

## **Appendix 3A, VI**

### **The Period of High Priests ONIAS I TO TO THE DEATH OF SIMON MATTHES According to *Maccabees* and *Josephus***

*Notes:* This source-quoted narration resumes from Appendices 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests, Eliashib to Jaddua) and 3A, VI, Attachment 4 (Descendancies, Macedonia, etc.), E (Narration). A chronological summary of regnal periods and their events is provided in Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline).

Descendancy charts in Appendix 3A, VI attachments 4, 5 and 6 give details of Maccabean, Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers and relatives. Only sporadic information is available over this period for high priests, and for placing their tenures within specific dates.

Source citations given at intervals refer to preceding paragraph(s). Italicized material in quotations is supplied unless noted otherwise.

When Alexander III the Great died, the immediate control of his territories fell among his generals; and, while the princes and generals that survived Alexander III “ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars...and the cities were sufferers...” AJ XI.1.1.

During the reign in Egypt of Ptolemy I Lagus (Alexander’s half-brother), Ptolemy I “had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizzim,” and distributed many men into garrisons. However, “[T]here were not a few...who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy.” Alexandrian Hebrews received “equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves.... However, there were disorders among their posterity....those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but [those in the Samaria region] were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim,” the temple Alexander III had allowed to be built c. 332/331 b.c. AJ XII.1.1.

Ptolemy I’s successor, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, is depicted as a beneficent suzerain who granted the plea of one Aristeus, a closest of the “Friends of the King,” to free captives enslaved in Egypt; Aristeus’ plea included the statement, “These people, and we also, worship the same god, [who] we call ‘Jupiter.’” Concomitantly, Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ court librarian solicited the king to arrange translation of the Hebrew codices into Greek. (Alexandria’s library reportedly held 995 books, the world’s then literary wealth.)

The *Josephus* text reflects, but with little detail, that the high priest office had progressed from Jaddua (who had greeted Alexander III), to Onias I, Simon (#1), and then Eleazar.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy II’s epistle to high priest Eleazar informed him of the release of captive slaves and asked that he send “six of the elders out of every tribe [to]...obtain an accurate interpretation” of the books. In his epistle Ptolemy II stated, “There are many Jews/[Hebrews] who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captive. These were honored by my father [Ptolemy I]; some he placed in the army....to others...he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to [our subjects,] the Egyptians.”

High priest Eleazar graciously accepted and notified Ptolemy II that “six elders out of every tribe” had been chosen and sent, “and the law with them.” The tribes names are not supplied; but “Philadelphus took care that [for] those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, all things should be prepared for them according to [their] custom.”<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy II subsequently contributed many items of great value to furnish and

<sup>1</sup> Refer to chart in 3B, II, sub-part II, C(2).

<sup>2</sup> This language suggests representatives from cities outside Judah; the total number, 70, may indicate a makeup different than simply the Levite and 11 other tribes (which would total 72; and, where *Josephus* states, “[I]t does not seem to me to be

adorn the temple.

AJ XII.II.1, 4, 6, 11-12.

High priest detail recommences with Eleazar's successor, Onias II, in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who succeeded Ptolemy II. Onias II, described as a high priest who "did not care for his authority..., ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood," provoked Ptolemy III by not paying taxes as had "his forefathers...out of their own estates." Ptolemy III threatened to confiscate land if Onias did not pay. One "Joseph, young in age but of great reputation among the people"--whose "father's name was Tobias; and his mother...the sister of Onias [II], the high priest"--outbid all other "principal men of dignity" who sought "the farming"/collecting of Ptolemy III's taxes. Ptolemy III gave Joseph an army of 2,000 foot soldiers to enforce collection in Syria and Phoenicia. Joseph did not hesitate slaying principal men of Askelon and Scythopolis when he met refusal to pay, which prompt reaction (*Josephus* notes) quickly brought the more northern cities into line. Joseph Tobias thus acquired a lead position between temple and suzerain, a "good fortune he enjoyed for 22 years."

AJ XII.III.1-6.

*Josephus* reports that the first Seleucid kings "of Asia" also were tolerant toward their Hebrew populations. Seleucus I Nicator had made them "citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks." Seleucid monarchs, over the approximate one hundred years of Ptolemies I - III, had proceeded Seleucus I Nicator, Antiochus I Soter, Antiochus II Theos (whose wife, Berenice II, was a daughter of Ptolemy II), Seleucus II Callinicus.

Major warring commenced between the Ptolemaic and Seleucus dynasties in the next generation, c. 223/222 b.c., when Antiochus III the Great and Ptolemy IV Philopater succeeded at about the same time. Antiochus III battled with Ptolemy IV and seized Judaea. Palestinian and Coele-Syrian territories suffered through conflicts that continued into the reign of Ptolemy IV's son and successor, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, whose army (under a general Scopas) briefly retook Judaea and many Coele-Syrian cities. However, "not long afterward...Antiochus overcame Scopas...subdued those cities of Coele-Syria which Scopas had gotten...and Samaria with them." "[T]he Jews<sup>4</sup> of their own accord, went over to him [Antiochus III], received him into the city...and readily assisted him when he besieged the [Ptolemaic] garrison which was in the citadel." Subsequently, Antiochus III issued epistles of restoration and religious freedom in gratitude for the "friendship of the Jews."

AJ XII.III.1-4-5; XII.III.12.

Antiochus III and Ptolemy V subsequently reconciled. Antiochus III gave "his daughter Cleopatra [I] to wife" to Ptolemy V "and yielded up to him Coele-Syria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry." At that time, "the Samaritans, [who] were in a flourishing condition," were making incursions into Judaeian land. "This happened when Onias [II] was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his [Eleazar's] uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after Manasseh had ended his life, Onias [II] received that dignity. Onias was the son of Simon, who was called The Just; which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as...said before."<sup>5</sup>

AJ XII.IV.1.

In the meantime, the aforementioned (Tobias + Onias II Daughter-) Joseph--already "father of seven sons by one [unnamed] wife"--had had another son, Hyrcanus, by the [unnamed] daughter of Joseph's "brother/[half-brother], Solymius." Hyrcanus Tobias, who

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necessary to set down the names of the seventy elders," the editor has inserted "seventy [two]"--AJ XII.II.7. (For listing of tribes, refer to Volume One introductory summary at and in cross-references given in fn. 38.)

<sup>3</sup> For this term, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 13.

<sup>4</sup> General use of this term, textwise, prevents knowing when it is meant to describe an adherent to Hebrew law who resided in the province of Judaea or one residing elsewhere--as here, also in the Samaria region.

<sup>5</sup> Refer to chart in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, which reflects Onias descendants and associated confusions.

was precocious, ambitious and resourceful, still was very young when Joseph (himself “hindered from going by old age”) sent Hyrcanus Tobias to a celebration at the Ptolemaic Alexandrian court. While Hyrcanus was gone, “his brethren wrote to all the king’s friends, that they should destroy him.” Hyrcanus, however, charmed Alexandria’s court with his wit and exorbitant gifts and was dispatched home with high honors. His “brethren,” hearing of the favor Hyrcanus earned, “went out to meet...and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at the sum of money bestowed.” Hyrcanus killed two of his “brethren” and “many others of those that were with them; but the rest escaped to Jerusalem to their father.” Hyrcanus “retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode.”

“At this time Seleucus [IV Philopator] who [also] was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus [III] the Great.”  
*AJ XII.IV.6; AJ XII.IV.7-10.*

“[O]ne Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple,<sup>6</sup> fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city” and contended with high priest Onias II about supervision of the city market. “Since he [Simon] could not prevail against Onias, he went to [Menestheus-] Apollonius of Tarsus, who at that time was governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia.” Said Apollonius reported the riches to Seleucus IV and suggested that they all could be brought under his control. Seleucus sent his “minister,” Heliodorus, to investigate. Onias II explained that part of the temple money was a care fund for widows and orphans and a part was the property of Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, a man who occupied a very high position. Heliodorus insisted the “money must be confiscated for the royal treasury,” which caused great distress throughout the city.  
*2 Maccabees 3:1-14.*

When Heliodorus and his bodyguards attempted to inventory the temple bank, three regally dressed and armored men miraculously fell upon them as they approached the treasury. Heliodorus, once he had recovered from the attack, returned to his king. Simon of Benjamin/ Bilgah believed high priest Onias II had been guilty of contriving the opposition. “Simon’s hostility reached such a point that murders were being committed by one of his henchmen, and Onias II made recourse to Seleucus IV to intervene. “But Seleucus [IV] died. ... When he was dead, his brother Antiochus [IV], who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom.” Antiochus IV, “once a hostage at Rome,” “became king in year 137 of the kingdom of the Greeks.”  
*1 Maccabees 1:1; 2 Maccabees 4:1-7; AJ XII.IV.11.*

