

THE DOCUMENTS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MACCABEES
AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
MACCABEES

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a re-examination of the documents in 1 Maccabees, which have been the subject of much previous comment. Section 1 is a survey of previous work followed by a discussion of methods. Section 2 deals with the historic background, and Section 3 contains detailed commentaries on the texts of the documents.

The conclusion is arrived at that, except for the letter of Jonathan to the Spartans, the documents are genuine, and that, when allowance is made for Hebraisms they conform to the pattern of Hellenistic documents. The Seleucid documents provide valuable information on the status of Judaea under Seleucid rule and the issues in the conflict between the Maccabees and the Seleucids. The Roman letters are shown to be designed partly to support the Maccabees' aspirations for independence, partly to consolidate their rule among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora. The Spartan letter is of minor importance. The decree in honour of Simon illustrates the nature of the new Maccabean High Priesthood.

Taken together, the letters serve as a valuable guide to the policy, especially the foreign policy of the Maccabees.

PREFACE

The order of the documents in the commentaries neither follows that in which they are quoted in 1 Maccabees, nor is it chronological; but the documents are arranged according to their subjects. The five Seleucid documents are placed first, followed by the correspondence with Rome and Sparta. Document 9 deals with an event of purely internal history.

Except for the Roman treaty in Chapter 8 all the documents in 1 Maccabees deal with the time of Jonathan and Simon, and are subsequent to the appearance in Syria of Alexander Balas in the year 153 B.C. Hence the period treated in this thesis has been limited to the fifteen years beginning in 153 B.C. and ending in 139 B.C., the date of the last document; and the Roman treaty of the time of Judas Maccabaeus has not been made the subject of a separate commentary. It is discussed in an appendix to Section 2.

This section, which deals with the historical background, covers the whole period to which the documents refer, but its various parts should be read in conjunction with the Seleucid documents to which they serve as an introduction. The commentaries to the other documents are preceded by separate introductions.

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SECTION I

THE PROBLEM OF THE LETTERS

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THE PROBLEM OF THE LETTERS

The letters in the First Book of the Maccabees have been the subject of much discussion since the first half of the eighteenth century, when the authenticity of some of them was first called into question by the brothers E. F. and Gottlieb Wernsdorff. Criticism was directed mainly against the purported relationship between Jews and Spartans, the strange heading of the letter from the Consul Lucius (No. 6), and some of its clauses; but some points of the Seleucid letters also came under suspicion. Criticism of these documents was only part of general doubts expressed by the brothers Wernsdorff about the historical trustworthiness of I Maccabees.

The majority of Protestant scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, e.g. Niebuhr, Ewald, Grimm, suspected at least some of the documents¹; while Catholic scholars, who regard I Maccabees as canonical, have usually defended the genuineness of all the documents. A host of theories was put forward, ranging from whole-hearted acceptance of all the documents to downright rejection of all as forgeries interpolated into our book long after its composition. The majority of scholars have, however, taken up various intermediate positions between these extremes.

The general problem as it confronts the modern critic is that the letters in their present form do not wholly resemble such Greek documents as are known to us from other sources. The phrasing is often curiously naive and unbusiness-like as compared with the formal style of genuine official documents. Dates and closing formulas are missing altogether, and the greeting formulas are rudimentary. In addition there are many points of detail to which objection may be taken.

The letters in I Maccabees have sometimes been discussed on their own, but often they are treated as part of a wider problem concerning the historical value of documents quoted in ancient Jewish writings. These are on the one hand the Biblical books of the Chronicler (Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah), on the other hand Hellenistic works such as the Second and Third Books of the Maccabees, the Letter of Aristeas, the writings of Josephus, etc. I Maccabees in some ways stands between these two groups. Like the first it is a Palestinian work and was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (most probably Hebrew); like the second it deals with events of the Hellenistic period. The originals of the documents, if such existed, must therefore have been in Greek.

These, however, cannot have been inserted directly

into our Greek text since even a superficial reading of the letter reveals numerous unmistakable Hebraisms. The letters must therefore have been first translated into Hebrew and then translated back into Greek together with the rest of the book. This assumption is crucial to all discussions of the problem.

The following is a brief sketch of the more important views expressed during the last 100 years².

C. L. W. Grimm (1853) regarded all the letters as having a historical foundation in the sense that each reflects the existence of an actual document at the time of the events. But he did not think that the author of I Maccabees used or even knew these documents. The reason that led Grimm to this assumption was that he accepted the arguments adduced by the brothers Wernsdorff against the Spartan correspondence and the Roman Circular; in addition he was critical of the Decree in honour of Simon because he thought it inconsistent with the narrative of I Maccabees. And in view of the obvious defects of these four letters he regarded even the rest as no more than "free reproductions" of the original, composed by the author of I Maccabees in good faith according to his recollection of them³.

A similar attitude was adopted by Schuerer. He too

regarded most of the letters as in essence correct, without always committing himself about the actual text before us. His views were only fully developed in the third edition of his book (Vol.I, 1901; the first edition appeared in 187). They are being anticipated here because Schuerer belonged to the "old-fashioned" school of theologians which came under fire in a subsequent study. The two Roman letters and the Decree in honour of Simon as well as most of the Seleucid letters are taken quite seriously by Schuerer; the important letter of Demetrius I, No.2, is regarded as similar to a speech inserted in a historical narrative, i.e. on the whole correct but incorporating some fancies of the author. But Schuerer expressed doubts about the authenticity of the Spartan letters⁴.

Among other nineteenth century scholars who dealt with the problem one might mention the Jewish historian Graetz who curiously enough regarded only the Roman treaty of the time of Judas Maccabaeus as "apocryphal". The rest he apparently considered trustworthy, though he did not mention Jewish relations with Sparta at all⁵.

Until the end of the nineteenth century scholars had treated the text of I Maccabees as a unity; so that, whatever their views on the historical value of the documents, they attributed their inclusion in the text

to the author. In 1882 J. von Destinon put forward the theory that the last three chapters, not used by Josephus, were a later addition. This theory would affect four of the documents (Nos. 5, 6, 8 and 9). Most of Destinon's arguments for this theory derive from a comparison with Josephus, and are not strictly relevant to the problem of the documents. Only one argument, deriving from the chronological discrepancies between the Decree in honour of Simon and the preceding narrative, should be mentioned here.

The most radical criticism of the documents was, however, that of Hugo Willrich, a secular historian. His first study of Hellenistic-Jewish literature, Juden und Griechen, was published in 1895, to be followed by his Judaica in 1900; in 1924 he published a book with the significant title Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Litteratur. Willrich's views underwent considerable modification in the intervals between these books, but for the sake of convenience his three studies will be treated together.

In the introduction to his first two books, Willrich stressed the need for classical philologists to tackle problems previously left to the theologians. The latter had overestimated the value of Jewish tradition, failing

to see that it was inspired by the sole purpose of creating sympathy for the Jews. Recent finds of papyri and ostraka had placed the criticism of this tradition on a new basis by enabling the historian to check its facts against contemporary sources. As a result of this new method of criticism Willrich claimed to be able to expose a gigantic and highly complex plot, whose aim it was to show how Hellenistic and Roman rulers from Alexander the Great onwards had favoured the Jews. For purposes of propaganda a collection of documents was amassed in the time of Agrippa I, and this was also used by Philo on his deputation to the Emperor Caius. A few of these documents were indeed genuine, but even they were used for disreputable ends through the application of false dates, frequent interpolation, etc. The majority, however, were complete forgeries, emanating from a veritable "factory" for documents which was situated in Alexandria. Although the majority of educated Greeks could only smile at these clumsy efforts, a long series of scholars, beginning with the Emperor Claudius and continuing down to Willrich's own time, had been taken in. He hoped that as a result of his work this series of unfortunate dupes would at last come to an end.⁶

This, then, is the general framework in which, according to Willrich, the documents in I Maccabees have

their place. All except the two Roman letters are forgeries, as proved by their lack of style combined with their obvious propaganda purpose⁷. The Seleucid letters betray a complete ignorance of conditions in the Seleucid empire, and reflect the system of taxation imposed by the Romans in Egypt⁸. The letter of Demetrius I, No.2, moreover, shows dependence on the Letter of Aristeas; the Decree in honour of Simon contradicts the text⁹; the Spartan correspondence is just absurd and dates from Herod's relations with Sparta. Similarly, the list of cities appended to the Roman circular (No.6) reflects conditions in the time of Herod. The cities were in fact those to whom Herod had made benefactions¹⁰. As regards the two Roman letters, the one attributed in our book to the time of Judas belongs in fact to the time of Aristoboulos I; its attribution to the time of Judas Maccabaeus was due to a misunderstanding of the Chancellery note preserved in the parallel version of Josephus (Ant. 12, 419). The Circular (No.6) belongs to the time of Hyrkan II, as "proved" by its similarities with Jos. Ant. 14, 145¹¹). But the existence of Roman-Jewish relations in the time of Simon is conceded.

Now these forgeries, according to Willrich, cannot be attributed to the honest Sadducean author of I Maccabees; which were originally regarded as genuine. It is clear that the later book contained no negative allusion.

they must be due to an editor who operated not earlier than the last years of Herod's reign. Josephus used the book in its interpolated form, but supplemented it by the original collection from which both forged and genuine letters had been taken. Therefore the text of the letters in Josephus is more authentic than the version to be found in I Maccabees, since the latter was first translated into Hebrew by the interpolator. This assumption, which is cardinal to Willrich's thesis, will be discussed in more detail below.

In his last book Willrich modified some of these conclusions in the direction of even greater severity, particularly with regard to Jewish contacts with Rome. For he now argued that since the interpolator found no genuine Roman documents from the time of Simon, none could have existed. It follows that the whole relationship with Rome is as fictitious for the time of Simon as it is for the time of Judas. The first $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha$ between Judaea and Rome is accordingly to be dated under Hyrkan I. The Roman circular, previously considered genuine, turns out to be yet another forgery, for which the genuine document Jos. Ant. 14, 145 served as a model.

Similarly, the Seleucid letters Nos. 1 and 3 - 5, which were originally regarded as having a genuine nucleus, were in the later book recognized as forgeries closely

modelled on No.2¹³). The most important addition to Willrich's conclusions, however, was one concerned with the source of the forgeries. At first these had been described as an anonymous collection of documents made in Alexandria and used directly by the interpolator. Further comparison between I Maccabees, the parallel account of Josephus and II Maccabees, convinced Willrich that he had discovered the arch-forgery in the person of the obscure writer whose work is epitomized in II Maccabees. Jason of Cyrene stood exposed as the villain of the whole plot!¹⁴

The theories of Willrich, particularly when first published in 1895, produced a considerable amount of comment. All subsequent interpretations of I Maccabees were forced to take note of them. For although it was felt by most that the evidence with which he supported his statements was rather slender, he had in his penetrating analysis detected many connections previously unnoticed. Above all he had constructed an imposing system of explanation, which, however wild and bizarre it might be, had at least the advantage of a certain self-sufficiency, of explaining everything. Besides, a radical approach to Biblical criticism, expressed in particular in a very low dating of our sources, was in the air just then; Wellhausen's theory was still fairly new and criticism of the Apocrypha was under his influence.

The general climate of opinion was almost such that the onus of proof lay on the defenders of documents, rather than on those who were critical of them.

The influence of Willrich is very marked in Kautzsch's treatment of the letters (1900). Kautzsch accepted Willrich's conclusions for the Spartan and Roman letters, and regarded the Seleucid letters as on the whole free reproductions, of which some were a bit colourless and No. 2 rather exaggerated. The additions to this letter he attributed to an interpolator or translator¹⁵.

Niese (1900) expressed himself very cautiously about the authenticity of the letters. But as he did not share Willrich's high regard for the author of I Maccabees, he attributed the inclusion of the letters to him, arguing against Willrich that if one were to excise the letters nothing much would be left of the book¹⁶.

Torrey, a specialist in Aramaic studies, discussed the whole problem of documents in ancient Jewish literature in his "Ezra-Studies" (1913). His conclusions are that none of these letters can be regarded as genuine official records, but that on the whole they give a correct impression of events. They are to be thought of as literary devices analogous to the speeches, prayers, poems, etc., with which ancient authors, Classical and Jewish, used to

enliven their narratives. This procedure is compared with that of the modern historical novel. It should be noted that it is not clear from this interpretation whether, in Torrey's opinion, any letters were in fact sent on the occasions described¹⁷.

Wellhausen (1914) discussed only some of the documents (the Roman letter of the time of Judas Maccabaeus, the letter of Demetrius I, the Roman Circular and the Decree in honour of Simon), and these he rejected without exception. He regarded them all as interpolated, and the earlier at least as forged¹⁸.

Oesterley (in Charles: Apocrypha 1913) took what might be called an eclectic view with regard to earlier interpretations. He regarded the Seleucid letters as genuine documents elaborated by the author of I Maccabees, though No. 2 contains a considerable amount of wishful thinking, perhaps added later. The Spartan correspondence was inserted by a later editor, though the Spartan reply (No. 8) is in fact a genuine document; and the relationship with Sparta was believed in at the time of the Maccabean brothers. The Roman letter of the time of Judas goes back to a genuine document and was inserted by the author of I Maccabees; whereas the Circular (No. 6), as well as all references to the ambassador Numenius, are a later interpolation. Finally, the Decree in honour
valuable source for the historian¹⁹.

of Simon (No.9) was added by a later editor, but is a genuine document, and even perhaps more trustworthy than the narrative of I Maccabees¹⁹.

Oesterley expressed substantially the same view in his History of Israel (1932)²⁰. But in his Introduction to the Apocrypha (1935) he rejected all the letters except the Decree for Simon and the minor letter from the Jews in Gilead (I Macc.5, 10-13), which is not treated here. For the Seleucid letters he now accepted Willrich's arguments²¹.

Schubart made a brief reference to the Seleucid letters in an article entitled Bemerkungen zum Stil hellenistischer Königsbriefe²². He remarked that from the point of view of style they were completely impossible.

The letters are briefly discussed by Eduard Meyer in his Ursprünge und Anfänge des Christentums (Vol.II, 1921). Without going into the many arguments brought by previous commentators Meyer stated that there was no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of any of the documents in I Maccabees (and other Jewish historians). The fact that the documents underwent double translation was sufficient to account for the unbusiness-like style in which they have come down to us. But after a few alterations of the text and the removal of embellishments they provide a valuable source for the historian²³.

It was to counteract the possible harm that might be done by these views, since Meyer was the doyen of Ancient History, that Willrich wrote his Urkundenfälschung, reiterating his previous convictions and rejecting in particular all compromise solutions such as talk of "free composition" or emendations of the texts. He also hailed Schubart's remark quoted above as proving conclusively that the documents must be forgeries.

Nevertheless his own views were already losing ground. Apart from the book of Oesterley discussed above only Eissfeldt (1934) was ready to make drastic cuts in the text of I Maccabees. He proposed to remove all accounts of Jewish dealings with Rome and Sparta, including the whole of chapter 8, and the letter of Demetrius I, No.2; the rest of the Seleucid letters and the Decree for Simon he allowed to stand²⁴.

Other recent studies returned to a more conservative view. In a study called "The Integrity of I Maccabees" (1925), Ettelson sought to show, on the basis of a detailed stylistic analysis of I Maccabees in comparison with the rest of the Old Testament, that the whole book, including the last three chapters, is the work of one author. The documents too, according to Ettelson, bear so many stylistic resemblances to the narrative chapters that their formulation must be due to the author. The whole work was

translated together into Greek²⁵.

Laqueur (1927) took exception only to the Spartan correspondence and the Roman Circular; this was also the view of Momigliano, except that he regarded the Spartan reply (No.8) as genuine²⁶.

Bickermann (in his article in Pauly-Wisnowa, 1928, and Der Gott der Makkabäer 1938), defended the authenticity of all the letters except that of King Antiochus to the High Priest Onias which, however, was inserted by the author in good faith²⁷.

Rostovtzeff (S. E. H. 1941 and his earlier books) made frequent use of the letters as evidence for particular problems of Hellenistic economic history.

Two recent editions, that of Père Abel and that of Zeitlin (both 1950), take the genuineness of the letters almost for granted.

* * * * *

From the foregoing survey it will be seen how widely opinions have differed, and from how many different angles the problem has been approached. It will also be seen that the problem is really a two-fold one, since it concerns not only the authenticity of the letters as such, but also the date of their inclusion into the text of I Maccabees. Thus in addition to adopting what might be called the

extreme views of total acceptance or total rejection, it is quite possible to regard the documents as due to the author but fictitious, or due to an interpolator but genuine. And besides these four attitudes there are, of course, countless intermediate shades of opinion. In view of the tricky problem presented by double translation coupled with the fact that I Maccabees is practically our only source for the period with which the documents deal, it is unlikely that unanimity will ever be reached.

In the following pages the methods to be used in the present study will be discussed; and at the same time some of the assumptions made in the following chapters will be explained.

Broadly speaking there must be two approaches to the problem of letters quoted in works of literature. The first is to compare their style and phrasing with that of other letters from the same period whose authenticity is beyond dispute. If we wish to study the Seleucid letters in I Maccabees in this way, the material for comparison must consist mainly of inscriptions from the Seleucid empire, but contemporary papyri will also be useful. For the Roman and Spartan letters any similar treatises from whatever source would have to be used.

But such a stylistic study of the letters can never be quite satisfactory, for they must have gravely suffered from the circumstance that they had been through a Hebrew version before assuming their present shape as found in I Maccabees. In the process of translation between languages so different as Greek and Hebrew it is inevitable that the original syntactical structure must often have disappeared; and misunderstanding on the part of the Greek or (if the letters are genuine) the Hebrew translator must also be reckoned with. In spite of these difficulties stylistic comparisons with other documents should be attempted wherever possible; for, if they can never be decisive, they can nevertheless further our understanding of the letters, and they may shed light on the dates at which our versions were composed. For the Seleucid letters, the texts quoted in the collections of Welles and Schroeter and the commentaries of these authors have been found particularly useful. The Roman treaty of the time of Judas Maccabaeus, which is not the subject of a separate commentary in this study, has been almost entirely reconstructed by E. Taeubler on the basis of comparisons with other treaties. Taeubler's results will be briefly summarized in an appendix (p. 59).

If the comparative method can be of only limited help for the style of the letters, it must concentrate all the

more on their contents. Only by relating the letters to what is known about Hellenistic history from contemporary documents can we form any conclusions on whether or not their contents are credible. Thus Willrich asserted that the Seleucid letters betrayed a complete ignorance of conditions in Judaea at the time at which they purport to be written²⁸. His own view of these conditions was built up from a few scattered references in literary sources (II Maccabees, Josephus, etc.); and it rested on the assumption that the Seleucid system of taxation was much more primitive than that of the Ptolemaic and Roman empires²⁹. Recent study has shown this assumption to be unfounded³⁰. Some of Willrich's arguments have been expressly refuted, for example by Bickermann in his Institutions des Séleucides, a work which will often be quoted. Others have never been examined properly, though they have been ignored in the sense that examples from the letters have been quoted as evidence in works on Seleucid economic history. The whole question of the status of Judaea under the Seleucids deserves to be examined more fully in the light of modern research.

The second approach is to relate the documents to the narrative containing them. To this end we must determine something of the literary nature and objects of the book, its place in literary history and the trustworthiness

of the events it narrates. This method could not be dispensed with even if comparison with other documents raised only few doubts concerning the authenticity of the letters. For, as Welles has observed, "not individuality but conventionality is the usual mark of forgery". Thus it is equally possible for a letter that looks genuine to be invented, as for an unusual-looking letter to be genuine. Only our views about the book as a whole can be decisive.

An example may be quoted from the so-called Letter of Aristeeas (henceforth referred to as "Aristeeas" to avoid confusion). This book contains a decree purporting to be written by Ptolemy Philadelphus (Aristeeas 22-25) more than a hundred years prior to the probable date of composition³². The decree presupposes such acquaintance with Ptolemaic administrative procedure and exhibits such striking similarities to a decree of Philadelphus found on a papyrus (P. Rainer 24 552) that it was pronounced a genuine document by U. Wilcken³³. But it also contains certain objectionable features which have led Westermann to argue against its authenticity³⁴. Now Aristeeas, according to modern scholars, never set out to present the literal truth; it is essentially a work of imaginative literature³⁵. Hence it would be surprising if an actual document had been transplanted into it just as it was found in the archives. In this case, I think, one cannot escape the conclusion that

the document in question is fictitious, but closely modelled on the decree mentioned above or some similar decree now lost.

This example is particularly relevant to our discussion in view of the generalizations that have been made about documents quoted in ancient Jewish literature. Thus Torrey treated Chronicles, Ezra, Daniel, Esther, I, II and III Maccabees and Josephus as a unity with respect to the letters they quote; he even included the "Letter" of Aristeas in the discussion³⁶. But this approach is quite unjustified. For these books differ among themselves in many ways, and the differences are more fundamental than the similarities. Thus, however nationalist and apologetic the objects of such books as II and III Maccabees, Aristeas and Josephus's Antiquities may be, their literary antecedents are certainly not to be found in the Bible. The Alexandrian works indeed belong to a Greek literary tradition. And, though it may be true that there was a considerable reciprocal influence between Palestinian and Egyptian Jewry, it seems rash to assume that the use of letters in such divergent books can be regarded as a single phenomenon.

Again, these books differ in the purposes for which they were written. Aristeas is a work of imaginative literature with a propaganda purpose. Esther and III

Maccabees, whether meant as serious history or not, deal with only one brief incident of history. Both books, as well as perhaps II Maccabees, primarily tell the story of events commemorated in a festival. Josephus clearly cannot be compared with I Maccabees, since he wrote "ancient", not contemporary history, compiled from a variety of sources.

A very interesting contrast to our letters is presented by the two letters found in the Greek but not the Hebrew version of the Book of Esther and usually referred to as Additions B and E. These letters purport to be the texts of two decrees of Artaxerxes against and on behalf of the Jews. They thus bear a superficial resemblance to the Seleucid letters in I Maccabees. Now these two letters were clearly composed in Greek³⁷. The existence of such additions in the Greek version of Esther has led Willrich to generalize about the tendency of Palestinian works to change and expand in translation³⁸. But the letters in I Maccabees, with one or two doubtful exceptions, betray an unmistakable Semitic substratum. This fact, in my opinion, makes any theory postulating a very late date of interpolation extremely improbable.

The alternative explanation offered by Willrich is that the Greek translator or an editor took documents which he found in an Alexandrian source and rendered them into Hebrew before rendering the whole book into Greek!³⁹

But it is difficult to see why any Alexandrian reader should have been disturbed to find idiomatic Greek in letters written by Hellenistic kings or Roman or Spartan officials.

Nor is it possible to argue that an editor independent of the Greek translator translated the documents from Greek into Hebrew and inserted them into the Hebrew text. For no obvious propaganda purpose could be served by a book written in a language which the Greeks did not understand. And Palestinian Jews would hardly be interested in documents reflecting, according to Willrich, a situation alien to them. This whole explanation is so far-fetched that it can safely be discarded. Unmistakable Hebraisms, as found in nearly all the documents, may be taken as proof that the letters were part of I Maccabees at the time of translation. For these reasons the whole postulate of a system of forgeries built up with the ulterior motive of making propaganda for the Jews is quite untenable⁴⁰. We must confront the documents on the assumption that, if not genuine copies, they are at least of Palestinian derivation and that they were inserted by the author of I Maccabees or someone living shortly after him⁴¹.

The question whether there was any specific literary influence prompting the inclusion of the letters is best

left open. It has often been asserted that the author followed the example of the Book of Ezra in this respect. Ezra is indeed the only book in the group mentioned above that offers a fit basis for comparison, but even here the evidence for borrowing is slender. In general I Maccabees modelled itself on the style and approach of the earlier part of the Bible, on Samuel and Kings, rather than on the work of the Chronicler. Only two of the letters in Ezra, the short decree of Cyrus (6, 3-5) and the letter from Artaxerxes to Ezra (7, 12-26) are at all comparable in subject-matter to the body of letters incorporated into I Maccabees. Moreover, the letters in Ezra are less closely integrated into the text of the book than are the Seleucid letters in I Maccabees. This is shown not only by their introductory formulas (cf. p. 26 below) but also by the fact that they are written in Aramaic. In I Maccabees the letters seem to have been quoted in Hebrew, though the version in which they were current in Judaea was presumably in Aramaic, the vernacular at the time.

For these reasons the letters in I Maccabees are best treated on their own. All that can safely be inferred from a comparison with other books is that a consciousness of the importance of documents had awoken among the Jews as a result of their experiences as members of great empires.

The complex administrative organization of these empires, contact with foreign rulers and officials and the practice widespread in Hellenistic times of displaying documents favourable to a city in some prominent position - all these would be factors which might have influenced our author to incorporate documents in his historical narrative. And it is not impossible that the tradition of Greek historiography also exerted an influence. In I Maccabees one may observe a general tendency to secularize history, although the author was undoubtedly a devout Jew. It should also be remembered that he wrote in all probability no more than a generation after the events he narrated⁴². Thus the existence of documents in our text of I Maccabees need occasion no surprise.

The reasons for the inclusion of the Seleucid documents are particularly obvious. I Maccabees may be regarded in some sense as an "official" history⁴³. For it is well known that opposition to Hasmonean rule became vocal already in the time of John Hyrkan. Thus any writer describing the rise of the dynasty must have been, at least by implication, a defender of its title.

For this end the Seleucid letters are a very skilful tool indeed. For they serve to remind the reader indirectly, i.e. through the mouth of the foreign overlords,

of the heavy "yoke" which the Jews had to bear before the Hasmoneans won them independence. The longest of those letters, that of Demetrius I (No.2), has often been regarded as an irrelevant interpolation, because we are expressly told that the Jews did not trust it and went over to Alexander Balas. But the artistic relevance of the letter is obvious. It anticipates, just at the point where the political struggle begins in earnest, all the advantages which the Jews were to gain in the end. It throws into relief the issues that were at stake. But that it is not a Hasmonean invention is proved by its address⁴⁴.

This also answers one of Willrich's most unfortunate arguments against the letters. Had the author had genuine letters at his disposal, Willrich reasoned, he would have quoted also a number of other letters which are mentioned⁴⁵. One might indeed wonder why the forger should have allowed these opportunities to slip by. But every writer must surely select; and the author of I Maccabees has selected his letters with perfect discrimination. He quoted only those which confer tangible benefits on the Jews. Of the letters not quoted verbatim (I Macc.10, 4; 10, 52; 10, 56; 10, 59; 11, 42; 11, 70; 11, 57) the first is merely an introduction to the more important grants that were to follow, the second and third are quite unconnected with the Jews, the fourth and fifth are of

minor import and the sixth is definitely hostile to the Jews. Indeed some of these may have been only oral messages. None are at all comparable to the letters which are quoted except possibly the seventh, i.e., the letter of the young Antiochus VI to Jonathan. But since this letter inaugurated the most unfortunate of all the alliances of the Maccabees, its omission is quite understandable, even apart from possible motives of economy.

Most scholars have made a distinction between the Seleucid letters and the rest of them; and the Seleucid letters have come in for much less criticism than the Roman and Spartan correspondence and the decree in honour of Simon. On the whole this distinction seems valid; and the Seleucid letters are not only more interesting to the modern historian than the others, but also more relevant to the narrative. It is interesting in this connection to compare the formulas with which the letters are introduced in our text.

Roman letter from the time of Judas:

καὶ τοῦτο το ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπι δελωῖς χαλκαῖς καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ. . .

(8.22)

No. I. καὶ ἔψραψεν ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων. . . (10.17)

No.2 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους
τούτους (10. 25)

No.3 καὶ εὐδόκησε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔγραψεν τῷ Ιωναθαν
ἐπιστολὰς περὶ πάντων τούτων ἔχουσας τὸν τρόπον τούτον
(11. 29)

No.7 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧν
ἔγραψεν Ιωναθαν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις (12. 5)

καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὧν ἀπέστειλαν
ὄντα (12. 19)

No.4 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ
τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ καὶ ἔγραψεν
αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτην (13. 35)

No.8 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὧν
ἀπέστειλεν οἱ Σπαρτιάταις (14. 20)

No.9 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς γραφῆς (14. 27)

No.5 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἀντίοχος υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῆς θαλάσσης Σίμωνι
ιερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ τῶν Ιουδαίων καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει καὶ
ἦσαν περιέχουσαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον (15. 1)

No.6 καὶ ἦλθε Νουμήνιος καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν
Ῥώμῃς ἔχοντες ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ταῖς
χώραις ἐν αἷς ἐγέγρακτο τάδε (15. 15)

The impression that the Seleucid letters form a class apart is thus strikingly confirmed. In contrast with the rest, which are with one exception claimed to be "copies", the Seleucid letters are all introduced with the phrase κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους or τὸν τρόπον τούτον. This rather vague and typically Hebraic mode of introduction has the effect of integrating the letter closely with the

rest of the narrative; it certainly does not lead us to expect any abrupt change of style.

The rest of the documents present far more difficulty and have provoked more discussion and more criticism. On the whole they are less relevant to the narrative than the Seleucid letters. Many commentators have remarked on the artificial and even awkward manner in which some of them (notably the Spartan correspondence and the letter from the Consul Lucius) have been fitted into their contexts. With the exception of the decree for Simon, all in some sense interrupt the main course of events. The reason for the inclusion of these letters is therefore much less obvious; but of course the claim that they represent copies will have to be investigated. It is, however, unsafe to generalize about them; apart from their mode of introduction they have much less in common than the Seleucid letters. They cannot, therefore, be treated as a homogeneous group. The problems they raise, particularly with regard to the text and unity of I Maccabees, will have to be reserved for more detailed discussion.

Lastly, a consideration of the literary aims and peculiarities of I Maccabees should also remove one difficulty which has helped to create a suspicious attitude against the letters. With the exception of the

decree in honour of Simon (No.9), none of them are dated. But it must be remembered that in a sense I Maccabees is "sacred" history. This does not mean, of course, that it plays with the supernatural, still less that it is free from political bias or propaganda motive. But the author regards his narrative as a continuation of Israel's story, as recorded in the earlier books, some of which must already have been canonical in his time⁴⁶. Outside events, or the impact of the heathen world on Israel, may figure prominently in his story; but they are marginal to his main purpose, which is to provide a record of momentous events in the nation's history for the benefit of future generations. Thus it cannot surprise us to find that the only dates which he deemed it necessary to give in full are of internal events which made a lasting impression on the fate of the Jewish people⁴⁷. Many of them were later to be commemorated as holidays. The letters would certainly interest his readers for their contents. But their exact dates were of no importance; they would not enter the calendar of Jewish history. And significantly, the only exception is provided by the one letter which deals with an event of internal history.

In this connection Document 4 is particularly illuminating. The year to which this document belongs is communicated to us indirectly. For hard on the text

of the letter there follows the remark: "In the 170th year was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel" (I Macc.13, 41). It is clear that this remark is directly related to the letter. Had the author of I Maccabees (or editor) wished to append a date to the letter, he could undoubtedly have done so. In fact he leaves the document itself undated, but dates the outcome as experienced by the Jewish people⁴⁸.

Indeed, far from serving as an argument against the authenticity of the letters, the absence of dates if anything points in the opposite direction. If the letters were intended as propaganda they would certainly have been fitted out with dates. Nor can it be inferred from the absence of dates that the author could not have had the authentic texts in front of him. For it is quite common to find even epigraphical documents without dates.

These considerations apply equally to the economy with which greeting formulas are reproduced in the letters⁴⁹. What mattered to the readers of I Maccabees was solely the content of the letters.

We may summarize our conclusions about the method to be employed as follows: If the historical situation permits the existence of an actual document, then the text before us should be treated with the same respect

as the narrative portion of I Maccabees. Hence in the next chapter (Historical Outline) it will be assumed, for the time being, that the letters are wholly or partly genuine. But once we approach a document with an open mind, only a detailed analysis, clause by clause, can decide on its degree of approximation to the original. Should a letter give the impression of being sheer guesswork, it must of course be dismissed. But if most of the clauses of a document are found to correspond to the historical situation of the time, we are justified in utilizing it as historical evidence. For even if a letter is based on some secondary source, such as official memoirs, it may give us valuable information.

SECTION II

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

SECTION II

HISTORICAL SURVEY

163-153 B.C.

The year 153 B.C. marks a turning point in the history of Judaea. The appearance of Alexander Balas as pretender to the Syrian throne inaugurated a long series of dynastic wars which enabled the Jews to wrest their freedom from their Seleucid rulers. The story of this struggle for national independence is told in the First Book of the Maccabees, Chapter 10 onwards; but as the book ends with the death of the High Priest Simon, the final stages of the struggle, occurring during the rule of John Hyrkan, are known to us from the account of Josephus only.

In order to understand the background of this struggle and the forces behind it, it is necessary briefly to review the history of the preceding years.

Almost a decade earlier the struggle for the maintenance of the Jewish religion had resulted in a triumph for Judas Maccabaeus and his followers. In a document of the winter 163/2 B.C., preserved in 2 Macc. 11, 22-26, the boy king Antiochus V formally decreed that the temple should be restored to the Jews *καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιπέτων προγόνων αὐτῶν ἔθνη*¹⁾. At the same time the High Priest Menelaus, who had been largely responsible for the policy of forcible Hellenization, was executed (2 Macc. 13, 3-8). This settlement was due to a combination of circumstances. The tenacity of Jewish resistance was no doubt the supreme factor.

But at the very moment when this resistance was almost to be broken and Mount Zion the Maccabees' last stronghold was in danger of being stormed by the Syrian army under Lysias, external circumstances saved the Jews. Philip, whom Antiochus Epiphanes on his death bed had appointed to be guardian of his young son, was marching on Antioch. At this news Lysias, who had been guardian and vice-regent during Epiphanes's absence in the East, decided to negotiate with the Jews so as to be free to devote his attention elsewhere. (6, 55-60)

Thus the first chapter of the Maccabean struggle was concluded; the principal aim of the resistance would seem to have been achieved. Many of those who had followed Judas may have considered that their task was done. Nevertheless Judas's army remained in being, and his followers and successors continued to be in conflict with the Seleucid government for over three decades.

The settlement of 163/2 B.C. lasted only a short time. In the autumn of the same year Demetrius I supplanted his nephew Antiochus V on the Syrian throne (7, 1-4). The beginning of the new reign is associated with fresh troubles in Judaea. Alcimus a man of noble priestly lineage had succeeded Menelaus as High Priest and was backed by Syrian forces.²⁾ A section of Judas' followers, the ἄσιδάτοι or scribes who were distinguished for their piety and learning at first recognised Alcimus and wished to make their peace with the government. But Alcimus, in the

hope, it seems, of securing his rule by a show of strength against the former rebels, rewarded their trust by massacring sixty of their number (7, 15-17). Meanwhile there was continuous friction between him and Judas's bands, who apparently prevented him from officiating at the Temple. Alcimus appealed to the king for help, and an expedition under the leadership of Nicanor was sent to crush Judas. The battle that ensued resulted in a decisive victory for Judas. Nicanor himself was killed (7, 21-48).

For the moment Judas was supreme in the country and he was quick to utilize his opportunity. Once before the intervention of some Roman representatives who happened to be in Syria had been of help to the Jews (2 Macc. 11, 34-38). He now sent ambassadors to Rome to establish friendly relations and to appeal for help against Demetrius. The Roman senate, who were hostile to Demetrius, made a treaty with the Jews thus recognising them as a quasi-independent people. They also wrote to Demetrius cautioning him about his treatment of Judaea (8, 17-32).³⁾

But before their intervention could take any effect, perhaps even before the ambassadors had returned, a new and victorious expedition had been sent to Judaea under the command of Bacchides to avenge the death of Nicanor. Judas was killed and his army was completely routed (9, 1-18).

Alcimus and his supporters were once more in command of the situation; and Judas's men were systematically sought out

and put to death (9, 26). An acute famine contributed yet further to the collapse of the resistance καὶ ἐγένετο θλίψις μεγάλη ἐν-τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἥτις οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἄφθη προφήτης αὐτοῖς (9, 27). But the government's victory was not complete. A group of rebels led by Judas's brother and successor Jonathan (and his brother Simon) eluded Bacchides and continued resistance on a restricted scale in the desert country South-East of Judaea (9, 28-49).

To hold the population in check Bacchides now built or strengthened a series of fortresses, which were manned with strong garrisons (9, 50-53). In this way it was hoped to maintain order without repeated recourse to costly expeditions. Soon afterwards Bacchides left. For two years (159-157 B.C.) there was peace (v.57).

Meanwhile the High Priest Alcimus had died and no successor was appointed (9, 54-56). In 157 B.C. the dominant Hellenizing group made a last attempt to crush the resistance with the help of government forces. Bacchides appeared once more at the head of an army, having previously sent instructions to all supporters of the government to capture Jonathan and the other leaders of the rebels by a concerted effort. But the plan failed, the leaders were not captured and Bacchides sustained a defeat at their hands. After this humiliation he not unnaturally turned against those who had invited him to the futile undertaking and took reprisals against them. At the same time he concluded a

truce with Jonathan and left Judaea. Jonathan moved to Michmash where he seems to have installed himself as a local sheikh, and he "began to judge the people, and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel." (9, 58-73)

For the next seven years an uneasy peace was maintained. Jonathan was tolerated by the government but could not show himself in Jerusalem. In the capital the Hellenizing party were dominant, with their Headquarters in the Akra; but there still was no High Priest. In the country at large the only effective government, it would seem, was exercised by the Syria garrisons whom Bacchides had left in the fortresses. This state of affairs lasted until the civil war between Alexander Balas and Demetrius I & II caused a complete change in the general political situation of Syria.

Before we proceed to the year 153 B.C. it will be appropriate to attempt some interpretation of the events of the preceding decade. What were the aims of the resistance once the observance of the law was again permitted? And what was the measure of its support? These questions have been asked many times, and various answers have been suggested.

Schuerer thought that the aims of the conflict changed in 163/2 B.C. He regarded the events after that year as in the main an inner Jewish struggle for supremacy between the two Jewish parties, the strictly orthodox nationalists on the one hand and

those who welcomed Hellenic influence on the other. Religion according to Schuerer played only a minor part in this struggle; and the Seleucid government was only indirectly involved, supporting now one side, now the other.⁴⁾

According to Meyer's interpretation the settlement of 163/2 B.C. does not represent a sharp break in the sequence of events. The Maccabees in his view were from the beginning possessed of a fanatical xenophobia aiming at the forcible expulsion of the Seleucids from Judaea and the establishment of an independent state on the Biblical model. How far they were supported in this by the people at large does not emerge from his discussion. With the defeat of the rebels in 161 B.C., Meyer believed, Judaea returned to the conditions that had prevailed until the advent of Antiochus IV. The remarks of the author of 1 Maccabees quoted above ^{p. 34} (2) about the distress in Judaea at this time are not to be taken seriously; for they reflected only the hopeless state of the fanatics.⁵⁾

Bickermann believed that the vast majority of orthodox Jews were satisfied with the concessions of 163/2 B.C. By these concessions, he argues, the government had restored the body of privileges which had been granted to the Jews by Antiochus III after his conquest of Palestine in 200 B.C. and which had governed their states until they were abrogated by Antiochus IV. For the main provision of this "Seleucid Charter of Jerusalem" as Bickermann calls it elsewhere, ran:

πολιτευσθῶσαι δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρῶν νόμους . Thus after 163/2 B.C. the Maccabees fought for personal power only, having lost their popular support; the majority of the people supported the High Priest Alcimus and the government. The Maccabees owed their later rise to power solely to the external political situation which they knew how to exploit. 6)

That the struggle was to a large extent an inner Jewish struggle for supremacy is undeniable; according to the author of 1 Maccabees Seleucid intervention in the years 163-153 B.C. was always the result of appeals from within Judaea. But it can hardly be said, as Schuerer suggested, that the Seleucid government were ever impartial in this struggle. Until 153 B.C. it persistently backed the Hellenizing party and opposed the Maccabees. The truce of 159 B.C. in no wise indicates a reversal of this policy; even the reprisals against the leaders of the Hellenizing party taken at this time only mean that the government was disillusioned about their capacity to keep order. The Hellenizing party derived its main strength from the Greek πόλις which had been created in the enlarged Akra of Jerusalem; the existence of this city was ensured by the presence of a royal garrison. 7)

It was inevitable for the government to identify itself with the Hellenizing party; for the difference between the two parties went much deeper than appears from Schuerer's analysis.

There can be no doubt that the Maccabees desired nothing less than complete independence from Syrian rule. At what stage of the conflict this aim emerged we cannot say. But it is clearly discernible at the beginning of Demetrius' reign. The mere fact that Judah dared to send ambassadors to Rome in the name of the Jewish people indicates that he and his followers no longer recognised Seleucid suzerainty over Judaea; and the purpose of the embassy is made explicit by the author of 1 Maccabees in the words τοῦ ἔραι τὸν ἑγὼν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵδι εἶδον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταδουλοῦμένους τὸν Ἰσραηλ δουλεῖαν (8, 18). In these circumstances no Seleucid ruler, who was not in such dire straits that he was willing to write off Judaea altogether, could have supported the Maccabees.

The question remains: were the Maccabees merely pursuing their own private ambition while the majority of the people were ready to resume the life they had led in the first quarter of the second century B.C., or did the rebellion after 163/2 B.C. continue to be in any real sense a popular movement?

Those who like Bickermann and even Meyer³⁾ hold that the Maccabees were mere political adventurers seem to imply that in the conditions prevailing in Judaea under Demetrius I it was feasible for the status quo ante to be restored; and that but for external events it might have continued indefinitely. But there are a number of considerations which can be adduced against this assumption. It has been shown above how the Hellenizing party despite continuous government

support and successive military expeditions failed to assert its rule and crush the rebellion. Its plans to capture the leaders of the rebels were betrayed. In the guerilla warfare in the hilly country of Judaea or the semi-desert the Maccabees were always on safe ground; this suggests that the local population *supported it.*

The clearest proof for the complete break-down of the old order is provided by the strange anomaly that for seven years the Jews were without a High Priest. The High Priest apart from his religious functions which were of great importance in the service of the Temple had held considerable political and administrative power. For example he was responsible for taxation (2 Macc. 4, 8-9, 23ff.). He was in fact accepted as head of the Jews, not only by the Jews themselves but by the king who appointed him to his office (usually from within one family) and to whom (or his provincial governor) he was responsible⁹⁾. Inside Judaea there seems to have been no royal representative except the ἑπαρχος τῆς ἀκροπολεως in Jerusalem¹⁰⁾. The suspension of the office of High Priest after 159 B.C. seems to show that no candidate acceptable to the government would be tolerated by the people, that even in Jerusalem the authority of the government was incomplete - in short that a return to the old order was quite unworkable.

