασαν B.J.

³ μάχῃ FLA¹VW Lat.: cf. διὰ μάχης B.J.

^a King of Calchis in the Lebanon region.

^b Mod. *el-Haditha*, c. 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, cf. § 203 note f.

^c Gr. "Dion," a city of the Decapolis, perhaps mod. *Tell el-Aš'ari*, as suggested by Schwartz, *ap. Abel*, *GP* ii. 307. For "Dium" *B.J.* i. 104 has "Pella."

^d For "Essa" we should read "Gerasa" with *B.J.* i. 104. It is the mod. *Jerash* on the Jabbok river in the Decapolis. Its antiquities are well known through the excavations of Yale University, cf. C. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa*, 1938.

held Damascus because of their hatred of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaenus.^a From there he marched on Judaea and defeated Alexander in a battle near the fortress of Adida,^b but after coming to terms with him, withdrew from Judaea.

(3) Thereupon Alexander once more marched on the city of Dium^c and captured it, and then led his army against Essa,^d where Zenon's^e most valuable possessions were, and surrounded the place with three walls; and after taking the city without a battle,^f he set out against Gaulana and Seleucia.^g After taking these cities as well, he captured in addition the Valley of Antiochus,^h as it is called, and the fortress of Gamala.ⁱ And having serious ground for complaint against Demetrius, the governor of these districts, he deprived him of office, and having spent three whole years in the field,^j returned to his own country, where the Jews welcomed him eagerly because of his successes.

Alexander Jannaeus' victories in Trans-Jordan.

(4) ^k Now at this time the Jews held the following cities of Syria, Idumaea and Phoenicia^l: on

The extent of Jewish territory under Alexander Jannaeus.

^a Ruler of nearby Philadelphia, *cf.* § 325. *B.J.* i. 104 has "Theodorus," the son of Zenon, *cf.* § 356.

^f Variant "in battle." In *B.J.* διὰ μάχης "in battle" is emended by some scholars to δίχα μάχης "without a battle."

^d Mod. *Selūqiye*, c. 10 miles S.E. of Lake *Hūleh*.

^h Apparently in Gaulanitis.

ⁱ Mod. *Jamle*, c. 12 miles E. of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned frequently in *Vita*.

^j C. 83 to 80 B.C.

^k The following sections, to § 407, except for a few words in §§ 398 and 404, have no parallels in *B.J.*

^l As Reinach, following Tuch, notes, a list of cities similar to the following is given by Syncellus i. 558 ed. Dindorf; see also *Ant.* xiv. 18 for other cities conquered by Alexander Jannaeus.

- 396 Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἰόππην Ἰάμνειαν Ἄζωτον Γάζαν
 Ἀνθηδόνα Ῥάφίαν Ῥινοκορούραν,¹ ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσο-
 γαία κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν
 καὶ ὄλην Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν, Καρμήλιον
 ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος, Σκυθόπολιν Γάδαρα,²
 397 Γαυλανίτιδας³ Σελεύκειαν Γάμαλα,⁴ Μωαβίτιδας
 Ἐσσεβῶν Μήδαβα Λεμβὰ Ὀρωναιμ Ἀγαλαιν
 Θωνα⁵ Ζόαρα⁶ Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν (ταύτην
 δὲ κατέσκαψαν⁷ οὐχ⁸ ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων
 εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη μεταβαλεῖσθαι),
 ἄλλας τε πόλεις πρωτευούσας τῆς Συρίας αἱ ἦσαν
 κατεστραμμένοι.
- 398 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ
 μέθης εἰς νόσον καταπεσὼν καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν
 τεταρταίῳ πυρετῷ συσχεθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέστη τῶν

¹ Ῥινοκόρουρα P: Ῥινοκούρουραν LAMV: Ῥινοκολούραν F (?).

² V Lat.: Ἄδαρα P: Γάζαρα rell.

³ Tuch: Γαυλανίτιδα codd. Lat.

⁴ Tuch cum Hudson: Γάβαλα codd.

⁵ Ὀρωναιμ . . . Θωνα Niese duce Tuch: ορωναιμαγελεθων αὐτὸ ορωναιματαιλαιθωνα codd.: Oronemegaeton Lat.

⁶ Ζαρά FLAMV: Ζάρα W: Zora Lat.

⁷ κατέσκαψεν PLAM Lat.

⁸ οὐχ om. P Lat. cod. Neap. aliique.

^a Cf. § 324.

^b Mod. *Arsūf*, between Joppa and Straton's Tower.

^c Cf. §§ 215, 261.

^d Cf. § 215.

^e Cf. §§ 99 ff.

^f Cf. § 361.

^g Cf. § 357.

^h Cf. § 357.

ⁱ Mod. *el-'Arīš* on the border of Palestine and Egypt.

^j Cf. § 257.

^k Cf. § 257.

^l Cf. § 280.

^m Variants " Adara," " Gazara "; cf. § 356.

ⁿ Cf. § 393.

^o Conjectured from ms. " Gabala "; cf. § 394.

the sea-coast, Straton's Tower,^a Apollonia,^b Joppa,^c Jamneia,^d Azotus,^e Gaza,^f Anthedon,^g Raphia^h and Rhinocoruraⁱ; in the interior, toward Idumaea, Adora^j and Marisa,^k and the whole of Idumaea and Samaria and Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor and Scythopolis^l and Gadara^m; in Gaulanitis they had Seleuciaⁿ and Gamala^o; and in Moab, Essebom,^p Medaba,^q Lemba,^r Oronaim,^s Agalain,^t Thona,^u Zoara,^v the Valley of the Cilicians^w and Pella^x—this last city Alexander's men demolished because the inhabitants would not agree to adopt the national customs of the Jews—, and others of the principal cities of Syria which had been subdued.

(5) But after these conquests King Alexander fell ill from heavy drinking, and for three years^y he was afflicted with a quartan fever, but still he did not give up campaigning until, being exhausted from his

Alexander Jannaeus on his deathbed advises his wife to make peace with the Pharisees.

^p Bibl. Heshbon of Moab, mod. *Heshbān*, c. 12 miles E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea.

^q Cf. § 255.

^r Called Libba in *Ant.* xiv. 18; it is mod. *Khirbet Libb*, c. 8 miles S.W. of Medaba.

^s The reading of the next three names is doubtful here as in the parallel, *Ant.* xiv. 18. The following identifications are based on Abel, *GP* ii. 149.

Oronaim is bibl. Horonaim, mod. *el-'Arāq*, c. 6 miles E. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

^t Bibl. Eglaim, mod. *Rujm el-Jilimeh*, c. 10 miles N.E. of Horonaim.

^u Mod. *eth-Thenâyeh*, c. 3 miles S.E. of Eglaim.

^v Bibl. Zoar, in the *Gor Şāfiyeh*, c. 2 miles S. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

^w Apparently in the Decapolis; cf. Klein in *MGWJ* 59 (1915), 169.

^x Cf. *B.J.* i. 104; it is Talmudic *Pahel*, mod. *Fihl* or *Fahil*, c. 8 miles S.E. of Scythopolis (*Beisān*) and 3 miles E. of the Jordan.

^y 79 to 76 B.C.

στρατειῶν, ἕως οὗ τοῖς πόνοις ἔξαναλωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τοῖς Γερασηνῶν ὄροις,¹ πολιορκῶν Ῥάγαβα φρούριον πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ὀρώσα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλίτσα πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὄντα καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπογράφοντα μηκέτι² σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κλαίουσα καὶ κοπτομένη τῆς μελλούσης ἐρημίας αὐτὴν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπωδύρετο, καὶ “ τίνι καταλείπεις οὕτως ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῆς παρ' ἄλλων βοηθείας δεόμενα ” πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν “ καὶ ταυτ' εἰδὼς πῶς διάκειται πρὸς σέ δυσμενῶς τὸ ἔθνος.”

400 ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῇ πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς ὑποθήσεται πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον.

401 ἔπειτα ὡς ἀπὸ νίκης³ λαμπρᾶς⁴ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγενομένην τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν· τούτους γὰρ ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς εὖνον καταστήσειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔθνος, δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας καὶ φιλίως⁵ διακει-

402 μένους ὠφελῆσαι· μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν κἂν φθονοῦντές⁶ τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτὸν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τού-

403 τους ἔλεγεν ὑβρισθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. “ σὺ τοίνυν,” εἶπεν, “ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γενομένη μετὰ-

¹ monte Lat.² μηκέτι om. LAMWE.³ ἀπὸ νίκης E: ἀπὸ νικήσει P: ἂν νικήσῃ rell.: victrix Lat.⁴ Naber: λαμπρῶς codd.⁵ Ernesti: φίλους codd.⁶ φθονῶσι PFLW.

^a Heb. *Ragab* or *Regeb* (Mishnah), identified by Abel, *GP* ii. 427, as by some earlier scholars, with mod. *Rājīb*,

labours, he met death in the territory of the Gerasenes while besieging Ragaba,^a a fortress across the Jordan. And when the queen saw that he was on the point of death and no longer held^b to any hope of recovery, she wept and beat her breast, lamenting the bereavement that was about to befall her and her children, and said to him, "To whom are you thus leaving me and your children, who are in need of help from others, especially when you know how hostile the nation feels toward you!" Thereupon he advised her to follow his suggestions for keeping the throne secure for herself and her children and to conceal his death from the soldiers until she had captured the fortress. And then, he said, on her return to Jerusalem as from a splendid victory, she should yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her.^c These men, he assured her, had so much influence with their fellow-Jews that they could injure those whom they hated and help those to whom they were friendly; for they had the complete confidence of the masses when they spoke harshly of any person, even when they did so out of envy; and he himself, he added, had come into conflict with the nation because these men had been badly treated by him. "And so," he said, "when you come to Jerusalem, send for their

c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan and 14 miles W. of *Jeraš* (Gerasa). Schürer, i. 284 n. 26, had earlier doubted this, on the ground that this site must already have been in Alexander's hands, being so near Amathūs; but this assumption is by no means necessary.

^b Variant "did not hold."

^c For the rabbinic traditions concerning Alexander's relations with the Pharisees see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

πεμφθαι μὲν τοὺς στασιώτας¹ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδείξασα δὲ
 τὸ σῶμα τοῦμὸν ἐκείνοις, ὅπως μοι βούλονται
 χρῆσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀξιοπιστίας ἐπίτρεπε, εἴτε
 καθυβρίζειν ἀταφία μου θελήσουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς
 πολλὰ πεπονθότες ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἴτ' ἄλλην τινὰ κατ'
 ὄργην αἰκίαν τῷ σώματι προσφέρειν. ὑπόσχου τε²
 καὶ μηδὲν δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
 404 διαπράξεσθαι.³ ταῦτά σου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπούσης
 ἐγὼ τε λαμπροτέρας ἀξιωθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν
 κηδείας ἣς ἂν ἔτυχον ἐκ σοῦ, μηδὲν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι
 ποιεῖν μου κακῶς τὸν νεκρὸν διαθεῖναι θελησάντων,
 σύ τε βεβαίως ἄρξεις." ταῦτα παραινέσας τῇ
 γυναικὶ τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι,
 βιώσας δ' ἐνὸς δέοντα⁴ πεντήκοντα.

405 (xvi. 1) Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸ φρούριον ἐξελοῦσα
 κατὰ τὰς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποθήκας τοῖς τε Φαρισαίοις
 διελέχθη καὶ πάντα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θεμένη τά τε περὶ
 τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς μὲν
 ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπαυσεν, εὐ-
 406 νους δ' ἐποίησε καὶ φίλους. οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος
 παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν, τὰς πράξεις τὰς Ἀλεξ-
 ἀνδρου διηγούμενοι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιος αὐτοῖς ἀπό-
 λοιτο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς πένθος καὶ τὴν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατήφειαν ἐξεκαλέσαντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις,
 ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερον ἢ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 407 βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν. δύο μέντοι γε⁵ υἱοὺς
 Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλιπεν, Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀριστό-
 βουλον, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν

¹ Niese: στρατιώτας codd. Lat.: πρώτους E: πρωτεύοντας ed. pr.

² ὑπόσχου τε Niese: ὑπόσχονται P: ὑπισχνοῦ rell.

³ E: διαπράξασθαι codd.

⁴ ἐνὸς δέοντα] ἐν καὶ P.

partisans,^a and showing them my dead body, permit them, with every sign of sincerity, to treat me as they please, whether they wish to dishonour my corpse by leaving it unburied because of the many injuries they have suffered at my hands, or in their anger wish to offer my dead body any other form of indignity. Promise them also that you will not take any action, while you are on the throne, without their consent. If you speak to them in this manner, I shall receive from them a more splendid burial than I should from you; for once they have the power to do so, they will not choose to treat my corpse badly, and at the same time you will reign securely." With this exhortation to his wife he died, after reigning twenty-seven years,^b at the age of forty-nine.