Ptolemy V had died approximately midway through Seleucus IV’s reign. “He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called Philometer/[Philomater],” who succeeded as Ptolemy VI.  
*AJ XII.IV.11.*

Hyrcanus Tobias, “seated...beyond the Jordan, and...at perpetual war with the Arabians,” had built “a strong castle...entirely of white stone to the very roof [with] animals of prodigious magnitude engraven upon it...a great and deep canal...caves of many furlongs [and] large rooms, [and] introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. ... He built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. [H]e named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond [east of the] Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon.” Hyrcanus ruled over “those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus [IV] was king of Syria.”  
*AJ XII.IV.11.*

“While [these] things were taking place,” the people of Tarsus and Mallus revolted because the king [Antiochus IV] had given their cities as a gift to his [unnamed] mistress. While the king was off taking care of that--having left Andronicus, one of his nobles, in charge--one Menelaus<sup>7</sup> “stole some gold vessels from the temple and presented them to Adronicus.” Onias II withdrew to “an inviolable sanctuary at Daphne, near Antioch,” and

<sup>6</sup> Given in some translations as “[A] certain Simon, of the priestly course of *Bilgah*, who had been appointed superintendent of the temple;” *Bilgah*, the 15th house in king David’s divisions/ courses--refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A(1).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. at fn. 9.

made a public protest. At Menelaus' instigation Andronicus lured out Onias II and killed him.<sup>8</sup>  
*2 Maccabees 4:30-38.*

"[Tobias-] Hyrcanus' father, Joseph, died. ... His [Joseph's] uncle also, Onias [II] died, and left the high priesthood to his son, Simeon/[Simon]." "[U]pon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. [T]he elders [of the sons] made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons; the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon [*sic.*/ Simon/Simeon #2] the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them."  
*AJ XII.IV.10.*

*Note:* The reason(s) why the priesthood legacy seems to have been short-lived by Simeon/Simon, and his fate, are not given, *i.e.:*

"[U]pon the death of Onias [II] the high priest, they [who, is not designated] gave the high priesthood to Jesus/[Jason] his brother; for that son [Onias IV] which Onias [II] left was yet but an infant." When "Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes succeeded...Onias' [II's] brother Jason/[Jesus] obtained the high priesthood," promising a large tribute to Antiochus IV.

*AJ XII.V.1; 2 Maccabees 4:7.*

When Apollonius went to Egypt for the coronation of Ptolemy VI, Antiochus IV learned that Ptolemy VI was opposed to his policies, "so he took measures for his own security. After going to Joppa, he proceeded to Jerusalem. There he was received with great pomp by Jason and the people of the city....following this he led his army into Phoenicia."

*2 Maccabees 4:21-22.*

"Three years later Jason/[Jesus] sent Menelaus/[Onias III], brother [in-law?<sup>9</sup>] of the aforementioned [Bilgah/Benjamin] Simon," to deliver tribute to Antiochus IV and to obtain other decisions, during which time Menelaus obtained the royal commission to be high priest in place of Jesus/Jason, "outbidding Jason by 300 talents of silver." "Jesus/[Jason], who was the brother of Onias [II], [then] was deprived of the high priesthood by the king who...gave it to his [Jason's/Jesus'] younger brother, whose name also was Onias [III/Menelaus]; for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader.<sup>10</sup> This Jesus changed his name to Jason [and] Onias [III] was called Menelaus."

*2 Maccabees 4:23-26; AJ XII.V.1*

"Antiochus [IV], who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy [VI] about his right to the whole country of Syria/[Palestine]."<sup>11</sup>

*Josephus BJ I.1.1.*

"Jesus/[Jason] raised a sedition against Menelaus/[Onias III].... [T]he multitude were divided between them...[and] the sons of Tobias [apparently, *initially*] took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason." "Jason/[Jesus]...was driven out as a fugitive to the country of the Ammonites."

*AJ XII.V.1; 2 Maccabees 4:10ff.*

Confusion surrounding the Jesus/Menelaus/Tobias involvements also includes the following

A. *Maccabees* reports:

(1) that it was Jesus/Jason who "immediately initiated his countrymen into the Greek way of life" (setting aside concessions granted through the mediation of John, father of Eupolemus—that Eupolemus who would later go on an embassy to the Romans to establish a treaty of friendship); and

(2) that it was Jesus/Jason who "abrogated the lawful institutions and introduced customs contrary to the law."

<sup>8</sup> A timing uncertainty relative to Andronicus is posed by *2 Maccabees* verses 34-38: "When the king returned from the region of Cilicia, the Jews of the city, together with the Greeks who detested the crime, went to see [the king] about the murder." Antiochus IV humiliated Andronicus publically and put him to death." (*Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, for Antiocheia/Antioch and Daphne.*)

<sup>9</sup> *Refer to chart in Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5.*

<sup>10</sup> The *Josephus* editors note (page 362), "We have hitherto had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable." ("These three sons" being Onias II, Jesus/Jason, and Onias [III]/Menelaus; *refer to chart in 3B, II, Attachment 5.*)

<sup>11</sup> *Refer to fn. 3.*

B. *Josephus* reports:

"Menelaus and the sons of Tobias...retired to Antiochus IV, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly, they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations." *Loc. cit.*

"Antiochus [IV], upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned [Ptolemy VI] as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequences; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor/[Philomater VI] by treachery, and seized upon Egypt." Antiochus took places about Memphis and proceeded to Alexandria, which he hoped to take by siege. "But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone." *AJ XII.V.2.*

At some point, Menelaus/Onias III was summoned before Antiochus IV for non-payment of promised tribute, along with Sostratus, the commandant of the citadel whose duty it was to collect taxes. Onias III left a general, Lysimachus, "his brother...as his substitute in the high priesthood while Sostratus left Crates, commander of the Cypriots, as his substitute." *2 Maccabees 4:28-29.*

"Many sacrilegious thefts had been committed by Lysimachus in...connivance with Menelaus/[Onias III]." People assembled in protest against him; a riot broke out; the people put Lysimachus' men to flight, and him "they slew near the treasury. Charges about this affair were brought against Menelaus," and the cause brought before the king. Menelaus, who had bribed one (Dorymenes-) Ptolemy to plead his case privately with the king, was acquitted of all charges; "those who had prosecuted the case for the city...quickly suffered unjust punishment," while "Menelaus...remained in office." *2 Maccabees 5:43-50.*

Now "a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government...each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias [III/Menelaus]...got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city." They fled to Antiochus IV "and besought him to...make an expedition into Judea."

"About this time Antiochus [IV] sent his second expedition into Egypt," and for a period the city was traversed by imposing army companies in full battle array, which the people received as a good omen. But when a false rumor circulated that Antiochus was dead, Jason gathered fully a thousand men and suddenly attacked the city. As the defenders on the walls were forced back and the city was finally being taken, Onias III took refuge in the citadel. Even so, he [Jason/Jesus] did not gain control of the government...received only disgrace...and once again took refuge in the country of the Ammonites."<sup>12</sup> *BJ I.I.1; 2 Maccabees 5:1-9.*

Antiochus IV, when he received report of the activities surrounding Jason's attack, thought Judaea was in revolt. Enraged, returning out of Egypt, he "made an expedition against the city Jerusalem," and "in the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him." He "slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy." "He insolently invaded the altar...stripped everything...and took away the gold and silver and precious vessels.... Taking all this, he went back to his own country, after he had spoken with great arrogance and shed much blood." Antiochus returned to Antioch, leaving (a) Onias III/Menelaus as high priest, (b) "Philip, a Phrygian by birth," as governor of Jerusalem, and (c) "Andronicus at Mount Gerizim."

*AJ XII.V.3; BJ, I.I.1; 2 Maccabees 5:11-27; 1 Maccabees 2:20.*

<sup>12</sup>At length he met a miserable end. Called to account before Aretas, king of the Arabs, he fled from city to city...[was] driven into Egypt [and] crossed the sea to the Spartans.... There he... perished in exile...."

“As for Hyrcanus Tobias, when he saw that Antiochus [IV] had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught...and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, ...he slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.”

AJ XII.IV.10.

“Two years later, the king [Antiochus IV] sent [Apollonius] the Mysian commander to the cities of Judah, and he came to Jerusalem with a strong force [22,000 men] ...spoke... deceitfully, and won their trust. Then he attacked the city suddenly, in a great onslaught, and destroyed many of the people in Israel. He plundered the city and set fire to it...took captive[s]...and cattle. Then they built up the City of David with a high, massive wall and strong towers, and it became their citadel.”