If one regards the success or even the mere survival as an organized group of the Maccabees at this period, the

impression is strengthened that they must have had a considerable measure of popular support. For the Maccabean leaders were not, like most of those who rebelled with even temporary success against the Seleucid empire¹¹⁾, provincial governors or even local chieftains. They cannot have had much opportunity for amassing riches; the wealthier classes among the Jews seem on the contrary to have belonged to the Hellenizing party. The Maccabees thus can have had little to offer to those who fought for them apart from the hope of booty. Indeed until the time of John Hyrkan no mercenaries were used in the Maccabean wars.

Bickermann reasoned from the fact that the Ἀσίοι at first recognised Alcimus. But they must surely have been disillusioned rather quickly by his subsequent treatment of them! He also pointed in support of his view to a passage in 2 Maccabees relating how some of Nicanor's own soldiers refused to attack Judas on one occasion because it was the Sabbath (2 Macc. 15, 2). But there is no reason to doubt that these Jews found themselves in Nicanor's army κατὰ δύναμιν, as the text has it. For the author of 2 Maccabees is throughout sympathetic to the standpoint of the extreme religious group, and in one passage he even (mistakenly) equates them with Judas's followers as a whole. Yet he seems to think the continuation of the war after 163/2 B.C. fully justified.

The chances of a lasting pacification of the Jews under Seleucid rule would probably have been slender even if the external conditions prevailing before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes had in fact returned. For a government that has attempted to do violence to the most sacred beliefs and institutions of a people is apt to become thoroughly discredited; so that a belated acknowledgement of its mistake may not be sufficient to restore the confidence it has forfeited. Probably from the very beginning of the revolt nationalist sentiment, always strong among the Jews, had been mingled with religious zeal¹²⁾. And once the government forces had been defied with impunity, success would feed the national self-confidence and ambition still further. A religious persecution that has failed is always likely to release forces going beyond ~~the~~ ^{the} religious issue¹³⁾.

But in fact there is no reason to suppose that the conditions prevailing before the time of Antiochus IV had in fact returned. The edict of Antiochus III had contained many other provisions besides the one guaranteeing the Jews the right to live under their ancestral laws. Meyer rightly remarked that the privileges of the edict were not restored, but he did not develop this important point. The narrative of 1 Maccabees up to the time of Alexander Balas contains only a few references to the economic situation of Judaea, but these indicate that there was in fact considerable hardship. The motivation given for the embassy to Rome, viz. that the Jews were being enslaved by

Seleucid rule, suggests economic exploitation

There was a severe famine; and the verse quoted above (9,27) in which the author sums up the distress of the Jews after the death of Judas may not be quite so subjective as Meyer supposed. The later chapters of 1 Maccabees, and the Seleucid letters in particular, contain a good deal of information about economic matters; and the view will be put forward that this information provides the key to an understanding of the Maccabean struggle for independence¹⁴).

Nor were the grievances of the Jews confined to material circumstances. The existence of a community practicing Greek forms of worship in the Akra of Jerusalem went against the spirit if not the letter of the edict of Antiochus III. And since priests who claimed the right to officiate at the Temple still belonged to this community there must have been frequent occasions for friction. To many orthodox Jews such a situation would be quite intolerable.

Thus there is some reason to suppose that the Maccabees represented more than a political party, that they enjoyed a wider popularity than their Hellenizing opponents, and that large sections of the people gave them a considerable measure of active or passive support. It is true that the movement could not have been successful without the intrusion of external events to weaken the structure of the Seleucid empire; but these events may not have been entirely unexpected.

The Maccabees were not alone in their hostility to the

government of Demetrius I. The events in Judaea must be seen against a background of general restlessness inside the Seleucid empire combined with threats from abroad. The usurpation of Alexander Balas was fostered from many sides, for he served as little more than a puppet for all who wished to see a weak central government in Syria. From now on and until the end of the dynasty the empire was (with one short break under Antiochus VII) torn between rival claimants to the throne; no reign was undisturbed by civil war, and no ruler could command the undivided loyalty of his subjects¹⁵⁾. In these circumstances many cities and subject peoples knew how to wrest a variety of privileges from the successive kings. The events in Judaea provide just one, though a prominent, example in this series of events.

Alexander Balas had no legitimate title to the Seleucid throne, but was passed off as a son of Antiochus IV on account of an accidental facial resemblance¹⁶⁾. He was started on his career by the king of Pergamum, who seems to have helped with an invasion of Northern Syria. Ptolemy Philometor, who probably had designs on the territory lost by Egypt in 200 B.C., was on his side. The Romans gave him their recognition. Even in the Syrian capital Demetrius had become unpopular and he was deserted by many of his own subjects. Thus his power began to crumble as soon as Alexander landed on Syrian soil.¹⁷⁾

In Judaea the new developments had immediate effects. On the one hand Demetrius was desperately short of troops; on the

other Judaea, situated above the Southern end of the road linking Ptolemais where Alexander had his headquarters (10, 1) and Egypt from where he could expect help, had once more acquired a vital strategic importance. Renewed revolt in Judaea would mean the certain loss of the whole of Palestine. To prevent this it was necessary for him to act quickly, so as to forestall his rival and pacify the militant elements among the Jews.

Hence it is natural that Demetrius took the first step. In a letter not quoted in full by the author of 1 Maccabees, the king gave Jonathan permission to recruit and equip troops and to call himself the king's ally. At the same time the hostages in the citadel were to be returned to Jonathan (10, 3-6).

As a result of this letter Jonathan was able to return to Jerusalem and to take up his residence there. The fortresses, except for Bethsura and the Akra, were evacuated (ibid 7-14).

According to our author the garrisons fled before Jonathan καὶ κατέλιπεν ἕκαστος τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν

αὐτοῦ . But it seems more likely that the king had recalled them because he needed them elsewhere, perhaps also because they were insufficient to quell a prolonged revolt without reinforcements. In the absence of the garrison the Hellenizing party stood no chance of maintaining such authority as they still possessed outside Jerusalem; hence it was inevitable that the Maccabees should once more assert themselves. In making

concessions to Jonathan the king did no more than acknowledge the inevitable.

But apparently Demetrius hoped for more than freedom from disturbance in Judaea. In giving Jonathan official permission to recruit a military force, the nucleus of which of course was in existence already, he must have intended to win over the dissatisfied and warlike elements of the Jewish population for his own cause - in other words, these Jewish troops under the leadership of Jonathan, the king's ally, were to defend Palestine against Alexander Balas.

But Demetrius's concessions were not generous enough in the circumstances. He recognised Jonathan as military chief of Judaea, but he did not meet his aspiration to become ruler of the Jews by conferring rank or honour upon him. One can only speculate on the reasons for this omission. Perhaps he felt unable to reverse so completely his past policy at one stroke, and intended to give Jonathan time to prove himself before making further concessions. He may have counted on having more time than proved to be the case. Perhaps he underestimated the seriousness of the challenge against him and hoped, like his successors, to curtail the Hasmoneans once more when the danger was past.

But Jonathan was in no way tied to the side of Demetrius through the concessions he had received, and when Alexander next proceeded to confer privileges on him he accepted them

likewise. Alexander had had no previous commitments in the country, and it was therefore easy for him to give his unqualified support to anyone who was likely to prove of value as an ally against Demetrius. We do not know whether he in fact took the initiative, as the author of 1 Maccabees implies (10, 15-17), or whether Jonathan approached him and made known his terms. At any rate Alexander wrote an official letter to Jonathan containing his concessions. This is the first Seleucid document quoted in 1 Maccabees and Document I in the commentaries, Section 3. Jonathan, appointed High Priest, donned the garments of his office in the autumn of 152 B.C. and henceforth regarded himself as the officially recognised head of the Jews (10, 21).

It would be interesting to know what attitude Demetrius took to the High Priesthood of Jonathan. The author of 1 Maccabees represents the sequel as follows: καὶ ἤκουσε Δημητριος τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐλυπήθη καὶ εἶπε, τί τοῦτο ἐποιήσαμεν ὅτι προέφθακεν ἡμᾶς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ φίλιαν καταλαβέσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς στήριγμα; γραψὼ κἀγὼ αὐτοῖς λόγους παρακλησεῶς καὶ ὕψους καὶ δομάτων, κτλ. (10, 22-24)

He then quotes the text of the letter written by Demetrius, Document 2. But in ascribing to Demetrius these motives for the letter he glosses over one important fact. Demetrius's previous letter and the letter of Alexander Balas were addressed to Jonathan personally. Document 2 is addressed to the nation of the Jews and does not so much as mention the

name of Jonathan. It is clearly designed to regain the allegiance of the people as a whole rather than to influence Jonathan directly. But the author of 1 Maccabees obviously does not want to make this difference explicit, for to do so would be to admit to the possibility that the interests of his heroes and the people might not automatically coincide.¹⁸⁾ The further implications of the peculiar form of address of Document 2 will be discussed in the commentary.¹⁹⁾

Whatever Demetrius's intentions may have been, they failed. The Jews under Jonathan's leadership threw in their lot with Alexander Balas. According to our text they mistrusted Demetrius remembering his former misdeeds,(10, 46). It may be of course that Jonathan manoeuvred them into rejecting Demetrius's proposals because he felt personally slighted by them. But it is likely enough that the majority of the Jews would feel suspicious of Demetrius, fearing that if victorious he would break his promises once more. And the weightiest consideration influencing their decision may well have been that they regarded the cause of Demetrius as already a lost one.

153-145 B.C.

Shortly after the issue of Document 2 a decisive battle was fought between the two kings, and Demetrius was killed²⁰⁾. The Jews, as far as we know, did not participate in this battle. Alexander seems to have been content with Jewish support in

Palestine.

For about four years Alexander's rule was unchallenged, and this period saw the rapid growth of Hasmonean power. Jonathan attended the wedding of Alexander and Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VI which was celebrated with great splendour at Ptolemais; and on this occasion received yet further honours from Alexander. The complaints of the Hellenizing party were of no avail (10, 57-66). It seems that they were gradually being pushed out of their remaining position in the country and confined to the Akra.

Whether the Akra enjoyed the support of Alexander or maintained itself in spite of him we cannot say. It may be that, for all his friendship towards the Hasmoneans, he desired, like his successors, to retain a foothold in Judaea. But it is also possible that, in its strong natural position, the Akra managed to continue in existence through its own resources, relying on the help of isolated friends and occasional reinforcements from outside Judaea. There is some indication that Alexander's hold on Palestine outside Judaea was never very strong²¹).

The rest of Judaea was firmly under Jonathan's control and its territory seems even to have expanded at this time²²). In addition to being High Priest he was appointed to be *στατηγός* και *μεριδάρχης* i.e. a governor of a province invested with

military command. This appointment is a measure not only of the rapid rise of Jonathan personally, but of the increasing importance of Judaea²³⁾.

In 147/6 B.C. Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, landed in Seleucid territory to claim his father's kingdom. At about the same time a certain Apollonius appeared as governor of Coele-Syria and challenged Jonathan either to submit to his authority or to meet him in battle (10, 67-73).²⁴⁾ Jonathan led his army down to the plain and defeated the forces of Apollonius; he also took the coastal cities of Joppe, Azotus and Ascalon which had been in the hands of Apollonius, but he does not seem to have occupied these cities for long. For this action he was rewarded by Alexander with the gift of Ekron, a town in the coastal plain about four miles South East of Jamne; this gift seems to be a further sign of the expansion of Judaea Northwards and into the coastal plain. At the same time Jonathan received yet further promotion in rank (ibid. 74-88).

When Philometor invaded Palestine Jonathan entered into friendly relations with him (11, 6-7). We do not know what attitude the Jews took after Ptolemy openly turned against his son-in-law. The final battle between Alexander and opponents in the year 145 B.C. was fought in Cilicia so that it is evident that the Jews could not have been concerned in it (11, 14 ff.). The author of 1 Maccabees speaks favourably of Alexander throughout.

At the beginning of Demetrius's reign we find Jonathan engaged in a bold attempt to set siege to the Akra. Naturally the Hellenizing Jews whose last refuge in the country was thus being threatened complained to the king. Jonathan was ordered to discontinue the siege and to come to Ptolemais for a conference with the king. Confident of the outcome he gave orders that the siege should be continued, while he betook himself to Ptolemais with generous presents. The first result of the meeting was that Jonathan was confirmed in the High Priesthood καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶχε τιμὰ τὸ πρότερον. Presumably the reference is to his office of στρατηγὸς καὶ μεριδάρχης. Thus Judaea's local autonomy was recognised. In token of his office Jonathan again received the customary dignity τῶν πρώτων φύλων ἡγεῖσθαι (ibid. 20-27).

The reasons for these honours to one who had defied the authority of the kings are not far to seek. The same reasons which caused Demetrius I to make peace with Jonathan in 152 B.C. were still valid seven years later. To depose Jonathan would have involved further civil war in Judaea; and those who had denounced him were in no position to rule without heavy military backing. Opposition to Demetrius II began within a few ^{months} ~~days~~ of the defeat of Alexander; he therefore could not afford to tie up his troops in Judaea. In fact he may already have calculated that Jonathan's troops might prove useful to him at some later date.

The main part of the negotiations dealt with the fiscal status of Judaea. Jonathan asked the king to make Judaea ἀφορολογητὴ and promised him 300 talents in return. The king consented, we are told. (ibid. 28/29). His grants are embodied in the letter that follows, Document 3. The Akra is not mentioned further, but it is likely that Jonathan had to abandon the siege.

145-142 B.C.

The settlement concluded between Jonathan and Demetrius II at Ptolemais was soon overtaken by the course of events. Demetrius quickly alienated his Greek subjects by relying exclusively on Cretan forces (11, 38). A tense situation developed in the capital and Demetrius was forced to ask Jonathan for troops to put down a revolt. This operation, in which the Jewish forces apparently spread terror over the citizens of Antioch, is vividly described by Josephus (Ant. xiii, 135-142). In return Demetrius had to make yet further concessions to the Jews. In particular he repeated the promise, already made by his father in Document 2, of evacuating the Akra (11, 41-42)²⁵.

But this promise was never fulfilled, for immediately after these events the association between the Jews and Demetrius II came to an end. According to 1 Maccabees Demetrius broke his word and turned against Jonathan. The reasons for the

break are examined on p. 149 ff. In 145 B.C., i.e. in the same year in which Alexander died, his son Antiochus VI Dionysus appeared as claimant to the Seleucid throne. Antiochus was only an infant at the time; the real power behind him was Diodotus nicknamed Tryphon who had been an important minister in the time of Alexander. For the next few years the empire was divided, Demetrius held Cilicia (Jos. Ant. xiii, 145) and the East, Antiochus was established in Syria with his capital at Antioch (ii, 54-56). In an important letter which is only briefly summarised in 1 Maccabees he confirmed Jonathan in the High Priesthood and appointed him "over the four provinces," adding the customary tokens of rank (ii, 57-58). The meaning and extent of Jonathan's appointment are discussed at length on pp. 121-124. At the same time Antiochus appointed Jonathan's brother Simon governor from the "ladder of Tyre" to the borders of Egypt (ii, 59). This means in effect, that Simon was governor over the whole of the coastal plain (παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν) of Palestine²⁶).

The function of the Hasmonians was clearly to keep Demetrius out of Palestine, from where he might have derived revenue and which might serve him as a base for attacking Tryphon from the South. Thus through the division of the Seleucid empire the Hasmonians had virtually a free hand in Palestine for a brief space of time and they were not slow to use their opportunity.

Demetrius undertook two campaigns against Jonathan²⁷⁾, neither of which was successful. On both occasions Jonathan met his forces in the North, once in Galilee (11, 63ff.), the second time near Hamath in the satrapy of Apamea (12, 24 ff.), i.e. well beyond the borders even of Phoenicia; Demetrius never reached Judaea.

Simon meanwhile had reduced Bethsura the last Syrian garrison in Judaea outside the Akra (11, 65-66). He then took a march round the fortresses in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, entered Joppe (which Jonathan had already briefly occupied a few years earlier) and placed a garrison there. According to 1 Maccabees he did so because he had heard that the place was to be handed over to Demetrius (12, 33-34). It may be that an attack from the sea was indeed to be feared. But whatever the real reason for his action may have been, it was of the greatest significance for the future. As governor of the coastal region Simon was no doubt perfectly entitled to place a garrison wherever he thought it was necessary. But the garrison in Judaea was a Jewish one, and the practical effect was that Joppe was gradually being annexed to Judaea itself. A few years later when Tryphon had become the Jews' enemy and there was renewed warfare in Palestine, the pagan inhabitants of Joppe were driven out and it became a Jewish city (13, 11)²⁸⁾.

Meanwhile Jonathan also took very important measures in

both internal and foreign policy. In the first place, he began work on a system of fortifications to safeguard Judaea from future invasion. Second, he seems to have re-constituted the assembly which in the past had advised the High Priest on all important measures. Third, he sent ambassadors to renew friendship with Rome and to visit a number of other countries, with the object, it seems, of enlisting support for the new High Priesthood.²⁹⁾

In the autumn of 143 B.C. Jonathan's career was suddenly cut short. Tryphon marched into Palestine as far as Bethshan. Jonathan apparently suspected his intentions, for he went to meet him with an army of forty thousand men. But Tryphon succeeded in allaying his suspicion with the help of gifts and honours; and by promising to surrender Ptolemais to him lured him into that city unattended except for a thousand men. For once Jonathan's diplomatic sense seems to have deserted him. Perhaps he had hoped to bluff Tryphon or to repeat the success of his visit to Ptolemais only two years previously. But as soon as he had entered the town, the gates were closed, he was taken captive and his men were killed (12, 39-48).

The rest of his army mostly got away, but for the moment Judaea was in great danger, with enemies rising up against her all round (12, 49-53). Tryphon moved South hoping "to come into the land of Judaea and destroy it utterly" (13, 12-13). But meanwhile Simon had been acclaimed leader by his people in

to Tryphon altogether. Beyond this we cannot say about

succession to his brother (13, 1-11), and he encamped against Tryphon. Tryphon sent ambassadors to him claiming that Jonathan had been captured because he owed money to the king's treasury, and demanding a hundred talents as well as Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Simon complied, but Jonathan was not released and Tryphon continued his march against Judaea (13, 14-19). Simon's army confronted him at every point of entry into Judaea, and a heavy fall of snow eventually induced him to give up his attempt altogether. He withdrew but killed Jonathan (13, 20-24)³⁰). Of course Simon lost his command of the coastal region, which, with the exception of Joppe, was presumably re-occupied by Tryphon. It is unlikely that Simon tried to defend it.

The motives behind Tryphon's action are somewhat obscure. The reason given by 1 Maccabees for his action is that he feared Jonathan might not allow him to carry out his plan of doing away with the child Antiochus VI and assuming the crown himself³¹). But it is hardly likely that Jonathan would have actively intervened in the affairs of Syria or attacked Tryphon unprovoked. The real reason for Tryphon's treachery was presumably that Jonathan had become too independent a subordinate. The fortification of Judaea, which might be directed against Tryphon as well as Demetrius; the siege of the Akra; the default of tribute, and above all the embassy to Rome - all these might be signs that Jonathan was on the point of severing his vassalage to Tryphon altogether. Beyond this we cannot say along what

lines his diplomacy was working. It is quite possible that he would have used the impending murder of the legal king as a pretext for breaking away from Antioch. It may even be that Roman recognition was intended to serve as a preamble for a change of allegiance; for Demetrius was by now in such a desperate position that he might have accepted Jonathan's terms for an alliance. But was Tryphon under the impression that Simon would content himself with the High Priesthood and his other office and would prove a more amenable vassal than his brother? Or was he hoping that the chaos after Jonathan's capture would really enable him to destroy Jewish power once and for all? And why did he never repeat his attempted invasion of Judaea?

After Tryphon's departure Simon acted quickly. He completed the fortifications of Judaea, intending apparently to negotiate "from a position of strength" (13, 33). When this was done he sent ambassadors to Demetrius and secured a treaty which guaranteed the Jews complete independence in internal matters (13, 34 ff.). The text of Demetrius's concessions is embodied in Document 4.

The date of this document is May 142 B.C.³²). It will be seen that less than three years had elapsed since the earlier treaty with Demetrius II, Document 3; but this short period of time had seen a complete transformation in the political position of Palestine.

142-134 B.C.

Shortly after the conclusion of the settlement with Demetrius, the important town of Gazara in the coastal plain was taken by Simon. It seems that with the expansion of the Jewish population North Westwards this town had become an isolated pocket of paganism within predominantly Jewish territory. Simon now drove out the inhabitants and replaced them with Jews. Gazara became the residence of his son John Hyrkan (13,43-48,53).

Finally in the spring of 141 B.C. almost exactly a year after the treaty with Demetrius the Akra succumbed after a prolonged siege. The authority of the Hasmoneans now extended over the whole territory of Judaea (13,49-52). We do not know how Demetrius reacted to these encroachments on his power; for in the year 141/140 B.C. he undertook a campaign in the East and shortly afterwards was captured by Arsaces.

The satisfaction felt in Judaea at the achievement of the past years and the great prestige enjoyed by Simon, expressed itself in the Decree in honour of Simon, Document 9. Two other documents falling within the High Priesthood of Simon are a letter from Sparta, *No. 8*, and the Roman circular, *No. 6*.

In 139 B.C. Antiochus VII brother of Demetrius II arrived in Syria to drive out Tryphon and claim the throne (15,10). Before landing he wrote to Simon confirming existing Jewish privileges and even adding to them (15,1 ff.).

His letter, Document 5, is chronologically the last document in 1 Maccabees, and thus properly concludes the present survey. But the sequel which is closely connected with the subject of his letter must be briefly sketched.

At first relations between Antiochus VII and Simon seem to have been good. But when victory over Tryphon was in sight the king turned his attention to Palestine in an effort to curb the expansion of Hasmonean power. He confronted Simon with a demand for Joppa, Gazara and the Akra of Jerusalem, and when Simon refused to comply he commanded Gendebaus, the new governor of the *παράλια* to reduce Judaea. But Gendebaus, was defeated in the plain by John Hyrkan, operating from Gazara. Shortly afterwards Simon was murdered by his own son-in-law and succeeded by his son John Hyrkan (15, 255-16, 23). Antiochus now made a fresh attempt to conquer Judaea, invading the country himself. This time he was successful, and after a siege of Jerusalem, Hyrkan was forced to surrender.

But the most remarkable feature of the settlement that followed is that the Jews lost comparatively little of their new rights and acquisitions. They had to pay a fairly high indemnity and the recently-erected walls of Jerusalem were rased. But the Jewish territory remained uncurtailed and the Jews kept their internal independence.

APPENDIX

THE ROMAN TREATY
OF THE TIME OF JUDAS

APPENDIX

THE ROMAN TREATY OF THE TIME OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS

I Macc. 8, vv. 23-32

- 23 Καλῶς γένοιτο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ θαλάσ-
ση καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ ἐχθρὸς μα-
24 κρυνθείη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ ἐνστή πόλεμος Ῥώμῃ προτέρα ἢ πᾶσιν
25 τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κυριείᾳ αὐτῶν, συμμαχήσει τὸ
ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ὑπογράφη αὐτοῖς, καρδίᾳ
26 πλήρει· καὶ τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν οὐ δώσουσιν οὐδὲ ἐπαρκέσουσιν
σίτον, ὄπλα, ἀργύριον, πλοῖα, ὡς ἔδοξεν Ῥώμῃ· καὶ φυλάξονται
27 τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτῶν οὐθὲν λαβόντες. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐὰν ἔθνει
Ἰουδαίων συμβῇ προτέροις πόλεμος, συμμαχήσουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
28 ἐκ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς ὑπογράφη· καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῦσιν
οὐ δοθήσεται σῖτος, ὄπλα, ἀργύριον, πλοῖα, ὡς ἔδοξεν Ῥώμῃ·
29 καὶ φυλάξονται τὰ φυλάγματα ταῦτα καὶ οὐ μετὰ δόλου. - κατὰ
τοῦς λόγους τούτους οὕτως ἔστησαν Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
30 ἐὰν δὲ μετὰ τοῦς λόγους τούτους βουλευσῶνται οὗτοι καὶ οὗτοι
προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, ποιήσονται ἐξ αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν, καὶ ὃ ἂν
31 προσθῶσιν ἢ ἀφέλωσιν, ἔσται κύρια. καὶ περὶ τῶν κακῶν, ὧν ὁ
βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος συντελεῖται εἰς αὐτούς, ἐγράψαμεν αὐτῷ λέ-
γοντες Διὰ τί ἐβάρυνας τὸν ζυγὸν σου ἐπὶ τοῦς φίλους ἡμῶν τοῦς
32 συμμάχους Ἰουδαίους; ἐὰν οὖν ἔτι ἐντύχωσιν κατὰ σοῦ, ποιήσομεν
αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν καὶ πολεμήσομέν σε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ διὰ

τῆς ἑρπᾶς.

The treaty with Rome at the time of Judas Maccabaeus will not be the subject of a separate commentary, since it falls outside the period to be treated in this thesis. It has been discussed at length by Roth, and especially Taeubler³³. The results of Taeubler's work will be briefly summarized because they have an important bearing on the question of the authenticity of this document.

Taeubler subjected the document to a detailed analysis within the framework of a study of Roman treaties in general. As a result he was able to restore throughout the technical terms which had been obscured by the double translation. He also showed that the date assigned to the treaty in I Maccabees is amply supported by internal evidence; the document exhibits an abundant use of stereotyped formulas, which in later times were much reduced.

V.23 is a provision of general nature stating the fact of a treaty of friendship and alliance. Vv.24, 25 state the duty of the Jews to aid Rome and her allies when attacked; v.26 forbids the Jews to give material aid to Rome's enemies. Vv.27, 28 lay down Roman obligations towards the Jews which are the exact counterparts of the

Jews' obligations towards Rome. The view of previous commentators who had regarded the conditions of the treaty as heavily weighted in favour of Rome is emphatically disproved. Finally v.30 (29 being a note inserted by the author of I Maccabees) provides for amendment. The contents of the document thus correspond entirely to the scheme for treaties of friendship and alliance as outlined by Taeubler elsewhere³⁴; the only remarkable points being first the absence of a clause prohibiting either side to grant right of passage through its territory to the enemies of the other, and second the order of clauses. The latter is probably due to the method of voting in the Senate. For this document is nothing but the copy of a senatus consultum, as is clearly shown by the formula ὡς ἔδοξε τῷ βουλῆ in vv.26 and 28, which is not properly part of the text of the treaty but stands for the original Latin "censuere" and records the fact of a vote by the Senate. That the treaty was concluded by the Senate alone is further shown not only by the introductory narrative but by the absence of the oath and the presence of a postscript. For vv.31 and 32, which are addressed to the Jews directly (Taeubler reads δὲ μὲν instead of αὐτοῖς in 31) and inform them of Rome's intervention with Demetrius, are part of the treaty and also go back to a decree of the Senate.

Taeubler believes that Judas was killed before Rome's

Rome's letter to Demetrius could take effect. Moreover, a treaty concluded by the Senate only (there are several parallels for this procedure) did not have the same absolute validity as one concluded by the people; it could be terminated at will by either party, a fact which may help to explain Rome's inaction after Judas's death. But as the resistance of the Maccabees came practically to a standstill after the battle of Elasa (cf. text p. 34), and the treaty in any case contained the saving formula $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu \delta \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \upsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$, the Romans were certainly under no obligation to avenge the death of Judas. Two years later Rome recognized Demetrius and thus renewed the friendship with the Seleucid throne; she was now no longer in a position to recognize as independent, territories within the Seleucid kingdom.

As regards the introductory narrative to the treaty by the author of I Maccabees, Taeubler believes that the curious statement in v.16 that the Romans annually chose one man to rule them may reflect the fact that only one consul, who had conducted the negotiations, was named at the head of the letter. Similarly the figure of 320 Senators in v.15 probably corresponds to the number present during the negotiations. The statement in v.22 that the text of the treaty was inscribed on brass tablets which were handed to the Jewish ambassadors also corresponds to

Roman practice. But the author fails to mention, as Josephus knew (cf. Ant. 12, 416) that the Romans would make out an identical copy for themselves to be deposited in the Capitol.

An attempt has recently been made by Sordi to show that this introductory narrative, the eulogy of Rome, must have been written in the first few years of the reign of John Hyrkan. The writer argues that the list of Rome's victories, which stops at the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. (v. 10) and is thus anachronistic for the time of Judas, is in fact brought right up to the time of the author of the narrative. Moreover the remarks about the orderliness of Roman civic life (v. 16) could not have been written, according to Sordi, after the Gracchic revolution of 133 B.C. ³⁵

We possess supporting evidence for the Judaeo-Roman treaty of 161 B.C. in a document preserved by Josephus though quoted in the wrong context (Ant. 14, 233). It is in the form of a letter of safe-conduct for a Jewish embassy by a Consul C. Fannius and mentions a senatus consultum in favour of the Jews. Niese has shown on the basis of the Fasti Consulares that this letter must be dated 161 B.C. ³⁶

DOCUMENT I

ALEXANDER BALAS TO JONATHAN

I Macc. 10, vv. 18-20

DOCUMENT I

ALEXANDER BALAS TO JONATHAN

I Macc. 10, vv. 18-20

18/19 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωναθαν χαίρειν. ἀκηκόαμεν
περὶ σου ὅτι ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἰσχύι καὶ ἐπιτήδειος εἶ τοῦ εἶναι
20 ἡμῶν φίλος. καὶ νῦν καθεστάκαμέν σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ
ἔθνους σου καὶ φίλον βασιλέως καλεῖσθαί σε (καὶ ἀπέστειλεν
αὐτῷ κορφύραν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν) καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ
συντηρεῖν φιλίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

Introductory Note

This short note is in rather a different category from the other Seleucid letters in I Maccabees. It is addressed to Jonathan alone; the contents do not deal with the status of the Jewish people at all. The letter is thus a purely personal communication (and not of a kind of which we would expect analogies to be preserved on stone). The Hasmoneans probably kept it in their archive since it was the earliest official document relating to their High Priesthood.

The very moderation of the contents as Momigliano has pointed out, particularly when compared with those of

Document 2, should rule out any suspicion of forgery¹.

A forger would have made both letters equally extravagant in their offers. But the difference between them corresponds entirely to the different situations from which they derive.

v.18. The title of ἀδελφός applied to Jonathan is a form of diplomatic courtesy. It is also found in Document 3. Official titles were not normally used in Hellenistic letters, but courtesy titles formed an exception to this rule².

v.19. The king's grant is, as always, preceded by a remark on the reasons for it, i.e. the merits of the persons or community thus honoured. The words δυνωτός ἰσχύι translate a very common Biblical idiom³. The original Greek probably had something like καλοκαγαθία διαφέρων. The following words may be just an expression of courtesy, or they may allude to a community of interest that Alexander presumed to exist between Jonathan and himself.

v.20. καὶ νῦν is not to be taken in a temporal sense, but implies, as often in the Septuagint, "in these circumstances", "therefore" (= διὸ or διὰ ταῦτα)⁵. In the original the motivation (v.19) may have been expressed as a subordinate clause dependent on v.20.

To mark his new importance Jonathan is appointed "to be called Friend of the King"⁶. This phrase, here as distinct from the last part of the preceding verse, expresses more than a mere compliment. It denotes an official title which raised the man on whom it was conferred to the rank of courtier. The φίλος βασιλέως not only stood in a special relationship to the king, to whom he had free access and whom he was expected to attend on occasion; he belonged to a corps of people similarly honoured, the φίλων σύνταγμα which was a typical institution of the Seleucid empire. Its roots apparently go back to the Macedonian constitution. On state occasions such as public festivals, the φίλων σύνταγμα would appear in a body. Probably it was for a similar function that Alexander summoned Jonathan to Ptolemais at the time of his wedding to Cleopatra.

The purple robe which the king is said to have sent Jonathan was the regular emblem of the King's Friends, and was usually given to him by the king himself. Commoners were not allowed to wear it. A φίλος in disgrace might be publicly divested of it⁷. The golden crown was also a mark of distinction, and in the Hellenistic monarchies special permission was needed to wear it. We hear in particular of priests who enjoyed the privilege of χρυσοφορία which appears to have been regarded as a tribute to the god to be worn on the occasion of worship⁸.

The words which appear in the middle of the text, καὶ ἀπεστειλεν αὐτῷ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν are of course a gloss inserted to enable the reader to visualise Jonathan's new dignity⁹. It is possible, though by no means a necessary assumption, that the statement is false, since from v.62 below we gain the impression that Jonathan did not receive the purple robe until the king's wedding three years later. But whether true or not, these words do not affect the value of the letter in the slightest degree; Willrich's criticism of the passage is petty and irrelevant¹⁰.

The title of φίλος βασιλέως according to Bickermann was the lowest in a hierarchy of titles; of which four are known to us: φίλος, φίλος τιμώμενος, πρῶτος φίλος, πρῶτος καὶ προτιμώμενος φίλος. At Ptolemais Alexander raised Jonathan in status καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ τῶν πρώτων φίλων (v.65). (The genitive clearly indicates membership of a formal body) Thus Jonathan seems to have jumped one stage. Incidentally the conferment of a new title might account for a second investiture.

The φίλος βασιλέως was associated with a particular monarch and lost his title with the end of that monarch's reign. But Jonathan succeeded in winning recognition from subsequent rulers, and quite naturally received similar

ranks from them. Demetrius II ἐποίησεν αὐτόν τῶν πρώτων φέλων ἡγεῖσθαι (I Macc. 11, 27); and Antiochus VI followed suit (ibid. 57).

Ranking above the φέλοι according to Bickermann were the men called by the king συγγενής, τροφεύς or σύντροφος, who bore their titles individually and did not form a corps. The first is a Persian heritage, while the other two are probably of Macedonian origin. It seems that Alexander raised Jonathan to the status of "kinship" in 147 B.C., after he had defeated Apollonius, general of Demetrius II. The king sent him a clasp of gold ὡς ἔθος ἔστιν δίδουσαι τοῖς συγγενέσιν τῶν βασιλέων (I Macc. 10, 89). Another distinction of the kinsman was the right to drink from a gold goblet. Jonathan received this right from Antiochus VI: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ χρυσῶματα καὶ διακονίαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν πίνειν ἐν χρυσῶμασιν καὶ εἶναι ἐν ποφεύρῳ καὶ ἔχειν κόρην χρυσοῦν.

The title of ἀδελφός with which Alexander addresses Jonathan in this letter does not imply official "kinship" with the king; according to Bickermann it is applied to Jonathan by virtue of his function as High Priest.

Thanks to I Maccabees we possess more information about the titles of Jonathan than about those of any other dignitary in the Hellenistic age. Thus Bickermann speaks

of the cursus honorum of Jonathan¹².

For the curious construction καθεστάκαμέν τε σήμεραν ἀρχιερέα. . . καὶ φρονεῖν. . . καὶ συντηρεῖν, Abel compares Jeremiah 1, 10: καθέστακά σε σήμεραν ἐπὶ ἔθνη. . . ἐκριζοῦν καὶ κατασκάπτειν. . . There seems to be a zeugma, perhaps due to the fact that the same Hebrew word can mean to appoint and to command. It is possible, however, that the infinitives φρονεῖν, συντηρεῖν are to be interpreted in the imperative sense.

The expression τῷ τινος φρονεῖν is used already by Classical authors with the meaning "to be of someone's party", "to make common cause with someone"¹³.

For συντηρεῖν cf. p. The expression διατηρεῖν φίλιν is found in Welles, 14, 8.

DOCUMENT 2

DEMETRIUS I TO THE JEWS

I Macc. 10, 26-45

DOCUMENT 2

DEMETRIUS I TO THE JEWS

I Macc. 10, 26-45

25/26 Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ
συνετηρήσατε τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκας καὶ ἐνεμείνατε τῇ φιλίῳ
ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ προσεχωρήσατε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν, ἠκούσαμεν καὶ
27 ἐχάρημεν. καὶ νῦν ἐμμείνατε ἔτι τοῦ συντηρῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πί-
στιν, καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθὰ ἀνθ' ὧν ποιεῖτε μεθ' ἡμῶν.
28/9 καὶ ἀφήσομεν ὑμῖν ἀφέματα πολλὰ καὶ δώσομεν ὑμῖν δόματα. καὶ
νῦν ἀπολύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀφήμι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων
30 καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἀλὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων, / καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρί-
του τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμίσου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξυλίνου τοῦ
ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι λαβεῖν ἀφήμι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ ἐπέκεινα
τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ γῆς Ἰουδα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν νομῶν τῶν προστιθε-
μένων αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
31 ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. καὶ Ἱερὺσαλημ ἔστω ἅγια καὶ
32 ἀφειμένη καὶ τὰ ὄρια αὐτῆς, αἱ δεκάται καὶ τὰ τέλη. ἀφήμι καὶ
τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Ἱερὺσαλημ καὶ δίδωμι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ,
ὅπως ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκλέξῃται, τοῦ
33 φυλάσσειν αὐτήν. καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν Ἰουδαίων τὴν αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν
ἀπὸ γῆς Ἰουδα εἰς πᾶσαν βασιλείαν μου ἀφήμι ἐλευθέραν ὄρωεάν.
34 καὶ πάντες ἀφιέτωσαν τοὺς φόρους καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ πᾶ-
σαι αἱ ἑορταὶ καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ νουμηνίαι καὶ ἡμέραι

ἀποδείξει γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ ἑορτῆς καὶ τρεῖς μετὰ
 ἑορτῆν ἔστωσαν πάσαι ἡμέραι ἀτελείας καὶ ἀφέσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς
 35 Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, / καὶ οὐχ ἔξει ἐξουσίαν
 οὐδεὶς πράσσειν καὶ παρενοχλεῖν τινα αὐτῶν περὶ παντὸς πράγμα-
 36 τος. καὶ προγραφήτωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ βασι-
 λέως εἰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς ξένια,
 37 ὡς καθήκει πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ κατασταθή-
 σεται ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς μεγάλοις,
 καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσονται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν
 εἰς πίστιν· καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔστωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ
 πορευέσθωσαν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν, καθὰ καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 38 ἐν γῇ Ἰουδα. καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
 ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἑαμαρείας προστεθήτω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ λογισθῆ-
 ναι τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἑνα τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ' ἢ
 39 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Πτολεμαῖδα καὶ τὴν προσκυροῦσαν αὐτῇ δέδωκα δόμα
 τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολαίμῃ εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν δαπάνην τοῖς
 40 ἁγίοις. καὶ γὰρ δίδωμι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτώ κέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων
 ἀργυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν ἀνηκόντων.
 41 καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλεονάζον, ὃ οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν ἀπὸ τῶν χρειῶν ὡς ἐν τοῖς
 42 πρώτοις ἔτεσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δώσουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ οἴκου. καὶ
 ἐπὶ τούτοις πεντακισχιλίους σίκλους ἀργυρίου, οὓς ἐλάμβανον ἀπὸ
 τῶν χρειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφί-
 43 εται διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουργοῦσιν. καὶ
 ὅσοι ἐὰν φύγῃσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν

τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτοῦ ὀφείλων βασιλικὰ καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα, ἀπολελύσθω-
 44 σαν καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου. καὶ τοῦ
 οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ ἐπικαινισθῆναι τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἡ δα-
 45 πάνη δοθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆ-
 ναι τὰ τεῖχη Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ὀχυρῶσαι κυκλόθεν, καὶ ἡ δαπάνη
 δοθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὰ
 τεῖχη ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ.

Introductory Note

This is the longest of the Seleucid documents in I Maccabees, and at the same time the one on which most doubts have been cast by modern scholars. In part these doubts have been due to the fact that the document remained without results, an argument which has already been discussed in ~~xxx~~ Section I. Other objections will be discussed in this commentary¹.

One peculiarity not noticed so far by the commentators is that after the introductory remarks the royal "we" is abandoned; from v.29 onwards the king speaks of himself in the first person.

v.25. Bickermann² has collected a number of passages in official documents where the Jews are addressed or referred to as ἔθνος; the edict of Antiochus IV πολιτευέσθαι οὐκ
 δε παντες, ἔκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρῶους νόμους (Jos.
 οἱ

Ant. 12, 142); the letter of Antiochus V to Lysias αἰρούμενοι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εκτὸς παραχῆς εἶναι (II Macc. 11, 25); documents ~~11~~ 13, 17, 14, 25 (I Macc. (8, 23)) 11, 30, 33; 12, 6; 13, 36; 15, 2); and Jos. Ant. 14, 248; 20, 20. Strabo XVI 749 mentions four ἔθνη who were intermingled with the Coele-Syrians and Phoenicians: Jews, Idumaeans, Gazaeans and Azotians.

The concept of ἔθνος implied a certain political organization. In the famous edict of Smyrna Seleucus wrote, concerning a sanctuary in the city, πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς (probably external) καὶ δυναστὰς καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη³. The characteristic of the ἔθνος, according to Bickermann, was an aristocratic form of government as distinct from the democratic constitution of the πόλις. The term was applied to "Oriental peoples who were governed by native chiefs and leaders"⁴. Thus the ἔθνος of the Jews was governed by the High Priest of Jerusalem, ἀγροῦσα and some other priests, and enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy within the satrapy of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, of which administratively it formed a part.

Originally the concept of ἔθνος had denoted both an ethnic and a geographic unit, since the Persian satrapies were subdivided according to ethnic groupings. But by the second century B.C. Jewish communities had spread over many parts of Palestine which lay outside Judaea. These

were not included in the term ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, which denoted the people only insofar as they lived within the territory of the motherland, in Jerusalem and the villages depending on it⁵. The status of Diaspora Jews seems to have been regulated according to individual agreements between the communities and cities where they lived. It is possible, however, that a few of the privileges in the present letter apply to Jews living outside Judaea⁶.

The form of address of this letter, i.e. simply τῷ ἔθνει, without specification of some particular organization, is remarkable. We do not know how the document was made known. Presumably it was displayed in a prominent position in Jerusalem, or proclaimed at a public assembly.

The reason why the king chose this mode of address can only be that, in the abnormal conditions prevailing in Judaea at the time, there was no officially recognized authority to which he might turn. A parallel that at once suggests itself is the letter written by Lysias in the year 164 B.C. and addressed τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων (II Macc. 11, 17). The purpose of the letter is to come to an understanding with the former rebels, some of whom had approached Lysias. The High Priest or Gerousia apparently did not take part in the negotiations.

In 153 B.C. there probably was no Gerousia, and there

certainly was no-one whom Demetrius could address as High Priest⁷. For his government had not made an appointment to this office since the death of Alcimus seven years previously; and it must not be forgotten that Jonathan had been made High Priest by Demetrius's rival; hence Demetrius could not have simply recognized him as such. Of course it would have been quite possible for Demetrius formally to confer the High Priesthood on Jonathan at the same time as making these concessions. In fact he seems to have carefully avoided doing so. The office of High Priest is mentioned twice in the letter (vv.32, 38), both times without the mention of a name; and Jonathan's name does not occur in the letter at all.