(xvi. 1) Thereupon Alexandra, after capturing the fortress,^c conferred with the Pharisees as her husband had suggested, and by placing in their hands all that concerned his corpse and the royal power, stilled their anger against Alexander, and made them her well-wishers and friends. And they in turn went to the people and made public speeches in which they recounted the deeds of Alexander, and said that in him they had lost a just king, and by their eulogies they so greatly moved the people to mourn and lament that they gave him a more splendid burial than had been given any of the kings before him. Now^d although Alexander had left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, he had bequeathed the royal

The splendid burial of Alexander Jannaeus.

Queen Alexandra and her sons Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus II.

^a Conjectured for mss. "soldiers"; the Epitome and *ed. pr.* have "chiefs."

^b 103 to 76 B.C.

^c Of Ragaba, *cf.* § 398.

^d §§ 407-411 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 109-114.

διέθετο. τῶν δὲ παίδων Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ἀσθενῆς ἦν πράγματα διοικεῖν καὶ βίον ἡσύχιον μᾶλλον ἡγαπηκῶς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀριστόβουλος δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ θαρσαλέος. ἐστέργητο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ γυνῆ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐξήμαρτε δυσχεραίνειν.

408 (2) Ἡ δὲ ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ὑρκανὸν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐκέλευσε πειθαρχεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρώαν παράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησεν.

409 τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι· καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὗτοι κατήγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλνον καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνῆ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοια καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξε¹ διπλασίονα,² ὡς καταπλήξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ
410 λαβεῖν ὄμηρα αὐτῶν. ἡρέμει δὲ ἡ χώρα πᾶσα πάρεξ τῶν Φαρισαίων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπετάραττον τὴν βασιλίσσαν,³ πείθοντες ὡς κτείνειε τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραινέσαντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. εἶτα αὐτοὶ τούτων ἕνα σφάττουσι Διογένην καὶ
411 μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, ἕως⁴ οἱ δυνατοὶ

¹ V : ἐπέδειξε rell. Lat.

³ βασιλείαν P.

² P Lat. : πλείονα rell.

⁴ + οὐ P.

^a The contrast between τὸ δραστήριον and τὸ ἄπραγμον is Thucydidean (Thuc. ii. 63. 2), and occurs again in *Ant.* xiv. 13 ; τὸ δραστήριον alone occurs in *B.J.* i. 283 and elsewhere.

power to Alexandra. Of these sons the one, Hyrcanus, was incompetent to govern and in addition much preferred a quiet life, while the younger, Aristobulus, was a man of action^a and high spirit. As for the queen herself, she was loved by the masses because she was thought to disapprove of the crimes committed by her husband.

(2) Alexandra then appointed Hyrcanus as high priest because of his greater age but more especially because of his lack of energy^a; and she permitted the Pharisees to do as they liked in all matters, and also commanded the people to obey them; and whatever regulations, introduced by the Pharisees in accordance with the tradition of their fathers, had been abolished by her father-in-law Hyrcanus, these she again restored.^b And so, while she had the title of sovereign, the Pharisees had the power. For example, they recalled exiles, and freed prisoners, and, in a word, in no way differed from absolute rulers. Nevertheless the queen took thought for the welfare of the kingdom and recruited a large force of mercenaries and also made her own force twice as large, with the result that she struck terror into the local rulers round her and received hostages from them. And throughout the entire country there was quiet except for the Pharisees; for they worked upon the feelings of the queen and tried to persuade her to kill those who had urged Alexander to put the eight hundred to death.^c Later they themselves cut down^d one of them, named Diogenes, and his death was followed by that of one after the other, until the

The power of the Pharisees under Alexandra.

The leading Jews protest against the ruthlessness of the Pharisees.

^b See Derenbourg, pp. 102-113. According to *B.J.* i. 111, the Pharisees "took advantage of her simplicity."

^c Cf. above, § 380.

^d Lit. "slaughtered."

παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος (ἔωκει γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις δυσ-
 ανασχετῶν καὶ δῆλος ἦν, καθάπαξ εἰ ἀφορμῆς
 λάβοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέψων τῇ μητρί) ἀνεμίμνησκον ὅσα
 κατωρθώσαντο τοῖς¹ κινδύνοις, δι' ὧν τὸ βέβαιον
 τῆς ἐν σφίσι πίστεως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπεδεί-
 ξαντο, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστων ἠξιώθησαν.
 412 καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς ἔμπαλιν τρέψαι
 σφίσι τὰς ἐλπίδας· ἀποφυγόντας γὰρ τὸν ἐκ πο-
 λεμίων κίνδυνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δίκην
 βοσκημάτων κόπτεσθαι,² μηδεμιᾶς τιμωρίας οὔσης.
 413 ἔλεγόν τε ὡς,³ εἰ μὲν ἀρκεσθεῖεν τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις
 οἱ ἀντίδικοι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότης γνήσιον
 μετρίως οἴσειν τὰ ξυμβάντα, εἰ δ' αὖ μέλλοιεν
 ταῦτά⁴ μετιέναι,⁵ ἤτοῦντο μάλιστα μὲν δοθῆναι
 σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγὴν· οὐ⁶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείναι χωρὶς
 αὐτῆς πορίσασθαι τι⁷ σωτήριον, ἀλλ' ἀσμενίζειν
 θνήσκοντες πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὡς μὴ συγγοῖεν⁸
 414 ἀπιστίαν⁹ αὐτοῖς.¹⁰ αἰσχὸς τε εἶναι σφίσι καὶ τῇ
 βασιλευούσῃ,¹¹ εἰ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀμελούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχθείησαν· ἀντὶ παντὸς γὰρ
 ἂν τιμῆσασθαι¹² Ἀρέταν τε τὸν Ἀραβα καὶ τοὺς
 μονάρχους, εἰ ἀποξενολογήσαιεν¹³ τοσοῦσδε ἄνδρας,

¹ κατωρθώσαντο τοῖς] κατώρθωσαν τοσοῦτοις P.

² κόψεσθαι PAM.

³ ὡς secl. Dindorf.

⁴ A¹: ταῦτα A corr., rell.

⁵ ed. pr.: μετεῖναι codd.

⁶ οὐδὲ P.

⁷ τὸ P.

⁸ Dindorf: συγγῶεν codd.

⁹ ἀπιστίαν om. FLAMVW.

¹⁰ conl.: αὐτοῖς codd.

¹¹ βασιλίσση V.

¹² ἂν τιμῆσασθαι V: τιμῆσασθαι P: ἂν τιμῆσεσθαι FLAMW.

¹³ ὑποξενολογήσαιεν Naber.

leading citizens came to the palace, Aristobulus among them—for he was obviously resentful of what was taking place, and let it be plainly seen that if only he should get the opportunity, he would not leave his mother any power at all—, and they reminded her of all that they had achieved in the face of danger, whereby they had shown their unwavering^a loyalty to their master^b and had therefore been judged worthy by him of the greatest honours. And they begged her not to crush their hopes completely,^c for, they said, after escaping the dangers of war, they were now being slaughtered at home like cattle by their foes, and there was no one to avenge them. They also said^d that if their adversaries were to be contented with those already slain, they would bear with equanimity what had taken place, out of genuine devotion to their masters ; but if, on the other hand, these men were to continue in the same course, let them, they begged, at least be given their freedom ; for they would never bring themselves to seek any means of safety but what should come from her, and would welcome death in her palace so long as they might not have disloyalty on their conscience.^e It would be disgraceful both for them and for her who ruled as queen, they added, if, being abandoned by her, they should be given shelter by the enemies of her husband ; for Aretas the Arab and the other princes would consider it of the utmost value to

^a Lit. "firmness of," also a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 89. 4), found elsewhere in Josephus, *e.g.* *Ant.* xv. 193, *B.J.* vii. 139.

^b Alexander Jannaeus.

^c Lit. "turn their hopes completely back."

^d §§ 412-418 have no parallels in *B.J.*

^e Text slightly uncertain.

οἷς ἦν τάχα που¹ φρικῶδες² καὶ τοῦνομα πρὶν³
 415 ἀκουσθῆναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ, τό γε δεύτερον, εἰ τοὺς
 Φαρισαίους αὐτῇ προτιμᾶν ἔγνωσται, κατατάξαι
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις· εἰ γὰρ ὦδε δαίμων
 τις ἐνεμέσῃσε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἴκῳ, αὐτοῦς⁴ γε
 μὴν ἂν ἀποδείξαι καὶ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι βιο-
 τεύοντας.⁵

416 (3) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων καὶ εἰς οἶκτον τῶν
 τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων τοὺς Ἀλεξ-
 άνδρου δαίμονας ἐπικαλουμένων, ἅπαντες οἱ
 περιεστῶτες ὤρμησαν εἰς δάκρυα· μάλιστα δὲ
 Ἀριστόβουλος ὅπως ἔχοι γνώμης ἐδήλου, πολλὰ
 417 τὴν μητέρα κακίζων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αἴτιοι
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς⁶ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐγένοντο, κατὰ φιλ-
 αρχίαν ἐκλελυσσηκυῖα γυναικὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
 βασιλεύειν, γενεᾶς ἐν ἀκμῇ⁷ οὔσης, ἐπιτρέψαντες· ἡ
 δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι πράξειε μετὰ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς,
 τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων σφίσιν ἐπίστευσεν,⁸ ὅτι
 μὴ Ὑρκανίας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος,
 418 ἔνθα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἦν αὐτῇ. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν
 ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου

¹ που om. FLAMVW.

² + αὐτῶν P.

³ τὸ πρὶν P.

⁴ Richards et Shutt: αὐτοὺς codd.

⁵ post βιοτεύοντας lacunam indicavit Bekker: verba τὴν
 πίστιν τηροῦντας excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς V: σφίσιν rell.

⁷ ἐν ἀκμῇ] ἔνεκα μὴ FLVW.

⁸ ἐπέτρεψεν P.

^a The text is clearly defective, but the context makes it probable that the word "loyal" or the like is to be supplied.

^b Mod. *Khirbet Mird*, c. 8 miles S.E. of Jerusalem, according to Abel, *GP* ii. 350.

enlist such men as mercenaries, whose very name, they might say, had caused these princes to shudder before they had heard it (spoken aloud). But if this could not be, and she had determined to favour the Pharisees above all others, let her, as the next best thing, station each of them in one of the garrisons, for, if some evil genius were thus wroth with the house of Alexander, they at least would show themselves (loyal)^a even though living in humble circumstances.

(3) Speaking in this vein at great length, they called upon the shades of Alexander to take pity on those who had been killed and those who were in danger, whereupon all the bystanders burst into tears. And Aristobulus in particular made plain his sentiments by denouncing his mother bitterly. But still they themselves were to blame for their misfortunes, in allowing a woman to reign who madly desired it in her unreasonable love of power, and when her sons were in the prime of life. And so the queen, not knowing what to do consistent with her dignity, entrusted to them the guarding of the fortresses with the exception of Hyrcania,^b Alexandreion^c and Machaerus,^d where her most valuable possessions were. And^e not long afterward she sent out her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, the son of Mennaenus,^f as he was

Aristobulus
II
denounces
his mother
for support-
ing the
Pharisees.

^c Talmudic *Sartaba*, mod. *Qarn Sartabeh*, c. 3 miles S.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers; cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 241 f. and *BASOR* 62 (April 1936), 14 ff.

^d Mod. *Khîrbet Mukāwer*, c. 5 miles E. of the Dead Sea, in the latitude of Bethsur; cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 371 f. and Glueck in *BASOR* 65 (Feb. 1937), 25.

^e §§ 418-421 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 115-116.

^f Cf. § 392.

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λεγομένου, ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γείτων. ἀλλ' ὁ¹
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἐργασάμενος² σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὑπέστρεψεν.³

419 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγγέλλεται Τι-
 γράνης ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς⁴ στρατοῦ μυ-
 ριάσι τριάκοντα⁵ ἐμβεβληκῶς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφιξόμενος. τοῦτο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
 ἐφόβησε τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. δῶρα δὴ
 πολλὰ καὶ λόγου ἄξια πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρέσβεις
 420 πολιορκοῦντι⁶ Πτολεμαῖδα. βασίλισσα γὰρ Σελήνη
 ἢ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα καλουμένη⁷ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρία
 κατῆρχεν,⁸ ἣ καὶ⁹ ἐνήγαγεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπο-
 κλείσαι Τιγράνην· συνετύγχανον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ
 ἐδέοντο χρηστὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείσης καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους
 421 συγγινώσκειν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκ
 διαστήματος θεραπείας ἐλπίδας ὑπέθετο χρηστάς.
 ἄρτι δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἐαλωκυίας ἀγγέλλεται
 Τιγράνη Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην ἐκείνου
 μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρας ἀναφυγόντος, τὴν

¹ οἱ P.