1 Maccabees 1:29ff.; 2 Maccabees 5:21.

*Parallel:* “[A]fter two years, in the 145th year...in the 153rd olympiad,”<sup>13</sup> Antiochus IV entered Jerusalem “pretending peace” but took “possession of the city by treachery.” Seeing the temple’s wealth, “he ventured to break the league he had made.” He stripped the temple... pillaged the whole city; some of the inhabitants he slew...captives that were taken alive amounted to about 10,000. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high and overlooked the temple,” fortifying it “with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel [there came to dwell] “the impious and wicked part of the multitude. Antiochus IV proscribed all local customs, laws, and circumcision, and ordered his own temples, altars and idols erected “ in every city and village. Those who did not comply “every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments,” including crucifixion. A general Bacchides sent to the region by Antiochus IV “to keep up the fortresses,...indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness...”

AJ XII.V.4; BJ, I.I.2.

“But Judas Maccabeus and about nine others withdrew to the wilderness...,” to live in caves.

2 Maccabees 5:27.

“Not long after this” Antiochus IV sent an Athenian senator to force the Jews to abandon the customs of their ancestors,” and to dedicate the Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim temples to hellenistic gods. “At the suggestion of the citizens of Ptolemais,” a decree was issued ordering all neighboring Greek cities to enforce compliance, and that anyone who did not comply was to be put to death. (Some persons discovered observing the sabbath in secret were burned to death; several other tortures and cruelties are told.) 2 Maccabees 6:1-42.

[Unidentified] ambassadors from the Samaria region sent a “memorial” to Antiochus IV, claiming that they, who did “live at Shechem,” were originally of Sidonian stock (“as evident from public records”), and would be wrongly included among those liable for the behavior of the “Jews.” They requested that the Mount Gerizim/Shechem temple be renamed “the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius” and that orders be given to Apollonius, “the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the [king’s] procurator,” to leave them undisturbed, all of which would permit quieter circumstances that would “bring in a greater revenue” to the king. Antiochus IV sent to Nicanor a copy of that “memorial” from “the Sidonians who live at Shechem,” and granted the requests. A like epistle was sent to Apollonius. This occurred in the “46th year” (146th year would appear intended). AJ XII.V.5.

Judas Maccabeus’ father (Asamoneus-Simeon-John-) Mattathais,<sup>14</sup> was “a priest of the order of Joarib, a citizen of Jerusalem,” whose family village of Modein/Modin lay about 17 miles northwest of Jerusalem. There, a Seleucid company charged with enforcing Antiochus IV’s edicts attempted to induce Mattathais to exemplify compliance and “be numbered among the King’s Friends.” Mattathais refused. When “a certain Jew”<sup>15</sup> did comply, Mattathais “killed him upon the altar...[and] also killed the messenger of the king.” [“Mattathais...with his sons, who had swords, slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and *Apelles*, the king’s general,

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 14 regarding date conversions.

<sup>14</sup> The Asamoneus descendency chart is given in Appendix 4B, Attachment 1.

<sup>15</sup> Refer to fn. 19.

who compelled them.”<sup>16</sup>] Joined by others, Mattathais “thereupon ... fled to the mountains [where] many of the people followed him” and made dwellings in caves with their wives and children. Officers and soldiers “who were in the City of David, in Jerusalem [the Seleucid garrison]” went in pursuit, and used fire to cause about a thousand people to smother and die in the caves.

Mattathais’ followers looked to him as commander and chief priest. Exhorting them to fight “even on the sabbath day,” he proceeded to collect an army from “all those who were fleeing from the [Jerusalem] disaster,” being also “joined by a group of Hasideans.” Within the year, however, Mattathais fell ill and died. “Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs in the 146th year.” First-son Simon Matthes was ordained family patriarch by his dying father. “Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus [IV] would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen.” *AJ XII.VI.1-4; BJ I.I.3; 1 Maccabees 2:1-36.*

When Antiochus IV got word, he began to assemble his own army, along with many mercenaries “whom he hired from the islands,” to go against Maccabeus the following spring;” but his treasury was depleted--especially in that taxes were not being paid due to the uprising. He decided first to make a Persian expedition, hoping to sack Elymais (“Persepolis,” *Lempriere*, 1826 edition), where reportedly Alexander the Great had left much gold. Antiochus IV left Lysias, “a nobleman of royal blood,” who governed the provinces of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, in charge of all Seleucid territory between the Euphrates River and Egypt’s frontier; and “in the 147th year Antiochus [IV] passed [eastward] over the Euphrates....” *AJ XII.VII.2; 2 Maccabees 10:10.*

“Judas Maccabeus and his companions entered villages secretly, summoned their kinsmen, and by also enlisting faithful others...assembled about 6,000 men. ... Coming unexpectedly upon towns and villages he would set them on fire. He captured strategic positions, and put to flight a large number of the enemy. He preferred the nights as being especially helpful to such attacks.” Many foe were killed in an early battle in which Apollonius, himself--“general of the Samaritan forces”--was killed. (Judas took Apollonius’ sword for his own.. A next engagement was at Beth-horon,<sup>17</sup> against Seron, Seleucid general in Coelesyria, who made an expedition against Judas. Seron, too, fell in battle, after which his force disbanded. Judas “pursued them unto the plain [”down the descent of Beth-horon into the plain”] and slew about 800 of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea” [”to the country of the Philistines”]. *AJ XII.VII.1; BJ I.I.4; 2 Maccabees 8:1-7.*

Antiochus IV heard about Judas’ victories when he retreated to Ecbatana after being routed at Persepolis.<sup>18</sup> He was determined to go to Judaea himself, but illness overtook him (he either fell into a distemper, sick with grief over the state of his kingdom and took to his bed; or, he suffered a violent fall from his chariot). Dying, he called for his “companion”/”foster brother,” Philip, “gave his his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son, Antiochus [V]; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him;” [*paralleled by*: “summoned Philip, one of his Friends, and put him in charge of his whole kingdom”]. *AJ XII.IX.1; 1 Maccabees 6:14.*

Antiochus IV died “in Persia the year 149.”<sup>19</sup> Lysias seized power and himself declared the king’s death and succession of Antiochus IV’s young son, Antiochus V Eupator, and kept control of the young king. Lysias took charge of the government as commander-in-chief of Coelesyria and Phoenicia. *AJ XII.IX.2; 1 Maccabees 6:16; 2 Maccabees 10-11.*

<sup>16</sup> *AJ XII.VI.2.* From a summary paragraph at *Josephus’ BJ I.I.3* it first would appear that it was *Bacchides* who was slain; he, however, was involved in later events with both Judas and Jonathan Maccabeus (*AJ, XII.X-XIII.1, 1 Maccabees 7:1ff. and 2 Maccabees 8:30ff.*).

<sup>17</sup> Approximately 10 miles NW of Jerusalem; *Aid*, page 222. (Given locations are from *Aid*, where they are found alphabetically, if not noted otherwise.)

<sup>18</sup> It is uncertain whether *2 Maccabees 1:13-16* relate to Antiochus IV in their reference to “Antiochus” and/or his party being stoned in “the temple of Nanea” by its priests.

<sup>19</sup> See next footnote.

At some point, Philip, after settling matters in Persia, “brought Antiochus IV’s body home; but fearing Antiochus’ son[and Lysias], he later withdrew into Egypt, to Ptolemy Philometor [VI].”  
*2 Maccabees 9:28; 1 Maccabee 6:55-62.*

In the events following the onset of Antiochus IV’s final illness—as Philip sought to maintain the regency conferred on him against an ultimately successful power play by general Lysias—emergence of two Seleucid factions inhibits knowing precisely who first ordered certain battles against Judas Maccabeus. It appears that Nicanor and Gorgias initially were commissioned via Philip (Antiochus IV’s “foster brother”):

(a) Philip wrote to Ptolemy [VI], governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia,<sup>20</sup> to come to the aid of the dying king’s government. “Ptolemy promptly sent” (Patroclus-) Nicanor, one of the Chief Friends, with a force of 20,000 and Gorgias, a military professional. Nicanor sent word to the “coastal cities” that he soon would have many Jewish slaves to sell. Some of Judas’ men deserted when they heard of Nicanor’s approach, but Judas boldly exhorted his remaining 6,000 and divided them into four companies, each under one of his brothers—Simon Matthes, *Joseph*<sup>21</sup> and Jonathan. Judas’ army routed Nicanor’s. Nicanor, who had brought 1,000 slave dealers to buy captives, fled across country alone until he reached Antioch.  
*2 Maccabees 8:8-29, 34.*