Meyer remarks that the letter assumes the recognition of Jonathan as High Priest but avoids making it explicit⁸. But this conclusion is very doubtful. The letter rather makes the impression that Demetrius is being deliberately non-committal. The implication may be that the powers of the High Priesthood mentioned in the letter will belong to Jonathan if he makes common cause with Demetrius, (i.e. if he agrees to supply the troops required by Demetrius). In other words, Demetrius may have simply deferred his recognition of Jonathan until the latter's attitude became known. But the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that Jonathan was regarded as already committed to Alexander Balas, and

that Demetrius intended to support a rival candidate for the High Priesthood. In any case the king's concessions were designed primarily to appeal to the people; his intentions with regard to their leaders must remain doubtful.

Josephus, in his desire to improve on the text, missed the point and made Demetrius address the letter to Jonathan (Ant. 13, 48). Grimm was the first to point out that the fact that this letter is not addressed to Jonathan is one of the sure signs of its authenticity.

v.26. The opening remarks in which Demetrius acknowledges the Jews' loyalty strike us at first as surprising. But they contain no real difficulty; for they are little more than a conventional formula introducing and justifying the concessions. In the words of Welles: "Emphasis on the city's loyalty to the dynasty and its gratitude to its benefactors is a commonplace in Hellenistic diplomacy" ⁹. Thus Antiochus III writes to the people of Erythiae ἀπολογισαμένοι περὶ τε τῆς εὐνοίας ἣν διὰ παντός εἰσχήκατε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκίαν καὶ καθολοῦ περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ πλήθους ἧ χρῆται πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτλ. (Welles 15, 6ff.), and other examples occur in Welles 22, 34, 48, 71 etc. The phrasing exhibits conventional usage in spite of the double translation. Thus one might compare

Welles 71, 4 ff. Σελευκεῖς τοῦς ἐν Πιερῖα. . . τῶ πατρὶ
ἡμῶν προσκληρωθέντας καὶ τῆν[πρὸς αὐτῶν] εὐν οἶαν μέχρι
τέλους βεβαίαν συντηρησάν[τας ἐμμελναν]τας δὲ καὶ τῆ πρὸς
ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργία. . .

The verb
συντηρεῖν, a Hellenistic compound meaning to "keep safe",
"preserve", is a favourite with the translator of I Maccabees,
particularly for the documents¹⁰; cf. 10, 20 (Document 1);
11, 33 (Document 3); 14, 35 (Document 8).

Whether Demetrius's remarks in the present context correspond to the facts or not is fairly irrelevant; the king could hardly have granted such far-reaching concessions as those that follow without representing them as a reward for loyalty. But it should also be remembered that the majority of the Jewish people, to whom this letter is addressed, may never have been actively disloyal to Demetrius; and even the Hasmonians had not been in open conflict with the king for seven years before the date of this letter. There is little reason to doubt the testimony of I Maccabees that the Jews decided to throw in their lot with Alexander only after they had received Demetrius' letter. But the words οὐ προσεχωρήσατε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν may well go beyond the bounds of convention. They seem to express Demetrius's fear of what may happen any day.

The syntax ἐπεὶ συντηρήσατε. . . ἠκούσαμεν is clearly

due to the double translation.

v. 27. Exhortation to continued loyalty is another conventional feature, e.g. Welles 63, 10/11: καλῶς οἶν [ποῖήσετε διαφυλάσσοντες τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, or II Macc. 11, 19: εἰδὼν μὲν οἶν συντηρήσατε τὴν εἰς τὰ πράγματα εὐνοίαν. But, again, the circumstances in which they are written probably charge Demetrius's words with a special meaning. In the same way the kingly promise of reward is couched in more intimate terms than is usual. The king is in fact proposing something like a quid pro quo. The Jews were confronted with an immediate decision on whether or not to give the king continued loyalty (and substantial support, cf. on vv. 36, 37); hence the king's promises of rewards were also immediate and concrete.

v. 28. The promises of the king are twofold: ἀφέματα or exemptions from taxes and other obligations, and δόματα or special favours and gifts to the temple at Jerusalem. The first of these covers vv. 29-35, the second vv. 38-45. The two intervening verses contain an important royal request which is couched in terms of yet another favour. The idoms ἀφίεναὶ ἀφέματα and δίδοναὶ δόματα are literal translations reflecting Hebrew usage.

The distinction between concessions to the people and gifts to the divinity, i.e. the sanctuary, is also found in the inscriptions, where φιλόνομα is the technical term for the first and τιμια for the second¹¹.

v.29. καὶ νῦν does not mean "for the present", as it is usually translated and as Josephus seems to have understood it. For the long catalogue of concessions that follows can hardly be understood as merely the first instalment of Demetrius's favours. Rather καὶ νῦν is here used to indicate that the writer is passing from the general to the particular, that he is coming to the point¹². But it should be emphasized that the concessions that follow are still in the stage of promises whose implementation would depend partly on the Jews decision to support Demetrius, partly on the king's victory¹³: This fact explains why the letter, in contrast to document 3, contains no reference to the procedure by which the concessions were to be put in practice. It may also, perhaps, be the reason why from this verse onwards the royal "we" is dropped in favour of the first person. This is to be a private bargain between the king and the Jewish people. It is not impossible that some of the clauses were communicated orally by the king's ambassadors.

The first set of exemptions covers taxes described as

φόροι, τιμή τοῦ δλός and στέφανοι. A striking parallel to this group is found in the edict of Antiochus III, among whose provisions we read¹⁴: ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἱεροψάλται ὧν ὑπερ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι κατ' τοῦ στεφάνιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν δλῶν (Jos. Ant. 12, 142). This

passage must therefore help us to elucidate some of the difficulties of the verse under review. The three taxes will be discussed in order.

1). Φόροι. The word φόρος denotes "tax" in the most general sense of the word, and can be applied to all types of taxes from the largest to the smallest. When used in the singular it usually refers to the tribute, i.e. the fixed sum imposed as an annual collective obligation on cities and other quasi-autonomous communities¹⁵. In the plural this sense is very rare¹⁶; usually the meaning is much vaguer and the word seems to cover a number of unspecified taxes¹⁷.

In the present passage the sense of φόροι is clearly not tribute. For a collective tax would hardly be mentioned in one breath with the crown and salt taxes which, as we know from the passage from the edict of Antiochus III quoted above, was paid by individuals. In fact the phrase παντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους at the beginning of the verse under review also seems to imply that an individual

obligation is meant. The parallel with the edict of Antiochus III strongly suggests that the φόροι in our passage are equivalent to the taxes there termed ὑπέρ τῆς κεφαλῆς and usually translated as poll-tax¹⁸.

The existence of such a tax in the Seleucid empire is attested by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, a work from the third century B.C. which is one of our main sources of information about early Hellenistic finance, particularly in Asia¹⁹. Enumerating the various sources of revenue of the "satrapical" economy (i.e. state taxes), the writer mentions as the last: ἐκτὴ δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπικεφάλαιον τε καὶ χειρωνόξιον προσαγορευομένη (Oecon. 2, 6).

The alternative name for this tax, χειρωνόξιον, indicates that we are dealing not with a flat poll-tax such as the Romans imposed on non-citizens in Egypt and elsewhere, but with taxes levied on property, licences for the exercise of a trade or profession, etc.²⁰ It is likely, of course, that the tax would have been referred to by a more precise term than φόροι in the original version of the letter.

Josephus in his paraphrase of the letter adds in a later place: καὶ ὑπέρ κεφαλῆς ἐκλάστης δ' ἔδει μοι δεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρέας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιας, τοῦτου περαχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα (Ant. 13,50).
χρόνον.

Josephus seems to have arrived at this strange conclusion partly through a misunderstanding of v.30, the phrasing of which is indeed awkward²¹. His insertion of the poll-tax in this place seems to be best accounted for by assuming that he is projecting conditions familiar from his own time into the second century B.C. We know that the Romans had imposed a particularly heavy poll-tax in Judaea, which was regarded by the Jews as one of their chief burdens.²²

Willrich used the mention of the poll-tax as one of his main arguments against the authenticity of the document²³. He assumed that the tax did not exist in Seleucid times, and that the forger thus betrays his Roman origin. The double fallacy implied in this reasoning has been pointed out by Schaefer.²⁴ First, the tax is not even expressly referred to as a poll-tax in I Maccabees, but only in the version of Josephus. Secondly, such a tax did in fact exist in the Seleucid empire.

2) The meaning of τιμή ἀλάς is uncertain. In the edict of Antiochus III exemption is granted from a tax called τό περί τῶν ἀλῶν (text emended); in the letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan, Document 3, the king renounces τὸ τοῦ ἀλάς ἀμνας (I Macc. 12, 35). We know that in Egypt salt was a crown monopoly. The government not only controlled the price, levied a tax on the trade in salt and in some cases sold it to the consumer directly; but all except ~~the~~ certain

exempt groups had to pay a fixed δλίχη similar to the devoir de gabelle of the Ancien Regime in France²⁵. This contribution was in fact the equivalent of another poll-tax, and was regarded as a considerable burden²⁶.

There is evidence of a similar tax from Babylonia. Rostovtzeff believed that in both the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic Empires the system was inherited from the Achaemenids. He accordingly held that the tax here mentioned was of the same nature, i.e. a tax on the consumption of salt. "The compulsory purchase of salt by the subjects of the Seleucid Empire is made certain by the expression τιμὴ δλός used by the author of I Maccabees 10, 29, and also by Fl. Jos. Ant. Jud. 13, 2, 3, when they speak of the remission of their most burdensome taxes which was granted to the Jews by Demetrius I"²⁷. It should be noted that such a tax, if applied universally, would entail the holding of a comprehensive census of the population at regular intervals, for which, however, we possess no evidence. Rostovtzeff elsewhere mentions the possibility of an obligatory contribution to the management of the salt pans, which would explain the term used in the letter of Demetrius II²⁸. Rostovtzeff has also cited the evidence of the so-called tariff of Palmyra, without however bringing it into relation with the passage under review. The tariff shows that in Seleucid times there

was no salt monopoly in the city; but the importers of salt, and those who produced it from the salt beds of the neighbourhood had to pay a tax for the right to sell the product in the city²⁹.

Bickermann, on the analogy of τιμή ~~ἀγοράς~~ ^{ὄρνου} and τιμή ἐλάτου used in Egyptian documents to denote the equivalent in money (adaeratio) of a fixed quantity of the commodity in question to be supplied to the government, thinks that the tax was paid by the producer³⁰. In that case it should presumably be regarded as a return for the concession to exploit the salt mines, and would be analogous to the contributions attested for Palmyra. This explanation has the advantage that it adequately accounts for the expression in Document 3 which clearly implies that the salt-pans belong to the king³¹; this expression could hardly refer to a mere contribution to the management of the salt-pans. It is likely enough that the exploitation of the salt-pans in Judaea should have been left to private contractors, particularly as the Dead Sea area, where these were situated, was comparatively remote from the seats of administration. But the disadvantage of Bickermann's explanation is that it does not account for the passage from the Edict of Antiochus III quoted above. The restriction of the concession to certain privileged groups in that passage clearly shows that a personal tax is referred to; and we

can hardly assume that all these groups would be concerned in the production of salt. Bickermann does not discuss this passage, but would probably explain the tax there mentioned as the δλική which he distinguishes from the τιμή τοῦ ἀλάτος and regards as a personal tax.

The most that we can safely say is that there was in Judaea a tax connected with the royal salt monopoly. It is probable that the tax was a personal one, though it need not have applied to the whole population; but we have no means of knowing how the tax was assessed, and whether it was merely imposed on the purchase of salt or consisted of a compulsory purchase or of compulsory deliveries of salt. It is indeed possible that the three obscure phrases found in our documents each reflect only a partial aspect of a complex system of salt taxes.

3) The crown tax derived apparently from an originally "voluntary" gift of a gold crown sent to the king on state occasions by Greek πόλεις and other autonomous communities as well as by prominent individuals. Its origin lies in the wreaths with which victors in the games were invested, and it may perhaps be regarded as a formal demonstration of homage to the king³².

Both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids had developed these "gifts" into a proper tax, but at the same time the

presentation of gold crowns and holy wreaths on special occasions continued to be a regular feature of political life. In the inscription Welles 22, 11, Seleucus II acknowledges the gift of a gold crown sent by the city of Miletus. In II Macc. 14, 4, we read how the High Priest Alcimus betook himself to Demetrius with a gold crown and other presents. In the letter of Demetrius II to Simon, Document 4, the king acknowledges a gold crown and palm branch which he had received, apparently as a "gift" sent through Simon's ambassadors; at the same time he cancels the debt of a crown still due to him. There was probably no hard and fast line between voluntary and obligatory crowns, and we cannot always be sure which is meant.

In the present context as well as in the Edict of Antiochus III an obligatory crown seems to be meant, perhaps to be sent at regular intervals. It was evidently contributed by individuals, though it is possible that the individual contributions reached the king in the form of a collective donation by the community. In Ptolemaic Egypt the crown tax was imposed mainly on land-owners³³.

In Megillath Taanith we read a note: "On the twenty-seventh of the month (sc. Iyar) the crowns of Jerusalem were abolished"³⁴. This is usually referred to the achievement of complete tax-immunity following on the issue of

Document 4³⁵. If the identification is correct, the note would indicate that the crown tax was regarded by the Jews as symbolical in some sense of the subjection of Jerusalem to the Seleucid kings.

In the above observations an attempt has been made to explain the three taxes of v.29 according to the present state of our knowledge. It would be interesting to know whether these taxes were universal or confined to some particular section of the community, perhaps the urban or non-agricultural population, i.e. those to whom the taxes of v.30 did not apply. In the edict of Antiochus III the exemption from these taxes is restricted to certain groups, and these apparently belonged to privileged classes (notably, of course, the Gerousia). The intention may have been to protect the hereditary aristocracy as against the "New Men" who were acquiring wealth by trade, and who may, as the story of Joseph the tax-collector indicates, have threatened the position of the priesthood. Exemption from personal taxes for priests is a familiar feature of ancient taxation. In the letter of Demetrius exemption is not restricted to any particular groups but granted to all Jews. This is a very unusual step. Rostovtzeff emphasizes that even "free" cities had to pay these taxes³⁶; and he adds that special privileges of exemption, such as that granted by Antiochus II to the city of Erythrae (Welles 15) scarcely

included freedom from the payment of royal taxes, crowns, etc. Hence this exemption puts Judaea into a different category from these privileged cities, and implies a far greater degree of independence.

v.30 presents the greatest difficulties. Not only is the subject matter obscure, but the sense is further confused by obvious mistranslation.

It appears that the king remits to the Jews a tax consisting of one-third of their grain crops and one half of their fruit, both from Judaea and from three districts of Samaria. These districts, as we thus learn indirectly, are being added to Judaea³⁷. A tax of this nature is not mentioned in the edict of Antiochus III (Jos. Ant.12, 138 ff) or in any other document dealing with Judaea previous to this one. The letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan, written 7 years later, which has many other parallels to this document, refers to the same tax, again in conjunction with the three districts, now named: ἐστίακαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαριτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἧν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κἀρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ πᾶν γενέματων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροπόρων, 1 Macc.11, 34

The tax referred to thus presents a considerable problem. Not only is it extraordinarily severe; but it

involves important constitutional issues on the status of Judaea at the time, and on the Seleucid system of taxation in general. Unfortunately our sources on this subject are so scanty, that it is impossible to do more than conjecture.

A land-tax (ἡ ἀπό τῆς γῆς) is mentioned in Ps. Arist. *Oeconomica* 2, 14 as yielding the most important revenue of the οἰκονομία βασιλική. It is also called ἐκφόριον or δεκάτη, the second of which terms indicates that it was a proportional payment (not necessarily an exact tithe), i.e. it was levied on the produce of the soil.

In transactions involving the grant of land by a king from the χώρα βασιλική to a city or private owner, the produce of the year of sale often figures separately, e.g. σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους γένημασιν (Welles 70, 9) σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ἐνάτου καὶ πεντηχοστοῦ ἔτους προσόδοις (Welles 18,9). This can only mean that the part of the produce which was normally received by the king is to be transferred to the new owner. The bulk of the produce, of course, whether on crown or private land, was kept by the peasants who tilled the soil; and it was they who paid the tax referred to.

There is, however, almost no record of such a tax being paid by the territory of comparatively independent communities, like cities or temples. In theory they would

be liable to it, since by Hellenistic concepts the king was sole owner of the land. But our documents speak instead of the φόρος or fixed annual tribute as the chief obligation of cities³⁹. This appears to have been paid in a lump sum direct to the king. It is not mentioned among the revenue of the satrapical economy by the author of Oeconomica II, but neither is it specified as a separate source of income of the king. Our documents give us no information about the mode of assessment.

There are indeed certain references from which it might be inferred that even land belonging to cities was at ~~those~~ times subject to a land-tax. Bickermann cites the following instances:³⁹ καὶ τὰς τε εἰσφορὰς διορθῶσονται πόσας [καὶ τὰ] προσκίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἢ [πολι]τικοῦ ἕ (sc. οἱ μισθωσάμενοι τὴν γῆν) from the inscription of Mylasa⁴⁰; τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τῶν χωρῶν αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρων εἶμεν καὶ ἀφορολόγητον from a letter of Seleucus II to Smyrna⁴¹; and in a very mutilated inscription representing a letter from Antiochus III to the city of Seleucia - Tralles - the mention of a δεκάτη which seems to refer to a land-tax, since it is connected with a survey (περιορισμῶς)⁴². But the first two of these passages are quite vague; the taxes referred to may even be part of the tribute.⁴³ The third, owing to the state of the inscription, is completely obscure.

Thus, notwithstanding these apparent exceptions, the meagre evidence at our disposal points to the conclusion that cities and other autonomous communities in the Seleucid empire did not as a rule pay the proportional land-tax, but paid a fixed annual tribute instead. In the Roman province of Asia the *eporos* was assessed, in the words of Rostovtzeff, "on the basis of a uniform *δασείη* which was imposed on the land that formed the territory of a given city"; and, though he arrives at no final conclusion on the subject, he suggests that the Roman practice may have been a return to Seleucid tradition⁴⁴.

Turning now to the position of Judaea, we find that while the land-tax is not recorded for the period prior to the reign of Demetrius I, there is evidence that the Jews paid a tribute to earlier kings. Sulpicius Severus, Chron. II, 17, 5, states that under Seleucus Nicator (Philopator?) Iudaei annum stipendium CCC argenti talanta regi dabant; and, while this note alone may not be reliable evidence, it is supported by II Macc. 4, 8 reporting how Jason usurped the High Priesthood of his brother Onias by promising the king ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα προς τοις τοιαυτοῖς. Finally Menelaus ousted Jason by promising another 300 talents (II Macc. 4, 24). The story of Joseph the Tobiad and his uncle the High Priest Onias II, as related by Josephus, seems to show that even under Ptolemaic rule the tribute

paid by the High Priest was the main item of taxation in Judaea⁴⁵. Lastly, the tribute is probably referred to in the passage of the edict of Antiochus which runs ἀπολυόμεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῦς τοῦ τοῦτου μέρους τῶν φόρων (Ant. XII, 144). The problem confronting us in the present passage then must be formulated as follows: were the land-taxes additional to the tribute, and if not what was their relation to it?

Willrich's criticism at least has the merit that he recognized the difficulty clearly, but his solution of a forgery composed in Roman times is quite unacceptable⁴⁶.

Bickermann refers to the passage on three occasions, but he is not consistent in his views. Where he discusses it specifically he argues that the amount of the payments is so high (if the text is correct) that it precludes their belonging to the category of land-tax postulated for Seleucia.- Tralles, Smyrna, etc. Rather, these payments must represent a division between landlord and tenant; and it must be assumed that the country of Judaea was incorporated in the χώρα βασιλική in consequence of the Maccabaeian disturbances. There are actual testimonies to the confiscation of land, and Bickermann apparently believes that the whole country was gradually confiscated in this way⁴⁷. Next, in a list of Jewish tax obligations under the various Seleucid kings, both the tribute and the land-tax of the

passage under review are included for the time of Demetrius I⁴⁸. On the other hand, the same passage is quoted by Bickermann in a general discussion on the nature of the tribute as an example illustrating the regulations which governed the assessment of this collective tax⁴⁹.

Rostovtzeff too examines the passage at length, after remarking that "the only reliable information about land-taxes in parts of the Seleucid kingdom other than Asia Minor relates to Palestine in the time of the Maccabees". He explicitly rejects the interpretation of Bickermann, according to which the Jewish cultivators had been expropriated and had become *ἄλλοι βασιδικοί*. His own view is that the tax referred to had been traditional in Judaea and had, for reasons unknown to us, been very high from early times. From Jos. Ant. 14, 203 we learn that similar amounts were again extracted in Roman times; Caesar made an enactment to lighten the burden. By contrast Asia Minor paid a tithe in Roman times. "The innovation of the Seleucids", according to Rostovtzeff, "consisted in collecting the taxes directly, and in addition to, not a part of, the tribute".⁵⁰

Both Bickermann and Rostovtzeff then regard the taxes as additional to the tribute, though they otherwise disagree on its nature. In view of the enormous dimensions of these payments, and the existence of many other taxes at the same

time, this seems inconceivable, particularly as Judaea was not a rich country. Moreover it is very strange that the tribute should not be mentioned at all in the Seleucid documents of the First Book of the Maccabees. When Jonathan requested Demetrius II to make Judaea ἀφορολόγητος (I Macc. 11, 28) the king, we are told, consented and proceeded to grant exemption from the tax under review and from the crown tax, salt-tax, etc. Clearly ἀφορολόγητον cannot mean "free from the collective tribute" here. It is even arguable, as will be shown below⁵¹, that the tribute was re-instituted at precisely this time. In fact the term φορολογουμένη is often used synonymously with χώρα βασιλική, i.e. territory administered directly by the king's officials and therefore paying a land-tax but no tribute⁵².

Furthermore, if the Jews had paid tribute after the Maccabean disturbances, who would have been responsible for collecting it? Before the revolt this task devolved on the High Priest who was the highest authority in the country after the king⁵³. Since the death of Alcimus in 159 B.C. the office of High Priest had been suspended; but even earlier than this, it had probably been shorn of most of its secular powers as a result of the Maccabean disturbances.

It seems to me that the implications of this fact, as

far as taxation is concerned, have been overlooked so far. Properly speaking it was not the people who paid tribute but the High Priest by virtue of the office conferred on him. After the suspension of the High Priestly office, a vacuum was created. For there was no longer any local authority which could be responsible for taxation. With the loss of local autonomy the payment of a collective tribute became unworkable.

It is true that the Greek colony planted in the Akra may have been intended as the nucleus of a city after the Greek model; and that this city was eventually to take the place of the Jerusalem temple which it had supplanted⁵⁴. But the attempt to impose a Greek constitution on the whole Jewish nation was given up in 163 B.C.; and there is no evidence that the Akra ever had any administrative authority over the countryside.

Hence the regional governor (στρατηγός) or his representative had to step in and collect the taxes from the peasants directly⁵⁵. In my view then, confiscation of land from individual holders, though isolated instances of this probably did occur, does not answer our problem. Rather, as the old order based on the supremacy of Jerusalem, the temple and its priests had broken down, the king re-asserts his own exclusive right to the ownership of the land. The country of Judaea automatically reverted

to the status of *χωρα βασιλική*. For the distinguishing feature of the *χωρα βασιλική*, in the words of Rostovtzeff, was that it was devoid of cities⁵⁶, i.e. that it was organized in villages only, without being attached to the territory of any autonomous city. Jerusalem had been a city so long as its privileges were valid, and as such it had dominated the whole of Judaea. After the revolt one of the first punitive measures consisted in the razing of its walls (I Macc. 1, 31). And though many of the Jews' privileges were restored in 163 B.C. and a new High Priest, Alcimus, was appointed shortly afterwards, the walls were not rebuilt; and it is probable that most of Judaea continued to be under direct government administration. The present document significantly ends with permission to rebuild the walls of the capital.

We therefore conclude that the taxes referred to in the present verse and in I Macc. 11, 34 are identical with the *ἀπὸ γῆς* mentioned in Oeconomica II which was normally paid by the peasants of the open country. But the severity of the contributions exacted from the Jews is striking, and it calls for some comment⁵⁷.

A comparison has sometimes been drawn with conditions in Ptolemaic Egypt, where similar proportions of the produce were quite generally exacted by the crown⁵⁸. Hence

it has been suggested that the Seleucids took over the system of taxation in Coele-Syria from their predecessors. According to our interpretation this would mean that the initial tribute amounted to about the same sum as the money equivalent of one-third of the grain and one half of the fruit produced in Judaea. There are, however, several objections to this view. The comparison with Egypt is not really appropriate, because of the difficult geographical conditions of the two countries. The hilly country of Judaea is relatively poor and has never been able to support much more than subsistence farming. The Nile Valley, on the other hand, is one of the most fertile regions in the world, and has from the earliest times supported a considerable urban civilization. Moreover, the native Egyptian peasants (*hōi*) represented the humblest class of the population in the Empire of the Lagides. But the *ethnos* of the Jews seems to have enjoyed a favoured status at the beginning of Seleucid rule, as shown by the edict of Antiochus III. And in view of the privileged position of Egyptian Jewry, it seems probable that the same was true while Judaea was under Egyptian domination⁵⁹. I do not think it likely, therefore, that these severe taxes were traditional in Judaea. It is true that Pompey imposed equally severe taxes in 66 B.C. But it was probably the example of Antiochus IV and Demetrius I

that he followed in his measures, since he too had had to cope with a tough resistance from the Jews.

It is more likely that the rates of taxation varied both according to the financial position of the government and according to its policy towards each particular people. In Judaea as in the rest of the Ptolemaic empire the taxes were perhaps increased at the end of the third century B.C., i.e. towards the end of Egypt's domination of Coele-Syria. This fact may explain not only the peculiar behaviour ascribed by Josephus to the High Priest Onias II⁶⁰, but also the welcome which the Jews accorded to Antiochus III⁶¹. When Coele-Syria finally passed into Seleucid possession, the new king lightened the Jews' burden. It may be that Seleucus IV, hard-pressed through the consequences of the Treaty of Apamea, raised the taxes again; Daniel speaks of him as "one that shall cause an exactor to pass through the glory of the kingdom"⁶². We know that Antiochus IV, even before the Jewish revolt, raised the tribute by selling the office of High Priest to the highest bidder. A large section of the ruling classes of Jerusalem, both in the time of Ptolemy IV and of Antiochus IV, stood to benefit by furthering the kings' purpose at the expense of their own peasants⁶³. After the revolt, one may presume, when the taxes were collected directly from the producers, still larger amounts were exacted. Economic exploitation was

employed as an instrument for subduing or "reforming" a recalcitrant population, and filling the royal coffers at the same time⁶⁴. As suggested in ~~the text~~ Section II ~~of the text~~, the main aim of the Hasmoneans after the restoration of the Temple was to liberate Judaea from this crippling taxation. The various stages of the struggle will be discussed further on in the Appendix to Document 3.

On the method of collection of the land-tax no information has come down to us. It is likely that payment was made in money rather than in kind. It has been suggested that the peculiar use of the word *לתי*, which as it stands in the text is quite meaningless, stands for a word which in the original expressed the adaeratio, i.e. the fact that a money equivalent was meant⁶⁵.

It sometimes happened that the peasants themselves delivered their quota in kind, but that the produce of each village was sold together, so that the royal treasury would receive the tax in money⁶⁶. In many cases perhaps the produce was sold by the temples which had fairs in connection with the festivals⁶⁷.

The difference in the rates of fruit and corn extracted may be due to the fact that in the hilly and stony country of Judaea, corn would be grown mainly for subsistence; whereas vine, olives, dates, etc., might yield more of a surplus⁶⁸.

A note on I Maccabees 1, 29

Μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρχοντα/φορολογίας
εἰς τὰς πλείους Λουδα καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν ἕχθρῳ βαρεῖ .

This verse opens the account of the punitive measures taken against Judaea by Antiochus IV. The preceding events, i.e. Jason's coup d'état and the revolt of Judaea, are passed over in silence, but are reported in II Macc. 5, 5 ff. They coincide with Epiphanes's second campaign in Egypt.

The words ἀρχοντα φορολογίας have puzzled the commentators, and an ingenious emendation first suggested by Hitzig has found general acceptance. II Macc. 5, 24 relates how Antiochus dispatched τὸν ἡμισάρχην Ἀπολλώνιον to Jerusalem together with an army of twenty-two thousand men; and the same Apollonius is apparently referred to in I Macc. 3, 10 ff., where he collects a force from Samaria "to wage war against Israel". Accordingly it has been supposed that the Greek translator misread the unfamiliar Sar Hammussim (=μισάρχης) of the Hebrew original for Sar Hammisim (= officer of taxes), which he translated ἀρχοντα φορολογίας.

Nevertheless, if the views put forward above are correct, the text of the MSS. gives a better sense. The identification of the ἀρχων φορολογίας with Apollonius the Mysarch is probably correct. But one of the chief functions of the

official sent to Judaea would naturally be to collect the taxes. It may well be that the Jews had defaulted, a fact which we would not expect to be mentioned in our sources⁶⁹. Moreover, the officer in question was probably identical also with Apollonius, the meridarch of Samaria, who is mentioned in Josephus Ant. 12, 261. It would be just such an official, a subordinate of the στρατηγός of Coele-Syria or Phoenicia, who would be responsible for the collection of the taxes. One of the first actions of the ἀρχὴν φορολογίας was to raze the walls of Jerusalem. The political significance of his expedition was to make Judaea an integral part of the province of Samaria.

The Greek text says that he went εἰς τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδαῖα but the Hebrew phrase 'Are Yehudah, of which this must be a translation, means no more than the larger inhabited places of Judaea⁷⁰. In fact outside Jerusalem there were no places in Judaea which the Greeks would have called πόλεις⁷¹. Thus Apollonius went to the villages or small towns on which the organization of the Judaeian χώρα was now based, just as it probably was in most of Samaria.

But it is not unlikely that Hitzig's suggestion contains a measure of truth. The Hebrew phrase "Sar Hamissim", which was not the normal expression for tax-collector, may have been intended as a play on words. It was a

popular practice at this time to make puns on the names of persons or things which were the objects of especial hatred⁷². This supposition might explain why the officer's name is not mentioned, which is certainly strange if the emendation is accepted by itself. The Hebrew phrase was probably chosen not only for its punning value but for its association with the task-masters who were set over the Children of Israel in Egypt⁷³.

V.31. The epithet "holy" is often associated with the name of a city in Hellenistic documents. This usage seems to derive from Semitic traditions, and it was a favourite in the legends in the vernacular on the coins of Phoenician cities. But we also find purely Greek cities described as holy. Originally the epithet may have been purely honorary, but when used in Greek it implied a definite legal status, viz. that the revenue from the city belonged to a deity or its priestly representative. Bickermann cites an example
S16 990 τέμενος ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης στρατονικίδος [ἐξ] οὗ ἡ δεκάτη
καὶ τὸ παρακεκραμένον ἀπὸ τῶν κλήρων καταύσσεται εἰς τὴν ἱερῶν προόδου⁷⁴.
It is possible that such phrases as ἱερὸν προόδου or ἱερὸν φόρου denoting money due to, or in possession of, a temple also influenced the application of ἱερός to a city⁷⁵. The meaning would be that the city was owned by the temple.

In the instance the "holiness" of Jerusalem seems to entail in particular freedom from imposts known as δεκάται

and τέλη⁷⁶. The Greek of this sentence is much obscured by the double translation. The most likely interpretation is that of Bickermann who explains the nominative form in αἱ δεκάται καὶ τέλη as due to a mistaken rendering of the Hebrew construct state as though it were the absolute⁷⁷. Josephus correctly paraphrases ἐλευθέραν...ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τέλων (Ant. 13, 51). The imposts referred to according to Bickermann were mainly customs duties and tolls levied on goods entering Jerusalem. The term δεκάται indicates that duty was paid ad valorem, though not necessarily that an exact tithe was charged.

The decree of Antiochus III has a clause ἡ τῶν ἐσθλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς κρασσομένου τέλους
ἐκ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἔσθλων καὶ

(Jos. Ant. 12, 141). It will be seen that tolls had to be paid even on goods entering Jerusalem from other parts of Judaea.

Document 3 also mentions the tithes and tolls, though in a context quite unconnected with Jerusalem (I Macc. 11, 35). We do not know whether Jerusalem was the only customs district in Judaea, or whether there were several; perhaps "Jerusalem" should be supplied in Document 3, or it may be that the words τὰ ὅρια αὐτῆς in the present passage are meant to include the whole territory of Judaea in the status of holiness accorded to the capital.

Josephus also adds the epithet ἁγίον in his paraphrase of the present passage (Ant. 13, 51). The right of asylum is indeed often associated with the title holy, but the two need not necessarily go together⁷⁸. In our document the right of asylum is dealt with later (v.43).

Before we go on to v.32, which deals with a different topic, it might be appropriate to summarize our knowledge about taxes in force in Judaea under Demetrius I, taking as a standard of comparison the list of different sources of revenue in a "satrapical" economy as given in Ps. Arist. 2, 1, 4⁷⁹.

For the first of these, the tax on the produce of the land, we have found ample evidence in v.29. The second, called ἡ ἀπο τῶν ἑσίων γινομένη, relates to the royal monopoly in mines, etc., and we would not expect to find it existing in a country which was devoid of such natural resources; but the salt-tax insofar as it refers to the royal ownership of the salt-pans (as in I Macc. 11, 35), may come under this heading. The third tax in the list is ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων or taxes on commercial transactions, harbour duties, etc.; and the fourth, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν καὶ αγοραίων τελῶν γινομένη seems to refer to tolls for the use of roads, market taxes, taxes on sales, etc. It is probable that the δεικταὶ and τέλη of v.31 should be related to either

or both of these categories. The fifth tax in the list, called ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων, is not attested for Judaea or indeed anywhere else. (It is unlikely that the reference to φόροι τῶν κτηνῶν in v.33 has any connection with it). The sixth and last, a miscellaneous group (ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων), has already been discussed. It covers the φόροι of v.29 and probably also all other personal taxes; so that the crown and salt taxes, insofar as they were paid by individuals, would probably be comprised in it.

v.32. This brief statement renouncing the king's authority over the ἄκρά constitutes one of the most important clauses of the document. The feelings aroused by the ἄκρά after it had been fortified by Antiochus IV may be gathered from the words I Macc. 1, 36, καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς ἐνέδραν τῆ ἀκροπόλεως καὶ εἰς διαβόλον πονηρὸν τῆ Ἰσραηλ διὰ παντός. But even before the revolt, there had been a garrison in Jerusalem, under both Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings. The commander of the garrison, as stated above, exercised a general supervisory function over the affairs of Judaea. In the event of an invasion of Judaea the Akra was strategically important. To renounce the king's right over the fortress thus amounted to virtual recognition of Jewish independence⁸⁰.

The letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan, N_o.3, which repeats many of the grants made in the present document,

is silent about the *ἀκρά*. Nothing illustrates the difference between the two letters so conclusively. The promise to surrender the fortress could only have been made because Demetrius was desperately in need of troops. Demetrius II too, at a later date, promised to hand over the *ἀκρά* in return for an undertaking by Jonathan to send him troops (I Macc. 11, 41-2).

The day when the Akra was finally reduced was ordained as a holiday (I Macc. 13, 52), which was still observed some two hundred years later⁸¹. Antiochus VII laid claim to the citadel as late as 134 B.C. (I Macc. 15, 28), though he had long confirmed all tax exemption granted by his predecessors and even added a further privilege of independence (I Macc. 15, 2 ff).

The second half of the verse is quite natural under the circumstances. The High Priest (significantly left unnamed) was the successor of the Seleucid government. The Akra would continue to be strategically important even after the Seleucid garrison withdrew. Simon, however, decided to fortify another hill and to raze even the hill on which the Akra had stood to the ground.

V.33. From this verse we learn indirectly that during the Maccabean wars many Jews had been transported from Judaea.

Perhaps they were sold into slavery as Josephus took it/82. A parallel occurs in the letter from Ptolemy II to the High Priest Eleazar, Aristeas 36/7⁸³. That men taken captive in ^{War} / should be sold into slavery was of course a common practice in antiquity. Antiochus IV may also have followed the Babylonian practice of deporting the most dangerous elements of a rebellious population.

The second half of the sentence seems to apply to the various customs duties which the returning prisoners would normally have to pay on the way⁸⁴. A similar clause is found in a Hellenistic treaty from Caria, where it is stipulated that troops in the service of a certain Eupolemus should have the right to quit . . . *καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἀτρεδείαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔργου διὰ τῆς Ευπολέμου* (i.e., his territory)⁸⁵. These duties must have acted as a considerable barrier to the free movement of populations.

Vv. 34, 35. Public holidays are recognized as days of exemption. These are the festivals, Sabbaths, New Moons and *ἡμέραι ἀποδείξιμα*. The last term, which is a misleading rendering of the Hebrew Mo'ed, refers to public festivals or days of solemn assembly, i.e. holidays not ordained in the Bible, e.g. the Festival of Dedication, or perhaps such days of public assembly as might be convened from time to time. The original Greek probably had *πανηγύρεις* 86.

The nature of the exemption granted is not specified. Thus we cannot say definitely whether the meaning is merely that tax claims will not be pressed on the days mentioned or whether some special taxes which would only be operative on these days are referred to. These latter taxes would presumably be customs duties levied on the way to and from Jerusalem, and perhaps various sales and market taxes in connection with fairs or other forms of trade held on the special days.

The second interpretation at first sight appears the more acceptable in view of the fact that the grant extends to all Jews in the Seleucid empire. It would be unusual for a king to regulate the status of his Jewish subjects living outside Judaea in an edict addressed to Judaea, unless the contents of the letter were designed somehow to benefit the sanctuary at Jerusalem. On the so-called foot festivals it was obligatory for all Jews to visit Jerusalem⁸⁷ Even though in the days of a far-flung diaspora this commandment could hardly have been observed completely; large crowds must have assembled at Jerusalem on each festival. Moreover a tithe of the worshippers' produce was to be spent in Jerusalem (Deuteronomy 14, 22), so that large sums of money must have changed hands at the time of the festivals. Thus exemption from the customs duties might have been a considerable incentive for prospective pilgrims; exemption from the sales tax would have promoted trade and in this

way the temple of Jerusalem and to a lesser extent the whole of Judaea would benefit.

If this is the meaning of the passage under review, an interesting parallel is at hand in Welles 70, a document from the end of the 2nd century B.C. which bears several resemblances to documents 11 and 12. V.12 ff. contains a clause: ἄγεται δὲ κατὰ μῆνα πανηγύρεις ἑτάσεις τῆ πεντῆ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ τριακάτῃ. Welles comments⁸⁸: "Local festivals connected with a sanctuary were a familiar event of Hellenistic life. Inevitably as crowds came together from the countryside the opportunity was utilized for trade. . . To secure for its festivals exemption from the sales tax would have been profitable for the sanctuary".

The Biblical festivals, in particular the festival of Tabernacles, were associated with the various phases of harvesting in Palestine. One may easily imagine that the peasants from Judaea brought their surplus to Jerusalem, where perhaps a good part of it was bought and consumed by the pilgrims from other countries. But besides this, many other forms of trade may have been carried on.

The extension of the grant to three days before and three days after the festival is easily explained. These days would certainly be used for travelling, and even trading probably took place on them rather than on the actual festivals.

The above considerations would apply also, though to a much smaller degree, to the New Moons and *ἡμέραι αποδεδειγμένα*

The difficulty of this interpretation, however, consists in the fact that the Sabbaths are included, though on the Sabbath no travelling or trading was permitted. Exemption on this day can only mean a temporary remission of debts. Josephus seems to have taken the clause in this sense; he paraphrases (Ant. 13, 52-3): τὰ δὲ σαββάτα καὶ ἑορτῶν ἕκασαν καὶ τρεῖς πρό τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας ἔστωσαν ἀτελεῖς. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπιῆ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστους ἀφίημι. Probably Josephus had in mind not so much a temporary freedom from taxation as from labour. There is, however, no evidence for a corvée in Judaea at this time. The word *ἐνοχλεῖν* can be used of financial burdens as well as labour⁸⁹.

Thus according to the second interpretation a privilege unconnected with the temple of Jerusalem would be accorded to Jews living outside Judaea in a letter addressed to the people of Judaea. A possible explanation of this unusual step would be that the grant was intended as a shrewd bid to win the gratitude of the Jews in the Diaspora. The Jews' strict observance of the Sabbath was at all times incomprehensible to their pagan neighbours; it became an especial object of friction where anti-Jewish sentiments existed.

Thus Josephus quotes several other documents, probably from the middle of the 1st century B.C., in which the right to observe the Sabbath is guaranteed to various Jewish communities in Asia by order of the Roman authorities (Ant. 14, 241-6, 256-264).

Vv. 36, 37. The king authorizes that 30,000 Jews should be recruited for his army and makes provision regarding their terms of service. On the face of it, this looks like yet another "privilege" granted to the Jews; and in one sense it may have been so, inasmuch as a livelihood was thereby assured to a considerable number of people. But, as Bickermann has pointed out, the realities of the situation in which they were written impart to these verses rather a different significance⁹⁰. Demetrius had been deserted by many of his own troops, and had lost the loyalty of his subjects, so that it must have been extremely difficult to recruit fresh troops from the traditional sources⁹¹. Hence the passage under review should be read as a request rather than a privilege.

That there must have been a considerable fighting potential among the Jews is proved by the wars of Judas Maccabaeus. And it may be presumed that Jonathan had lost no time after Demetrius's earlier letter permitting him to

levy troops, and had already built up a force ready to go into action. It is indeed likely that Demetrius had originally made the promise with the intention of using the force for his own ends. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that vv. 36 and 37 form the key to the whole letter⁹². Demetrius is prepared to renounce all revenue from Judaea and to grant the country complete autonomy extending even to freedom from a garrison in return for military assistance.

In normal times, of course, a king could requisition troops from every part of his territory; and even autonomous dynasts, who might be bound to the central government by only the most tenuous ties, were under an obligation to supply the king with troops. Thus when Antiochus VII captured Jerusalem, he left Jewish autonomy intact, preserving practically all the privileges which Jonathan and Simon had wrested from his predecessors; but John Hyrkan was forced nevertheless to accompany him on his expedition to the East.⁹³ The concessions which Demetrius I was willing to make to the Jews as a price for troops are a measure of the desperate position in which he found himself.

The figure of thirty thousand soldiers has caused much comment, because of the parallel with the letter of Aristeas where the identical number of Jews is said to have served in the garrisons of Ptolemy II⁹⁴. Willrich considered

this similarity to be the strongest objection to the letter⁹⁵. Even Schuerer concluded that the present passage must depend on the letter of Aristeeas, i.e. that it must have been composed by a Jewish author who was acquainted with that work. But he rejected Willrich's assumption of a Roman origin, arguing that in Roman times military service was no longer reckoned as honourable among the Jews⁹⁶.