² ἐργασάμενοι P.

³ ὑπέστρεψαν P: ἀνέστρεψε(ν) LAMW: ἀνέστρεψαν E.

⁴ ὁ . . . βασιλεὺς om. PE Lat.

⁵ πεντήκοντα FLAMVW.

⁶ + δὲ FLVW.

⁷ λεγομένη F¹LAMW.

⁸ V: κατέχειν P: κατ' εἰρήνην rell.

⁹ ἢ καὶ om. FLAMW.

called, who was a troublesome neighbour to their city. He ^a returned, however, without having accomplished anything noteworthy.

(4) About this time news came that Tigranes, king of Armenia, ^b with an army of three hundred thousand ^c men had invaded Syria and was coming against Judaea. ^d This naturally frightened the queen and her people. And so they sent many valuable gifts and envoys to him as he was besieging Ptolemais. For Queen Selene, also called Cleopatra, ^e was then ruling over Syria and she induced the inhabitants to shut their gates against Tigranes. The envoys therefore met with him and asked him to grant favourable terms to the queen and her people. Thereupon he commended them for coming so great a distance to do homage to him, and gave them reason to hope for the best. But hardly had Ptolemais been captured when news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, ^f who was pursuing Mithridates, ^g had failed to catch him, as he had fled to the Iberians, ^h and had therefore ravaged

Alexandra
bribes
Tigranes
to leave
Judaea in
peace.

^a One ms. "they."

^b The variant omits "king of Armenia."

^c Variant "five hundred thousand."

^d Tigranes first invaded Syria in 83 B.C. and held a large part of the country until he was finally driven out by the Romans in 69 B.C.

^e Daughter of Ptolemy Physcon and Cleopatra III; she was married successively to Ptolemy Soter, Antiochus Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus and Antiochus Eusebes; cf. Strabo xvi. 749, Appian, *Syr.* 69 and Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 304.

^f Lucius Licinius Lucullus, Roman consul in 74 B.C. and commander of the army in the east during the next five years.

^g Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus 115 to 63 B.C., one of Rome's most formidable adversaries.

^h In the Caucasus. According to Appian, *Mithr.* 83, and other sources, Mithridates fled to Tigranes in Armenia, after his defeat by Lucullus at Cabeira in 72 B.C.

δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν. Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ' οἴκου.

- 422 (5) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλίσης εἰς νόσον χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσοῦσης, δόξαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεξελθὼν μεθ' ἐνὸς τῶν θεραπόντων ἦει ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια, ἵνα οἱ πατρῶοι κατετάχθησαν αὐτῷ φίλοι. πάλαι γὰρ ἀχθόμενος οἷς ἔπραττεν ἢ μήτηρ τότε² πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔδεισε μὴ ἀποθανούσης ἐπὶ τοῖς Φαρισαίοις τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειεν· ἐώρα γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφοῦ. ξυνῆδει δὲ ἢ γυνὴ μόνη τῇ πράξει, ἣν κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς. καὶ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀγαβα,³ ἔνθα Παλαιστῆς⁴ ἦν τῶν δυνατῶν, ὑπέδεχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῇ βασιλίσει τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου φυγῆς, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ᾤετο γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ· ὡς μέντοι ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες⁵ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὅτι κατειλήφει τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ξύμπαντα (εὐθύς γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρξαμένου πάντα ἠπειέγετο⁶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα), τότε δὴ

¹ Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ om. Lat.: Τιγρανόκερτα Niese.

² τότε ex Lat. ins. Herwerden.

³ Ἀγαβαν LAMW: Ἀγαβρα E: Gabatha Lat.

⁴ Γαλαίστης ed. pr.: Galestis Lat.

⁵ P: ἀγγέλλοντες rell.

⁶ ὑπήγετο FVE.

^a In the Gr. there is no object for the verb "was besieging," which can hardly be taken to govern the preceding noun "Armenia." As the text stands, the city of Tigranocerta must be meant, even if we do not adopt Niese's conjecture, reading "Tigranocerta" for "and Tigranes" in the following sentence. For this siege see H. A. Ormerod in *CAH* ix. 365-367.

Armenia and was besieging (the capital).^a And when Tigranes learned of this, he withdrew to his own country.

(5) ^b Some time after this the queen was stricken by a serious illness, whereupon Aristobulus decided to make an attempt to seize power, and slipped away by night with one of his servants, and went to the fortresses where his father's friends had been stationed. For while he had long resented the things his mother was doing, he was just then especially fearful that on her death their whole family might come under the rule of the Pharisees, for he saw the incapacity of his brother, who was destined to succeed to the throne. The only one informed of his deed was his wife, whom he had left in the city with their children.^c And he first came to Agaba,^d where he found Palaestes,^e one of the leading men, and was given shelter by him. Now on the next day the queen became aware of Aristobulus' flight, and for a time she believed that his departure was not for the purpose of beginning a revolt. But when successive messengers came to report that he had captured the first fortress, and after that the second, and after that all of them—for when once the first had made a beginning they all hastened

Alexandra and the Pharisees are alarmed by Aristobulus II's preparations for seizing power.

^b The following sections, to the end of the book, have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 117-119.

^c Two sons and two daughters, *cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 79.

^d Lat. "Gabatha." Reinach hesitantly suggests "Gaba," a place near Carmel. Perhaps we should read "Ragaba," the fortress captured by Alexander and Alexandra in Transjordan, *cf.* §§ 398, 405. This region seems to be indicated as Aristobulus' first base of operations by the later battle at Jericho, *Ant.* xiv. 4 (= *B.J.* i. 120).

^e *Ed. pr.* and Lat. "Galestes," *cf.* W. Otto, *ABAW*, N.F. 17 (1938), 36-39.

426 ἐν μεγίσταις ταραχαῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἡ τε βασίλισσα καὶ
 τὸ ἔθνος. ἤδεισαν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν
 ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κρατῦναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὄντα·
 μάλιστα δ' ἔδεισαν¹ μὴ ποινὴν εἰσπράξαιτο ὧν
 παρώνησαν αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον. δόξαν οὖν τὴν τε²
 427 γυναικα αὐτοῦ καὶ γενεὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 φρούριον κατέθεσαν. Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐκ
 πολλῶν συχνὰ συνανηνέχθη,³ ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ κόσμος
 ἤδη βασίλειος περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις
 δεκαπέντε χωρίων ἐκράτησεν εἰκοσιδύο, ὅθεν ἀφορ-
 μὰς ἔχων στρατιὰν ἠθροίζεν ἀπὸ τε Λιβάνου καὶ
 Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν μονάρχων· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῷ
 πλείονι ὑπαγόμενοι ῥαδίως ὑπήκουον· ἄλλως τε⁴
 νομίζοντες, εἰ δὴ ξυλλάβοιεν αὐτῷ, τῶν προσωκειω-
 μένων⁵ οὐχ ἦσσαν καρπώσεσθαι⁶ τὴν βασιλείαν
 428 ὡς αὐτοὶ τοῦ κρατῆσαι πρόφασις γενηθέντες. τῶν
 δὲ Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Ὑρκανὸς εἰσ-
 ἤεσαν ὡς τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ ἐδέοντο ὑποθέσθαι
 γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων· τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστό-
 βουλον τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἤδη κυριεύειν, ὅποτε
 χωρίων τοσοῦτων κρατήσειεν· ἄτοπον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ
 μάλιστα κάμνοι, περιούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ σφᾶς βου-
 λεύεσθαι· περιεστάναι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ διὰ
 429 μακροῦ σφίσιν. ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε πράττειν ὅ

¹ δείσαντες FLAMW: ἐδεδείεσαν δὲ (om. μάλιστα) P.

² τε P: om. rell.

³ συχνὰ συνανηνέχθη Hudson: συχνὰ ἀνήχθη P: συνανηνέχθη
 FVW: συνήχθη L: συχνὰ ἀνηνέχθη AM: συχνὰ συνήχθη E.

⁴ Naber: δὲ codd.

⁵ μὴ προσωκειομένων Holwerda: μὴ προσδοκωμένων (P)
 FLVW: ὠκειωμένων AM. ⁶ καρπώσασθαι PLW.

^a The Baris, later called Antonia, as Josephus explains
 in *B.J.* i. 118; cf. above, § 307 note a.

to submit to his will—, then at last both the queen and her people were in the greatest dismay. For they knew that Aristobulus was not far from being able to seize the throne for himself, and they were very much afraid that he might exact satisfaction for the excesses which they had practised on his house. They therefore decided to place his wife and children in the fortress overlooking the temple.^a And Aristobulus received such large contributions from many sources^b that there was already a veritable royal train about him. For in barely fifteen days he had occupied twenty-two fortresses, and obtaining resources from these, he gathered an army from Lebanon, Trachonitis and the local princes. These men readily submitted to him, being drawn to the stronger side, and at the same time believing that if they aided Aristobulus they could exploit his kingdom no less than those who were closely related to him,^c on the ground that they had been the means of his conquering it. Meanwhile the elders of the Jews and Hyrcanus went to the queen and begged her to give them some counsel about the present situation. For, they said, Aristobulus was already master of almost the entire country by virtue of having occupied so many fortresses; but it was not their place, however seriously ill she might be, to make plans by themselves while she was still alive; and yet the danger was not at all far off.^d Thereupon she told them to do whatever they thought expedient,

^b Text slightly uncertain.

^c Or "no less than the lands acquired by them," *cf.* above, § 319; text slightly emended; most mss. have "those not expected," which is meaningless.

^d This last clause is Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. iv. 34. 3 and vi. 91. 3; it has a parallel in *Ant.* xvii. 5.

τι δοκοῦσι χρήσιμον εἶναι· πολλὰς δὲ ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς λείπεσθαι, τὸ ἔθνος ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς γαζοφυλακίοις χρήματα· αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἔτι μέλειν¹ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς² ὑπολείποντος ἤδη τοῦ σώματος.

- 430 (6) Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βιώσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυνὴ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τοῦ φύλου κατ' οὐδὲν χρησαμένη· δεινὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸ φίλαρχον ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα γενομένη διήλεγξεν ἔργοις τό τε πρακτικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἀσύνετον τῶν ἀεὶ παιόντων³ περὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν·
- 431 τὸ γὰρ παρὸν κρεῖττον ἀξιοῦσα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ πάντα δεύτερα τιθεμένη τοῦ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν, οὔτε καλοῦ οὔτε δικαίου ἔνεκά γε τούτων ἐπεστρέφετο. εἰς γοῦν τοῦτο τῷ οἴκῳ ἀτυχίας τὰ πράγματα περιέστησεν, ὥστε ἦν μετὰ πλείστων κινδύνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας περιεκτῆσατο⁴ δυναστείαν ἐπιθυμία τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων γυναικί, χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην προθεῖσα,⁵ τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔρημον τῶν προκηδομένων⁶ ποιησα-
- 432 μένη. καὶ ξυμφορῶν δὲ ἐνέπλησε καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐξ

¹ V: μέλοι P: μέλλειν *rell.*

² + ἄν P.

³ ἀεὶ παιόντων] ἐν ἀκμῇ παρόντων *coni.* Havercamp.

⁴ περιεκτῆσαντο LAMW.

⁵ προσθεῖσα P: τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην προσθεῖσα *coni.* Post.

⁶ Dindorf: προσκηδομένων AM: προσηγεμόνων P: προηγεμόνων FLW: προηγουμένων V: potentium amicorum gubernatione Lat.

saying that there were many resources left to them, namely a nation in a sound condition, an army, and money in the various treasuries. As for herself, she was no longer greatly concerned about affairs of state, as her physical strength was almost spent.

(6) Not long after she had spoken these words, she died, having reigned nine years^a and having lived seventy-three years in all. She was a woman who showed none of the weakness of her sex^b; for being one of those inordinately desirous of the power to rule, she showed by her deeds the ability to carry out her plans, and at the same time she exposed the folly of those men who continually fail to maintain sovereign power.^c For she valued the present more than the future, and making everything else secondary to absolute rule,^d she had, on account of this, no consideration for either decency or justice. At least matters turned out so unfortunately for her house that the sovereign power which it^e had acquired in the face of the greatest dangers and difficulties was not long afterward taken from it because of her desire for things unbecoming a woman, and because she expressed the same opinions as did those^f who were hostile to her family, and also because she left the kingdom without anyone who had their interests at heart.^g And even after her death she caused the

The death and character of Queen Alexandra.

