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F. A. Gordon-Kerr

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*Candidate*

CORRIGENDA for the THESIS of Mr F.A.GORDON-KERR, for insertion before  
the two copies are sent for deposit in Libraries.

- ? P. 11. laws were given orally... might have been used del. were *Stet Surely?*
- 26 Appropos read a propos  
liason liaison
- 27 Government of Syria g/
- 27 Battle of Hydaspes on the/
- 42 Philoteria on south eastern bank for eastern read western  
( your maps put it on SW. shore and Tcherikover, Sukenik (whose  
article you cite, and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. concur)
- 44 Dioketes. Dioiketes  
Oekononomos Oekonomos
- 45 it was quartered by ... infantry for quartered read garrisoned
- 47 its importing read importation
- 52 Septimus Severus read Septimius
- 60 Alexandrine (twice) read Alexandrian (despite Bevan)
- 62 ~~metre~~ read <sup>^</sup>etre
- 62 cynics read Cynics
- 65 emanating read emitting
- 79 aduces read adduces
- 79 and passim: Syrica read Syriaca
- 81 Gonotas read Gonatas
- 81 MacDonald read McDonald ( as in Oxford Cl.Dict.)
- 83 siezed read seized
- 88, 91 Syrica as above.p.79
- 90 Aristess read Aristeas
- 91 Nisson read Nilsson
- 100 n.9 read n.9 and 9a, for both have same Tcherikover ref.(op.cit. 89)
- 101 Philip ~~M~~ and Antiochus / united against the regents of Ptolemy V  
insert after Antiochus were reported to have
- 104 Attilius read Atilius, but emend this to Manius Acilius Glabrio.  
(Atilius is probably due to Atilius Serranus, praetor in 192, who  
commanded the fleet.)

- 104 Corcyrus read Corycus
- 104 Euboeic read Euboic
- 105 'domination of the world' read 'dominion of the world', as the author you quote said
- 106 appropos this read a propos this
- 107 sieze read seize
- 112 via the Torah and study. insert here ref to n.19
- 113 longititudinally del. t
- 114 'Livy XXXVIII / quotes' insert 17,10-11 (You missed Bevan's fnote)
- 113,120 zealots read Zealots
- 115 inked n.23 Bevan,House of Seleucus I (not II) 225 (not 224).  
typed n.23. number it n.24
- 127 n.4 Goodenough id vol.1 (of 12). Add ref. to vol.3 fig.670
- 127 n.8 Tcherikover op.cit.p.83 read 84
- 127 n.14 Livy XXX,40 read XXXIII,40.
- 128 n.21 G.F.Moore,Judaism insert vol.I
- 128 ap Athen. read ap.Athen.
- 128 n.22 Polybius XXXII 6.6 (as quoted by Bevan Seleucus I p.223)  
is XXXII 2,6 (Loeb ed.)
- 128 n.26 Bevan op.cit./p.115 insert II  
n.27 do. / p.123 do. II
- > 131,144,159,162 Olympius read Olympios (to match the Greek Zeus)
- 134,1.1 assimilate del.; insert assess/ estimate
- 140 <sup>152</sup> In 180 to 167 for In read From
- 150, /Alexandrine fleet read Alexandrian
- 150 Alexandrines read Alexandrians
- 152 G.P.Laenas read G.Popilius Laenas (the nomen should not be abbreviated)
- 152 Triumviral commission read commission of three
- 128,165 Syrica read Syriaca
- 166 n.31 Jansen Antiochos des Fier read des IV
- 132,166,167 Bouché-Leclercq insert accent
- 166 Meyer Ursprung und Anfange read Anfange

- 169 zealot read Zealot  
 173 Idumaes read Idumaea  
 173 coins...refer del.refer,insert belong  
 174 intericine read internecine

## App.A

- p.5 collonade read colonnade  
 p.7.<sup>6</sup> Hadrian's reign in / 132 insert A.D. (as your other dates are B.C.)

Bibliog.

- p.i Glasson Echatology read Eschatology  
 p.ii Fuks Judicarum read Judaicarum  
 p.iii Laistener read Laistner  
 p.v J.P.O.S. expand this as Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society  
 p.v Applebaum 10 Archaeology read (?)<sup>section</sup> ch.10, Archaeology  
 p.vi Polybius add XXXII

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✓ Checked  
 One

M.A. Abstract

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St. John's College

Hellenism in Palestine: 323-129 B.C. with special  
reference to the causes of the Maccabean Rebellion

It is the purpose of this thesis to set the Maccabean Revolt in the widest possible relevant framework, namely that of the Hellenistic world of its day, and also of the post-exilic national history of the Jewish people. The practice of labelling the Maccabean Revolt as a 'struggle against Hellenism' or some such phrase appears to make assumptions about both Hellenism and Judaism which, on a closer examination of the internal social condition of Judaea at the time, are by no means necessarily true. My aim is to find out if possible what was the complex of causes which touched off this revolt; and in order to do this I believe one has to look at both the Hellenistic and Judaistic contexts of this rebellion at the same time. With this in mind, I have briefly sketched Jewish history from the Exile to 323 B.C. before dealing with the body of the work.

The Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic period has been briefly examined to discover what proportion of Greek ceramics, sculpture and architecture actually reached and affected Palestine, and how much native art and architecture reflected this during the Hellenistic period. This section is illustrated by appropriate photographs.

The relation of Rome to the Middle-Eastern powers surrounding Palestine (Coele-Syria) has been traced during the late third and early second centuries B.C., and it has been concluded that this threat from Rome put pressure upon Antiochus IV to unite his realm by means of religious reform. This was the last hope of strengthening his empire to withstand the pressure of Rome via Pergamum and Egypt. In this international context the religious

reforms demanded by Antiochus IV seem to be not so much evil as regrettable. And it is also concluded that they were only partly responsible for the Rebellion, social causes inter alia having played a major part.

May 1967.

Garrigenda

- p. 16 Cirron - read Cimon. (Noted by author.)
- 21 X 7, 8 - " XI 8, 2-4 (apparently)
- 25 Tcherikover says Ref. needed (p. 49)
- 34 " thinks " " (p. 55)
- 34 (Ant. XII, 3, 6) - read XII, 3-6
- 34 Hecataeus - preserves Ref. needed. Tch. p. 86.
- 44 Oxyrhynchus S. as shown
- 45 Tcherikover - Add ref. p. 70
- 46 For Zaidel read Zaidelos as on p. 51.
- 48 " Edgar Pap. 59003 read PCZ 59003 = C. P. Jud. I.
- 49 " " " 59093 " PCZ
- 51 " Chapter IV " Chapter III (p. 123).
- 51 " Edgar 59015 " PCZ
- 65 " emanating (l. 1) " emitting.
- 73 " (ch. 31) " (para. 31) - cf. l. 2
- 79 " adduces " adduces.
- 88 note 7 - add ref.<sup>o</sup>
- 90 " 46, for Aristess read Aristelas.
- 97 For XII, 138 mentions read XII, 138-44 quotes
- 98 line 3, for might read may
- 107 62, " seize " seize

- p. 118 For (p. 41 ff.) read (<sup>pages</sup> pp. 45 ff.)
- 127 Note 8, for p. 83 " p. 84.
- 128 Note 19 - fig. 19 is missing from text, p. 112 or 113.
- 129 " 34, for p. 137 read p. 139.
- 147 Tcherikover (l. 1) add ref pp. 468-9.
- > 149 3.2 - 4 expeditions - 5 dates, in odd order!
- 165 Note 14 "Some obsens" on ~~the~~ ruler cult: --- " S the
- 165 " 16 For p. 201 and quoting read read  
pp. 201-2, quoting II Macc. 5 <sup>Use amended in</sup> text. Sorry!
- > 166 " 33 - ref seems to be wrong.
- 171 For two centuries read two & a half centuries
- 184 " C. Ap. XI. 7, 90-97 read " 8.

The "2" papyri discussed on pp. 45 & 48 are in fact one & the same, with the reference given incorrectly on p. 48! Some adjustment of wording should be made.

✓ Corrected. C.W.

F.A. GORDON-KERR

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"HELLENISM IN PALESTINE 323-129 B.C. WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO THE CAUSES OF THE MACCABEAN REBELLION"

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M.A. THESIS. 1967.

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Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in the University of Durham 1967

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FRANCIS A. GORDON-KERR, B.A., Dip.Ed. ST JOHN'S COLLEGE

"Hellenism in Palestine 323 - 129 B.C. with special  
reference to the Causes of the Maccabean Rebellion"

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PREAMBLE

A fresh discussion of the various factors which were collectively the cause of the Maccabean Rebellion seemed to be indicated as research on this period seems now to be once again the department almost exclusively of the Biblical scholar; I believe this to be unfortunate, as it seems that the historical reasons for this struggle, and its consequences, have valid historical importance in their own right and in a wider context than that provided by Coele-Syria alone. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this thesis to set the Maccabean Revolt in the widest possible relevant framework, namely that of the Hellenistic world of its day, and also of the post-exilic national history

of the Jewish people. It has seemed to me that it is hardly a correct representation of the case to label the Maccabean Revolt as a "struggle against Hellenism" or some such phrase. This appears to leave too much unsaid and to make assumptions which, on a closer examination of the internal social condition of Judaea at the time, are by no means necessarily true. My aim is to find out if possible what was the complex of causes which touched off this revolt, and in order to do this I believe one has to look at both the Hellenistic and Judaistic contexts of this rebellion at the same time and without bias. This has necessitated the extension of the period under discussion backwards to the end of the Babylonian captivity for a summary account of the national antecedents to the encounter with Hellenism.

I am following Tarn and Droysen in using "Hellenism" as the substantive of "Hellenistic" and referring it to the period of Greek influence which could be said to follow on from Alexander's Asiatic campaigns of 336 - 323. I take this influence to include artistic, social, political, and religious, as well as military pressures. Mahaffy's interesting theories on the influence exerted on Xenophon

by the East, and the consequent interest this may have aroused in his reading public, is extremely intriguing but I believe it would nevertheless be an unnecessary muddling of terms to refer to Xenophon's influence as "Hellenism", which is what Mahaffy implies.<sup>1.</sup>

My sources for this examination are taken from Biblical, Apocryphal, and Secular writers. I am largely dependent on Polybius because of his first-hand knowledge of Roman policy at the time of the Maccabean Revolt and in particular because of his relevance for the examination of the whole tenor of Roman policy in the Eastern Mediterranean at that time. My main Jewish historical source is the First Book of Maccabees, the considerable accuracy of which I accept, and Josephus' "Antiquities of the Jews" are used for their amplification of the Maccabean period. I largely accept Dr R.J.H. Shutt's findings about the trustworthiness of Josephus' narrative and his consequent reliability as a historian.<sup>2.</sup> My main Biblical source is the Book of Daniel.

It is regrettable that, in a thesis whose subject carries such wide ramifications, the depth at which material is studied often has to suffer at the expense of breadth. However, I believe this to be both valid

and inevitable, as, only if the period of the Revolt and its antecedents are seen in their necessarily wide context, will the reasons for it appear in their correct light. The Jewish state found itself in the middle of a very large outside world, following the advent of Greek influence, and I believe it should be examined always as a part of that wider world.

In addition to consulting the various primary sources and other works written on this subject, I have carried out field-work in Israel and Athens in order to trace the location of such Hellenistic settlements as can still be seen in Israel and to study what remains; and to get some idea from both Greece and Israel of what the transfer of art and architectural styles in the Hellenistic and Classical periods might have been. Most of the discussion of the results of this investigation has been relegated to the Appendix (A). Illustrations in support of these results are included in that appendix and refer to the relevant field-work.

Maps have been included for the years 301, 250 approximately, 198 (Panium) and 168 (all dates being B.C.) and constitute Appendix (B).

## NOTES FOR PREAMBLE

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1. J.P. Mahaffy: The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire. Chicago 1905, p.21.f.
2. R.J.H. Shutt: Studies in Josephus. London. 1961.

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### CHAPTER 1 : FROM THE EXILE TO ALEXANDER

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The Babylonian Exile from 597 to 538 B.C. was a great national disaster for the Israelite nation, involving as it did the deportation to settlements by the River Chebar of an estimated 50,000 people out of a population at the time of Zedekiah of approximately 225,000: 25,000 has been postulated as the population of Jerusalem then.<sup>1</sup> This number of exiles included a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia, ecclesiastical as well as secular, of Israel and therefore as a group constituted a cohesive body of potentially great influence and power. That these people did have this power was presently shown to be the case.

These exiles were confronted with considerable religious and psychological problems in settling

down to a new life in the culturally advanced country of Babylonia, whose culture had had very considerable influence on Canaan since well before the Exodus from Egypt, about 1250, and especially in the patriarchal period. The religious problem of separation from temple and cultus produced a passionate devotion to ritual and a renaissance of cultus on new soil. Encouraged no doubt by the prophecies of Ezekiel and later of Deutero-Isaiah, the exiles came to be consolidated into a community possessing religious strength and stability. This was based on 1. Faith, 2. Circumcision and Sabbath-keeping, 3. Possession of Historical writings: the Pentateuch including rudimentary versions at least of the Jahwistic, Elohist and Deuteronomic strands; and also possibly parts of Judges, Samuel and Kings. 4. Common worship and a new stimulus to worship: the Synagogue in particular has been called "The Child of the Exile". 5. Jewish Law, contained in large portions of the Book of Deuteronomy. 'Judaism' as a system of belief stemmed from Babylon and found its normative expression in the characteristics of exclusiveness, hope and piety. Piety was a new concept even in Judaism and the community became a spiritual as distinct from a political unit. A spiritual religion came to live side by side with sheer

legalism and the Jew seems not to have felt the contradiction this implied.

During the period of the Exile the remainder of the Jewish people, perhaps 150,000 in number who were left in Judaea, became the object of marauding attacks from the surrounding tribes, in particular the Moabites and the Idumaeans, these latter having cooperated with the Babylonian forces in the siege of Jerusalem in 586. The social condition of the people in Judaea from 586 to 539 is said to have been desolate and religion was at a low ebb. The Temple remained, although in ruins, but local shrines ceased to exist.

In 539, when Cyrus allowed the Jew Sheshbazzar to restore the Jewish State as governor of Judaea, not many Jews went back, the majority doubtless preferring their not uncomfortable and apparently quite productive life in captivity on the banks of the Chebar.

Edwyn Bevan is insistent that the sentiments described in the words "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept" do not refer necessarily to the majority of exiles, for the evidence seems to be that many did not return at all.<sup>2</sup> The desolation of their homeland was more discouraging than the captivity in which they were held, and when Cyrus freed them, Babylon retained

an attraction for them. In 537 Zerubbabel and Joshua were appointed as Governor and High Priest respectively, and civil administration was restored under the tutelage of Persia, although this did not amount to political reconstruction. After the Exile the hope of restoring the Davidic Dynasty and founding an independent Jewish Kingdom certainly failed; but Jerusalem appears to have become a cultural centre for the scattered Jewish communities throughout the near East, notably in Egypt, to which country many had fled after the fall of Jerusalem.

In 516 the repair and reconstruction of the Temple was completed. The old syncretism of the Jews was still strong at the time of Deutero-Isaiah, about 540, and for long after then; and the Temple, built in the time of Haggai and Zeccariah, 520-516, will have given a religious focus to the nation to facilitate the process of the religious revival of the people as a whole. The alliance between priestly and prophetic ideals became the mark of Judaism after the Exile. Of the relevant prophets Ezekiel is perhaps the most catholic of all the outstanding Old Testament figures; he represents the

mingling of different streams of religious devotion which formed the piety which was now a main characteristic of Judaism. In Deutero-Isaiah, his spiritual successor, as it were, Monotheism becomes conscious of itself and for the first time proud and assertive. One result of this was that later Judaism could point to Deutero-Isaiah as justification that Jahweh had destined the Gentiles to be the servants of the Jews. In Judaism's relations with the Greek world this was to have momentous results.

There were two classes of prophets: (1) those who found Jahweh's gracious purpose in the nation's continued prosperity, and (2) those who found it in the nation's morality and obedience. Haggai and Zeccariah exhort a dispirited people to honour Jahweh during the reign of Darius 520-518 B.C.; after them there is no more prophetic activity until Malachi and Trito-Isaiah (Ch. 56-66) - about 450 B.C. To them the supreme urgency was personal and national holiness: the purity of ritual and cultus. With Trito-Isaiah 'true' prophecy comes to an end. He is the last canonical prophet to deal just with the destiny of Israel and her neighbours; the following prophets go wider and merge into Apocalyptic, and so possibly lose the

intensity of conviction held by the earlier prophets.

Ritual began to take a place beside morality, which was not the position of the pre-exilic prophets: ritual commends itself to God and this opens the floodgates to racial pride and so to the intolerance and separatist attitudes which in time would encounter Greek universalism and tolerance.

The Law, even more than the Temple and the national traditions, was the very centre of Judaism. 'Torah' meant the instruction of a priest to a worshipper, or the lore of the prophets, and so became a name for general instruction given by Jahweh to his people, but its primary meaning was the whole law of Moses as given in the Pentateuch, with a corresponding authority. The Torah was supplemented by 'Mishpatim', sentences on a particular subject, being judgements, precedents, or judicial decisions which were collected to form a code of case-law. There was no Jew whose business it was either to pass laws or to punish their infraction, and if times were hard there was nothing to stop a law becoming a dead letter. There were no law courts as such, and doubtful justice was obtained from recognised arbiters or from priests or from the King by appeal: nevertheless reverence for law was in fact present.

Law was also more than a set of statutes: it was a lasting principle. As Moses is traditionally the organizer of Israelite national life, so he was thought of as the giver of all laws - laws that originated, that is, from Jahweh. Laws were given orally or written on stone, but later on parchment might have been used. Hebrew law collections were made to inform the layman, priest, or arbiter as to what should be done, conditions being favourable. The codes in the Bible are collections of established practice. Every law is a development of principles embodied in earlier usage; these laws do tend to give ideal precepts and to presuppose ideal conditions for their obedience. Their originators were not concerned to harmonise the laws but to point their importance - their point was to restate the principles of 'holiness'. This included all levels of cultic conduct and behaviour down to food and dress.

After the time of Haggai and Zeccariah (about 520), as there were no lawgivers, the priests could give their decision on Torah when asked. The Jews in Egypt at this time appear to have known nothing of Deuteronomy; but Nehemiah, sent by the Persian authorities to undertake the reconstruction of Jerusalem's

fortifications so as to minimise the danger of attack from the surrounding tribes, did apply the principles, at any rate, of Deuteronomy to his subsequent reconstruction of Jewish national life. After Nehemiah's time 'Judaism' meant worship, ritual, temple, and law: this reorganization of life gave rise to the Priests' Code.

The new Israel still required to be drawn together and to be given distinctive identity: not just in a religious sphere. This was achieved by Ezra through the Law Book which he is said to have brought from Babylon about the year 397, and, with authority from the Persian Court, to have imposed on the community in solemn covenant. As John Bright says: "The cult was regulated and supported by the Law; to be moral and pious was to keep the law. It was this consistent stress on the law which imparted to Judaism its distinctive character."<sup>3.</sup> The law now prescribed practice and although people engaged in the cult joyfully, "this was rather a fulfilling of the law's requirements than a spontaneous expression of the national life".<sup>3.</sup>

The pride which the Jew took in the law as the mark of his identity evoked in him an intense, if unlovely, loyalty, which Godly Jews would rather die than betray; but this same earnestness inevitably not

only fenced them around with regulations to maintain their desired separateness; it also made them in the eyes of, for example, the Greeks, less the 'philosophers' they had once been thought to be, and more a stand-offish and proud people offensive to the prevailing ecumenism of the day. Under the stimulus and provisions of the Law Judaism tended to draw into itself, exhibiting towards those outside it a narrow and sometimes intolerant attitude such as that which 'Jonah' criticised; but there are signs of a concern for the salvation of 'the nations' and of a real missionary spirit which had certainly not been present in the pre-exilic period. The tension which existed between universalism and particularism was never satisfactorily resolved, and gradually seems to have ceased to be a tension within the worshipping community proper and to have become the mark which split the nation into progressive and conservative: a demarcation which, as Tcherikover has shown,<sup>4.</sup> corresponded to the class distinction between the rich - the merchants, priestly aristocracy, and traders - and 'the people of the land'. The social consequence of this situation was gradually to emerge in the years preceding the Maccabean Revolt. As Bright says: "the tension between universalism

and particularism therefore continued, with a warm desire for the final conversion of the Gentiles marching side by side with the wish to have no dealings with them whatever. This tension never disappeared; but the latter attitude, though perhaps<sup>5.</sup> understandably, tended to win out".

The problem before Judaism was that of standing clear of the world in order to protect its customs and laws, and so its identity, rather than that of the ways in which it could best become a missionary faith. Bright implies that a liberal attitude, if taken up for instance towards Greek culture, would tend to sweep broad-minded Jews from their religious moorings altogether. This movement of exclusivism and separatism began in the period of Persian control, but conditions in the Persian empire were such that a laissez-faire attitude was not so much normal as unnecessary. There was not the intimacy of social and political contact, with the ideas and antipathies that went with it, that was later to come to Palestine with the Greeks. The question of active resentment of a particularist attitude did not, for the present, arise.

Elias Bickermann informs us that excavations

have shown that "in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., Palestine belonged to the belt of an eclectic Greco-Egyptian Asiatic culture which extended from the Nile Delta to Cilicia"<sup>6</sup>. This may well have been the case; but it does not affect the question of Jewish particularism, which was a separation of religion rather than culture. Bickermann defends the exclusivism of the Jewish faith by saying that every ancient cult was exclusive: this is true, but, inasmuch as Judaism carried exclusivism into its proselytizing activities as well as into its central observances, this attitude was exhibited to the outside world at a time when such attitudes were not welcome. Furthermore, the entry into Palestine of foreign coinage types, Attic pottery, and trade does not affect the question of Jewish exclusiveness. It appears from later anti-Jewish propaganda, e.g., in 280 by Manetho the Egyptian, that close contact with Judaism rather revealed its exclusiveness than disproved it. The very normality of Jewish behaviour while trading, inter-marrying, and living with natives in the Diaspora countries underlines the divergence of the Jewish diaspora, especially in Egypt, from normative Judaism. All the arguments in support

of this exclusivism to preserve a true faith intact may be valid, and, granted that the faith was supremely worth preserving, the fact still remains that there was in the antipathy which resulted from this separatism a root cause of later attempts to Hellenize Palestine, for instance under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

The years following the religious reorganization under Ezra were also the years of increasing difficulty for the ruling Persian power. Persian territorial expansion had really ceased after Xerxes' repulse in /Greece in 480-479; and <sup>m</sup>Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon in 468 combined with the disaffection of satraps like Tissaphernes towards the end of the fifth century marked the beginnings of a succession of pressures which were never really overcome. Cyrus' rebellion in 401 was another stage in the undermining of Persian power; and the cumulative uncertainty made Persia more anxious to look after her own safety than to interfere in the affairs of the 'Province beyond the River' - as the Vth. Satrapy, of which Judaea was part, was called. It is said that by and large Persian rule was efficient as far as this satrapy was concerned.

One consequence of the pressures on the Persian rule was, however, a growing distrust of nationalist

princes, and so the governorship of Jerusalem was given to Persians in succession to people like Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel who had been of the Jewish royal line. Bagoas was appointed governor in 410 B.C. (circa), and had presently to deal punitively with a Jewish ecclesiastical scandal. In about 400 John (Johanan) was the high priest and his brother Jesus (Joshua) was a rival claimant. John murdered his brother in the Temple and in punishment Bagoas imposed a temple tax of 50 shekels for every lamb sacrificed: it is said that this Jesus had been his protégé.

It was at about this time that the Elephantine Papyri were written complaining to 'Bigvai' (Bagoas) the governor of Judaea about the destruction of the Jewish temple at Jeb (= Elephantine) by Waidrang, the governor of Syene and Nephayan who was the garrison commander at Jeb. Consequently the end of the Jewish settlement at Jeb is dated at about 404, and Persian rule in Egypt also came to an end then, likewise under Egyptian nationalist pressure. This Jewish settlement had neither law nor prophets, and, in comparison with the ideals of Nehemiah and Ezra, it was effete. Bickermann laments that this is what liberalism could do to a diaspora Jewish community.

There was a serious revolt of the Phoenician

cities in the middle of the 4th century B.C. which was finally subdued by Persia only after a hard struggle in 348 B.C. This revolt was the consequence of similar warlike action by Egyptian native dynasts at the time of the accession to the Persian throne of Artaxerxes III in 358 B.C. The Egyptian army, strong enough in its independence now to lend aid to other provinces in revolt, marched north into Palestine with the help of Greek officers and mercenaries after having defeated the Persians once. The Jewish community apparently joined in this rebellion, and Jerusalem may have been partially destroyed early in this revolt. The historical basis for the Book of Judith and the background of Trito-Isaiah may have been from this period; but this section of Jewish history seems the least well-illuminated of any during the post-exilic period. There is scant archaeological evidence available for the 4th century.

Artaxerxes III was murdered in 338 (circa) by one Bagoas, who may have been the general who led the victorious Persian army in the possible sack of Jerusalem in 348, but who is to be distinguished from the Bigvai or Bagoas to whom the Elephantine letters of 408 refer. Artaxerxes was succeeded by Darius III, the last Persian king and the one whose death was to

mark the beginning of militant Hellenism in Asia.

Greek influence in Palestine as a whole had been present to some degree for a long time before 336. The enterprise of Greek merchants had taken Greek trade to Egypt and the Near and Middle East from at the latest the 7th century B.C. onwards, and by the 6th century the coasts of Syria and Palestine were dotted with Greek cities and trading stations. Excavations near Ashdod and also south of Tel Aviv (Mézdad Hashavyahu) are thought to include a settlement of Greek mercenaries, paid off by the Egyptian Pharaoh Psammetichos I. This settlement is fortified, and the Greek pottery found there is all from the end of the 7th century. It is suggested that it was abandoned during Pharaoh Necho's invasion of 609; but Boardman wonders if these Greeks are not 'Necho's Greeks ousted by Babylonians' prior to or consequent upon Necho's defeat by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish<sup>7.</sup> in 605.

During all this Persian period Greek trade seems to have prospered in the Near East, having been restricted under the Babylonians. In particular Al Mina, the old trading centre in North Syria, was a point of great importance for the entrance of Greek trade. Despite two fires, which involved a change in

its plan, its prosperity lasted until it was eclipsed by Seleucia-in-Pieria - founded four miles north of Al Mina by Seleucus I Nicator in 301.