Yet if there has been any borrowing between the two passages, it is more likely to have occurred the other way round. For, as we have seen, the author of the Letter of Aristeeas, though making use of historical sources, never intended his work to be anything but a piece of imaginative literature; and he wrote according to modern authorities in the reign of John Hyrkan. Hence it is quite conceivable that he knew the letter of Demetrius I (directly or through I Maccabees) and was, perhaps unconsciously, influenced by it⁹⁷.

The figure of thirty thousand does indeed sound high, but it is possible that it would include Jews from outside Judaea. It should also be borne in mind that there must always have been a considerable population surplus among the Jews because they did not like other ancient peoples practise infanticide⁹⁸. Enlistment for military service was one of the solutions for the problem of over-population. We hear of Jewish military colonies in Persian times and

under the early Ptolemies⁹⁹. In Syria too Jews had been engaged as mercenaries in the past. Josephus has preserved a letter in which Antiochus III made provision for two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia to be transported to Lydia and Phrygia in order that they might man the fortresses there and help to keep down the rebellious population¹⁰⁰. In II Macc. 8, 20 we hear of a Jewish force that had fought against an army of Galatians in Babylonia (perhaps in the war of Antiochus III against Molon).

In the present passage, as in the letter of Antiochus III, it is envisaged that many of the Jewish troops are to be employed as garrisons. It may be that they were considered particularly suitable for this task because of their notorious ἀπειρία¹⁰¹. Some of them were even to be appointed ἐκὶ χειρῶν τῆς βασιλευσας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς κίτιν which apparently refers to the royal bodyguard. This would be quite an honour; originally only Greeks and Macedonians were used for this purpose.

The provision that the Jews should be allowed to live according to their own laws is also found in the letter of Antiochus III. This would mean, of course, that they should have their special foods and would be exempt from service on Sabbaths and festivals. Josephus, quoting

Nicolaus of Damascus, records that, when Hyrkan accompanied Antiochus VII to the East, the whole army on one occasion stopped for two days to enable the Jews to celebrate their Sabbath followed immediately by the festival of Pentecost¹⁰². It may be that after the suppression of the Jewish religion in Judaea these privileges were also withdrawn from Jewish, or at least Judaeen, soldiers, and that the recruitment of contingents from Judaea was thus curtailed altogether. If so the words καθὼς προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν γῆ Ἰουδαία would refer to the restoration of the right to follow the Jewish laws. But of course these words might also refer to such Jewish soldiers as were still stationed in Judaea, for example in the Akra.

The provision that the troops should be commanded by officers of their own people is a customary one¹⁰³.

The term ξενία properly means provisions due to passing officials or soldiers from the local population. But in the present passage it may have a wider meaning and refer to the remuneration of the soldiers in general¹⁰⁴.

The letter of Antiochus III mentioned above gives us some insight into the life of these mercenaries. According to the universal custom in ancient times, they were not employed on military duties continuously but were each allotted a plot of ground to cultivate; and each one had

his own house where he could live with his family.

Laqueur has pointed out that in these two verses as well as in vv.40, 44 and 45 the word βασιλεὺς occurs, although the king elsewhere speaks of himself in the first person. His explanation is that clauses containing the word βασιλεὺς βασιλικός, etc. are additions to the original text inserted by the scribe whose duty it was to revise the letter¹⁰⁵.

In most of his examples the assumption is unnecessary. Thus βασιλικαὶ δυνάμεις (for which our document has δυνάμεις τοῦ βασιλέως) was a technical term for the state army as opposed to purely provincial contingents¹⁰⁶. It may well be that the combination ἄχυράματα τοῦ βασιλέως was similarly stereotyped. This is certainly the case for λόγος τοῦ βασιλέως in the later verses, which stands for the king's personal treasury. In fact all these examples can probably be considered analogous to our phrases beginning with "Royal".

But in the last part of v.37 the use of βασιλεὺς cannot be accounted for in this way. Unless one is to explain it as an attraction from the earlier uses, due perhaps to the Hebrew translator, Laqueur's suggestion is the best way out.

V.38. The document here returns to the three districts which were already mentioned in V.30 as being added to

Judaea from the North. V.30 included them in the fiscal exemption of Judaea, v.38 deals with their political status. The three districts are named in I Macc. 11, 34 as ^{Ἀφαιρεμα}, ^{Ἀυδδα} and ^{Ῥαθαμῆν}. There is broad agreement among scholars about their location. Lydda occupied the same site as the modern town of that name. Of course the surrounding area is included. ^{Ἀφαιρεμα} is a Graecism for Ephraim, i.e. the country between the Jerusalem-Sichem road and the Jordan. The town of Ephraim was situated about five miles N.E. of Beth El. Ramathaim seems to be identical with the place named in I Samuel 1, 1, and was situated somewhere north of Lydda. Judaea thus drove a sharp wedge into Samaria on the west.

The three districts are called ^{νομοί} in the document, but are referred to as ^{τοπαρχίαι} in the text (I Macc.11,28). The latter term seems to have been the more usual according to Seleucid usage. The toparchies were the smallest administrative units in the Seleucid empire, subdivisions of the ^{ὑπαρχίαι} or ^{μέριδες}¹⁰⁷. In Roman times Judaea (including Idumaea) was divided into eleven toparchies altogether¹⁰⁸. One of these was still called Lydda. Bidermann thinks that the term ^{νομοί} may be a survival from Ptolemaic times¹⁰⁹; but this can hardly be correct since the Egyptian ^{νομοί} were much larger units¹¹⁰.

The territory of Judaea was considerably expanded

through the addition of the three districts, and it is strange that nothing is said about the antecedents of this important event in the narrative section of I Maccabees. The phrasing of I Maccabees (especially the past participle *προστιθεμένων*, in v.30) suggests that the event is a very recent one. Presumably the Jews had aspired to these districts for some time and had negotiated with Demetrius concerning them. It is also possible that the king was merely acknowledging an accomplished fact: the territories had been occupied by force.

The history of the frontier between Judaea and Samaria has been traced by A. Alt¹¹¹. In the time of Nehemiah, when Judaea was first divided from Samaria and made into a separate province according to this author, the most northerly site in Judaea was Mizpeh. This town was situated on the ridge of the hills, on the road from Jerusalem to Samaria, and about a third of the distance along. East and west of this point, on the slope of the hills the frontier bent south towards Jerusalem. The frontier corresponded also with the most northerly frontier ever reached by the Kingdom of Judaea before the Exile (II Kings 23, 15).

At some later date not known to us, Judaea must have acquired the district of Emmaus which appears as Jewish in I Macc. 9, 50. The town of Emmaus was one of the places

fortified by Bacchides in 157 B.C. A toparchy of Emmaus is included in the list given by Josephus.

Perhaps we may connect with this expansion of Jewish territory a statement, Jos.c Ap. II, 43, allegedly deriving from Hecataeus of Abdera: Alexander the Great in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown him by the Jews τὴν Σαμαρείτιν χώραν προσέθηκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορολογητόν .

This claim is certainly exaggerated and has been rejected outright by many scholars. It is conceivable, however, that some concessions should have been made to the Jews at the expense of the Samaritans as a result of the Samaritan revolt. Thackeray¹¹² followed by Zeitlin even thinks that Alexander granted to the Jews the three toparchies of the present verse. In that case one would have to assume that the districts vacillated between Judaea and Samaria in the ensuing period, or that they were detached from Judaea at the time of the Maccabean revolt.

Alt suggests that the districts were given to Judaea because their inhabitants had been united to the Jews by cult for a long time. When the people of Northern Samaria seceded from Jerusalem and built their own place of worship on Gerizim, the most southern districts bordering on Judaea, he thinks, remained faithful to Jerusalem and were thus separated by an artificial boundary from their fellow worshippers. Thus he interprets the second half of the

verse (a little too subtly perhaps) as implying that even before the people of these districts had owed allegiance to the High Priests, but not exclusive allegiance.

Whether this suggestion is correct or not, it is likely enough that the three districts had strong ties to the temple in the south, which was about equally distant from them as that of the north. It should be remembered also that Modein, the home of the Hasmoneans, was very close to the border of Samaria, perhaps even, as Abel thinks¹¹³, within the toparchy of Lydda. Thus it is not surprising that the frontier districts should have formed a bone of contention between the two rival communities. The revision of the frontier in 145 B.C. is highly significant as anticipating, in a sense, the more drastic policy of John Hyrkan twenty-five years later.

Kahrstedt¹¹⁴ used the second half of the sentence to prove that far-reaching administrative changes had been made in Palestine. The words τοῦ μὴ ἀπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως are taken to imply that the High Priest had no official whatsoever above him. Hence Judaea must have become a vassal state instead of a subdivision of the satrapy of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Kahrstedt further believes that this satrapy had been dissolved as a consequence of the disturbances in Judaea and the failure of all attempts to reduce the Jews to submission. Judaea was thus placed

outside the administrative framework of the rest of Palestine.

It seems to me that Kahrstedt here reads too much into the text of I Maccabees. The words in question mean no more than that the king definitely recognizes the claim of Judaea to these territories, politically as well as for purposes of revenue. Beyond this it is unsafe to draw any conclusions from them; and we do not know whether the High Priest was to be subordinate to any higher official or not. Kahrstedt may be right that the satrapy of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had ceased to exist ca. 160 B.C.¹¹⁵. But this fact does not seem to be directly connected with the events in Judaea.

ἀπὸ τῆς

v. 30 tells us that the territories were added
Σαμαρειτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας. The mention of Galilee has provoked some discussion and many scholars, following Grimm, have attributed the word to a scribal error although it is found in all the M^Ss. The difficulty is easily removed if one assumes that Samaria and Galilee formed one province¹¹⁶. Josephus completely misunderstands v. 30, writing τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχῶν τῶν τῆ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρεία καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιας which seems to reflect the division of Palestine in his own time. The word Peraia is not used at all in Hellenistic times. In the letter of Demetrius II he names the three toparchies correctly.

In this context it seems appropriate to discuss the

passage I Macc. 11, 57 where it is said that Antiochus VI wrote to Jonathan ἵσταμι σου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ καθίστημι σε ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων νομῶν All commentators have taken the term νομοί here in the sense in which it is used in the previous documents in I Maccabees, i.e. as toparchies. The difficulty, therefore, has been to identify the fourth νομός. Kahrstedt suggested Ekron, which Alexander Balas had given to Jonathan in 147 B.C. as "ἡ ἐν ἑσπέρῳ" (I Macc. 10, 39)¹¹⁷. But Ekron was a town, never a toparchy. Some commentators have thought of Ptolemais which is given to the Jews in v. 39 of the present document, but which they never possessed. Abel and Alt, following Dalmann, maintain that Akrabba is meant, which we find among the eleven toparchies of Judaea in Roman times. This suggestion is the most probable if toparchies are meant; but it is strange that Akrabba is not mentioned at all in I Maccabees. Hölscher believed that Judaea itself was the fourth toparchy.¹¹⁸ He arrived at this strange conclusion through assuming a much smaller territory for Judaea than is commonly shown on our maps, believing that the whole Jordan valley, including Jericho in the east, and Emmaus in the north west, were outside the borders of Judaea. Hölscher's arguments are somewhat fanciful and his conclusions have been found quite unacceptable by most scholars. But his interpretation of the passage before us at least draws attention to a difficulty not met by the interpretations so far proposed.

If the νομοί- are indeed toparchies outside Judaea proper, what is Jonathan's position inside Judaea to be? The words καθέστημι σε ἐπί. . . can hardly mean, as Josephus paraphrases, τῶν τεσσάρων παρεχωρεῖ νομῶν οἱ τῆ χωρᾶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν (ant. 13, 145). They imply appointment to an office or command, and indeed we would expect Jonathan to be so appointed. He was a military leader and Antiochus expected him to use his troops against Demetrius II. His command could hardly be defined merely by the dignity of the High Priesthood. Moreover his brother Simon at the same time received a military command "from the Ladder of Tyre to the frontier of Egypt" (I Macc. 11, 59). If this command included the territory inland as some scholars have assumed¹¹⁹, i.e. the whole of Palestine, Simon would have been the superior of Jonathan, which is unlikely. If it applied to the Paralia only, who was Antiochus's governor in the rest of Palestine?¹²⁰ The account of I Maccabees shows us how Jonathan διέπορεύετο πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ηθροίσθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ^{πᾶσα} ~~πᾶσα~~ δύναμις Συρίας εἰς συμμαχίαν (11, 66). Later we find him campaigning against Demetrius II in Galilee and even further north.

For these reasons I would tentatively suggest that perhaps the accepted translation of νομοί as toparchies in this verse be abandoned, and we should think of the

four νομοί as much larger territories¹²¹. In a much discussed passage Strabo, quoting from Poseidonius, tells us that Coele-Syria was divided into four "satrapies" ¹²². It seems possible that these are the four νομοί to which Jonathan was commanded; or that at least there were four divisions of inner Palestine (excluding the coast) at the time of Antiochus VI.

V.39. Here begin far-reaching concessions to the temple. The first consists of the gift of the important town of Ptolemais. Of course this gift is not to be understood in a political sense. All that is meant is the revenue of the town, i.e. the tribute which it had been wont to pay to the royal treasury. In the same way the Temple of Zeus in Baetocaece at a later date received the revenue of a near-by village ὅπως ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης πρόσοδος ἀναλίσκῃται εἰς τὰς κατὰ μῆνας συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντείνοντα

(Welles 70, 9-11)¹²³.

One may also compare I Macc. 10, 89, where Alexander Balas gives Ekron to Jonathan. Similarly Antiochus IV had given several cities to a concubine.

This clause is one of those which Schuerer declared to be spurious¹²⁴. But the examples quoted above show that

such a gift was by no means an extraordinary event. Above all it must be remembered that Ptolemais was at this time the headquarters of Alexander Balas (I Macc. 10, 1), so that Demetrius was in any case deriving no revenue from this town at the time. By promising the revenue to the Jews, he no doubt wished to encourage them to attack his rival. For all the concessions of the present document were only to be realized if the Jews gave military support to Demetrius.

V.40. In addition to the revenue from Ptolemais the king promises an annual allowance to the temple, which is to come from the royal treasury. The Seleucids, like the Ptolemies, seem to have had a personal treasury distinct from the state treasury¹²⁵. In Egypt it was called ἴδιος λόγος. It is natural that the money should come from this source, since the allowance, according to Bickermann, was meant primarily to defray the expense of sacrifices brought for the ruler and his dynasty¹²⁶. Laqueur has explained the repetition ἀπό τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπό τῶν τόπων τῶν ἱερῶν by postulating that only the second of these phrases stood in the original draft of the letter. The first was later added by an official for the sake of clearness¹²⁷.

The provision of v.40 too was questioned by Schuerer. But there are many precedents for royal gifts to the temple.

Antiochus III promised an allowance of 20,000 drachmas for the purchase of ^{animals} ~~animals~~, wine, oil and frankincense, as well as grants of flour and salt in kind (Jos. Ant. 12, 140). Of Seleucus IV it is claimed, II Macc. 3, 3 *ὅτι καὶ Σέλευκον τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέα χορηγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πάντα τὰ πρὸς τῆς λειτουργίας τῶν θεσῶν ἐπιβάλλουσα δαπάνηματα*. And the Seleucids, it appears, were only continuing the practice of the Ptolemies and Achaemenids ¹²⁸.

Such royal gifts to sanctuaries were a regular feature of Hellenistic life. An inscription tells us of the long list of gold vessels given by Seleucus I to the temple of Apollo at Didyma. The munificence of Antiochus IV to temples at Athens, Delos and Antioch is described, in a passage going back to Polybius, in Livy XLI, 20, 8/9¹²⁹. Thus Demetrius may have proposed no more than to restore the allowance which the temple had received until the Maccabean revolt. In this respect, as in taxation, there was to be a return to the Status quo ante. And this accords with what we know in general about the policy of the last Seleucids. In view of the gradual disintegration of the empire, native sanctuaries were once more coming into their own.

Vv. 41, 42. The sense of these two verses is not quite clear.

The words *πᾶν τὸ πληρόμα* in v. 41 are usually

interpreted as money not paid out to the temple by royal officials. This accumulated surplus was now to be handed over to the temple to be used for the temple service¹³⁰. Marcus speaks of additional grants to the temple formerly made by the Seleucid kings and recently withheld by Seleucid officials¹³¹. These interpretations do not seem quite satisfactory to me, since it is unlikely that any form of royal subsidy had been in force since the Maccabean revolt. I think it is more probably, although this view has been rejected by the commentators, that τὸ πλεονάζον refers to a surplus from the revenue of Judaea or some other source, which in older times had been handed over to the temple¹³².

The use of ἀπὸ τῶν χρείων for officials seems to be a variant of the more usual expressions ἐκτὶ χρείων, ἐπιταῖς χρεῖαις, πρὸς χρεῖαις etc.¹³³

V142 seems to refer to a tax levied on the income of the temple which is to be abolished. This tax, according to the commentators, was taken either from the annual half-shekel which every adult male Jew was obliged to pay to the temple or from the tithes. In the time of the second temple these sums were no longer paid to individual priests but to the central sanctuary and then divided among the priests¹³⁴. In addition the temple may also have had other sources of revenue, such as rent from property¹³⁵.

The use of χρείων in 42 to denote income or profits

is strange. The text seems to demand either the insertion of the article before ἐπὶ τῶν χρείων to give the same sense as in v.41, or the deletion of τῶν χρείων altogether¹³⁶.

The word λόγος is frequently used to denote a temple treasury, though we would expect something like ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου λόγου¹³⁷.

Taxes on sanctuaries were quite usual in Hellenistic times and exemption from these taxes was granted as a special privilege¹³⁸. The tax is not mentioned in the edict of Antiochus III; but in II Macc. 11, 33 Lysias is credited with the intention τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἑλλησὶν οἰκητήριον ποιήσεν, τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἀργυρολόγητον καθὼς τὰ

λοιπὰ τῶν ἑθνῶν . The evidence suggests that the temple of Jerusalem had been privileged, and that the temple-tax was introduced as a punitive measure in the Maccabean wars.

V.43. The provision of this verse amounts to what is usually known as the right of asylum, one of the most highly prized privileges of ancient times. This institution had developed out of the custom universal in antiquity that suppliants should find a refuge in sanctuaries. In the Hellenistic kingdoms this custom was regulated by the state. The characteristic of ἄσυλόν was official recognition. In this way the efficacy of the protection afforded by a

sanctuary would be greatly enhanced. The *ἵκεσις* of temples not so recognized was very limited. But the basis of the institution remained religious¹³⁹.

Refuge to a recognized place of asylum safeguarded the suppliant from mishandling or personal execution on his body by his creditors or personal enemies. It was forbidden to enter the sacred precinct for unauthorized purposes, to remove a man from there, or to molest him in any way. Violation of asylum was treated as *ἵσποροβία*. For Ptolemaic Egypt, where the lot of the poorer classes was a very hard one, the institution of asylum has been compared to habeas corpus.¹⁴⁰

Of course, even in privileged sanctuaries the protection of *ἄστυχία* could not be absolute. We possess no information about the working of the Seleucid empire, but the Egyptian parallel suggests that it was limited and regulated by the state. Thus certain classes of people might be excluded from seeking asylum altogether, and sometimes asylum could be granted for a limited period only. The priests seem always to have exercised a discretion in the matter, and would for example refuse criminals. But in addition there seems to have been royal officials in Egypt supervising places of asylum. In this way the state would ensure itself against encroachment on its authority¹⁴¹.

An interesting feature of the present passage is the explicit reference to the suppliant ^{δοφειλῶν βασιλικῶν} 142. In Egypt public debtors seem to have been excluded, at least in theory¹⁴³. I can find no parallel for the provision guaranteeing immunity also to the suppliant's possessions, and this provision may be an inaccuracy resting on mistranslation.

In the Seleucid empire the privilege of asylum is usually combined with tax-exemption¹⁴⁴, just as it is in the present document. Until ca. 200 B.C. we hear only ^{ἀσυλῶν} confined to the temple precinct, e.g. the Plutonium at Mysa, the Asclepeum at Cos, a sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis near Amygon (Welles 9, 25-8, 39). Later it seems to have been usual for whole cities to claim this right: Magnesia on the Maeander (Welles 31-4), Teos (Welles 35), Smyrna, Chalcedon, Alabanda. Similarly in the last ^{τέφρα καὶ} quarter of the second century B.C. the legend ^{ἀσυλῶν} appears on the coins of the Phoenician cities. This development seems to be connected with a changing concept of the function of ^{ἀσυλῶν}. In the cities just mentioned this function appears to have been mainly to secure to the population freedom from molestation in war¹⁴⁵.

Some scholars make a sharp distinction between the two conceptions of asylum, believing that they had in common only the name and the fact of dedication of a place to a god.

Thus Seyrig speaks of an administrative and a diplomatic asylum, believing that only the first could be conferred by the king in whose territory the city or sanctuary was situated¹⁴⁶. As examples he quotes Jerusalem according to the present passage and Baetocaece (Welles 70, 13). The cities and sanctuaries mentioned above enjoyed diplomatic $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ which they acquired through recognition by the world at large. A condition for seeking this recognition was, however, that the city should first be declared consecrated and exempt by its own king¹⁴⁸. It is pointed out that with the exception of Alabanda all these cities were situated on the seaboard. The main purpose of their $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ was thus to safeguard them from the attacks of pirates, which became one of the chief scourges of the Hellenistic world in the second century B.C.

Bickermann¹⁴⁸ on the other hand treats the two kinds of asylum as one institution, thus putting Jerusalem on a par with the cities mentioned above. Similarly Rostovtzeff¹⁴⁹ maintains that $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ always included the meaning that the city or sanctuary might be used as a place of refuge. In addition, he believed, it gave the city exemption from royal jurisdiction.

The provision of this verse is not repeated in subsequent letters in I Maccabees, and in fact Jerusalem

so far as we know
never possessed the right of asylum under the Seleucids. Antiochus III decreed that no gentile should enter the temple enclosure, but this did not imply the temple's right to shelter suppliants¹⁵⁰.

Vv. 44, 45. The king promises a special grant for building works. The temple would of course need repairs, not only because it had been pillaged by Antiochus IV, but because of the alterations undertaken by Alcimus.

The walls of Jerusalem had been razed at the very beginning of the Maccabean revolt. As explained above, this action, apart from its practical significance, was symbolic: it was the outward and visible manifestation of loss of status. Deprived of her wall, Jerusalem ceased to be a city, and hence to be autonomous. It is fitting, therefore, that the present document, which restores the privileges lost in 167 B.C., should conclude with the order that the walls of Jerusalem be rebuilt.

In addition to this symbolic reason, the rebuilding was of course necessary for military reasons. If Judaea was to be a focus of operations against Alexander Balas, it was imperative that the country should be protected in case of invasion.

DOCUMENT 3

DEMETRIUS II TO JONATHAN

I Macc. 11, vv. 30-37

DOCUMENT 3

DEMETRIUS II TO JONATHAN

I Macc. 11, vv. 30-37

- 30 Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωναθαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ ἔθνει
31 Ἰουδαίων. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἐγράψαμεν Λασθένει
τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν, γεγράφαμεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅπως
32/3 εἰδῆτε. Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ
ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ συντηροῦσιν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
δίκαια ἐκρίναμεν ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι χάριν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας
34 πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς
τρεῖς νομοὺς Αφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν· προσετέθησαν τῇ
Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκρατοῦντα αὐτοῖς
πᾶσιν τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὧν
ἐλάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ
35 τῶν γενημάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀνή-
κοντα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν τελῶν τῶν ἀνηκόντων
ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀλὸς λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνήκοντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους,
36 πάντα ἐπαρκέσομεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οὐκ ἀθετηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐν τούτων
37 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. νῦν οὖν ἐπιμέλεσθε τοῦ
ποιῆσαι τούτων ἀντίγραφον, καὶ δοθήτω Ἰωναθαν καὶ τεθήτω ἐν
τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ.

introductory Note

The contents are similar to those of Document 2, several of whose clauses are in fact repeated; but the present document is much shorter. The style is more formal and the order of clauses is logical throughout. The only expression which cannot be paralleled from documentary sources is $\delta\gamma\alpha\theta\theta\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\epsilon\tau\upsilon$ in v.33; and the only other mark of translation is to be found in the rather awkward syntax of v.34.

The royal "we" is preserved throughout.

The letter consists of two parts: a covering letter addressed to Jonathan and the Jews, vv.31, 32, followed by an enclosure. The enclosure is in the form of a letter addressed by the king to a royal official named Lasthenes.

It is fairly obvious that the information about the kind of change which the king proposed to make had to be sent to at least one member of the state bureaucracy. So the letter of Antiochus III concerning the Jews is addressed to Ptolemy, the son of Thraseas, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (Jos. Ant. 12, 138). Antiochus IV wrote to Apollonius the meridarch and Nicanor $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων concerning the petition of the Samaritans (ibid. 262). Similarly letters 9 and 70 in Welles's

collection contain tax concessions made by a Seleucid ruler to a particular city or temple, but not addressed to the beneficiaries directly. Welles 38 deals in the same way with exemption from billeting.

Welles believes that the official in question had forwarded the community's petition to the king; the answer would therefore be incorporated in a letter addressed to him. He would then send a copy to the city or temple under cover of a brief note of his own. This would be the normal procedure if the matter at issue was only the settlement of a dispute, the removal of unpopular measures, etc., or if the petitioning body was comparatively insignificant. Usually the procedure would be reversed: the petitioners would receive letters from the king and would themselves be responsible for presenting these to any official who might be concerned¹.

The present document is in a different category from either of those just mentioned. The king issued two letters, one to Jonathan, who was in Ptolemais at the time, the other to Lasthenes. The explanation is perhaps that the contents were of unusual importance.

An interesting parallel to the two letters under review is to be found in Welles 71, 72, though the king's decision there is communicated not to one of his own

officials but to a foreign king. The subject of the letters is the recognition of the city of Seleucia in Pieria as free. The date is 109 B.C. No.71 is addressed by a king Antiochus to Ptolemy IX Alexander of Egypt, and informs him of the privileges granted to Seleucia. It refers to the beneficiaries as the "Seleucians" and speaks of them throughout in the third person. No individuals or governing body of the city are mentioned. Similarly the letter to Lasthenes speaks only of τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. No.72 (according to the most commonly accepted restoration) is addressed to the city and enumerates magistrates, council and people.

The two letters Welles 71, 72 were found near Paphos in Cyprus. Ptolemy Alexander was in Cyprus at the time. According to the theory accepted by Welles, he received a copy of the letter to Seleucia as an enclosure to his own, and published the two letters, in the order in which they appeared in his text, in a frequented sanctuary on the island.

The procedure followed by Demetrius II in the present instance seems to be exactly paralleled in a set of letters included in Schroeter's collection, which were written by Ptolemy VII, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III concerning the sanctuary of Isis at Philae in Egypt. No.35 is a covering

letter to the priests to erect a stele. The enclosure, No.36, is in the form of a letter from the court to a royal official ordering him to grant a petition from the priests. Finally the text of the petition is appended. Another example of this procedure is found in Schroeter Nos.37/38.

Commentary

Vv.30, 31. The wording of the covering letter should be compared with Welles 72. After the salutation and the usual courtesy formulas (which the author of I Maccabees habitually omits) the letter continues (1.4): ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν ἀντίγραφον τῆς τε ἐπιστολῆς ἧς γεγράφαμεν πρὸς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητον ἵνα... παρακολουθήτε. The rest of the letter is lost. Schroeter comments on the uniform and stereotyped language in which such covering letters are usually written. They contain no indication of the contents and were the work, he believes, of a royal ἐπιστολογράφος who prefixed the king's name.

For the title δόελφος cf. p. 65

v.32. Lasthenes, the addressee of the second letter, is known to us through several ancient authors. He was a Cretan and had furnished Demetrius with troops for

invading Syria (Jos. Ant. 13, 86). His exact status at this time is not known. According to Diodorus xxxiii, 4, he was ὁ τῆς βασιλείας προσσηκῶς. As Demetrius was very young at this time, he may indeed have been the most powerful person in the empire².

From the present document it would appear that he was also a regional governor, probably with very wide powers. Perhaps he occupied a position similar to that of Lysias twenty years before. Lysias had been appointed by Antiochus IV, before his campaign to the East, to be ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ ἕως ὀρίων Ἀιγύπτου καὶ τρέφειν Ἀντιοχὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ -

(I Macc. 3,

32-33); he seems to have continued as chief minister with special competence in the west under Eupator³. Such a governor might have several στρατηγοὶ of more restricted competence serving under him. Under Lysias Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, was governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia⁴. Yet a letter concerning the Jews was written to him in person⁵.

The title κατήρ applied to a minister especially close to the king is also found in a letter from Antiochus III to a governor Zeugis (Jos. Ant. 12, 148). Plutarch says of a minister of Mithridates ἀρχὴ δὲ φιλίας τοσαύτη χρησόμενος

ὅστε πατήρ προταγορεύεσθαι τοῦ Βασιλέως (Lucullus 22, 2). The title implied that the person so addressed was senior to the king, and was perhaps his τροφεύς ⁶.

v.33. The first sentence is a very brief version of the usual explanatory introduction to letters of this kind. The king wants to "do good" to the Jews because of their loyalty towards him. The expression συντηρεῖν δικαίαν seems to imply the keeping of an agreement⁷. The word ἀγαθοποιεῖν is not found otherwise in Hellenistic letters, but is a typical Septuagint and New Testament use. The original would probably have had εὐεργετεῖν or one of the compounds from that root. Εὐνοία is very frequently found in a similar context in royal letters⁸.

v.34. The provisions of this verse, which has already been discussed in connection with Document 2, form the most important part of the letter. To begin with the king confirms to the Jews both the old territory of Judaea and the three districts added to it from Samaria⁹. Presumably these three districts had been the subject of negotiations between the king and Jonathan. At any rate the letter takes their transfer for granted. We can take it that from 145 B.C. onwards these territories definitely belonged to Judaea.

The words προσεπέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαριτιδος. . .

begin a parenthesis. The syntax of what follows is rather loose and the meaning not quite clear. Thus we do not know whether in the phrase καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς¹⁰ the word αὐτοῖς refers to νομοὶς or ὄρια in the preceding sentence; in other words whether the parenthesis stops at Σαμαρίτιδος or continues. Perhaps the most satisfactory sense is given by making the whole of the sentence from προσετέθησαν to the end of v. 34 an addition or gloss to the king's letter. This would have been inserted by a chancellery official in order to explain to Lasthenes how these districts came to be added to Judaea and how their financial situation would be affected by the change. This assumption would also explain why the king is suddenly mentioned in the third person. If this interpretation is correct, however, the exemption must still by implication apply also to the territory of Judaea proper. For both the parallel passage in Document 2 and Demetrius II's promise to make Judaea ἀφορολογητόν show that Judaea had been at least nominally subject to a land tax and was only now granted exemption. Perhaps the expression ἑστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄρια in itself implies exemption from this tax. The king, as it were, vested ownership of the territory, which previously had belonged to him alone, in the ἔθνος of the Jews, and thus renounced his right to the surplus of the produce of the territory.

The meaning of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \text{'Ιεροσόλυμα}$ 11 is not quite clear. Abel comments that only the "orthodox" Jews should benefit from the exemption; renegades and pagans were to be excluded. But surely all Jews regardless of whether they were followers of the Hasmoneans or not, would have worshipped at the sanctuary in Jerusalem. And it is improbable that there were any pagan peasants in Judaea at that time. More probably the words express a reason for the inclusion of these districts in the territory of Judaea. The inhabitants of these districts had been accustomed to worship in Jerusalem in the past; they are therefore to be united with Judaea politically and to enjoy the same tax concessions as Judaea¹².

It is significant that the proportion of the produce levied is not stated this time. Presumably it was lower in the three districts than it had been in Judaea, since in Judaea it had been a punitive measure. Probably it had ^{not} been collected in Judaea for some time, certainly not since Demetrius II came to the throne.

The fact that exemption from the tax on produce is placed first in this letter is another indication that this tax represented the main obligation of the Jews. The taxes mentioned in v.34 are of secondary importance. Exemptions from all these taxes is granted also in Document 2. For $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ cf. on v.31 there, for the taxes on salt and the crown tax on v.29.

The last sentence, v.37, does not as it stands form part of the letter to Lasthenes, but is addressed once more to the Jews (ἐπιμέλεσθε). It thus appears to be part of the covering letter. In the same way the letter to the priests of Isis at Philae, which was mentioned above, concludes with permission to erect a stele on which the royal φιλευθροκία was to be published¹³.

It is strange, however, that in our document the enclosure should be sandwiched between the two parts of the covering letter. I can find no parallel for this arrangement, which makes a somewhat naïve impression. The most likely explanation seems to me that the author of I Maccabees changed the order of clauses to conform to the literary standards which he adopted in his book. His readers would expect to know the text of the enclosure as soon as it was mentioned; for this was the most important part of the document. And the publication clause would make an effective end to the whole. As pointed out in Section I, the author was not specifically interested in preserving the formal elements of the documents which he included.

It is also possible, however, that the publication clause was originally part of the letter to Lasthenes (cf. Welles 70, 16) and that the wording of this clause was

changed in the copy made out to Jerusalem.

It was customary for royal edicts granting favours, such as tax exemption or the right of asylum, to a community to be published in this form. Publication would be in the "interest" both of the king whose bounty thus became widely known, and of the recipients to whom it would give some guarantee of the privileges they had won¹⁴.

It may be illuminating to remind ourselves of those privileges of Document 2 which do not recur in the present document. The surrender of the Akra, the character of "holy" and the right of asylum accorded to Jerusalem and the temple, the cession of Ptolemais, the liberation and repatriation of Jewish captives, the grant of tax exemption to all Jews on the festivals (unless included in v.35), and the several royal grants to the temple - all these are absent from the letter of Demetrius II. The difference is not surprising. The throne of Demetrius II at the time of his first negotiations with Jonathan was safer than his father's had been on the occasion of the other documents. Demetrius II wished to regulate the status of Judaea. He did not as yet need to bribe the Jews into furnishing him with troops.

But these negotiations and the document that represents their outcome were only the first stage in the relations

between Demetrius II and Jonathan. The settlement of 145 B.C., though important, could not be permanent and perhaps both sides realized it at the time. A short time later Demetrius II had forfeited his popularity by disbanding the native Syrian army. The result was that he found himself short of troops in face of growing discontent in his capital. He requested Jonathan for help, and promised in return to surrender the Akra and bestow yet further honours on the Jews *ἐάν εὐκαιρίας τύχω*. Jonathan sent him 3000 men who helped to put down the revolt in the capital. Whether these fresh promises of Demetrius II were meant more seriously than those of his father we cannot say. According to I Maccabees the king broke all his promises; and Jonathan then went over to a new pretender to the Seleucid throne, Antiochus VI (I Macc. 41-53). The reason for this break will be examined more fully in an appendix to this section.

In the foregoing discussion of Document 3, as also of Document 2, reference has been made repeatedly to the Inscription of Baetocaece (Welles 70), of which the text is given below:

Ἐπιστολή Ἀντιόχου Βασιλέως.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Εὐφήμεν χαίρειν; ἐδόθη δὲ κατακεχωρισμένος ὑπομνηματισμός. Γενέσθω οὖν καθότι δεδήλωται περὶ

ᾧν δεῖ διὰ σοῦ συντελεσθῆναι.

Προσενεχθέντος μοι περὶ τῆς ἐνεργ(ε)ίας θεοῦ

Διός

Βαιτοκαίκτης

6 ἐκρίθη συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ὅθεν καὶ ἡ
δύναμις/τοῦ θεοῦ κατάρχεται κώμην τὴν Βαιτοκαί(κη)νήν, ἣν
πρότερον ἔσχεν Δημήτριος/Δημητρίου τοῦ Μνασαίου εντουργῶνα
τῆς περὶ Ἀκάμιαν σατραπείας,

σὺν τοῖς

συνκύρουσι καὶ καθήκουσι πᾶσι κατὰ τοὺς προῦκάρχοντας
περιορισμοὺς/καὶ σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους γεν(ν)ήμασιν,
10 ὅπως ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης πρόσδοδος/ἀναλλοσκηται εἰς τὰς κατὰ μῆνα(ς)
συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ

πρὸς αὔξη-

σιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντείνοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ καθεσταμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἱερέως ὡς εἴθισται, ἄγωνται φέ καὶ κατὰ μῆνα πανηγύρεις
ἀτελεῖς τῆ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ καὶ/τριακάδει, καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἱερόν
ἄουχον τὴν δὲ κώμην ἀνεπίσ(τ)α(θ)μον,

μηδεμιᾶς

ἀπορρήσεως προσενεχθείσης; τὸν δὲ ἐναντιωθησόμενόν τι σι
15 τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἔνοχον εἶναι ἀσεβείῃ; ἀναγραφῆναι τε
καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἐν στήλῃ γὰρ λιθίνῃ καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν/τῷ αὐτῷ
ἱερῷ. δεήσει οὖν γραφῆναι οἷς εἴθισται, ἵνα γένηται
ἀκολούθως τοῖς δηλουμένοις.

This document reflects circumstances in some ways similar to those met with in I Maccabees, though the grants are on a smaller scale. The lands of an ancient native sanctuary, which an earlier Seleucid had made over to a Macedonian nobleman, are returned to the god by one of the last members of the dynasty¹⁵. Hence it may be worthwhile to collect points of similarity between the letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan and the Inscription of Baetocaece (henceforth abbreviated I.B.) The date of the Inscription is ca.100 B.C.

1. In both cases the royal decision is communicated to an official. The temple of Baetocaece apparently received its copy from this official.

2. The use of the technical verb κρίνω for the king's decision. I.B., which is in the form of a ὑπομνηματισμός has ἐκρίθη, Document 3 the more usual active form.

3. Definition of the territory to which the grant applies:

συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ (i.e. the god). . . τὴν κώμην τὴν

Βαιτοκαικηνήν. . . κατὰ τοὺς προὔπάρχοντας περιορισμούς

(I.B.) ἐστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς
τρεις νομούς (No.3)

4. The technical phrase σὺν τοῖς συνκύρουσι καὶ καθήκουσι
πᾶσι (I.B.) καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς (No.3). Welles interprets the former as the village lands and the peasants

with their property comparing καὶ τοῦς ὑπάρχοντας αὐτοῦς λαοῦς πανοικίους σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν πᾶσιν in the Laodicean Inscription (Welles 18, 8/9) and τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν οἰκοπέδων προσκυρόντων καὶ τῶν λαῶν πανοικίων σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν in the Mnesimachus Inscription¹⁶. It would be rather strange, though not impossible, for the king to make over the Jewish λαοί to the ἔθνος of the Jews. Probably the phrase covers mainly buildings, herds and flocks or any other royal investments in the land.

5. The use of the word γενήματα or γεννήματα in both documents. The essence of the grant in both cases is that the king remits the proportional tax on produce from the land paid annually (κατ'ἐνιαυτόν). Nothing is said in No.3 about the produce of the current year, though this is a feature we might expect.

6. In both documents the transfer of the king's right over the land is placed first. Other concessions follow as being of lesser importance. Two of the other provisions of I.B., viz. freedom from taxation on public holidays and the right of δουλεία are paralleled in Document 2¹⁷.

7. εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον (I.B. line 8) εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (No.3 v.36)¹⁸. There is, of course, a considerable difference in the position of this phrase in the two letters. In I.B. it occurs at the beginning, and refers specifically

to the transfer of land. Similarly No.2 has the words

ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
(the last four words repeated for added effect) at the end
of the clause granting exemption from the land-tax. On
the other hand a clause emphasizing the permanence of the
provisions is sometimes found at the end of a
document, usually in connection with the order for publi-
cation, e.g. Welles 13, 16. . . ἵνα μὲντι ὑμῖν βεβαίως εἰς
πάντα τὸν χρόνον τὰ συγχωρηθέντα ; Welles 67, 14 ff.

Κρίνομεν διὰ ταῦτα, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀκίνητα
καὶ ἀμετάθετα μὲντι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τίμια καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν
Ἀθηναίων φιλόνηρα. . .
There is a certain analogy between this type of clause and
the warning in case of violation at the end of I.B.

8. Both letters close with the order for publication in
the sanctuary. The publication clause normally came at
the end of a decree; anything following it, e.g. the last
sentence of I.B., was a later addition.

Of course these similarities are merely formal, and
mostly reflect common usage. But the fact that such a
short document as No.3 contains so many features which can
be paralleled from a contemporary inscription may serve as
an indication that the letters in I Maccabees are by no
means so entirely lacking in style as many commentators
have assumed.

A Note on I Maccabees 11, 28

I Maccabees 11, 28 states that Jonathan promised Demetrius

300 talents in return for which the king agreed to make Judaea and the three toparchies *ἀφορολόγητον*. The commentators have discussed whether this sum was to be an annual payment or a settlement once and for all of Judaea's obligation towards Demetrius II. An annual payment of 300 talents would, of course, be a revival of the tribute paid by the High Priests before Jason. This is Bickermann's view¹⁹. Bevan and Abel support the second view²⁰.

As the payment is not mentioned any further it is difficult to decide between these two opinions. In any case the matter is of theoretical interest only, since Jonathan remained faithful to Demetrius for less than one year. But it may be worth while to try and elucidate at least the intention behind the promise from the further dealings between Jonathan or Simon and the Seleucid rulers.

The first question to ask is: What factors led to the break between Demetrius II and Jonathan, which occurred after Jonathan had helped to suppress the revolt in the capital? I Macc. 11, 53, contains itself with the observation that the king belied all that he had said, and became estranged from Jonathan; failed to reward him properly *καὶ ἔθλιβεν αὐτὸν σφοδρῶς*. The parallel account to this narrative in Josephus seems to go back to an

additional Hellenistic source, and in it we read: ὕστερον δέ πονηρός εἷς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατα, καὶ πόλεμον ἠπείλησεν εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποδώσει, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων 13, 143)²¹

We know, therefore, that the reason for the break was a dispute about tribute or taxation. The taxes demanded by the king may, of course, be just those from which exemption had been granted previously, i.e., the proportional tax on produce. But if the above arguments concerning the relation between land-tax and tribute is correct, we are inclined to interpret the last words of the passage as a demand primarily for the payment of an annual tribute (often called φόρος by Josephus). That would mean that Demetrius sought to restore the situation that had existed before the Maccabean revolt. There should be no land-tax but the High Priest should be responsible for an annual tribute.

The further question then arises whether this demand was in accordance with the arrangements made either during Jonathan's visit to Ptolemais, or at the time of the king's further concessions later.

Under the regime of Antiochus VI and Tryphon Diodotus, Jonathan was obliged to make certain payments. His

default gave Tryphon an excuse for holding him prisoner.