^a 76 to 67 B.C.

^b Compare §§ 408 ff.

^c Apparently this means "who never have enough power in their grasp"; conj. "who are at the height of their power."

^d ἐγκρατῶς ἀρχειν is also Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. i. 76. 1.

^e Or "she"; variant "they."

^f Prof. Post conjectures, "she lent the weight of her authority to those who," etc.

^g Text slightly emended; some mss. have "without any to guide it (*i.e.* the kingdom)."

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ὡν ζῶσα ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βασιλείον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἄρξασα ἐν εἰρήνῃ¹ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν² τοῦτο εἶχε τὸ τέλος.³

¹ + καὶ ἀταραξία P.

² + τὴν βασίλισσαν P.

³ post τέλος verba ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων τὰ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτῆς συμβεβηκότα Ἀριστοβούλῳ καὶ Ὑρκανῶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην μου βίβλῳ add. P.

palace to be filled with misfortunes and disturbances which arose from the public measures taken during her lifetime. Nevertheless, in spite of reigning in this manner, she had kept the nation at peace. Such, then, was the end of Alexandra.^a

^a One ms. (P) adds, "In the following book I shall proceed to relate what befell her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus after her death."

APPENDIX A
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS
BIBLION IB

α'.¹ Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου δόλω καὶ ἀπάτη παραλαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετώκισεν.²

β'. Ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλυσεν, Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ αὐτῶν χαριζόμενος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν τῷ θεῷ.

γ'. Πῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ πολίτας ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κτισθείσαις πόλεσιν.³

δ'. Ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ἀτυχίας ἐπανόρθωσις ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Τωβίου ποιησαμένου φιλίαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ε'. Φιλία καὶ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Ὀυνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

ς'. Στάσις τῶν δυνατῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

¹ numeros hab. (α'-κα' L, α'-κβ' AW, I-XVIII Lat.) LAW Lat., om. rell.

² κατώκισεν (-ησεν V) PFLV.

³ + κατοικίσαντες P.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK XII

	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judaea by treachery and deceit, and transported many of its inhabitants to Egypt ^a	1	2
(ii) How his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, had the Jewish laws translated into the Greek tongue, and released many captives as a favour to their high priest Eleazar, and made many dedicatory-offerings to God	11	6
(iii) How the kings of Asia honoured the Jewish nation, and made the Jews citizens ^b in the cities founded by them	119	58
(iv) The amendment of their ill fortune through Joseph the Tobiad, who formed a friendship with Ptolemy Epiphanes	154	80
(v) The friendship and alliance of the Lacedaemonians with Onias, the high priest of the Jews	225	114
(vi) The factional strife of the Jewish leaders, and how they appealed to Antiochus Epiphanes	237	120

^a Variant " and settled many of its inhabitants in Egypt."

^b One ms. " and settled the Jews and made them citizens."

ζ'. "Οτι στρατευσάμενος Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τε πόλιν παρέλαβεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησεν.

η'. Ὡς Ἀντιόχου κωλύσαντος τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, μόνος ὁ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖς Ματθαθίας κατεφρόνησεν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς ἐνίκησεν.

θ'. Ἡ Ματθαθίου τελευτῆ, γηραιοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἤδη, παραδόντος δὲ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων προστασίαν τοῖς παισίν.

ι'. Ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς μαχεσάμενος, τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν πατριὸν ἐπανήγαγε πολιτείαν, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

ια'. Ὡς ὁ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγὸς Ἀπολλώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἠττηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ'. Ἡ Σαῖωνος¹ καὶ Γοργίου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ἦττα καὶ διαφθορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

ιγ'. "Οτι στρατευσάμενος² Ἰούδας³ ἐπὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ εἰς⁴ τὴν Γαλαδάτιν ἐνίκησεν.⁵

ιδ'. Ὡς⁶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ στρατευσάμενος⁷ ἐπὶ Τυρίους καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐκράτησεν⁸ αὐτῶν.

¹ ἢ Σίλωνος FV : ὡ σήρωνος L¹ : ὡς Ἡρωνος L² : ἡ σαῖωνος, i. marg. Σίλωνος γρ Ἡρωνος ἐν ἄλλοις A : Λυσίου ex Lat. Hudson.

² στρατευσάμενοι FV.

³ + καὶ Σίμων ὁ μὲν FLV.

⁴ εἰς om. FLAW Lat.

⁵ ἐνίκησεν om. FLV.

⁶ ὁ δὲ (+ ὁ F) FLV capiti praecedenti adiungentes.

⁷ στρατευσάμενος om. FLV.

⁸ ἐκράτησαν LV.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(vii) How Antiochus marched against Jerusalem and took the city and despoiled the temple	246	124
(viii) How, when Antiochus forbade the Jews to live by their native laws, Mattathias, the son of Asamonaios, alone defied the king, and defeated the generals of Antiochus	265	136
(ix) The death of Mattathias at an advanced age, and how he handed over the command of affairs to his sons	285	146
(x) How his son Judas, after doing battle with the generals of Antiochus, restored to the Jews their native form of government, and was chosen high priest by the people ^a	316	162
(xi) How Antiochus' general Apollonius invaded Judaea and was defeated and killed	287	146
(xii) The campaign of Saion ^b and Gorgias against Judaea, and the defeat and destruction of their army	288	148
(xiii) How Judas marched against the Ammanites and Galadatis (Gilead), and was victorious	327	168
(xiv) How his brother Simon marched against the Tyrians and the people of Ptolemais, and conquered them	334	172

^a The restoration of "the native form of government" (*i.e.* resumption of the temple service) came after the events mentioned below in section xii, while Judas' election as high priest (§ 414) should come after section xx.

^b Corruption of Seron.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII-XIII

ιε'. Λυσίου στρατεία τοῦ Ἀντίοχου στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἦττα.

ις'. Ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Πέρσαις.

ιζ'. Ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Εὐπάτωρ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους μετὰ Λυσίου καὶ νικήσας ἐπολιόρκει Ἰούδαν, εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἐγκλείσας.

ιη'. Ὅτι πολλοῦ χρόνου τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τριβομένου φιλίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἰούδαν, εὐπρεπῶς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἀντίοχος.

ιθ'. Ὡς Βακχίδης ὁ Δημητρίου στρατηγὸς ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἄπρακτος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

κ'. Ὡς Νικάνωρ μετὰ τὸν Βακχίδην πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἀπόλετο σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ.¹

κα'. Ὅτι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Βακχίδης ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐνίκησεν.

κβ'. Ὡς Ἰούδας διεφθάρη μαχόμενος.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρο'.

BIBLION II'

α'. Ὡς Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἰούδα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν.

¹ + αὐτοῦ P.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xv) ^a The campaign of Antiochus' general Lysias against the Jews, and his defeat	313	162
(xvi) How Antiochus Epiphanes died in Persia	354	184
(xvii) How Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, marched with Lysias against the Jews, and after defeating them, besieged Judas, shutting him up in the temple	367	190
(xviii) How, after a long while had been spent on the siege, Antiochus made peace with Judas, and withdrew from Judaea with honour	382	198
(xix) How Demetrius' general Bacchides marched against the Jews, and returned to the king without accomplishing anything	393	204
(xx) How Nicanor, the next general sent after Bacchides, perished with his army	402	208
(xxi) How Bacchides was again sent out against Judaea, and was victorious	420	218
(xxii) How Judas was killed in battle	426	222

This book covers a period of a hundred and seventy years.

BOOK XIII

	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Jonathan, who was a brother of Judas, on the latter's death took over the leadership.	1	228

^a This section belongs before section xiii.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII

β'. Ὡς πολεμήσας Βακχίδην ἠνάγκασε φιλίαν ποιησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

γ'. Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς Συρίαν ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον πρὸς Δημήτριον.

δ'. Ὡς Δημήτριος πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιεῖται συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸν τε¹ πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

ε'. Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἀποδείξας Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα συμμαχεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ.

ς'. Ἡ Ὀνίου φιλία πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένη, καὶ ὡς ὠκοδόμησε τὸν Ὀνίου καλούμενον ναὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντα.

ζ'. Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθανόντος Δημητρίου σφόδρα ἐτίμησεν Ἰωνάθην.

η'. Ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου παῖς πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπὸ Κρήτης καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσε, φιλίαν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιησάμενος.

θ'. Ὡς Τρύφων ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς καταπολεμήσας Δημήτριον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱῷ παρέδωκεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχον Ἰωνάθην.

ι'. Ὡς Δημητρίου ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου

¹ αὐτὸν τε om. PFLV Lat.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(ii) How he fought with Bacchides and compelled him to make an agreement of friendship with him and leave the country	12	232
(iii) How Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came to Syria and waged war on Demetrius	35	242
(iv) How Demetrius sent envoys to Jonathan and made an alliance with him and presented both him and our nation with many gifts	37	244
(v) How Alexander, on hearing of this, outbid Demetrius and appointing Jonathan high priest, persuaded him to be his ally	43	246
(vi) The friendship which Onias formed with Ptolemy Philometor at this same time, and how he built the so-called Temple of Onias in addition to that which existed at Jerusalem	62	256
(vii) How Alexander, after the death of Demetrius, greatly honoured Jonathan	80	264
(viii) How Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, sailed to Syria from Crete, and after fighting with Alexander and conquering him, became king and made an agreement of friendship with Jonathan	86	268
(ix) How Tryphon of Apamea overcame Demetrius in battle and gave the kingship to Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and himself made Jonathan his ally	131	290
(x) How, when Demetrius had been		455

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII

ληφθέντος παρεσπόνδησε τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ δόλω λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα.

ια'. Ὡς Σίμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐνεχείρισε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα.

ιβ'. Ὡς ἐπολιόρησεν ἐν Δώροις Τρύφωνα σύμμαχος γενόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Δημητρίου ἀδελφῷ τῷ καὶ Εὐσεβεῖ ἐπικληθέντι.¹

ιγ'. Ὡς Τρύφωνος ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀντίοχος ἐπολέμησε Σίμωνα κακείνος² Κενδεβαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοῦ νικήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέβαλεν.

ιδ'. Ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐν συμποσίῳ δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δῆσας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησε κατασχεῖν.

ιε'. Ὡς ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Σίμωνος υἱῶν Ὑρκανὸς φθάσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπολιόρησε³ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς τι φρούριον ἐγκλείσας Δαγῶν καλούμενον.

ισ'. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ καλούμενος⁴ Εὐσεβῆς καὶ προσκαθίσας τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει διέλυσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν συνθέμενος.

¹ + καὶ τοῦτον λαβὼν ἀνείλεν P.

² καὶ PFLV Lat.

³ + πολλῷ χρόνῳ FLAMVW.

⁴ καλούμενος om. FLAMVW.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
taken captive by the Parthians, Tryphon violated his agreement with Jonathan and seizing him by treachery, killed him and waged war on his brother Simon . . .	187	318
(xi) How the nation entrusted the leadership to Jonathan's brother Simon and appointed him high priest . . .	213	332
(xii) How Simon besieged Tryphon in Dor, having become an ally of Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, surnamed Eusebes . . .	223	338
(xiii) How, when Tryphon had been put to death, Antiochus made war on Simon, and the latter defeated his general Cendebaeus and drove him out of Judaea . . .	225	340
(xiv) How Simon was treacherously slain at a banquet by his son-in-law Ptolemy, and how Ptolemy bound Simon's wife and children and attempted to seize power for himself . . .	228	342
(xv) How Simon's youngest son Hyrcanus forestalled Ptolemy, and taking over the leadership, besieged ^a him and shut him up within a fortress called Dagon . . .	230	342
(xvi) How Antiochus, called Eusebes, ^b marched against Hyrcanus, and after investing the city of Jerusalem, gave up the siege when he received from Hyrcanus three hundred talents, and how he made an alliance of friendship with him . . .	236	346

^a Variant "for a long time besieged."

^b Antiochus Sidetes is meant.

ιζ'. Ὑρκανοῦ στρατεία μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν ἐν Μήδοις ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ ὡς πολλὰς πόλεις κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν.¹

ιη'. Φιλία πρὸς Ὑρκανόν² Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβίνα κληθέντος.

ιθ'. Ὡς ἠττηθεὶς ὑφ' Ὑρκανοῦ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐξέπεσε τῆς Ἰουδαίας.³

κ'. Ὡς παραλαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος⁴ τὴν ἀρχὴν διάδημα περιέθετο πρῶτος.

κα'. Ὡς τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστοβούλου⁵ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν⁶ ἐχειρώσατο.