(b) “Lysias” sent generals (Dorymenes-) Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nicanor (a Seleucid procurator), against Judea with 40,000 foot soldiers and 7,000 horsemen. The forces included “auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the *runagate*<sup>22</sup> Jews.” They also were accompanied by merchants carrying bonds to bind, and silver and gold to pay for captive prisoners. (Nicanor planned to raise 2000 talents by selling captives as slaves, to enable him to pay a tribute he owed to Rome.) The troops gathered in the plain country near Emmaus.<sup>23</sup> Gorgias with part of his unit embarked on a night attack on the Maccabean camp, but Maccabeus circumvented them. The next morning, while Gorgias was off searching for Judas in the mountains, Judas fell upon and decimated the company Gorgias had left at his camp. Judas pursued the rest “as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of them there fell about 3,000.” The troops returning with Gorgias also disbursed when on approach they saw what had happened at the camp. Judas was able to seize the spoils without a fight and he “then returned home with joy.”  
*AJ XII.VII.3-4; 1 Maccabees 3; 2 Maccabees 8:8.*

“Lysias...got together 60,000 chosen men...[and]...5000 horsemen and...went up to the hill country of Bethsur,<sup>24</sup> a village of Judea.” Judas with 10,000 men met the Lysias force and, after about 5000 of it went down, Lysias--in the face of the desperate determination of Judas’ fighters--retreated to Antioch, “where he listed foreigners into the service and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.”  
*AJ XII.VII.5.*

“When therefore the [opposing] generals had been beaten so often,” Judas spurred his people to go up to Jerusalem, where they found the temple deserted. They refurbished the temple and held a celebration and rededication,<sup>25</sup> in the “148th year” on the same day of the same month three years after its desolation by Antiochus IV. “[T]hey built high walls and strong towers around Mount Zion...and a garrison there to protect it.” An Antiochan garrison, however, still occupied the citadel.<sup>26</sup> Judas also fortified Bethsur, “that the people might have a stronghold facing Idumea.”  
*AJ XII.VII.6; 1 Maccabees 4:60; 2 Maccabees 10:1-8.*

<sup>20</sup> Cf. above at AJ XII.VII.2, etc. where Lysias is given as Antiochus IV’s governor of those provinces.

<sup>21</sup> *Maccabees*’ editors state that this “Joseph” in fact was brother John of *1 Maccabees* 2:2; 9:36-38; nothing, however, negates the possibility that (Zacharias-) Joseph (another of Judas’ generals; *AJ*, XII.VIII.6) was Judas’ half-brother.

<sup>22</sup> It is not always clear that this term frequently used by *Josephus* denote persons who were Seleucid supporters.

<sup>23</sup> Several sites have been suggested for Emmaus. (a) *Luke* would place it seven miles W/NW of Jerusalem just north of the Judea border; (b) a site advanced by fourth century writers was in the same direction but three times the distance.

<sup>24</sup> Bethsura/Beth-zur--placed about four and one-half miles north of Hebron (*Aid*, page 227).

<sup>25</sup> The eight-day celebration became the traditional Hebrew “Festival of Lights.”

<sup>26</sup> It is not clear whether Menelaus/Onias III still was in the citadel, where Jason had chased him.

Lysias mustered an 80,000 infantry and all his cavalry and marched toward Jerusalem. "His plan was to make Jerusalem a Greek settlement, levy tribute on the temple (as he did on sanctuaries of other occupied nations), and to put the high priesthood up for sale every year." Lysias and Antiochus V launched an initial attack against Bethsur, "about 20 miles from Jerusalem." Maccabeus exhorted his men to help "their kinsmen." Their morale was taken to a peak when they were joined at the head by a brilliantly-clad and armed horseman. They laid low 11,000 foot soldiers and 1600 horsemen and put the rest of Lysias' force to flight. "Lysias himself escaped only by shameful flight." *2 Maccabees 11:1-12; AJ XII.IX.4.*

Lysias sent a proposal to Maccabeus that they negotiate a settlement, promising to induce Antiochus V to become the "Jews" friend. "Maccabeus ...agreed...and the king...granted...all the written requests of Maccabeus to Lysias." Accordingly, Antiochus V sent a confirmation to Lysias: "Now that our father has taken his place among the gods,<sup>27</sup> we wish the subjects of our kingdom to be undisturbed in conducting their own affairs. We understand that the Jews do not agree with our father's policy concerning Greek customs but prefer their own way of life. They are petitioning us to let them retain their own customs. Since we desire that this people should be undisturbed, our decision is that their temple be restored to them and they live in keeping with the customs of their ancestors. Accordingly, please send them messengers to give them our assurance of friendship, so that, when they learn of our decision, they may have nothing to worry about but may contentedly go about their own business." *2 Maccabees 11:13 ff.*

A letter from the young Antiochan king to the Sanhedrin said: "King Antiochus sends greetings to the Jewish senate and to the rest of the Jews. If you are well, it is what we desire. We too are in good health. Menelaus/[Onias III] has told us of your wish to return home and attend to your own affairs. Therefore, those who return by the thirtieth of Xanthicus will have our assurance of full permission to observe their dietary laws and other laws, just as before, and none of the Jews shall be molested in any way for faults committed through ignorance. I have also sent Menelaus to reassure you. Farewell. In the year one hundred and forty-eight, the fifteenth of Xanthicus."

Roman legates also sent a letter to the Sanhedrin: "Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius, legates of the Romans, send greetings to the Jewish people. Whatever Lysias...has granted you, we also approve. But the matters on which he passed judgment should be submitted to the king. As soon as you have considered them, send someone to us with your decisions so that we may present them to your advantage, for we are on our way to Antioch. Make haste, then, to send us those who can inform us of your intentions. Farewell. In the year one hundred and forty-eight, the fifteenth of Xanthicus." *2 Maccabees 11:27-38.*

Local rulers of the northern coastal city of Ptolemais/Acco were indignant over the agreement and wanted it annulled. "But Lysias...defended the treaty...and won them over by persuasion. After calming them down and gaining their good will, he returned to Antioch," and the Jews went about their farming. But other "local governors"--"Timothy and Apollonius, son of Gennaesus, as also Hieronymus and Demophon, to say nothing of Nicanor, the commander of the Cyprians"--"would not allow them to live in peace." "Some people of [the coastal city of] Joppa also committed this outrage:" they offered boats to take families of Hebrews who lived among them back by boat and then, getting them out at sea, drowned about 200. When Maccabeus heard of the barbarity he made a night attack on the harbor, burned boats and "put those who had taken refuge there to the sword." Then, hearing that the city of Jamnia planned a like act, he attacked Jamnia by night and set fire to its harbor and fleet ("...the glow of the flames was visible as far as Jerusalem, 30 miles away"). *2 M 12:1; 5ff.*

"The Gentiles in Gilead assembled to attack and destroy the Israelites who were in

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<sup>27</sup> Below it will be noted that the documents are dated the "148th" year. It appears necessary that (a) a discrepancy exists in dating, since Antiochus V refers to his father's death; and (b) some of the battling under Lysias and Antiochus V took place while Antiochus IV lay dying.

[that] territory, these then fled to the stronghold of Dathema.”<sup>28</sup> The leader of the enemy army was one Timotheus/Timothy. 1 Maccabees 5:9.

“Nations round and about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, rose up together, and destroyed many of them,...gaining advantage...by laying snares...and making secret conspiracies....” Maccabeus “made perpetual expeditions....” moving quickly against the strongholds of the Idumeans.” At Akrabattene/[Attabene] in Idumaea he slew a great many of the “posterity of Esau,” “because they were blockading Israel,” and carried the spoils to Jerusalem. He also forced the “sons of Baeon” to take refuge in towers...and burned down the towers along with all the persons in them. In Ammon territory he battled and routed an army led by Timotheus, seized Jazer<sup>29</sup> and its villages and burning the city, he returned to Judea, taking captive wives and children.

The Maccabaeans killed “more than 20,000” of the forces of Timothy and Bacchides<sup>30</sup> ...and captured some very high fortresses. They divided an enormous plunder... collected the enemies’ weapons and carefully stored them in suitable places; the rest of the spoils they carried to Jerusalem. They also killed the commander [here unnamed/Callisthenes?] of Timothy’s forces .... While celebrating the victory in their ancestral city, they burned both those who had set fire to the sacred gates and Callisthenes, who had taken refuge in a little house....” AJ XII.VIII.1; 1 Maccabees 5:3-8; 2 Maccabees 8:30-33; 10:14.

Upon hearing that Judas had returned to Jerusalem, foes continued to assemble in Gilead and against all borders, while inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon and “strangers of Galilee” went against Hebrews in their midst. The previously-defeated Timothy returned, leading “a tremendous force of foreign troops and...a large cavalry from Asia.” The Gileadite Hebrews who had taken refuge in Dathema sent a letter to Judas and his brothers, saying, “The gentiles around us have combined against us [and] are preparing to come and seize this stronghold.... Timothy is the leader of their army. Come at once and rescue us.... All our kinsmen who were among the Tobiads have been killed; the gentiles have carried away their wives and children and their goods, and they have slain about a thousand men.” Maccabaeus split his army. He sent Simon and 3,000 to Galilee. He left (Zechariah-) Joseph and Azariah, “leader of the people,” to guard Judea, and he and Jonathan crossed the Jordan east into Gilead with a division of 8,000. 1 Maccabees 5:9-20.