In a message to Jonathan's brother Simon he said: περί

ἀργυρίου οὗ ᾧ φείλεν Ἰοναθάν ὁ ἀδελφός σου εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν
δι' ᾧ εἶχε χρεῖασ συνέχομεν αὐτόν (I Macc. 13, 15).

The expression δι' ᾧ εἶχε χρεῖασ is rather vague. In the first instance it suggests a purely private obligation of Jonathan on behalf of the office of High Priest and Meridarch, which had been conferred on him. But perhaps the words are merely another expression for the tribute: i.e. the High Priest's responsibility for the collective obligation of the people. The sum owed at Jonathan's death was 100 talents. But this may have been merely the amount of his arrears; and in any case we would expect a diminution of tribute to follow from Jonathan's desertion to Antiochus VI.

Complete exemption became a fact with the rapprochement between Demetrius II and Simon. This is certain from the accounts both of Josephus and of I Maccabees (here independent), though the evidence consists as much of the author's omissions as of his positive statements. I Macc. 13, 41 states somewhat rhetorically that in the year 170 Sel. the yoke of the heathen was lifted from Israel. But the letter in which Demetrius's grants were embodied (No. 4 cf. below) only repeats the earlier promises made by the king to Jonathan. It was regarded as a charter of independence only because, unlike the earlier letter, it formed a basis for a lasting alliance. No further disputes about taxation

are mentioned either during the brief (first) reign of Demetrius II or during that of Antiochus VII. Antiochus VII later demanded tribute for the cities outside Judaea which had been annexed by the Hasmoneans. The complete exemption of Judaea itself after 170 Sel. is thus conclusively established.

The fact that the tribute is not mentioned either in the document (no.4) itself or in the preceding narrative is very remarkable and deserves some comment. Unless the author of I Maccabees suppresses more than is apparent, no formal negotiations on the subject took place, and Demetrius II never explicitly absolved the High Priest Simon from the obligation to pay tribute or its equivalent, i.e. a sum due on behalf of the offices conferred on him. But in his offer of a "lasting peace" he gave de facto recognition (to use a modern concept) to the independence of the Hasmonean state, which meant primarily freedom from tribute. Independence in matters of foreign policy did not come till later, when the Seleucid empire had been weakened even further.

Furthermore, it seems natural to suppose that this tacit recognition was given only because of the Jews' persistent refusal to pay. Both the earlier alliance between Demetrius II and Jonathan, and the subsequent

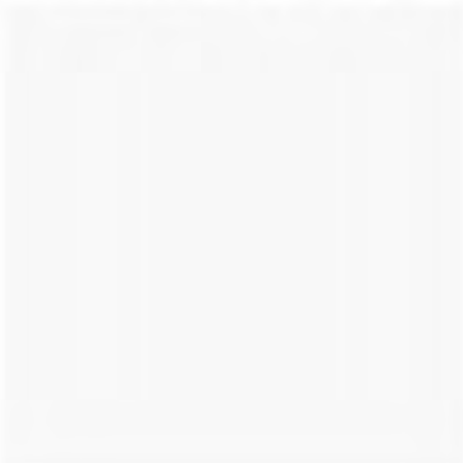
alliance between Tryphon and Jonathan had come to grief over just this issue; and judging by the contents of Document 2, Jewish grievances over taxation had been the main source of trouble in the time of Demetrius I. Therefore as long as no sovereign in the Seleucid empire could hope to remain unchallenged, it was the wisest policy to acquiesce in this refusal to avoid further trouble. The idea that a former vassal state, and a native community as distinct from a Greek πόλις, should be entirely free from tribute was nevertheless a very revolutionary one. It is not likely, either, that Jonathan should have explicitly demanded complete exemption at Ptolemais in 145 B.C., or that Demetrius should have granted it then.

The most likely solution of the problem seems to me that the question of future payments was left open at that time. Jonathan must have been aware at the time of the negotiations that the throne of Demetrius would not be safe for long. If, therefore, the statement of I Macc. 11, 28, καὶ ἐπηγγελάτο αὐτῷ ἅπαντα τριακόσια is rather vague, so may have been the original promise. The Hasmoneans were nothing if not shrewd politicians.

DOCUMENT 4

DEMETRIUS II
TO SIMON

I Macc. 13, 36-40



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DOCUMENT 4

DEMETRIUS II TO SIMON

I Macc. 13, 36-40

36 Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Σιμωνι ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ φίλοι βασιλεύων καὶ
37 πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἔθνει Ιουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυ-
σοῦν καὶ τὴν βαῖνην, ἣν ἀπεστείλατε, κεκομίσμεθα καὶ ἔτοιμοί
ἐσμεν τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην μεγάλην καὶ γράφειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν
38 χρειῶν τοῦ ἀφιέναι ὑμῖν τὰ ἀφέματα. καὶ ὅσα ἐστήσαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
39 ἔστηκεν, καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ἃ ἠκοδομήσατε, ὑπαρχέτω ὑμῖν. ἀφίεμεν
δὲ ἀγνοήματα καὶ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν
στέφανον, ὃν ἀφείλετε, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτελωνεῖτο ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ,
40 μηκέτι τελωνεῖσθω. καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπιτήδριοι ὑμῶν γραφῆναι εἰς τοὺς
περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐγγραφέσθωσαν, καὶ γινέσθω ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμῶν εἰρήνη.

Introductory Note

This is the only foreign document in I Maccabees which we can date almost exactly. The narrative following the text of the letter says: Ἔτους ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἦρθεν ὁ ζυγὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ.

This statement clearly refers to the complete exemption from all taxes which Demetrius had accorded to the Jews. The commentators have also referred to this letter ~~xxx~~ a statement in Megillath Taanith: On the 27th Iyyar the crowns

were abolished from Jerusalem. Demetrius in the letter expressly remits a crown¹. The letter may thus be dated 27th Iyyar 170 Seleucid, which corresponds to May, 142 B.C.

The royal "we" is preserved throughout. According to Abel the document is entirely free from Semitisms²; but the expressions εἰρήνη μεγάλη and ἀφεῖναι δφέματα are probably due to literal translations from the Hebrew.

Commentary

V.36. The very opening of the letter gives us important information about the changed status of Judaea. Three years previously, the king had addressed Jonathan as Ἰωναθάν τῷ ἀδελφῷ ; now he mentions Simon's title of High Priest. This difference in expression reflects a fundamental difference between the position of Jonathan in 145 B.C. and that of Simon in 142 B.C. ³

The normal practice of Hellenistic letter-writing was that titles should not be used for author or addressee. An exception to this rule was made if either was a king (as are the writers of all the Seleucid letters in I Maccabees) or autonomous dynast⁴. Thus the title of ἀρχιερεὺς applied to Simon shows that he was now regarded as dynast of the autonomous territory of Judaea. This fits in very well with the general purport of the letter, which is to recognize

once and for all the financial immunity of Judaea. The title of High Priest recurs in the address of Document 5. As Bickermann has observed, the faithful preservation of such a detail as the omission or inclusion of titles may be regarded as conclusive proof of the authenticity of the Seleucid letters in I Maccabees⁵.

Simon is also called "friend of kings". The plural βασιλέων has been regarded as a translator's slip by some commentators, since Demetrius would certainly not refer to the conferment of this title by his rival. Grimm suggested that either Demetrius's successors or other members of the royal household might be meant. It is also possible that there is an oblique reference to the foreign kings who had received Jewish embassies in connection with the Roman treaty⁶.

In addition to the High Priest and the people, this letter also names the elders. We possess evidence of the existence of a body of elders from earlier documents. Thus the decree of Antiochus III mentions them in connection with tax exemption (Jos. Ant. 12, 142)⁷; and a letter of Antiochus IV from the year 164 B.C. is addressed ^{τῇ γερουσίᾳ} τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰουδαίοις (II Macc. 11, 27).

It would appear then that the elders, headed by the High Priest, had been the traditional rulers of the Jews,

probably since Persian times. Bickermann goes so far as to say that the very concept of *ἔθνος* implied such an aristocratic form of government⁸.

Yet the elders are not mentioned in the earlier documents included in I Maccabees (except the letter to the Spartans, N^o.7); apart from a passing reference in I Macc. 7, 33 we find no mention of them at all until I Macc. 13, 35 where it is stated that Jonathan *ἔξεκκλησίασε τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο μετ' αὐτῶν κτλ.*

The explanation of these facts is not difficult to find. The Maccabean disturbances, as has been pointed out above, represented an internal revolution as much as a struggle against the Seleucid government. The old ruling class, which had on the whole sided with the government, was replaced by the Hasmoneans and their followers. Through this process the older *γερονσία* must have ceased to exist.

Unfortunately our sources tell us next to nothing about the part taken by the elders in the events under Antiochus IV. During the High Priesthood of Menelaus we are told the elders sent an unsuccessful delegation to protest against his actions to the king (II Macc. 4, 43 ff). A few years later, however, Menelaus himself is the elders' ambassador to the king (II Macc. 11, 29). At the beginning of the reign of Demetrius I some of the elders appear as

peacefully greeting the general Nicanor on Mount Zion and showing him the sacrifices offered on behalf of the king. They were severely rebuffed (I Macc. 7, 33 ff).

Though in the early years of the reform movement the gerousia may have been a moderating influence, it certainly took no part, as a body, in the active resistance against the Hellenizers and the Seleucid army. Some of its members may have joined the Hasmoneans; the majority probably followed first Menelaus and then Alcimus or remained neutral. The gerousia may have lingered on during the years when Judaea was without a High Priest. Its importance must have declined rapidly in a period in which real power was in the hands of the Macedonian garrisons on the one hand, and the followers of Jonathan on the other. With the appointment of Jonathan to the office of High Priest in 153 B.C. it must have disappeared entirely.

Between 145 and 142 B.C. the Hasmoneans apparently reconstituted the gerousia. In so doing they were taking the first step towards giving their rule a constitutional basis. Hitherto it had been purely military rule, resting on their command of troops alone. Even the office of High Priest had been conferred on Jonathan only by a succession of Seleucid rulers; though no doubt with the approval of the majority of the people. The convening

of a new body of elders was the preamble to the ceremony in 141 B.C. when Hasmonean rule was finally legitimized by a grand assembly of the whole people. How members of the new gerousia were chosen we do not know. Schuerer assumes that the Hasmoneans came to terms with remnants of the old aristocracy of Jerusalem so that the new elders would have come from the same families as the old. It may be, however, that many "new men" who had served the Hasmoneans were elevated to the status of elders. Though the gerousia continued to be an essential part of the constitution of Judaea, its importance under the Hasmoneans was not as great as it had been before the Maccabean revolt. Under Simon its name once more disappeared from official documents⁹. One of its main functions seems to have been to act as a supreme court of justice. Hence it became known in Roman times as *συμβούλιον*.

V.37. Requests for tax exemption or other favours were usually accompanied by substantial gifts to the king, and many royal letters open with acknowledgments of such gifts, e.g. Welles 15, 3-5f. A gold wreath, or sometimes a real wreath ~~was~~ accompanied by ingots of gold, always figured among the gifts¹⁰. The palm branch was joined to the wreath in Hellenistic times as reward for a victor in athletic contests¹¹. It is mentioned among the gifts with which the High Priest Alcimus acclaimed Demetrius I¹².

We would expect the Jewish ambassadors who had brought the gifts to be mentioned by name.

The meaning of εἰρήνη μεγάλη is evidently a complete and lasting peace¹³. The king agrees once and for all to satisfy Jewish demands for immunity from taxation, and to abide by his promises. For this was the only way to save further trouble in Judaea.

The phrase τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν χρείων¹⁴ refers to the local governor and his staff, who would naturally have to be informed of the tax-concessions to Judaea. Similarly Antiochus III, in a letter to the city of Amygon, writes γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ [τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων στρατηγῶν ὄ]πως ἀνπλαμβάνωνται τε. δμῶν (Macc. 38-9). Like this letter, the present document confines itself to general principles. The king confirms the concessions made to Jonathan three years earlier, and concluded with an affirmation of complete exemption. The details of the scheme would be mentioned in the letters to his officials.

The contrast with Document 3 is interesting. Instead of addressing his main communication to ~~an~~ official and giving the Jews a copy of this letter together with a brief covering note, Demetrius now addresses a full-scale letter to the Jews, mentioning letters sent to officials. Perhaps this change of procedure once again reflects the rise in the status of Judaea.

v.38. The words *καὶ ὅσα ἐστήσαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἕστηκεα* apply to the king's previous concessions to Judaea, as embodied in Document 3.

The second half of the sentence is equally important. By permitting the Jews to retain the fortresses which they had built, the king recognizes their right to defend their territory themselves. Jewish autonomy extended also to military affairs, of course for defence purposes only¹⁵.

The fortresses had played a very important part in the history of the three preceding years. At the very beginning of the period Simon had successfully besieged Bethsura, the last Seleucid fortress inside Judaea apart from the Akra at Jerusalem. Situated on the borders between Judaea and Idumaea, it commanded access to Jerusalem from the south. It was thus one of the most important strategic points for the defence of Judaea¹⁶. The capture of Bethsura was considered so important that the anniversary of the event became a national holiday¹⁷.

After Jonathan's return from his second campaign against Demetrius the decision was taken "to build fortresses in Judaea" (I Macc. 12, 35). The first fortress to be built was Adida, situated in the coastal plain in the extreme north-west of Judaea, not far from Lydda (ibid.38).

Shortly afterwards this fortress seems to have acted as a barrier against the attempted invasion of Tryphon (I Macc. 13, 12 ff.) It may well be that on the one hand the decision to build the fortresses was motivated by fear of such an invasion, and that on the other it directly provoked Tryphon's attack. The danger of further attempts by Tryphon to recover Judaea still existed, and Demetrius was not strong enough to man the fortresses himself. Hence his surrender of these fortresses to the Jews is purely formal, the Jews would have them in any case.

After Jonathan's death Simon continued the work: καὶ ἀκοδόμησε Σίμων τὰ ὀχυρώματα τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τερητέειχε πύργους ὑψηλοῦς καὶ τείχεσι μεγάλοις καὶ πόλεις καὶ μοχλοῦς καὶ ἔθετο βράματα ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι (I Macc. 13, 33). Presumably the fortresses in question are those enumerated in I Macc. 9, 50 which had been fortified by Bacchides in 159 B.C. and abandoned by Demetrius I five years later.

The content of this clause is somewhat vague. Nothing is said about Joppe, which Simon had occupied before Tryphon's treachery, "because he had heard that the inhabitants wanted to hand the fortress over to the followers of Demetrius" (I Macc. 12, 34), and which he had settled with Jews before Tryphon's threatened invasion (I Macc. 13, 11).

nor is the Akra of Jerusalem mentioned, which was being besieged at the very time that Simon was negotiating with Demetrius. It is probable that neither of these places would be included in the clause about the fortresses, since they were regarded as poleis¹⁸.

V.39. The phrase ἀφίεμεν ἄγνοήματα, καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα amounts to a proclamation of amnesty. ἄγνοήματα stands for involuntary, ἁμαρτήματα for voluntary acts. The conjunction of the two terms also occurs in an amnesty proclaimed by Euergetes II and his two co-rulers in the year 118 B.C.: ἀφίσει τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλίαν πάντας
ἄγνοημάτων ἁμαρτημάτων¹⁹⁾.

As examples of offences pardoned in the amnesty Abel cites the siege of the Akra, the defection and the capture of Bethsura and Joppe. The Jews' defection to Antiochus VI and their subsequent campaigns against Demetrius are, of course, the main offence. But perhaps the amnesty is to be understood as applying particularly to default of taxes; otherwise the continuation of the sentence by which ἀφίεμεν applies also to τὸν στεφανόν would make a very awkward zeugma.

This crown, unlike the one mentioned in v.37, is an obligatory one. Apparently it was incumbent on the people as a whole.

For the last part of the sentence one may compare Welles 15, 28-30, ἀπάρχει δὲ ὑμῖν ... [καὶ ἐσ]ν τι ἕλλο φιλόανθρωπον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἐπινοήσωμεν ἢ [ὑμεῖς ἀξιωση]ε. The term τελωνεῖν properly refers only to customs duties. But the present context suggests a wider meaning covering any sort of tax²⁰.

V.40 recalls earlier requests for troops. The Jewish soldiers are to serve in the king's personal bodyguard (εἰς τοὺς περὶ ἡμᾶς) which was probably regarded as a special honour (hence εἴ τιμες ἐπιτηδεῖοι). For Demetrius the use of Jewish troops would be advantageous, on account of his unpopularity with the native Syrians. The narrative of I Maccabees does not tell us whether any troops were in fact sent to the king; on the whole it seems unlikely.

The word γράφειν according to Abel, is used for enrolment in general; ἐγγράφειν means to enter someone on a register as joining a corps.

The letter ends as it began with a plea for good relations between the king and the Jews in the future.

DOCUMENT 5

ANTIOCHUS VII TO SIMON

I Macc. 15, vv. 2-9

DOCUMENT 5

ANTIOCHUS VII TO SIMON

I Macc. 15, vv. 2-9

2 Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Σίμωνι ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐνθάρχη καὶ
3 ἔθνει Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ τινες λοιμοὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς βα-
4 σιλείας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, / βούλομαι δὲ ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῆς βασι-
λείας, ὅπως ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτὴν ὡς ἦν τὸ πρότερον, ἐξενολόγησα
δὲ πλῆθος δυνάμεων καὶ κατεσκεύασα πλοῖα πολεμικά, βούλομαι δὲ
ἐκβῆναι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὅπως μετέλθω τοὺς κατεφθαρκότας τὴν χώ-
ραν ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἠρημωκότας πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ μου /
5 νῦν οὖν ἴστημί σοι πάντα τὰ ἀφέματα, ἃ ἀφῆκάν σοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ
6 βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δόματα ἀφῆκάν σοι. καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποι-
7 ῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον, νόμισμα τῇ χώρῃ σου, / Ἱερουσαλημ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἅγια
εἶναι ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄπλα, ὅσα κατεσκεύασας, καὶ τὰ ὄχυ-
8 ρώματα, ἃ ἠκοδόμησας, ὧν κρατεῖς, μενέτω σοι. καὶ πᾶν ὀφείλημα
βασιλικὸν καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα βασιλικά ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα
9 χρόνον ἀφιεῖσθω σοι· ὡς δ' ἂν κρατήσωμεν τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, δοξά-
σομέν σε καὶ τὸ ἔθνος σου καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δόξη μεγάλη ὥστε φανεράν
γενέσθαι τὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ.

Introductory Note

This document is said to have been sent to the Jews by Antiochus VII "from the isles of the sea" 1, shortly

before his landing in Syria in 174 Sel. - 138/7 B.C.²

Its purpose is to inform them of his impending arrival and of his intentions towards Judaea.

The letter consists of three parts: a narrative portion announcing the king's intention to recover his heritage (vv. 3, 4), his grants to the Jews (vv. 5-9) and a promise of further benefits in the future (v.10).

The first part, a clause introduced by ἐπειδή followed by five verbs in parataxis, may owe something to the form of the city decree on which royal letters to communities were sometimes modelled³. In any case it represents a more elaborate period than is to be found elsewhere in the Seleucid letters of I Maccabees.

The first person plural is found five times in the letter: τῆς βασιλείας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (v.3); τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν (v.4); and three times in v.9. Elsewhere the first person singular is used, which occurs altogether ten times. A possible explanation of the inconsistency might be that Antiochus anticipates his kingship at the opening and close of the letter. The last verse in particular looks into the future. In the rest of the letter he uses the singular, because he is not yet in fact the representative of the state⁴. The apparent exception in the middle of the letter

τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν should perhaps be taken in a different sense, i.e. to include the addressees. For Judaea too had been exploited by Tryphon.

Commentary

V.2. Simon is addressed by his name and titles as in Document 4⁵. The title of ἐθνάρχης had been conferred on him by the Jewish people two years previously⁶. It is noteworthy that the elders are no longer mentioned. Through the decree of 141 B.C. Simon had evidently become the sole representative of the people in their external relations. His position was that of a dynast. Similarly Document 6, the letter from the Consul Lucius, describes the Jewish ambassadors as sent "by Simon the High Priest and the people of the Jews" (I Macc. 15, 16)⁷. Of course the council of elders continued to exist. But it no longer had any say over foreign affairs.

Vv.3, 4. It is interesting that this general statement of the king's plans should be given as the sole explanation or motive for the concessions that follow. There is no mention of the merits of the Jews. Usually both new and confirmatory grants were preceded by remarks on the loyalty of the city on whom they were conferred. It may be that the omission of such remarks in the present letter is due

only to the fact that Antiochus himself had had no previous dealings with the Jews. But it is not impossible that he purposely adopted a restrained tone towards them even at this stage. For though he was willing to grant them substantial concessions in order to secure their good-will, he may have been very conscious of the fact that he was doing so only out of necessity.

It is interesting to compare with these two verses the accusations which in the ensuing narrative Antiochus is said to have made against the Jews. ὑμεῖς κατακρατεῖτε τῆς Ἰόπκης καὶ Γαζάρων καὶ τῆς ἀκρας τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ πόλεις τῆς βασιλείας μου· τὰ ὄρια αὐτῶν ἠρημώσατε ... καὶ ἐκυριεβοσατε τόπων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου (I Macc. 15, 28-9). Thus almost the identical words here applied to Tryphon are later used against the Jews themselves. It is not impossible that even in the present context a discreet warning to the Jews is implied.

Certainly the reasons here given for Antiochus's concessions to the Jews are not such as would occur to any Jewish forger with a propaganda purpose, or even to someone trying to reconstruct a forgotten text from his own imagination. They ring entirely true, both to the character of Antiochus VII and to the circumstances from which they spring.

In v.3 Antiochus stresses in particular his own legitimacy and the usurpation of Tryphon. Tryphon's power has lost any constitutional basis it had had in the preceding years. After doing away with the boy-king Antiochus VI and having himself proclaimed king, he proceeded to attack traditional Seleucid institutions. He discarded the Seleucid era and began to count the years from his own succession. His coins depart completely from customary Seleucid symbols⁸. Thus the words ἕως ἀρχατασίῃσιν αὐτῶν ὡς ἦν τὸ πρότερον are more than an empty phrase. Not only had the empire lost its unity in the Civil War between Tryphon and Demetrius II; its very character had changed through the loss of ancient traditions. Moreover, it is implied below that Tryphon was guilty of gross misrule. Thus Antiochus, apart from possessing a legal right to the throne, sees in himself one who has a mission to restore good government.

It is characteristic of Hellenistic diplomatic practice that Tryphon is not mentioned by name. It was a general rule in the letters of Hellenistic kings that the names of hated rivals should be suppressed. In the words of Welles, "royal hatreds expressed themselves by silence"⁹. Thus Ptolemy II in a letter to Miletus refers to a rival, probably Antigonus, by the phrase *τινες τῶν βασιλέων* (Welles 14, 6/7). The word *λοιμοί* translates the Hebrew 'aritsim or paritsim

= violent ones¹⁰. This in its turn was probably a concrete rendering of an adverb or adverbial phrase in the original Greek, e.g. βιαίως¹¹, βίβ, πρὸς βιάν or παρανδμως. The plural (τίνες λοιμοί) may be just conventional, as it appears to be in the example quoted above; or it may be meant to cover all the kings who were not of the line of Seleucus IV, i.e. Antiochus IV and Alexander Balas as well as Tryphon.

The word χώρα, in its first use in v.4, seems to stand for the whole territory of the empire. It is used in this sense in Welles 6, 7¹² and in the papyri.

V.5. The king begins his grants to Judaea by confirming the concessions made by his predecessors. A Hellenistic community enjoyed its privileges only by the favour of the monarch who had conferred them. In theory they expired at his death, and his successor was not bound to renew them. As a rule, of course, there would be continuity of policy, and the charters of most cities would be renewed automatically. Probably there would not need to be negotiation between its ruler and each city, and each fresh confirmation would not be engraved on stone. But we possess several epigraphical examples of letters confirming ancient privileges to a community, e.g. Welles 15, usually in conjunction with fresh concessions.

In the present example the need for confirmation is obvious. The Jews had but lately wrested their concessions from Demetrius, and those concessions had been granted reluctantly because of the weakness of the government. Simon might well be apprehensive at the appearance of a new ruler who made clear his resolution to re-unite his empire at the outset. It was therefore imperative for Antiochus to allay the Jews' fear in order to secure himself from interference on their part in the coming war.

The wording of v.5 contains usages already met with in the Seleucid documents¹³. The original Greek text probably ran similarly to Welles 64, 12-14 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τεύματα ὅσα οἱ πρό ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς συνεχώρησαν ἐπιτρέπω. (In that example the particular comes before the general; in our case the procedure is the reverse).

The ἀφέματα or φιλάνθρωπα are of course the tax exemptions which are found in the three preceding letters. What is meant by the δόματα is less clear. The gifts which Demetrius I had promised to the temple did not recur in subsequent letters¹⁴. It may be, however, that insofar as they were merely revivals of subventions which the temple had enjoyed before the Maccabean revolt, they were re-instituted by Demetrius II without formal embodiment in a document. It is also possible that the phrase οἱ πρό ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, in addition to applying to Antiochus' brother

and father, refers back directly to Antiochus III and Seleucus IV. We do not know whether the royal subvention was in fact re-instituted or not.

V.6. Here Antiochus adds an entirely new privilege. The Jews are permitted to strike their own coinage. Modern scholars have naturally tried to identify coins minted by Simon, and thus this verse has become the subject of a considerable literature.

Two types have in the past been attributed to Simon. The first is a silver issue inscribed on the obverse Shekel Yisrael or Chatsi Hasbekel (half shekel), and on the reverse Yerushalem Kedoshah (Jerusalem the holy). The obverse also bears the dates Year 1 to Year 5¹⁵. It is obvious that these shekels can belong only to the period before 135 B.C., the accession of John Hyrkan, or after 66 A.D., the beginning of the Jewish revolt against the Romans; for we are well informed about the coins of the Hasmonean and Herodian rulers and the Roman procurators. Earlier authorities commonly ascribed them to Simon, reckoning the dates either from the privilege of Antiochus to the death of Simon, 139/8 - 135/4 B.C., or from the beginning of the Jewish era 142/1 B.C. to the outbreak of war with Antiochus.

The dating of this coin in the time of Simon was first questioned towards the end of the nineteenth century by

Ewald, Th. Reinach, Babelon and others.

The arguments against this dating are best summarized by Schuerer¹⁶ and Hill¹⁷. John Hyrkan and the later Hasmoneans minted in copper only. It is therefore unlikely in itself that Simon should have minted in silver. Moreover the concession of Antiochus VII never applied to coins of the value of a silver shekel; for as the phrase νόμισμα τῆς χώρας σου indicates, the coinage was meant for local circulation only. Only bronze or silver of low denomination would be thus restricted in circulation. Higher denominations of silver (the shekel was roughly equivalent to a tetradrachma) as well as gold, circulated in the whole empire¹⁸. The dating of the silver shekels in the time of Simon has now been abandoned by the vast majority of scholars¹⁹.

The second type of coinage which has sometimes been attributed to Simon is the bronze "shekel of the year 4". The obverse bears the inscription Year 4 followed sometimes by the words chatsi (= a half, viz. shekel) or revi'a (= a quarter). The reverse Ligeullath Tsion (for the redemption of Zion). The types represent citron (ethrog), bundles of twigs (lulab), palm trees, bunches of fruit, etc.²⁰

This coin is attributed to Simon by Hill²¹, Reifenberg²², Abel and Zeitlin. On the other hand Schürer²³, Kennedy²⁴

and others date it too during the revolt against the Romans, i.e. in the year 69/70 A.D. The main argument against the earlier date is the total lack of resemblance between these coins and those of John Hyrkan either in style or in inscription. In recent years this argument has been reinforced by the excavations at Bethsura and Gazara which brought to light no coins of this type²⁵.

One might add that the inscription of the coins alone speaks very strongly against a dating under Simon. The expression "for the redemption of Zion" has a marked Messianic flavour, for which no parallels are to be found in I Maccabees. The decree in honour of Simon, No. 9, characterizes Simon's rule as man-ordained throughout and particularly so in the phrase ἕως τοῦ δυναστῆσαι προφήτην κλισίῳν (I Macc. 14, 41). The name Zion does not occur in I Maccabees at all (except in the combination Mount Zion). One would much rather expect that Simon, like his successors, would inscribe his name on his coins, just as it was put at the head of all documents.

We must conclude, therefore, that no coins of Simon are known to us. It is of course an open question whether we may infer hence that no coins were struck under Simon. As a rule it is unsafe to draw conclusions from an argumentum e silentio. It should also be remembered that, as Reifenberg

has pointed out²⁶, only a small number of coins from the early Hasmonean period was discovered at Bethsura and Gazara. But perhaps we may say that in the present state of our knowledge it seems improbable that Simon issued coins in any large measure.

The further problem then arises: Why did Simon fail to make use of the privilege conferred on him by Antiochus VII? For Willrich of course the answer is clear. In his view it was quite unthinkable that Simon should have failed to avail himself of such a privilege. Hence the privilege itself must be false, and the letter containing it betrays itself as a forgery²⁷. But once Willrich's basic premise of interpolation in Herodian times is rejected, the assumption of forgery would not explain the difficulty. For the Jews of the age of John Hyrkan, the fact that they possessed their own coinage was surely enough. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that they could have derived any extra satisfaction from the belief that the privilege had been conferred on them by Antiochus VII.

It has been suggested that Simon did not have time to mint his own coinage in his brief space of independence. Fear of Tryphon would have prevented him from doing so at first; after Tryphon was finally defeated, the break with Antiochus occurred and the privileges of the present document were revoked.²⁸

This explanation is quite untenable. Once he had established relations with Demetrius II and later with Antiochus, Simon would hardly have troubled about the effects of his actions on Tryphon. And there is no evidence for the assumption, made by a number of scholars, that Antiochus withdrew his promises later.

A possible explanation might be sought in the economic situation of Judaea. Most cities which minted their own coins at this time were great trading centres. It may be that for Judaea, whose economy was so far as we know based chiefly on agriculture and the revenue from the temple, the establishment of a mint would not have been profitable. Even the later Hasmonaeans minted only copper. On the advantages of a mint we read in a decree of the people of Sestos from the middle of the second century B.C.: τοῦ δὲ δήμου προελομένου νομισματὺ χαλκίνωι χρῆσθαι ἰδίωι, χάριν τῶν νομιτεύεσθαι μὲν τὸν τῆς πόλεως χαρακτῆρα, τὸ δὲ λυσιτελεῖς τὸ περιγεννηόμενον ἐκ τῆς προσόδου λαμβάνειν τὸν δῆμον (O.G.I.S. I 537, no. 339, line 43 ff). Thus we see that the city expected a two-fold benefit: prestige and revenue. Perhaps Antiochus wished to gratify Jewish aspirations to independence; but the country was not yet ready to derive any material benefit from the promise.

The right of coinage was not quite as new to Judaea as used to be supposed. In recent years coins have been

found dating from the end of the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. and bearing the inscription Jerusalem or Yehud (the Persian name for Judaea)³⁰. These finds accord with what we know otherwise of Achaemenid practice. During the latter part of the empire satraps and apparently pachas possessed the right to strike their own coins. Judaea would be governed by a pacha who would quite probably be himself a Jew.

One of the coins is also inscribed with the name of a person "Hesekiah", whom Albright has identified with the priest, probably High Priest, and contemporary of Ptolemy I who was mentioned by Hecataeus. Albright accordingly believes that the Jews still possessed the right of coinage under the Lagides, and lost it only with the Seleucid conquest³¹.

In the Seleucid empire the right to strike bronze coinage for local use was originally confined to certain cities in Asia Minor. But in the second century B.C. it became increasingly common for rulers to grant this right to other cities. Thus Antiochus IV extended it to a number of cities in Syria and Phoenicia, e.g. Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, etc. His successors followed his example. Until the year 150 B.C. these bronze coins still bear the portrait of the ruling monarch in addition to the name of the city

issuing them. After this date the cities gradually dispense with even this last token of dependence, replacing the royal portrait by the image of a god. The change is usually connected with the title of holy and the right of asylum which these cities received at about the same time³².

Thus it becomes abundantly clear that the grant of the right of coinage to Judaea at this time is not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary it fits into a chain of similar events occurring in different parts of the Seleucid empire. Together with the right of asylum and the beginning of new eras it reflects the growing emancipation of the cities in the last years of the empire.

V.7. The next clause, *Ιερουσαλημ δε και τα αγια ειναι ελευθερα* is closely connected with the above. The precise significance of the concept of *ελευθερα* is unknown. The term is often used together with, or synonymously with, *αυτονομια* and seems to have implied the right of self-government and the right of acting as a body politic in the international relations of the cities³³. Thus the concession of this right to the Jews may have been designed partly to legalize their dealings with Rome and Sparta. It also seems to have signified as a rule that there was no *επιστατης* or garrison in the city. The special mention of the temple also suggests a certain autonomy in judicial matters.

The conferment of the title of *ἐλευθερία* seems to have been regarded as a landmark in the history of a city. Seleucia-in-Heris, which was pronounced "free" in 109 B.C., dated its own era from this event³⁴; it had possessed the right of coinage for some time. It may be that the Phoenician cities, who at the same time began to count a new era and to strike silver coins in their own name, also did so as a result of the conferment of the title of freedom. In other words, the title of "freedom" underlay all these symbols of independence.

The second part of v.7, permitting the Jews to retain the fortresses they had built, recalls Document 4, I Macc. 13, 38. Since the issue of Document 4 Simon had also taken the Akra of Jerusalem, the most important of all the fortresses in Judaea; and Antiochus later laid claim to this (cf. v.28). But it is unlikely that the Akra was meant to be included in the fortresses of this passage. The Akra seems to have been regarded as more than a fortress, for it is later called a *κόλις*. It had been transformed by Antiochus IV as a Greek enclosure within the territory of nationalist Judaea, and Antiochus VII apparently intended it to remain so. The words *τὰ οχυρώματα ἃ ἐκοδόμησας* may have been carefully chosen to exclude the Akra, which of course had not been built by the Jews.

V.8. This verse seems to do no more than make explicit

what was stated in more general terms in v.5 above. In confirming the tax-remissions of previous kings Antiochus is in fact renouncing all revenue from Judaea.

It may be, however, that the term *δφέλημα βασιλικόν*³⁵ is intended to refer especially to the tribute which was not explicitly mentioned in any of the previous royal letters in I Maccabees³⁶.

DOCUMENT 6

THE ROMAN CIRCULAR

I Macc. 15, 16-24

DOCUMENT 6

THE ROMAN CIRCULAR

I Macc. 15, 16-24

Introduction

This introduction will deal with problems arising from the Spartan correspondence as well as the Roman circular. These problems are partly chronological, and partly they concern the composition, text and unity of I Maccabees. The Hasmonean mission to Rome and Sparta are so closely connected in our text that it would be impractical to discuss them separately.

The Roman circular will be dealt with before the Spartan letters because of its greater importance, and because the passages dealing with Sparta seem to be dependent on those dealing with Rome.

The nature of the problems will become clear from the following texts, which cover all the Roman and Spartan contacts of Jonathan and Simon, as reported in I Maccabees.

Chapter 12, v.1. And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm

and renew the friendship that they had with them. 2). And to the Spartans, and to other places, he sent letters after the same manner. 3). And they went unto Rome, and entered into the senate house, and said, Jonathan the High Priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for them the friendship and the confederacy as in former times. 4). And they gave them letters unto the men in every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace. 5). And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans. . . (Followed by the text of Document 7).

Chapter 14, v.16. And it was heard at Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even unto Sparta, and they were exceeding sorry. 17). But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made High Priest in his stead, and ruled the country and the cities therein, they wrote unto him on tables of brass, to renew with him the friendship and the confederacy which they had confirmed with Judas and Jonathan his brethren; 19). and they were read before the congregation at Jerusalem. 20a). And this is the copy of the letters which the Spartans sent. . . (20b-23 give the text of Document 8). . . After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, in order to confirm the confederacy with them.

V.40 (Part of the Decree in honour of Simon, Document 9) because he (sc. Demetrius II) had heard say that the Jews had been called by the Romans friends and confederates and brethren and that they had met the ambassadors of Simon honourably.

Chapter 15, v.15. And Numenius and his company came from Rome, having letters to the kings and the countries, wherein were written these thing. . . (Followed by the text of Document 6 (vv.16-21) and the list of addressees (vv.22-24). The Document makes reference to the Jewish gift of "a shield of gold of a thousand pounds".)

These passages give rise to several striking difficulties:

1. Jonathan's letter to the Spartans is the only one quoted; presumably he sent letters to the other cities visited by his ambassadors, too; but we do not hear about them. It is fitted in awkwardly, almost as an afterthought, and its purpose is not very clear.

2. Nothing is said about the return of Jonathan's ambassadors. The text of the Roman letter given to them *κατὰ τόπον* is not quoted.

3. We are not told how Jonathan's death became known in Rome and Sparta. It is most unlikely that these nations should have initiated negotiations with Simon, which is the impression created by a cursory reading of the text.

4. Jonathan's letter to Sparta seems to be answered by a letter addressed to Simon. This letter too is fitted in awkwardly: we would expect the Roman reply instead.

5. It appears that Simon sent Numenius to Rome after the Romans had already renewed the friendship with him. Yet the purpose of Numenius's mission was once again τὸ στήσαι τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς

6. The Roman circular according to its context should be dated ca. 138 B.C. or a little earlier. For Numenius's return is placed during the siege of Dor by Antiochus VII; Antiochus landed on Seleucid soil in 175 Sel. (I Macc. 15, 10). Yet the decree in honour of Simon, after recording the fact that Demetrius II recognized Simon as High Priest, attributes it to the effect of the Roman alliance. The decree itself belongs to the year 140 B.C., and Demetrius recognized Simon as High Priest in the spring of 142 B.C. Hence according to the decree the Roman treaty must apparently fall before this date, i.e. in the first five or six months of Simon's High Priesthood.

The last difficulty appears to be the most serious of all, and it led Grimm to question the genuineness of the Decree. He believed that the author of I Maccabees composed this on the basis of memories of an actual Decree, lost in his time, but that he was guilty of a number of

anachronisms in so doing. Grimm's criticism has been accepted by a number of later scholars.

A discussion of all these problems might best begin with an attempt to fix the date at which Jonathan dispatched his embassy to Rome and Sparta. The author of I Maccabees reports this embassy between his accounts of the two campaigns undertaken by Jonathan against Demetrius II (I Macc. 11, 63-74; 12, 24-34). But this arrangement may be convenient rather than strictly chronological. Now Jonathan's allegiance to Tryphon lasted for at most two years, from the end of 145 B.C. to the autumn of 143 B.C. It is not very likely that the embassy was dispatched at the very beginning of this period, the words $\delta\tau\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota$ suggest that he had stabilized his position and that he had attained some successes¹. We are therefore justified in assuming that the embassy was dispatched in the second half of this period, i.e. within a year of Jonathan's death.

Hence it would not be too far-fetched to postulate that the ambassadors were sent out in the year 143 B.C. and that they were still away at the time of Jonathan's capture and death. After travelling to Rome and there receiving letters of conduct we may assume that they spent the following weeks or months on their journey to Sparta.

But after the events of the winter of 143/2 B.C., the capture and death of Jonathan and the war with Tryphon, a Roman guarantee in their favour would acquire added importance for the Jews. Of even greater importance may have been the fact that, after staving off Tryphon's projected invasion, Simon planned to come to terms once more with Demetrius II². We may therefore assume that he lost no time in sending out fresh ambassadors whose mission it was to get the treaties adjusted to the change of rulership that had taken place in Judaea. It may be that these new ambassadors went straight to Rome, or that they first made contact with Jonathan's ambassadors, perhaps in Sparta, to find out the outcome of the earlier mission.

This hypothesis would solve a number of the problems listed above. In the first place it would explain why we are told so little about the results of Jonathan's embassy. For the Roman treaty would have been overtaken by events almost as soon as it was concluded. Next it would make intelligible the curious verses I Macc. 14, 16-17, which read as though the Romans and Spartans themselves took the initiative in renewing the treaty with Simon after receiving the news (from where?) of Jonathan's death. The usual comment on these verses, viz. that they reflect the Judaeocentric bias or inflated patriotism of our author, is not very satisfactory. But there would be no difficulty

if we could assume that a new embassy, including perhaps the man sent by Jonathan, arrived in Rome only a few months after Jonathan's original embassy. Our hypothesis would also account for the curious fact, which is not usually commented upon, that Jonathan's letter to the Spartans is apparently answered by a letter addressed to Simon³. In this way I Maccabees vv.16-18 would simply mean that the Romans and Spartans learned from Simon's ambassadors of the death of Jonathan and altered or, in the case of the Spartans, drafted their replies accordingly.

Moreover, this hypothesis would imply the conclusion of a Judaeo-Roman treaty shortly before the time of Demetrius II's letter to Simon. Hence it would vindicate the passage in the Decree in honour of Simon which attributes this letter, in part, to a Roman treaty.

But can this treaty be identified with the Roman circular quoted in Chapter 15? And if so why is the circular ascribed in our text to a much later date? Or did Simon have dealings with Rome on two occasions? Our answer to these questions must also decide on the related problem, Was Numenius really sent to Rome after Simon had already received a letter from the Romans, as stated in I Macc. 14, vv.16-18 and v.24?

The possibility of there being a treaty between Rome~~s~~

and Simon before the circular has usually been dismissed on the grounds that the circular explicitly states that the ambassadors had come *ἀνανεσόμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν*. But this objection is not necessarily a valid one. For we possess two decrees of the Senate from the time of John Hyrkan, both of which speak of renewing the alliance⁴.

The problem of dating the circular, which turns on the identification of the author (*Λεύκιος ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων*), has produced a considerable literature. The earlier commentators all tried to date the letter according to its contents, but no magistrate was known who would fit the required date. In 1873 Ritschl proposed that the praenomen of one of the consuls for the year 139 B.C., who in our main source is called Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, should be emended to Lucius, and that this Lucius Calpurnius Piso was the author of our decree. This suggestion found general acceptance. It led Mommsen to enter "Lucius" as the consul's correct praenomen in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, and the date of 139 B.C. for the circular was adopted among others by Schuerer, Meyer and Gutberlet. As regards the apparent discrepancy between this date and the mention of a Roman treaty in the Decree in honour of Simon, Schuerer, following Grimm, believed that the author of I Maccabees in freely reproducing the Decree permitted himself an anachronism; whereas Meyer who treated both

documents with equal respect did not discuss the matter at all. Gutberlet sought a way out by reading ἡκδυσθη instead of ἡκουσε in I Macc. 14, 40, so that this verse should become independent of the previous one, but this does not really solve the difficulty. Gutberlet also suggested that I Macc. 14, 24 originally stood before vv. 16-18, and that the circular once took the place of the Spartan letter, Document 8⁵.