κβ'. Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου πρὸς αὐτὸν⁷ μάχη καὶ νίκη.

κγ'. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος Δημήτριος ὁ Εὐκαίρος⁸ λεγόμενος⁹ ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον¹⁰ ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ.¹¹

¹ πολιορκήσας εἶλεν καὶ ὑποφόρους κατέστησεν P.

² + καὶ ἐνδιάθετος στοργῇ P.

³ ὡς . . . Ἰουδαίας] ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐλθὼν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσι πολιορκουμένοις πρὸς (παρὰ F) Ὑρκανοῦ ἠττηθεὶς διέφυγε διωξάντων αὐτὸν (αὐτῷ F) τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῶν υἱῶν Ὑρκανοῦ FLV.

⁴ + ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ FV : + υἱὸς Ὑρκανοῦ L.

⁵ + τοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμονεύσαντος P.

⁶ ἐθνῶν τούτων P : ἐχθρῶν FLV.

⁷ Ἀλέξανδρον P.

⁸ Ἄκαιρος L.

⁹ λεγόμενος om. FLAMVW.

¹⁰ + τὸν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντα P.

¹¹ + μάχη P.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xvii) Hyrcanus' expedition against Syria after the death of Antiochus in Media, and how he took many cities by storm ^a	254	354
(xviii) The friendship ^b of Alexander, called Zabinas, with Hyrcanus	267	360
(xix) How Antiochus Cyzicenus was defeated by Hyrcanus and driven out of Judaea ^c	275	364
(xx) How Aristobulus ^d took over the royal power and was the first to assume the diadem	301	378
(xxi) How, on the death of Aristobulus, ^e his brother Alexander took over the royal power and marched upon Syria, Phoenicia and Arabia, and subdued many nations ^f	320	388
(xxii) The war against him and victory of Ptolemy Lathyrus	330	392
(xxiii) How Demetrius, called Eukairos, ^g marched against Alexander ^h and conquered him	377	414

^a The variant adds, "after besieging them, and made them tributary."

^b The variant adds, "and sustained affection . . . toward."

^c Variant (to this whole section) "How Antiochus Cyzicenus came to the aid of the Samaritans who were being besieged by Hyrcanus, and being defeated, fled from Judaea with Hyrcanus' sons in pursuit."

^d Variants "Aristobulus, his brother": "Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus."

^e Variant "Aristobulus, the ruler of Judaea."

^f Variants "many of these nations": "many foes."

^g Variant "Akairos," *cf. Ant. xiii. 369 note f.*

^h Variant "Alexander, the ruler of Judaea."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII-XIV

κδ'. Ἀντιόχου τοῦ καὶ Διονύσου¹ λεγομένου
στρατεία ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκράτησε² τῇ μάχῃ.

κέ'. Ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτεσιν
ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα καὶ βιώσασα³ μετὰ εἰρήνης καὶ
δόξης ἀπέθανεν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα
καὶ δύο.

¹ ex Lat. (liber pater) Niese : Διονυσίου codd.

² ἐκράτησε] περιγενόμενος ἠρίστευσεν P.

³ καὶ βιώσασα om. P.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xxiv) The expedition of Antiochus, surnamed Dionysos, ^a against Judaea, and how he conquered in battle ^b .	387	420
(xxv) How, after the death of Alexander, his wife Alexandra held the throne nine years, and died after living ^c in peace and glory	405	430

This book covers a period of eighty-two years.

^a Name slightly emended.

^b Variant "how he showed his prowess and superiority in battle." According to Josephus' text, Antiochus Dionysos was killed in battle with the Arabs, fighting valiantly.

^c The variant omits "after living."

APPENDIX B

THE DATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST SIMON THE JUST (THE RIGHTEOUS)

Selected literature :

Bloch, Heinrich, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*.
1879. Pp. 147-150, 161-163.

Derenbourg, pp. 41-52.

Destinon, J., *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus, etc.*
1882. Pp. 29-39.

Finkelstein i. 62-64, ii. 575-580.

„ “The Anshe Keneset Ha-gedolah,”
JBL 59 (1940), 455-470.

Hölscher, G., “Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus,”
SB Heidelberger Akad. Wiss., 1939.

Moore, George F., “Simeon the Righteous,” *Jewish
Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*. 1927.
Pp. 348-364.

Schürer i. 181-182; ii. 355 ff.

Willrich, *JG*, pp. 105-115.

Zeitlin, Solomon, art. in *Hebrew in Ner Ma'arabi*,
1925, pp. 137-141.

The last high priest mentioned in the Old Testament is Jaddua, a contemporary of Darius III and Alexander the Great (Neh. xii. 22). The high priest in the time of Seleucus IV c. 180 B.C. was Onias III, who figures prominently in 2 Maccabees (iii. 1 ff.).

APPENDIX B

For the succession of high priests in the intervening period of about 150 years we are almost wholly dependent upon Josephus, who is supplemented to only a slight extent by rabbinic tradition.

In Books XI and XII Josephus gives the following scheme of high priests, which in a later passage (*Ant.* xx. 261) he represents as based on written sources

Onias I, successor of Jaddua, c. 300 B.C. (*Ant.* xi. 347).
Simon the Just, son of Onias I, time of Ptolemy I
(*Ant.* xii. 43, 157).

Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, time of Ptolemy II
(*Ant.* xii. 44).

Manasses, uncle of Eleazar (*Ant.* xii. 157).

Onias II, son of Simon the Just, time of Ptolemy IV,
V (*Ant.* xii. 157).

Simon II, son of Onias II, time of Ptolemy V and
Antiochus III (*Ant.* xii. 224).

To this list we may tentatively add the name of Hezekiah, mentioned in *Ap.* i. 187 as a contemporary of Ptolemy I; he was either a high priest or assistant high priest (*cf.* *Ant.* xii. 9 note *b*).

There are two things about this scheme that strike one as peculiar. The first is that the young son of Simon I should have been preceded not only by his uncle Eleazar (which in itself is not remarkable) but also by his uncle's uncle Manasses.

The second point, which here chiefly concerns us, is Josephus' attribution of the epithet "the Just" or "the Righteous" (Heb. *has-šaddiq*) to the first priest named Simon (Heb. *Šim^eôn*). Other sources pretty clearly indicate that Simon the Just was not Simon I but Simon II, who flourished about a century later.

It is true that one rabbinic tradition makes Simon

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the Just a contemporary of Alexander the Great (scholion to *Megillath Ta'anit* with a parallel in Bab. Talmud, *Yoma* 69 a ; this story is translated in Appendix C to Book 11, pp. 517-518). But this variant of Josephus' story about the meeting of Jaddua and Alexander has little historical value, particularly so far as chronology is concerned ; moreover it is quite possible that, as Zeitlin argues, the king in question was originally not Alexander but Antiochus III.

The other rabbinic (and Apocryphal) traditions point more clearly to the end of the third century B.C., not the end of the fourth, as the period when Simon the Just flourished. The relevant material may briefly be summarized as follows.

Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Sirach celebrates, near the end of the book (ch. 1), the greatness of the high priest " Simon, son of Onias " as he presides over a solemn ceremony in the temple. The author is clearly writing of a contemporary and of a scene which he himself has witnessed, and the description of the high priest's activity and influence best fits the high priest whom rabbinic sources call Simon the Just. Now the book of Ecclesiasticus on internal grounds and on the evidence of the prologue has been dated by almost all scholars at c. 200 B.C. Thus we have one support for the assumption that Simon the Just lived around 200 B.C. and not a century earlier. The identity of Sirach's Simon with Simon the Just would be further strengthened if we assumed with Derenbourg that the reference in l. 2 to the high priest's erection of a wall and double colonnade in the temple is to be connected with a passage in the latter of Antiochus III (*Ant.* xii. 141) saying that the Seleucid king permits the work on the temple to be completed

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“ including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build.”

Again the rabbinic traditions preserved in Tosephta *Soṭah* xiii. 6-8, Jerus. Talmud *Yoma* 43 c, Bab. Talmud *Yoma* 39 a, b, *Menahot* 109 b about the high priest Onias who built a temple in Egypt state that he was the son of Simon the Just, and so indicate that Simon II, not Simon I, is meant.

Finally the succession of rabbinic authorities during the Hellenistic period as given in the Mishnah treatise *Abot* makes Simon the Just the first in a series of seven generations of teachers of whom Jose ben Joezer is in the third, Simeon ben Shetaḥ is in the fifth, and Hillel and Shammai in the seventh. Since Jose ben Joezer was a contemporary of the high priest Alcimus (161 B.C.), Simeon ben Shetaḥ a contemporary of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra, and Hillel and Shammai of Herod the Great, it is obvious that in this passage Simon the Just must be placed at c. 200 B.C.

Less unambiguous is the statement in *Abot* i. 2 that Simon the Just was one of the survivors (*miš-še-ʿârê*) of the Great Assembly (*k^eeneset hag-g^e-dôlāh*). The constitution and dates of the Great Assembly are problems which the vagueness of rabbinic tradition concerning this body makes it difficult to solve. Finkelstein has plausibly argued that the Great Assembly was the body convoked by Simon the Just c. 200 B.C. to promulgate certain measures by which the interests of the plebeians in the Jewish state would better be served than they had been in the pre-existing Gerousia. But in that case we should have to assume either that the Mishnah has here, as elsewhere, been chronologically inexact in making Simon the Just one of the “survivors” of this body or else

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that the word *š'ârê* "survivors" is a scribal error for *râšê* "heads"—an assumption that is made by Zeitlin. In any case the evidence of Ecclesiasticus taken together with the majority of rabbinic passages seems sufficient to warrant the assumption that Simon the Just lived *c.* 200 B.C. and that Josephus is mistaken in making him a contemporary of Ptolemy I.

APPENDIX C

THE EARLY SELEUCID RULERS AND THE JEWS

Selected literature :

Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 165-167.

Krauss, S., " Antioche," *REJ* 45 (1902), 27-29.

Niese, *GGMS* i. 394 n. 4.

Schürer iii. 79-84.

Tscherikower, pp. 296, 335-339.

Willrich, *JG* pp. 29-33, 37.

„ *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 16.

The general problem of the civic rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation. The present appendix is concerned only with the statements made by Josephus concerning the Jewish policies of the Seleucid rulers before Antiochus III (on the latter see the following appendix).

Only two early Seleucid kings are specifically mentioned in this connexion by Josephus : Seleucus I Nicator, the founder of the dynasty, and Antiochus II Theos.

With the former of these the following passages deal. *Ant.* xii. 119-124, Seleucus Nicator granted the Jews citizenship " in the cities which he founded in Asia and Lower Syria and in his capital Antioch

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itself, and declared them to have equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks who were settled in these cities, so that this citizenship of theirs remains to this very day ; and the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil ; and when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it." Josephus goes on to say that similarly Titus and Vespasian refused to deprive the Alexandrian and Antiochian Jews of citizenship. *Ap. ii. 39*, " Our Jewish residents in Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenship by its founder Seleucus. Similarly, those at Ephesus and throughout the rest of Ionia bear the same name as the indigenous citizens, a right which they received from Alexander's successors (*τῶν διαδόχων*)." To these two passages we may add another which touches on the history of the Jews in Antioch before the Roman period, *B.J. vii. 43-45*, " But it was at Antioch that they specially congregated, partly owing to the greatness of that city, but mainly because the kings after Antiochus had enabled them to live there in security. For although Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes sacked Jerusalem and plundered the temple, his successors on the throne restored to the Jews of Antioch all such votive offerings as were made of bronze, to be laid up in their synagogue, and moreover, granted them citizen rights on an equality with the Greeks."

In trying to determine the historicity of the claim that Seleucus I gave the Jews citizenship and other

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privileges in Antioch and elsewhere, it is well to remember that both *Ant.* and *Ap.* which specifically make this claim are suspected of containing exaggerations of an apologetic nature to a greater extent than is *B.J.*, which says nothing about Seleucus Nicator's concern for the Jews. Moreover in *B.J.*'s statement that the kings after Antiochus enabled the Jews to live at Antioch in security the Antiochus referred to is much more likely to be Antiochus III than Antiochus I, as Dr. Thackeray suggests in his note. The context indicates that Josephus is speaking of the friendly Jewish policy of all the Seleucids after Antiochus III, to which that of Antiochus Epiphanes formed the sole exception. Moreover an Antiochus without surname is much more likely to be the well-known Antiochus III the Great than the obscure Antiochus I.