In Judea coinage followed the Attic standard; and Athene's owl appeared on coins during Nehemiah's period of office at Jerusalem, contemporary with Pericles' at Athens. Greek pottery poured into Palestine through the Phoenician ports and the Greek trading stations; and the museums of present day Israel contain numerous examples of Greek ceramics from the Mycenaean period to Hellenistic times, including a great deal of imported Attic Black-and-Red-figure ware. Bright says this trade inevitably implied some contact with the Greek mind, 'which if it did not fundamentally alter Israel's faith affected it profoundly'<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps the most important result of these early Greek contacts was to give the trading and merchant classes and their social circle in Judaea a look at the outside world which, increasing as it did with the progress of the 4th century, must have created a tension with the 'fenced' characteristic of post-Ezraonic Judaism. Nor was this tension confined to the merchant class: the priestly aristocracy was similarly affected. It may well be that the hankering after a Greek way of life, later shown to exist, stems from the priestly reaction which

in fact took place in face of the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra. 'The priesthood preferred its contacts with the outside world (lately of Babylon) to religious purity'.<sup>9.</sup>

The question of Samaria should now be briefly dealt with as there is some evidence that it was at approximately the end of the Persian Empire that the religious rupture between Jerusalem and Samaria took place. The conflict between the two cities under Persian rule is said to have been primarily a political one. Samaria opposed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem because it thought that a resurrected capital in the south would be a natural rival of the northern fortress of Samaria.

There is an account in Josephus' Antiquities ~~XI. 8, 2-4~~ ~~X. 7, 8~~ of the building of the schismatic temple on Mount Gerizim in the days of Alexander the Great, approximately 335 B.C. and with his connivance.

Bright says: 'The account presents so many difficulties that one cannot build upon it'<sup>10.</sup>; but he concedes that a temple on Gerizim certainly existed by the early 2nd century since this is referred to in II Macc. 6, 2. He is disposed to date it at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period. This conservative judgement being so, we may, I think, say that he joins

those scholars, Lofthouse, Box, and Schofield among them, who favour a date around 335 for the construction. One does not perhaps need to follow Josephus' account of the marriage of Sanballat's daughter to Manasseh in order to agree more or less with his dating of the beginnings of the Samaritan cult. Alexander almost certainly had some dealings with Samaria at this time, as on his entry into Palestine the people of Samaria revolted against the invaders and burned Andromachus, their new governor, alive. In punishment Alexander made Samaria a military colony. There is archaeological evidence for this occupation in certain large round towers, possibly fortifications, recently excavated at Samaria.

When the Samaritans did split away from Judaism, they took the recently completed Pentateuch with them and have never added to it. Their attitude to religion during the course of events which immediately preceded the Jewish rebellion of 167 appears to have been at least as syncretistic as that of the contemporary Hellenizing party at Jerusalem and we will refer to this later. Meanwhile they maintained a studied hostility towards Judaism which increased outside pressure on the Jewish community to the south and inflamed therefore the antipathy that the Jews felt

towards those outside it. The Samaritans today are only 250 in number (in 1965); and the Pentateuch, but no other religious writings, is a possession of a curiously antiquarian importance. In the incipient Hellenization of Palestine following Alexander's entry into the country the presence of a Macedonian garrison at Samaria marked it particularly as one of the many Hellenistic communities by which Judaea was surrounded. Ezra's marriage regulations are held to have been responsible in part for the estrangement between the community at Samaria and that at Jerusalem. In time the Samaritans' zeal for the law and for the purity of their own race grew to be as enthusiastic as that of the Jews themselves. As at 1928, according to W.F. Lofthouse, sacrifices were still being offered at <sup>11.</sup> Mt. Gerizim.

The accession of Alexander the Great, and the Asiatic campaign which had long been hoped for by his father, Philip II of Macedonia, mark a new stage in the history of the Near and Middle East including Palestine, as they were responsible for the emergence of Hellenistic civilization as a vital force in this area of Asia. It marked an intensification of Greek influence in Palestine, not only because the armies whose garrisons propagated it now lived in close proximity to native

populations, but also because it was an inherently infectious movement. The casual contact with traders now gave way to a closer insight into the ways, manners, thought, social structure, and religious beliefs of an extremely vigorous and intellectually alert race.

There was an insatiable desire for Hellenistic civilization to expand. Its bounds were too narrow; and Alexander, representing Pan-Hellenism, assumed charge of the project: he fell heir to the preparations Philip had made for the extension of Greek influence, and he enlisted the enthusiasm of Greeks for their own culture in order to spread it.

When in 334 he set out across the Dardanelles scientists and philosophers accompanied the expedition. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, wrote a history of the expedition based on the official journal. After the battle of Issus in 333 Alexander put in motion schemes for the government of Asia Minor. He proclaimed a regime of democracy and won over the Greek cities to his side. Then he headed for Phoenicia with the intention of destroying the Persian fleet which was using its ports. After a long and bitterly contested siege Tyre fell in 332, and in the summer of that year Gaza also

capitulated; the conquest of the country was completed by Alexander's general Parmenion. Legend may have filled in the details of Alexander's journey through Palestine and of his reception there, but to what extent this is so various writers differ. Israel Abrahams says that it is an a priori possibility that while in Palestine, Alexander would have been attracted to the temple at Jerusalem.<sup>12.</sup> He says that Graetz admits that it was a psychological possibility that he visited the temple; and Abrahams' time schedule, as presented here, allows this to take place after the fall of Gaza and before his swift march to Pelusium. Jaddua the High Priest had been admonished in a dream 'to march out, himself arrayed in purple and gold, mitred and bearing on his forehead the gold plate on which was inscribed the Divine Name.'<sup>13.</sup> Tcherikover says that to him some meeting between Alexander and the Jews would appear to have been a certainty,<sup>†</sup> although not invested with the legendary detail which so impressed Abrahams. The Jews may have wished Alexander to confirm the autonomy of the high priestly rule; and, as it was his policy that in all cases peoples should 'live according to their ancestral law', the Jews would presumably have been no exception. It has been suggested that he

† Y. Tcherikover: 'Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews.' p. 49.

may have granted this in a letter to the Macedonian official in charge of Palestinian affairs. The only Greek city in this area founded at the command of Alexander was the rebuilt Gaza. <sup>a</sup> ~~As~~ apropos this somewhat ill-defined liaison between Alexander and the Jews of 332, Abrahams says that the evidence suggests that the favour which Hellenistic rulers, both Egyptian and Syrian, were later to show to the Jews 'was a legacy from Alexander's similar policy, derived from the support that his clemency won from the Jewish contemporaries of his invasion of the Holy Land.' <sup>14.</sup> If this seems altogether too great a political weight to attach to the support of a small hill-tribe, it is reasonable to add that several scholars, Schofield among them, believe that Jaddua's action was rather the action of Jews who had at first refused to give Alexander allegiance and were now attempting to forestall his wrath by this ceremonial welcome. <sup>15.</sup>

Alexander next proceeded against Egypt where the Persian satrap submitted to him in November 332. While there he is said to have planned Alexandria and to have reorganized the government of Egypt under two native governors, those of Upper and Lower Egypt, thus putting into practice there the principle of limited national

autonomy.

In July 331, after attending to the reorganization of the <sup>g</sup>Government of Syria, Alexander crossed over the Euphrates and Tigris to Gaugamela. After his final defeat of the Persian army in battle there, he moved on to Babylon and so to Persepolis in 330. The conquest of Persia followed. Early in the summer of 327, Alexander moved from Bactria towards North-West India, which was conquered following the Battle ~~of~~<sup>on the</sup> Hydaspes. By 325 he was at the mouth of the Indus; and after turning westwards again over the sand wastes of Gedrosia and southern Carmania, where he lost a large part of his army, he reached Susa in Spring 324. He planned an Arabian expedition while at Babylon in 323, but could not throw off an attack of fever at that time and died in 323. He had given to Greek civilization and its sciences a scope and an opportunity that they had not previously possessed; and trade and commerce had been internationalized on an unprecedented scale. The Greek *κοινή* replaced the many dialects of Greek, and other languages also, and became the lingua franca of the Empire.

After Alexander Persia, India, Egypt, Greece, and presently Italy all conform to a common standard, in

distinction to their previous separateness, and 'desire  
to be regarded as members of a common civilization'<sup>16.</sup>  
it seems to have been the tragedy of pre-Maccabean  
Hellenistic Palestine that this view was only the  
property of one section of the population. Palestine  
was too central geographically to the Greek world in  
which it found itself placed to contract out of the  
unity of culture which had emerged as the result of  
Alexander's conquests. It seems to me that there was  
bound in time to be a tension within Judaism between  
those for whom this culture had a definite attraction  
and those who distrusted it and were fearful of it.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

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CHAPTER II: FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE BATTLE  
OF PANIUM:

PTOLEMAIC PERIOD: 323 - 198

Palestine's geographical composition rendered the exclusivist nature of its national disposition since Ezra easy to maintain. Known during the Hellenistic period as Coele (Hollow) Syria because of the valley (Emek) running down from the gap between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges in the north through the Plain of Esdraelon and southwards through Lod to Beersheba, the terrain was well suited to the maintenance of a somewhat insular culture. The hills of Palestine were just off the main caravan routes to Babylon and Arabia, which passed through the valleys and coastal plains skirting the hill country. Especially on the East (Jordan) side, the hills of Judea are steep and rugged and so the country was relatively inaccessible to direct foreign influence. Owing to this geography and the national and religious particularism, Israel did not adopt foreign practices until they had proved their worth and 'could be assimilated without sacrificing the autonomy of the spirit which remained one of Israel's chief characteristics'<sup>1.</sup> The Greek occupation of Coele-Syria marked a severe test of this isolation in that

the incoming culture was of an extremely pervasive type, and rather than attack Judaism it attracted a part of it.

Macedonians were settled in Palestine under Alexander; and, while some new cities were founded, a large number of existing ones became predominantly Greek, particularly those on the Mediterranean coast which were in close commercial contact with the Greek traders. In the two hundred years following the invasion of Palestine many Greek cities were founded with Greek and Macedonian settlers; and in this way Judaea became surrounded by Greek colonies and deeply influenced by Greek customs and ideas.

In 320 Coele-Syria and Judaea were seized by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals, from Laomedon, who had been in command. Syria was quickly conquered by Nicanor and Ptolemy, and annexed. Laomedon was captured and Syria was garrisoned. Ptolemy ruled Syria for five years; but in 315 Syria and Palestine were invaded by Antigonus, who was now master of most of Western Asia. Seleucus, the satrap at Babylon, had escaped to Egypt, where Ptolemy had given him asylum. By 316 the royal house of Macedonia had been suppressed by the murder of Olympias, the mother of Alexander:

the imprisonment of Alexander IV had followed the death of Philip II, and power had now passed into the hands of Antigonus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander, who held Asia Minor and most of western Asia, Egypt, Thrace, and Greece respectively. The most loyal of Alexander's generals, Eumenes, had been defeated at Susa in 316 by Antigonus, probably his most able one. The years 315 to 301 are taken up with the long struggle of Antigonus for Macedonia.

In 312, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was defeated at Gaza by a coalition of Ptolemy and Seleucus. Then Seleucus retook Babylon and ruled from there, dating his accession as the beginning of the Seleucid era. He routed Nicanor on the Tigris, and annexed Susiana and Persis. Demetrius failed to retake Babylon for Antigonus in 311; and Seleucus was able to consolidate Iran and the Euphrates Valley as far east as the Jaxartes from 311 to 302.

2.

Tcherikover believes that it may be supposed that Ptolemy's rule from 320 to 315 was popular among the Jews. Hecataeus of Abdera, whose writings seem to find favour with Jewish writers on this period, allegedly accompanied Ptolemy I on his Syrian campaign of 312, and published in a report of his journey the first Greek account of the Jews, based particularly on data given to

the author by a Jewish priest who in 312 had accompanied the Ptolemaic army to Egypt. Tcherikover says there is a place for Hecataeus' tradition in the withdrawal of Ptolemy in 311, when the Jews may have been sorry to see Ptolemy go.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the weight which may or may not be placed on Hecataeus' evidence, it does seem that the Ptolemaic House did not have to atone for, or suffer recorded discontent because of, activities of Ptolemy I in Palestine.

In the peace of 311 Antigonus may have founded Macedonian colonies in Palestine because of its strategic importance to himself.

By 305 all the five dynasts had assumed the title of 'Kings' in Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, the Babylonian sector, and Egypt respectively: in view of the fluidity of the military position this territorial reference was implied rather than real. In 302 a coalition of Seleucus, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy was formed against Antigonus. Seleucus marched west from India; and in the Spring of 301 Seleucus and Lysimachus joined forces at Ipsus in Phrygia against Antigonus and Demetrius. Following their success in this battle, Seleucus and Lysimachus divided up the empire, and Seleucus claimed Syria. Ptolemy retook Syria in 301,

and was conceded Coele-Syria as far as the River Eleutherus by Seleucus more, it is believed, out of comradeship than strategy. Tcherikover thinks Seleucus would have found it difficult to do otherwise.<sup>†</sup> Diplomatic activity took place to dispossess Ptolemy; but, although the formal claim to it was Seleucid, in view of the fact that Ptolemy was in occupation Seleucus gave up his legal right to it. Amongst other Palestinian cities Ptolemy occupied Jerusalem. Josephus (Ant. XII. 3, 6) follows Agatharchides in postulating an anti-Jewish attitude by Ptolemy: Hecataeus of Abdera on the other hand preserves a tradition of Jewish friendliness to Ptolemy and vice versa, especially mentioning the priest Hezekiah.<sup>\*</sup> The second view is now discounted less than it was in the 19th century.

In 312, after the Battle of Gaza, when Ptolemy temporarily evacuated Palestine, ravaging at the same time the towns of Acco, Joppa, Gaza, Samaria and Jerusalem, a large number of Jews migrated to Egypt. In Egypt the Jewish quarter at Alexandria was in the north-east of the city. There the Jews lived under their own law and were represented on the municipal council by their own leaders. Presently as many Jews lived in Egypt as in Palestine itself. Many of those

† V. Tcherikover: 'Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews' p. 55.  
\* V. Tcherikover: Op. cit. p. 56.

came as slaves; and according to the 'Letter of Aristeas' Jews were also forcibly removed to Egypt from Jerusalem by the Persians at 'the time of their power', (Letter, Para. 2d, L.34).

This movement of Jews into Egypt has been called 'the most important step towards the Hellenization of Jewry after Alexander's conquest'<sup>4</sup>. The personal names of the new Jewish colonists do not appear to carry on the pre-exilic onomastic tradition, as in the Elephantine papyri; but belong to three main types: familial biblical names like Abram, Judah, Joseph, Simeon (Simon); Aramaic names not found in the Old Testament but common later; and Greek names. The reason for the importance of the Jews' contact with Egypt as a factor in the Hellenization of Palestine was that it brought these Jewish refugees, settlers, and mercenaries, into the most immediate practical contact with a working Hellenistic monarchy, very efficiently organized, and compact enough to focus Greek art, literature, and political organization, in the north of Egypt in which most of the Jews settled: this was also the main Greek quarter of Egypt, near the city and port of Alexandria. The constant traffic between Egypt and Coele-Syria during the Ptolemaic dominance from 301 to 198 was a powerful factor in

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influencing the trading aristocracy of Judaea in favour of Hellenism, if only for the practical commercial advantages which accrued when it was wholeheartedly embraced.

The other major factors in the Hellenizing process in Palestine during the 3rd century were the building and settlement of the numerous Greek colonies and the Hellenizing of Phoenician and Samaritan towns bordering on Judaea. The Jews' good treatment in Egypt may have helped to foster the good feelings which indigenous Jews had towards the Ptolemaic rule - apparent later on, when under the Seleucids, this attitude attained the status of a principle of policy in one section of the community. On the Ptolemaic side the wood from the Lebanon in the north of Coele-Syria was essential for the building of Ptolemaic ships of both military and civil categories. It was upon her naval power, and the protection which it was required to afford to her Mediterranean trading, that Ptolemaic power in the Mediterranean during the reigns of the first four Ptolemies very largely rested. Upon it also depended her considerable diplomatic traffic.

Alexander's successors, dominated by Alexander's ideas, believed it an essential part of their job as

rulers to found Greek cities in their territories; but being careful, in view of the delicate military balance, to keep the allegiance of the soldiery under their command, they had to pay at least lip-service to the concept of Greek superiority: and so Alexander's grand internationalism became watered down; and this has led A.H.M. Jones to doubt whether most of his successors had much genuine enthusiasm for the political side of Greek culture.<sup>5</sup> Certainly it may be doubted whether they saw the founding and settlement of these Greek cities as part of a process of the dissemination of culture. Of Alexander's successors, Antigonus, ruling most of Asia Minor and Syria from 320 to 301, followed Alexander's policy closely in the Greek cities at Antigoneia~~in~~ Bithynia and Antigoneia (near Antioch) in Syria. The settlers of the latter are said to have been Athenians. Seleucus I was an avid colonizer, as is shown by his sixteen Antiochs including his capital on the Orontes, nine Seleucias, eight Laodiceas, three Apameas, and a Stratonicea, as well as others named after Alexander and after his own victories.

Because the successors were dependent on the goodwill of the regent of Macedonia to provide troops, such troops had to be kept; and it was realized that settlement of these troops was not only economical

but also likely to ensure the loyalty of the army. It seems to have been Seleucus' object to make northern Syria and Mesopotamia another Macedonia, in which his expatriated countrymen could feel at home. For this reason he renamed the physical features of the country and named the settlements after towns in Macedonia, such as Edessa, Pella, and Beroea, for example. These may even have corresponded to the Macedonian towns his soldiers came from.

Before 280 B.C. when Asia Minor became Seleucid, native dynasties had already become established in Bithynia and Pontic Cappadocia. Seleucid rule in Asia Minor - as a result of the defeat of Antigonus in 301 - was almost from the first limited to the South Eastern part of the country, and even here the Ptolemies held portions of the South Coast. The Seleucid dynasty was gradually confined to Cilicia and Syria, principally as the result of the advance of the Romans and Parthians respectively from West and East which will be dealt with in Chapter III.

The Ptolemaic contribution to the founding of cities appears huge, judging by their names; but it is really very small. Names used included largely Ptolemais, Arsinoe and Berenice; but most of the

foundations were really nothing more than new names for old-established towns. Ptolemais (Acco) in Palestine was never Greek, always Phoenician; and the Phoenician cities were all autonomous by the time of Ptolemy II, who succeeded to the Egyptian throne in 285. Some towns in fact had no civic organization, and Philoteria in Galilee and Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon) are said to be examples of this. The Ptolemies gave dynastic names to native towns without raising their status to actual poleis.

A.H.M. Jones confirms that this process took place  
6.  
in Syria.

I believe this to have been extremely unfortunate for the Hellenization process in Palestine because it tended to hold back the development of native cities when they could have assimilated polis-structure without undue disruption. As it was, as we shall see, this process fell to the Seleucids to carry out; and when it was undertaken the conversion was correspondingly swifter and more violent. But I do not wish to give the impression that the effect of the spread of Hellenism even in Ptolemaic times was unheeded by the Jews.

Ptolemaic Egypt was divided into forty areas called nomes: each was governed by a strategos and assisted

by a scribe. Each nome was divided into two or more toparchies under a toparch and his scribe or topogrammateus. Each village within the toparchy had a comarch and a comogrammateus. All officials were appointed by the Crown; and this system consequently made possible the most minute and elaborate exploitation of the country in the interests of the government. The temples were also brought under the jurisdiction of this economic system; and their land was administered by the Crown, which paid a salary to each priest.

Southern Syria under the Ptolemies was divided into hyparchies, e.g. Ammanitis, Esbonitis and Moabitis. In the second century, under the Seleucids, the divisions were smaller than hyparchies and took the Egyptian designations of nomes or toparchies. Officials were then called Meridarchs, and were possibly in command of the hyparchies. Oeconomoi were also attached to hyparchies, and comarchs were the village headmen. The Ptolemies permitted a facade of autonomy in those parts of the countries where city life was strongly developed, for instance in Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Lycia and Phoenicia, including the Palestine coast. There is a general agreement among scholars that the Egyptian bureaucratic administration gave no chance to

the indigenous political institutions of the native communities to develop.<sup>7.</sup> This had the effect of limiting Hellenism, as grasped by those who wished it, to its external; without its being rooted in that political life without which it was properly speaking impossible.

Alexander's swift defeat of a long-ruling oriental power had shaken orientals' belief in their own institutions and way of life; and so the urban proletariat, who had greater opportunities of coming into contact with Greek culture than had the peasants, acquired a smattering of Greek manners and ways but lacked the leisure or education to do more. This threw the onus of Hellenization on to the upper classes, and so it begins to possess the characteristics of a social movement. In stressing the smallness of the class that adopted the new culture Jones stresses 'the extraordinary thoroughness'<sup>8.</sup> of the adoption process, no less thorough in Judaea than elsewhere, but a little later. Educated men in the Middle East had no further use for their native cultures and they adopted that of their conquerors lock, stock and barrel. Of course they were in fact adopting, though they may not have realized it at the time, more than just the culture of Greece. They were adopting its life and in some measure its wideness of thought. The Maccabees were perhaps penetrating enough

to see that this wideness would probably introduce syncretism into religion as well, or at least would imply it. We shall deal presently with the question of whether this was an unnecessary fear.

One of the 'Greek' towns which formed a circle round the perimeter of Judaea was the ancient town of Philoteria on the south-~~eastern~~<sup>western</sup> bank of the Sea of Galilee. <sup>9.</sup> Nebane (in 'La Geographie du Talmud' p.31) was the first to identify the site with Beth Yerah, mentioned in the Talmud in connection with the Jordan valley. The name Beth (Beit) Yerah means 'House of the Moon', and has a Bronze Age origin; at the southern end of the Tel, an apse can be clearly seen which is said to mark the boundary of a courtyard belonging to the Early Bronze village. Beth Yerah was outside the Judaeian boundary up to the time of the Maccabees; and the population is thought to have been a mixture of Arameans, Canaanites, and Phoenicians, <sup>10.</sup> with a small Jewish element. Sukenik <sup>10.</sup> feels that Alexander must have thought this region a fruitful field for his Hellenizing activities, and inveighs from the Jewish point of view against the baneful influence of such Hellenistic cities.

x The new (Greek) name of Philoteria is found in a passage of Polybius <sup>11.</sup> in connection with Antiochus III's

Palestinian campaigns of 218. Polybius says here that Philoteria and Bethshan (Scythopolis) surrendered to him and were well able to supply him with provisions for his army. The name 'Philoteria', which is also found in Egypt, was it seems given to the city in order to flatter Ptolemy II Philadelphus, whose sister was called Philoteria. Precisely what Philoteria was - whether a Macedonian settlement on the Early Bronze site or a purely native town up to the time of Ptolemy II - is uncertain: it seems the general view that the town was one of the three Ptolemaic 'foundations' in Palestine, the others being Ptolemais on the coast and Philadelphia, which changed its name from Rabbath Ammon but remained an Aramaean town.

The excavations which took place at Philoteria from 1946 to 1956 reveal that the tel was uninhabited from Early Bronze III up to the beginning of the Hellenistic period and the depth between the Early Bronze and Hellenistic levels is relatively shallow such as may be expected from the natural accumulation of soil.<sup>12.</sup> The Hellenistic level contained the remains of a street with a number of buildings along it built of brick, including several private houses, one of which was excavated completely. The Hellenistic remains

included a tomb excavated in the glacis of the Bronze  
Age stone wall. My photograph shows one of the two  
apsidal baths in the wall of the long arm of one side  
of a Roman thermal establishment containing, adjacent  
to the bath, a hypocaust cellar with rows of brick  
pillars. There is evidence that these baths were  
remodelled at a later date, possibly in early Byzantine  
times. The town does certainly seem to have been a  
fortress at some period as there are remains of two  
square towers, the intervening curtain wall, and a  
gate.<sup>12.</sup>

The Government at Alexandria paid special attention to the welfare and economic development of Syria. There is no evidence for a Governor of Palestine as such; in any case he would have been unnecessary, it is thought, owing to the nearness of, and good liaison with, Egypt. There was a very large number of lower officials under the Dioketes and his Oekonomos. The same virtues and defects of Egyptian bureaucratic officialdom now came to Palestine as existed in Egypt itself, especially the overseeing of the private lives of citizens. The agents of Ptolemy II's Finance Minister, Apollonius, were especially active, and their work on the coast was extensive and productive. It was

probably in 259 that Apollonius decided to make a thorough examination of Syria's economic situation through his agent, Zenon. Forty notes and letters in the Zenon Papyri are concerned with this visit and its aftermath of correspondence.

Southern Syria was vital to the defence of Egypt, and so the unstable politics of Palestine made problems here. To deal with this in face of the threat from the Seleucid Kingdom the Ptolemies founded cleruchies and garrisoned Syrian cities. Tripolis seems to have guarded the northern frontier. The military organization of these posts involved various offices such as Hegemon (Garrison Commander), Acrophylax (Commanding Officer of the Citadel), Phylakarches (Chief of Police), and Archyperetes (Paymaster-General). The Papyrus C.P. Jud. 1 (P.CZ. 59003) is quoted by Tcherikover as showing a land-holding being distributed to troops: in this instance the cleruchy is in Ammonite country to guard against Bedouin attacks; the post was probably at 'Arak-el-Emir' in Trans-Jordan, and it was <sup>garrisoned</sup> ~~quartered~~ by both Infantry and Cavalry. Tobiah, who was the native prince in charge of this cleruchy, was a sheik and may have been a descendant of Tobiah, the Ammonite  
† Y. Tcherikover : "Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews". p.70.

slave known to Nehemiah. It was important that the natives of Palestine should be seen to be trusted by the Ptolemies; and Tobiah's son Joseph was to be notably zealous for the Ptolemies as a tax-gatherer. But the Palestinian princes were not all so friendly, and one, Zaidelas, had little respect for the Egyptian Finance Minister. Their ownership of the soil was sufficient cause for the Ptolemies to treat them with respect.

Government officials as well as merchants were involved in the trade between Syria and Egypt; there was no private enterprise apparently, and a tendency to a 'nationalised' import and export industry, for instance in corn and wheat, cramped initiative. So also with olive oil, incense, and perfumes. Small Nile-traffic craft were used for trading, and the ports which were important were Gaza, Tyre, and Acco (Ptolemais), and Alexandria and Pelusium in Egypt. (The Zenon Papyri do not deal with trade outgoing from Egypt: the Egyptian Finance Minister was interested in the Syrian wares he would obtain for his home). Slaves also went from Syria to Egypt; those mentioned in the papyri were probably for light domestic and industrial work, for instance in a weaving mill in one of the villages of the Fayyum.

Slave-hunting by Egyptians for both sexes was so widespread in Syria that it had to be forbidden by Ptolemy Philadelphus (Vienna Papyrus), except in the case of public, government-sponsored slave-auctions.

Egypt also imported 'Syrian wheat': this was common in Egypt from the time of Philadelphus and its ~~importing~~<sup>ation</sup> is extremely odd in view of the fact that by the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Athens, for example, had been importing Egyptian wheat for two centuries. The explanation is said to have been that Syrian wheat ripened more quickly. Olives, wine, smoked fish, cheese, meat, dried figs, honey, and dates, were also imported from Syria. Syria also acted as a transit station for trade with Greece, Asia Minor, and the Aegean, importing from the last area honey, wine, and nuts, and also some cheese. Gaza was a station on the perfume trade-route between Arabia and Egypt.