But Roth, who made a very thorough analysis of all passages dealing with Hasmonean-Roman relations, came to the conclusion that the circular has no connection at all with its context and that it should be dated in 142 B.C. in the consulship of Lucius Caecilius Metellus. In this way there would be no contradiction between the circular and the honorary Decree and the genuineness of the Decree would be vindicated. Roth⁶ accounted for the place of the circular in our Document by a rather complex argument. He upheld Destimon's Addendum theory whereby the original I Maccabees stopped at Chapter 14, v. 15; the rest, he believed, was added later from a different source and in the process Chapter 14 became rather confused. A still later editor, misled by vv. 16-24 of that chapter, inserted the document, which he knew from Nicolaus of Damascus or some similar collection, into Chapter 15 so as to give the impression of a time-lag between the ambassador's departure and return.⁶

Roth's exposition did not attract much notice, but his conclusions were arrived at independently by other scholars. About a generation later fresh evidence came to light which disproved Ritschl's theory; for it left no doubt that the Consul for 139 B.C. was after all called Cnaeus. Hence Bickermann and Münzer, followed recently by Broughton, identify the author of the circular with the consul of 142 B.C. On the present position of the Document Bickermann merely observes that the author of I Maccabees did not always feel himself bound by strict chronological sequence⁷.

Against this it must be said that the text as it stands certainly gives the impression that Numenius returned while the siege of Dor was going on. The words ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ (I Macc. 15, 25) with which the main narrative is resumed seem designed to emphasize this point. If therefore we accept 142 B.C. as the date of the circular, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the document was interpolated after the completion of the text of I Maccabees, though not necessarily a long time later. The only possible alternative would be to assume that Numenius himself spent three to four years on his mission, himself visiting the various places mentioned. A copy of the circular would presumably have reached Judaea before his return; but the

author of I Maccabees may have found an entry in his diary or the public annals recording the ambassador's return, and may have been thereby impelled to insert the text of the circular in the narrative of the year 138 B.C. But v.24 of Chapter 14 would remain a difficulty, to remove which one would have to resort to the rather unsatisfactory explanation of either interpolation or, with Gutberlet, a disarrangement in the text.

Perhaps, therefore, it is the simplest and most obvious course to assume that Simon did after all send two missions to Rome, the first immediately after the death of Jonathan, and in preparation for his own overtures to Demetrius II, the second shortly after the Honorary Decree. The main purpose of the second mission would then have been to obtain the extradition clause (cf. on v.21 in the Commentary below). In favour of this assumption one might also cite the fact that the ambassadors are said in the circular to have been sent "by Simon the High Priest and the people of the Jews". This formula, if one is justified in attaching any weight to it, would point to a date after the Honorary Decree; in the documents of the year 142 B.C. the elders are still mentioned separately⁸.

There seem to have been several praetors bearing the praenomen Lucius in the three years 140, 139, 138 B.C., and

one of these may have been the author of our circular⁹. The date 140 B.C. would perhaps best fit the evidence, not only because it is the year of the Decree, but because in that year Demetrius II departed for his Eastern expedition, in the course of which he was taken captive (I Macc. 14, 1-3). He still figures among the addressees of the circular.

The document itself is neither a senatus consultum nor a straightforward letter of conduct. But vv. 17-20 have the appearance of being a modified extract from a senatus consultum, the passing of which would of course have been necessary in any case for the renewal of the treaty. V.21 is an addition containing a specific instruction to the addressees. The full text of the senatus consultum, according to our version, was sent neither to Simon nor yet to Ptolemy and the other addressees of the circular. This would be a rather strange procedure. The normal Roman practice seems to have been to write a brief note to the governments concerned, with the full text of the senatus consultum appended to it. The letter to Cos from the time of Judas's mission to Rome (Jos. Ant. 14, 233) may serve as an example.

One is tempted to conclude that the author of I Maccabees (or the person who inserted the letter into the book) was responsible not only for simplifying the text but for combining the originally separate senatus consultum with

the note to King Ptolemy. For this process one may compare Document 3, where, as suggested above, the author of I Maccabees seems to have combined a covering letter and an enclosure into one document¹¹.

The whole circular was not, of course, distributed to the addressees directly, but was given to the interested party which passed it on¹².

~~(The following text is a reproduction of the original document)~~

DOCUMENT 6 - Text

16/17 Δεύκιος ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων Πτολεμαίῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. οἱ
πρεσβευταὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φίλοι ἡμῶν καὶ σύμμαχοι
ἀνανεούμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ
18 Σιμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἦνεγκαν δὲ
19 ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν ἀπὸ μνῶν χιλίων. ἤρεσθον οὖν ἡμῖν γράψαι τοῖς βα-
σιλεῦσιν καὶ ταῖς χώραις ὅπως μὴ ἐκζητήσωσιν αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ μὴ
πολεμήσωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ
20 ἵνα μὴ συμμαχῶσιν τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἔδοξεν δὲ ἡμῖν
21 δέξασθαι τὴν ἀσπίδα παρ' αὐτῶν. εἴ τινες οὖν λοιμοὶ διαπεφεύγασιν
ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, παράδοτε αὐτοὺς Σιμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ,
ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν.

22 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀττάλῳ καὶ
23 Ἀριαράθῃ καὶ Ἀρσάκῃ/καὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς χώρας καὶ Σαμψάμῃ καὶ
Σκαρτιάταις καὶ εἰς Δῆλον καὶ εἰς Μύνδον καὶ εἰς Σικυῶνα καὶ εἰς
τὴν Καρίαν καὶ εἰς Σάμον καὶ εἰς τὴν Παμφυλίαν καὶ εἰς Λυκίαν καὶ
εἰς Ἀλικαρνασσὸν καὶ εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ εἰς Φασηλίδα καὶ εἰς Κῶ καὶ
εἰς Σίδην καὶ εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ Γόρτυναν καὶ Κνίδον καὶ Κύπρον
24 καὶ Κυρήνην. τὸ δὲ ἀντίγραφον τούτων ἔγραψαν Σιμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ.

Commentary

V.16. The nomen of the consul or praetor and his father's name has apparently dropped out; the use of the cognomen was not usual. The addition of the word "Roman" is generally found in documents of the second century B.C.¹³

V.17. The original decree would probably have contained the names of the ambassadors. On the other hand there is no parallel for the mentioning by name of the ruler who sent the ambassadors; usually the people only are named. But it is quite possible that the note addressed to the kings and countries should have contained the name of Simon, since Rome may have wished to stress that she recognized Simon as the legitimate head of the Jews. From there the author of I Maccabees may have transferred it to the abbreviated text of the decree in order to emphasize the same point. The assumption that we have before us a combination of two documents would also explain why the people are mentioned twice. The senatus consultum would have τῶν Ἰουδαίων στρατώνες, the other letters ἀποσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Σιμῶνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων

It was usual in documents of this type to give an honorary epithet to the ambassadors, in this case φίλοι δμῶν καὶ σύμμαχοι. Other forms are ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι or, most frequent of all, ἄνδρες κάλοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ.¹⁴

Very often a similar phrase in the genitive case is also added to the people, e.g. ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἰπὸς ὄμιον πεμφθέντας ἀγαθοῦς (Jos. Ant. 13, 264).

V.18. The present brought by the ambassadors is always mentioned in the Introduction to the Decree. The use of shields for purely decorative purposes was common in antiquity¹⁵. The Jews would perhaps be particularly likely to choose this form of payment, for many other conventional forms, such as a figure of the goddess Nike sent to Rome by Tryphon, would be regarded by them as idolatrous¹⁶.

V.19. ἦρεσθον ἡμῖν like ἔδοξε in v.20 indicates a formal decision by the Senate. But it is not necessary to suppose that the Senate voted twice. Decisions of this nature could normally be taken in one vote.

We would expect the Senate to decide first of all that the treaty with the Jews should be renewed; presumably this is one of the formulas cut out by the editor of the decree. Next would come its agreement to the ambassadors' request for letters. But the request itself is normally contained in the introduction, since the actual decree was kept as short as possible.

The Roman directive to the "kings and countries" is rather full and probably did not stand in its present form

in the original senatus consultum. The words ἐκζητεῖν
κακά translate a Hebrew phrase very popular with the author
of I Maccabees¹⁷. For the meaning one may compare μηδέν
δοικεῖσθαι in another Decree, Jos. Ant. 14, 148. It is
not surprising that the Jews should have sought to obtain
a special guarantee for their territory; the Seleucid
government and any former allies of the newly-conquered
cities were presumably reluctant to acquiesce in the new
frontiers. The last part of this passage, ἵνα μή
συμμαχῶσι τοῖς πολεμοῦσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, may as Ungar suggested
be directed specifically at Parthia¹⁵. For there may have
been a danger that in view of the threatened invasion from
Demetrius II he would make common cause with Tryphon. But
the phrase is of course also a conventional one.

V.20. The decision to accept the ambassadors's gift is,
as usual, formally recorded.

V.21. This clause has sometimes been a reason for sus-
pecting the document, since it has been doubted whether
Rome would go so far as to enjoin the extradition of
refugees¹⁹. There is, however, a parallel, for Herod
obtained a similar privilege from Augustus²⁰. Perhaps
this privilege was confined to the Jews on account of
their special position. The interplay of political and

religious factors in Jewish life, coupled with the existence of a far-flung Diaspora which still maintained close ties with the homeland, may have made the Hasmonean régime particularly vulnerable to the machinations of its enemies.

It may be presumed that in the Jewish communities outside Palestine there was still considerable opposition to the revolution that had taken place in Judaea. The former High Priestly family may still have had adherents; and many of the Hellenizing Jews whose last foothold in Judaea had gone with the capture of the Akra may have sought refuge among their brethren abroad. By persuading Diaspora Jews to withhold the Temple dues and similar means, perhaps even by open alliance with the Hasmoneans' hostile neighbours, they may have tried to undermine the position of the new rulers. Hence, once his power was firmly established at home, Simon tried to extend it outside the borders of Judaea.

A step in the direction of this policy may already be discerned both in Jonathan's approaches to Sparta and in the letter to the Jews of Egypt written at the end of 143 B.C. with the object of introducing the Festival of Hanukkah among them²¹. The Seleucid government had finally recognized Jewish independence in 142 B.C.; and in 140 B.C. Simon legalized his position at home through the honorary decree. It is natural, therefore, that at

about the same time he should make a major effort to consolidate his position in the Diaspora. And there is nothing incredible in the idea that the Romans should have recognized his claim to the allegiance of those Jews who were not his subjects in the political sense. The persons concerned were to be handed to him directly. And it is just possible that in the phrase "he shall punish them according to their law" we have a reference to the Honorary Decree itself²².

If we consider the list of states below, it is obvious that the extradition clause is the sole reason why the circular should have been sent to the majority of them. For they were too far from Judaea to make it likely that they would be interested in any direct intervention there, unless they happened to be allies of the towns conquered by the Hasmoneans. But it has been generally assumed that all these states contained Jewish settlements²³. The Roman letters would presumably have served Simon's ambassadors as the basis for direct negotiations with the leaders of the local communities.

The list that follows is divided into two broad groups, kings and $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\iota$, the latter including autonomous cities, confederacies and two provinces of the Egyptian empire. This division is found also in Jos. Ant. 14, 147; 13, 263 and in S.E.G. 3, 378 (Lex Romana de piratis persequendis),

which instead of χώραι have αὐτονομούμεναι πόλεις, δήμοι ἐλευθέροι and δήμοι respectively. Presumably the distinction reflects a difference in the way in which the letters were made out.

King Ptolemy, i.e. Ptolemy VII Euergetes (146-116 B.C.) is named first, presumably on account of the great importance both of Egypt herself and of Egyptian Jewry. The vast extent of Jewish settlement in Egypt and its great antiquity are well known.

For Demetrius, of course, the letter had a double importance. On the one hand it may have been designed to influence his own policy towards the Hasmoneans; on the other there were large Jewish communities in many parts of the Seleucid empire, particularly in Babylonia, where many had existed since the days of Nebuchadnezzar and even earlier.

Similarly Attalus II of Pergamum (159 - 138 B.C.) and Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (162-131 B.C.) both staunch allies of Rome, had large numbers of Jewish subjects.

Arsaces King of Parthia (171 - 138 B.C.) had no treaty with Rome, and hence surprise has sometimes been expressed that the Romans should have written to him. But Parthia contained large Jewish communities dating apparently from the time of Artaxerxes Ochus (4th century B.C.)

who settled Jewish prisoners in Hyrkania²⁴. As an additional motive for the letter to Arsaces, Unger suggests that in view of Demetrius's impending invasion, Arsaces would ally himself with Tryphon²⁵.

It is impossible to establish any order, geographical or otherwise, among the cities and territories that follow. We cannot say whether the whole of the embassy led by Numenius went to each of the places mentioned or whether it split up. And since we have no means of knowing how the list was compiled we cannot be sure that it is exhaustive. All the places enumerated, except for Cyprus and Cyrene, enjoyed Roman protection²⁶.

The enigmatic "Sampsame" has been variously identified as the ancient Amisus, whose later Arabic name was Samsom, on the coast of Pontus; or as the name of a Semitic ruler²⁷.

The Spartans are mentioned instead of their city, presumably because of their intimate connection with the Jews (Compare the next chapter).

Delos was one of the greatest commercial centres of the Hellenistic world. Among its foreign traders Alexandrians seem to have been most prominent, and from Alexandria the Jews may have come to Delos. Two grave inscriptions from ca. 100 B.C. which were found in Delos seem to be Jewish²⁸.

Sikyon became one of the most important cities in Greece, dominating the Isthmus, after the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. It seems likely that there were Jews also in other cities of mainland Greece at this time. In Delphi two inscriptions have been found, dealing with the freeing of Jewish slaves, both from the Maccabean age²⁹.

Caria, like Lycia and Pamphylia, was an independent confederacy of predominantly native territories. The cities of Myndus, Halicarnassus and Cnidus, though in Caria, were not part of the confederacy. Similarly Phaselis was outside the Lycian confederacy, and Side, an important centre of the slave trade, outside the Pamphylian confederacy³⁰. Halicarnassus seems to have contained a considerable Jewish community in the following century, as shown by the decree quoted by Josephus Ant. 14 256 ff.

From the island of Cos we also possess a Roman letter in favour of the Jewish ambassadors who called there at the time of the treaty with Judas Maccabaeus (Jos. Ant. 14, 233)³¹. Josephus also relates how Mithridates VI (at the beginning of the 1st century B.C.) confiscated a large sum of Jewish-owned money in Cos, where it had apparently been deposited for safe-keeping by Jews living all over Asia Minor. It was presumably from Asia Minor, especially Caria, that Jews immigrated into the three islands of Cos, Rhodes and Samos.

Arados occupied a special position among the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard. It had been granted very far-reaching privileges as early as 259 B.C., and counted its own era on its coins from that date. In particular it possessed the right of asylum and hence may have harboured refugees from the economic oppression of Antiochus IV and his successors. The Roman letter to Arados may also imply a warning not to give refuge to anti-Hasmonean Jews. It is noteworthy that Arados is the only Phoenician city in the list. The hostility of Tyre and Sidon to the Jews is mentioned in I Macc. 5, 15. Hence it seems unlikely that they contained any Jewish inhabitants.

Gortyna in Crete is the only place on that island mentioned. Unlike Cyprus and Rhodes, Crete was split up into a number of independent cities. In later times Jews seem to have been settled in a number of Cretan cities³².

Both Cyprus and Cyrene were part of the Ptolemaic empire, though it is possible that in the civil war between Ptolemy Euergetes and his sister Cleopatra, Cyprus had become semi-independent for a time. Bickermann wants to correct Cyrene to $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ after^{ns.} Venetus³³; but the Romans may well have written to these dependencies of Ptolemy separately. In Cyrene, where the Jews had apparently come under Egyptian influence, they formed,

according to Strabo, the fourth major population group (after citizens, farmers and resident aliens)³⁴.

For Cyprus the presence of a Jewish community in the time of John Hyrkan is attested by Josephus Ant. 13, 284; and this community seems to have been very large in later times. Both Cyprus and Cyrene contained a large Phoenician element in Hellenistic times, and it has been suggested that a considerable part of this was later absorbed by the Jewish communities³⁵.

DOCUMENT 6 -- APPENDIX

The Roman Documents of the Time of John Hyrkan I

1. Jos. Ant. 14, 145 ff.

Josephus attributed this document to the time of Hyrkan II and connected it with Caesar's enactments in Hyrkan's favour; but modern scholars have long realized that there are grave objections to this dating³⁶. While some scholars in the 19th century accordingly attributed the document to Hyrkan I, others connected it with the Roman circular of the I Maccabees on the basis of the following similarities.

i) The author of both is called Lucius.

ii) Both mention the gift of a golden shield of apparently identical weight.

iii) The name "Numenius the son of Antiochus", which figures in the senatus consultum, was also that of Simon's ambassador to Rome, and an Antipater son of Jason is mentioned together with him in the letter of the Spartans, cf. I Macc. 14, 22, 24; 15, 15 (It has accordingly been proposed to emend "Alexander" to "Antipater" in the senatus consultum).

iv) On both occasions the Romans supply the ambassadors with letters to a number of foreign governments.

These similarities were first noticed by Grimm and

Ewald, and they led Ritschl and Mendelssohn to assert that the decree in Josephus belongs to the time of Simon and is to be dated in 139 B.C. (cf. p. 188/9). This conclusion was challenged by Mommsen and a lively discussion ensued. For the bibliography as well as arguments in favour of this dating cf. Schuerer I p. 251, note 22. The dating in the time of Simon is still maintained by Momigliano³⁷, Marcus³⁸, and Abel.³⁹

On the other hand Ungar⁴⁰ and Roth⁴¹ and Bickermann⁴² decide for a date under John Hyrkan. Their main argument derives from the fact that, whereas the circular from the time of Simon enjoins the addressees not to make war on the Jews and to hand over political opponents of the Hasmonaeans, the senatus consultum speaks of letters designed specifically to guarantee their frontiers and ports. The similarities are all superficial. Lucius was an exceedingly common name, and the gift of a shield a conventional feature of diplomatic intercourse. One or more of Simon's ~~own~~ ambassadors may easily have been employed by his successors also.

Broughton identifies the author with Lucius Valerius Flaccus, consul in 131 B.C., the latest date for whose praetorship would be 134 B.C. ⁴³. Now Simon was killed in the month of Shevat, 177 Seleucid, i.e. January or February

134 B.C., ~~the beginning of Hasmonean independence~~ (I Macc. 16, 14). Hence the document would belong to the first year of John Hyrkan's rule (officially the second, the period from Shevat to Nissan being reckoned as the year 1). This would be the year 9 only if reckoned from 142 B.C., the beginning of Hasmonean independence (cf. p 300 n. 8).⁴⁴ Can it be that the early Hasmoneans employed a continuous era, marking the period of their independence?

If 134 B.C. is the correct date, the purpose of Hyrkan's mission would be to effect the routine renewal of the alliance after the death of the previous ruler. In addition he presumably wished to ensure that other nations should not join Antiochus VII in the war against Judaea.

2. Jos. Ant. 13, 260 ff.

This document is dated by Bickermann in the year 132 B.C., whereas Broughton places it later than the document discussed above, attributing it to the year 126 B.C.⁴⁵ According to either date the reference would be to Antiochus VII, who had demanded Joppe and Gazara from Simon in 138 B.C. (I Macc. 15, 28), and apparently occupied these places later. Broughton believes that Hyrkan waited with his request to Rome until after Antiochus was captured.

DOCUMENTS 7 & 8

THE SPARTAN CORRESPONDENCE

JONATHAN TO THE SPARTANS, I Macc. 12, vv. 6-23

THE SPARTANS TO SIMON, I Macc. 14, vv. 20-23

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DOCUMENTS 7 & 8

THE SPARTAN CORRESPONDENCE

JONATHAN TO THE SPARTANS, I Macc. 12, vv. 6-23

THE SPARTANS TO SIMON, I Macc. 14, vv. 20-23

Introduction

The Spartan correspondence has incurred more suspicion than any of the other documents in I Maccabees. The most sensational point raised by this correspondence is, of course, the reputed relationship between the Jews and the Spartans, as proclaimed in the letter of Areus¹. But this letter will only concern us indirectly, since it does not properly belong within the period covered by I Maccabees.

A study of the Spartan correspondence should take as its point of departure the position of the two letters in the text of I Maccabees. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that both Jonathan's letter to the Spartans and the Spartan reply to Simon seem to be fitted into the text with extreme awkwardness². In both passages the main interest seems to be focussed on Rome. In 12, 2, Jonathan's mission to Sparta and other unspecified places, $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ is touched on only incidentally, and after this brief

reference the narrative returns to Rome. Yet Jonathan's message to Rome is not quoted any more than that of Judas in chapter 8. In 14, 16 even the words ἕως Σπάρτης, added after καὶ ἠκούσθη ἐν Ρώμῃ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Ἰώναθαν, have a suspicious ring. The rest of vv.16-19 deal with Rome only. Yet in place of the expected Roman document we are suddenly (and almost without preparation) given the text of a Spartan letter.

Taken in conjunction these two texts strongly point to the conclusion that both letters were not part of the original design of I Maccabees³. In the second passage, indeed, even the words ἕως Σπάρτης should probably be regarded, as most scholars have claimed, as an interpolation.

But need we reject the whole story of Hasmonean contacts with Sparta as a complete fiction? The reference to Sparta in 12, 6 reads quite naturally, and there is no reason to suspect interpolation. We have seen above that the objections that have been raised against Jonathan's embassy to Rome, as reported in I Maccabees, are quite unfounded. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that he should at the same time have made approaches to a number of other foreign governments, particularly those situated on the route to Rome. The existence of a Jewish community in Sparta seems to be presupposed by her being among the list of states to which the Roman circular was sent.

And we have supporting evidence in II Macc. 5, 9, where it is said that the former High Priest Jason found refuge there $\delta\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\delta$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\lambda\alpha\nu$ $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ ⁴. If the Jews of the Maccabean age believed that they were bound to Sparta by specialties of kinship (real or based on a polite fiction) there is no reason to reject the story of Jonathan's approach to Sparta as utterly incredible. Moreover, as Ginsburg has so rightly asked, if such a story were to be invented, why should Sparta of all places be picked on?

On the specific motive of the Jewish approach to Sparta we can do no more than speculate. Ginsburg seems to believe that the heightened sense of national importance following the Hasmonean victories represents sufficient reason why the Jews should have desired foreign contacts. But perhaps this motivation is a little naive. It would seem more probable that the mission to Sparta, like the Roman circular, had something to do with the politics of the Jewish diaspora. Jonathan's foreign policy, shortly before his death, may well have anticipated that pursued by Simon later. It is tempting to try to construct a connection between Jonathan's step and the fact mentioned above, that Jason had settled in Sparta some twenty-five years earlier. Since even in Judaea the Hasmoneans had to fight strong opposition against their claim to the High Priesthood, it is not likely that

the more Hellenized communities of the Diaspora, who might not have viewed Jason's actions in such a bad light, should accept the change of dynasty at all readily. Allegiance to the legitimate dynasty must always have been strong among the people; for after the end of the Hasmonean line Herod deemed it wise once more to appoint a member of the ancient family High Priest in Jerusalem. Now the descendants of Onias III had presumably renounced all claims to the ancestral office by founding a new temple in Leontopolis. Could it be that in Jason's family the claim was still upheld, that many of those who supported the claim had gathered round him or his sons and that Sparta had thus become a centre for Diaspora opponents of the Hasmonean house?

But though it is thus by no means impossible that diplomatic exchanges should have taken place between the early Hasmoneans and Sparta, on the other hand it need not be wondered at that the texts of these exchanges or further details about them were not at first included in I Maccabees. For in comparison with the other documents in I Maccabees these letters seem of little consequence. They can have had no immediate effect on the course of events leading up to the establishment of the Hasmonean state and would indeed appear somewhat irrelevant to the narrative.

But it does not follow from this conclusion that the

letters before us are forgeries, or that they were inserted a long time after the composition of the book, still less that they were interpolated in order to make propaganda for the Jews. We have no knowledge of any propaganda motives that could possibly be served by them⁶.

As regards the genuineness of the letters, we have nothing to guide us except the texts themselves. We have to make up our minds whether these are within the bounds of what is credible or not.

Jonathan's letter to Sparta, No. 7, is the only letter in I Maccabees purporting to be written to a foreign power by the Jews. This makes it all the more difficult to criticize the letter, since we have no document, either in I Maccabees or elsewhere, to compare it with.

~~(Follows text of Document 7)~~

Text of Document 7

Jonathan to the Spartans; I Macc. 12, vv.6-23

6 Ιωναθαν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἡ γερουσία τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς
καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς δῆμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων Σπαρτιάταις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν.
7 ἔτι πρότερον ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ὀνιαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα παρὰ
Ἀρείου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐστὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς τὸ
8 ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. καὶ ἐπεδέξατο ὁ Ὀνίας τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀπε-
σταλμένον ἐνόόξως καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς οἰεσαφεῖτο
9 περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀπροσδεεῖς τούτων ὄντες
10 παράκλησιν ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν/ἐ-
πειράθημεν ἀποστεῖλαι τῆν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀδελφότητα καὶ φιλίαν ἀνα-
νεώσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐξαλλοτριωθῆναι ὑμῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ καιροὶ
11 διῆλθον ἀφ' οὗ ἀπεστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τε ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ταῖς λοικαῖς καθηκούσαις ἡ-
μέραις μιμνησκόμεθα ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὧν προσφέρομεν θυσιῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς
προσευχαῖς, ὡς δεόν ἐστὶν καὶ πρέπον μνημονεύειν ἀδελφῶν.
12/13 εὐραινόμεθα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ ὑμῶν. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκύκλωσαν πολλαὶ θλί-
ψεις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοί, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἡμᾶς οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κύ-
14 κλη ἡμῶν. οὐκ ἠβουλόμεθα οὖν παρενοχλῆσαι ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
15 συμμαχοῖς καὶ φίλοις ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τούτοις· ἔχομεν γὰρ
τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βοήθειαν βοηθοῦσαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρρύσθημεν ἀπὸ τῶν
16 ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἐταπεινώθησαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν. ἐπελέξαμεν οὖν Νουμή-

νιον Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντίπατρον Ἰάσονος καὶ ἀπεστάλακαμεν πρὸς
 Ῥωμαίους ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν
 17 τὴν πρότερον. ἐνετειλάμεθα οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πορευθῆναι
 καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολάς
 18 περὶ τῆς ἀνανεώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος ἡμῶν. καὶ νῦν καλῶς
 ποιήσετε ἀντιφωνήσαντες ἡμῖν πρὸς ταῦτα.

19 Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧν ἀπέστειλαν Ονία
 20/1 Ἄρειος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιατῶν Ονία ἱερεῖ μέγαλῳ χαίρειν. εὐρέθη
 ἐν γραφῇ περὶ τε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀδελφοὶ
 21 καὶ εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους Ἀβρααμ. καὶ νῦν ἀφ' οὗ ἔγνωμεν ταῦτα, καλῶς
 23 ποιήσετε γράφοντες ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ
 ἀντιγράφομεν ὑμῖν τὰ κτήνη ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ ὑπαρξίς ὑμῶν ἡμῖν ἐστίν,
 καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐστίν. ἐντελλόμεθα οὖν ὅπως ἀπαγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν
 κατὰ ταῦτα.

Commentary

V.6. The letter is written in the name of the High Priest, the elders, the priests and the rest of the people. This is the earliest mention of the elders in I Maccabees; but as there are other indications that the body of elders was reconstituted at about this time, the passage presents no difficulty. The priests figure only here and in the Spartans' reply as well as in the Decree in honour of Simon.

Perhaps their inclusion was thought appropriate in a letter addressed to a brother people. The Jewish people here as well as in the Roman letters are called $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, whereas in the Seleucid letters they are referred to as $\xi\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$. The distinction is probably due to the translator of I Maccabees⁷.

Vv.7, 8. The ostensible purpose of the letter is merely to renew the friendship formerly concluded at the request of the Spartan king Areius. The Spartans are reminded of this event, since there was apparently some danger that they might have forgotten it in the interval. They are also informed, it appears for the first, time, that the Jewish High Priest welcomed and honoured their ambassadors. Perhaps the meaning is also that by so doing he recognized the brotherhood. It is claimed that Areius's letter speaks of $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$ καὶ $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$; but these words do not occur in the appended letter. $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$, however, is mentioned in the Spartans' reply, I Macc. 14, 22.

Vv.9, 10. This seems to be intended as an explanation or apology for the fact that Areius's letter was not answered sooner, which is explicitly admitted in the last part of v.10. The Jews, it is said, had no need of foreign relations since their holy books were an adequate source of strength to them. Hence also Jonathan's present approach is motivated solely by a solicitude lest the friendship might lapse. Any special motive is carefully disclaimed.

Vv.11, 12. The Spartans are assured that in spite of the long break in the relationship they are constantly remembered by the Jews on festivals and other appropriate days, presumably New Moons, etc., "as it is rightful and meet to be mindful of brethren". Abel aptly compares Romans 1, 10 *διὰ λαίπτως μνησάνων... πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου.* Perhaps we may infer from the present passage that it was customary to say special prayers for brother communities in the Temple. The Jews also seem to have taken a keen interest in Spartan fortunes, since they express their pleasure at their "brothers'" glory. Sparta was the only Greek state which still enjoyed a considerable measure of independence after 146 B.C.

Next, v.13, 14, the Spartans are informed of the troubles that had overtaken the Jews. The Biblical phrase *οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κυκλῶ ἡμῶν* can hardly be meant literally, since the reference is presumably to the Seleucid kings only. But the Jews once more proudly proclaim that they have no need of allies. Divine help has seen them through their troubles, so that now they are in a position to announce the humiliation of their foes. Ettelson points out that the use of *ὀρθανός* for God which is found here does not occur in the Septuagint outside I Maccabees⁸.

Vv.16, 17. The author here returns to the purpose of the present embassy: it is mainly prompted by the

circumstance that an embassy was going to Rome and so might call on the Spartans en route. This oblique reference to Rome seems designed not only to explain the occasion for the embassy to Sparta, but also to underline the Jews' friendship with Rome. The names of the two ambassadors recur in the Spartans' reply to Simon.

V.18. The request for a reply, no doubt a conventional feature, seems taken from the letter of Areius which follows.

The contents of Jonathan's letter to the Spartans are so unusual that it is impossible to pick out any particular points as proofs for or against its authenticity. The two most striking features are its theological tone and its complete lack of purpose. The first but little affects the question of authenticity. Resort to lofty theological principles is by no means incompatible with the practice of down-to-earth diplomacy, it may even constitute an effective diplomatic weapon. Nor need it surprise us that there is no echo of these sentiments in the Spartan reply.

But the repeated emphasis that the Jews were interested in friendship for its own sake and expected no help from their allies strikes a wrong note. From their Roman allies at least the Jews did expect help of quite a practical

nature, and nowhere in I Maccabees is there any attempt to gloss this over. On the contrary, the decree in honour of Simon explicitly refers to the influence of Roman recognition on the achievement of Jewish independence⁹. And it is psychologically unlikely that Jonathan should have expressed himself in these terms in the midst of a period of feverish diplomatic activity. Moreover, the implication that the letter is actually to serve as a belated answer to that received by Onias is too naive to be attributable to a statesman. The shapelessness of the letter and its rambling, repetitive style also speak against its authenticity.

It is of course true that a document may be worded in such a way that its contents are less significant than what is left unsaid. It may also be that Jonathan's messengers were given an oral message in addition, or that the embassy was merely intended as a preparation for the Roman circular that was to reach Sparta later. Nevertheless the above considerations seem to me strong enough to establish the conclusion that the letter before us does not represent what Jonathan wrote. Indeed, since the much more important messages sent by the three Hasmonean brothers to Rome were not considered worth preserving, it would be surprising if that sent to Sparta should have been handed down to us.

On the origin of the letter before us one can again only speculate. It is hardly likely that a composition so shapeless and pointless should have been part of any collection of documents, and we may therefore assume that it was composed and inserted into our text by one and the same person. The style bears a slight resemblance to the speeches attributed to Judas Maccabaeus and Jonathan in the early phases of the Hasmonean struggle¹⁰. Buechler suggested that the letter is composed of two distinct elements (vv. 5-8, 13-18 and vv. 9 - 12), both of which were originally authentic letters sent to Jewish communities abroad.

One of the original segments (the larger), he believes, may have been the letter mentioned, but according to him not quoted, in II Macc. 1, 7¹¹. There is much that is fanciful in this thesis, but it may be correct insofar as such letters to brother communities may quite possibly have served as models for the letter to the Spartans.

The repeated emphasis that the Jews expected no help from the Spartans may be an indication of Pharisaic leanings in the author; or it may be merely intended to account for the fact that the Judaeo-Spartan association played so insignificant a part in history.

~~As~~ As regards the reason why this letter was ever included in I Maccabees, we can only surmise that the reputed

relationship with Sparta had excited considerable interest (archaeological rather than practical) among some sections of Jewry, probably in the Diaspora. It is likely that the letter was inserted only a short time after the composition of I Maccabees, since the interval between composition and translation was probably not very large.

The enclosure may be dealt with briefly since it does not really belong within the scope of this investigation. Josephus attributed it to the High Priesthood of Onias III, and this view may have been the prevalent one even in Maccabean times¹². But in the days of Onias III there were no longer any kings in Sparta. Onias II was probably High Priest after the death of the boy-king Areius II, but the rules of Onias I and Areius I coincided (ca. 300 B.C.) This fact has rightly been adduced as an argument in favour of assuming some historical basis for the letter. An explanation for the connection may be sought in the newly awakened curiosity in foreign lands and peoples that followed the conquests of Alexander the Great; or there may have been a particular political motive which we have no means of discovering¹³.

Whether the letter as quoted in our text goes back to an authentic source or not, it seems reasonably certain that it was composed long before the letter to which it is attached. If the two had been composed by the same author, they would

presumably have more in common than is the case. It may also be assumed that the author of Jonathan's letter accepted the Arcius letter in good faith as an authentic document.

Text of Document 8

The Spartans to Simon; I Macc. 14, vv. 20-23

20 Σπαρτιατῶν ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Σιμωνι ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ καὶ
τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ιου-
21 δαίων ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. οἱ πρεσβευταὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες πρὸς τὸν
δῆμον ἡμῶν ἀπήγγειλαν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς δόξης ὑμῶν καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ
22 ἠύφρανθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
εἰρημένα ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τοῦ δήμου οὕτως Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου
καὶ Ἀντίκατρος Ἰάσονος πρεσβευταὶ Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμᾶς
23 ἀνανεούμενοι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν. καὶ ἤρρεσεν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιδέξασθαι
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνδόξως καὶ τοῦ θέσθαι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν
ἐν τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις τῷ δήμῳ βιβλίοις τοῦ μνημόσυνον ἔχειν
τὸν δῆμον τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀντίγραφον τούτων ἔγραψαν Σιμωνι
τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ.

Commentary

V.20. The Spartan reply is written in the name of the
ἄρχοντες and the people. The former must, of course, as
the commentators have pointed out, be an inaccurate rendering
for ἐφόροι. The form of the address exactly corresponds
to that of the senders of the Jewish letter, except that

Simon is substituted for Jonathan and that he is called $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ instead of $\delta\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, the term usually employed in I Maccabees.

It is possible that this was now Simon's formal title for use at the head of documents and in the address; for it is also found in the address of the last of the Seleucid letters, No.5, while in the heading of Document 9, the Decree in honour of Simon, he is called $\delta\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. In the rest of the document he is again called $\delta\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ¹⁴.

For $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ which occurs here as in the Jewish letter, Bickermann compares S.E.G. II 330, where the Tyrians are called relatives of the Delphians¹⁵.

V.21. It is noteworthy that the letter refers only to an oral message brought by the Jewish ambassadors, and not to any formal message in writing. We possess many documents in which the receipt of $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is acknowledged, followed by the remark that the ambassadors enlarged on this in a speech.

$\delta\delta\epsilon\chi\eta$ and $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$ especially in conjunction are favourite words of the translator of I Maccabees. The use of $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ is rather strange. Normally it means "arrival" only in a hostile sense.

V.22. The effective reply takes the form of a copy of

an entry in the Spartan records noting the visit. The word $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$ here apparently refers to these records which are called $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ below. If the "friendship" had been of greater importance to the Spartans it would presumably have been celebrated by the erection of a stone stele¹⁷. We hear of no other instances where σ diplomatic relations were recorded in this fashion. But it is unlikely from the very nature of our evidence that such records or the mere mention of them should have survived. They may have been common nevertheless.

The names of the ambassadors are the same as in the Jewish letter. This is the only letter addressed to the Jews in I Maccabees which gives the names of their ambassadors, as was the usual practice in Hellenistic documents. - The Spartans clearly imply that there had been previous relations between themselves and the Jews.

v.23. The words $\eta\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ seem to refer to a formal decision by the people and as in v.19 of Document 6, to stand for the Greek $\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\tau\alpha\iota$. The decision is very brief. The "honourable reception" of the ambassadors seems again a fairly modest expression compared with the more usual "praise" accorded to foreign ambassadors in our inscriptions. But it implies agreement to the renewing of the friendship.

It is not clear whether the sentence $\tau\omicron\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\upsilon\tau\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$

belongs to the text of the letter or not. As an addition by the author it would here be superfluous and pointless; but at the end of Document 6 (I Macc. 15, 24) almost the identical words occur as an addition by the author.

The contrast between this letter and No.7 is so striking that it is obvious at first glance that they cannot be by the same hand. Indeed the Spartan reply is so plain and colourless, its expressions of friendship so restrained, that it is inconceivable that any Jew taking a special pride in his people's relations with Sparta should have invented it. We may therefore conclude with Momigliano¹⁸ that this letter may be considered as genuine. It does not pre-suppose Jonathan's letter, and indeed it is likely that in such points as the naming of the Jewish ambassadors, Onias's "honourable reception" of the Spartan ambassadors and the mention of a *φιλία* between the two people the author of Jonathan's letter followed it. - It would appear, therefore, that the Spartan letter was the first of the two to be included in I Maccabees, and that Jonathan's letter, a fanciful elaboration on it, was composed and inserted later.

DOCUMENT 9

THE DECREE IN HONOUR OF SIMON

I Macc. 14, 27-49

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DOCUMENT 9

THE DECREE IN HONOUR OF SIMON

I Macc. 14, 27-49

Introduction

This document differs from those so far considered in two significant respects. Its subject-matter is one of internal history rather than the relations of the Jews with outside powers. And from this it follows that the original language was Hebrew or Aramaic, so that our present version has gone through one translation only¹.

Nevertheless the decree has a rightful place within a discussion of the documents in I Maccabees. It has usually been included in such discussions in the past, and its authenticity has been attacked or defended together with that of the other documents. Moreover, it sheds important light on the Roman circular (Document 6) and its connection with Document 4. But above all the decree is important because it complements in a sense the historical picture that emerges from the other documents. It represents the Jews' own summing-up of the work of Jonathan and Simon. And it has a particular interest in that it reflects an

important aspect of the new Hasmonean state. At the very moment when Judaea is detaching herself from the Seleucid empire, we see her turning herself into a Hellenistic polity.

For though it is assumed here that the decree was originally composed in a Semitic language, there can be no doubt that it is an adaptation of Greek models. The very idea of a formal decree in honour of a prominent individual stems from the Greek city-state. It is essentially foreign to an aristocratic society. But in Hellenistic times kings were often honoured by the cities with such decrees, which thus became a device of binding the cities to the monarchy while at the same time preserving the myth of the cities' freedom. The decree in honour of Simon follows the Greek tradition insofar as through it the people, united in a public assembly, honours a prominent individual for his outstanding services to the state.

The structure, though much looser than that of original Greek decrees, follows Greek usage. After the date and description of the assembly, the decree proper opens with the phrase $\xi\gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ (sic), which corresponds to the usual $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\ \tau\eta\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\ \zeta\epsilon$. The first part (vv. 29-40) introduced by an $\xi\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ clause consists of a list of Simon's merits. Then follow the main enactments (vv. 41-46), introduced by $\kappa\alpha\iota\ [\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota]\ \omicron\iota\ \iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$. . . for which the Greek decrees usually

have a simple δεδ'χθ'ι

But in a sense the scope of the decree is wider than that of the usual Greek decrees. For while they confine themselves to bestowing honours or personal privileges such as a statue, the right of proedria, a gold crown or tax-exemption on their heroes, the document before us vests considerable concrete powers in Simon. It is used, in fact, as an instrument for installing a new line of High Priests, thus legalizing the position that Simon and Jonathan before him had acquired through the force of circumstances. Furthermore, in defining the powers of the new High Priest, the document seems to represent a conscious attempt to lay down a constitution for the emerging state; for the functions of the Hasmonean High Priests were much greater than had been those of the former High Priests of the Hellenistic province Judaea.

Vv.46 and 47, which are here regarded as not forming part of the document itself, seem to describe a ceremony by which Simon and the people mutually pledge themselves to honour their respective obligations and to abide by the new constitution³. Perhaps we may regard the ceremony as a secular version of the ancient Hebrew covenant by which all important agreements were sealed⁴.

The decree has frequently been rejected because of the

chronological discrepancies between it and the narrative of I Maccabees. The discrepancies are shown in the following table based on Grimm's commentary:

<u>Narrative</u>		<u>Decree</u>	
1.	Conquest of Bethsura 11,66	Death of Jonathan	14,30
2.	Conquest of Joppe 12,33	Fortification of cities "	33
3.	Capture of Jonathan 12,48	Conquest of Bethsura "	33
4.	Simon succeeds Jonathan 13,1	Conquest of Joppe "	34
5.	Death of Jonathan 13,23-9	Conquest of Gazara "	34
6.	Simon fortifies cities 13,33	Simon is made High Priest "	35
7.	Simon is recognized as High Priest by Demetrius II. 13,36	Capture of the Akra "	36
8.	Conquest of Gazara 13,43-8	Treaty with Rome "	40
9.	Capture of the Akra 13,49	Simon is recognized as High Priest by Demetrius. "	38
10.	Simon sends Numenius to Rome. 14,24		

It will be seen that the decree places the conquest of Bethsura and Joppe after the death of Jonathan (1 and 2 after 5) and the fortification of the cities, as well as the conquest of Gazara, before Simon's succession to the High Priesthood (6 and 8 before 4). Finally Demetrius's recognition of Simon is placed after the conquest of Gazara, the capture of the Akra and the treaty with Rome, i.e. by implication, also after the dispatch of the ambassadors to Rome (7 after 8, 9, 10). The return of the ambassadors is reported in the narrative after the decree itself.

Grimm concluded from these discrepancies that the text of the document as given in I Maccabees is a free reproduction by the author of an actual document not available to him.⁵ Even Baron has recourse to the assumption that the decree as before us is only a paraphrase⁶.