Furthermore it is unlikely that there were enough Jews in Syria and Asia during the reign of Seleucus I to warrant special legislation on their behalf. It is true that Jews were beginning to settle in Egypt in considerable numbers soon after 300 B.C., but this does not seem to have been the case in Seleucid territory. Willrich and others have correctly pointed out that as late as the time of the Maccabees the Jewish settlement in Gilead was small enough to be brought en masse to Judaea. Other Apocryphal and rabbinic sources (see below) indicate that the Jewish community in Antioch first attained importance about 200 B.C. Nor is there reason to believe that the Jews of Palestine were of sufficient interest to Seleucus I for him to take favourable action toward their co-religionists in Syria and Asia. One might argue, to be sure, that the Jewish settlement in Babylonia was of

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some importance to Seleucus, but, as Tscherikower reminds us, there is no reason to believe that Josephus' sources made any reference to the Babylonian Jews of that period. Finally, it may be noted that in another passage, *B.J.* vii. 107 ff., which relates that Titus refused to expel the Jews from Antioch or to remove the bronze tablets on which their privileges were inscribed, there is no mention of Seleucus at all.

Another point to be considered is Josephus' statement in *Ant.* that proof of Seleucus I's interest in the Jews is the fact that he ordered the gymnasiarchs to give money for oil to those Jews who were unwilling to use pagan oil. That some of the Seleucid rulers did make such grants is proved by the inscription cited in one of the notes to this passage (p. 61 note *b*), and that the Jews of the Diaspora were reluctant to use pagan oil is shown by other passages in Josephus, cited in the same note, and by the discussion of this matter in the Bab. Talmud *Abodah Zarah* 36 a, b. The latter passage reports a controversy between the Hillelites and Shammaites, dating from about the end of the first century B.C. In a private communication Professor Louis Ginzberg expresses the opinion that many of the regulations discussed in this passage were "not new ordinances but reinforcements." He does not, however, conclude from the Talmudic statements that the Jews of the Diaspora abstained from the use of pagan oil as early as the time of Seleucus I. On the other hand, Krauss, who cites this and other Talmudic passages, expresses doubt that there was a considerable Jewish Diaspora in Syria in the time of the early Seleucid rulers. The rabbinic traditions about Antioch point to a separate *golah* (Diaspora) in

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the time of Onias III but not earlier. The grant of oil, therefore, is more plausibly to be ascribed to Antiochus III than to Seleucus I. Here, too, as in the case of other pro-Jewish enactments attributed by Josephus to the founders of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, an apologetic motive is to be suspected. Whether Willrich is right in tracing this passage to Jason of Cyrene (on whose work 2 Maccabees is based) is a point to be discussed in another place.

We may now turn to another passage which some scholars have considered to refer to the Jewish policy of Antiochus II Theos (261-247 B.C.). In *Ant.* xii. 125-127 Josephus tells us that the Greeks of Ionia agitated against the Jews and petitioned Marcus Agrippa (during the years 16-13 B.C.) that "they alone might enjoy the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called Theos by the Greeks, had given them, and claimed that if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should worship the Ionians' gods"; the passage goes on to say that after a hearing at which Nicolas of Damascus spoke as advocate of the Jews, Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule. This passage must be considered in connexion with *Ant.* xvi. 27-60 which relates in greater detail how Nicolas successfully pleaded for the preservation of the privileges of the Jews in Ionia (chiefly matters of religious observance), which Agrippa was the more inclined to respect because of his friendship with Herod. In the latter passage it is clearly the privileges and edicts of toleration which the *Romans* had granted that are involved, not the civic rights or privileges which the Jews claimed to have received from the Seleucids. It is

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therefore reasonable to suppose that the phrase " the citizenship which Antiochus . . . Theos . . . had given them " refers to the democratic constitution set up in the cities of Asia by Antiochus II (attested by other Greek sources cited by Schürer) and that " them " refers to the Greeks and not to the Jews. If we take *Ant.* xii. 125-127 together with *Ant.* xvi. 27 ff., we see that the Ionian Greeks were attempting to have Agrippa revoke the edicts of toleration granted the Jews by the *Romans*, presumably in the time of Julius Caesar (*cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 190 ff.), which the anti-Jewish party claimed gave the Jews as great a measure of civic right as the Greeks had been enjoying as citizens since the time of Antiochus II. Here, as Wellhausen and Tscherikower remind us, Josephus confuses citizenship with privileges and grants of religious freedom. But he does not plainly say that it was Antiochus II who had given the Jews citizenship, though his language is slightly ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so. Nor should undue stress be placed on the word *μετέχωσι* in this passage (restored from Epitome for mss. *μετέλθωσι*), as though it implied participation by Jews *and* Greeks in citizenship, since its use in similar passages taken from Nicolas shows that it has the technical sense of " enjoy " (civic rights, etc.).

In conclusion, we may say that it is very improbable that the Jewish communities in Seleucid Syria and Asia were granted either citizenship or special privileges before the time of Antiochus III.

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ANTIOCHUS III AND THE JEWS (*Ant.* xii. 129-153)

Selected literature :

Bevan, *H. Sel.* ii. 296-297.

Bickermann, E., "La charte séleucide de Jérusalem,"
REJ 100 (1935), 4-35.

Büchler, *Tobiaden*, pp. 143-171.

Dubnow ii. 33-34.

Graetz ii. 2. 243-244.

Holleaux, M., "Inscription trouvée à Brousse,"
BCH 48 (1924), 1-57.

Klausner i. 213-214.

Laqueur, R., "Griechische Urkunden in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," *HZ* 136 (1927), 229-252 (esp. 247-251).

Meyer, *Ursprung* ii. 126-127.

Niese, *GGMS* ii. 579.

Rostovtzeff, M., *CAH* vii. 180.

Schubart, W., "Bemerkungen zum Stile hellenistischer Königsbriefe," *APF* 6 (1920), 324-347 (esp. 343-345).

Schürer ii. 303 ; iii. 66.

Tscherikower, pp. 122-128, 294-295.

Welles, *Roy. Corr.*, pp. xxxvii-1.

Wellhausen, pp. 225-227.

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Willrich, *JG*, pp. 39-43.

„ *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 18-23.

Zucker, pp. 33-36.

During the struggle for the possession of Palestine and Transjordan between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Epiphanes between 201 and 198 B.C. the majority of Jews seem to have sided with the Seleucids (see the works listed in Appendix E). Accordingly, Josephus tells us, Antiochus rewarded the Jews by extending certain privileges to them in respect of taxes, freedom of religion, maintenance of the temple cult and the like. The three documents which contain these royal grants and privileges are cited in xii. 138-153, and have naturally aroused a great deal of discussion among modern scholars, who have expressed divergent opinions about their genuineness and accuracy.

Before examining the documents in detail, it may be well to make some general observations about the nature of Hellenistic royal letters and Josephus' use of sources bearing on the position of the Jews in the Hellenistic Diaspora.

On the basis of such a collection as Welles' *Royal Correspondence*, which contains seventy-five texts principally from the Seleucid and Attalid kingdoms, and other collections of scores of papyri from the Ptolemaic period, it should be possible to determine with a fair degree of assurance whether the enactments ascribed to Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings by Josephus and other Hellenistic Jewish writers are obvious forgeries or not. (Incidentally, these same collections enable us to distinguish to some extent between Ptolemaic and Seleucid epistolary formulas.)

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But the problem is more complicated than a mere matter of obvious forgery or obvious authenticity. We are dealing with material that does not fall into the category of the obvious. True, it is of some help to find that most of the royal letters and memoranda cited by Jewish writers closely conform to the pattern of authentic documents of this kind. But this conformity is only partial evidence of their genuineness. There is no reason why Hellenistic Jewish fabricators should not have made use of epistolary manuals, the existence of which is attested by ancient authors, to devise imaginary letters concerning the Jews, or have copied the royal decrees inscribed on stone and set up in the public squares of Hellenistic cities, or have altered genuine decrees by inserting favourable references to the Jews. On the other hand, there is no reason to condemn as wholly spurious a Ptolemaic or Seleucid decree cited by Josephus or an Apocryphal author merely because in some respects it deviates from the forms known to us from inscriptions and papyri. In the first place, we are not at present in a position to fix the chronological and local variations of the style of Hellenistic chancelleries with absolute accuracy. In the second place, we must allow for the occasional possibility that the king may have made informal additions to the formal letter drawn up by his official, or have issued a general statement as a temporary measure without bothering with the conventional forms, or, in the case of a Seleucid enactment, may have ordered that a form of religious toleration earlier extended to one minority group be applied to another group, actually quite different in culture, but supposed by the king to have the same system of sacrifices, cult restrictions and the like.

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Such possibilities will be concretely illustrated below. At this point it may suffice to point out that the methods of *Formgeschichte* and *Gattungsgeschichte* cannot altogether replace the study of historical context and common sense.

As for the general reliability of such an apologist-historian as Josephus and of such theological historians as the authors of the Letter of Aristeas, 2 Maccabees and similar works in matters relating to the treatment of Jews by the successors of Alexander the Great, it will be freely admitted by a conscientious scholar that the documents cited by them must be treated with a certain amount of scepticism in view of the fact that these writers undoubtedly tend to exaggerate the friendliness shown toward the Jews by the earlier Ptolemies and Seleucids, and that Josephus (or his source) has, whether carelessly or deliberately, confused special privilege with citizenship and civic equality. But such proper scepticism should not make us unrealistic. A grant or ordinance which may justly be suspected of spuriousness if attributed to Ptolemy I or Seleucus I may have every probability of genuineness if attributed to Antiochus III. The historical setting and documentary parallels must be carefully evaluated.

In this connexion a word may be said about the view held by several scholars that most of the pro-Jewish royal Hellenistic decrees cited in Josephus, Aristeas and other Jewish works are of a piece with the pro-Jewish decrees ascribed to Persian kings in the biblical book of Ezra, and that both sets of documents are spurious. The remarkable similarity between them in such details as the immunities and privileges of temple officials, subventions to the

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sacrificial expenses, etc., is in itself no proof that the Hellenistic decrees are the invention of Jewish apologists. In the first place, recent independent investigation of Achaemenian policy by such competent Iranian scholars as H. H. Schaeder, has tended to support the arguments of earlier scholars, such as Eduard Meyer, that the Aramaic decrees in Ezra are genuine. In the second place, classical scholars, including some who have no special interest in Jewish history, have shown that in matters of imperial organization the Seleucids to a large extent followed the policy of the Achaemenians, so that it should not surprise us to find them granting the same privileges to the temple at Jerusalem as the Persian kings are said to have granted. The preceding arguments are, of course, secondary to the argument based on parallels found in genuine inscriptions of Hellenistic kings, which are mentioned below. A third point that might be mentioned is the fact that edicts of religious tolerance, in general similar to those ascribed to the later Seleucids, were granted by the early Roman emperors, whom we have no reason to consider as innovators in this respect.

Turning now to the documents cited in *Ant.* xii. 138-153, we shall first review briefly the views of those scholars who have expressed only a general or summary opinion about their genuineness (Schubart, Laqueur, Wellhausen, Niese, Graetz, Schürer, Klausner, Dubnow, Bevan, Meyer, Rostovtzeff), and then consider the arguments of those who have examined one or more of the three documents in some detail (Willrich, Büchler, Tschirikower, Zucker, Bickermann).

It is disappointing to find that so competent a

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scholar as Schubart in the course of a long and instructive discussion of Hellenistic royal letters dismisses the letters of Antiochus III to Ptolemy and Zeuxis as spurious without attempting to analyse them or to set up criteria of style applicable to them. Laqueur, dealing with a similarly broad subject, is a little more helpful in showing how the wholly negative criticism of Willrich and Kolbe (concerning the documents in 2 Maccabees) must be considerably restricted in the light of relevant parallels from inscriptions and the bearing of the specific situation.

Wellhausen, who holds that in general Josephus' statements about the policy of Hellenistic kings toward the Jews are to be suspected of exaggeration and apologetic tendencies, refers in detail only to Antiochus III's letter to Zeuxis on the transportation of two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia, and questions its authenticity on the ground that the names of the colonists are not given. This objection will be considered below.

Niese's opinion is that the form and contents of all three documents are strongly suspect, but he gives no detailed argument except that Josephus obviously considers the Zeuxis letter to have been written after the conquest of Jerusalem, whereas in fact it must have been written before this. He also refers to Willrich's criticisms (see below), which, however, he says are only negatively valid, presumably questioning Willrich's view that the documents are Jewish inventions of Roman date. Niese suggests that the letter to Zeuxis was put out by the Jews of Phrygia and Lydia who wished to base their claim to civic equality with the Macedonian *katoikoi* on the alleged colonization by Antiochus III; on this see below.

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Graetz seems to accept the genuineness of two of the three documents, assuming with Grotius that the privileges ascribed therein to Antiochus are identical with the royal *φιλόανθρωπα* mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11 as having been granted to "John, father of Eupolemus." The second document (§ 146) he admits is of doubtful genuineness, but does not explain why.