Zenon was in Egypt on business for Apollonius for two years: 260 B.C. (autumn) to 258 B.C. (early summer). Two letters from Apollonius in Zenon's possession order Apollodotus and Hikesios to instruct grain exporters from Syria to pay certain sums to a bank. These letters are dated in year 25 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, i.e. 258 B.C. 'It is probable', writes

G.M. Harper, 'that the grain mentioned in these letters came from the Palestinian estates of Apollonius, and that he was trying to prevent merchants from exporting it without making proper payment to himself'<sup>14.</sup>

Apollonius had an estate at Beth Anath in Galilee and possibly others near there. The corn was probably exported from Ptolemais which is only about 40 miles from the Sea of Galilee. ~~Edgar Papyrus~~ <sup>PCZ. = C.P. Jud. I.</sup> 59003 concerns the sale of a Babylonian slave girl, Sphregis, aged seven. This is seen as an instance of the export of slaves from Palestine to Egypt referred to above and mentions the agent of one Toubias. He was 'probably a native chieftain of Ammanitis chosen by Ptolemy

<sup>15.</sup> Philadelphus to be the administrator of this region'.

Toubias wrote two letters in 29 (254 B.C.) showing his desire to court the favour of Apollonius and Ptolemy.

These refer to impending presents from Toubias to Ptolemy. Concerning the identity of Toubias, Harper thinks that he may reasonably be regarded as a member of the family of Nehemiah's enemy and an ancestor of the Maccabean group. Various strands of evidence point to the probability of at least the latter connection.

In 265 the citizens of Rabbath Ammon took the title of Philadelphia for their city; but there was apparently doubt as to the permanence of these Arameans'

attachment to Egypt. Referring to Butler's report of the excavations at 'Araq-el-Emir', the buildings found, and the inscription 'Toubias' in Hebrew characters over the entrance to the nearby caves, Harper believes that this was a refuge for Toubias in case Ammanitis should disavow Egypt, whose agent he was. <sup>16.</sup>

The questions raised by this Toubias involve an examination of reports on the Princeton Expedition to 'Araq-el-Emir', excavated in 1904 to 1905 and 1909, and will be considered presently. p. 123.

All the letters in the Zenon Papyri show the desire of Apollonius and Zenon to control exports, such as grain and oil from Syria. Oil is said to have been a state monopoly, and no one was permitted to import foreign oil for sale. <sup>The Papyrus PCZ 59003 (= C.P. Jud. 1.)</sup> ~~Papyrus Edgar 50098~~ shows also that a similar restriction was placed upon the export of slaves from Syria.

There was apparently great advantage to be derived from holding a high position under Apollonius. Zenon's position was a high one and his duties were of a general nature. His mission to Syria may only be conjectured upon but he seems to have had much freedom of action. It may be that a general inspection and supervision of the collection of taxes was among the duties:

of Zenon during this period, but we have no direct evidence of this. His object in going to Ammanitis is thought to have been the inspection of Toubias' administration of the district and the establishing of further good relations between Toubias and Apollonius. Zenon may have carried out investigations into the taxability of Toubias' territory. Ammanitis was also noted as a fine breeding-ground for horses. Systematic tours of inspection in Palestine followed the Ammanitis visit, the delivery of supplies to the garrison at Marisa, 25 miles south-west of Jerusalem being one such journey. We will refer again to Marisa presently.

The site of the caves on which Toubias' name has been carved, 'Araq-el-Emir (Tyros), was first visited by western people in 1817 and was brought to the attention of scholars in 1864 by de Vogué. The 'Tyros' here mentioned is believed to be the same as the fortress mentioned in connection with Hyrcanus in Josephus' Antiquities XII, 230. Most of the buildings discovered at this place may well have reference to the Josephus passage above and the fortress it describes. But in a footnote to this reference in the Loeb edition of the 'Antiquities', Momigliano is said to point out that Josephus is mistaken in saying that Hyrcanus built the

fortress 'since, as the Zenon Papyri show, there was a fortress.... there as early as the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus'<sup>18.</sup> There are many caves, artificial tunnels, and chambers from the later (Hyrceanian) period in the cliff 600 metres north-east of the ruins. Some of the chambers, which are of all sizes, are said to be 'spacious and highly-finished within', others 'small and more crudely executed'<sup>19.</sup> As most of the main buildings at 'Araq are generally thought, on account of the architectural styles they employ, to belong to the Seleucid period, they will be discussed in our study of that period in Chapter ~~IV~~ III.

Two letters from Zenon, those to Epikrates and Peisistratos, refer to Zenon's buying some of the slaves of Zaidelos when Zenon was at Marisa. These two letters are found in draft form on ~~Edgar~~ <sup>PCZ.</sup> 59015 verso. One Pasikles appears to have been an agent of Zenon stationed <sup>20.</sup> at or near Marisa, and F.M. Abel is said to show that there was a colony of Macedonians at Marisa. Coins have been found dating from Ptolemy Philadelphus but none earlier. The only important Hellenistic remains of the Ptolemaic period in Palestine come from Marisa where the 'painted tombs' discovered in 1902 and subsequently published by J.P. Peters and H. Thiersch belong - to an extent - to this period. They were excavated from

soft limestone rock and decorated for the leaders of a Sidonian colony established here apparently by one Apollophanes in about 250 B.C. The walls were elaborately decorated, and as many of the graves were from a later period we shall have cause to refer to them again later. The colours used in their decoration were extraordinarily bright, and so much comes out as a result of the excellent illustrations, made under great difficulty, which Peters and Thiersch include in their book. They are now very faded and according to Albright little now remains visible. The contents of the frescoes and inscriptions are of considerable historical value, as they enable this phase of the process of Hellenization to be seen in some detail.

The town of Marisa has streets and houses built according to Hellenistic principles, with streets running as nearly as practicable at right angles and forming regular blocks of houses after the Hippodamian canon of town planning.

Marisa was at some point called Beit Jibrin and is now known in Israel as Tel Mareshah: a township one mile north of Beit Jibrin was called Eleutheropolis under Septimus Severus c.200 A.D. The first Biblical reference to Mareshah is Micah 1 v. 15, which refers

to 'the inhabitant of Mareshah' (A.V.).

In 312 or earlier Marisa became the capital, or a capital, of the Shephelah, occupied at about that time by Edomites and as a region called 'Idumaea'; Marisa was taken by the Ptolemies in 274 and retained by them to 218, when there was a temporary break: they held it also from 218 to 198 after the Battle of Panium. Then it was given as a dowry to the wife of Ptolemy V,<sup>21.</sup> according to Peters and Thiersch, and remained Egyptian until Antiochus IV took it in 175 B.C. It was during this hundred-year period that the Ptolemies probably settled a Sidonian colony here and some tombs were constructed. There is no further evidence for occupation until the time of the Maccabees.

Tombs 1 and 2 were constructed under Egyptian influence. Tomb 1 belonged to the Sidonian colony, and was constructed some time between 274 and 198, when both Sidon and Marisa were under the Ptolemies. Apollophanes was for thirty-three years chief of this colony, as shown in the inscription from Tomb 1:

'Apollophanes, son of Sesmaios, thirty-three years chief of the Sidonians at Maris<sup>é</sup>, reputed the best and most kin-loving of all those of his time; he died having lived seventy-four years'.<sup>22.</sup>

One of the graffiti in Tomb 1, which we are assured is not a grave inscription, says <sup>23.</sup> Ὀρτας Μακεδῶν (Ortas the Macedonian): (Peters and Thiersch quote Theopomp. apud Athen., XII.531 as saying that a Hellenistic King of Sidon brought quantities of Greek maidens from the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese, and other parts of the Greek world, to be wet nurses and dancers at his court). Tomb 1 is said to date from about 200 B.C. just before the first inscription which reads 196 B.C.; i.e. it was built during the period of Egyptian domination. It is said that this synchronization helped to explain 'the numerous points of contact with Egyptian and with Alexandrian art', <sup>24.</sup> some of which is the somewhat distorted Doric and Ionic architecture of the entrance to Tomb 1, considered more fully in the Appendix. Peters and Thiersch imply that this influence of Alexandria would have existed whether or not political control was actual, because of the geographical closeness of Marisa to Alexandria.

This particular type of tomb, in which a shaft leads into a court off which various grave loculi opened, is said to be found all over the Hellenistic world: in Greece, Carthage, Cyrenaica, Egypt, and Syria, but ultimately to be probably Egyptian in origin.

The façade already referred to with its inward-leaning Doric columns and rudimentary entablature is an adaptation of the Greek temple façade and in later Judaistic practice becomes the popular tomb-façade for the burial of, for instance, Rabbis in the graves of Sanhedria at Jerusalem whose entablatures as here at Marisa also carry acroteria.

In pointing out the influence of Persia upon the Sidonian court even at this date, the fire blazing out in the incense bowls illustrated on the wall of this tomb is thought by Peters and Thiersch to be a 'pure fire offering after the Persian fashion'<sup>25</sup>. The custom of hanging wreaths over the graves or of representing the wreaths in paintings or reliefs on the graves is common in the Hellenistic period in Greece, Southern Italy, and Alexandria. The animal frieze, in that it shows a preference for Egyptian fauna, is said to be connected with Greek culture in the Ptolemaic Kingdom: there was a royal zoological garden behind the palace of Alexandria.

As most of the tombs belong to the Seleucid period, the symbolism thought to be implied in some of the later art displayed in these tombs will be examined later. It may well be that at a later stage in Israelite pre-Maccabean history the religious syncretism

thought to be displayed in these tombs was a threat to Judaism; but in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. I do not believe that this was true. The tombs are important for showing us the burial customs and funerary art of that period, and for the evidence they give as to the inhabitants of Marisa; but I do not think their religious significance for the Jews was at that time prominent.

Zenon's second recorded visit to Marisa to buy slaves from Zaidelos, whose correspondence with Zenon shows him to have been a blunt man, took place en route back to Alexandria in the spring of 258 B.C. In circumventing Customs officials on the Syrian coast and importing oil and slaves, all of which was technically illegal, Zenon and his agents 'do seem to have made too free use of this high position in the service of Apollonios'<sup>26</sup>.

Ptolemaic policy in Palestine appears to have been either politically laissez-faire or else conducted in two contradictory directions. The Egyptian peasant was servile: the Palestinian tribes were not, had a rich and ancient cultural tradition, and many, for instance the Phoenician cities, the colonists at Marisa, the Transjordanian tribes, and the Jewish people, sought independent development. The Ptolemies

could suppress this and other signs of autonomy and independence only at the expense of losing an ally. The Ptolemies were statesmanlike in adopting a policy of concession and assistance similar to that of the Seleucids in Asia. But reality overrode the merits of this policy. Tcherikover has aptly said: 'The conditions of Syria did not permit the (Ptolemaic) kings to base their power on enslavement, and the political reality of Egypt could not accord with a government based on liberty'<sup>27</sup>. This tension was heightened by the first four Syrian wars, presently to be discussed, which took place during this 3rd century. Inasmuch as Ptolemaic policy assisted aspirations to liberty and autonomy, so the Ptolemies prepared the soil for the national movements of the 2nd century, and caused the destruction of Hellenism in Palestine, although unwittingly.

The 'national aspirations' of the Jews were different by and large from those of other Hellenistic peoples in that their particular national life had been built around their religion, and the national movement which was to grow out of Judaism in the 2nd century was very largely a reaction against measures which were or threatened to be dangerous to its religion; accordingly

we shall look at Jewish religion now as it existed towards the close of the 3rd century and examine what were its Greek philosophical counterparts.

The Hellenistic universalism of Alexander demanded a religious pluralism which orthodox Jews could not accept. However far they might go towards cultural assimilation in the Greek world, the commandment which said 'Thou shalt have none other Gods before Me' made religious assimilation impossible. For the Gentile, 'freedom' and 'universalism' meant freedom to worship any god as one pleased; but for the Jew there was only one God to worship. Whatever the degree of syncretism sometimes postulated as existing in the Ptolemaic period in Palestine may have been, this was the largely-held conviction of Judaism. This refusal to take part in the worship of the various gods of the Greek pantheon meant that the Jews were accused of being 'Atheists'. The point of this was not that they were atheists in a modern sense of the term, nor that they objected to images in fact, but that they opposed the gods of the State and of the Gentile world. This fundamental religious difference engendered social tensions and meant that the 'fence' of the law had become an offence. As soon as the liberalism of the Hellenistic rulers

began to diminish with regard to the Jews' permitted observation of their own faith, then the social tensions came to the fore as the religious particularism asserted itself. The specifically anti-Jewish literature mentioned earlier was largely the product of this period. This was Alexandrian and expressed the Egyptian point of view. Since their settlement at Elephantine at the beginning of the 6th century, the Jews had represented in Egypt foreign overlords whose previous unhappy relations with Egypt were not forgotten; these Jews who came south under the Ptolemies were similarly alien. So it came about that with Egyptians, and also with the Greeks in Alexandria, Jews were unpopular, and a long tradition of anti-Semitism created a convention of anti-Jewish propaganda, containing amongst other things various improbable tales about the temple customs of the Jews.

The Jews in Egypt were subjected to a dual challenge in that their largest concentration was in the politeuma which they constituted in the Greek city of Alexandria. This had an imported Greek culture in the poetry of Alexandria as well as its science, and although neither was inconsiderable in extent or quality, neither was Egyptian. The discovery of local history and the rekindling of local patriotism account for the treatment

of stories, such as the overthrow of tyrants, by the Alexandrine poets. The ~~Alexandrine~~ <sup>Alexandrian</sup> poetry of Callimachus, its most brilliant exponent, for example, is said to be clever but superficial and to show a complete absence of humanity. E.A. Barber has said of this poetry: 'The plain fact is that the Alexandrian had little heart, and all the cleverness in the world could not compensate for this deficiency'<sup>28.</sup> Faced with this somewhat empty culture on the Greek side and open hostility on the Egyptian, the Alexandrian Jew eventually succumbed to the combined pressure and lost his recognizable religious and social identity with the Jews of Palestine.

Writing from an extremely orthodox Jewish viewpoint, Norman Bentwich, in pointing out that an allegorist is, at least in the Jewish-~~Alexandrine~~ <sup>Alexandrian</sup> context, an apologist seeking to bring out an agreement between his traditions and the culture of his environment, and that there must be a conscious cleavage between the two, and a conscious desire to bridge it, before allegory can flourish,<sup>29.</sup> says that allegorical interpretation was the distinctive literary product of Alexandrian Judaism. Refusing to call Philo in any sense the pinnacle of the Alexandrian-Judaic philosophical school, he says that Philo drew on an Alexandrian Midrash and worked it into

his system. Bentwich seems to regard the whole idea of a combination of Alexandrian-Greek and Jewish wisdom by any Jewish author as a betrayal of true Judaism, and in a sense it seems to me this may well be true; except that it is rather hard to tackle these writings in this way. One of the reasons for which Philo evokes his wrath is that the 'Christian heresy' used Philo and found him convenient for the intellectual battles of the 1st century A.D. He inveighs against the Alexandrian sages for syncretizing Greek philosophy with the Torah, and the authors of the Palestinian Apocalypse for syncretizing Hellenistic mysticism with Jewish prophecy.<sup>30.</sup>

The first signs of the impact of Greek thought on Jewish theology appear in the 3rd Century B.C., and are recorded in the Jewish book Pirke Aboth, which is said to date from the 3rd Century A.D. Antigonos of Socho, whose name is the first Greek name which we meet among the Palestinian Jews of the Hellenistic period, shows here the lofty beliefs of the 'Proto-Sadducean School' which opposed the prevailing belief in a blissful future life and also the belief that the soul continues to exist in a shadowy state.<sup>31.</sup> Albright here supposes that, because Daniel and the Book of Enoch, for example, show that a positive doctrine of an after-life was

current by 165 B.C., when we suppose Daniel to have been written, the doctrine had already been current for a long time in certain circles. In view of references in the Isaiah Apocalypse (Isa. 24-27), Zeccariah, and possibly Job, this may be true but need not be: a better *raison d'être*, coinciding with the much clearer indications in Daniel and Enoch, is that advanced by E.R. Bevan: that the doctrine arose as a result of, and as a hope in face of, Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution in 167.<sup>32.</sup>

Antigonos of Socho is said to have been influenced by the Stoic position that the foremost obligation of man was to do his duty regardless of what might happen.<sup>33.</sup> This philosophical position was common to all the schools except the Epicureans and the Cynics whose self-centredness tended to bypass social duty. All were designed to combat the play of Tyche or Fate or Classical, Greek-type gods with mankind, and the utility object was that of making men 'happy', viz. independent of Fate whether as a result of the 'full life' of the Epicurean, the narrowing of interests and the immediacy of action of the Cynics, or the Stoics' scheme of values in outside things which are supposed to be quite separate from his interest.

Reason (or God, or Nature) commend the Cynic to a course of action which will, for example, benefit him. But he is expected to be quite indifferent as to whether he succeeds or not.

As distinct from Antigonos' Stoic colouring, Ecclesiastes, similarly dated at about 250 B.C. has an Epicurean content. Efforts made to detect specifically Greek influence in this book have consistently failed. Albright believes that it reflects the general impression made by Greek dialectic methods and philosophical attitudes on a highly intelligent Jew who did not read Greek. It happens, whether directly caused or not, that Ecclesiastes agrees with Epicurean ideas in his belief that there is no future life, and that man should therefore work for his own highest good in the present by all reasonable means. It is plain that in the passages where the writer approaches Epicurus most closely, he is furthest from traditional Jewish ideas; for there is a static quality, an acceptance of conditions, and a cynicism about the end of it all, which is most uncharacteristic of earlier Judaism - in particular it is in stark contrast to the wrestling of Job and Jonah. But in order for Ecclesiastes to be seen as Greek fate-dominated philosophy by the men of

his day, these men would have had to be acquainted with the Greek writers and recognise the similarity. There appears to be no evidence that this was necessarily the case at this time, and we have no evidence that the book was branded as 'Hellenistic'. Considering the space Bentwich devotes to condemning Hellenistic influence in Judaism, especially Epicureanism (which he dismisses in these words: 'Epicureanism was one of those systems which, though they spring from lofty conceptions and profess a not ignoble aim, are so disposed towards human weaknesses that they are inevitably debased in practice, and become the buttress of a degenerate and degraded outlook'<sup>35.</sup>), it is more than surprising that if he, a Jew, were to recognise the same philosophy in Ecclesiastes, it has not been treated with the same scorn.

The Stoic system was able to be adapted to almost any religion, since the Stoics developed a method by which they could explain allegorically all the crudities of Greek and Oriental religion, treating these aspects as examples of profound religious insight into the laws of nature couched in sensuous dress. Such ideas included the Stoics' own conception of life as made possible by the eternal source of life, 'pure

fire' ~~emanating~~ <sup>emitting</sup> 'spermatikoi logoi' through which life came. It is not surprising that such a 'religion' in claiming to represent the essential part of all Oriental religions, which it may well to an extent have done, made terms with the prevailing polytheism of the time in the struggle to preserve its own pantheism. Its conception of the destiny dictated by eternal laws for all mankind was so close to the ideas of Babylonian astrology now coming into prominence that there was in some respects little difference between them. They both served to rescue the Hellenistic individual, made very small by the frightening expansion of his world, from his environment, and by postulating the essential harmony of the world of nature with the divine made him more able to come to terms with the spiritual uncertainties of his life.

Where the Stoics recognised the operation of an eternal divine law and life-giving power, the Epicureans' main contention was that life was under the sway of blind chance (tyche); this later became more limited. The moral superiority of Stoicism lay in the fact that whereas the Epicureans believed that man's obligation was to enjoy life to the fullest reasonable extent without excess, the Stoics considered doing

one's duty as the principal function of man. It does less than justice to Epicureanism in attempting to belittle it at the expense of Orthodox Judaism to dismiss it thus: 'To the Jew, the Epicurus, the follower of Hedonism was a type of what was low and godless, what was essentially and fundamentally anti-pathetic to Judaism'<sup>36</sup>. Both Epicureanism and Stoicism were, at least in origin, high and responsible attempts at solving a religious and social problem of great magnitude without a specifically-directed revelation such as Judaism may claim.

The essential differences between Pharisees and Sadducees are thought to be 'basically due to the different ways in which Jewish groups reacted to the Hellenic ways of thinking'<sup>37</sup>. The rise of these parties will be discussed presently. Greek religion was not completely without means for satisfying the more deeply religious people who were not satisfied with philosophy and who wished relief from sin and a promise of future immortality. The state-cults, which we will discuss in the section on Antiochus IV, and the worship of the Olympian Gods now long obsolete, took little account of the more basic religious needs of the people. At Eleusis the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone drew pilgrims from all parts of the

Greek world and offered to supply this deficiency. Cults which dealt with Orphic doctrines of a new life after death were practised in 'thiasoi' or religious associations. It does seem to be true, without invoking any comparisons with Judaism of whatever stream, that Greek religion in the Hellenistic age suffered from inherent defects which it never really shook off or evolved away from. Although it gave a display of ritual, it offered little else and even the mysteries and the Orphic cults were mostly concerned with ritual and except for the Orphics made no serious attempt to teach a rule of life; such a rule in practice turned out to be the province of philosophy itself - the concern only of a relatively small and intellectual section of the community. Cary makes an essential point in saying: 'while Greek religion and ethics met at points, they were pinned rather than welded together'.<sup>38.</sup>

Of the oriental deities which gained converts in the Hellenistic world perhaps the most successful was the Egyptian Isis. Though not possessing royal patronage to the same extent as Sarapis, the missionaries of Isis were very active. Nevertheless, it is held to be true that the Hellenistic Greeks showed no willingness.

to incorporate oriental deities as separate members of the Pantheon. It appears that rather than submit to such a spiritual conquest, both parties were ready to take part in a syncretism of Greek and Oriental cults; and this blending of the cognate deities of East and West became a common feature of Greek religion, expressible by compound names. The syncretism of Hermes Mithras, for example, was the natural result of a religious tendency which affected Orientals as well as Greeks and which resulted from the breakdown of localised worship, seen for example in the results of the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities in Palestine, and given greater impetus as a result of the Persian conquests of the 6th and 5th centuries.

It is said that the breakdown of religious barriers in the Hellenistic age not only led up to formal monotheism but 'helped to familiarize Greece and the Near East with the idea of a deity that is not only worshipped by all men but wishes all men well'<sup>39</sup>. Stoic philosophy both in its religious facet seen in the 'Hymn to Zeus' of Cleanthes and in its social ameliorating capacity was a good example of this type of thought. It might perhaps be said that the distrust with which Judaism viewed the religion of the Greek

world and the fear of syncretism which accompanied it were inevitable concomitants of the religious and ethical superiority of the Jewish nation at the time. It would also be true, I believe, to say that they express the intolerance of a nation secure in its own faith and proud of the fact that the faith happens to be adequate for the religious and moral demands of the people. This was never quite able to be said of any other faith in the Hellenistic world, and so at the same time Judaism was both insulated and excluded from the Greek world in which Alexander's conquests had placed it. At its best Hellenic religion was so mixed up with crude and primitive elements that it could not supply a guide as the Hebrew Law could. As far as Antiochus IV is concerned, it is noted that from a belief in Stoicism he was attracted to Epicureanism possibly as the result of a visit to the Syrian coast paid by the philosopher Philonides with this end in view. It was the object of all the philosophical schools to create in the feverishly-expanding Hellenistic world the figure of the wise man serenely calm. The ideal of this was impressive, but the philosophers had no cause to proselytize and the quietness of the Stoic is the quietness of death. This cause-

lessness was characteristic of the world in which they lived and despite all the cultural and economic activity and the virtue that still existed, with political liberty gone under autocratic rulers, it was a 'world without causes'<sup>41.</sup> The corporate sense of effort and achievement had gone and with it had gone much of the sense of national purpose which is in the end an essential buttress against national decadence. Probably much of the reason for this causelessness lies in the rapidity with which the Greek world had expanded in the 4th century, and the inability of the city state and its corporate philosophy of life to be successfully transplanted while retaining successfully not just the form and the organization of the polis but also its spirit, which in Greece had provided a cause: municipal enterprise and artistic creativity of many kinds.

The religion founded by Zoroaster in Persia, possibly about 600 B.C. or perhaps some decades later had 'essentially the marks of a cause, laying stress on the fight for the good in the world against evil with the assurance of an ultimate triumph for good'<sup>42.</sup> The later apocalyptic phase of Judaism in the second and first centuries probably shows signs of Persian as well as Greek influence and will be dealt with later.

The Ptolemaic period is generally thought to mark the compilation of the Book of Chronicles, dating perhaps from 300 to 250 B.C.<sup>43.</sup> Also during this period is dated some later prophecy, for example Isaiah 24-27 and Zeccariah 9-14. Peculiar to this late stage of prophecy is the large place taken in it by eschatological motifs such as the final world crisis and the deliverance, foreshadowing in its character the apocalyptic writings without their mechanism of visions, sometimes type-cast, and the fiction of ancient seers whose names were used as the titles for the apocalyptic books. Moore notes the division of Jewish society into two classes: the righteous, the pious, and the poor against the rich, the powerful, the wicked, and the ungodly. Moore believes that what is new in this late prophecy is not the condemnation of the wicked but the self-consciousness of the righteous.<sup>44.</sup> He considers the Book of Job to be a proof of the active intellectual life of this period especially in its discussion of the problem of theodicy. He calls it 'the most conspicuous achievement in Hebrew literature'.<sup>45.</sup> I believe this is largely true, because it blazed so many trails and asked so many questions which contemporary men all over the Hellenistic world were also asking: for instance:

'why are the righteous punished and why does the sinner go free?', and 'where is justice in the ordering of mankind and how is it to be obtained?' Its tentative groping for a life beyond death was revolutionary and, signs of this groping do appear even through textual vagueness, e.g. Ch. 19 v.25 f.

During the period of Ptolemaic rule, and for a time before and after it, Jerusalem was under the legal regulation of 'the men of the Great Synagogue'. This was a kind of council operating under the civil jurisdiction of the High Priest which made ordinances and regulations as it found necessary and promulgated them with authority. Ezra and these men were believed to have introduced these regulations by ordinances (takkanot) having the force of law, as their successors, the Soferim and the Rabbis, did. These regulations formed a body of legislation supplementary to the Pentateuch in later generations.