In actual fact most of these objections are quite trivial. The decree does not set out to provide a chronicle of events or a handy digest for the benefit of the history student. It makes no use of any temporal particles which would indicate that the events narrated are to be placed in a strict chronological sequence. Its purpose is merely to give reasons for the extraordinary powers to be conferred on Simon. Hence it is entitled to be comparatively free in the arrangement of its historical material. The grouping of events is clearly dictated by considerations of expediency or maximum effectiveness.

Since Simon forms the main subject of the decree, it is entirely natural that the author should report the death of Jonathan, who is mentioned only incidentally and as part of the family background to Simon's career, before launching into a description of Simon's achievements. It is equally natural that they should treat together the fortification of cities inside Judaea as well as the conquest and fortification of Bethsura, Joppe and Gazara, even though these events may have been separated by others which are

mentioned elsewhere. ⁴or logically they are connected. Their combined effect was to make Judaea strong enough to withstand invasion, and it is very likely that they had been planned as one long series of operations. The enumeration of names in the decree merely reflects the pride which all ancient peoples took in the possession of cities. The election of Simon to the High Priesthood and leadership of the people is placed next, with the obvious purpose of representing it as a reward for his outstanding services.

Then follows an event showing how Simon justified the trust placed in him by the people. The conquest of the Akra was not only his own crowning achievement, but in a sense the completion of the work begun by Judas Maccabaeus. Lastly, an account of foreign recognition provides a fitting conclusion.

It should be obvious that this logical sequence, without seriously violating historical truth, reads much more impressively than would a catalogue of events in strict chronological order.

The only real difficulty that remains is the report of the friendship concluded with Rome, since the narrative of I Maccabees places the return of Simon's ambassadors two years after the document. But as we have seen above (p. 186 ff.)

the decree can be fully vindicated on this point.

TEXT

27 Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ Ἐλουλ ἔτους δευτέρου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ
ἑκατοστοῦ - καὶ τοῦτο τρίτον ἔτος ἐπὶ Σιμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγά-
28 λου ἐν ἀσαραμελ - ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης ἱερέων καὶ λαοῦ καὶ
ἀρχόντων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῆς χώρας ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν·
29 ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἐγενήθησαν πόλεμοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, Σιμων δὲ υἱὸς
Ματταθίου ἱερεὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωαριβ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδωκαν
αὐτοῦς τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ ἀντέστησαν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τοῦ ἔθνους
αὐτῶν, ὅπως σταθῇ τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ θόξῃ μεγάλη
30 ἐδόξασαν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν. καὶ ἤθροισεν Ἰωναθαν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ,
31 καὶ ἐβουλήθησαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἐμβατεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
32 καὶ ἐκτεῖναι χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν· τότε ἀντέστη Σιμων καὶ
ἐπολέμησε περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδαπάνησεν χρήματα πολλὰ
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὀπλοδότησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἔθνους
33 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὀψώνια/καὶ ὠχύρωσεν τὰς πόλεις τῆς
Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Βαιθσουραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Ἰουδαίας, οὗ
ἦν τὰ ὄπλα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν
34 ἄνδρας Ἰουδαίους. καὶ Ἰοακὴν ὠχύρωσεν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ
τὴν Γαζαραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων Ἀζώτου, ἐν ᾗ ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι

τὸ πρότερον, καὶ κατέφκισεν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια ἦν
 35 πρὸς τῇ τούτων ἐπανορθώσει, ἔθετο ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ λαὸς
 τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Σιμωνος καὶ τὴν οὐξάν, ἣν ἐβουλεύσατο ποιῆσαι
 τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχιερέα
 διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ
 τὴν πίστιν, ἣν συνετήρησεν τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξεζήτησεν παντὶ
 36 τρόπῳ ὑψῶσαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ εὐοδώθη
 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξαρθῆναι τὰ ἔθνη ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυιδ τοὺς ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, οἳ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς
 ἄκραν, ἐξ ἧς ἐξεπορεύοντο καὶ ἐμίαινον κύκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐποίουν
 37 πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῇ ἀγνεΐᾳ. καὶ κατέφκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας Ἰουδαί-
 οὺς καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως
 38 καὶ ὑψωσεν τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Ἱερουσαλημ. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος
 39 ἔστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν
 40 τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτὸν δόξῃ μεγάλη. ἤκουσεν γὰρ
 ὅτι προσηγόρευνται οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι
 41 καὶ ἀδελφοί, / καὶ ὅτι ἀπήντησαν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς Σιμωνος ἐνδόξως,
 καὶ ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εὐδόκησαν τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν
 Σιμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι
 42 προφήτην πιστὸν / καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν, καὶ ὅπως μέλη
 αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καθιστάναι οἱ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν καὶ
 43 ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων, καὶ
 ὅπως μέλη αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ὅπως ἀκούηται ὑπὸ πάντων, καὶ
 ὅπως γράφονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι συγγραφαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
 44 καὶ ὅπως περιβάλληται πορφύραν καὶ χρυσοφορῇ· καὶ οὐκ ἐξέσται

οὐθενὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἀθετῆσαί τι τούτων καὶ ἀντειπεῖν
 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθησομένοις καὶ ἐπισυστρέψαι συστροφὴν ἐν τῇ
 χώρῃ ἄνευ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιβάλλεσθαι προφύραν καὶ ἐμποροῦσθαι
 45 κόρκην χρυσῆν· ὅς ὁ ἄν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἢ ἀθετήσῃ τι τούτων,
 46 ἔνοχος ἔσται. καὶ εὐδόκησεν πᾶς ὄλαος θέσθαι Σιμωνι ποιῆσαι κατὰ
 47 τοὺς λόγους τούτους. καὶ ἐπεδέξατο Σιμωνι καὶ εὐδόκησεν ἀρχιερα-
 τεύειν καὶ εἶναι στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἱερέων
 48 καὶ τοῦ προστατῆσαι πάντων. καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην εἶπον θέσθαι
 ἐν δέλτοις χαλκαῖς καὶ στῆσαι αὐτὰς ἐν περιβόλῳ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν
 49 τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ, / τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν θέσθαι ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ,
 ὅπως ἔχη Σιμων καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ.

Commentary

v. 27. The difference between this document and those discussed hitherto is strikingly illustrated at the very beginning. This is the only document in I Maccabees which is dated. The reason is, of course, that it represents a record of internal Jewish history⁷.

The year is reckoned both according to the Seleucid era and the new era of the High Priesthood of Simon. The new era was introduced as a symbol of independence after Jewish claims had been finally recognized by Demetrius II in Document 4; it seems to have been reckoned from the

first of Nissan 142 B.C.⁸ It was to be used on all public documents and of course on coins, (though none apparently were struck under Simon himself). But the old era was too convenient to be discarded altogether.

The strange words ἐν ἀσραμελ have naturally exercised the ingenuity of commentators. They are clearly a transcription or corruption of a Hebrew proper name or title. The most likely solution, first suggested by Wernsdorff, is to read ασραμελ as ἡκ μν ρω, i.e. Prince of the people of God, which would be the title usually rendered as ἑθνάρχης⁹. Schuerer made the additional suggestion that εν is a corruption of segen, the Hebrew word usually translated as στρατηγός. Thus the threefold title of Simon as attested elsewhere in I Maccabees would be complete at the head of the decree¹⁰.

V.28. The decree represents the decision of a grand assembly (συνάγωγη μεγάλη) which may have included the whole population, men and women, of Jerusalem at least. There is a number of Biblical parallels for such assemblies. In the time of King Josiah a public reading of the law was held in the presence of the whole people, including children (II Kings 23, 2). Nehemiah convened an assembly (ἐκκλησία μεγάλη) for the purpose of carrying through his social reforms (Neh. 5, 7). Another public reading of the law

took place in the time of Ezra when the whole people assembled in Jerusalem like one man (Neh. 8, 1). And a compulsory assembly of "all the children of the exile" with severe penalties for those failing to attend is mentioned in Ezra 10,8. Its purpose was to carry through the separation of the Jews from their foreign wives. 1 Maccabees records an *ἐκκλησία μεγάλη* in the time of Judas Maccabeus which came together to deliberate on means of helping the persecuted brethren outside Judaea. It is not possible to say whether such assemblies were extraordinary occurrences or whether they were a regular feature of Jewish life in post-exile age; and if the latter, whether they survived into the Greek age or not. (11.) At any rate there is not much reason to suppose (as some commentators have) that the assembly in the time of Simon was a deliberate imitation of that mentioned in Nehemiah.

Among those composing the assembly " the princes of the people and elders of the country " are singled out for special mention. The distinction between these two groups which seems to go back to very early times, is not clear. In Judges 8,14 we hear of the princes and elders of a city. The second assembly in the time of Ezra was convened by the princes and elders (Ezra 10,8). One of the poems included in 1 Maccabees opens *καὶ ἐστὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι*. There have been various attempts at explanation.

Thus it has been suggested that the elders were heads of houses forming local councils, while the princes were political officials residing in Jerusalem. ^{12.)} Gutberlet commenting on the passage under review suggests that the ἀρχοντες were the leaders of the whole nation, the πρεσβύτεροι the leaders of individual cities. Shuerer believes that the judges or other officials of a city were usually members of its body of elders exercising special functions. And the same was apparently true also on a national scale. We have the testimony of both Josephus and the New Testament for the existence in later times of ἀρχιερείς also called ἄρχοντες ^{13.)} who apparently were the leaders of the Sanhedrin.

It is probably most satisfactory to think of the ἀρχοντες mentioned in the present passage along the same lines, i.e. as the executive heads of the geronsia; but the possibility cannot be excluded that the expression πρεσβύτεροι τῆς χώρας is meant to include local elders.

V.29 Since the High Priesthood is to be made hereditary in the family of Simon it is natural that the account of his services to the people should be prefaced by a brief mention of those of his brothers. For, in addition to possessing great merits of his own, Simon as the last surviving son of Mathathias is in a sense the heir of his brothers. To us it seems strange that Judas should not be

singled out by name. Perhaps the omission is due merely to the fact that Judas had died twenty years before the issue of the decree, and at the time when the foreign yoke weighed on the Jews more heavily than ever. It is possible, though not very likely, that the omission was deliberate and polemical since Judas may have already become the hero of those sections who perhaps even then objected to the Hasmonean High Priesthood.^{14.)}

Jonathan, on the other hand, is mentioned since his career clearly inaugurated the new dynasty. He "assembled" or united the people in the sense of wiping out the Hellenizing opposition and making his party dominant in the country. In becoming the first Hasmonean High Priest in 153 B.C. he put an end to a long period of civil strife and extreme national weakness. There may also be a more special reason for the honourable mention of Jonathan in the decree. In modern times Simon has sometimes been accused of preparing the ground for his own High Priesthood and that of his descendants by handing the two sons of Jonathan over to Tryphon.^{15.)} The explanation given by the author of 1 Maccabees for Simon's action may lead us to suppose that suspicions were voiced in his own time too. It may not be too fanciful to assume that the simple tribute to Jonathan in the decree was meant as an implicit answer to such accusations. There cannot be much doubt that the decree was drafted by a close associate of Simon.

Another expression of piety towards his family may be seen in the splendid mausoleum which he built in Modiin .

V.31. This verse does not exaggerate for Simon assumed the leadership at a time of acute danger. According to the narrative of 1 Maccabees he had heard that Tryphon had gathered together a mighty force to come into the land of Judah *καὶ ἐκτρίψαι αὐτήν* (13, 1). The critical position of Judaea at this time seems to be reflected also in a letter sent by the Jews to their brethren in Egypt at this time and quoted within another letter at the beginning of 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. 1,7)¹⁶⁾. It is not unlikely that Tryphon intended to destroy the temple or to transform it after the manner of Antiochus IV since experience had shown that the temple was one of the main foci of Jewish nationalism. Simon's standing with the people probably rested in his achievement in saving them from this invasion.

V.32. This is the only passage in the First Book of the Maccabees in which any allusion is made to the financing of the Maccabean wars. Simon's wealth is emphasized also in 1 Macc. 15, 32. At the same time the phrase *τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς δυναμείας τοῦ ἔθνους* seems to stress that Simon's army was still a citizen's army. John Hyrkan was the first to employ foreign mercenaries in his wars.^{17.)}

In the time of Judas Maccabaeus the expense of the

wars had probably been shared by all who took part in them. Only after the withdrawal of the Seleucid garrisons in 153 B.C. can the Hasmoneans have been in a position to accumulate funds, since part of the taxes which were then withheld from the Seleucid government probably went into their own treasury. It is not unlikely that Jonathan and Simon had amassed additional funds during the time when between them they shared the governorship of the whole of Palestine. Thus Simon would be able not only to pay his soldiers in protracted wars but to pay for the garrisons and civil populations which he settled in the newly-won cities and the fortresses.

The prosperity of Judaea under Simon is reflected in the poetical encomium at the beginning of the chapter. (esp. 1 Macc. 14, 8-10).

Vv. 33, 34. The chronology of these events has already been dealt with. The importance attributed to them by the decree is fully justified. The fortresses round the borders of Judaea probably saved Judaea from invasion by Tryphon. These achievements also receive special praise in the poetical encomium on Simon (1 Macc. 14, vv. 5, 7 & 10.)

Willrich objected that the explanatory phrases attached to the name of cities (Bethgura on the border of Judaea, Joppe on the sea-coast, Gazara on the borders of Azotus) betray foreign origin since Palestinian Jews

18.) should have known where these places were situated. But these phrases have an obvious rhetorical function in emphasizing the importance of the places in question. Bethgura commanded access to Judaea from the South; Joppe gave the Jews their first harbour, and Gazara commanded access from the coastal plain where the important heathen city of Azotus was situated. Actually Gazara is seven miles distant from Azotus; we must either assume that Azotus possessed considerable stretches of the countryside surrounding it, or that the expression in 1 Maccabees is due to the fact that Azotus had been the main base for attacks on Judaea from the plain (1 Macc.11,77-84; cf. also 4,15.)

V.35. This verse has sometimes been understood as proving that Simon was elected High Priest by the people, whereas Jonathan is supposed to have held the office solely by virtue of his appointment through Alexander Balas. According to 1 Maccabees 13,8 Simon was only acclaimed *σὺ εἶ ἡμῶν ἡγούμενος ἀντὶ Ἰουδαίου καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου* ; it is indeed unlikely that he became High Priest before the death of Jonathan. The narrative of 1 Maccabees tells us nothing about his election to the High Priesthood, but in the letter of Demetrius II (Document 4) issued soon after Jonathan's death he is addressed as High Priest. It is most unlikely that a previous ceremony on the scale of a "grand assembly" had taken place; but it is quite possible that Simon had

been officially appointed on the occasion of a festival by the priests and elders or by the populace of Jerusalem. The same, however, may be true of Jonathan.

Vv.36,37. The Hebraic phrase *εὐσώθη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ* emphasizes the difficulty of the undertaking which Simon completed. As early as 163 B.C. Judas had besieged the citadel, and Jonathan had made repeated attempts throughout his career to obtain possession of it. ^{19.)}

The decree stresses the religious aspect of the Akra as it was before 141 B.C. The gentiles ... "went out and polluted all things round about the sanctuary, and did great hurt unto its purity". Of course Akra also had an important political significance, for it was the last stronghold of Seleucid authority inside Judaea. But the words of the decree should serve to remind us that the actions of Jonathan and Simon cannot be explained as springing from nationalist ambition only. The conquest of the Akra may be regarded in a real sense as the closing of that chapter in Jewish history which had begun with the attempt at forcible Hellenization in 168 B.C.

Moreover the victory won in 141 B.C. was final. When Jerusalem capitulated to Antiochus VII he demanded as one of the terms for a truce that the Jews should receive a garrison. They accepted all his other terms but would not agree to a garrison *διὰ τὴν ἁμιξίαν οὐκ ἀφικνουμένοι πρὸς ἄλλους* (Jo. Ant. 13, 247). Antiochus accordingly declared himself

willing to accept hostages and a sum of 500 talents instead the experiment of planting a heathen community in Jerusalem was not repeated as long as the temple stood.

One of Simon's first actions on taking over the leadership had been to complete the fortification of Jerusalem which had been begun under Jonathan *καὶ ἐτάχυνε τοῦ τελέσαι τὰ τεῖχη Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν κυκλόθεν* (1Macc. 13,11). This action was not only of paramount military importance but also a matter of prestige. ²⁰⁾

Vv.38,39 . It is interesting to see that the fact of recognition by a Seleucid king is still considered an additional qualification for the High Priesthood. The Jews probably continued to regard themselves as an independent dynasty within the Seleucid empire. The force of is somewhat vague. The meaning may be "in spite of" rather than "because of" these things. In other words, by recognising Simon as High Priest, Demetrius tacitly accepted such expansionist ambitions as were implied in the siege of Gazara and the Akra. *ἔστησε* does not properly mean "confirmed" as it is usually translated, but "conferred", i.e. independently of whether Simon was High Priest before this date. ^{21.)}

In fact it is uncertain whether Simon was High Priest before he received Document 4. Simon is addressed as *φίλος βασιλέως* in the letter of Demetrius II. We do not know of any other honours conferred on him by the king. Perhaps the outward symbols of rank are meant, such as the purple robe

and gold crown which the *φίλος* often received from the king.

V.40. In view of the amount of space which the author of 1 Maccabees devotes to Hasmonean dealings with Rome it is strange that the Roman treaty is only referred to indirectly in the decree, i.e. as a factor influencing Demetrius to recognise Simon. One almost suspects an apologetic motive in this arrangement, as if the authors of the decree wished to show that without the Roman treaty Jewish independence could not have been achieved. Were there perhaps even then far-sighted men in Judaea who saw a danger in the Hasmonean alliance with Rome?

V.41. The words *καὶ ὅτι* at the beginning of this verse present a difficulty; for if they are kept, the whole verse appears to be dependent on *ἤκουσε γάρ* in the preceding verse; and hence the remainder of the decree as far as v.46 would merely form the content of what King Demetrius heard. If so it would be difficult to see any point or purpose in the decree; it would consist merely of a list of Simon's achievements and powers, introduced by an *ἐπιδή* clause, without any decision to follow. The majority of scholars, on the other hand, believe that the words *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εὐδόκησαν* introduce the decree proper, corresponding to the repetitive *ἔδοξε* or *δεδοχθαι* by which Greek decrees indicate that the decision is to follow. It is therefore usual to delete the word *ὅτι* at the beginning of the verse, in spite of the fact that it is found in all the

22.)
manuscripts.

Of course Simon had been ἡγούμενος and High Priest before. But the decree makes an important addition to his powers by laying it down that these offices should be his. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα . The meaning of this phrase is not just "for life" (as some commentators have assumed) but "for all time"; these offices are to belong to Simon's descendants too. The words εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα are frequently used in the Old Testament in passages where a hereditary office, the priesthood or the kingship, is solemnly promised to someone.

But properly such promises can derive only from God. A purely human enactment, one not based on divine command, could not have absolute validity. The High Priesthood had been hereditary in the Zadokite family for so long, that that family's title to it could not be brushed aside completely. This is the reason for the qualification εἰς τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν . As long as men were thrown on their own resources the present arrangement was to stand. But it might be superseded if a "true" prophet, one about whose mission there could be no doubt, were once more to arise. 23.)

Presumably the qualification was dictated not only by piety but by the necessity to assuage those sections of Jewry who questioned the legitimacy of the Hasmonean High Priesthood. It is in fact an admission that divine sanction was lacking. But it claims that in the absence of a directive from heaven the people were

entitled to choose their own High Priest.

The title of ἡγούμενος or ἐθνάρχης goes closely together with the High Priesthood. It makes explicit the High Priest's position as official figurehead of the newly-independent nation. Perhaps it was also meant to denote in particular his function as head of the geronsia and as the supreme judicial authority. The title of High Priest which had existed also under foreign domination was apparently no longer considered adequate to denote these functions.

The two titles are associated also in the later history of the Hasmonean house. When Hyrkan II was deprived by the Romans of most of his secular powers he continued to be called ἐθνάρχης as well as High Priest. Antipater received the title of procurator (in Greek ἐπίτροπος or ἡγεμών). But Hyrkan was still nominally the judicial head of Judaea, as shown by his attempt to bring Herod to trial before the Sanhedrin.^{24.}

V.42. Simon's third office - that of στρατηγός - stands in a class apart. According to this text it seems not to have been automatically hereditary though it is likely that John Hyrkan held it too. One may imagine that there would have been considerable opposition to a proposal to make such far-reaching powers hereditary. It is noteworthy that this title does not appear in the address of the letter of Antiochus VII (Document 5.).

The following provisions seem to define the functions of the office of στρατηγός. Simon is to have charge of the sanctuary and to appoint them (the Jews) over the work thereof and over the land and arms and fortresses. Thus it appears that his executive and military functions were comprised under this term.

Charge of the temple would involve control over the vast funds paid to it in taxes or deposited there for keeping; for temples served as banks in antiquity. This function had apparently been exercised before the Maccabean revolt by the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, an officer of great power. ²⁵⁾ The people to be appointed ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας would presumably be combined judges, administrative officials and tax-collectors.

The title derived of course from the common Hellenistic office of στρατηγός denoting a provincial governor who possessed both military and civil powers. In addition the Hellenistic στρατηγοί, as Abel reminds us, often exercised supreme sacerdotal functions as well.

It should be noted that the three titles of Simon were already anticipated in the position of Jonathan under Alexander Balas. Jonathan was made High Priest in 153 B.C. and received the titles of στρατηγός and μεριδάρχης shortly afterwards. The Jews later changed the title of μεριδάρχης into ἐθνάρχης ^{26.)} in order to underline their independence. Thus we see how the Hellenistic heritage shaped

the organisation of the new Hasmonean state.

The provisions of V.43 are of a more formal character. The first (καὶ ὅπως μέλη ἀβτῶ περι τῶν ἐγίωυ) is repeated from V.42 and should perhaps be deleted either there or here. The second provision makes into a law a practice that had already been followed for two years, viz. that all contracts, including it seems private contracts, should be written in his name, the dates being reckoned from the beginning of his High Priesthood. The right of the High Priest to wear purple and a gold crown dated from the time of Alexander Balas, and was customary in Hellenistic time.

V.44. As a corollary of the powers and privileges conferred on Simon, the freedom of the rest of the people must be restricted. They are forbidden to challenge the decree or any part of it, to speak against orders given by Simon, to hold meetings without his permission or to arrogate to themselves the outward marks of rank of the High Priest.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages the texts of the documents in 1 Maccabees have been subjected to a detailed scrutiny. No reason has been found to reject any of the letters received by the Jews. Only Jonathan's letter to the Spartans, the one letter that is said to emanate from Judaea, is open to legitimate suspicions. As regards the rest, it can confidently be asserted that they render the text of what was written with fair accuracy. Of course a few examples of misunderstanding did occur. And here and there the arrangement seems to have been altered, and some details were perhaps omitted. But on the whole the sense has been preserved remarkably well in the process of double translation. Though there are many Hebraisms it is, as a rule, not difficult to conjecture the Greek that stood in the originals.

Thus these documents are of the utmost value to the historian, compensating in a large measure for the poverty of Palestine in archaeological material, particularly from the Hellenistic period. The Seleucid letters have a unique interest, for they give us a wealth of information on economic matters, a subject usually given a cavalier treatment in ancient authors. And, besides enabling us to form a picture of the status of Judaea under Seleucid administration, they show us the real issues of the conflict between the Maccabees and the Seleucid government - issues which were largely, though not exclusively economic. They

clearly mark the stages in the progress of Judaea from the position of a province in complete subjection to the Seleucid empire to the achievement of almost complete independence.^{1.} And, since on the whole they represent the Seleucid answers to the Maccabees' demands, they enable us to trace the policy of the Maccabees in the period from 163 B.C. to 139 B.C.

Alexander Balas's personal note to Jonathan forms, as it were, the prelude to the rest. It gives, for the first time, official recognition to a member of the Hasmonean family and thus establishes the new dynasty. And it is the first stage in the process in which the Maccabees, by exploiting the rivalries between various claimants to the throne, laid the foundations for their own power. For there can be little doubt that Alexander's grant is but a response to Jonathan's known aspirations. Constitutionally the step is highly significant, creating as it does an entirely new form of leadership in Jewish history. Before the Maccabean revolt, the High Priests, as 2 Maccabees and the Book of Ecclesiasticus show us, had possessed extensive worldly powers, ranging over taxation, foreign relations and public buildings. But they had never combined these with military leadership. The new High Priests therefore approximated to the functions of the ancient kings of Judaea even before they assumed the crown.

The letter of Demetrius I is the richest mine of

information in the whole collection. If we compare it with the edict of Antiochus III we see how low the Jews had sunk in status during the Maccabean upheaval. Their self-government had gone, the High Priest's rule being replaced by direct Seleucid administration under the provincial governor. The walls of Jerusalem lay in ruins and the city was dominated by the alien Akra. The annual tribute had been replaced by a crushing land-tax, and in other ways too the burden of taxation had become heavier. The ancient subventions to the Temple had been abrogated. In a last bid to regain the Jews' loyalty to the throne, Demetrius promised not only to restore all former privileges in full but to add to them substantially. His promises amount to complete independence conditional only on the Jews' willingness to fight for him in return.

The letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan adds nothing. It merely repeats the most important of these offers, viz. those connected with taxation, though it seems to presuppose the reinstatement of the annual collective tribute. But it is important because it gives concrete shape to what had been vague promises. There are no "strings attached" to it, and its writer still enjoyed power.

In the following crucial years we see the two surviving Maccabean brothers temporarily extending their sway over the whole of Palestine - Simon in the coastal

plain and Jonathan in the interior. Ostensibly keeping order on behalf of Antiochus VI, they dealt with their ancient enemies in the North and West and extended the area of Jewish settlement.

Demetrius's next letter, which was hailed by the Jews as a charter of independence and the end of the hated foreign "yoke", confirmed his former offers but this time definitely though implicitly waived the claim for tribute. And it recognised the accomplished fact of the fortification of Judaea.

The last Seleucid letter, that of Antiochus VII, added the right of coinage, of which the Jews seem to have availed themselves only in the reign of John Hyrkan.

In many of its aspects the course of events in Judaea can be paralleled from other parts of the Seleucid empire. One of the latest provinces to enter the empire, Judaea had at first received a fairly lenient treatment and was allowed to retain her ancient institutions, at a time when the decline of the empire was already settling in. But an acceleration of this decline brought about a change in government policy. Judaea was to be brought into line with the older parts of the empire. The rule of the Temple - and it appears as if legally the ethnos of the Jews inhabited one immense temple-estate - was to give way to that of the polis, a process involving, it would seem, an increase in the burden of the rural population. A similar

curtailment of their rights had been inflicted on many other native sanctuaries, particularly in Asia Minor, in the past. When the attempt to carry through the reform by peaceful means had failed in Judaea, it was replaced by a policy of coercion and economic exploitation.^{B.} But after this policy too had come to grief on account of the resistance of the Jews and the progressive weakening of the Empire, we find in the Seleucid promises to the Maccabees one of the first attempts to placate a native sanctuary. The later promises to Baetocaece and other temples near the heart of the empire were in the same line of development.

But in some ways the Jerusalem of the Maccabees was more than a temple-community. It is in the cities rather than the temples that we find parallels for her outward symbols of independence - the beginning of a native era and the minting of coins (it is doubtful whether we may add the right of asylum, which was common to cities and temples). We meet with these particularly in the Phoenician cities in the last quarter of the Second Century B.C. .

In Hasmonean contacts with Rome two motives are clearly discernible. The first is to induce Rome to bring pressure to bear on the Seleucid Government. This motive is the dominant one in Judas's mission to Rome which expressly asks Rome to lift the "yoke" of Seleucid oppression from the Jews. This mission seems to have been in vain though it is just possible that it bore belated fruit in contributing to the

truce of 159 B.C.

At any rate the Jews' faith in Rome does not seem to have been shaken. Though Rome would not go to war for the sake of Judaea she might still exercise diplomatic pressure in her favour. We cannot be sure of the purpose of Jonathan's approach to Rome, though it is likely that his policy anticipated that pursued by Simon within a year of his death. Simon's mission to Rome was clearly designed to obtain Roman support for the demands with which he was about to confront Demetrius II. In this it was entirely successful. Roman influence combined with his military successes gave him a solid backing for his negotiations with the king. Whether the Roman circular is the outcome of the same mission or of a later one, had best be left an open question; the second alternative seems a little more likely.

The circular clearly illustrates the second motive behind Simon's approach to Rome, one that was probably present already in Jonathan's diplomatic activities of the year 143 B.C. This was to establish Hasmonean ascendancy over the Jewish communities in the Diaspora by enlisting Roman support for the new High Priesthood. In this too Simon was successful. Jewish opposition to the new dynasty became vocal within a few years of Simon's death, if not before.³ But it came from Judaea itself, not from outside. And far from representing an attempt to restore

the old order it came from some of the most ardent of the Maccabees' former supporters . Contacts between the Diaspora communities and the homeland seem to have become closer in the period following the establishment of the Hasmonean state; and contributions from abroad flowed into the Temple-coffers in ever increasing measure.

As regards Hasmonean contact with Sparta, our evidence is insufficient to permit any definite conclusions. The story of these contacts seems to have come down to us only by a freak; and it is likely that they were never of any great importance. The most likely motives are either those connected with Jewish communities abroad or a desire to bring the emergent Hasmonean state to the notice of the Greek world; perhaps also to further trade.

The Hasmonean movement was a nationalism compounded of a zeal for the rule of the ancestral laws and personal ambition. The basic aims of the Maccabees were simple: to obtain power for themselves and for Judaea freedom from foreign taxation and garrisons; the restoration of the rights of Jerusalem and an expansion of territory in the North and the coastal plain. Their foreign policy consisted in exploiting the rivalries of the Seleucid kings as well as Roman animosity to the Seleucid empire. The first pretender appointed their dynasty. From Demetrius II they received a large measure of independence, but not enough to

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satisfy their growing aspirations. Under Antiochus VI they had a free hand in Palestine, enabling them to prepare the ground for later conquests. Finally all their demands, as far as the territory of Judaea and the three predominantly Jewish districts in the North were concerned, were met by Demetrius II and upheld by Antiochus VII. But their programme of conquest had to wait another fifteen years.

It has often been said - most recently and forcibly by Toynbee - that the success of the Maccabees was due entirely to the weakness of the Seleucid empire.⁴ But it should not be forgotten that this weakness, and the unenlightened policy resulting from it, also made that empire's rule intolerable for the more vigorous of its subject peoples. In many ways the Hasmonean state developed, as Toynbee aptly remarks, into a "successor state" of the Seleucid empire.⁵ The Decree in honour of Simon is an illustration of this process. It shows how, as has often happened in history, a nationalist movement - once its aims were realised - changed its course and developed into an autocracy on the pattern of the surrounding states. As such, the new state, from its very birth, found severe critics among its own people. In many ways this criticism was justified. Nevertheless, in restoring the rule of the Law throughout the whole of Judaea, the Maccabees did ensure that the Jews could absorb Hellenism without being

swamped by it; and they created the material conditions in which the people, including the critics , could survive.

NOTES

NOTES

SECTION I

1. Michaelis was an exception. A good introduction to the whole problem is given on pp.i - xxx of Grimm's Commentary, which is still in many ways the best work on I Maccabees.
2. A classified table of authorities may be found in Pfeiffer, pp.489-90.
3. Introduction, p.xx
4. pp.220 (with note 32); p.229 (note 14); pp.236/7 (notes 32, 33); pp.248-253.
5. p.374.
6. Judaica, p.viii.
7. Ibid. pp.62-75
8. " pp.51-62
9. " p.83
10. " pp.76-80
11. " pp.62-75
12. Juden und Griechen, pp.48-50; 58-69. The Roman document Jos.Ant.14, 145 ff. is now moved to the time of John Hyrkan. - On this document cf. p. 205 ff.
13. Ibid. pp.36-44
14. Ibid. pp.73-86
15. pp. 27-31

16. Kritik, pp.99-100
17. pp.140-157, especially 147/8
18. pp.250, note 1; 253, note 1; 257, notes 1 and 3
19. Charles: Apocrypha, pp.61-64
20. pp.238, 253, 264-5
21. pp.303-306
22. p.343
23. especially p.127
24. ~~p.~~ **635**
25. passim; especially p.375
26. Laqueur, pp. **248 ff.** ; Momigliano, pp.141-170
27. P.W. Vol. XIV (s.v. Makkabäerbücher) p.785; Der Gott, pp.174-5
28. Urkundenfälschung, pp 75-86, especially 84/5
29. Judaica, p.55
30. Heichelheim, p.656
31. Welles, p.283
32. cf. Hadas, Introduction p.54, where 130 B.C. is taken as the hypothetical date. Similarly Bickermann, Z.N.W., pp.280-98, especially the last few pages
33. Archiv XII, 1937, p.221 ff.
34. Amer. J. of Philology, 1938, pp.1-30

35. Hadas, pp.54-9; Bickermann, loc.cit., argues that it belonged to a recognized category of historical romance
36. Ezra-Studies, p.151
37. Cf. Torrey, Harvard Theological Review 1944, pp.1-40; Bickermann, Proc. of the Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research, 1951, pp.101-135
38. Juden und Griechen, p.69
39. Judaica, p.81
40. In general it seems to me that the use of the word "forgery", which is not confined to Willrich, has no place in discussions of these letters. A forgery always has some ulterior motive; it tries to gain some material advantage from a deliberate untruth. But if any of the letters in ancient Jewish literature had been forged there would have been little point in presenting them to the Jews. Even the Alexandrian works like II and III Maccabees and Aristeas were written mainly for a Jewish public. There is no evidence whatever that they were at any time used in political discussions. Modern scholars tend to forget that it was only through the accident that these works provided religious edification for the early Church that they were preserved, when so many similar works must have been lost.
41. From the example of Ecclesiasticus (cf. the Prologue) it appears that no great interval elapsed between the composition of Hebrew books in the late Greek period and their translation into Greek.

42. Modern opinion, in contrast with that of earlier scholars, regards the author of I Maccabees as an eye-witness of many of the events narrated. Thus Bickermann, Der Gott, p.145 with note 3, where the old argument that the last sentence of the book (mentioning the Annals of John Hyrkan) implies a date after Hyrkan's death is effectively refuted. See also Ettelson p.349, where a date before Hyrkan's break with the Pharisees is postulated; Abel, pp. XXVIII-XXIX; Zeitlin, p.32; Sordi, Scritti in memoria di A. Passerini, pp.509-519 (Cf. p. 63)
43. Thus Schuerer (Vol.II, p.193) and Bickermann, Der Gott, p.145; against this view Pfeiffer, p.
44. cf. p. 75/6
45. Judaica, p.51; Willrich's references in this passage are wrong.
46. This is proved by the opening of the book, which deals with Alexander the Great. Nehemiah closes with Alexander's contemporary, the High Priest Jaddua.
47. The only dates given in full are those of the Desecration and Restoration of the Temple, which were identical (I Macc.1, 54; 4, 52); the victory over Nicanor (7, 43); the Capture of the Akra (13, 51); and the Decree in honour of Simon (14, 27). It should be noted that all except the last occur as national holidays in Megillath Taanith (written about 70 A.D.) For some other events the month as well as year is given, e.g. of Judas's last battle (9,3); Jonathan's rise to the High Priesthood (10, 21);

death of Simon (16, 14). For others, including all events of non-Jewish history, only the year is recorded.

- 48. The exact date (i.e. month and day) of this event was still remembered in the first century A.D.
Cf. p. 154. Hence it is likely that the author of I Maccabees also knew it.
- 49. The single word $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\upsilon$ is used to indicate that what follows is a letter.

SECTION II

1. That this document is to be dated in the year 163 B.C. was first shown by Laqueur, Historische Zeitschrift, p.233 ff. Cf. also the detailed discussion by Tcherikower. Meyer (pp.213-215 and p.460) still assigns it to the year 165 B.C. Laqueur's conclusions are now generally accepted. The month in which the document was issued is not known, as we have no means of assessing the length of the siege and the following negotiations. On p.14 of "Der Gott" Bickermann advances the date to February, 162 B.C., though on p.174 he dates it in 163 B.C. The significance of the settlement is best discussed in Bickermann, "Der Gott", pp.74 and 85.
2. It is not clear whether Alcimus was appointed before or after the change of rulers, cf. Marcus's note to Jos. Ant. XII, 385 (p.200). Alcimus stood for a moderate form of Hellenism.
3. For this treaty cf. p. 59 below.
4. Vol.I, p.215
5. On the character of the Maccabees, p.229; cf. also p.242. On the situation after 161 B.C.: "So waren die Zustände wie sie unter Antiochos dem Grossen und Seleukos IV bestanden hatten, im wesentlichen wiederhergestellt", p.249. But Meyer admits in passing that the tax-concessions granted to the Jews by Antiochus III were not restored. Cf. below.
6. "Das Privileg des Antiochos III wurde dadurch im wesentlichen wiederhergestellt", Der Gott, p.85-86. The privileges of Antiochus III, which are contained

in a letter to Ptolemy the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, are quoted by Josephus, Ant.138-144. The document (No.2 in Bickermann's list in Der Gott, p.174) is discussed at length in Bickermann, La Charte Seleucide. Evidence for the abrogation for the privileges in the time of Antiochus IV is contained in II Macc. 4, 11, where it is said of the High Priest Jason, καὶ τὰ κείμενα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλόνηρωπα βασιλικα. . . παρώσας

7. On the general significance of the Akra cf. Bickermann, Der Gott, pp.71-80.
8. Cf. also Bevan, C.A.H. VIII, p.520.
9. Cf. Bickermann, I.S., p.165
10. He seems, however, to have exercised a general supervisory function over the affairs of Judaea; e.g. he might remonstrate with the High Priest for arrears in taxation (II Macc.4, 28-9), and call in troops from the provincial governor in case of an emergency. Cf. Bengtson II, pp.174-6, and (for the title ἐπίτροχος instead of the more usual ἀκροφύλαξ,) p.153, n.3.
11. e.g. Molon, Timarchos (in Babylonia), Ptolemaios (in Kommagene) and the Eastern satraps of the third century B.C.
12. Taeubler, J.Q.R. 1947 has shown that as early as 200 B.C. there had been a Jewish movement aiming at total independence from either Ptolemaic or Seleucid rule.
13. A rough historical parallel may be discerned in the Spanish persecution of the Dutch Protestants in the

sixteenth century, which resulted eventually in the secession of the Netherlands from the Spanish empire.

14. See in particular pp. 88 ff.
15. Of course there had been two rival lines claiming the Seleucid throne since the death of Seleucus IV in 176 B.C. But neither the irregular succession of Antiochus IV nor the coup of Demetrius I had been accompanied by civil war; the former remained unchallenged throughout his reign and the latter at least had a respite of ten years.
16. But the author of I Maccabees takes the relationship quite seriously.
17. Cf. C.A.H. VIII, p.522/3. Justinus 35, 1.
18. On the political bias of I Maccabees cf. Bickermann, Der Gott, pp.28-30. The author persistently identifies the Hasmoneans with the people, and refers to their opponents only by such terms as ἄνδρες ἄνομοι καὶ δρασταί (7,5), λοιμοὶ (10,61), μισοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν (11, 21), etc. Of course, according to the view put forward above, he was, broadly speaking, right and the Hasmoneans were in fact championing the interests of the people. But this does not alter the fact that he is at times guilty of misrepresenting the truth for political reasons.
19. Cf. pp. 74-76
20. The exact date of the battle is not known. The two limiting dates are the autumn of 152 B.C., when Jonathan was first appointed High Priest, and 150 B.C., the date of Alexander's marriage to Cleopatra.

21. Cf. note 24 below

22. Cf. p. 116 ff.

23. The μέρις was a subdivision of the satrapy equivalent apparently to a ὑπαρχία elsewhere in the Seleucid empire (Bengtson II, pp.24-9). Most commentators believe that the μέρις over which Jonathan was appointed was identical with Judaea. The office of μεριδάρχης is not attested for Judaea previous to this time; a meridarch of Samaria is mentioned Jos. Ant. XII, 261, 264 (cf. p. 101). Schuerer nevertheless holds that Judaea had always been a μέρις (Vol. I p.184), while Kahrstedt goes so far as to maintain that the former High Priests had automatically held the position of meridarch, though they had preferred to use their priestly titles exclusively, as being the more honourable (pp.54/5). According to Bengtson, on the other hand, Judaea had been part of the province of Samaria until this time; in 150 B.C. she was for the first time raised to the status of a separate province through the appointment of Jonathan to a meridarchy. (Vol. II, p.170). In favour of Bengtson's view one might cite the fact that at the outbreak of rebellion in Judaea the meridarch of Samaria was called in; against it the statement, I Macc. 10, 30, that the three provinces were being added ἀπο τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας, which sounds as though another province is meant (cf. p. 121 ff.).

The evidence at our disposal seems insufficient to decide the question. The Seleucid system of administration was a very elastic one and was undergoing continuous change in the second century B.C.; so that it is an impossible task to try and fit all the territorial divisions known to us into one logical structure. Thus it is possible that the ἔθνος of the

Jews was technically inside the borders of Samaria, but that in practice the administration of Samaria had little contact with it, because the Jews enjoyed internal autonomy and were left alone by the government. There is also a possibility which so far has not been considered, that Judaea was joined with Idumaea just as Samaria and Galilee seem to have belonged together. The μέρις to which Jonathan was appointed by Alexander certainly contained Judaea, but perhaps also included some territory beyond.

- 24. There is some doubt about the position of the governor Apollonius. According to I Macc. 10, 69, he was appointed by Demetrius, καὶ κατέστησε Δημήτριος Ἀπολλώνιον τῶν ὄντα (sic) ἐπι Κόιλης Συρίας. In the parallel passage of Josephus (Ant. XIII, 86 ff.) he is Alexander's general, and Alexander's subsequent gifts to Jonathan are explained as follows: Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ἀκούσας ἠττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλωνίου προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ~~δὲ~~ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην Ἰωνάθῃ συνέβαλε φίλῳ ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ.

Most scholars have rejected Josephus's version, though Grimm and others believe that the peculiar phrasing of I Maccabees indicates that Apollonius had served under Balas and later transferred his allegiance to Demetrius II, who then re-appointed him to his old command. Only Bengtson has recently come out in favour of Josephus's version (Vol. II, p.177, n.3). He believes that Jonathan, like the rest of Alexander's former supporters, went over to Demetrius and fought against the satrapical governor to whom he had previously been subordinate. I agree with the majority of scholars that it would be quite incredible

that Alexander should have rewarded Jonathan for defeating his own general.