Schürer, whose work is concerned primarily with the period after Antiochus III, only incidentally mentions the king's grants to the temple and cult, and assumes that they are historical.

Klausner takes for granted the authenticity of all the documents and confines himself, in citing evidence, to the argument that the repair of the temple mentioned in Sirach (see Appendix B) indicates the interest of Antiochus in the temple.

Dubnow also accepts the three documents as authentic, remarking in a footnote that Niese and Wellhausen have questioned their genuineness but arguing that they should not be wholly rejected merely because certain details are improbable. He further ventures the rash suggestion that Josephus has taken the documents from Polybius, who is quoted in the preceding sections of *Ant.* xii.

Bevan, as usual, takes a sensible view of the problem and balances the probabilities. His brief comments are worth quoting in full. "I incline to doubt, with Willrich (*Judaica*, p. 58) and Büchler (*Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, p. 143 f.), the genuineness of the letters of Antiochus III, given by Joseph. *Arch.* xii. § 138 f., not so much because of any impossibility in them (which I do not think Willrich or Büchler succeeds in making out), but because of the readiness with which such documents were forged in post-Maccabaeian

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times (see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen, Judaica, passim*). If, however, they are not genuine, they are forged by some one familiar with the history of the time and the style of such rescripts. He knew of Zeuxis, the governor of Lydia (perhaps from Polybius), and Ptolemy, the son of Thraseas, the governor of Coele-Syria. (In objecting that Ptolemy was made governor in 218, *Juden u. Griechen*, p. 40, Willrich is thinking of the date in which he was in the Egyptian service, Polyb. v. 65, 3. That he deserted to the Seleucid in 218 with Ceraeas and Hippolochus, Polyb. v. 70, 10, is a conjecture only. When he was made governor of Coele-Syria there is absolutely nothing to show.) He is also right in exhibiting the Jews as friendly to Antiochus. The detail of the Egyptian garrison, not mentioned in our fragments of Polybius, may therefore be taken as true. That Antiochus should in such circumstances have shown some favours to the Jews and made presents to the Temple is in itself extremely likely." After reading this, one is inclined to ask the judicious historian of the Seleucid dynasty why the privileges which he admits Antiochus most probably granted to the Jews cannot be just those recorded in the letters cited by Josephus? In other words Bevan seems less doubtful of the genuineness of the documents than he himself claims to be.

Eduard Meyer, who has no marked sympathy with the Jews either of antiquity or modern times, objects to what he calls the unjustified doubts of the authenticity of the documents expressed by Schubart, and charges that the doubting modern critics of Josephus cannot "feel themselves" into the ancient situation. As a parallel to the restrictions on foreigners approach-

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ing the temple precinct mentioned in the second document, he cites the well-known Greek inscription of Roman times (*OGIS* 598, *cf. Ant.* xv. 417), μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου, κτλ. Meyer admits that Josephus exaggerates in saying that Antiochus published his *programma* throughout the entire kingdom.

Rostovtzeff does not commit himself about the genuineness of the letter to Zeuxis, which alone he notices, but remarks that its style is singularly like the letter of Antiochus to the city of Amyzon, and adds that "there is no doubt that the letter gives us exactly the normal procedure when the Seleucids founded a military colony." The extant fragments of the Amyzon inscription (*Welles* Nr. 40) read, Ἀμυζονέων χαίρειν—τὸ ἱερόν ἄσυλον—βασιλέως εὐνοίαν—καὶ μηθενὶ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς—ἔρρωσθε. It must be added that the attribution of the Amyzon inscription to Antiochus III is not certain but probable. Welles takes it to be the writing of a royal official of the king when the latter was active in Caria before the Syrian campaign of 201 B.C.

In considering the more detailed treatments of other recent scholars, we shall find it most convenient to take each of the three documents separately, first reporting the negative criticisms of Willrich and Büchler, and then giving the counter-arguments of T'scherikower, Zucker and Bickermann, and the present writer's as well.

I. The Letter to Ptolemy (xii. 138-144)

Willrich in some places expresses the opinion that Josephus has taken the Seleucid decrees from such

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apologists as Jason of Cyrene and Pseudo-Hecataeus, and in other places points out that some of the enactments attributed to Antiochus III and earlier kings really date from Roman times; but his argument that Jason of Cyrene and Pseudo-Hecataeus wrote in the first century B.C. is far from convincing. The main points of his argument against the authenticity of the Ptolemy letter are as follows. The addressee, Ptolemy son of Thraseas, is known to have been governor of Coele-Syria before 218 B.C. but not later. (This argument has been answered by Bevan, see above.) The pro-Jewish provisions of the letter bear a suspicious resemblance to those attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus in *Aristeas* and to Persian kings in the book of *Ezra*. (This argument too has been broadly dealt with in the first part of the present Appendix.) The porticoes of the temple which the king offers to have repaired indicate that the temple of Herod is really in the writer's mind. The poll-tax was not known in the Seleucid kingdom and was first introduced under Quirinius. (On this point see note *a* to § 142 on p. 74 and also the discussions of Tscherikower and Bickermann below.) The return of Jewish captives is questionable, for it is difficult to see how Jews could have been taken off if the Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem was forced to surrender; this section, therefore, is to be suspected of imitating the reference in *Aristeas* to the freeing of Jewish captives in Egypt by Ptolemy Philadelphus. (Incidentally, the historicity of the latter story is not wholly disproved by the recent studies of slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt by W. L. Westermann and others.) A final objection raised by Willrich, in common with some other scholars, is that there is no

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mention of the Jewish high priest in the letter, as might be expected in an official document.

An even more detailed and extended attack on the genuineness of the letter is made by Büchler, who not only takes account of the criticisms of Wellhausen and Willrich but in some cases improves on them or replaces them by other criticisms. Büchler's arguments are ingenious and elaborate, but some of his statements are inaccurate, and his unsystematic skipping from document to document combined with extreme dialectical subtlety results in some confusion of intention. In addition to these defects is the artificiality of treatment involved in his fixed notion that most of the Hellenistic decrees cited in Josephus reflect the Jewish-Samaritan controversies of the first century B.C. The substance of his theory about this particular document seems to be that a Jewish apologist writing in Herodian times has altered an original Samaritan forgery which ascribed to Antiochus III certain grants made to the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. The following are the salient points of his argument. It is noteworthy that in the section taken from Polybius that precedes the letter to Ptolemy and relates the conquest of Coele-Syria by Antiochus there is special emphasis on Samaria (not apparent to the present writer), and one may infer that §§ 135-136 originally dealt with the conquest of Samaria rather than of Judaea; the former was of greater military importance than Jerusalem, and also had an Egyptian garrison. The reference in § 141 to the importing of wood for the temple is more appropriate to Samaria than to Jerusalem. On the other hand, Büchler continues, the letter makes the city and temple identical, which

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does not fit the Samaritan theory, since the fortress of Samaria was separate from the temple on Mt. Gerizim except in the time of Gabinius, *cf. Ant.* xiv. 100. Nor was the senate (*γερονσία*) of Samaria connected with priests and Levites as in the decree. The assurance of religious and political freedom for the Jews given in § 142 pre-supposes that restrictions of this kind had been imposed on the Jews shortly before, but no such restrictions are likely to have been imposed by either the Ptolemies or the Seleucids before Antiochus IV Epiphanes. After going through the list of persecutions in the period after Antiochus Epiphanes, Büchler finds that the implied restrictions and the damage to the temple resulting from the siege must have been those due to Pompey in 63 B.C. He therefore concludes that the letter reflects the liberal enactments of Julius Caesar, who, for example, remitted Jewish taxes for a time. As for the Jewish captives mentioned in the letter, they were probably those taken to Rome by Pompey; their release may have been due to Mark Antony, who is said by Dio Cassius to have freed the captives taken by Cassius. It is no accident, says Büchler, that the grants actually made by Julius Caesar were ascribed by the Jewish author of the decree to Antiochus III, since he meant the document to be an answer to the Samaritans who boasted that Antiochus IV had shown special favour to their temple on Mt. Gerizim. The reference to the repair of the porticoes of the temple is to the Herodian temple, but this preserved the architectural features of a much earlier time; so too the Levites had earlier enjoyed special privileges. The omission of the name of the high priest is a characteristic of forged decrees

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ascribed by their Jewish authors to pagan rulers, as is seen from the Aramaic documents in Ezra, which were taken as a model by Hellenistic Jewish apologists. (See the comment on Willrich and the first part of this Appendix, and on Bickermann, below.) Perhaps, Büchler adds, the high priest is not mentioned here because Hyrcanus II did not enjoy exemption from taxation. The mention of the senate under the name of *γερονσία* points to the Egyptian origin of the decree.

Let us now consider the counter-arguments of Tscherikower, Zucker and Bickermann (the last of whom has made so thorough an investigation of the letter to Ptolemy that he has left little to add).

Tscherikower points out that Antiochus III's liberality to the temple is inherently probable in view of the tolerance shown by Ptolemies and Seleucids to the religions of minority groups; as an example of this he cites the decree of a King Antiochus concerning the temple of Zeus (=Baal) in Baetocaece in Syria (*OGIS* 262 = Welles 70). This decree is dated by Welles c. the end of the first century B.C. and is translated by him as follows. "King Antiochus to Euphemus, greeting. The inclosed memorandum has been issued. See then that its provisions are carried out as far as concerns you. Report having been brought to me of the 'power' of the god Zeus of Baetocaece, it has been decided to grant him for all time the place whence the 'power' of the god issues, the village of Baetocaece—formerly the property of Demetrius the son of Demetrius and grandson of Mnaseas, . . . of the Apamean satrapy—with all its property and possessions according to the existing surveys and with the harvest of the

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present year, so that the revenue from this may be spent by the priest chosen by the god in the customary manner for the monthly sacrifices and the other things which increase the dignity of the temple, and also that there may be held each month on the fifteenth and thirtieth days fairs free from taxation ; (it has been decided further) that the temple should be inviolable and the village exempt from billeting, as no objection has been raised ; that anyone who should violate any of the above provisions should be held guilty of impiety ; and that copies (of this memorandum) should be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in the same temple. It will be necessary then to write to the usual officials so that these provisions may be carried out."

Here a word of caution is in place concerning Tscherikower's use of this decree. While it is of value in furnishing a model of the Seleucid chancellery style in such matters, the reader may be reminded that it was probably issued by a Seleucid king who was in greater need of support from a local community and therefore more anxious to conciliate it than was the case with Antiochus III who was dealing with the former subjects of his Ptolemaic rival. However, as Bevan has remarked, it is very likely that Antiochus III made an effort to please the Jews, and if he did so, would have chosen some such means as his successor did in trying to please the people of Baetocaece.

Tscherikower further argues, convincingly enough, that the tax-exemption and return of the captives mentioned in the letter to Ptolemy were in keeping with the policy of Hellenistic kings, and have a parallel in Antiochus III's treatment of Lysimachia

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in Thrace (*cf.* Appian, *Syria* 1). This, then, would make unnecessary Büchler's assumption that these grants were originally made by Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Against Willrich's objection that poll-taxes were not known in the Seleucid kingdom under Antiochus III Tscherikower argues that we know too little about Seleucid taxes to be dogmatic on this point (see also Bickermann below); moreover, even if it were true that the Jews at that time paid taxes only through the high priest, as Willrich claims, there is no good reason why the Seleucid king should not have intervened on occasion. These considerations seem to dispose of some of the chief objections raised against the general trustworthiness of the letter to Ptolemy.

Like Eduard Meyer and Tscherikower, Zucker also finds support for the historicity of the documents in parallels from Hellenistic decrees, *e.g.* *SEG* ii. 663. He notes that in distinction from the Persian decrees quoted in Ezra vi-vii, Antiochus' grant of exemption from taxes for the *gerousia* and scribes is something new; he further supposes that from the earlier Seleucid point of view the *gerousia* corresponded to the *boulē* of the Hellenistic city-states, but that in the time of Antiochus III the Jewish *gerousia* must have been a council of temple officials assisting the high priest, something like the sacred *collegium* of the Roman empire, hence a *ἱερὰ βουλή*. Particularly interesting is Zucker's citation of a verse from Judith (xi. 13-14) which refers to the authority of the *gerousia* over the temple revenues. In citing the Baetocaece decree as a parallel, he points out that in it tax-exemption is granted for only one year, so that Antiochus III's grant for three years is exceptional.

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Zucker concludes by expressing the opinion, quite plausible in the present writer's judgment, that the tax-exemption granted to the temple officials was a tradition inherited by the Seleucids from the Persian kings.

To Bickermann we owe the most complete and valuable study of the letter to Ptolemy. Some of the arguments he advances in defence of its genuineness have been anticipated by one or another of the scholars mentioned above; accordingly only the more important of the new arguments he has given will be summarized, and no attempt will be made to include all the textual comments, some of them very useful, which he has made.