Perhaps the greatest literary work produced in the 3rd century from the point of view of the effect it was to have on later Judaism and Christianity was the Septuagint. The letter of Pseudo-Aristeas tells the story of Ptolemy II Philadelphus' inviting to Alexandria 72 Elders of Israel to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the reason given being to include in the

library of Alexandria, at the invitation of the King's Librarian (Aristeas paras. 9-11), the Jewish Scriptures. Besides this proposal of the Librarian, the introduction contains an account of correspondence between Ptolemy and the High Priest Eleazar. Entertainment follows and a seven-day banquet is occupied by the answering of 72 'hard questions' supposedly posed by Ptolemy. The Jewish religion is praised in these answers and elsewhere, and the work is revealed as a Jewish propaganda document dated between 120 and 80 B.C. The sketch of the Holy City and of Palestine is taken from Hecataeus of Abdera, to whom the writer once <sup>para.</sup> (~~ch.~~ 31) expressly refers. Tarn doubts whether 'the Questions of Ptolemy', which he claims to be a separate document, has anything to do with Jewish propaganda. <sup>47.</sup>

The document is a *περὶ βασιλείας* or Treatise on Kingship, common in the Hellenistic world of its day, and written by a Hellenized Jew. The questions asked are full of the customary 3rd century appropriate phraseology: beneficence, equity, good feeling towards all men, and above all the famous *φιλανθρωπία* or love of one's subjects, which is said to be the most necessary attribute of a king. The writer was building his book round an older document which had no propaganda

value but which was useful as being probably well-known among Hellenized Jews and as vouching for good relations between the Jews and the greatest of the Ptolemies; and he tried to make propaganda out of it by explaining that the Jew could beat the Greek philosopher at his own game.

It is generally accepted that the translation of the Septuagint did in fact take place at least in part about this time. Although estimates of the time it took for all the Old Testament canon to be translated cover the years from 250 B.C. to 100 A.D., there is substantial agreement that Josephus' account in Antiquities XII (paras. 11 to 118) is founded on a basis of fact. Large portions of the Septuagint were, according to Thackeray, translated perhaps by one individual - particularly is this true of the minor prophets. <sup>48.</sup> The need for such a translation as the Septuagint provided is likely to have been the requirement of the largely Greek-speaking Jewish community in Egypt for at least the Pentateuch in their native tongue. Hebrew at this time was becoming less the language of any kind of communication for the Jews and more the preserve of the scribes, who were concerned more intimately than the rest of the people with the Hebrew text.

Greek had displaced local languages as the lingua

franca of the Hellenistic world and this was particularly true of the 'home states' of the various monarchies, Syria, Egypt, Pergamum, and Greece, for example.

The translation of the Septuagint has been attacked by Bentwich as introducing a dangerous degree of Hellenistic influence into Jewish belief, and the various pitfalls which the translators are thought to have at least risked are traced out by Moses Hadas, who says: 'Even the most literal translations must impart new connotations'; and he goes on to say that Greek philosophical ideas attach to the Greek words and Hebrew religious ones to the Hebrew. For example, he says it is inevitable that  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$  should be rendered by  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$ , but  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$  carried with it a whole complex of ideas elaborated by the philosophers which  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$  did not. Such terms as providence, conscience, and virtue, had similarly been given quasi-technical meaning by the Greeks.<sup>50.</sup> Hadas does not think the translators realized they were pioneering a new realm of thought. He states that once it had been equated with  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$  itself was endowed with all the significations of  $\psi\chi\acute{\iota}$ .<sup>51.</sup> While not doubting that a philosophical implication and a religious one do lie behind this word, I doubt if Hadas is correct in assuming that all the philosophical connections would

have been made by the people who read the translation. While I can agree that this would be the case if the Greek speaking Jews were already versed in what the philosophical connotations and implications of ψυχή were, and if they had understood and accepted the Greek view of the soul, readers who by ignorance or conservatism did not make this connection would not, surely, recognise that it existed. And it seems a risky argument to throw, as it were, a philosophical aura round the Septuagint on the basis of this hypothesis. It is revealing in a wider context to note that Elias Bickermann has said: 'by translating liberally its literature, sacred and profane, new and old, into the world language, Judaism preserved its vitality'<sup>52.</sup>

In the Hellenistic world at large philosophy took the place of religion as the comforter and guide of humanity, and the various philosophies do seem to have been able to give mankind the power to stand up to life: but Martin Nilsson makes this vital point: 'It was a view of life, fit only for the educated, who thought seriously about existence, not for the great mass of humanity, which needed, not philosophical maxims but a firm concrete belief'<sup>53.</sup>

The Jews might have said to the pagans: 'we

claim liberty for ourselves in accordance with your principles and refuse it to you in accordance with our principles'<sup>54.</sup> Despite the answer which the Jewish faith in part offered to the Hellenistic quest for religion, its 'closed' character seems to have been an offence to those outside it, who, while perhaps envying its permanence and religious sense of direction, were put off by its stringency to which their culture was unaccustomed. 'In the polytheist world of Hellenism, where all beliefs were admitted as different refractions of the same eternal light, the Jewish claim to the oneness of the divine revelation must have appeared as a provocation'<sup>54.</sup>

The 3rd century was marked by a continuous struggle between the Ptolemies and Seleucids over Coele-Syria. During this century there were four major Syrian wars which, as actions, did not really touch Judaea, since they used the coast road from Gaza to Ptolemais, but whose final result was to deplete the power of both sides and make them liable to outside pressure. In essence the object at issue was the Phoenician coast. Whichever side held this coast would possess a plentiful supply of ship-timber from the Lebanon forests and would also have the best

shipbuilders and navigators in the Mediterranean. By the capture of Tyre and Sidon above all it would control the terminal points of the Asian trade routes from Arabia via Petra and from Babylonia via Damascus. A far sighted statesmanship, perhaps after the Battle of Ipsus, might have awarded all Syria to the Seleucids who had done the most for Hellenism in the Near and Middle East. But the personal arrangement reached after Ipsus on terms other than strict geographical commonsense divided the Ptolemaic and Seleucid portions of Coele-Syria at the River Eleutherus. M. Cary believes that the River Leontes would have been 'the most practical compromise'<sup>55.</sup>, giving Tyre to the Ptolemies and Sidon to the Seleucids. But in fact the boundary moved according to the fortunes of each war, and each new boundary was disputed by another war.

Mahaffy believed that the conflict with Syria was a protraction of the long historical struggle between the peoples of Tigris-Euphrates basin and those of the Nile basin, Palestine being on the road from one to the other. So it was not just a question, on this view, of a Ptolemaic v. Seleucid quarrel but of the enmity between Syria-Babylonia and Egypt, as had been the case at Carchemish in 605. 'In the days of

Hellenism, when each king desired to be regarded as a member of the civilization which lay around the Aegean, the Mesopotamian power moved its capital to Antioch, and so the great, old struggle is now called the struggle of Syria and Egypt<sup>56</sup>. Whatever the historical justification for this theory, on the basis of the precedents which Mahaffy <sup>d</sup>adduces, and however well it explains the apparently interminable nature of these wars, it seems quite possible that they were just the result of a long-standing Ptolemaic-Seleucid antagonism, and were directly caused by the material needs and territorial instability of the respective sides. The details of these wars need not concern us very fully as they are only rather loosely connected with the Hellenistic influence on Palestine.

Appian, Syria<sup>a</sup> XI. 65, preserves a record of the Seleucid royal line which will form an admirable summary of this period. '....after the death of Seleucus, the Kingdom of Syria passed in regular succession from father to son as follows: the first was the same Antiochus who fell in love with his stepmother, to whom was given the name of Soter (the Protector) for driving out the Gauls who had made an incursion into Asia from Europe. The second was another Antiochus,

born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos (the Divine) from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant Timarchus. This Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, Laodice and Berenice, the former a love match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Laodice assassinated him and afterwards Berenice and her child. Ptolemy, the son of Philadelphus (Ptolemy III - Euergetes I), avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt taking advantage of the confusion in the House of the Seleucidae<sup>57</sup>.

Ptolemy III is highlighted by Mahaffy as a great conqueror. His triumph is celebrated on the Canopus inscription and on a marble throne at Adule in the Southern Red Sea. Mahaffy found in Petrie, Papyrus II. xlix, fragments of the dispatch sent by this King announcing the surrender of Seleucia and Antioch without a struggle<sup>58</sup>. This particular campaign took place during the Third Syrian War which Egypt won, being ceded the Phoenician coast by Syria. Appian's passage above covers the period from 280 through the First Syrian War (in 276 to 272) which Egypt won, and the Second War in

259 to 255 which Syria won in alliance with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia; and the Parthian revolt which ends the extract is dated at 248-7, when Arsaces is thought to have established the Arsacid dynasty.

Information for these wars is notoriously scarce, Appian only being a secondary source; but he is said by Alexander MacDonald to be loyal and honest as a  
59.  
historian.

It is extremely probable that the Parthian revolt, coinciding practically with that of Bactria, whose Euthydemid dynasty was established by Diodotus in approximately 248, was indeed launched because of Seleucus II's difficulties with Ptolemy III in the West. Most of Eastern Iran had been lost to the Seleucids and an Andragoras, satrap of the province of Parthia, struck coins at about this time; it is possible that this is the same person as 'Arsaces'. The Seleucids' repeated attempts to reclaim these lost provinces only led to a weakening of their overall power, even under a good general such as Antiochus III.

The Third Syrian War was important in the weakening of the Seleucid Empire in Asia because of this relationship in time between the war and the break-away of the two Eastern provinces. It came about in this way:

in return for a renunciation of Seleucid claims in Coele-Syria Ptolemy II offered to Antiochus II the hand of his daughter Berenice II - a child of his first wife Arsinoe - along with a very large dowry, perhaps the restoration of all the captured Seleucid possessions in Asia Minor. But this marriage alliance in fact wrecked the peace settlement made after the Second Syrian war in 255 two years previously. Antiochus' first wife Laodice naturally objected to the proposed marriage and the wives now began to contest not only each other but the claim to the Syrian throne of their respective sons, Laodice's son Seleucus, and Berenice's infant son, whose name we do not know. In 246 the citizens of Antioch put Berenice's son to death and she herself died. Some such result seems inevitable as the settlement had been made in the first place with very little apparent comprehension of the human factors involved.

It does not seem as though the new King Ptolemy III was acting as the protector of Berenice's son's interests and it does seem as though he had decided to profit from the resulting confusion in the Seleucid Kingdom and its Eastern trouble to acquire some of it for himself. In the treaty of 241, after Seleucus had been defeated in Coele-Syria in 243 and his fleet lost at sea, peace was

made on the basis of the frontiers settled in 255: this meant that Ptolemy received all the Syrian coast as far as Seleucia-on-the-Orontes, where he continued to maintain a strong garrison - an excellent psychological weapon against the Seleucid capital.

The Coele-Syrian question was reopened in 221 as the result of a rebellion which Ptolemy III had fomented in Seleucid Asia Minor. Antiochus III, who had succeeded Seleucus III (Keraunos) in 223, seized the opportunity for a war; and made the first of four closely-placed invasions of Coele-Syria in 221. In this invasion he was baffled by the Ptolemaic General Theodorus, and meanwhile the Egyptian administration was overhauled and invigorated by the quasi-dictator Sosibius. Ptolemy IV Philopator, who came to the throne in 221, was then threatened by a conspiracy of Cleomenes of Sparta, who had a poor opinion of his Egyptian counterpart according to Polybius, Book V. 35,10. Sosibius implicated Cleomenes in the murder of Berenice and Magus and had him imprisoned. On his escape Cleomenes tried to lead a rising and was killed.

In 219 Antiochus opened his second Syrian campaign with an attack on Seleucia-on-the-Orontes. Despite

the humiliation and inconvenience of having this put in Egyptian hands as a result of the terms agreed after the Laodicean (Second Syrian) War, the Seleucids had for twenty years acquiesced in this matter. This city he took back by bribing the officers in the garrison. In 218, he marched from Apamea, where the main Seleucid military headquarters was sited, through Galilee to Philoteria and so via Scythopolis and the Jordan Valley to Philadelphia. <sup>60.</sup> Meanwhile Sosibius and his lieutenant Agathocles worked at training and equipping a new Egyptian field force. Agathocles and Sosibius negotiated with Antiochus; and Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, and Aetolia were also asked to take part in these negotiations.

In 217 the Seleucid army marched down the coast of Coele-Syria past the Greek towns on the seaboard, Apollonia, Joppa, Ashkelon, Anthedon, and Gaza, to Raphia which was the first city in Coele-Syria on the Egyptian side after Rhinocolura. The armies met just south of Raphia. Prior to the battle an attempt on Ptolemy's life failed. The result of the battle was decided by the charge of the Egyptian phalanx under the command of Ptolemy IV, whose conduct before and during the battle does much to redeem his indolent

reputation. The Egyptian victory was complete, Antiochus' losses being 10,000 foot, 300 horse and 4,000 prisoners; but Ptolemy did not force terms other than the restoration of Coele-Syrian territory proper to Egypt. The retaken towns of Palestine are said to have been glad to see Ptolemy 'for the peoples of Coele-Syria have always been more attached to that house than to the Seleucidae'.<sup>61.</sup> Andromachus was left as military governor of Syria. Cary says that the victory of Raphia "was both the beginning and the end of troubles for Ptolemy. Within his dominions it gave rise to a 'native problem', consequent upon the share which native Egyptians had taken in the battle" (particularly in the Phalanx); "but it restored Coele-Syria to him".<sup>62.</sup>

Agathocles and Sosibius proclaimed Ptolemy V King in 203, and are said to have read a forged will in which Ptolemy IV is represented as having appointed them regents for his son. At this point Ptolemy son of Agesarchus was appointed ambassador to Rome, an envoy was sent to ask the help of Philip V of Macedon against any possible offensive action on Antiochus' part, and Scopas was sent to Greece to hire mercenaries. The years up to the close of the century were also

Agathoclea  
years of palace strife at Alexandria. Agathocles, and  
her sisters were killed by the mob and Sosibius  
remained as Regent: Polybius says that Agathocles had  
63.  
neither courage nor ability.

Josephus' Antiquities XII are a secondary source  
for our knowledge of events up to the Battle of Panium  
in 198 in which Antiochus defeated the Ptolemaic  
General Scopas. Josephus quotes Polybius as saying in  
Book XVI (not otherwise preserved) that when Scopas  
was conquered by Antiochus, that King occupied  
'Batanaia, Samaria, Abila and Gadara, and after a short  
time there also came over to him those Jews who live  
near the Temple of Jerusalem, as it is called, concern-  
ing which we have more to say, especially concerning  
the renown of the temple, but we shall defer the  
64.  
account to a later occasion'.

After Antiochus' victory at Panium in this Fifth  
Syrian War, Ptolemy V made a peace with him by which  
he ceded Coele-Syria; and as a pledge of future good  
relations with the Seleucids he undertook to marry  
Antiochus' daughter, Cleopatra (in 195 B.C.). This  
treaty was unsuccessful in closing the quarrel for  
ownership of Coele-Syria, and was eventually to play  
a large part in causing Antiochus IV's Hellenization

policy in Judaea; but for the present it granted all Coele-Syria to the Seleucids. In the event they retained it until the rise of the Jewish Kingdom.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

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### CHAPTER III: THE SELEUCID DOMINANCE AND THE EMERGENCE OF ROME IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

198 to 175 B.C.

The period comprising the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd Century B.C. is said to have been not an unfavourable one for the Hellenistic world. Egypt had suffered at the hands of Syria, and Greece at those of Rome; but Syria, Pergamum, Delos, and Rhodes had been successful. Production was abundant and trade active and relatively safe, owing in part to the policing activities of Rhodes in the Mediterranean. These general conditions are reflected in contemporary coinage and prices. None of the leading States, except Egypt, acquired any kind of inflation; and prices, except in Egypt, remained fairly steady, tending to rise steadily, possibly in view of an increased demand for commodities.

Rome was aware of these developments. In the economic prosperity of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the restoration of economic unity, combined with national self-consciousness, she saw the possibility of a political renaissance of the Hellenistic world under one of its stronger states, and renaissance might mean a war of revenge<sup>1</sup>. It was this threat from Rome to the Seleucid Empire which constituted, I believe, a major

factor in Antiochus Epiphanes' later actions. Much attention will consequently be paid to Rome's actions in respect of the Eastern Mediterranean from this point.

Parthia was also at this time beginning to exercise a considerable influence upon Seleucid Asia. Euthydemus of Bactria died in about 200 B.C.; and beginning with Demetrius I and Antimachus, the successors of Euthydemus, Greek-Bactrian power stretched south of the Hindu-Kush. The Parthians began their expansion with the annexation of Hyrcania but the rise of Parthia may have been regarded by the Seleucids as a revolt similar to those of Andragoras and Diodotus in 247 B.C., mentioned earlier. The Seleucids seem to have had many revolts in their eastern provinces. Antiochus III led an expedition against the Parthians, after suppressing the revolt of Molon and his brother Alexander in Asia Minor, in 209 B.C., and after securing the allegiance of Artabazanes, the ruler of Media Atropatene (Azerbaijan) and regulating affairs in Armenia. In the end he seems to have signed a peace-treaty with the Parthians by which they recognised Seleucid supremacy; he dealt similarly with Euthydemus. R.N. Frye comments on this

settlement: "It may well be that both the Parthian and the Bactrian States maintained their allegiance to Antiochus, at least until his defeat by the Romans at Magnesia in 189 B.C."<sup>2</sup> This threat to the Seleucid rule, which the later Seleucid rulers had always to hold at bay, constituted an Eastern pressure on their frontiers coinciding with Rome's pressure on their Mediterranean flank; and both should be viewed as parts of a general, if coincidental, encircling movement, the other parts of which will be discussed as they arise. The combined influence of these several pressures, from the point of view of the psychological results they must have produced, should, I believe, be looked upon as an entity, and they will accordingly be so treated in this work.

At the time that the Seleucids finally took Coele-Syria, nowhere except in Egypt was Greek influence more powerful than on the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard. There were many Greek cities here: Ashkelon, Azotus, Jaffa, Dor and Ptolemais, for instance; and further east Greek influence was consolidated by the confederation of cities in the Decapolis which included Damascus. Later on the whole district east of the Jordan seems to have been Hellenized, in Trachonitis, Batanea and

Auranitis. Even Jerusalem was affected. G.H. Box makes the point: "For the maintenance of a holy city it was ... essential that a certain amount of the surrounding country should lie within its influence",<sup>3.</sup> and this surrounding group of cities just outside the boundary of Judaea was perceptibly altering its way of life. Within these towns were Greek municipal law and coinage.

Erwin Goodenough adduces the example of a coin in the British Museum as evidence of syncretism at this time. It has a male figure with a Corinthian helmet on the obverse, and on the reverse 'a bearded god clothed in a long chiton, with a bird (probably a falcon or eagle) perched on his hand'. He is sitting 'on a chariot represented only by a winged wheel. At his feet is a Dionysiac mask of Silenus'.<sup>4.</sup> Sukenik believes this coin has 'Yehud' on it. Other coins have on them 'Yahu'. Goodenough says that if these coins were put out by Jews after the reestablishment of the State, and the 'Yehud' refers to a Jewish State, then the inferences of syncretism are still inevitably of tremendous significance. For the figure on the chariot can only be that of a deity and if the Jews struck the coin, it must for all its Greek form have

represented their own deity, Yahweh, though the name is that of the country (Yehud). This he says would imply 'a measure of syncretism with Greek religion among the high-priestly rulers (who normally minted the coins) far indeed from the spirit of the writings which that group were then collating and publishing'<sup>4</sup>. But he admits that there is as yet no evidence as to who really minted the coin: there does not appear therefore to be a direct accusation of syncretism implied in this coin in respect of the heads of the Jewish State.

After the defeat of Panium, the Ptolemaic party controlled Jerusalem for as long as the Ptolemaic generals held power in Judaea; but Antiochus' statement that he was received with acclamation at Jerusalem (Ant.XII,138), though possibly true, may not reflect true sympathies, just expediency. Tcherikover holds that there is no hint of a separate Hellenizing party among the Jews of 200 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The violently anti-Seleucid nature of the Book of Daniel may mean that Dan. 11,14, which appears to speak about a revolt at the time of the Seleucid capture of Jerusalem, subsequent to the Battle of Panium, refers to a Ptolemaic temporary ascendancy. But it does seem that the rising was definitely against the Ptolemies, was successful and

was between 201 and 198 in occurrence.

It seems that the *ἱεραρχία* of Jerusalem was genuinely pro-Seleucid, perhaps because of the pro-Seleucid sympathies of Simon the Just of whom Ben-Sira the Jewish Sage is a supporter, about 200 B.C. It seems that in Simon's time Jerusalem was in ruins and he rebuilt it, thus carrying out what Antiochus the Great promised the Jews in his 'manifesto' after Panium, quoted in Josephus, Ant. XII, 145-146. The High-Priest was chairman of the *ἱεραρχία* and the pro-Seleucid party was composed of the upper stratum of the priestly class. Tcherikover is insistent that Simon the Just never headed a Hellenizing party but that Hyrcanus the son of Tobiah, to be discussed later, did, and that this constituted the breach in the Jewish community from 201 to 198. Most of the people followed the aristocracy and so the Seleucid cause prevailed. Whatever happened internally in Jerusalem, Antiochus could have taken it by storm had he so wished. The events of 201 to 198 are more valuable as evidence of support for the Seleucids than as a reason for the fall of Jerusalem per se.

Antiquities XII, <sup>138-44 quotes</sup> ~~138 mentions~~ a letter from Antiochus to a 'Ptolemy', Governor of Coele-Syria,

granting Jerusalem many advantages. This has been  
 6.  
 declared spurious by some scholars, but its declara-  
 tion that the Jews <sup>may</sup> ~~might~~ dwell 'according to their  
 7.  
 ancestral laws' is both feasible and has the pre-  
 cedent of both Ptolemy I and Alexander. 'Ancestral  
 laws' may indicate more than the laws of Moses and  
 may include religious, social and political elements.  
 The *βίαισπορί* synagogues were established by reference  
 to these laws but have no Biblical authority. The  
 real point about Antiochus' letter is that it con-  
 firmed the political situation he found in Judaea.  
 'Ancestral' need mean no more than traditions of  
 their ancestors (Gr. *τῶν πατρῴων νόμων* <sup>7.</sup>) and the  
 Jews could decide what *νόμων* implied. The King gave  
 his prior consent to any law promulgated in Judaea by  
 the legitimate authorities; but, this being so,  
 'Jewish autonomy was protected by the military and  
 8.  
 administrative apparatus of the Seleucid state'.

In Antiquities XII, 145f. two orders are con-  
 cerned with cultic regulations approved by Antiochus  
 regarding Temple observances and 'unclean' animals:  
 these orders were in the form of a proclamation, and  
 were addressed to aliens who were not bound by the  
 orders of the High Priest and were not subject to the

duties of the Torah. The fine for contravening these directions was to be paid to the priests. In this instance the priest was exercising a priestly function but in a theocratic state the priest might interfere in governmental matters.

The Gerousia was the supreme legislative assembly in Jerusalem: it and the priests had tax privileges and it assisted the High Priest in a permanent capacity. The Seleucid government saw in the High Priest the supreme ruler of Judaea and Jerusalem, as the Ptolemies had also. The autonomy granted to Judaea was in the spirit of Seleucid tradition: the government officials could interfere in the affairs of the State if they needed to, but their visits were few and brief. To this extent and in this connection the Seleucid regime was less stringent than the Ptolemaic one had been. The documents cited in Josephus, which we have shown by precedent to be feasible, make it plain that Antiochus III had no intention of changing the traditional life of Judaea by imposing Greek tendencies. II Macc, 3, 2 refers to presents granted to the Temple by Antiochus III and the Ptolemies possibly; and also at this time John, mentioned in II Macc. 4, 11, the father of Eupolemus, obtained certain privileges in connection

possibly with the Jewish religious tradition which were later abolished under Antiochus IV.

The rise of Hellenism in Jerusalem at this time is said to have no connection with Seleucid rule per se, which appears anxious, even in the eyes of a Jew like Josephus, that the Jews' way of life should continue unaltered and unimpeded. Neither was there repression under Seleucus IV whom, despite the raid of Heliodorus upon the Temple during Seleucus' reign, II Macc. 3, 3 praises as generous. Tcherikover says the storm that broke over the nation's head was a 'consequence of the natural development of the Jews - part of whom inclined to Hellenism as a spontaneous aspiration'<sup>9.</sup> This became a national catastrophe because at the time of this political and cultural crisis in Palestine, 'a grave political crisis was taking place in the Seleucid Empire which created a new approach to the problems of the land of Judaea and its population'<sup>9a</sup>. The tragedy of the Maccabean revolt and of the persecution against which it was an active reply seems to be that so many political, cultural and religious pressures coincided at the same point of time. In the end, I believe it was the political factors external to Palestine which were the immediate cause of the Persecution decrees of

167, as I hope presently to show. Accordingly, we will now deal in more detail with these political pressures; first of those in importance and immediacy was Rome, and it will therefore be discussed first. But all my evidence tends to suggest that it was the combination of outside threats: from Parthia, Armenia, Elam, Egypt and Rome, encircling the Seleucid core of Syria and Palestine, which finally forced the Seleucids and the Jews into lines of action which would not necessarily have been so violently precipitated either by fewer outside influences or by internal forces alone.

One of the most significant antecedents to the enmity which was to develop between Antiochus and the Romans is seen in the various factors which caused Rome to go to war with Macedon in 200. Philip V and Antiochus *were reported to have* united in the first place against the regents of Ptolemy V Epiphanes of Egypt in 203; but the very existence of this alliance meant that Rhodes and Pergamum, who sent envoys to Rome in 201, were able to make out that the twin threat of Philip and Antiochus was a threat as much to Rome as to anyone. The envoys also exaggerated the conquests and power of Antiochus and made him look like an oriental despot in the tradition of Cyrus. Rome thought she had to prevent

the two kings from using Greece as a common base against Italy, and would assume the role of 'liberator' in Greece in order to perform the closure of Greece to Philip and Antiochus. The Senate's purpose was to checkmate the dangerous purposes attributed to Philip and Antiochus, and with this aim to make Greece an outpost for the defence of Rome from the East. Tenney

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Frank stresses Roman Phil-Hellenism as a reason for her going to war against Philip. This seems a quite extraordinary view and it has been refuted on the grounds that the Romans were favouring a 'Phil-Hellenic' policy - as 'liberators' - for the same reason that Hannibal followed a Phil-Italian policy - 'because it suited their purpose, not through love of Greece'.<sup>11.</sup>

Though Antiochus did not cross the boundaries he had guaranteed to Attalus of Pergamum in 215-14, his conquests on the west coast of Asia Minor in 196-5, in particular its southern half and the Gallipoli peninsula on the European side of the Hellespont, tended to hem in Pergamum. They also appeared to Eumenes II to encroach upon his rival claims there. Antiochus ought to have realized that Pergamum would appeal to Rome, which she did in 196. His actions in this sector were careless and ill-considered.