*Note:* Some of the following-described battles may be repetitious between sources.

Three days’ journey across the Jordan, Judas and Jonathan were met peaceably by Nabataeans who told them how things stood in Gilead, that many were cornered “in Bozrah, in Bosor near Alema, in Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim.” Judas changed direction, marched across the desert to Bozrah and captured that city. Per *Josephus*, he fell first upon Bosor, beat the inhabitants, destroyed all the males able to fight and burnt the city. By night he marched to the stronghold at Dathema--“journeyed...to the garrison where the Jews happened to be shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army,” besieging the walls. When Timotheus’ men saw Judas’ force falling upon their backs they were put to flight; Judas followed and slew about 8,000. “He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city.... He then...overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the Gilead.” 1 Maccabees 5:24-36; AJ XII.VIII.3.

“Not long after...Timothy prepared a great army” that included many auxiliaries, inducing also some of the Arabians with a promise of reward, on an expedition “beyond the brook, over against the city of Raphon, intending to hinder Judas’ forces “from passing over.” Judas took all his own army...and...passed over the brook.” AJ XII.VIII.4.

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<sup>28</sup> Not all involved villages can be located.

<sup>29</sup> The precise location of Jazer east of the Jordan is not known; see, however, Appendix 1A, Attachment 1, *Jasher/et al.*, for connection to “Jasher.”

<sup>30</sup> General Bacchides reappears during later Maccabaeon campaigns.

When Maccabeus' force had gone "about a mile from there" at some point in the Timothy campaign, they clashed with nomadic Arabs (a unit of at least "5,000 foot soldiers and 500 horsemen") who succumbed after a hard fight. The nomads begged to make peace and promised cattle and other aid. Then Judas and his men proceeded to capture a city called Caspin, "a fortified city with earthworks and ramparts and inhabited by a mixed population of gentiles." They "inflicted such indescribable slaughter on it that the adjacent pool, which was about a quarter mile wide, seemed to be filled with the blood that flowed into it." Some 90 miles further they reached Charax, where there were certain Jews known as Toubiani. But Timothy already had departed the region, leaving a garrisoned stronghold. "Dositheus and Sosipater, two of Maccabeus' captains...destroyed the force of more than 10,000 men that Timothy had left at Charax, where there were certain Jews known as Toubiani." Timothy, learning of Judas' approach, retreated "to a place called Karnion, which was hard to besiege and even reach because of the difficult terrain of that region." Timothy had sent his "his women and children" to Karnion; others of his force also escaped to "what was called the Temple of Carnaim."

*2 Maccabees 12:10-23; AJ XII.VIII.4.*

Maccabeus and his men took up arms "a considerable distance from the city...." As soon as dawn broke, the armies joined battle. The enemy scattered; the Maccabaeans took the city, slew 25,000-30,000 men, and burnt the temple. Timothy himself fell into the hands of the men under Dositheus and Sosipater; but "...because he had in his power the parents and relatives of many of them...[and pledged] to restore them unharmed, they let him go." Timothy fled to the stronghold of Gaza/Gazara where his brother, Chaereas, was in command. Maccabeus besieged that fortress four days, on the fifth breached the walls, put the towers to the torch, broke down the gates and took possession. Timothy and his brother, who had hidden in a cistern, were killed.

*2 Maccabees 10:24-38; 12:22-26.*

Judas had gathered Jews together with children, wives, and all that belonged to them, to bring them back to Judaea. At Ephron, a city "that lay upon the road," the inhabitants refused his request to open their gates and permit passage through the city. The Maccabaeans besieged the city, "slew every male in it["25,000"], and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through." Judas' entourage then crossed the Jordan to the great plain "over against which [was] situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis, some 75 miles north of Jerusalem."<sup>31</sup> Judas and his assembly finally arrived in Jerusalem shortly before the feast of Weeks.

*AJ XII.VIII.5; 2 Maccabees 12:29-31.*

Meanwhile, Simon had fought many battles in the Galilee, felling about 3000 of the enemy and gathering their spoils. He also took back with him to Judaea the "Jews who were in Galilee and in Arbatta, with their wives and children, and all that they had."

*1 Maccabees 5:21-23.*

While "Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead," and "at the same time when Simon was in Galilee," (Zacharias-) Joseph and Azarias unilaterally had decided to take their division out of Judea to Jamnia. There, Gorgias came out to battle them, killed 2000 of the Maccabean contingent and pursued them back to Judaea's frontier. (Following the succession of Antiochus V, and Lysias' assumption of power, certain of the "King's Friends" had brought accusations before Antiochus V against one "Ptolemy surnamed Macron," who had treated the [Hebrew] people fairly and endeavored to have peaceful relations with them." "Since [Ptolemy Macron] could not command the respect due to his high office, he ended his life by taking poison"--it being inferrable from connected text that Ptolemy Macron had been governor of the Idumaea region. Gorgias [Lysia's general of the Jamnia forces; *AJ XII.II.3*] had then become governor, and "he employed foreign troops and used every opportunity to attack the Jews.")

*AJ XII.VIII.6; 2 Maccabees 10:9-14.*

After the festival of weeks Judas lost no time marching against Gorgias, "who opposed them with 3,000 foot soldiers and 400 horsemen.... A few of the Jews were slain." Maccabeus charged Gorgias' men when they were not expecting it, put them to flight and

<sup>31</sup> Where "the Jews/[Hebrews] who lived there testified to the good will shown by the Scythopolitans and to their kind treatment even in times of adversity."

burned the city. Dositheus got hold of Gorgias, but a Thracian horseman attacked Dositheus and cut off his arm. Gorgias fled to Marisa/Marissa in Idumaea. Afterwards, Maccabeus went to Adullam,<sup>32</sup> purified himself, observed the sabbath, and collected money from his men to send for an expiatory sacrifice at Jerusalem. In their continuing their fight for control of Idumea, the Maccabeans eventually took Hebron, demolished its fortifications, and laid waste to Ashdod.<sup>33</sup> They then returned to Judea.

*AJ XII.VIII.6; 2 Maccabees 12:32-38.*

Judas long had been “resolved to destroy” “the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates....” “At this time it was that th[ose] men in the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem...did a great deal of harm....,” unexpectedly rushing out and killing persons going to temple. After a certain number of such attacks, “in the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae,” Maccabeus “resolved to destroy the garrison,” “...in the 150th year of the dominion of the Seleucidae;”<sup>34</sup> which adjoined and overlooked the temple, and commenced building war engines and bulwarks in preparation.

*AJ XII.IX.3.*

A band of “runagates” informed Antiochus V (who “was but a child”) of the situation. He ordered formation of a mercenary army, “with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about 100,000/[100,000/110,000] footmen, 20,000/[20,000/5,300] horsemen, and 32/[32/22] elephants.” Judas learned “in year “149”<sup>35</sup> that a large force of Antiochus V and Lysias, “guardsman and Kinsman of the king, were preparing to invade Judaea at the head of a “Greek”/[Hellenist] army of “about 100,000 footmen”/“110,000 foot soldiers,” “20,000 horsemen”/“5300 horsemen, and “32 elephants”/“22 elephants.”<sup>36</sup>

Lysias’ plan was to make Jerusalem a *Greek*/[*Hellene*] settlement; levy tribute on the temple (as he did on sanctuaries of other occupied nations); and to “put the high priesthood up for sale every year.” Judas “made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel.” A number of the “runagates” went out by night, collected more men, went to Antiochus V/Lysias, and informed them of the threat to their garrison. “Menelaus/ Onias III also joined them, urging Antiochus on.” Lysias commanding, they marched into Idumea, with Menelaus/Onias III accompanying them, and camped before Bethsur. For many days they attacked Judas’ garrison there, which “fought bravely.”

*AJ XII.IX.3; 2 Maccabees 13:1-3; 18-20; 1 Maccabees 6:28-31.*

Judas began the siege of Jerusalem’s garrison when he first heard of enemy army’s approach. He and “the elders” held a private meeting, at which it was decided that--instead of awaiting the enemy’s arrival--“the Jews should march out.... ... [They] pitched camp near Modein/[Modin];” and a chosen force “made a night attack on the king’s pavilion...and killed about 2000 in the camp.” Judas “moved his camp to Beth-zachariah/[“Bethzachariah”], on the way to the king’s camp (“a distance of 70 furlongs from the enemy”). When the king heard, he withdrew from Bethsur and “moved his force hastily along the road.” Upon a morning attack by Lysias’ imposing forces, Judas “received the enemy with great courage, and slew about 600 of the first ranks.” Brother Eleazar--believing that the tallest elephant, armed with royal breastplates, was carrying the Seleucid king--made a valiant attack on the elephant’s underbelly but was crushed to death, when the elephant fell upon him. Seeing the enemy’s vast strength, Judas “retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege.”