Bickermann regards the letter to Ptolemy as the "Seleucid charter of Jerusalem," and is chiefly interested in trying to show its political motivation and results. He first stresses the importance of the Jews' services to Antiochus III in furnishing him with provisions, as is indicated by a passage in Polybius, v. 70. 5 (218 B.C.), and in helping to dislodge the Egyptian garrison from the citadel N.W. of the temple, as is indicated by Porphyry *ap. Jerome* on Daniel xi. 15, "For a long time Antiochus with the help of the Jews besieged the garrison established by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem."

He then shows that in the first part of the letter the friendly acts of the Jews are arranged in *crescendo* order, which is in accord with good chancery style, *cf. Welles Nrs. 22, 71*; furthermore the expression of royal gratitude for such services is a feature of official Hellenistic style. Antiochus shows his gratitude in two ways, by restoring the city and by repopulating it. As parallels to these acts, Bicker-

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mann cites the passage in Appian (see above) and the collection of texts published by Holleaux in *BCH*, 1924, pp. 30 ff.

Dealing with the "dispositions" in the second part of the letter, Bickermann calls attention to the fact that *σύνταξις* in § 140 is used in the sense of "aid," "contribution" (*cf.* *OGIS* 1. 13), whereas in Ptolemaic Greek the word means "salary"; thus he disposes of the theory of Büchler and Reinach that the document is a fabrication of Egyptian Jews. That Antiochus III should have given money for the temple instead of gifts in kind, as did Darius and Artaxerxes according to Ezra vi-vii (here Bickermann has made a slip; Artaxerxes gave money, not gifts in kind, according to Ezra vii. 15 ff.) is in keeping with the Hellenistic practice of *adaeratio*.

On the problem of taxation Bickermann, who is a leading authority on the subject, admits that we have no direct evidence for the poll-tax in Seleucid times (see above), but points out that this tax is named among the sources of income of the satraps (read "kings"?) in Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics* 1346 a, a work which reflects conditions in Asia under the Diadochi. He also argues that there is nothing remarkable in the fact that Antiochus' letter is addressed to the governor of Coele-Syria and not directly to the Jews, since a number of instances are known of the former practice though it is less usual than the latter; he refers to Welles Nr. 9 and to 1 Macc. xi. 32, 2 Macc. xi. 22.

Bickermann reconstructs the political situation as follows. In conformity with the principles of Greek public law Antiochus III everywhere regulated the status of reconquered cities. After taking Jerusalem

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he did the same, and rewarded the Jews for the services they had rendered him in his war with Ptolemy Epiphanes. In the Greek *polis* re-establishment of the civic constitution meant autonomy, more or less. In the case of Jerusalem it meant royal recognition of the authority of the Jewish constitution which was nothing else than the law of Moses. From this followed such enactments as the interdiction of access to the temple for non-Jews. In making these grants to the Jews Antiochus was following the example of his Hellenistic predecessors, who in turn had followed the precedent set by the Persian kings. Thus the letter to Ptolemy formed the Seleucid "charter" of Jerusalem, and was probably renewed by Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, but eventually revoked by the latter.

More speculative is Bickermann's treatment of the gifts made by Antiochus to the temple. He distinguishes between the daily sacrifices made on behalf of the Jewish people and paid for by them, and the burnt-offering sacrificed on behalf of the king and paid for by him. But, argues Bickermann, Antiochus' contribution amounted to about twice as much as was needed for the royal sacrifices according to Talmudic estimates; hence we may suppose that the king not only paid the expense of the daily sacrifice made in his name but also some of the expense of the *Tamid* sacrifice made on behalf of the Jews. For Hellenistic parallels to such contributions he refers to Holleaux's collection of texts in *BCH*, 1924.

One more important detail is interestingly discussed by Bickermann, namely the absence of the high priest's name in the letter to Ptolemy. He points out that the Jewish state, being an aristocracy,

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was represented by the *gerousia* in foreign relations. The high priest is not mentioned in the Persian decrees or in the Seleucid documents quoted in 1 and 2 Maccabees before the time of Jonathan, whereas the *gerousia* continues to be mentioned beside the high priests in documents from the later Hasmonaean period. With this interpretation of the status of the Jewish senate compare that of Zucker above; the two views are not necessarily in conflict, since both Zucker and Bickermann would presumably recognize that in the time of Antiochus III the high priest shared authority over the temple with the *gerousia*. Bickermann also remarks that in distinction from the Persian kings, who exempted all the clerics of the temple from taxation, Antiochus III limited tax-exemption to the priests and two classes of Levites—a limitation that he believes to be in accord with the policy of Hellenistic rulers toward the oriental clergy.

The reader has had placed before him the chief arguments for and against the genuineness of all or most of the first document ascribed to Antiochus III by Josephus. Although certainty is not likely to be attained in such a matter, I believe that the weight of evidence supports those scholars who accept Antiochus' letter to Ptolemy as an actual decree issued by the king soon after his conquest of Coele-Syria.

II. The Ritual Interdictions (xii. 145-146)

More of a puzzle in some ways than the letter to Ptolemy is the brief section purporting to be a proclamation (*πρόγραμμα*) which Antiochus III published "throughout the entire kingdom" and in which non-Jews are forbidden to enter the temple enclosure,

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and all persons are forbidden to bring into Jerusalem the flesh or hides of horses, mules, asses, etc., under penalty of a fine.

The mere prohibition of entrance to the temple enclosure is not remarkable; such a prohibition, under penalty of death, existed in Roman times, as is proved not only by the statement of Josephus in *Ant.* xv. 417 but also by the discovery of copies of the original inscription erected in the temple precinct (see above on Eduard Meyer and *cf.* Schürer ii. 272 and Iliffe in *QSDAP* vi. 1936, 1-3). On the fines to be paid to Jewish communities for violation of their religious statutes see note *b* on p. 76 of this volume. But that the Jews at this time or any time should have objected to the bringing into Jerusalem of horses, asses, mules, etc., alive or dead is incredible. This fact makes it impossible to believe that the document is a Jewish fabrication, as some scholars have claimed; why should any Jew, however zealous for the prestige of his temple and sacred city, have invented such an unlikely detail? It has been pointed out that the Jews did not eat such animals; it should be added that they did not use them as sacrificial animals either, so that there would have been no point in forging a prohibition of their importation into Jerusalem, especially when a good many non-Jews must have known that such animals were permitted to serve as beasts of burden in the city.

Büchler's theory that the document reflects the Jewish-Samaritan controversies of the first century B.C. over the respective merits of the temple in Jerusalem and the temple on Mt. Gerizim is not very convincing. Against this complicated assumption that Josephus' Jewish source has recast an

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original Samaritan polemic seeking to show that Antiochus Epiphanes, the desecrator of the temple in Jerusalem, had been very scrupulous in respecting the Levitical prescriptions of the Gerizim temple, it may be argued that such an exaggerated Samaritan claim is inherently improbable, and that even if such a claim had been made by a Samaritan writer, it is difficult to believe that a Jewish apologist would have been naive enough to make the imaginary restrictions apply to Jerusalem.

Tscherikower, who upholds the genuineness of the document, attempts to account for the curious restriction as well as for the statement about the publishing of the proclamation throughout the entire kingdom by assuming that the decree has been preserved in an imperfect and incomplete form. This is probably true, but does not quite satisfactorily explain the statement about the importation of the animals. I venture to suggest another explanation, on the assumption that the document is not a fabrication. My suggestion is that Antiochus gave orders to the official in charge of such matters to draw up a statement protecting the sanctity of the temple, as he had presumably been requested to do by some of the Jewish leaders in touch with the Seleucid court; but this official, being ignorant of the exact nature of Jewish ritual, simply chose a formula that was in use for the protection of the cults of various Hellenistic and Syrian cities, and slightly altered it to make it apply to Jerusalem in spite of the fact that it did not wholly fit the requirements of the Jews. For an example of such a Hellenistic decree we may cite an inscription from Ialysus in Rhodes (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed. 338 = Michel, *Recueil* 436, referred to

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by Willrich), which prohibits the bringing into the temple or temple precincts any horse, ass, mule, etc. It is also possible, assuming the imperfection and incompleteness of the present text, that the document originally prohibited the importation of all animals *on the Sabbath*, and that this enactment has, as a result of text corruption, been altered in Josephus' source to a prohibition of the importation of ritually unclean animals at any time.

III. The Letter to Zeuxis (xii. 148-153)

The same difference of opinion that exists among modern scholars about the genuineness of Antiochus III's letter to Ptolemy and his proclamation concerning the temple and Jerusalem is found in their views concerning the letter to Zeuxis, in which Antiochus commands that two thousand Jewish families be transported from Mesopotamia and Babylonia and settled in the rebellious provinces of Lydia and Phrygia to guard the interests of the Seleucid government, and at the same time directs that they be provided with houses and land and be exempted from taxes on produce for ten years.

Willrich objects that this document is wholly in the style of the Jewish apologist Pseudo-Hecataeus, the assumed source of the passage in Aristeas §§ 12-13 which states that Ptolemy I transported Jews from Palestine to Egypt and settled them in garrisons there. As we have pointed out in notes to this volume, recent investigations by Hans Lewy and others have shown that some of the fragments attributed to Pseudo-Hecataeus are probably from the works of the genuine Hecataeus, a non-Jewish his-

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torian of the early third century B.C., and are in accord with historical fact. Moreover we know from Aramaic and Greek papyri that Jews were actually taken into military service in Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt. Willrich also suggests that the letter to Zeuxis has as its historical basis Herod's settling of Jewish colonists from Babylonia in Batanaea, *cf. Ant. xvii. 23-25*. In this case as in other arguments against the genuineness of Hellenistic decrees quoted by Josephus, Willrich seems to be eating his critical cake and having it too. If the letter to Zeuxis is an apologetic Jewish invention modelled on Pseudo-Hecataeus, who must have written before 100 B.C., it cannot also be based on an incident that took place late in Herod's reign. Incidentally the circumstances of the Herodian settlement of eastern Jews in Batanaea were rather different from those of the alleged settlement by Antiochus III; in the former case a military group of only six hundred men was involved. But even if the circumstances were more nearly alike, the fact that a quasi-Jewish king like Herod transported Jews from Babylonia (they were originally from Babylonia but later settled at Antioch) to Batanaea is no proof that Antiochus III did not transport Jews from Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia.

Niese, who strongly suspects the genuineness of the letter to Zeuxis, suggests that it was circulated by the Jews of Asia Minor who wished to base their claim to civic equality with the Macedonians on their colonization there by Antiochus III. But the question remains, even supposing that the Jews of Asia Minor wished to make propaganda of this sort, how did they come to be in Lydia and Phrygia in considerable numbers if Antiochus III did not settle

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them there ? Niese is correct, to be sure, in pointing out that Josephus is mistaken in making it appear that the transportation and settlement took place after Antiochus III's conquest of Coele-Syria in 201-198 B.C.

Nor can we give much weight to the argument of Wellhausen and Willrich that if the letter were genuine it would specify the names of the colonists and the localities in Lydia and Phrygia where they were to be settled. We must remember, as Tscherkower remarks, that Antiochus was campaigning in the East (in 206/5 B.C.) and was presumably writing in haste.

It cannot be denied that there is room for suspicion of Jewish apologetic retouching of the original letter, as in § 150 where Antiochus refers to the Jews' " piety to God " (but see the note on this phrase), and to the testimony of his forefathers concerning the loyalty of the Jews ; but even these complimentary allusions may be genuine, as part of the conventional documentary style (see Bickermann's treatment of this general subject).

It seems to me, then, that there is no convincing evidence against the genuineness of Antiochus III's letter to Zeuxis.

APPENDIX E^a

SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE ONIADS AND TOBIADS AND PALESTINE UNDER PTOLEMAIC RULE (*Ant.* xii. 154-236)

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^a See also Appendix G.

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APPENDIX F

SELECTED LITERATURE ON SPARTANS AND JEWS (*Ant.* xii. 226-227, xiii. 164-170)

- Bévenot, pp. 140-142.
- Bickermann, E., art. "Makkabäerbücher" in *PW* 14 (1930), esp. p. 786.
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APPENDIX G^a

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^a See also Appendix E.

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APPENDIX H

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APPENDIX J ^a

SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN DECREES IN *ANT.* XII-XIV

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- AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- AJP* = *American Journal of Philology*.
- Andrews = H. T. Andrews, Trans. and Comm. The Letter of Aristaeus in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. 83-122.
- Ant.* = *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.
- APF* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.
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- ARAST* = *Atti della reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*.
- ARSP* = *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*.
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Athenische Mittheilungen*.
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