Smyrna and Lampsacus refused to submit <sup>to</sup> Antiochus and appealed to the Senate, who referred them to Flamininus, Rome's consul in Greece. Flamininus told Antiochus to leave all the Greek towns he had taken from Ptolemy and not to set foot in Europe. But Antiochus had a better reason for wanting these cities than Rome had for refusing to let him have them. He was now allied (195) to Ptolemy V by marriage in any case, and a settlement as to overseas possessions was impending. Flamininus was checkmated and Antiochus occupied Gallipoli. In 194, in renewed negotiations with a less obdurate Flamininus, Rome agreed to give Antiochus a free hand in Asia, provided he evacuated Thrace and recognized Rome's right to dispose of Europe. Muddle-headed envoys from Antiochus and Eumenes widened the breach, and, when in the winter of 193 Antiochus accepted the invitation of the Aetolian League to liberate Greece, Rome declared war. Antiochus neither expected nor wanted a war with Rome, but she had led him to overplay his hand. Had Antiochus' envoys agreed to Flamininus' proposals they would have given away, in evacuating European Greece, nothing worth preserving, because Antiochus' claims to Thrace were unsure and the European adjunct to his territory which

this represented made his empire still more vulnerable. The refusal to back down and his subsequent invasion of Greece was a fatal blunder in that it disturbed the political state of European Greece. This was bound to convince the Senate that this action constituted a genuine 'casus belli'. Antiochus' main army was routed by ~~M. Attilius~~ <sup>Manius Acilius</sup> Glabrio at Thermopylae in 191 and he escaped to Ephesus with 500 men. Antiochus' fleet was defeated at Cape Corcyra and finally shattered at Myonessus. His army was equally decisively defeated by Scipio at Magnesia in 190/189; and by the Treaty of Apamea in 188 Antiochus was compelled, amongst other things, to renounce all his possessions in Asia west of the Taurus and the River Halys, to pay an indemnity of 15,000 Euboic talents - the highest in ancient history - to surrender all his elephants and to restrict his ships to the East side of Cape Sarpedon on the coast of Cilicia.

Soon after this treaty the Romans withdrew their troops from Asia without annexing any of its territory, but all the Hellenistic states realized that all they did was now subject to Rome's approval. Rome had reduced Syria to a second-rate power and this meant a serious decay in Hellenism. Vassal rulers for instance in Upper

and Lower Armenia began to assert their independence, and Greek culture generally slipped into a quite rapid decline. Egypt was left with only Cyprus and Cyrene as overseas possessions. The removal of Rome's troops in no way implied a disengagement from Asian affairs. In retrospect it seems very much as if hers was a policy of 'recouler pour plus<sup>haut</sup>/sauter'.

Rome was also interested in Egypt. At the conference of Naupactus in 217, to which Ptolemy IV sent envoys, the Aetolian Agelaus put before the representatives of the Macedonians and Greeks 'that the domination of the world was being decided in Italy'<sup>12.</sup>

Roman embassies came to Alexandria between 215 and 210 to buy corn while Rome was in great need because of the ravages of the second Punic war, then going badly for the Romans: Trasimene and Raphia were both fought in 217. Bevan says that Ptolemy probably 'did not think it inconsistent with his neutrality to supply the Romans with corn'<sup>13.</sup>

In 201 Roman ambassadors again came to Egypt, nominally to announce the recent victory over Carthage (Zama was in 202) to a friendly Egypt, but probably in fact to get information about the disposition of Egypt and Syria in view of Rome's forthcoming war with

Philip V - the second Macedonian war. Rome was probably anxious not to make an enemy of either Ptolemy or Antiochus in view of the other encounter.

Bevan believes that by the time the conversations between Antiochus and the Roman Ambassadors took place at Lysimachia in 196 peace had already been formally made between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, and the marriage between Antiochus' daughter and Ptolemy V agreed to on both sides; and that the Egyptians would desire this so much, owing to their weak administration at that time, that they would acquiesce even to the annexation of Ptolemaic overseas possessions by Antiochus.<sup>14.</sup> In the agreement between Antiochus III and Ptolemy which was sealed by the marriage much will have depended upon what dowry Cleopatra was to bring to Egypt. Bevan says ~~an~~ apropos this: "It is impossible for us today to know what was stipulated on this point... we may say with fair certainty that Coele-Syria came into the negotiations somehow, because we have the authority of Polybius for the fact that the Alexandrine court in the next generation maintained that Antiochus agreed to retrocede Coele-Syria as part of the dowry"<sup>15.</sup> The Polybius passage, referring to Antiochus IV says: "Further, he (Ant. IV) rested his case on the occupation

of the country by his father Antiochus (Ant. III) after a war; and finally denied the existence of the agreement stated by those in Alexandria to have been made between his late father (Ant. III) and the Ptolemy recently deceased (Ptol. V), by which the latter should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present King<sup>16</sup>". Concerning this agreement Appian says: "To Ptolemy in Egypt, he, (Ant. III) sent his daughter Cleopatra, surnamed Syra, giving with her Coele-Syria as a dowry, which he had taken away from Ptolemy himself, thus flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans<sup>17</sup>". He also tried to marry off Antiochus to Ariarathes and his other daughter to Eumenes; Eumenes refused this.

Hardly had the Romans detached Asia Minor, by the Treaty of Apamea, than the Kings and Governors of Northern and Eastern Asia Minor began to ~~ste~~<sup>ei</sup> other territories. Nevertheless the Seleucid State recovered from its losses and for some time remained powerful in the Near East. In the remaining provinces of Babylonia, Syria, Media and Cilicia, the colonizing activity of the Seleucids had been so good that a revolt against Greek rule was now most unlikely, and the Seleucid State was

therefore potentially a considerable power in 185 B.C. But the Roman policy towards the Seleucids is extremely hard to defend, despite the efforts of Tenney Frank and others. In spite of the loyalty of the Graeco-Macedonian population and most natives to the Seleucid Dynasty, and the capacity of several of the Kings, the disintegration of the Syrian Empire, and with it the weakening of Hellenism in the region, went steadily on. The paralyzing effect of Rome's passive resistance and suspicion was more fatal to Greek culture in the East than the Senate could possibly have known. The sinister figure of Rome was always, as Edwyn Bevan says, ready to support the elements of disruption within the Seleucid realm, as happened in the time of the Maccabees, while, outside Seleucid territory, her baneful influence cramped trade and commerce and had, I believe, a profound psychological effect on Seleucid internal policy.

The political system which Antiochus III established in the Middle East never received a proper trial. The result of the Battle of Magnesia was to undo all that he had achieved in his Eastern Anabasis of 207-6. Such was the blow which the battle dealt to Seleucid prestige that in Armenia, Parthia and Bactria rulers ceased to send tribute or to acknowledge even the

nominal sovereignty of the Seleucids. This was the beginning of the end of the Seleucid Empire and I do not think it would ever again have been possible for it to feel at ease about its Eastern provinces.

Before dealing with the political events that led up to the accession of Antiochus IV, it will be convenient now to look at the religious position at Jerusalem at this time. Greek culture practically effaced all the old literature of Syria and Phoenicia except the Jewish, but the Jewish contribution to literature in the Hellenistic period shows considerable range and vitality. A good example of this literature is to be found in the Book of 'Ecclesiasticus' or 'The wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach'. There is no sure touch of Greek thought in this book which thinks along the traditional lines of the wisdom literature of nations other than Palestine: its observations belong to the stock of moralizing advice common to many Eastern nations. About 132 the grandson of Jeshua Ben Sira translated a collection, in Hebrew, of Ben Sira's wisdom teaching into Greek. Fragments of the original Hebrew text, dating from about the time of Christ, were found in 1952 in the Dead Sea Caves at Qumran. The book itself constitutes the last great work of the

Hebrew wisdom literature, which had its main period of writing in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods; other books of this genre are Proverbs and Job. In Ecclesiasticus, we find that "To fear the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom" (Ch.1,v14 and 16). In its conception of Divine justice, the prosperity of the wicked is transient and the good are finally rewarded. For the individual the end of life is all that matters: the name a man leaves behind him for good or ill is all-important. Consequently a great value is set on a man's reputation. The name of the pious shall not be cut off: "The days of a good life are numbered, but a good name endures for ever" (Ch. 41, v. 13). On the face of it the book is full of propriety and pedestrian worldly wisdom: but there is high praise of the beauty of nature in Chapter 43.

Ben Sira has a high estimate of the value of family life; he stresses the value of a good wife and the sin of a bad one (Ch. 25 v. 19). In Chapter 42 he advocates castigation of children and 'a wicked servant' (v. 5), and reminds us of his near contemporary, Cato the Elder, at Rome, in many ways. Ben Sira takes enjoyment and pleasures heartily but warns against an excess of food and drink. He is ready to

show sedulous kindness outside his house, for instance to the poor, and almsgiving almost equals righteousness: later it came to be a prominent part of this; apart from the duty of giving alms it is enlightened self-interest.

The book contains glimpses of many other Hebrew types: tradesmen (Ch. 26 v. 29) and seafarers (43 v. 24-25); in Chapter 38 v. 24-30 the scribe is compared to various types of labourers such as craftsmen, metal-workers and potters. Agriculture is held in honour (Ch. 7 v. 15); so is the physician, and, as Greek medical science was prevalent at the time, Chapter 38 verses 1 to 8 may in part reflect Greek medical practice.

Ben Sira seems to oppose the free spirit of Hellenism but is cramped in Judaea. Tcherikover believes he fought against the spirit of Greek civilization all his life for he understood the danger facing Judaism from Hellenism.<sup>18.</sup> Greek wisdom, and in particular its empirical approach, he warns against. His 'wisdom' is not the wisdom of human reason: it is divine; wisdom dwells among the people of Israel and her sole expression is the Law of Moses. He castigates those who have laid aside Judaism.

To him the priestly government is also sacred. Aaron is, according to him, the ideal symbol of the High Priest. There are echoes of the attitude, 'Laugh and the world laughs with you: weep and you weep alone'. There is no sense of 'class-struggle' here because the poor are so far down by custom that there is no incentive: but there is hatred here (ch. 13, v. 15-20). Ben Sira sees no remedy for this everlasting hostility; it is the will of God, by implication (ch. 11 v. 14). He denounces the popular revolts and conspiracies in the city: the only way the poor can escape is to learn 'wisdom'. Tcherikover thinks it may be deduced from his writings that Ben Sira climbed from poverty via the Torah and study.<sup>19.</sup>

Ben Sira demands complete humility towards authority: but he normally sees only the negative side of people in authority. This seems to imply a lack of moral and ethical standards in the ruling class at Jerusalem (ch. 8 v. 14). This period does not seem in fact to have been very bad in this respect: but the limited and closed nature of the community rendered all differences sharper and all potential conflicts more likely.

Sometimes Ben Sira addresses the wealthy in

particular; his passages on merchants and trade reflect the development of the monetary economy. In these passages the broadening of private horizons is stressed. Ben Sira does not modify his moral views in respect of wealthy men: wealth is good - if rare - if it is achieved without wrongdoing.

There appears to have been a threefold antagonism in the contemporary Jewish community:-

1. A social antagonism between the rich and the poor.
2. A religious antagonism between the unbelievers and the pious.
3. A moral antagonism between the sinners and the righteous.

The division also splits longitudinally, and in the Maccabean period 'the poor', 'the pious' and 'the righteous' tended to be regarded as concomitant terms.

There is also the contrast between the free-thinking Hellenizers and the traditional Zealots. But this was not, at 200-180 B.C., organized yet into parties and plans of action. The moneyed men saw the attractions of Hellenism: but the politicians had not yet emerged. The masses of the poor and the humble were traditional in outlook and this seems a likely reason for Ben Sira's approval of them as a class: 'but the leaders had not yet appeared to give to religious observance the

20.  
character of a national programme'. In this book there appears the transition in attitude as a prelude to the conflict, and the sharpening of the hostility between the two sections which accompanied it.

It appears that the inclination of one class to adopt the Hellenistic civilization was not far short of its climax in Ben Sira's day, and it was presently to find its most powerful expression under Antiochus IV in precisely the type of young intellectuals whom Ben Sira taught. There was little in Syria then to show the finer influence of Greek culture and we have today little concrete evidence in either art or architecture. What little there is will be detailed in the Appendix. "The picture which Poseidonius (fl. 135-51 B.C.), himself a native of Apamea, paints of the Syrian cities of his day was probably no less true at an earlier time"<sup>21.</sup> In all these cities the political forms of the Greek city state were maintained: the social organization of the citizens also probably followed the Greek type. At Antioch, for example, the people were divided into ten tribes, probably as at Athens, for voting (in demes): Gymnasia and *ἑφῆβοι* were also prominent. We do not know to what extent the old Hellenic spirit survived in these features, if at all. Livy XXXVIII<sup>17, 10-11.</sup> quotes Manlius

(189 B.C.) as saying there had been a rapid degeneration in the civilization of Syria, like other Hellenized nations at this time. Polybius also gives an unfavourable impression of these Greeks.<sup>22.</sup>

There are scant traces of literary activity, Poseidonius' being an exception. Bevan says: "Some degree of culture must be supposed in the early environment of men who left their native place to seek learning or literary fame",<sup>23.</sup> referring to the early life of Poseidonius; but he is demonstrably confining this comment almost to one man. Antioch did produce the Stoic, Apollophanes, and also a writer on dreams, Phoebus; and Bevan quotes Cicero (Pro. Arch. 3) as crediting Antioch with possessing 'men of the highest education'.<sup>24.</sup> It appears that although this cultural interest existed, it was skin deep and covered with a veneer of ostentation. It is an open question as to whether the Greeks adopted Syrian modes of thought. Certainly certain cults, notably that of Atargitis at Bambyce-Hierapolis, continued to flourish in Syria under Greek rule. The countryside of Syria retained its old speech. The city population was largely Aramaean and, even as an official language, Aramaic did not die out. Aramaic literature continued to be

cultivated at Edessa to a small extent. But even when the native language was used, the thought was largely Greek. Native literature was driven into the background by the Greek as being barbarian, and, as we have said, only the Jewish literature continued to be prominent in the life of the nation.

Norman Bentwich seems near the mark when he sums up the state of Hellenism, as it appeared to the Jew at the beginning of the 2nd century, in these words: "In estimating the attitude of the Jewish people towards Greek culture, we have then to remember that the civilization they encountered was a second-rate and second-hand Hellenism, which had indeed a treasure of artistic and intellectual achievement to attract and inspire, but lacked altogether the eager spirit that had created that treasure and at the same time was mingled with all manner of foreign cults and cultures - Chaldean astrology, Phrygian mysticism, and Egyptian theophanies in such a way that its own inherent weaknesses were emphasized and exaggerated and its nobler aspects were hopelessly obscured".<sup>25.</sup>

After Magnesia in 190-189 there were fourteen years of peace in which the Seleucid Empire to an extent recovered its losses. When new trouble begins it is the

beginning of the Seleucid decline. Bevan talks of the negative quality of these years and thinks it remarkable that Palestine was retained during this unfavourable period. Magnesia had destroyed the prestige of the Seleucid House for ever. Antiochus is said to have met his death at the hands of tribesmen in Luristan.

The most serious effect on the Seleucids of the defeat of Magnesia was the empty coffers which resulted. Seleucus IV Philopator, who succeeded Antiochus in 187 B.C., was not a weak ruler: he just had to be careful. At no previous moment could anyone who stood out as an antagonist of Rome have counted on such general sympathy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Macedonia particularly under Perseus was preparing to fight. Eumenes of Pergamum, though allied to Rome, saw that Rome must be kept out of Asia. Greek feeling was turning against Rome and Eumenes had to go with its current. 'There could be no question', according to Bevan, 'that the sympathies of the House of Seleucus were with the antagonists of Rome'.<sup>27.</sup> The hopes of all those who wished to withstand Rome were on Macedonia in general and Perseus in particular, who was armed to the teeth. Seleucus' daughter Laodice married Perseus in 177.

From the Egyptian side Seleucus was for a while menaced by his brother-in-law Ptolemy V, who was laying claim to Coele-Syria again, taking advantage of the condition of Seleucid rule after Magnesia and calling into evidence for the legitimacy of this claim the 'dowry' promised to his wife Cleopatra twelve years previously. But the unforeseen death of Ptolemy V, possibly poisoned by his generals, reduced the danger of a new Syrian War, 182-1 B.C.

As it was during the reign of Seleucus IV that the feud between the two main ruling parties in Jerusalem, the Oniads and the Tobiads, grew to serious proportions, a short examination of their history will now be made. Most of what we know about the Tobiad clan comes from Josephus' Antiquities XII; and although it is doubtless embellished by legend, there is reason to accept a substantial historical core. We have outlined its connection with Zenon (pages ~~42~~<sup>43</sup> ff.).

Jerusalem at the time, circa 180 B.C., had 120,000 people and its area was approximately 51 acres. The development of the Jewish people during this period is largely due to the fact that they were too numerous for the narrow confines of the country. Politically and socially the priestly caste was the wealthiest, but

there were poorer priests as well, and in Roman times there was class-hatred between these groups. The rich and highly-connected controlled the Temple, and so its treasury, and the rest had little power. The High-Priestly family at the time was the House of Onias.

The H'orim and S'ganim, or nobles and rulers were the heads of wealthy kinship groups whose history and origin from Nehemiah's time is obscure. All Jewish merchant groups in Hellenistic times were the result of the Jewish people's development during the Hellenistic epoch itself; but the traditional Jerusalem theocracy, operative since the Exile, gradually transformed the priests into an exclusive class sometimes opposing the people. The scribes were a class more akin to the populace and hence came the Oral Law, the continuation, interpretation and supplementation of the Written Law. The scribes gave the Law a much more profound interpretation than the priests were content with, and made a number of new laws; eventually the official interpretations of the priests lost all significance. Synagogues were emerging in Palestine at this time, although they had been established in Egypt some time previously. The synagogue recently excavated at Beit Alpha dates from the

1st century A.D. Extensive work was done from 1925 onwards on the Roman-period synagogue at Capernaum which is thoroughly Hellenistic in conception and execution with courtyard, friezes and wreaths on the walls, and fine if ill-proportioned pillars with Corinthian capitals.<sup>28.</sup>

In the period of Seleucus IV's reign opposition started between the temple and the synagogue, established 'for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the Commandments'.<sup>29.</sup> The nation's entire intellectual element was concentrated in the men of the Scribal class, and a special sect among the Scribes, the Hasidim, constituted its external expression. By the time to which I Maccabees 2, 42 refers (167 B.C.), these religious **Z**ealots were an established sect. They may have been organized, Tcherikover believes,<sup>30.</sup> under Simon the Just, and under him elevated to a position of authority.

The stories of the Tobiad figures Joseph and Hyrcanus are probably to be dated to the times of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221) and Seleucus and Antiochus IV respectively. Joseph's father was Tobiah, whose relationship with Zenon and Apollonius is probably to be seen in the letters of the Zenon Papyri discussed

in Chapter II. Joseph is thought to have been appointed tax-collector during the years 230 to 220 B.C., and during that time to have enjoyed great power in Coele-Syria. His story is told in Josephus, Antiquities XII, 163<sup>f</sup>.

Joseph proposed a system of financial reform for Judaea and on suggesting he could tackle the whole province of Syria was duly appointed **διοικητής**. This was the highest administrative and financial post in Judaea; its holder was the people's political representative to the King and was responsible for the country's allegiance to the Ptolemaic government. No other Jew had ever attained so high a rank, so Joseph grew in authority with the Jews and they became proud of him. He crushed objection to his presence as **διοικητής** when Ashkelon and Scythopolis, for example, refused to pay taxes.<sup>31.</sup>

The principles introduced by Joseph into Judaea were the principles of the Hellenistic age as a whole. His character contains the current Greek traits of immense willpower, rapidity of action, self-confidence, and undisguised contempt of ancestral tradition. With this came a depletion in personal and national ethics in pursuit of gain. His descendants were the 'Sons of

Tobiah' who were to head the Hellenizing movement in Jerusalem under Antiochus IV.

One of Joseph's sons, according to Josephus' account, was the Hyrcanus who went to Egypt and presented the King (Ptolemy V Epiphanes) with presents to the value of 1,000 talents, possibly to depose his father from the position of tax collector and so save it from his brothers' acquisition on his father's death. His father joined his brothers in their opposition but Hyrcanus won his way; either then or on his father's death he would become an Egyptian official. His brothers tried to kill him but he escaped to Transjordan from which place he taxed Judaea, if not the rest of Syria.

Hyrcanus' attempt to penetrate Jerusalem led to a political split in which the High Priest supported the elder brothers against him. Hyrcanus was in any case, by tradition pro-Ptolemaic and anti-Seleucid and this pro-Ptolemaic position was at the time the orientation of his opponents. Hyrcanus' attempt failed and he was forced to return to Transjordan, where he lived and fought until his suicide after ruling as a Sheik for seven years.

His fortress-like settlement at 'Araq el Emir in

Jordan was excavated by the Princeton University expedition of 1904-5-9. The ruins consisted of: (1) The Mausoleum called Kasr-il-Abd, (2) two gateways on the course of the approach, (3) a building on a terrace north of the Kasr-il-Abd, (4) the terrace walls and (5) the aqueduct besides a mass of debris. The architectural details will be further discussed in the Appendix, but enough was reconstructed by Butler in a most lavish publication to point to this as one of the most important Hellenistic monuments in Syria.

de Vogüé is said to agree that this is Hyrcanus' palace and he accepted Josephus' dating. It has been thought that it could not have been built during Hyrcanus' short stay, seeing that he was fighting the Arabs for most of the time but there seems no reason why building should not have started earlier. It is also said that the animal representations of the four lions, two of which flank each side of the main doorway, would have precluded Hyrcanus being Jewish; but Butler says that he need not have objected, as an expatriate rebel, to these images, and the executants will necessarily have been Gentile anyway.

Onias III, the High Priest at the time (c. 175 B.C.) was a friend of Hyrcanus and prior to his exile Hyrcanus

as a religious centre: it played the part of a state exchequer in Judaea, otherwise absent. It was also a kind of bank for private individuals, most of whom were from the Jerusalem aristocracy anyway. At this time the Temple was in danger of becoming the private bank of a few aristocratic families who had power. Of these the Tobiads were the most prominent. As long as Simon the Just was High Priest, the Tobiads continued in great wealth and influence, (about 200-180 B.C.); Onias III the next High Priest respected Hyrcanus and was pro-Ptolemy and this may have led to enmity, not only towards the Seleucids but also towards the Tobiads. So strife began. Simon, a Benjamite, the 'Captain of the Temple', demanded also to be *ἀγορανόμος* - a legal, police, or financial position of importance. On being unable to get this post, Simon applied to Syria and suggested that some temple funds should be appropriated by Syria. Owing to the indemnity imposed at Magnesia and the various military extravagances of Antiochus III, Seleucus would be open to such an offer. Onias refused Seleucus' representative Heliodorus these funds. Heliodorus first attempted to take the money by force and then, according to 2 Macc. Ch. 3, he gave up the attempt owing, allegedly, to divine intervention.

Thus foiled, Simon then slandered Onias and accused him of plotting against authority. Civil War was near and unrest was rife so that Apollonius the Governor of Syria was about to intervene. Onias left for Syria to plead his case at Court, but at that juncture (175), Seleucus died and Antiochus IV Epiphanes succeeded him.

### NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

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6. The matter discussed by R. Marcus in Appendix D of the Loeb edition. p. 751f.
7. Josephus Ant. XII, 142. . . .
8. Tcherikover, Op. Cit. p. ~~88~~ 84.
9. <sup>9a</sup>Id.: Op. Cit. p. 89.
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13. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 249 Ref. to Polybius, IX, 11a, 1.
14. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 269 Ref. to Livy, XXXIII, 40.
15. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 271.
16. Polybius, XXVIII, 20, 5-9.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III (Continued)

17. Appian, Syria I, 5.
18. Tcherikover Op. Cit. p. 144.
19. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 148.
20. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 151.
21. G.F. Moore: "Judaism", Harvard. 1927, p. 48, (vol. I)  
quoting from:  
  
Poseidonius in C. Muller, Frag.  
Historicorum Graecorum III/258, also  
Poseidonius: ap. Athen. v. 210f. and  
XII/527e.
22. Polybius XXXII. 6. Quoted in E.R. Bevan: "The  
House of Seleucus" Vol. I, p. 223.
23. E.R. Bevan: "The House of Seleucus" Vol. I, I,  
London. 1901. p. ~~224~~. 225.
24. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 225.
25. N. Bentwich: "Hellenism". Philadelphia, 1919,  
p. 83.
26. E.R. Bevan: Op. Cit. II p. 115.
27. Id.: Op. Cit. II p. 123.
28. See Appendix A, Plate 14.
29. Part of an inscription from the Synagogue at Ophel,  
excavated by R. Weill in 1913-14 and  
quoted by E.L. Sukenik in "Ancient  
Synagogues in Palestine and Greece":  
London. 1934, p. 70. (Sukenik's  
translation).
30. V. Tcherikover: "Hellenistic Civilization and  
the Jews". Philadelphia 1961, p. 125.
31. Josephus: Antiquities XII, 182.
32. H.C. Butler: "Syria: Publications of the  
Princeton University Archaeological  
Expedition to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909".

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III (Continued)

32. Div. II Architecture, Section A.  
"Southern Syria". Leyden, 1919 p. 4.
  33. Id.: Op. Cit. pp. 15 and 16.
  34. Tcherikover: Op. Cit. p. 139.
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CHAPTER IV : THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS IV  
EPIPHANES : SECTION I

When Antiochus Epiphanes came to the Throne in 175 B.C., backed by the troops of Eumenes of Pergamum, he must have realized that the pressures on Syria, consequent upon Magnesia, were likely to increase during his reign; his period of exile as a hostage at Rome will have taught him to respect its power, and his almost pathetic enjoyment of Roman customs need not mean that he was Philo-Roman in any deeper sense than having <sup>a</sup>the profound respect for its institutions. He may not in 175 have realized the full extent of what his tenure of the Syrian throne would involve, or that a religious and social disruption was incipient in Judaea; and he may not have realized, with the western orientation of his early life, the full extent of the threat to his Eastern provinces.

His character is to be assessed not only, or at all, on the basis of the orthodox Jewish view of a slightly mad tyrant, though it appears that there may well have been elements of both in his composition. He is to be judged upon his ability to tackle the

totality of the international situation of the time as it affected him. Bevan believes him to have been essentially a tyrant,<sup>1.</sup> and his theatrical manner is demonstrated<sup>2.</sup> in passages of Polybius which also speak of his 'hail, fellow!' propensities; the impression seems to me to be that he played the Roman with his tongue in his cheek. He was a passionate devotee and advocate of Hellenism, having been in 175 a hoplite general in Athens; and that this devotion was real enough is shown by his erection of the remarkable and vast temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, in many ways one of the finest buildings to emerge from the Hellenistic age.<sup>3.</sup> He spent much energy and treasure on the enhancement of the cult of Zeus Olympios, with whom he identified himself: this was an integral part of his programme as he seems to have taken the ruler cult more seriously than any of his predecessors. Under him Antioch was extended and lavishly equipped with buildings which must have given excellent opportunities for the craftsmen of Antioch: these are said to have included a magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, imitating that at Rome.

Bevan believes that his character was 'incurably superficial'<sup>4.</sup> being showy rather than sound and that he left the country bankrupt. Bevan finds it impossible

to reconcile the strange contradictions in his person-  
5.  
ality. I am unable to agree with this estimate of  
Antiochus in the context of the problems he had to  
deal with: while there is certainly here a bizarre  
and ruthless character, he was no fool.