*1 Maccabees 6:28-43; 2 Maccabees 13:9-18; AJ XII.IX.4-5.*

Antiochus V/Lysias, “having had a taste of the Jews’ daring, tried to take their

<sup>32</sup> See Volume One Introductory Summary, fn. 24.

<sup>33</sup> Blank.

<sup>34</sup> See next footnote.

<sup>35</sup> A one-year difference between sources frequently is noted, a result of use of either years “of Greeks” or years “of Seleucidae--refer to fn. 13.

<sup>36</sup> *2 Maccabees* adds “300 chariots armed with scythes.” *1 Maccabees* 6:28-31 has 100,000; 20,000; and 32. A parallel in *Josephus BJ* 1.1.5 appears to consolidate this and following paragraphs regarding Bethsur, and also gives different numbers of the foe’s divisions.

positions by a stratagem,” divided their army and sent part of it back to renew the Bethsur siege while they “established camps in Judea and at Mount Zion.” The Bethsur garrison, out of provisions and terrified by the foe’s strength, “delivered themselves, upon the security of oaths” of leniency on the part of the enemy: the king “made peace with the men of Beth-zur, and they evacuated the city, because they had no food there to enable them to stand a siege, for that was a sabbath year in the land.” Antiochus V thus took the city, placed in it a garrison of his own, and “for many days he besieged the sanctuary (“lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it....”) But then their provisions failed them...because it was the seventh [the uncultivated] year.... [S]o many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.” (“Few men remained in the sanctuary; the rest scattered, each to his own home, for the famine was too much for them.”) *AJ XII.IX.5; 1 M 6:47-54.*

About this time the news reached the Seleucid camp that Philip (the dying Antiochus IV’s designee-regent of the Seleucid kingdom) was heading a rebellion at Antioch. Dismayed, Lysias, “the general of the army, and Antiochus [V] the king,” were forced to abandon Jerusalem to take on Philip. They “parleyed with the Jews ...swore to observe their rights..., approved of Maccabeus, and left him as military and civil governor of the territory from Ptolemais to the region of the Gerrenes.” Lysias covered up the true reason for abandoning the siege, telling his soldiers it seemed best--in view of the opposition’s strength and their own dwindling provisions--to make a league with the Maccabeans and “become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers....” (Despite the peace treaty, when Antiochus V entered and saw how fortified Mount Zion was, he had his men tear down the wall before retiring his army.) The people of Ptolemais were “angered by the peace treaty...so indignant that they wanted to annul its provisions.” Lysias won them over by persuasion.” *AJ XII.IX.6; 2 Maccabees 13:9-26; 1 Maccabee 6:55-62.*

Antiochus V “also carried with him Onias [III] the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father [Antiochus IV] to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers.” Menelaus was sent to Berea, a city of Syria, and...put to death when he had been high priest 10 years.”

“[D]riving away driving away the son of [<sup>37</sup>],” Antiochus V put one Jacimus/[Alcimus] in the position of high priest. Jacimus “was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias.” “[A]s to Onias [IV], son of the high priest [Onias II]... when he saw that the king had slain his uncle, Menelaus/[Onias III], and given the high priesthood to Alcimus/[Jacimus]..., [having been] induced by Lysias to translate that dignity...to another house..., he [Onias IV] fled to Ptolemy, King of Egypt...”<sup>38</sup>

Antiochus V “in haste...returned to Antioch, where he found Philip in possession of the city. He fought against him and took the city by force”/[W]hen king Antiochus found that Philip already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him.” *1 M 6:63; AJ XII.IX.7.*

“Three years later, Judas and his men learned that Demetrius [I Soter], son of Seleucus [IV Philopater and brother or half-brother of Antiochus IV],” had re-occupied [Seleucid] country. On denial by the Roman Senate of Demetrius I’s petition to assume his dead father’s kingship, Demetrius had fled Rome and made his way to the Seleucid “Syrian” coast, where he gathered a mercenary army and was joyfully received at “the royal palace of his ancestors.” Lysias and Antiochus V (who had reigned two years) were apprehended and immediately put to death, “in the year 151.”

<sup>37</sup> *AJ XX.X.1*, where *Whiston* has inserted in the brackets *Onias the third*. Confusion exists in identifying the Oniases--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5, for a definitive chart.

<sup>38</sup> Some 17 years later Onias IV would obtain permission to build a temple at Heliopolis, Egypt--see at fn. 43.

Alcimus, with many of the “wicked runagates,” went to King Demetrius, courted him and eventually was invited to address the Seleucid council. They accused “the whole nation,” but specifically Judas and his brethren of ejecting them and slaying friends and members of the pro-Seleucid party. When asked about the “dispositions and intentions” of the Jews, Alcimus replied: “Those...called Hasideans, led by Judas Maccabeus, are warmongers who stir up sedition, etc. etc,” and claimed that he had been “deprived of his ancestral dignity, that is to say, the high priesthood,” and that, “as long as Judas is around, it is impossible for the state to enjoy peace. Other of the King’s Friends who were hostile to Judas quickly added fuel....”

*2 Maccabees 14:1-11; 1 Maccabees 7:1; AJ XII.X.1.*

Convinced, Demetrius sent his general Bacchides out of Antioch with the army, to restore order and establish Alcimus as high priest. Bacchides forwarded a message that he desired to establish a new league of friendship with the Maccabeans--an offer Judas didn’t credit, seeing that Bacchides had brought such a big army. One group of scribes asked for a negotiated agreement: “The Hasideans were the first among the Israelites to seek peace... saying, ‘A priest [Alcimus] of the line of Aaron has come with the army, and he will not do us any wrong.’” A number of men voluntarily went over, believing an assurance that they would not be punished for their prior affiliation; however, sixty were arrested and killed in one day.

Bacchides chased around the country searching out and punishing partisans, enjoining all to submit to Alcimus. Then he handed the province over to Alcimus, leaving part of the army under his command, and returned to Antioch. Alcimus sought to secure his dominion by behaving most diplomatically toward the people but meanwhile getting together “a great body of men,” who went over the countryside killing anyone thought to be connected with the Maccabean party. Judas retaliated by killing all he found of the opposing party. When Alcimus saw he wasn’t gaining ground, he returned to Demetrius with new accusations. Demetrius I immediately chose his general Nicanor, who had been in command of the elephants, and appointed him as governor of Judaea. He sent Nicanor with a force thought sufficient to conquer the Maccabeans, bidding his general to not spare the nation, “to put Judas to death, disperse his followers, and to set up Alcimus as high priest of the great temple.” “The gentiles of Judea, who would have Judas banished, came flocking to Nicanor....”

*AJ XII.X.2-3; 2 Maccabees 14:12-15; 1 Maccabees 7:19.*

The “Jews,” upon hearing of Nicanor’s advance, and “At their leader’s command...set out at once and came upon the enemy at the village of Adasa.” Judas’ brother, Simon, engaged Nicanor “but...suffered a slight repulse. Nicanor shrank from forcing the issue by bloodshed. “So he sent Posidonius, Theodotus and Mattathias to arrange an agreement.” Following a long discussion of terms, each leader communicated the terms to his troops, a general agreement was expressed that elicited mutual assent, and a day was set for the leaders to confirm the treaty. Thrones were set in place and a chariot came forward from each side. Judas “posted armed men...at suitable points...for fear that the enemy might suddenly carry out some treacherous plan. But the conference was held in the proper way.” “Nicanor stayed on in Jerusalem, where he did nothing out of place...got rid of the throngs of ordinary people around him...[and] always kept Judas in his company, for he had a cordial affection for the man. He urged him to marry and have children; so Judas married, settled down, and shared the common life.”<sup>39</sup>

*2 Maccabees 14:15-25.*

Alcimus went to Demetrius I with the treaty, told him that Nicanor had designated Judas to be Alcimus’ successor, and accused Nicanor of plotting against the state. Nicanor was sent a message from the king negating the treaty and ordering him to arrest Judas immediately and extradite him to Antioch. “Nicanor was dismayed.... However, there was no way of opposing the king, so he watched for an opportunity.... But Judas noticed that Nicanor was becoming cool...acting with unaccustomed rudeness...[and] concluded [it]

<sup>39</sup> *Josephus* relates otherwise, that “When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace....” However, as they stood talking, Judas noticed Nicanor giving a certain signal to his soldiers; Judas ran back to his own soldiers and fled away with them. “Nicanor determined to make open war,” and a first battle was joined at a village called Capharsalama (the outcome of it being unclear--the translators suggest a corruption of the original source). *AJ*, XII.X.4-5.

betokened no good.” So Judas gathered a large number of men and went into hiding.