The difficult phrasing of I Maccabees (assuming the text to be uncorrupted) is most easily explained if we assume that Apollonius had established himself in Coele-Syria by his own efforts as a supporter of the line of Seleucus IV, even before Demetrius had landed. This assumption would be the more probable if he is indeed to be identified with the Apollonius who is mentioned by Polybius as *σόντροπος* of Demetrius I (Pol. XXXI, 11, 13). If so he would have held the same, or partially the same, command as his father Apollonius the son of Menestheus, who was commander of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia under Seleucus IV (II Macc. 4, 4); cf. Abel, pp.197, 330). The readiness with which Apollonius won control of the coastal cities and the rest of Palestine outside Judaea may indicate that Alexander's hold had never been very strong there (cf. p.48).

- 25. He also promised to evacuate other fortresses *τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν*). The only Syrian fortress on Judaeian soil that we know of at this time is Bethsura. Perhaps fortresses near the border on which the Jews had an eye, such as Gazara, are meant. But it is not impossible that Demetrius II had re-occupied some of the fortresses which his father had evacuated in 153 B.C.
- 26. Cf. Bengtson II, 176 ff. The "ladder of Tyre" was a mountain range 100 stades north of Ptolemais (Jos. B.J. II, 138). ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~.
- 27. Perhaps in the summers of 144 and 143 B.C.

28. On the history of Joppe cf. Schuerer II 128-132, and pp. below. The town remained predominantly Jewish until 70 A.D.
29. For the fortifications see p. 161 ff.; for the assembly p. 156 ff. Jonathan's foreign relations are discussed at length pp. 181 ff.
30. He did so shortly after his return from Judaea (13, 31-32).
31. Cf. Meyer p. 262, P.W. Vol. VIIA, p. 719
32. See p. 154/5
33. Roth, pp. 3-18; Taeubler, Imperium Romanum, pp. 239-54
34. Ibid. p. 47
35. Scritti in memoria di A. Passerini, pp. 509-519
36. Festschrift Nöldeke, pp. 817-829

DOCUMENT 1

1. Prime Lines, p.163
2. cf. p. 155
3. Hatch & Redpath s.v. δυνατός
4. cf. Welles 67, 13
5. cf. I Macc. 10, 29 (p. 79 below) and II Macc. 1, 6, 9
6. The following remarks are based on Bickermann, I.S. pp.40-50
7. cf. II Macc. 4, 38 (Antiochus IV) καὶ πυρωθεὶς τοῖς θυμοῖς, παραχρήμα τὴν τοῦ Ἀνδρονικοῦ πορφύραν περιελάμενος καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας περιφρήξας. . .
8. See Wilhelm, *Jakresh. d. Ost. Arch. Inst.*, 1914, p.36 ff., esp. p. 39
9. cf. I Macc. 8, 29 for a similar gloss inserted by the author in the Judaeo-Roman treaty.
10. Urkundenfälschung, pp. 37 ff.
11. I.S. p.44
12. Ibid.
13. Liddell & Scott s.v. φρονεῖν II 2.b

DOCUMENT 2

1. Momigliano (p.163) has argued that Document 2 is to be dated before Document 1. The proper occasion for these offers, he believes, would be a time when Jonathan's defection to Alexander was already known, though not yet official. After Alexander's letter there would have been no point in the offers made. As the dates of the letters are not given this supposition is quite possible. It seems unnecessary, however, if one bears in mind the fact that the letters differed in their objects. Alexander offered personal honours to Jonathan, but Demetrius attempted to win back the nation as a whole.
2. Der Gott, p. 53 note 2.
3. O.G.I.S. 229, 11
4. Ibid. p.54. Bengtson (Die Strategie pp.10, 11) quotes Meyer's definition of the ἔθνος in Persian times, "das nichtstädtisch organisierte und dem unmittelbaren Regiment der Reichsbeamten unterstellte Land"; and adds that this definition still holds under the Seleucids, though gradually superseded by the term οἱ τόποι. I do not think this is quite correct, at least when applied to the contexts quoted above. The example of the Jews, in particular the title ἑθνοάρχης which was borne by Simon and his followers at a time of virtual independence, shows that the term must at least have been compatible with a considerable measure of autonomy; and probably it even implied this autonomy. When Seleucus II addressed himself πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη he meant surely not royal officials, but native rulers who were only loosely subordinated to the regional governors.
5. Bickermann, Der Gott, 54; cf. ἐπαρχίας τῆς λουδαίας καὶ

- ἐκ τῶν ἑλλων ἔοντων in the edict of Antiochus III,
Jos. Ant. 12, 141.
6. cf. on vv.34 and 36
 7. Cf. p.39
 8. p.255 n.1. Similarly Willrich, Judaica p.54, for whom this assumption is an argument for the falsity of the letter
 9. p.196
 10. cf. Welles, p.367
 11. cf. Welles 64, 13/4, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα φιλόνηρα καὶ τέμνια ὅσα οἱ πρὸ ἑμοῦ βασιλεῖς συνεχώρησαν ἐπιτρέπω, and note ad loc.; 67, 14/15, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τέμνια καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων φιλόνηρα.
See also Welles's note in the glossary, pp.373, 370
 12. For this use of καὶ νῦν cf. II Macc. 1, 6 and 9; Bickermann, Ztschr. f. Neutest. Wiss. 1933, p.246
 13. See especially the commentary on v.39.
 14. As noticed already by Grimm (ad loc.) and Schuerer Vol.I p.229, note 14. On the edict in general cf. Chap.1, note 6
 15. e.g. Welles 54, 13 προστέταχα ἀφαιεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου καὶ τελέσματος δραχμᾶς τρισχιλίας .
 16. It is used thus in the edict of Antiochus III ἀπολυόμεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν φόρων (loc.cit). Perhaps this is a Roman usage; the Romans did not impose a fixed annual tribute, but varied their assessment from year to year according to the harvest (cf. Bickermann I.S. p.107). Josephus may have

← slightly altered the vocabulary of the edict of Antiochus III just as he altered that of the documents in I Maccabees. He seems to have understood φόροι in the sense of tribute in the present passage, since he gave the tax special emphasis. His paraphrase of verse 29 runs: νῦν τε ὑμῖν ἀφιημι τοὺς φόρους οὓς δεῖ παραίχετε ποδὺς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἀλλῶν καὶ τῶν στεφάνων οὓς προσφέρετε ἡμῖν . (Ant. 13, 49).

Cf. also Ant. 13, 143 and page 150 . For a discussion of the tribute see pp. 88-102

17. E.g. Welles 14, 5 καὶ φόρων τε σκληρῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν ἀπολύσαντα , where φόροι stands for a war-contribution.
18. So Grimm, Schuerer (loc.cit.) and Zeitlin. Only Abel translates "tribute".
19. cf. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H. pp.440-441
20. Even the Roman term tributum capitis included this meaning as well as that of the flat poll-tax. Cf. Marcus, Loeb edn. of Josephus Vol.VII p.74, note (a); Schwahn, P.W. s.v. Tributum, VIIA, esp. pp.68/9. A poll-tax existed in Ptolemaic Egypt, but nothing is known about its nature, cf. Préaux pp.380-87.
21. Josephus seems to have divided v.30 into two parts (perhaps misled by the repetition of the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμερᾶς), placing a full stop after the word ἐπεκεῖνα which follows the first occurrence of this phrase and assuming a lacuna at the beginning of the second part.
22. καὶ διὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν Ἰουδαίοις ὑπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης/περιουσίας (Appian. Syr. 50). Cf. Schuerer I p.512.

23. Judaica p.56
24. Vol.I, p.229, note 14
25. Bickermann I.S. pp.111-113; Préaux, 249-252
26. cf. Heichelheim, P.W., s.v. Monopole, Vol. XVI, pp. 159-61, 190/1
27. Yale Clas.Stud. III p.82
28. S.E.H. p.470
29. Yale Clas.Stud. III p.86
30. loc.cit.
31. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἡμῖν ἀνήκοντα . . . καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἑλδὸς λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνηκόντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους πάντα ἐπαρκέομεν αὐτοῖς (I Macc. 11, 33)
32. cf. Bickermann I.S. pp.111-112; Rostovtzeff S.E.H. p.471; Welles, p.363
33. Tenney Frank II p.576
34. Lichtenstein p.286. Megillath Taanith is a Hebrew work compiled ca.70 A.D.; it lists the days on which fasting was prohibited because of some joyous anniversary, and contains many references to Maccabean times.
35. cf. p.154
36. S.E.H. p.529
37. cf. on v. 38
38. Rostovtzeff, Kolonat, pp.240-244, 260, etc.; S.E.H. 464-70, 528
39. I.S. p.110 n.6

55. cf. p. 100 below.
56. Rostovtzeff, Kolonat, p.247
57. It will be assumed that the text is correct. On account of the generally unsatisfactory condition of the verse, the figures have been subjected to doubt (Bickermann I.S. 180). It should, however, be noted that Josephus's copy must have agreed with our text in this respect
58. cf. Préaux, p.134
59. cf. Jos. c. Ap. II, 4, etc.
60. The story as related by Jos. Ant. XII, 158 ff. obviously distorts the facts; but most modern historians believe that it contains a kernel of truth. It should be dated, however, before Antiochus III's conquest of Palestine. It has been variously assigned to the reigns of Euergetes, Philopater and Epiphanes (cf. Marcus VII p.82, note c; Meyer, pp.129 ff).
61. cf. Heichelheim pp.649-52
62. The Hebrew word noges, which R.V. renders "exactor", is translated by Gesenius as Tributeinnehmer. But Daniel may possibly be referring to Seleucus's attempt to pillage the Temple.
63. cf. Rostovtzeff S.E.H. p.705. Perhaps Rostovtzeff goes a little too far in saying that even Judas's revolt was directed more against the ruling classes than the government. The section of the ruling class which was most active in this respect seems to have included (or been identical with) the Tobiads whom Josephus mentions on several occasions (B.J. 1, 31; Ant. 12, 229,

- 237, etc.) The old line of High Priests, though closely connected with this group, seem to have resisted their economic measures.
64. cf. Heichelheim pp.651/2. We know that in the *χώρα βασιδικῆς* the assessment was subject to revision; for in the Mnesimachus Inscription provision is made for the event of an increase in the royal exaction (Buckler and Robinson, Amer. J. of Archaeol. 1912, p.55).
65. cf. Grimm and Abel on this passage. Even so the syntax of the sentence is unsatisfactory; it might be improved by correcting τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος into τὸ ἐπίβαλλον or ^δ ἐπιβάλλει, assuming the genitive to be an attraction from the preceding words. But compare also Genesis 9, 6, ὁ δὲ ἐκχέου ἀἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἐντὶ τοῦ ἀἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, where the subject of ἐκχυθήσεται is left to be understood just as here the object of ἀφίημι is left out. The original Greek would probably have expressed the *adaeratio* by τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τρίτου κτλ. or simply ^{συγχερῶς ἀφορολόγητον εἶναι τοῦ τρίτου κτλ.}
66. cf. Mnesimachus Inscription (Buckler and Robinson, Amer. J. of Archaeol. 1912, p.55). The word *φάρος* is there applied to the amount to be paid by a village of the *χώρα βασιδικῆς*. The meaning of the word *φάρος* is so general that it is easy to see how it could be applied to the collective obligations of the largest and the smallest territorial units. But this *φάρος* is clearly in a different category from that paid by a city or ethnos.
67. cf. on v.34 below.
68. For the distinction cf. Strabo 240 ^{ἔυλινοὶ καὶ σιτικοὶ} καρπόει, Xenophon Oecon. 5, 20, ^{καρποὶ ὄγραοὶ καὶ ξηροὶ,}

- Mnesimachus Inscription (loc.cit.) γενήματα καὶ καρπὸι
69. But cf. II Macc. 5, 11, προσπεσόντων δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων διέλαβεν ἀποστατεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.
70. Hatch and Redpath, s.v. πάλις
71. Schuerer II p.235
72. e.g. Shikuts Shomem = βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, for Ba'al Shamaim, the god of the Syrians (cf. Abel, pp.28/9); cf. also Abel's note on I Macc. 13, 34, showing that the original of that verse contained a pun on the name Tryphon. The practice was not confined to the Jews. Antiochus IV was nick-named ἐπιμόνης instead of ἐπιφάνης (Pol.26,1).
73. cf. Exodus 1, 11, where the phrase is translated as ἐπιστήτης πῶν ἔργων. The Hebrew "mas" (plural with article "hammissim") originally meant "forced labour", and later acquired the meaning "tax". But the normal word for tax-collector seems to have been noges (Job 3, 18; 39,7); the normal Greek word was φορολόγος (cf. Hatch & Redpath; Preisigke III 178); in choosing ἀρχῶν φορολογίας the Greek translator was probably conscious of the associations contained in the Hebrew original.
74. I.S. p.154
75. e.g. O.G.I.S. 565, 18; S.I.G. III 982, 26; Welles 23, 6
76. The usual Greek term is ἑρπός ἀγίος in our text must be due to the Greek translator. The LXX do not use ἑρπός as an adjective at all.

77. I.S. p.116, text and note 6. ⁴or other explanations see Abel's commentary to this passage. Zeitlin's interpretation is altogether improbable. He explains the first part as a re-affirmation of the edict of Antiochus III forbidding non-Jews to enter the Temple enclosure (Jos. Ant. 12, 145/6); and identifies the tithes and tolls with the offerings due to the priests according to Biblical command.
78. Bickermann I.S. p.154
79. Cf. Rostovtzeff S.E.H. p.444 ff.
80. Even the so-called "free" Greek cities often had a garrison imposed on them, cf. Bengtson II 134-5; Rostovtzeff, S.E.H. 527.
81. Lichtenstein p.286
82. καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλοῦντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους (Ant. 13, 52). Cf. also II Macc. 8, 10: διεστήσατο δὲ ὁ Νικάνωρ τὸν φόρον τῶ βασιλεῖ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ταλάντων δισχιλίων ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰχμαλώσεως ἐκπληρῶσειν; also Dan. 11, 33
83. καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ... ὑπὲρ δεκά μυριάδας αἰχμαλωτῶν ἠλευθερώκαμεν
84. Bickermann I.S. p.117, Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. III, p.76
85. Rostovtzeff, Revue des Etudes Anciennes, 1931, p.17
86. cf. Zeitlin, ad loc.
87. Exod. 34, 23; Deut. 16, 16
88. p.286

89. cf. Welles p.172 and the parallels cited there.
90. I.S. p.71
91. cf. Intro. p. Justin.35, 1.
92. cf. Momigliano, Prime Linee, p.163
93. Jos. Ant. 13, 250; cf. Bickermann, loc. cit.; but it is possible that Antiochus's lenient treatment of the Jews was partly influenced by his desire for troops.
94. Aristeas 12/13, ἐν ὄσφ καὶ πρὸς δέκα μυριάδας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώρας εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετήγαγεν. ἀφ' ὧν ὤσει τρεῖς μυριάδας καθοπλίσας ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεκτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν κατέκτισεν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις.
95. Urkundenfälschung, p139
96. Vol. I, p.229, note 14
97. cf. Momigliano, Prime Linee, pp.163-164
98. Already Hecataeus of Abdera, who was a contemporary of Ptolemy Soter, characterized the Jews as an ^{ἔθνος} πολυάνθρωπον (Biodorus 40, 3, 8; cf. Jos. c. Ap. I, 194). For the expansion of the Jewish population in Hellenistic and early Roman times cf. Baron, p.167 ff., and p.370 ff., notes 5 and 7.
99. cf. Schuerer III, 33 ff.
100. Jos. Ant. 12, 147-153: the letter to Zeuxis.
101. cf. Jos. Ant. 13, 245, and Marcus's note ad loc.
102. Jos. Ant. 13, 251

103. Bickermann I.S. p.72, n.1
104. Preisigke II, p.144. The usual word for soldiers' pay was $\delta\pi\omega\nu\tau\alpha$.
105. Historische Zeitschrift, Vol.136, p.349-50
106. Bengtson I 64/5
107. Bengtson II, p.22 ff.
108. Jos. B.J. III, 54; Pliny Hist. Nat. V, 14, 70
109. I.S. p.198
110. Bengtson, *ibid.* p.27
111. Palästina-jahrbuch, 1935, p.94 ff.
112. Loeb edn. of Josephus ad loc.
113. p.209
114. p.58 ff.
115. Bengtson pp.165, 176, but cf. note 120
116. Schuerer, p.184 n.9; Abel, Géographie, p.134. The form $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\varsigma$ is rare; usually $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha$ is used. It seems likely that the two do not cover quite the same territory, and that $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\varsigma$ is used only for Samaria proper without Galilee. Cf. Jos. C. Apion. II, 43; *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III, 226. Bengtson (p.24 n.3) suggests that geographical names ending in -itis, like Moabitis, Ammonitis, etc., were originally $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$.
117. p.66
118. *passim*, esp. p.74

119. e.g. Bengtson p.79
120. The Paralia seems always to have been outside Cocle-Syria and Phoenicia, and to have formed a strategia in its own right (cf. Abel, Géographie, p.136)
121. The word *νομός* was not a technical term, but might denote territories of varying sizes. In LXX Is, 19,2 it is used to translate the Hebrew Mamelachah = Kingdom.
122. *καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διηρήτο τέτταρας ἡ Σελευκίς, ὡς ᾠήσιν Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς δύοας δὲ καὶ ἡ κοίλη Συρία.*
(Strabo XVI, 349. cf. Bengtson p.37. Poseidonius's history began in 143 B.C.; his statements therefore should be valid for the period with which we are dealing. For other interpretations of the passage see Hölischer pp.51-5; Kahrstedt, p.50.
It should be noted that Strabo here mentions Cocle-Syria without Phoenicia, thus it appears ^{vict}vesting the territory to Palestine and Southern Lebanon excluding the coast.
123. cf. p. 145-8
124. cf. p. 4
125. Bickermann I.S. p.130. cf. II Macc. 3, 2, *ἐκ τῶν ἰσθμῶν προσόδων*
126. Bickermann, Revue des Études Juives, 1935, p.29 ff.
127. cf. note 105
128. Aristeas 33; Ezra 6, 9; I Esdras 6, 29; 8, 19, etc.
129. cf. Bickermann I.S. p.123; also Holleaux, Inscription trouvée à Brousse, p.74, line 11/12,

- ἤθελεσαν τὸν βασιλέα ἀποδοθῆναι τὸ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ πολέως
| βασιλικῶν ἀργυρίων
130. Thus Grimm and Abel.
131. On Jos. Ant. 13, 55, note (h).
132. Grimm rejected this interpretation on the grounds that the Seleucids were always short of money; hence there was no surplus!
133. Preisigke III 180
134. Zeitlin on v.32; p.
135. cf. Welles, p.116/7
136. In the first case οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κρατίων τοῦ ἁγίου would be royal supervisors of the temple and the 5000 shekels would presumably be taken by them to defray their own expenses.
137. Preisigke s.v. *λόγος* (13)
138. Bickermann I.S., pp.114/5
139. Von Woess, pp.104 ff, 112.
140. Ibid. pp.165-70
141. Ibid. 171 ff.,165
142. For the expression cf. βασιλικὰ ὀφειλήματα Preisigke, s.v. βασιλικόν
143. Von Woess pp.19, 171 ff. μὴ ἀπαράδειξεν τὰ εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν καθήκοντα τελεῖσθαι
- 144, e.g. Welles 9, 2, ὑπερὶ τῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπείρας καὶ δούλας
145. Welles, 57-8.

146. Syria 20 (1939) pp.35-39. Similarly Von Woess p.4, who speaks of "innerstaatliche und völkerrechtliche Asylie".
147. cf. v.31. Thus even according to this view Jerusalem would have been in a position to seek diplomatic asylum.
148. I.S. p. 155/6
149. S.E.H. pp.844/5
150. Jos. Ant. 12, 145/6. The document is suspect, however.

DOCUMENT 3

1. Welles, pp. xxxiv ff. But his conclusions do not appear to me absolutely certain, because the two letters on which they are based, Nos. 9 and 70, are preserved only in inscriptions erected about three hundred years after they were written. Thus it may be that the temples themselves, as in the present instance, also received copies preceded by short covering letters, which might have been lost in the intervening period.
2. Demetrius annos pubertatis egressus. . . auxiliantibus Cretensibus securum (i.e. Alexandrum) ac nihil metuentem adgreditur Justin xxxi, 2, 2.
3. cf. II Macc. 10, 11; 11, 1, etc.
4. I Macc. 3, 38; II Macc. 8, 8
5. II Macc. 11, 22
6. cf. Bickermann I.S., pp. 43, 193
7. cf. *Pap. BUG* ~~1101~~ 1101, 14 τὴν δεῖνα συμπεῖν τὰ κρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον δίκαια
8. Εὐνοία is defined by Holleaux as "l'attachement dont les cités grecques. . . attachées aux apparences de la liberté, affectent à l'époque hellénistique de donner le témoignage spontané à des souverains". The word is found in 14 out of the 75 letters in Welles's collection. But in some of these examples (e.g. 13, 10; 15, 16) it is used conversely for a king's sentiments towards his subjects.
9. For the phrase itself cf. p. 146. ἰσθημί = συγχώρεω

10. cf. Document 2, vv.30, 38.
11. For this LXX use of εἰς cf. τὴν γῆν εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικεῖτε (No. 35, 34)
12. cf. p. ~~119/20~~/Alt.p.112
13. ἐπιχωροῦμεν ὁ ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἧς ἠέλιος τε στήλης ποιήσασθαι Schroeter 35, 8 ff.
14. cf. Welles intro. pp.xi, 71, etc.
15. cf. Welles, pp.282/3
16. Buckler & Robinson, Amer. J. of Archaeol. pp. 13, 58
17. cf. pp. 107-111; 128-132
18. Ettelson points out (p.320) that this phrase does not occur anywhere in the Septuagint except these documents. The usual LXX expression is εἰς τὸν αἶθρα.
19. I.S. p.108
20. Bevan, C.A.H.VIII, p.525; Abel, p.208
21. cf. Marcus ad loc.

DOCUMENT 4

1. cf. p. 86/7 Lichtenstein, p.286
2. p.242
3. cf. Bickermann, I.S., p.193
4. An exception was also made for courtesy titles such as φίλος, ἀδελφός, etc.
5. This would not apply to Document 2, which is addressed to the people only.
6. cf. below
7. cf. p.80
8. Revue des Etudes Juives, 1935, p.32
9. cf. p. 167
10. cf. p. 85/6
11. cf. Steier P.W. s.v. Phoinix, Vol.XX, p.401
12. II Macc. 14, 4, where the usual Greek form φοινιξ is used. βαις From an Egyptian root occurs in the papyri, cf. Preisigke s.v.
13. For this expression cf. Pap. B.1192, 6; 11 πάντων ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ εἰρήνῃ γεγονότων. But perhaps the original Greek had something like εἰρήνην βέβαιον which the Hebrew translator, echoing Isaiah 54, 13 and Ps.119, 165, rendered by Shalom Rav. (This phrase is otherwise translated by the LXX as εἰρήνη πόλλη .
14. cf. Pap. Heb.5, 144; 162 οἱ ἐπὶ χρειῶν τεταγμένοι ; cf. also p. 127 above. In I Macc. 12, 45 the phrase is

used for military officers.

15. Abel compares this clause with the provision of a hundred places of refuge to the French Protestants in the Edict of Nantes. But the fortresses in Judaea were surely first and foremost means of defence.
16. cf. its role in the wars of Judas Maccabaeus, I Macc. 4, 29, 61;
6, 31, 49
17. Megillath Taanith. On the 14th of Sivan was the capture of Migdal Tsur (Lichtenstein p. 281)
18. cf. below
19. Pap. Teb. 5, 3
20. The adjective $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ can be used with a similarly wide meaning, cf. Preisigke s.v.

DOCUMENT 5

1. The commentators have referred this phrase to Rhodes, where according to Appion *Cyr.* 68, Antiochus learned of the capture of his brother.
2. I Macc. 15, 10
3. Welles, pp. xlii-xliii
4. 'Usually in the royal letters when a writer varies between 'I' and 'we' he distinguishes between himself as an individual and as the representative of a state", Welles p. 74
5. cf. p. 155/b
6. cf. pp. 245/b; 301, note (27); *but see also* I Macc. 13, 42; p. 300, note (10)
7. cf. the decree of Pergamum, which speaks of an embassy to Rome sent by the people of the Jews and their High Priest Hyrkanus (Jos. Ant. XIV, 248)
8. cf. Hoffmann, *B.W.* s.v. Tryphon, VIIA, p. 721
9. p. 44
10. For 'arits cf. Ex. 28, 7; 30, 11, etc.; for parits *ibid.* 18, 10; Dan. 11, 4; cf. also Acts 24, 5.
11. cf. βιαίως ἀνπλαμβάνεται τοῦ πατρικοῦ μου μέρους
Pap. Masp. 6, 3.
12. ἐρρῶσθαι ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ χώραν
13. For ἰστημι cf. p. 294 n. (9); for ἀφήματα and δόματα p. 78/9
14. pp. 124 ff. On the occasion of the truce arranged in the war between Antiochus VII and John Hyrkan to enable the Jews to celebrate the festival of Tabernacles, Antiochus

sent a sacrifice to the Temple (Jos. Ant. 13, 242)

15. Hill, pp.civ, 269-71.

16. Vol.I, p.761 ff.

17. pp.xc-xciv

18. Bickermann I.S. p.228

19. It is still maintained by Baron, pp.235, 269, note 1, who argues that the shekels represent a unique issue whose purpose it was to assert the Jews' newly won freedom and sovereignty. Accordingly Simon minted a quantity of silver that had been heaped up in the temple. His successor had either no need or no opportunity for further silver issues.

20. Hill, pp.184-7

21. *ibid.*

22. pp.10-12

23. Vol.I, p.772

24. Hastings Dictionary III p.430

25. cf. Bickermann, Der Gott, p.175, note 7

26. *op.cit.*

27. Z.A.W. 1933 pp 78-9

28. Kanael, *Israel Exploration Journ. I*, pp. 170-178

29. Bickermann, I.S. p.233, note 9

30. Reifenberg, pp.9/10

31. Albright, Bull.Amer.Soc.Orient.Research, LXII, pp.262-66
32. Bickermann, I.S. p.231 ff.
33. Rostovtzeff S.E.H. pp.526/7. The passage continues "provided that the action was of no importance"; but this reservation did not apply in the last century of the empire.
34. Welles p.292
35. For this phrase cf. Pap. Teb. 27, 25, also 2nd century B.C.
36. cf. p. 151/2

DOCUMENT 6

1. Cf. the fuller expression in the parallel account of Josephus, ὅρων δὲ γ' ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν προνοία θεοῦ χωρεῖ. . . (Ant. 13, 163)
2. It is not impossible that even Jonathan's embassy was partly motivated by his desire to break away from his alliance with Tryphon, and it may in turn have contributed to his downfall.
3. Buechler (p.134) and Momigliano (p.149) believed that our text of I Maccabees represents an uneasy compromise between two conflicting versions that were circulating about Hasmonean dealings with Sparta, one attributing the embassy to Jonathan, the other to Simon. Momigliano further asserts that Jonathan's embassy to Rome was as much of a myth as his letter to the Spartans. But these theories involve unnecessary doubts about the text of I Maccabees, and are founded on the assumption of a much later date for the book than that which is now commonly upheld.
4. See the Appendix to this chapter. The case for two Roman embassies in the time of Simon was already argued by Hitzig, p.452 ff.
5. For a Bibliography of the discussion in the 19th century cf. Schuerer I, p.251, note 22. The praenomen of the consul appears as Cnaeus in Cassiodorus, but Lucius in Valerius Maximus I, 3, 3. See also Meyer pp.264/5; Gutherlet, p.242.
6. Roth, pp. 18 ff.; 76/7
7. Bickermann, Gnomon, 1930, p.357; Münzer, Klio, 1931,

- p.333-8; Broughton, p.476, note 1. The editions of Abel and Zeitlin still adhere to the later date.
8. cf. p. 167
 9. Broughton lists L. Cornelius Lentulus for 140 B.C. ? Lucius Furius Philus and ? L. Plautius Hypsaeus for 139 B.C. and L. Calpurnius Piso for 138 B.C. The term ἄνατος (or στρατηγός ἄνατος) was the Greek equivalent for the Latin Consul, but the translator of I Maccabees may have used it loosely, or in the mistaken belief that a consul is meant. The word occurs several times in the Septuagint to denote various Persian officials. Cf. Hatch and Redpath s.v. ἄνατος
 10. cf. p. 63
 11. cf. p. 142
 12. Bickermann (Gnomon, 1930, p. 359) compares S.E.G. 3, 378
 13. Bickermann (ibid.) cites Syll. 593, 611, 612, 618, 684.
 14. cf. Jos. Ant. 13, 260;ff.; 14, 145 ff. and the documents cited in note (13).
 15. cf. Abel ad loc.
 16. Diodorus 33, 28
 17. Ettelson, p.321 note 43, notes that this phrase occurs four times in I Maccabees, compared with only four times in the whole of the rest of the Septuagint. But this does not necessarily prove that the document was edited by the author, since the phrase may have been characteristic of the age.

18. Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. bayr. Akad. p.571
19. Momigliano pp.155-6
20. Jos B.J. I, 474. οὐδενὶ γὰρ βασιλέων Καίσαρ τοσούτην ἔδοκεν ἔξουσίαν, ὥστε τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντα καὶ μὴ ἰκροσηκούσης πόλεως ἐξαγαγεῖν
cf. Abel's note ad locum
21. II Macc. 1, 7-8. This letter is quoted inside another letter of the year 124 B.C. Cf. Bickermann Ztschr. f.d. neutestamentl. Wiss. 1933, pp.233-54. Bickermann suggests that the time may have been opportune for the introduction of the festival in Egypt, since the Oniades had just suffered a reverse, having supported Cleopatra II in her unsuccessful war against Ptolemy VII.
22. For the term λοιμοί cf. Document 5, I Macc. 15, v.3. Zeitlin (p.42, note 133) suggests that the original had praevaricatares
23. Cf. Schuerer III, p.4, especially note 2. For an even more extensive list of Jewish settlement cf. Acts. 2, 9-11; also Philo Leg. ad Caium 36.
24. Cf. Schuerer III, pp.6-7.
25. Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. Akad. 1895, p.571
26. Meyer, p.264, note 3.
27. For the former view, which was first suggested by Michaelis, cf. Abel's note ad loc. The second view is maintained by Roth (p. 33) who suggests, as the ruler's territory, Emesa on the Orontes, centre of an ancient sun-wilt.

28. Schuerer III pp.56/7
29. Ibid.p.55
30. For the independence of the cities cf. Bickermann
~~Gnomon~~ Gnomon 1930, p.358
31. cf. p. 63
32. Jos. B.J. II 103; Schuerer III p.56
33. Bickermann, Gnomon 1930, p.359
34. Quoted Jos. Ant. 14, 115. Strabo goes on to note
that it is difficult to find a place not inhabited
by Jews. The passage belongs to 88 B.C. according
to Baron (See next note).
35. On the Jews in Cyprus and Cyrene cf. Baron, pp.374-5,
notes 13 and 16
36. Taeubler (Imperium Romanum pp.164 ff). is the only
modern scholar who would place the document in the
time of Caesar. He decides for the year 47 B.C.
37. p.151 ff.
38. p.524, note (d)
39. pp.275-6
40. pp.40-47
41. Sitzungsber. d. kgl. bayr. Akad. 1895, pp.553 ff.
42. Gnomon 1930 p.360
43. p.491, note (1)
44. The month of Panemos or June/July would then have to

be the time of the despatch (not return) of the embassy.

45. p.509, note 2.

DOCUMENTS 7 & 8

1. The earliest commentators took the relationship seriously, while those since the eighteenth century have confined themselves to attempts at explaining how the belief in this relationship arose. Among the more fanciful explanations is that of Michaelis (pp. 264-7), still followed by some moderns, who would take Sparta as a misreading for the Biblical Sepharad (Obadiah 20) which he identifies with "Bosporus", and accordingly locates in the North of Asia Minor; while Buechler sought the Spartans of the correspondence in Cyrene where there were large settlements of both Spartans and Jews (or Samaritans).
2. cf. p. 193/4
3. cf. Abel on I Macc. 14, 20, p.253
4. cf. Ehrenberg, P.W. s.v. Sparta, IIIA, p.1425
5. Classical Philology, 1934, pp.117-22
6. The only subsequent relations between Jews and Spartans that we know of occurred in the time of Herod, at whose court the Spartan adventurer Eurycles appeared ca. 7 B.C. Exploiting the strained relations between the king and his sons, Eurycles managed to enrich himself at the expense of both. (Jos. B.J. 1, 513 ff). It seems that he was greatly helped in his schemes by the belief in the relationship which was apparently prevalent among the Jews of his time. cf. Chrimes p.172 ff., esp.p.176
7. cf. Grimm's commentary on this verse. *Δῆμος* occurs here and in 8, 29; 14, 20; 15, 17. For *ἔθνος* cf. p. 72 ff.
8. p.320. He concludes, of course, that the wording of

the letter must be due to the author of I Maccabees.
But perhaps this use was common to the period as a whole.

9. I Macc. 14, 38-40. Cf. pp.
10. e.g. I Macc. 3, 18; 4, 8, 30; 9, 44.
11. pp. 135-8. II Macc. 1, 7 βασιλευόντος Δημητρίου ἔτους
ἑκατοστοῦ ἑξηκοστοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι γεγράφαμεν ὑμῖν.
Actually this letter must have been written after
Jonathan's death, since Jonathan did not owe allegiance
to Demetrius II.
12. Jos. Ant. 12, 225.
13. A plausible explanation, first suggested by Grimm (p.184
ff) is that the Spartans had tried to obstruct the
schemes of Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorketes by
winning allies in the East. (Cf. also Scheurer I, p.
237, note 35). It appears from a note in Eusebius
Chronicon s.v. *16 Seleucid* that Demetrius destroyed Sparta,
and he may at the same time have had contacts with Judaea.

Interest in the Jews is manifested by a number of
early Hellenistic writers, e.g. Clearches, Megasthenes
and Hecataeus of Abdera. Hecataeus noted the Jews'
great respect for their ancestral laws, and this may
have first suggested analogies with Sparta (cf. Ehrenberg,
P.W. s.v. Sparta). Thus it is not impossible that one
of these writings should be the ^{γραφή} mentioned in
Arius's letter. Of course the Spartans could hardly
have claimed descent from Abraham. But if some Greek
epithymous here originally figured in the letter, the
name may well have been altered by a Jewish hand. For
the Jews, unlike some other Eastern peoples, would have
too much national pride and too fixed a tradition to

allow themselves to be fitted into the Greek genealogy. Abraham was an obvious choice, for not only was he the most remote ancestor, from whom numerous tribes were derived; but he was regarded, at least in later times, as the father of all proselytes. - The claim to a community of goods is more problematical. Kahana cites II Kings 3, 7, where Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, agreeing to an alliance with Jehoram, king of Israel, says: I am as thou art, my people as thy people, and my horses as thy horses. V.23 is in any case an unnecessary addition to the letter. The words καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντιγράφομεν ὑμῖν seem quite meaningless in their context, since the Spartans can hardly reply before they receive a letter from the Jews. Could this verse originally have been meant to conclude Jonathan's letter? If so there would be little reason left for rejecting Areius's letter.

We possess a number of passages from late Classical writers speculating on the affinities between Spartans and Jews. Cf. Ginsburg, *Class. Philology*, 1934, pp.117-122; Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1946, p.390. Abel there quotes many other instances of mythological relationships between Orientals and Greeks.

14. cf. Abel's note on I Macc. 14, 27
15. P.W. XIV s.v. Makkabäerbücher, p.785
16. cf. the examples cited in Syll. IV, p.369, s.v. ἔφοδος (b)
17. As, for example, in Syll. 604 and 558-562, which Momigliano (p.142) compares with the present document.
18. Ibid.

DOCUMENT 9

1.) Not all scholars agree on the Semitic original of the decree. Bickermann believes that the document must have been drafted in Greek, arguing that "the form is altogether that of a Greek honorary decree utterly impossible in Hebrew" (Maccabees, p. 89). A similar opinion is expressed by Meyer (p. 265, n. 1.). But there are strong arguments against this assumption. Even under the later Hasmoneans, Greek was not the official language of Judaea. The coins of John Hyrcan and Aristoboulos are inscribed in Hebrew only. We have little reason to suppose that the majority of the Jews of Jerusalem would have understood Greek at this time. And it is most unlikely that any Palestinian followers of the Maccabees were so hellenized that they thought in Greek, thus finding it necessary to compose the document in Greek and translate it for the benefit of the assembly. Of course the form of the document is foreign to Biblical Hebrew. But literary forms may easily travel from one language to another; if social conditions make this appropriate. Thus the most we can say is that Greek documents served as a model; but it is equally possible that the Jews first became acquainted with the form of the city decree through Aramaic translations (cf; also Baron, Chapter VII, n. 15.)

2.) The expression $\xi\gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \eta\mu\iota\nu$ as Grimm points out, is either a corruption of $\xi\gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ or an inaccurate translation (Hebrew impersonal passive translated as active)

3. Some editors (e.g. Grimm) take the document to the end of the chapter, while others regard either vv. 48 & 49 (thus Abel) or the last four verses as narrative. The following considerations have influenced me to adopt the last solution, which is that of Zeitlin. Vv. 46 & 47 are unparalleled in Greek decrees and can obviously be regarded as part of the decision laid down in the decree since they add nothing to the sense. They could at most be regarded as an appendix representing a kind of formal signature. Even so, however, we expect a precise phrase such as $\text{οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ λαὸς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς}$ in place of πᾶς ὁ λαὸς in V. 46. A publication clause at the end might indeed be expected but could hardly have contained the word εἶπεν . It is possible that vv. 48 & 49 should be regarded as part of the decree and that the author interpolated vv. 46, 47 and inserted εἶπεν in 48 (Cf. Commentary on Document 1 v. 20.)

4. Cf. 2 Sam. 5, 3 for the covenant entered into by David and the people. The most essential element of the covenant was the oath (Hastings Dictionary s.v. *Covenant*). But in the present instance such a ceremony would have been out of the question; the decree carefully avoids any claim of divine sanctions for the new rule (cf. on v. 41).

- 5.) Grimm pp.219-20
- 6.) p. 395/6, note 15.
- 7.) cf. p.
- 8.) 1 Macc. 13,42. και ηρξατο ε λαος γραφειν εν ταις συγγραφαις και συνακτάγμασιν "Ετους πρώτου ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου και στρατηγού και ηγουμένου Ιουδαίων
- 9.) cf. Grimm, ad loc. Grimm lists six further explanations One of these, reading $\delta\chi\ \sigma\upsilon\ \gamma\eta\eta$ (in the court of the people of God) is accepted by Abel who argues in its favour that in Greek decrees the place of meeting often follows the date.
- 10.) Vol.I,p.247, n.17. Shuerer points out that *ηγούμενος* in 1 Macc.13,42 (cf. not 8 above) and in v.41 in the decree is a variant on *ἐθνάρχης*
- 11.) cf. *Hastings Dictionary s.v. ~~Men of the Great Assembly~~ Synagogue, the Great*
- 12.) Century bible, Ezra ad.loc.
- 13.) Shuerer Vol.II,pp;224,251 where numerous references for uses of *ἀρχιερείς* and *ἀρχοντες* will be found.
- 14.) i.e. the group referred to in 1 Maccabees as *Ἀσιδαῖοι*. Cf. Roulley, *The Covenanters*; also below p. 302, note (3)
- 15.) 1 Macc. 13,16-19; Josephus (Ant.13,205) greatly amplifies the version of 1 Maccabees. Cf. Geiger p.209.
- 16.) Cf. Bickermann, *Ztschr. f. Ntl. Wiss.*, 1933, p. 233 ff.
- 17.) Jos.Ant. XIII,249
- 18.) *Urkundenfälschung*, p.69
- ~~19.)~~
- 19.) cf. 1 Macc. 6,26; 11,20; 11,41ff.; 12,36; 13,21
- 20.) Cf. pp. 162 + 230 above.
- 21.) Cf. Grimm, ad loc.
- 22.) Thus Grimm, Schuerer (I,p.249,note 17),Meyer (p.265,n.1. Abel etc. Our version is variously attributed to the carelessness of a scribe, the Greek translator or even the Hebrew author of the decree.
- 23.) The distinction between "true" and "false" prophets is familiar from the Old Testament. The author of the

Decree, like the author of 1 Maccabees, evidently believed that prophecy had come to an end, at least for the time being (cf. 1 Macc 4,46; 9,27 and Marcus, Josephus Vol. VII, p. 184, note e). Zeitlin's argument (p.30) that the addition of the word "true" proves an origin in the first century A.D. seems hyper-critical. Taubler (Jewish Quarterly Review, 1946-7, pp.28/9) compares Ezra 2,63 and Nehemiah 7,65: "till there stand up a priest with Urim and Thummim". He adds that the Maccabean movement, unlike previous ones was definitely secular; it no longer sought to fulfil prophecies. The avoidance of the name of God in 1 Maccabees seems likewise to reflect the view that history had entered into a different phase since the end of Biblical times (cf. Pfeiffer, p.495).

24.) Jos.Ant. 14,170

25.) 2 Macc. 3,4; cf. Abel ad loc.

26.) There is no foundation whatever for Willrich's assumption (Urkundenfalschung, p.72), which is shared also by Zeitlin (on chapter 13, v.42), that this title is of Roman origin.

Notes : Conclusion

1. It is true that full independence came only after the capture of Antiochus VII by the Parthians in 128 B.C., and that some of the gains recorded in 1 Maccabees were temporarily lost by John Hyrkan. But there is no reason to suppose that Antiochus did not mean to abide by his grants of 138 B.C. as far as taxation, the fortresses and the right of coinage were concerned. The only respect in which he did not recognise the independence of the territory of Judaea itself (i.e. excluding Joppe, Gazara, etc.) was in his demand for the Akra or later an indemnity in its stead; and he considered Hyrkan a vassal in the sense of demanding troops from him. The very word ethnos with which he and his brother still address the Jews shows that legally they were still considered part of the Seleucid empire.

2. Heichelheim, p.651-2

3. Meyer (p.286) suggests that the Pharisees separated themselves from the Maccabees in 146 B.C. There is some evidence that the Damascus sect emigrated even earlier.

4. Study of History, Vol. VI. p.122 . " In a later chapter of history the longer interregnum in the rule of the Hellenic dominant minority over its subject territories on Syrian ground west of the Euphrates - an interregnum which was merely the incidental temporary by-product of a family quarrel between the Seleucid and Roman representatives of the dominating alien power - was mistaken by the Jews for a triumph of the arms of the Maccabees." Elsewhere (II,294) Toynbee calls the Maccabean attempt to resist Hellenism by force a "forlorn hope from the start". This seems taking rather too long a view of history.

5. Vol.V, p.187. But Toynbee goes completely wrong when, in a different context (Vol. VI,.P.344/5n.1.), he refers to this successor-state as claiming to be a "Messianic Kingdom!"

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