Polybius, who need not have been pro-Antiochus,  
says of him: "King Antiochus was both energetic  
(πρακτικός), daring in design, and worthy of the royal  
dignity, except as regards his management of the cam-  
6.  
paign near Pelusium", which we will discuss presently.  
Appian says: "He was called Epiphanes, (the Illustrious)  
by the Syrians, because when the government was seized  
by usurpers he showed himself to be a true King. Having  
cemented his friendship and alliance with Eumenes, he  
governed Syria and the neighbouring nations with a firm  
7.  
hand". Diodorus Siculus follows Polybius' character  
8.  
sketch, as given in the lost fragment of Book XXVI.  
As some indication of his stature Tarn asks: "Why,  
above all, did Mithradates I of Parthia, the able and  
ambitious monarch who created the Parthian Empire, make  
no move until the broken, nervy Seleucid was safely  
9.  
dead?"

Bouché-Leclercq says of Antiochus: "It would not  
be difficult to find in the bizarre character of

Antiochus IV, in his unexpected caprices, in the mixture of pride and familiarity which he exhibited in his relations with society, the traces of his Roman education associated with his ideas of Asiatic <sup>10.</sup>despotism"; but this need not, and in my view did not, involve political stupidity. It may be conjectured that, had circumstances not been disadvantageous to his schemes in so many directions at home and abroad, he might well have brought about a new lease of life to the Seleucid Empire. He has suffered from hostile sources biased against him because of a small part of his policy which was a failure, and concerned therefore not to promote a flattering view of his character. Above all, his personality seems to have had the saving grace of colour which the Seleucid state had lacked since Apamea.

His predecessor's reign, during which the immense indemnity imposed at Apamea had to be raised, had also seen unrest developing in Judaea, outlined in the previous chapter, and had made the mid-eastern provinces still less sure of retention - not so much in view of the revolt of these provinces as of the threat of attack from Parthia. Had Antiochus lived in Syria during the years preceding his reign, he would have

been able to ~~assimilate~~ <sup>estimate</sup> the dangers of this threat at their proper magnitude: as things were, he seems to have slightly misjudged the problem in 170.

As regards the potential threat from Rome, Tarn says: "Antiochus IV knew Rome very well, and, as I see it, his consistent attitude was that there must be no quarrel with her at any price; what was lost in the West was lost for ever (Thrace and most of Asia Minor).<sup>11.</sup> But the East remained". Tarn says Egypt can have been no part of his plan at first, and I accept his view<sup>11.</sup> that what happened there was an accident." In whatever way Antiochus' activity be considered, everything comes back to 169 as a starting point....directly after the death of the Boy King, his colleague." Tarn rejects<sup>11.</sup> the idea that Antiochus IV was implicated in this.

Antiochus had seen by experience that the success of Rome was due to its centralization, so he aimed at the same centralization in his kingdom, employing in this case the unifying Alexandrian concept of Divine Kingship as a centralized ruling force. Coins showing the resemblance of his Zeus-type to this type in Babylon, enthroned with victory in its hand, is proof that he wished Babylon to be the destined capital of<sup>12.</sup> the new deity upon earth. Erwin Goodenough says of

the conception of Hellenistic kingship: "Nothing bound the Syrians, Arameans, Phoenicians and Palestinians together except the person of the King at Antioch. He was the animate constitution, and the only constitution which brought any harmony or coherence into his heterogeneous realm."<sup>13.</sup> M.P. Charlesworth makes a point of the complete normality of deification in the Greek world as a way of displaying thankfulness and a sense of obligation to a benefactor.<sup>14.</sup> In this connection one could cite Seleucus Soter who was Zeus in the eyes of at least the Athenian colonists at Lemnos who built temples for Seleucus I and Antiochus I. There 'the libation, which was ordinarily known as that of Zeus Soter, was called that of Seleukos Soter'<sup>15.</sup>; this identifies 'Seleukos' with 'Zeus', and Bevan believes that Seleucus Soter was so worshipped in his lifetime. Antiochus II was honoured as 'Theos' because of a victory gained over the Gauls.

However this ascription of divinity was normally bestowed by cities or by the State government. In the case of Antiochus IV it was imposed by the sovereign: he was Antiochus, the God manifest, *θεός ἐπιφανής*, not requiring an ascription of deity prior to receiving this formal political worship. The difficulty with Judaea arose because the Jews held literally to the

commandment, "Thou shalt have none other gods before Me", and this calls down upon Antiochus IV the wrath of the writer of Daniel (11, 37) 'for he shall magnify himself above all'....' nor regard any god.' So this politically astute and generally acceptable religious innovation in his empire encountered a tribe in whose religious beliefs it could find no part. It was extremely unfortunate that Judaea occupied that particular geographical position, centrally situated between Syria and Egypt and with sympathies still partially pro-Egyptian.

Antiochus IV seems to have planted colonists in his new oriental foundations as cleruchs, and simultaneously to have made these colonies *πόλεις*, the liability for military service remaining. Antiochus was faced with the great task of making good the prestige and territory lost by Apamea and it was a wise move to begin this new wave of military colonizing, which, as well as increasing the pace of Hellenization in his Empire, and thus contributing to its political and cultural unity, was also an effective buttress against Parthia and the troublesome Armenia.

It is strange to find that Schürer, in his insistence that a historian must in no way depart from the

letter of his main sources, accepts Polybius' account of Antiochus and his character without question and seems to see no possibility of a more serious and meaningful aspect: "Such being the character of the man we need not trouble ourselves seeking to discover any very deep motives for his proceedings against Judaea. Tacitus has on the whole given a fair estimate of them when he said: 'Antiochus strove to overthrow the superstition of the Jews and to introduce among them Greek customs, but was prevented by the war with the Parthians from improving the condition of this most detestable race.'<sup>16.</sup>"

At this time, during Antiochus' 'five quiet years' from 175 to 170, Pergamum, Cappadocia and Syria formed a triple alliance against Rome in the East, in fact although all their politics were ostensibly pro-, or at least philo-Roman, Antiochus, via an Embassy under Apollonius, renewed the alliance with Rome contracted in Seleucus IV's reign. He did this in 173 when Perseus was secretly trying to organize a coalition of all the Hellenic States against Rome. In 172 Antiochus convinced a Roman mission, despite the facts, that he was a friend of Rome: meanwhile he had retained his elephants and was quietly building ships.

In 173 his sister Cleopatra, the Queen-Regent of Egypt, died; and the anti-Seleucid party in Egypt came to power under the leadership of the eunuch Eulaeus and his fellow-ruler Lenaeus. In 171 war was declared between Rome and Perseus of Macedon, a war which Perseus was not really strong enough in either men or munitions to win. In 169 another Embassy from Antiochus was in Rome at the same time as an Egyptian one, and the Senate temporized pending a decision on the Third Macedonian War with Perseus. The consul, Q. Marcius, was made a legate to King Ptolemy.

On a previous Embassy, sent by Antiochus to Alexandria to find out the feeling in Egypt, Apollonius found that Eulaeus and Lenaeus 'were too vain to be discreet'<sup>17.</sup>; and from that time Antiochus, realizing that war with them was inevitable, 'resolved not to wait until war was declared on him'<sup>17.</sup>. As regards Seleucid rights to Coele-Syria as they stood at 169, the question arose as to whether the dowry was personal to its original subject, Cleopatra I, and for the duration of her lifetime alone. If that were so, then when she died in 173, having been regent for her elder son, Ptolemy VI Philometor, since the death of her husband in 181, the gift granted in 193 would have lapsed. The

Egyptians would be able, on the basis of this interpretation, to claim that any aggressive action taken by Antiochus in respect of Egypt was a genuine casus belli. In Rome's policy of weakening the Seleucids it was in her interests to regard the question of the dowry as carrying this meaning.

Diodorus says of Eulaeus and Lenaeus that they were completely without experience in warfare and battles, and they lacked even a single competent advisor or capable commander. "They themselves as might be expected, soon met with the punishment that their folly deserved, and they brought the kingdom to utter ruin as far as it was in their power to do so"<sup>18</sup>. In stressing the incredible optimism of the Egyptian regents concerning the projected campaign against Coele-Syria, Diodorus says: "they spoke publicly of nothing less than conquering, not only Syria, but the entire kingdom of Antiochus. In order to raise money for this venture they pillaged the palace at Memphis"<sup>19</sup>.

While events in Egypt and Rome were making a military contest over Coele-Syria once more inevitable, in Judaea political intrigue with both the Egyptian and Syrian Kingdoms grew to the point where Judaea itself would equally inevitably be involved in the same conflict;

her own political instability brought about not only by political predispositions to the Hellenistic powers but by the vendetta among the ruling classes, would make her a strategically-placed trouble spot at a time when the Seleucid power could not afford such a danger.

<sup>From</sup>  
~~In~~ 180 to 167 the aspirations to Hellenism within Judaea emerged into the open. Of this period there is no historical account. Josephus is silent, except for the conclusion of his account of the life of Hyrcanus; the author of Daniel, although an eyewitness, is a little confusing (Ch. 11 vv. 21-24 refer). Chapters 3 and 4 of 2nd Maccabees are the only source of information on the people involved in the rise of Hellenism in this period and the social and party strife which accompanied it.

20.

Arguments put forward by Edward Meyer in 1921 are the principal support for the views which accept the reliability of II Maccabees and its various documents.

The credibility of this account has been doubted by

21.

Kolb<sup>e</sup>, who pronounces all the documents it cites to be forgeries on the grounds of chronology and language.

In general the writer of II Maccabees gives richer details as to politics and people but I Maccabees gives the course of historical events better. The historicity of II Maccabees is therefore thought, on

balance, to be, if not absolute then approximate.

The Tobiad family were the instigators of Hellenistic reform in Jerusalem, and in this connection 'Tobiads' serves as a blanket-term to cover the 'Sons of Joseph', of whom there were eight: of these, two had died earlier and one was Hyrcanus. These Tobiads enjoyed great power and influence and were at the head of the Hellenizing party. Menelaus was the High Priest later under Antiochus IV, having bribed himself into the position in succession to Jason, who succeeded Onias III in 175, and he had two sons Lysimachus and Simon; together these three headed contemporary politics. They were not of the Tobiad family but were of similar outlook. It was under Menelaus that religious and civil tensions within the Jewish state came to a head, and we will deal with this presently.

The coincidence of Onias' flight from Jerusalem and Antiochus' accession in 175 gave to the Tobiads and the rest of the Hellenizing aristocracy the chance to press for political and cultural reform. To this request Antiochus IV was, of course, more than sympathetic. Jason, the new High Priest, who had bought the position of High Priest from Antiochus, obtained permission from the King to convert Jerusalem into a

Greek *πολις* called 'Antioch' and to construct in it a Gymnasium and Ephebeion; these two institutions were characteristic marks of any Hellenistic city and formed the basis of the reform which followed. Jason obtained permission to draw up a register of the people who were worthy to be citizens of this Antioch and the process of compilation led to discrimination within the populace. The Ephebeion was expensive to attend, so was more or less the monopoly of the wealthy. The number of new citizens enrolled in the *πολις* of 'Antioch' is put at three thousand, and these, under Lysimachus, the brother of Menelaus the next high-priest, will have constituted the new Hellenistic élite and the ruling class in the city. The former Gerousia of Antiochus III's time was reconvened as the *βουλή* of Antiochus IV; the Council of Elders had always been an aristocratic institution in other Greek poleis and its function remained unchanged.

The construction of the gymnasium and Ephebeion symbolised the entire change which had taken place in the city: they were the tangible outcome, and when permission for their erection had been given the gymnasium was built on the temple hill itself. The young aristocrats donned the cloaks (*chlamydes*) and broad-

brimmed hats appropriate to this; and in order to exercise naked as was the Greek custom, they tried to efface the marks of their circumcision by artificial surgical means; I Maccabees declares that by so doing, they 'abandoned the holy covenant' (I Macc. 1, 15). The building of the gymnásium and Ephebeion was not just a cultural project; the education obtained through the various tutors at the Ephebeion such as the kosmetes, "superintendent", was an essential part of Greek education. And it was his Greek education which in Hellenistic times made a man a Greek. In future, at Jerusalem as in the rest of the Hellenistic world, the gymnasium would be the mode of admission to citizenship with all its class-implications. The conversion of Jerusalem into 'Antioch' was carried out with great speed and energy and reflects the depth of desire to be 'Greek' at last. Antiochus IV was the patron-founder, and II Maccabees 4, 22 relates the joy with which Antiochus was received by Jason and the citizens in possibly 172, the years of Ptolemy Philometor's coronation.

There was no topographical distinction between 'Antioch' and Jerusalem, and the same city retained the same temple. Many people in Jerusalem retained economic

rights as *Metoikoi* or *Katoikoi*, and retained their houses and estates; but they had no political rights, stated or implied. Dancy follows Bickermann in thinking that if these 3,000 'Antiochenes' in Jerusalem did not constitute the city a polis, they did at least themselves form a *politeuma* within the city.<sup>23</sup> I cannot see how Antiochus would have permitted the Hellenization of such a city to be merely partial in this way.

The author of I Maccabees has not the smallest accusation to bring against Jason of offences against the Jewish faith. The abolition of rule based on the Mosaic Law did not imply abolition of the Law itself. Not even the statues of the gods in the gymnasium building had any cultic significance. The demos had power to decide on religious matters but it was not compelled to do so. There were no changes in the Temple under Jason. The Hellenization of the gods of the East nowhere caused a change in the local cultic customs. It is only when the Antiochan persecution begins that **יהוה** is identified with Zeus Olympios. Nor did Jason's reform affect traditional Jewish religious life. No law of the time bound the citizens at Antioch-at-Jerusalem to make sacrifices to the gods. Tcherikover says that the end of self-differentiation meant that Judaism was open to the world in a new way,

and that as the world was imbued with Hellenism, so inevitably the Jews became imbued with it also.<sup>24.</sup>

The reformers did not at the outset want a religious reform, and may not have demanded it at any time: they just wanted to be Greek.

The Jewish State had to change from an ethnos into a polis - Greek institutions were just the outer aspect of an inner political reorientation. Many privileges were enjoyed by Jerusalem, on her change of status, which will have been long sought-after by the Hellenizing party: they had municipal self-government and could mint coins - this last was important for trade. The reformers were anxious to obtain these and other privileges, not least for the common, that is, extra-ethnic, friendship, culture, and trade which were thereby fostered. The educational institutions, customs, dress, and belittlement of Jewish religious customs were only the logical results of the basic reform. They were not the reasons for the reform but its consequences. They involved no principles but caused grave offence and so led to an anti-reform movement.

The building of authentic Greek cities was over and so if Antiochus wished to have some cities as

allies he would have to create them. The 'Greek' cities of Antiochus were merely Syrian towns that had assumed the shape of poleis. The striving of the Jerusalem aristocracy for economic and political growth met Antiochus' desire for a friendly power in Palestine's geographical position. In so doing, by deepening the gulf between the wealthy city and the backward countryside, the Jerusalem leaders had sown the seeds of the consequent religious, as distinct from social and cultural, division of Judaea. When the Maccabean rebellion came, it came in the character of a social reaction as much as a religious movement. The overt alliance between those Jews who favoured the objectionable Greek practices in Jerusalem and the Seleucid power also gave the pro-Ptolemaic faction, which had never really lost its cause, grounds for action.

During 174 to 172 the extremist elements in the Hellenizing party seem to have grown stronger; and in about 172, while on a financial mission to the Syrian capital on behalf of Jason, Menelaus is said<sup>25.</sup> to have outbid Jason by three hundred talents, and so to have secured the high-priesthood for himself. Having been thus supplanted, Jason fled to Ammanitis,

26.

possibly, according to Tcherikover, to the former home of Hyrcanus at 'Araq-el-Emir.

27.

Bevan believes that the new epheboi had a low moral tone but admits that overt immoralities connected with the new regime are not mentioned, and later writers wishing to blackguard Antiochus and his associates were as good at telling stories as was Suetonius (viz: IV Maccabees). Envoys from the new Hellenistic regime declined to sacrifice at the Quadrennial Games held in honour of Melkart (Hercules) at Tyre in about 173 under Jason; and directed that the three hundred silver drachmae involved should be expended in the construction of Triremes, (II Macc. 4, 18-20). Bevan points out that the total charge brought against the Hellenizers prior to 167 was: 'that they conceived a zeal for athletic exercises (nude) and that they wore hats'<sup>27</sup>. How much capacity the ruling Jews of that time would really have had for stopping short of apostasy is questioned by A.H.M. Jones, who regards the very existence of the expedition to these Games at Tyre as a dangerous compromise with paganism.<sup>28</sup> This he attributes to the Jews' zeal for the new Greek culture and says that there is no reason to think that the leading figures in the Jewish State ever intentionally contemplated abandoning their faith; it seems that, rather like

the way in which Greek culture overtook them, so they were led to undervalue the uniqueness of their religion. In the opinion of Elias Bickermann, the leaders of the Hellenizing party understood perfectly well that all the Greek culture in Jerusalem from 175 to 169 'must remain merely a diversion of the upper classes as long as the sanctuary remained inviolate and as long as the law enjoining 'misanthropic separation' continued in force'.<sup>29.</sup>

II Maccabees 4, 30-38 tells of the murder of the ex-High Priest Onias III while taking refuge in the precinct of Apollo at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch in 171 (?). Bouché-Leclerq believes that Menelaus was helped by Andronicus, the administrator left in charge of Syria while Antiochus suppressed a rebellion in Cilicia, in getting rid of Onias. For this he follows the account in II Maccabees and this in no way implicates Antiochus as some would have us believe.<sup>30.</sup> There seems good reason to believe II Macc. 4, 37 which tells of the grief of Antiochus at this murder: on his return from Cilicia he denounced the crime, and the Jews and the Greeks were equally indignant at this treachery. Antiochus dealt summary justice on Andronicus who was executed at the same spot where

Onias had been killed. After being summoned before the Sanhedrin, Menelaus was the subject of a complaint made by the Sanhedrin to Antiochus. Menelaus bought the help of one Ptolemy, a favourite of the King, and when the Sanhedrin Embassy reached Tyre to talk to the King, Antiochus had them put to death, presumably because of the influence of Ptolemy (II Macc. 4, 43-50). Menelaus was pardoned and Tyre was scandalized and gave the victims magnificent funerals. Antiochus lost caste with the loyal Jews.

Modern scholars admit from two to four expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt *between the years 172 and 168,* ~~in 170, 169, 171, 172, or 168,~~ and it seems that Ludin Jansen in "Die Politik Antiokos des Fier<sup>n</sup>" has obtained a good, workable harmony of dates. He postulates two expeditions: the first in 170-169 and the second in 168. The first is dealt with in I Macc. 1, 20 and the second in II Macc. 5, 1f. It is most unlikely that there were more than two. In 170 Egypt invaded Coele-Syria under the Regents Eulaeus and Lenaeus. This attack was swiftly defeated by Antiochus at Mt. Casius almost on the border of Egypt near Pelusium. In the panic Ptolemy Philometor was shipped to Samothrace for safety but was captured en route by Antiochus. His younger brother, Euergetes (Physcon)

was called to the throne by the people of Alexandria, led by the new ministers of Egypt, Commanos and Cineas. The Alexandrine<sup>an</sup>~~ne~~ fleet was defeated at a battle near Pelusium trying to block the Syrian retreat and the Syrian army moved into Egypt over the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. Antiochus set up at Memphis a rival government to Ptolemy Physcon's in the name of Ptolemy Philometor. Alexandria held out and reorganized her defence under Commanos and Cineas while negotiations proceeded with Antiochus as to the degree of guilt of the new administration for the wrongs of Eulaeus and Lenaeus.

During his march on Alexandria from Memphis, at Sais Antiochus met a number of diplomats from various Greek cities including the Achaean League, Miletus, and Clazomenae,<sup>32</sup> wishing to arbitrate for him. Rome's actions may have caused this concern. A little piqued by what they said, the King replied demonstrating the rights of himself and his ancestors to Coele-Syria. As Antiochus approached Alexandria the Alexandrines<sup>an</sup> sent ambassadors to Rome to move the Senate to action, but the war with Perseus delayed this action for eighteen months. Antiochus raised the siege of Alexandria and, following an attempt by a Rhodian embassy at mediation,

Antiochus returned to Coele-Syria before the winter rains, 169. On the way he raided Jerusalem, killed some of the inhabitants and pillaged the Temple (I Macc. 1, 20f), possibly with Menelaus' connivance. In order to keep in with Rome during this first campaign, Antiochus sent money presents to Rome and refused to mediate between Rome and Macedon.

Philometor easily reached a reconciliation with Euergetes and his sister Cleopatra, and Philometor reentered Alexandria, where he reigned as 'Joint-King' with Euergetes. In 168 Antiochus again invaded Egypt, having first attacked Cyprus; <sup>33</sup> Greek opinion was hostile to this and the Achaean League supported Egypt but withdrew this support prior to any action. Antiochus now demanded the cession of Cyprus and Pelusium; but he had already made peace in Egypt in 169, and there had been no new offence - such as Eulaeus' and Lenaeus' 170 invasion - to permit these new demands. He had left an effective lever for the present invasion of Egypt in the existence of the Seleucid garrison at Pelusium placed there at the close of the 170-169 campaign. But this was only garrisoned 'so that the door of Egypt should be open for him if ever he wanted to return'.<sup>34</sup>

While Antiochus was advancing successfully upon

first Memphis and then Alexandria, Perseus was defeated by L. Aemilius Paullus at Pydna, and Macedonia as an independent state vanished for ever. Egyptian ambassadors met Antiochus at Rhinocolura and Antiochus stated his terms that Egypt was to vacate Cyprus and Pelusium. In the end the Senate did listen to the Alexandrian ~~deputation~~ <sup>near Commission</sup> of 169 - in 168, and appointed a ~~Triumviral~~ <sup>of three</sup> ~~commission~~ <sup>Popilius</sup> of G. ~~Laenas~~ <sup>Laenas</sup>, G. Decimus, and G. Hostilius charged to stop the war in Egypt. Polybius says: "The Senate, when they heard that Antiochus had become master of Egypt and very nearly of Alexandria itself, thinking that the aggrandisement of this king concerned them in a measure, dispatched Gaius Popilius as their legate to bring the war to an end, and to observe what the exact position of affairs was"<sup>35.</sup>

What Antiochus did not know was that the victory of Pydna on 21 June, 168 (Livy XLIV, 37) had accelerated the march of the Roman ambassadors and that the Commission had landed at Alexandria. They met suddenly at Eleusis.

Polybius says that the letter delivered to Antiochus by Laenas ordered Antiochus 'to put an end at once to the war with Ptolemy; so, as a fixed number of days were allowed to him, he led his army back to Syria, deeply hurt and complaining indeed but yielding

to circumstances for the present'. Laenas also arranged with the Egyptian Kings for the expulsion of Syrian troops from Cyprus. Polybius thinks (XXIX. 27, 13), that had Perseus' fate not been already decided, 'and had not Antiochus been certain of it, he would never, I think, have obeyed the Roman behests' (*ἔπιταγμένους*). Concerning this confrontation Arnold Toynbee says: 'Antiochus had the sense to swallow his pride and obey'. This does not enhance our idea of Syria's power at the time but it does support the idea that Antiochus knew what was a politic move. Antiochus then sent ambassadors to Rome to offer to the Senate his congratulations upon the victory of Pydna. Dancy stresses that despite all Laenas' rudeness at Eleusis, the Senate seemed to have more respect for Antiochus after his withdrawal in 168 than before it, because they waited until his death in 163 before demanding the surrender of the Seleucid navy and elephants under the terms of the Treaty of Apamea (188).

It is the view of most authorities that it was in 168 that Antiochus returned if not to Jerusalem then near enough to direct the measures against a revolt which had flared up while he was in Egypt. I follow Dancy in holding that the account in II Macc. 5, 1-14 belongs where it is placed and refers to the year 168,

and I see no insuperable objection to verses 1 to 4 also referring to this second invasion of Egypt in 168. The 'false rumour' that Antiochus was dead seems much more likely to have arisen as a result of the happenings of 168 and his retreat from Egypt than from the victorious campaign of 169.<sup>39</sup> It seems that at this time the Jewish people under the lead of the pro-Ptolemaic faction began to favour the Egyptians and the rumour that Antiochus was dead brought Jason back across the Jordan from Ammanitis with 1,000 men and civil war began in Jerusalem. After taking the City with slaughter he was unable to hold it and was forced to retire into Ammanitis again. There need be no necessary connection between Jason's attack and the pro-Ptolemaic feeling; but there is a connection, it seems, between both and the rumoured death of Antiochus. This will have been more than sufficient to convince Antiochus on his dismal journey back to Syria in 168 that this civil disturbance was a pro-Ptolemaic rising in his rear:

whether it was or not, in fact, is beside the point.

<sup>40</sup>  
Schurer attributes the authenticity of the connection between the failure of the Egyptian campaign of 168 and the persecutions in Palestine solely to Daniel XI, 30f: "For the ships of Chittim shall come against

him, therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant". This seems to prove a connection between the second campaign and the final stages of pre-persecution action against Jerusalem. And there seems also to be enough evidence, albeit circumstantial, that a Ptolemaic reaction under Jason coincided with this Egyptian disappointment. Schürer says plaintively: "Since nothing more could be done in Egypt, he (Ant. IV) would carry out all the more determinedly his schemes in Judaea"<sup>41</sup>.

Israel Abrahams' explanation of Antiochus' conduct after the humiliation of Eleusis is that his attack on Jerusalem was out of bitterness and ill-grace: this is probably partly true but not wholly. He seems to have been too acute a military man not to have attacked Judaea out of better military motives than mere pique at being crossed by Laenas. "He might be restrained by Rome from occupying Egypt, but he would not be diverted by a small hill-folk from Hellenizing the Orient"<sup>42</sup>. This seems altogether too nebulous for such a far-sighted and comprehensive policy - and one which had much political sense. It had been in progress for some years before it reached a new phase in 168-7. I will agree that the dangers inherent in the situation in Roman-dominated

Egypt will have spurred on this policy but they did not create it, nor in large part did Antiochus.

According to Josephus (*Bellum Judaicum* I. 31f.), the Tobiads' (Jason's) expulsion by Menelaus, after his raid on the City and the killing which accompanied it, was the proximate cause of the rebellion proper. We have seen that if Antiochus understood this raid as constituting a Ptolemic reaction, there is point in the view that it was a proximate cause of his final measures in the sphere of religion - and so of the revolt which was the reaction against them. The proximity of the Bedouin tribes in the territories beyond Jordan to Parthian influence will also have influenced Antiochus against a resurgence of Jason's power in Jerusalem.