“When Nicanor realized that he had been outwitted...he went to the ...temple” and ordered the priests to surrender Judas Maccabeus. They swore they didn’t know where he was, despite Nicanor’s threat to level the shrine if Judas wasn’t handed over. Nicanor learned the Maccabeans were in Samaria territory and made a plan to attack them on a day of rest. Those “Jews who were forced to follow Nicanor” pleaded against it. He dismissed their godliness, saying, “I, on my part, am ruler [here], and my orders are that you take up arms and carry out the king’s [Antiochus V’s] business.”

*2 Maccabees 14:26ff. and 15:1-5; AJ XII.X.5.*

Maccabeus filled his troops with fresh enthusiasm, fueled by “a kind of vision” (that of a praying “Onias, the former high priest, a good and virtuous man, modest in appearance, gentle in manners, distinguished in speech, and trained from childhood in every virtuous practice, approached by the prophet Jeremiah, who presented Judas with a gold sword). The troops gained courage to face the dreaded hand-to-hand combat to come, while “Those who remained in the city suffered a like agony, anxious as they were about the battle in the open country. Everyone now awaited the decisive moment,” as the enemy advanced in battle line, with their troops, elephants and cavalry, “to the sound of trumpets and battle songs.” But Judas and his men “laid low at least 35,000.... When the battle was over...they discovered Nicanor lying there in all his armor. Then Judas...ordered Nicanor’s head and whole right arm to be cut off and taken to Jerusalem. When Judas arrived there, he assembled his countrymen, stationed the priests before the altar, and sent for those in the citadel. He showed them...Nicanor’s head and arm.... He cut out the tongue of ...Nicanor, saying he would feed it piecemeal to the birds.... ... Judas hung up Nicanor’s head on the wall of the citadel.... By public vote it was unanimously decreed never to let [that] day pass unobserved, but to celebrate it on the 13th day of the 12th month, called Adar in Aramaic, the eve of Mordecai’s Day.”<sup>40</sup>

*2 Maccabees 15:6-37; 1 Maccabees 7:26; AJ XII.X.5.*

“But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary...he was smitten suddenly.... This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who hearing of the power of the Romans...he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them.”

*AJ XII.X.6.*

“Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans...[their] great valour...[and] of acts which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them and brought them under tribute. And what they had done in the country of Spain, and winning of the mines of silver and gold which is there;...how they had discomfited Philip, and Perseus, king of the Citims, with others...and had overcome them. How also Antiochus the great king of Asia...having 120 elephants with horsemen and chariots, was discomfited by them...and of the country of India, and Media, and Lydia...which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes; moreover, how the Greeks had determined to come and destroy them [the Romans]; and that they...took possession of their lands.... ...yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby; moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, wherein 320 men sat in council...and committed their government to one man every year....” “[I]n consequence of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league.

*1 Maccabees 8:1-18.*

Judas’ ambassadors addressed the Roman senate “to make a confederacy and peace, [which] matter pleased the Romans well.” The treaty which the Senate “wrote...in tables of brass...to Jerusalem” confirmed (a) that “if there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates...the people of the Jews shall help them, as the time

<sup>40</sup> *2 Maccabees*’ writer closes with, “Since Nicanor’s doings ended in this way, with the city remaining in the possession of the Hebrews from that time on, I will bring my own story to an end here too....” 15:37. The composers of *2 Maccabees* state (at 2:23), “We will try to condense into a single book” all “which Jason of Cyrene set forth in detail in five volumes.”

shall be appointed, with all their heart;" (b) "Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon...or give [aid of any kind]" to any who made war against the Romans; (c) "In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them;" (d) "Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think it meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified;" (e) And as touching the evils that Demetrius [I] doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land."

*1 Maccabees 8:19-32.*

When Demetrius I heard of Nicanor's defeat and death, he again sent out Bacchides with an army. Bacchides first pitched camp opposite Arbela in the Galilee and besieged and took those those there in caves, where many people had fled. In the year "152"<sup>41</sup> he made for Jerusalem, learning that Judas' camp was pitched at "Bethzetho," only 1,000/[3,000] men to face Bacchides' 20,000 footmen and 2,000 horsemen. Frightened, all but 800 of his force ran. "Both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset," when Judas broke Bacchides' right wing which retreated, pursued by the Maccabaeen force, as far as a mountain called Aza. Bacchides' left wing, however, came up behind Judas and his men, surrounding them. "[N]ot being able to fly, encompassed [by] enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions."

Having lost their general, Judas' remaining men fled. Brothers Simon and Jonathan received Judas' body and buried him at Modin. *Josephus* does not give a year, stating only that Judas had "retained the high priesthood three years" before he died. *AJ XII.XI.1-2.*

After Judas Maccabeus' death, dissension sprang up again in Judea, intensified by a famine. The result was that more Hebrews "apostatized," to whom Bacchides "committed the care of the country," and who seized and delivered to him members of the Maccabaeen party for execution. "[W]hen this calamity...was become so great," the remaining freedom fighters went to Judas' brother, Jonathan. Aided by brother Simon, Jonathan took up their cause and "was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army." The Maccabaeans pitched camp not far from Jerusalem in desert area on the west side of the lower Jordan. Jonathan prepared for an assault, sending brother John/Gaddis to lodge supplies and baggage with Arab Nabataeans. Enroute, "sons of Ambri" ("Jambrians from Medaba") laid an ambush, killed John and his companions, and plundered the supplies and equipment.

*AJ XIII.I.1-2; 1 Maccabees 9:23-36.*

Bacchides and his men attacked the Jonathan force on the sabbath. The Maccabaeans, although killing 2,000 of the enemy, were outnumbered. Jonathan, who barely avoided a death-strike by Bacchides, escaped by swimming the Jordan to the east side with some companions. (Jonathan and Simon revenged the attack on John by attacking and destroying the Jambrians as they celebrated the marriage of "one of the great princes of Canaan from Nadabath," as they brought the bride from "Gabatha--the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians.")

Bacchides did not pursue Jonathan. He instead returned to Jerusalem and proceeded to restore demolished walls, build new towers and place garrisons in several Judean cities, among them Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Timna, and Tekoa.<sup>42</sup> He made Jerusalem's fortifications strongest of all. "He also took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel," while "Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river and abode there. ...Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two

<sup>41</sup> *1 Maccabees 9:3; Josephus* does not give this year.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 2A for Tekoa/Tekoah and other locations not previously given.

years.”

*AJ XIII.1.1-4; 1 Maccabees 9:37-42.*

Once again, Jonathan’s opponents, seeing him and his supporters living in peace and vulnerable, re-excited Demetrius I to send Bacchides to seize Jonathan, assuring him it could be done in a wink. Bacchides returned Judea and pressed “his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries,” to capture Jonathan. As Jonathan continued to elude capture, Bacchides killed 50 of the leaders of Jonathan’s opposition for the new troubles they had brought on himself and the king (per *Josephus*); Jonathan rounded up 50 ringleaders and killed them (per *Maccabees*).

Jonathan and Simon proceeded to fortify a wilderness village (Bethagla/Bethbasi), against which Bacchides laid a siege with “his own army...and his Jewish auxiliaries.” Jonathan left Simon to handle its the defense while he recruited a body of supporters, and they fell on Bacchides’ camp by night. Joined by Simon’s force, they felled many of Bacchides’ men and laid waste to his war engines. The situation put Bacchides in mind to end the siege “after a decent manner. When Jonathan understood [that], he sent a proposal for a mutual league and restoration of captives by each side. Bacchides accepted; both he and Jonathan swore to desist from making further war against the other. Bacchides returned to Antioch and “never came into Judea again.” Jonathan went to live in Michmash “and there governed the multitude....” *AJ XIII.1.5-6; 1 Maccabees 9:58-78.*

“In the 160th year” Alexander (called “Balas”), son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came into Syria, and took Ptolemais/Acco, “the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius.” Demetrius I, wanting to get the drop on Balas, sent ambassadors to Jonathan for an alliance with an order that Jonathan be allowed to raise an army, have armor made, and receive back the hostages Bacchides had shut up in the citadel--all of which terrified the “wicked men/runagates and deserters” occupying the citadel. Jonathan received back the [unnamed] hostages and returned them to their parents. Leaders of almost all the Antiochan garrisons in Judea fled to Antioch, but those at Jerusalem and Bethsura held firm. Meanwhile, Alexander Balas--aware of what the Maccabaeans had suffered on the part of Demetrius I, was confident he could enlist them as his own allies. He sent an epistle, purple robe and gold crown to Jonathan, ordaining him high priest. This occurred “four years after the death of his brother, Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made.”