In 168 it appeared that a policy of political and municipal Hellenization, put into action at the request of one section of the population, had not given cohesiveness to Judaea in the interests of Seleucid rule. Faction had increased and outside sympathies were suspected, particularly with Egypt, which had always had its political supporters in Judaea. Any action by the Seleucids, seen as being hostile to Jewish interests, would, it seems, have tended to strengthen the Ptolemaic cause. For example, the policies of the ardent Hellenist

Menelaus, with his extremely pro-Seleucid sympathies, backed by the personal vendetta between Jason and himself, will have constituted reasons for Jason's attack of 168.

It was at this point and in this political dilemma, that Antiochus put in hand the "Hellenization" of the Jewish religion. I believe that the success of the policy was compromised politically at its inception by the violence which preceded it during which Apollonius (Antiochus' *ἄρχων φορολογίας*) invaded Jerusalem with 22,000 Mysian mercenaries to support Menelaus. This passage is referred to in I Macc. 1, 29 ff. and recounts the action of 'a chief collector of Tribute' (Apollonius) in fortifying 'the City of David with a great strong wall and strong towers, and it became their citadel.'<sup>43</sup> This citadel (*ἀκρῆ*) was to be a constant menace to the people of Jerusalem and a symbol of Seleucid, pagan, rule until it was stormed and demolished in 141 under Simon (I Macc. 13, 50).

In the One hundred and forty-fifth year of the Seleucid era, or 167 B.C., taking 312 as the year of the establishment of Seleucid rule in Babylon, the suppression of Jewish religion began; the date given in I Macc. 1, 54 was the fifteenth of Chislev (November).

On that date an altar was erected to Zeus Olympius, or Ba'al Shamaim of which Zeus was the Greek equivalent: Ba'al Shamaim was the Semitic Lord of Heaven. Prior to the construction of this altar various orders were apparently published over the whole Seleucid Kingdom, including Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia and the Southern Coast of Asia Minor that 'all should be one people and that each should give up his customs'<sup>44</sup>. This is taken to represent Antiochus' attempt, following the failure of his Egyptian schemes, to unite the Middle East by a common acceptance of Hellenistic culture and religion. This was politically a wise move in that it was in theory an excellent way of rendering the Seleucid Empire a more cohesive cultural unit and, as such, a more solid barrier against Roman and Parthian attack and infiltration. But, although all the Gentiles are said to have accepted the command of the King (I Macc. 1, 43), the Jews objected strongly to this measure. However, the systematic carnage said to have taken place when Apollonius entered Jerusalem (II Macc. 5, 24-26) is not recorded in I Maccabees, which does not inspire confidence that this slaughter took place: further, it does not lead one to think that the persecution which accompanied the imposition

of pagan sacrifice was necessarily as widespread or as ruthless as is made out.

A fragment of Diodorus (Book XXXIV, 1) says that Moses 'had prescribed for the Jews misanthropic and criminal customs', and that this was why Antiochus Epiphanes, 'detesting this aversion towards all peoples, set his mind on abolishing their laws'.<sup>45</sup>

I Macc. 1, 56 certainly speaks of Antiochus' Inspectors and their supporters burning the Books of the Law. All the lines of investigation which we have pursued in this work lead one to believe that there was a real feeling among the Gentile nations that the Jews' particularism was in various ways objectionable. Antiochus now had evidence for this nation's being politically divided and a consequent danger to his plans for a strong barrier against Egyptian influence. Hearsay and a dramatized view of the pernicious nature of Jewish particularism will have contributed to his view that political stability could only be achieved if this religious sectarianism were stopped or replaced. In Judaea's important strategic location vis-à-vis Syria, Antiochus wished to ensure religious loyalty as well as political support; and it is widely held that the 'abomination of desolation', the statue of Zeus Olympios in the sanctuary may have had, in view of his relationship with the cult,

Antiochus' own features. Failure to offer swine's flesh - normal in Hellenistic rites - was to be punished, and if the Jewish religion could not be converted into a resemblance of Hellenistic religion with its accent on the normal Greek worship of the Royal cult, then the only answer was to suppress the religion.

The Jewish pressures to revolt can be summarized under four main headings. First, there was the enmity between the Tobiad and Oniad parties of the priestly aristocracy which split the population of Jerusalem into factions. As we have seen, these factions had, in view of the political allegiances of their leaders, divided the city into Ptolemaic and Seleucid camps, at least by 170 B.C. and probably before. To this schism had been added all the bitterness engendered by the contest for the high priesthood between Jason and Menelaus, together with the religious and social debasement of this high office as a result of the bribery which had accompanied the contest. This contest resulted in the highest bidder, Menelaus, being allied to the Seleucid King so that he was no longer his own agent but the pawn of Seleucid policy. This further alienated his opponents.

Second, the population of Jerusalem and Judaea as

a whole had long been divided into the rich merchant and priestly aristocracy and the relatively poor 'Am Ha-' Ares, 'the people of the soil', and in the view of Tcherikover, which has been accepted, this carried religious overtones which were presently to emerge in the personnel of the Maccabean party. The alliance of 'godly' with 'poor' against 'ungodly' with 'rich' is common to the Bible as a whole, but particularly common to this period in view of the orthodox Judaism of the poorer classes and the pseudo-Hellenism of the aristocracy. I accept that by 170 the wideness of outlook and the pressure of outward syncretism (e.g. at Marisa) had introduced a measure of undesirable breadth in religion owing to the sweeping nature of the adoption of Hellenism. But as well as there being a division on grounds of religion, there was also a division on the normal social grounds of wealth and poverty, which, as Rostovtzeff points out, was characteristic of the Jewish State at this time. The religious and social differences combined to make the division a wide one.

Third, this religious division was accentuated by the fear of godly Jews that the purity of Jewish

religion was being compromised by contact with Hellenistic religious liberalism. The acceleration of the Hellenizing process from 175 to 170 will have deepened this fear of being surrounded by hostile religious forces, even though these outside religions may have had no real intention of interfering in Jewish religion. The objection that Gentile nations felt towards Jews was a social antipathy, it seems, as much as a religious one, even although religion may have caused it. The reaction of the merchant classes against the separatism implied in the Ezraonic reform, however understandable it may have been, gave a possibility of exposure to syncretistic religious trends among that class which was not the case with orthodox Jewish believers. The introduction of the Altar of Zeus Olympios with its concomitant 'worship' of the royal cult was not taken by the Jews as lightly as it was by Greeks; and this meant that, from an orthodox Jewish point of view, pagan worship was now installed; and insofar as the Hellenizers had not volubly objected, apparently, this new cult was allowed to become an unwelcome bedfellow to the Jewish religion. This religious innovation speeded up the process of syncretism until it was out of control, and in a religion-

orientated State all the natural social and political consequences followed. John Bright observes:

"Antiochus was probably never able to understand why his actions (in setting up the new worship) should have evoked such irreconcilable hostility among the Jews".<sup>47</sup>

Fourth, Jews following the religious traditions and beliefs of orthodox Judaism had reason, as we have seen, to be very dissatisfied with the quality of life and thought which Antiochus sought to put in place of the Jewish religion. Norman Bentwich is not far from the truth, it seems, when he says: "Pure Hellenism - the Greek Spirit - was never brought to Palestine, and was never imbibed by the Jews; what did come, and was imbibed by some classes, was a mixed product of Hellenic wisdom and Oriental civilization, which presented much of the outward show of Greek life, but did not offer what was most precious in it",<sup>48</sup> and later: "There was much outward imitation of Greek fashions and among some circles an inward assimilation of the Greek point of view. But when the attempt was made to hasten the process, and to extend it from manners to morals and from morals to religion, the deep-seated feelings of the people were roused, and the struggle

between the two cultures began".

Moses Hadas is inclined to exaggerate the amount of Greek culture available in any pure form to Palestine, but there is much truth in his contention that the one rebellion recorded in History as directed against Hellenism, that of the Maccabees, was not, in its origin, a reaction against Hellenism as such. From the contemporary I and II Maccabees, 'it is clear that Hellenism had proceeded very far indeed, and apparently without protest, before the insurrection began. Violence started in consequence of rivalry between equally-<sup>49</sup> Hellenized contenders for the high priesthood'; but I do not agree with his remark that religion was 'not an issue'. To the loyal Jew anything that appeared to compromise his religion was an issue.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

Main Texts consulted: Polybius <sup>(XXIX</sup>~~(XXVIII)~~, Appian: Syria VIII, Diodorus XXIX, XXX, <sup>and</sup> I Maccabees 1.

1. E.R. Bevan in C.A.H. VIII. Cambs. P. 499.
2. Eg.. Polybius XXVI (lost fragment) contained in Athenaeus X, 439a.
3. See Appendix A. Plates 7 and 8.
4. E.R. Bevan: "The House of Seleucus" Vol. II. London 1901. P. 129.
5. Id: Op. Cit. p. 131.
6. Polybius XXVIII. 18, 1. Loeb. Ed.
7. Appian: Syria VIII, 45. Loeb. Ed.
8. Diodorus: XXIX, 32.
9. W.W. Tarn: "The Greeks in Bactria and India". Cambs. 1938, p. 84.
10. A. Bouché-Leclercq: "Histoire des Seleucides" 323-64 B.C. Paris, 1913. p. 245.
11. W.W. Tarn: Op. cit. p. 190.
12. Id.: Op. Cit. p. 191.
13. "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship": E.R. Goodenough in Yale Classical Studies, Vol. I, 1928, p. 69.
14. M. P. Charlesworth: "Some observations on ~~the~~ Ruler cult, especially in Rome": in Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XXVIII, 1935, p. 10.
15. E. R. Bevan: "A Note on Antiochus Epiphanes" in Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. XX, 1900. p. 30.
16. E. Schürer: "A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ". T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1890. Div. I. p. 201 ~~and~~ quoting Tacitus, Histories. V, 8.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV (Continued)

17. A. Bouché-Leclercq: "Histoire des Seleucides".  
Paris 1913, page 248.
18. Diodorus Siculus XXX, 15. Loeb.
19. Diodorus XXX, 16.
20. Eduard Meyer: "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christen-  
tums". Vol. II, 1921.
21. Kolbé: "Beiträge zur Jüdischen und Syrischen  
Geschichte". Stuttgart, 1926.
22. II Maccabees 4, 40.
23. J.C. Dancy: "I Maccabees: A Commentary", Oxford  
1954. p. 60, referring in loc. to  
E. Bickermann: "Der Gott der Makkabaer".  
Berlin 1937.
24. V. Tcherikover: "Hellenistic Civilization and the  
Jews". Philadelphia 1961, p. 167.
25. II Maccabees 4, 23f.
26. Tcherikover: Op. Cit. p. 171, and 468-9.
27. E.R. Bevan: "The House of Seleucus", London, 1901  
Vol. II, p. 170.
28. A.H.M. Jones: "The Herods of Judaea" Oxford 1938,  
p. 7.
29. E. Bickermann: "From Ezra to the Last of the  
Maccabees". New York, 1949. p. 107.
30. E.g., M. Black in Peake's Commentary, London 1963.  
Section 604, p. 693.
31. H.L. Jansen: "Die Politik Antiochos des <sup>IV</sup> Pios".  
Oslo. 1943.
32. Polybius XXVIII. 19, 1f.
33. ~~I Macc. I, 17-24.~~ II Macc. 5, 1f.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV. (Continued)

34. E.R. Bevan: "A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty." London, 1927. p. 285. (Referring to Livy XLV. 11.)
35. Polybius XXIX. 2, 1-4.
36. Polybius XXXIX. 27, 8.
37. A. Toynbee "Hellenism, The History of a Civilization" Oxford. 1959, p.162.
38. J.C. Dancy: "A Commentary on I Maccabees" Oxford 1954, p. 70.
39. II Macc. 5, 5.
40. E. Schurer: "A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ". Edinburgh. 1890. Div. 1, p. 206. Note 32.
41. Schurer: Op. cit. p. 206.
42. I. Abrahams: "Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great". London. 1927, p. 15.
43. I. Macc. 1, 33. RSV.
44. I. Macc. 1. 41, 42, RSV.
45. Diodorus Siculus XXXIV, 1: Quoted in A. Bouché-Leclerq "Histoire des Seleucides", Paris 1913. p. 265.
46. M. Rostovtzeff: "Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World". Vol. II. Oxford, 1953. p. 705.
47. John Bright: "A History of Israel". London 1961, p. 407.
48. N. Bentwich: "Hellenism". Philadelphia, 1919. p. 333-4.
49. Moses Hadas: "Hellenistic Culture" New York, 1959, p. 43.

## CHAPTER V : THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES (2)

### THE MACCABEAN REVOLT

The Maccabean Revolt was caused possibly because the various reasons for Antiochus' Hellenization programme (the need to form a tighter-knit politico-religious framework for his heterogeneous realm, the activity of Parthia and Armenia, the war with Egypt and the ever-present threat of Rome, and a lingering distrust of the Jews because of their separatist social and religious tendencies) met, at one particular point of time, the various Jewish pressures which would be likely to resist this. In sum, these were the orthodoxy of one section of the Jewish people, the baselessness of contemporary Hellenism in comparison with Judaism, the fear of further syncretism, and internal opposition to the pro-Seleucid Party. Antiochus' comprehensive policy, in that it included religious reforms on a wide scale, was certain to evoke bitter opposition in many loyal Jews. In 168-7 these two pressures met.

According to the tradition preserved in I Maccabees, our best historical source for the revolt, hostilities began as a result of the demand of one of Antiochus' officers that one Mattathias, of the House of Hashmon, should offer swine's flesh on the altar and repudiate

the Jewish religion, as he saw it. From his refusal to sacrifice and the death of the King's agent which ensued, the revolt grew as those who were willing to fight for the traditional Jewish religion took to the country and the hills. The House of Mattathias is said to have been at Modiin, which is near the hills on the Eastern side of the central plain of Palestine.

The skirmishes in which the rebels were involved gradually grew in importance and ferocity and on the death of Mattathias, Judas Maccabaeus was made the commander of the insurrection. Judas was nicknamed Maccabaeus (possibly from **מַכָּה** "Hammer"). The rebel army was joined by a number of religious **Z**eatots, "mighty warriors of Israel, every one who offered himself willingly for the law."<sup>1</sup> These Hasidim<sup>2</sup> are said to be looked upon by Daniel as the intellectual leaders of the day and the true leaders of the nation: the determination and piety of many of these people is shown by their refusal to fight on the Sabbath Day and their consequent slaughter: (I Macc. 2, 29-38). This passive resistance on the Sabbath gave way to a resolve to kill or be killed on it, and it became the practice of the Zealot army to massacre in return, to fight on the Sabbath and forcibly to circumcise children. In the sporadic engagements with

the Syrians which took place the Maccabees won, e.g. over Seron and Apollonius: (I Macc. 3, 10-14). He rallied those of the population of Judaea who opposed the Hellenization of Jewish religion and possibly other aspects as well; those who did not object to this Hellenization policy fled to Greek cities, particularly to the west and north of Judaea. During this period Judaea was gradually won back for Judaism and Judas' bands became consolidated into a national liberation army; Mispheh functioned as the temporary national centre. At this point Antiochus left Antioch for the North and East, leaving the Regent Lysias in charge of the country as the guardian of his son, the young Antiochus. It was probably after Judas' early successes that the Book of Daniel was written in its present form to encourage the Jews in their resistance to Antiochus and to reassert the power of Israel's God by recalling memories of the Babylonian captivity in which one Daniel, was said, along with his friends, to have endured much for his faith at the hands of King Nebuchadrezzar. Bevan stresses the religious results of the Antiochan persecution: the fidelity, devotion, endurance, and purity which sprang up in face of it, qualities which Syrian Hellenism could

never match: "The agony created new human types and new forms of literature"<sup>3</sup>, namely the Martyrs and the Apocalypses with their resurrection hope: viz: Daniel 12, 2 and 3.

The various elements of Greek thought in Jewish apocalyptic literature, for instance the conception of divisions in Sheol, which is said to be close in character to the Greek Hades, are traced out with great skill by T.F. Glasson;<sup>4</sup> and S.B. Frost<sup>5</sup> makes out a convincing case for the Persian influence which exists notably in Tobit, for instance in the concept of a supernatural conflict between light and darkness. This finds a place in the Zoroastrian religion of Persia in which a perpetual war is waged between the Spirit of Light, Ahura Mazda and the Spirit of Darkness, Angra Mainyu. The schematizing of the final judgment derives elements from both Greek and Persian sources. Apocalyptic literature was to become commonplace, and to an extent stereotyped, during the two <sup>and a half</sup> centuries between 170 B.C. and the Fall of Jerusalem under Titus and Vespasian in 70 A.D. **Much** of this literature shows a bitter antagonism to those outside Jewry; but, in that it decisively preaches a doctrine of the after-life, it has been valuable in the formation of Christian beliefs, and has constituted the

substructure of the Christian resurrection hope.

In respect of the persecutions which followed the Gezerot, or Persecution Decrees, of December 167 it has been usefully suggested that the rigors exercised in Antiochus' name might have exceeded his intentions, that he was too well served by the ancestral antipathy of Syrians and Jews, and that his agents were all disposed to exceed their orders. Bouché-Leclercq believes that Antiochus' presence 'would have perhaps spared recalcitrants from the tortures which Græco-Romans had always banished from their codes'.

In 166 or 165 Antiochus attacked the north and east of Asia Minor, not only for glory but also for money: there appears to have been no money left to cater for his reckless expenditure. An example of this was the spectacular festival of Games which he held in 166 at Daphne as a counterblast to L. Aemilius Paullus' similar Games after the victory of Pydna. The extravagant nature of the celebrations at Daphne is stressed in Polybius; it is interesting to note that a feature of the Games was the peculiarly Roman innovation of 250 pairs of Gladiators.

As regards Antiochus' Armenian campaign Diodorus says: "Artaxias, the King of Armenia, broke away from

Antiochus, founded a city named after himself and assembled a powerful army. Antiochus, whose strength at this period was unmatched by any of the other kings, marched against him and was victorious and reduced him to submission." <sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, in Judaea, Nicanor and Gorgias were decisively defeated by Judas at Emmaus, and it was becoming clear that provincial forces were inadequate to defeat him. Lysias therefore, the guardian of Antiochus V, came down to Judaea and approached Jerusalem from the south, down the north-south road from Hebron to Jerusalem; here he was held up at the Maccabean fortress of Beth-Zur on the border between Judaea and Idumaea. This site was excavated by Sellers and Albright in 1931 and included the ruins of this large fortress, which was the second to have been built on the site, the first having been of Persian date. The town of Beth-Zur has Hellenistic remains that include houses, shops, fortifications and reservoirs. 126 coins found there ~~refer~~ <sup>belong</sup> to the reigns of Antiochus IV and V. <sup>9</sup>

In 168 Eucratides, Antiochus' general in Eastern Asia, left Babylon in order to reduce the Eastern provinces held by the Euthydemid dynasty to obedience.

part to the assistance of a Roman Embassy, as a result of which the heathen altar with its 'desolating sacrilege' was removed from the Temple and the worship of Jahweh was restored to its former purity. In 163<sup>16</sup> peace was again sought, and in order to prevent support for Philip peace was made with Judas and the Jewish nationalists, as a result of which the new Seleucid King, Antiochus V, 'swore to observe all their rights, settled with them and offered sacrifice'<sup>17</sup>.

Bickermann says that the consequences of this peace of 162 were twofold: "For one thing it marked the end of the reform party: its chief, the former High Priest, Menelaus, was executed upon the King's orders, 'for that he was the cause of all the evil in that he persuaded Epiphanes to abolish the ancestral constitution of the Jews', and the reformers had now become apostates"<sup>18</sup>.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

Main Texts consulted: I Macc. 2 and 4;  
Polybius: XXX and XXXI; II Macc. 1-13

1. I Macc. 2, 42 R.S.V.
2. V. Tcherikover: "Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews". Philadelphia 1919, p. 198 referring to Daniel 11, 33.
3. E.R. Bevan: "The House of Seleucus" p. 175.
4. T.F. Glasson: "Greek Influence of Jewish Eschatology" London 1961, p. 12-13 e.g.
5. S.B. Frost: "Old Testament Apocalyptic", London 1952.
6. A. Bouché-Leclercq: "Histoire des Seleucides", Paris 1913, p. 274.
7. Polybius XXX, 25.
8. Diodorus Siculus XXXI, 17A Loeb ed. F.R. Walton, Harvard 1957.
9. W.F. Albright: "The Archaeology of Palestine", Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 150-152.
10. W.W. Tarn: "The Greeks in Bactria and India" Camb. 1938, p. 177.
11. Tarn: Op. cit. p. 195. Justin.XLI. 6, 4 refers.
12. Address to British School in Athens A.G.M. on 8 Feb. 1966, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Am awaiting further information from Afghanistan. Thought to be possibly Alexandria Oxiana. - Paul Bernard; 15 Feb. (1967).
13. Tarn: Op. cit. p. 183. (1967).
14. Tarn: Op. cit. p. 209.
15. Polybius XXXI, 9. Tarn Op. cit. suggests consumption.
16. I Macc. 4, 52-58.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V (Continued)

17. II Macc. 13, 23 R.S.V.
18. E. Bickermann: "From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees", N.Y. 1949, p. 127, quoting Josephus' Antiquities, XII, 384.

## CHAPTER VI : THE HASHMONEAN ASCENDANCY

The period from 163 to 129 was occupied by the rise of the Hashmonean dynasty to complete autonomy over most of Coele-Syria south of Ptolemais, and the period will only be dealt with in sketch form.

Judas continued successful actions against the Seleucid forces in Judaea and reprisal raids in Batanea, Auranitis, and Galilee until 160, when, after gaining a resounding victory over Nicanor at Adasa, which was for a time celebrated by a Jewish festival known as "Nicanor's Day", he was defeated and killed by the Seleucid General, Bacchides, in May 160 at Eleasa.

From the peace negotiations in 163, at which religious liberty had been secured by the removal of Greek rites from the Temple, the Maccabean Revolt had begun to have the nature of a political and military campaign for territorial expansion. I do not see any reason to criticize this development; the nationalist element in the Maccabean cause was always prominent, and, as we have seen, had been a factor in the revolt. But it may well be that it was this political accent after 163 which led to the Hasidim removing their active support from the Maccabean cause. The Hasidim looked

forward to a Levitical High Priest and a civil ruler of the Davidic line: the Hashmoneans were not willing to give up the political leadership which the revolt had assured for them. The Pharisaic party which emerged during the Hashmonean era as a powerful social and religious force in Judaea is probably to be seen as the religious successor to the Hasidim, having the same diligence for the Law and for the preservation of traditional Judaism: it was to be a valuable social and religious anchor during the period when the Hashmonean monarchy was in moral decay from the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76) onwards.

Jonathan, one of Judas' four brothers, succeeded him on his death as the leader of the rising in the Summer of 160; and after a period of great hardship and military weakness in face of the skill of Bacc-hides succeeded in defeating him at Bethbasi in 157. Meanwhile Seleucus IV's son Demetrius had landed in Syria and had claimed the throne in 162 as the rightful heir. This was contested in 152 by one Alexander Balas, claiming to be the son of Antiochus IV. Demetrius enlisted Jonathan's support, and although supported by him for some time was outbidden by Alexander Balas, who offered Jonathan the High

Priesthood in the Summer of 152. Jonathan accepted this and rejected various rival offers by Demetrius. In 150 Demetrius was killed in battle; and Alexander married Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, and ruled as King with Jonathan's support. Demetrius' son, Demetrius II, now landed in Cilicia and claimed the throne: his general, Apollonius, was defeated by Jonathan on behalf of Alexander (I. Macc. 10, 69-89) in 146.

This Seleucid internecine strife gave Ptolemy Philometor a chance to invade Palestine, and he may have done so with the help of Jewish troops - resident in Egypt since the flight of the High Priest Onias IV to a settlement at Leontopolis in 167, it is certainly conjectured by Tcherikover that these Jews were allies of Philometor.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy's object was to use this civil strife to annex Coele-Syria (I. Macc. 11, 1f.): on Alexander's return from Cilicia to contest this invasion he was defeated by Ptolemy, and was killed by an Arabian called Zabdiel, who sent his head back to Ptolemy. Demetrius II reigned in place of him; and presently Ptolemy Philometor, generally thought to be one of the most attractive characters among the Ptolemies, died also (145).

Jonathan retained the favour of Demetrius II and supported him during serious riots at Antioch. In 144 a Greek general, Tryphon, came from Arabia with the son of Alexander Balas, the young Antiochus VI. He undertook a victorious campaign against Demetrius supported by Jonathan, who had earlier been deceived by Demetrius, and so had withdrawn his support from the latter.

In 144 Jonathan renewed the treaty which Judas Maccabaeus had made with Rome in 165: it was, as before, Rome's policy to weaken the Seleucid power by all means; and Judaea was now in a strong enough bargaining position to make her support valuable, (I. Macc. 12, 1ff.). He is also recorded as having made a renewal of friendship with Sparta. (I. Macc. 12, 5ff.). Apparently as a result of the continued rise of Jewish power Tryphon now schemed to bring Jonathan to Ptolemais and so remove the Jewish leader; in 143 this was done, and in the next year he was killed by Tryphon. Simon Maccabaeus filled his place; and by the end of his reign in 134 had increased Jewish power to the north and west, and had consolidated the State, reigning as Ethnarch. The remains of his magnificent palace were excavated by MacAlister at Gezer near Ramlah.

John Hyrcanus succeeded his father, Simon, who had been killed by Ptolemy the Governor of Jericho in 134, and on the defeat and death of the reigning Seleucid king, the energetic and capable Antiochus VII Sidetes, while campaigning against Parthia in 129, became the ruler of an autonomous Jewish nation. Thus it remained until the annexation by Rome under Pompey in 63 B.C.

Politically the Maccabean revolt had been astutely managed, and there is no doubt that it was bravely fought; but there is about the later rulers of the dynasty a sordidness of personal life and a patent political rapacity which does great damage to the Maccabean image. It may be for this reason that none of their exploits, nor the religious and political freedom which they undoubtedly brought, has found a place in canonical scripture.

## C O N C L U S I O N

2

Bickermann has distinguished four distinct theories for the causes of the Maccabean revolt: two of these involve pagan reasons and two Jewish. The first 'pagan' theory says that the oppressive measures of Antiochus IV were justified by the previous rebellion of the Jews in favour of Ptolemy during the Egyptian campaign of 168. On his way back to crush this revolt he plundered the Temple, and might therefore have justified it as a military action. This suggestion brings the date of the pillage from 169 to 168. This version had warrant in Polybius (lost), Tacitus, II Maccabees, and Josephus. It is a powerful case. The second 'pagan' theory is an anti-Semitic one and is found in Diodorus XXXIV, 1 and Tacitus Histories V, 8: it is attacked in Josephus, <sup>II. 8.</sup> Contra Apionem ~~XI. 7, 90-97~~. According to this version, Antiochus led a crusade against Jewish barbarism as the champion of Hellenic culture.

The first of the 'Jewish' theories is that the persecution was a divine judgement against them: II Macc. 5, 17 suggests this, but a historian is not competent to comment upon it. The second theory finds its main platform in I Maccabees and talks in terms of Antiochus Epiphanes as "a wicked root" (I Macc. 1, 10).

Arnold Toynbee calls Hellenism's encounter with Judaism in and after 175 B.C.: 'the most portentous single event in Hellenic history' referring to the impending struggle and its ultimate consequences. 'In the end', he says, 'a frustrated Hellas came to terms with an unbending Judaea by adopting a Hellenized form of Judaea's fanatical religion'.<sup>3</sup> Of the many factors in the causes of the revolt, I believe the policy of Antiochus Epiphanes to have been the most potent. This king seems to have realized that he was at the vortex of a circle of unfriendly powers: Parthia, Armenia, Egypt, Rome, and Pergamum. This geographical dilemma demanded a policy which would induce a greater degree of cohesiveness into his kingdom. Religious and cultural unification, by means of the strengthening of Hellenistic civilization throughout his empire, seemed to be a feasible way of attaining a cohesiveness which could better resist outside pressure. In the event the policy was impracticable and the external pressures were too great. These pressures seem to have forced his hand; but militarily Rome and its various allies, notably Pergamum and Egypt, were too strong for any such policy to succeed.

Judaea presented, in view of its religious and

cultural heritage, a barrier which he did not understand and in the Hellenization of which the Seleucid party in Palestine was only ever partially successful. This policy gave rise to internal divisions in that it not only divided Ptolemaic sympathizers from Seleucid, 'godly' from 'ungodly' and rich from poor, but Greek zealots from Jewish zealots. The course of this process we have now traced; and have seen that the internal pressures for and against this type of religious and cultural revolution came to exist not with the Seleucids, nor with the Ptolemies but with the return of the exiles from Babylon. The various events of 175-167 certainly provided a trigger for the revolt but they were no more than that.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI & CONCLUSION

Main Text consulted : I Maccabees, ch. 4-16

1. Fuks and Tcherikover: Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum, I, Harvard, 1957. Prolegomena, p. 20.
2. E. Bickermann: "Der Gott der Makkabaer", Berlin 1937. pp. 17-35, summarised in R.H. Pfeiffer: "History of New Testament Times", New York, 1949, p. 9.
3. A. Toynbee: "Hellenism: The History of a Civilization", Oxford, 1959, p. 177.

APPENDIX A : ART and ARCHITECTURE in  
HELLENISTIC PALESTINE

The surviving examples of Hellenistic and other Greek architecture in Palestine prior to the Roman conquest are few indeed, and it was therefore thought wise to include in this appendix a short survey with illustrations of Greek architecture in the Classical and Hellenistic periods in mainland Greece, to discover what features of this found a place in the architecture of Third and Second Century Palestine.

During the Classical period, c. 450-350 B.C., the Doric order had been principally used in the building of temples, of which two of the best examples are the Parthenon (Plate 1) and the Hephaestion (Plate 2) at Athens. The combination of subtlety and solidity in these temples gave a majesty to their appearance which later temples found difficulty in equalling. The Fourth Century has been said to mark the beginning of a decline from aesthetic perfection. The religious aspect became outweighed by secular elements and ornament was prominent at the expense of strength and dignity.<sup>1.</sup>

In the Fourth Century Doric was gradually abandoned

as a style; and Vitruvius is said to have postulated faults in symmetry as the cause of the termination. The Ionic order, of secondary importance as an order in the Fifth Century, when Doric was dominant, is seen to advantage in the Erechtheion at Athens: the Ionic details of this building are splendidly conceived as is also the Caryatid porch on southern side (Plate 3).

In connection with the Ionic style, it is of interest that the curious capital-type known as 'Proto-Ionic' has been found on the site of a town dating from the Persian and Hellenistic periods at Ramat Rahel (Strata IV. A & B), four miles south-west of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> This capital type has no connection with classical Ionic apart from a superficial resemblance in, for example, the volutes. This spiral feature found in 'proto Ionic' was reminiscent of the volutes on 'Ionic' and gave rise to the former term. The bases of the relevant columns are shown on Plate 15.

Recoverable remains from the Greek Hellenistic period are scarce in Palestine. The main sites are probably 'Araq-el-Emir, Marisa, Beth Shan, Philoteria and Beth Zur. Other minor sites, or ones whose major importance lies in periods other than Hellenistic, include Samaria, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hazor, Acco and Amman (Philadelphia). Roman Hellenistic sites of the greatest importance are Baalbek and Palmyra, the greater part of whose remains date from the First Century B.C.

level a catacomb with walls 'made of dressed blocks laid as headers and stretchers'<sup>6</sup>. In the courtyard of this catacomb was found a partly obliterated inscription carved on marble mentioning the names of Ptolemy Philopator and his mother Berenice (Plate 11).

Painting of the Ptolemaic period in Palestine is also reflected in the elaborate decoration in the tombs at Marisa: particularly in the animal frieze, once brightly coloured, which adorns the inside of Tomb I. There is a gracefully festooned garland as a frieze in Tomb II which dates from the end of the Third Century; and although there is clearly Egyptian influence in these tombs, for instance in the sloping of the facade pillars referred to, in the wall painting there are signs of a technique similar to that of Greek vase-painting, and Peters and Thiersch agree that the paintings are 'thoroughly Greek in style'<sup>7</sup>.

Greek statuary in the Hellenistic period developed a remarkable virtuosity in the portrayal of individual expression and emotion and replaced the classical ideal of a sublime composure. Much of Hellenistic sculpture is extremely well-executed, if somewhat distasteful in the very life-like quality of emotional expression, as in the 'Head of a Philosopher' in the Athens National Museum. Its individualistic tendency might perhaps be

seen as a reaction against the feeling of an individual's losing his identity in the vastness and impersonality of the Hellenistic world of his time - a vastness which, as we have seen, the various schools of philosophy sought to make less oppressive.

Pergamum can be considered a brilliant microcosm of Hellenistic art, being the centre of a school of architecture as well as of a school of statuary. The frieze on the great altar of Zeus at Pergamum with its vigorous carving not only of drapery but of muscle forms, and with faces which are magnificently alive and sympathetic may be considered the height of the Pergamene schools. It dates from the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.). Athens' agora had a new stoa built by Attalus II of Pergamum, c.150 B.C. It consisted of a two-storeyed colonnade of 45 columns, Doric beneath and Ionic above. Inside each of these rows of columns stood a second row of 22 columns and behind them a series of shops. Plate 4 shows the American School of Classical Studies' restoration of this building.

Plates 5 and 6 show examples of Hellenistic monuments in Athens. Plate 5 is the choragic monument of Lysikrates with suggestions of Corinthian order on the pilasters that encircle the main drum of the building. Beside the refinement of this building the clock tower built by the Syrian Andronikos in the First Century B.C. (Plate 6) seems

crude in design and the figures carved in relief on the octagonal faces seem stylized to the point of ugliness.

Possibly the finest Hellenistic temple of which remains have been preserved is that of the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens. Fifteen (13 + 2) columns are still standing, (plate 8). This was commenced in 174 as a gift from Antiochus IV to Athens to the designs of Decimus Cossutius responsible also for work of this period in Antioch. The peribolus of the temple is 424 x 680 feet and stylobate 135 x 354 feet. 104 columns were arranged, 8 x 20 (2 rows each side: 3 front and rear). The structure was left incomplete and not finished until Hadrian's reign in A.D. 132. The capitals (plate 9) are too pure to belong to Augustus' reign (or later?), are said by Dinsmoor to belong to Cossutius, and do apparently vary slightly in detail. The height of the columns is 55 ft. 5 ins. to a ratio of 1 : 8.77, unusually solid for Corinthian.

Corinthian was the principal architectural style of the Hellenistic age and dominated the Graeco-Roman world. The Mausoleum of Hyrcanus and the Tobiad family at Araq-el-Emir has on its façade an impressive composite type of Corinthian capital: these capitals, referred to by Butler as 'Persian', are so called because "they appear to have been composed of animal heads" as for example at Persepolis. The architrave of the Mausoleum is of the

Doric order. The huge lions, two each side of the main doorway and facing inwards, 3 metres long and 2 metres high, are said to show Phoenician and Persian influence. <sup>10.</sup>

Theatre-construction from the Hellenistic period is not to be seen in Palestine, although there are several examples from Roman times of which that at Beth-Shean, excavated in 1960 is a good example. It shows the degree to which the stage has encroached on the Orchestra circle (Plate 12). In connection with the art displayed in the construction of theatres, the bas-reliefs on the scenae frons of the theatre of Dionysius at Athens are to be noted, as the sculpture seems very fine: it dates from the time of Nero (Plate 9). Dinsmoor points out that even up to Hadrian's time Greek artists working on ancient tradition could attain great purity of style. <sup>11.</sup>

The art of the vase-painter declined sharply after the Fourth Century, but floral and animal patterns persist on funeral vases. Black vases with a kiln-fired clay gloss-paint were very popular and there have been examples of this ware found at Jaffa for example. White and brown paint was used for decoration of the vases. Examples of Hellenistic-period pottery found in the Jaffa excavations are shown, by courtesy of the curator, on plate 13.

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4. J.J. Rothschild: The Tombs of Sanhedria in P.E.Q.  
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5. E.R. Goodenough: 'Jewish Symbols during the Greco-  
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M.A. Abstract

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Hellenism in Palestine: 323-129 B.C. with special  
reference to the causes of the Maccabean Rebellion

It is the purpose of this thesis to set the Maccabean Revolt in the widest possible relevant framework, namely that of the Hellenistic world of its day, and also of the post-exilic national history of the Jewish people. The practice of labelling the Maccabean Revolt as a 'struggle against Hellenism' or some such phrase appears to make assumptions about both Hellenism and Judaism which, on a closer examination of the internal social condition of Judaea at the time, are by no means necessarily true. My aim is to find out if possible what was the complex of causes which touched off this revolt; and in order to do this I believe one has to look at both the Hellenistic and Judaistic contexts of this rebellion at the same time. With this in mind I have briefly sketched Jewish history from the Exile to 323 B.C. before dealing with the body of the work.

The Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic period has been briefly examined to discover what proportion of Greek ceramics, sculpture and architecture actually reached and affected Palestine, and how much native art and architecture reflected this during the Hellenistic period. This section is illustrated by appropriate photographs.

The relation of Rome to the Middle-Eastern powers surrounding Palestine (Coele-Syria) has been traced during the late third and early second centuries B.C., and it has been concluded that this threat from Rome put pressure upon Antiochus IV to unite his realm by means of religious reform. This was the last hope of strengthening his empire to withstand the pressure of Rome via Pergamum and Egypt. In this international context the religious

reforms demanded by Antiochus IV seem to be not so much evil as regrettable. And it is also concluded that they were only partly responsible for the Rebellion, social causes inter alia having played a major part.

May 1967.



Plate 1.

CLASSICAL  
PERIOD.

PARTHENON FROM THE  
NORTH - WEST.

IKTINOS AND KALLIKRATES  
ARCHITECTS

447 to 432 BC

DORIC ORDER.



Plate 2.

HEPHAISTEION

FROM THE SOUTH.

450 to 440 BC.

CONSECRATED, 421 BC

DORIC ORDER.



Plate 3.

ERECHTHEION

FROM THE SOUTH - WEST  
SHOWING CARYATID PORCH

POSSIBLY BY MNESIKLES

COMPLETED, 407 BC

IONIC ORDER.

ATHENS.

# HELLENISTIC PERIOD.

## PERGAMENE SCHOOL.



IONIC  
DORIC

Plate 4. STOA OF ATTALUS, FROM THE WEST.  
ORIGINAL STRUCTURE C. 150 B.C.  
AMERICAN RECONSTRUCTION C. 1960 AD.

Plate 5. CHORAGIC MONUMENT  
OF LYSIKRATES, 335-4 B.C.

Plate 6. "TOWER OF THE WINDS"  
- CLOCK TOWER OF SYRIAN, ANDROS  
1ST. CENT. BC.



# ATHENS.

# HELLENISTIC PERIOD.

Plate 7. TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN

ZEUS  
GIFT OF ANTIOCHUS IV,  
'EPIPHANES' C. 174 B.C.

DESIGNER, DECIMUS COSSUTIUS.  
COMPLETED UNDER HADRIAN, 125AD.

CORINTHIAN 'STYLE'.



Plate 8. TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN Z  
PILLAR GROUP AT SOUTH-EAST  
OF STYLOBATE.

RATIO OF WIDTH: HEIGHT = 1:

CAPITALS POSSIBLY BY COSSUT

CORINTHIAN 'STYLE'.



Plate 9.

SCULPTURES ON THE  
SCENAE FRONS OF THE  
THEATRE OF DIONYSIUS  
C. 60AD.



ATHENS.



Plate 10. ISRAEL

PHILOTERIA.  
FROM THE SOUTH

IN FOREGROUND, A  
BATHS FROM ROMAN  
PERIOD.

SITE DATES FROM  
EARLY BRONZE II  
RE-'FOUNDED' UNDER  
PTOLEMY II C. 270



Plate 11.

EXCAVATIONS OF  
PTOLEMAIC PERIOD  
CATACOMBS AT JAFFA

INSCRIPTION FOUND  
REFERS TO PTOLEMY  
C. 217 B.C.

COURTESY, J. KAPLAN, Director.



Plate 12.

BETH SHEAN:  
- SCYTHOPOLIS

CITY PROMINENT THROUGH  
HELENISTIC PERIOD

THEATRE DATES FROM  
1ST. CENTURY A.D.

AMERICAN EXCAVATION  
IN 1960.

SEATING CAPACITY: 5,



Plate 13.

JAFFA.

HELLENISTIC POTTERY  
IN MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES  
FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS

COURTESY OF J. KAPLAN, Curator.



Plate 14.

CAPERNAUM.

ROMAN PERIOD SYNAGOGUE.

3RD. CENTURY A.D.

RE-CONSTRUCTED IN 1925

ROMAN CORINTHIAN PILLARS  
ON NORTH SIDE.

COLUMN DIAMETER = 60 CM.

GIVING WIDTH: HEIGHT = 1 :

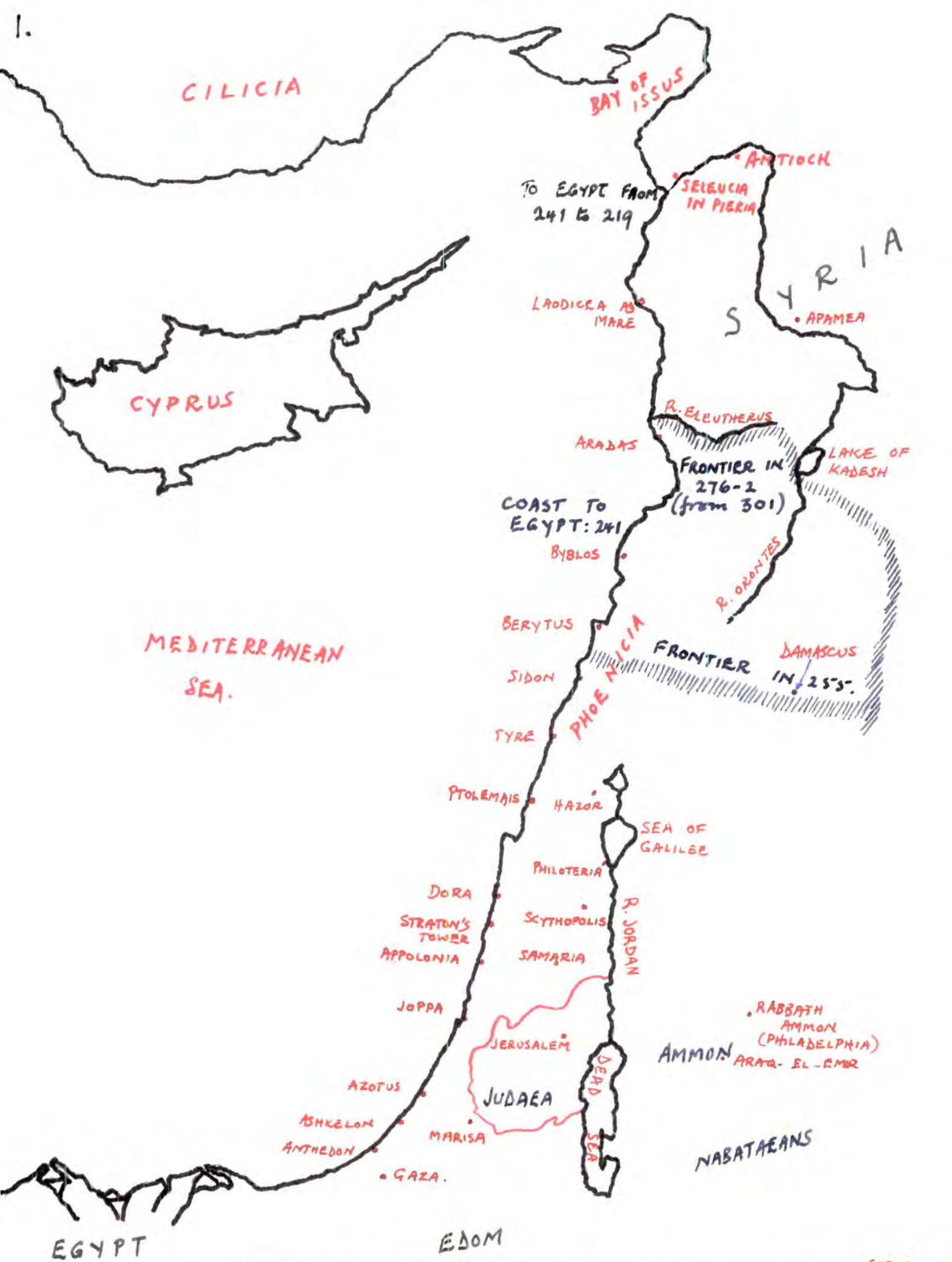


Plate 15.

RAMAT RAHEL, JERUSALEM.

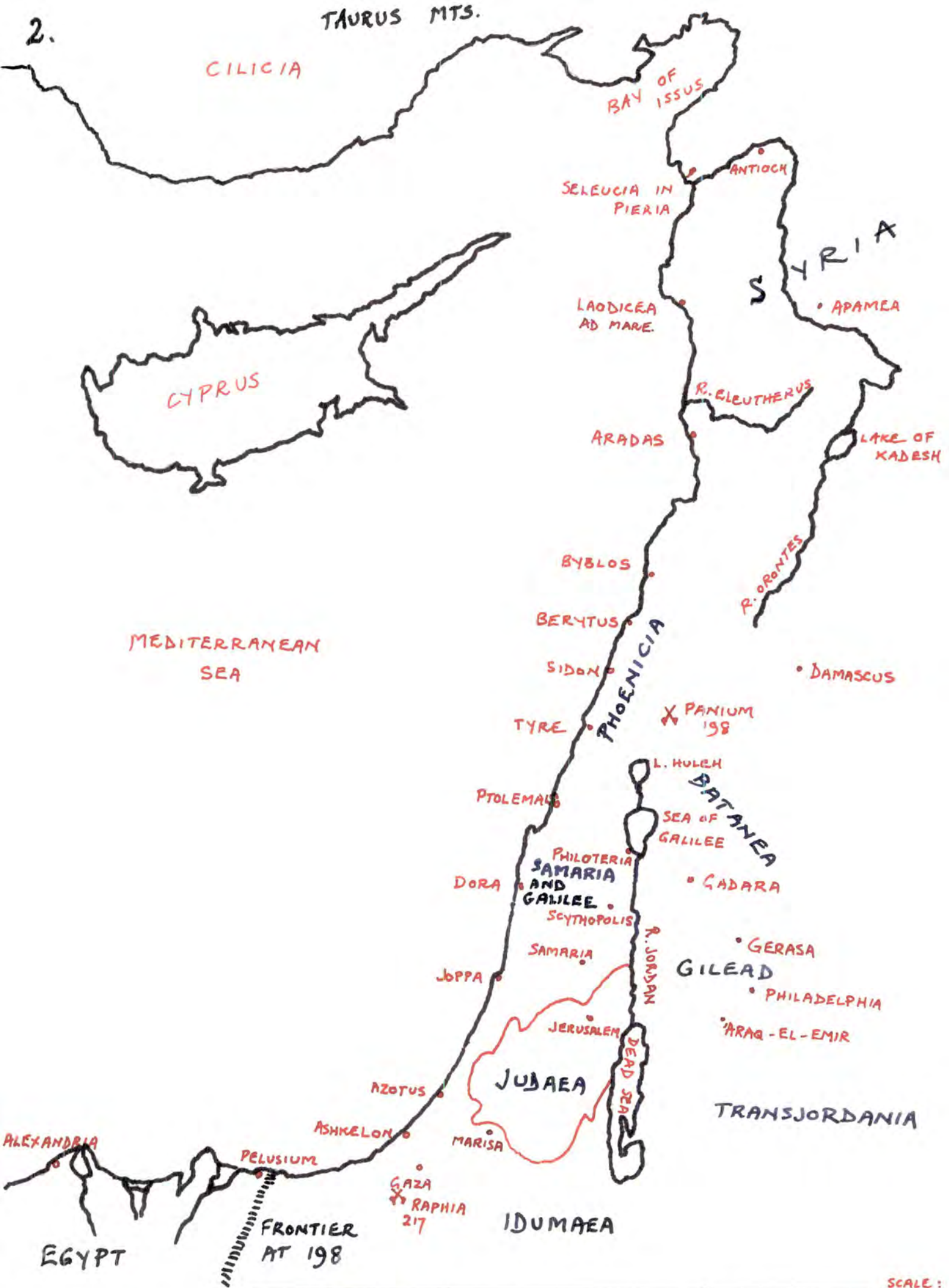
SITE EXCAVATED, 1959-63

'PROTO-IONIC' CAPITALS  
FOUND NEAR COLUMN BASES  
IN HELLENISTIC AREA ON  
LEFT OF PHOTOGRAPH: STRATA  
IV A & B.



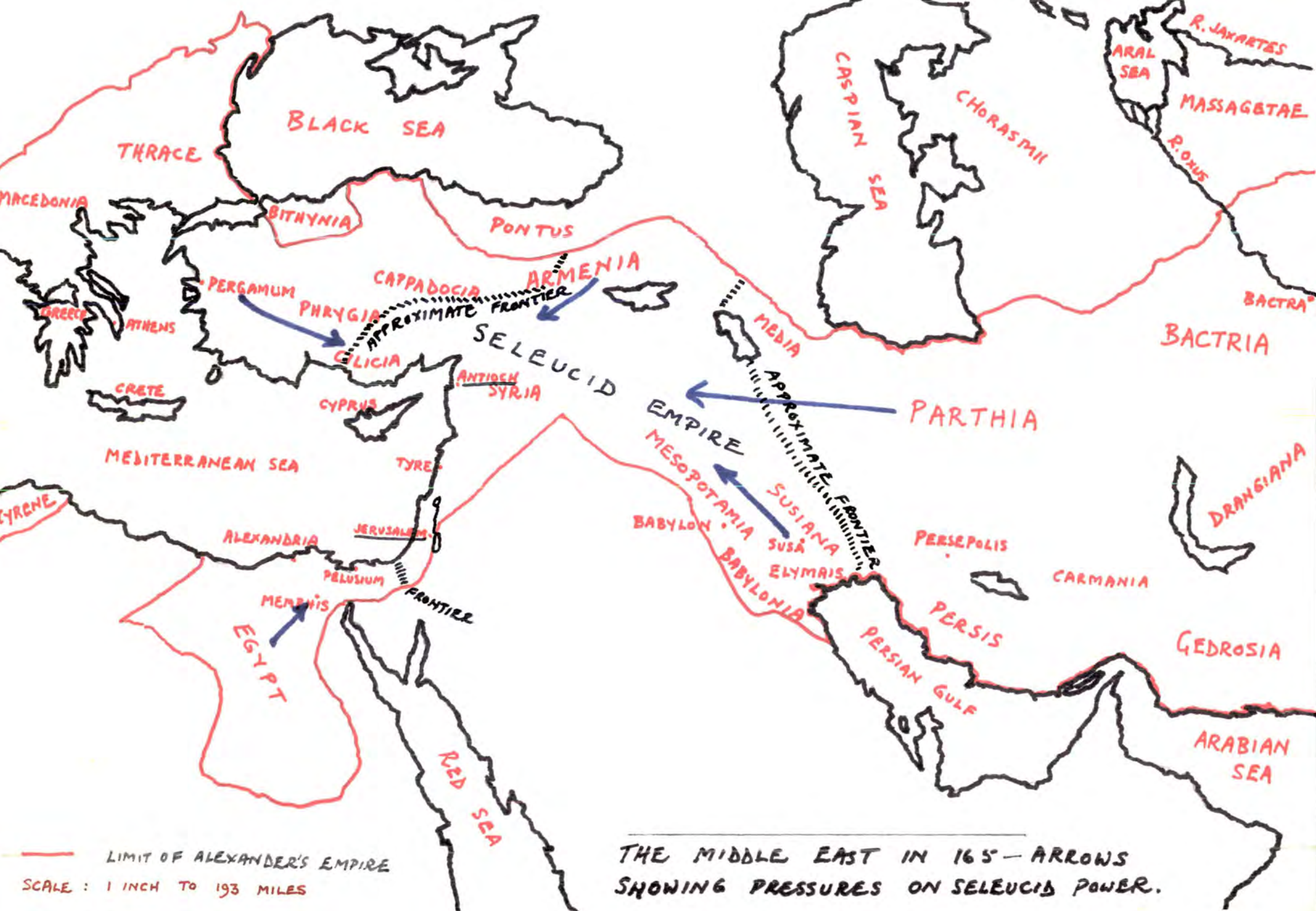
COELE - SYRIA IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD  
 C. 250 B.C.

SCALE: 1 IN  
 39 MIL



COELE-SYRIA IN 198 B.C.

SCALE: To 39



— LIMIT OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE  
 SCALE: 1 INCH TO 193 MILES

THE MIDDLE EAST IN 165 — ARROWS SHOWING PRESSURES ON SELEUCID POWER.



MEDITERRANEAN SEA

WATERS OF MEROM

PTOLEMAIS (ACCO)

(CAPERNAUM)

GAULANITIS

SEA OF GALILEE

MAGDALA

PHILOTERIA

GADARA

DOR

PLAIN OF ESDRAELON

SCYTHOPOLIS (BETH-SHAN)

GILEAD

PELLA

STRATO'S TOWER

GERASA

SAMARIA

R. JABBOK

APOLLONIA

COASTAL PLAIN  
COELE-SYRIA

AMMON

c. 167 FRONTIER

c. 250 FRONTIER

CRABBATH PHILADEL

JAFFA (JOPPA)

R. YARKON

MODIN

ELEASA

'ARAQ-

AZOTUS (ASHDOD)

BETH-HORON

ADASA

JERICO

JERUSALEM

KHIRBET QUMRAN

ASHKELON

JUDAEA

BETH-ZACHARIAH

ANTHEDON

GAZA

BETH-ZUR

MARISA (MARESHAH)

RAPHIA 217

JUDAEA 168-7

SCALE: 1 INCH TO 14