*AJ XIII.11.1; 1 Maccabees 10:1-21.*

Demetrius I followed up with a phenomenal offer to Jonathan, if he would continue as Demetrius’ ally. Jonathan would receive the citadel and religious freedom; all “Jews...captives... slaves... and inhabitants” would be set free, and Jonathan could decree Jerusalem the only temple of Jewish worship. Further, Demetrius I would remove the greatest part of tributes and taxes formerly payable to his predecessors, forgive the salt tax, relinquish entitlement to one-third of the fruits of the field and half of the fruits of the trees, relinquish to Jonathan the head tax payable in Judaea plus the three adjoining toparchies (Samaria, Galilee and Perea), let Jonathan fortify any Judaeans town he wished at Demetrius’ expense, *and* Demetrius would pay--out of his own revenue--150,000 drachmae toward expenses connected to temple sacrifices. It appears, however, that Jonathan chose at that time to support Balas.

*AJ XIII.11.2-3; 1 Maccabees 10:21-46.*

It is at this point that Josephus relates the solicitation by, and permission of Ptolemy Philometor VI and Cleopatra II to Onias [IV], to build the Heliopolis/Leontopolis temple.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, “the Alexandrian Jews/[Hebrews], and those...who paid their worship to the temple...at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed...before Ptolemy [VI] himself: the Jews[of Judaea] saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans [Samaria Hebrews] saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim.”

Ptolemy VI held a formal council to hear the matter, on conclusion of which (according

<sup>43</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, preceding fn. 34.

to a pre-agreement) the loser-representatives would pay with their lives. (Messalamus-) Andronicus presented the case for the Jerusalem site, noting its perennial eminence, the successions of its priests, and the honors paid it by kings of Asia. persuaded the king to order that the temple be restored at Jerusalem. Ptolemy VI decided that the Jerusalem temple be restored.<sup>44</sup> Gerizzim proponents Sabbeus and Theodosius, of whose presentation no account is given, were put to death. *1 Maccabees 10:48-50; AJ, XIII.II.4 to III.1-4.*

Balas proposed to Ptolemy VI that circumstances were worthy of a marriage alliance, to which Ptolemy agreed.<sup>45</sup> Ptolemy personally brought his daughter, Cleopatra [III], to Ptolemais for the wedding and bestowed on her “much silver and gold.” After the wedding Balas invited Jonathan to Ptolemais, where both Ptolemy and Balas received him honorably. Balas “compelled him take a purple garment...[and] sit with him in his throne...as a principal of his friends,” and proclaimed that none should accuse or oppose Jonathan. “So Jonathan returned in peace and happiness to Jerusalem.” *AJ XIII.IV.1-2; 1 Maccabees 10:51-66.*

Subsequently, Balas “raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius [I].” The left wing of Demetrius’ force held, but he in the right wing suffered a falling horse. There he died from many dart wounds, “when he had reigned eleven years....” *1 Maccabees 10:48; AJ XIII.II.4.*

In the “165th year,” Demetrius I’s son, Demetrius II (“who became styled Nicator”), sailed from Crete to Cilicia with a mercenary army. Balas hastened from Ptolemais in Phoenicia to Antioch, to prepare for the contention. Balas’ general, Apollonius, governor of Coelesyria, enroute to Jamnia with a large army, sent a written challenge to Jonathan. Jonathan and Simon took 10,000 soldiers and pitched camp outside of Joppa, where Apollonius had a garrison, and Joppa’s people opened the city gates for them.

Apollonius had 3,000 horsemen and 8,000 footmen. Coming out of Ashdod, his and Jonathan’s forces engaged in a long battle on the plain. The tight, armored formation of the Maccabean cohort withstood Apollonius’ horsemen’s “darts from morning to night,” until weariness scattered the Apollonius force. Jonathan and Simon pursued them, slaying many, while others fled to the temple of Dagon at Ashdod. Ultimately the Maccabeans took Ashdod, burned the city and temple, and felled 8,000 of the enemy. When Balas “heard that Apollonius...was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it because he [Apollonius] had fought against directions, with Jonathan his [Balas’] friend and ally.”<sup>46</sup>

Jonathan proceeded to Askelon where, once he had pitched his camp, the city opened its gates, received him honorably and gave gifts. Jonathan returned to Jerusalem; Balas sent him rewards and a testimonial, and gave him Ekron and its toparchy as his own. *AJ XIII.IV.3-4; 1 Maccabees 10:67-88.*

“About this time,” Ptolemy VI led an army (part by sea and part by land) along the coastal region to Ptolemais, to assist his son-in-law, Alexander Balas. Although Ptolemy VI received much complaint at Ashdod about Jonathan, he was not moved by it. At Joppa he and Jonathan had a most hospitable meeting. At Ptolemais, Ptolemy VI discovered a plot against his life, which appeared to be led by one Ammonius, a friend of Balas. When Balas did not punish Ammonius, Ptolemy VI became certain that Balas, himself, had been behind the plot. Ptolemy VI dissolved his relations with Balas, took daughter Cleopatra away, and sent an immediate offer to give her to Demetrius II as part of a league to restore Demetrius II to “the principality of his fathers.” (According to *Maccabees*, Ptolemy VI’s “real reason for

<sup>44</sup> *Josephus* editors note, “worldly policy and interest prevailing, the court gave sentence...on the stronger side;” *Josephus* notes, “[T]he Jews that were in Alexandria were in great concern...for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that [Jerusalem] temple....”

<sup>45</sup> The Seleucid kingdom now comes generally to be referred to in the texts as “Syria.”

<sup>46</sup> Whether Apollonius’ act indeed was a unilateral one is not clear. (Ekron, once a leading Philistine city, is thought to have been 12 miles E/NE of Ashdod.)

accusing Alexander [Balas was] that he coveted Alexander's kingdom;" and "plotting evil against Alexander...took possession of the cities along the seacoast as far as Seleucia-by-the-Sea.") Demetrius II was well pleased, but Ptolemy VI still had to convince the people of Antioch to accept Demetrius.

*AJ XIII.IV.5-7; 1 Maccabees 11:8-11.*

It was not difficult; the people of Antioch hated Balas for having sabotaged their prior Ptolemaic alliance. They easily were persuaded by Ptolemy VI to expel Balas, who was off dealing with a revolt in Cilicia. At Antioch, Ptolemy VI was made its king by the leaders and army, "and assumed the crown of Asia," so as thus "forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt." Ptolemy, however, was "determined to avoid the envy of the Romans." He called Antiochans to an assembly, and by sincere assurances persuaded them to receive Demetrius II and that he, himself, both was content with the kingdom of Egypt and would not permit Demetrius II to usurp his rule.

Balas did not give up easily. Soon he came out of Cilicia into Syria with another army, burning and pillaging. Ptolemy VI and new son-in-law Demetrius II battled with him until finally Balas fled into Arabia. But it happened in the battle that Ptolemy VI was thrown from his horse and the enemies fell on him. Mortally wounded, he lingered four days before dying; before he died, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing Balas' severed head, which had been cut off and sent to him by an Arabian prince named Zabdiel. "Alexander, who was called Balas, [had] reigned over Asia five years...." "Thus Demetrius II became king in the year 167."

*AJ XIII.IV.7-8; 1 Maccabees 11:14-19.*

Once Demetrius II had his kingdom, with peace established around him, he kept only his mercenary soldiers from Crete and discharged his own men to return to their homes. This raised the hatred of those Ptolemaic soldiers who had served under Demetrius II's predecessors--not only in view of the mutual league but, especially, in that prior kings had paid them during peace as well as war--and they fled back to Alexandria. One Diodotus, also called Trypho/Tryphon, previously of Balas' party, went to "Imalkue [/Malchus] the Arab, who was bringing up Balas' young son Antiochus, told him of the hatred Demetrius' soldiers had for him, and persuaded Amalkue "to hand over the boy...that he might make him king."

*AJ XIII.V.1; 1 Maccabees 11:38-40.*

Jonathan appealed to Demetrius II to clear the Jerusalem citadel ("held by a garrison of Macedonians") along with other garrisons in his territory. Demetrius II, who learned that Jonathan was levying an army, commanded an audience with him at Ptolemais. Jonathan nonetheless laid the Jerusalem citadel siege before leaving. His embassy included "elders of the people, and the priests," carrying a great number of presents--gold, silver and garments. Jonathan thereby "pacified the king's anger..., was honored...and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood." Jonathan was given written confirmation of his dominion: Judea, Perea, Galilee and three toparchies/prefectures in Samaria (Apherima, Lydda, and Ramatha), together with all remittals previously conferred by Demetrius I.

*AJ XIII.IV.9, V.2; 1 Maccabees 11:20-37.*

Demetrius II's troops then revolted, and he sent a message promising that, if Jonathan assisted in suppressing the uprising, he would receive all that was granted and more. Jonathan responded with 3,000 men. Demetrius II was confined to his castle, as the populace ("120,000 strong") massed and rioted in the streets.

Jonathan's force "killed about 100,000," saved the king's life, restored peace, and returned to Jerusalem with much plunder. When the outnumbered Jonathan force first entered battle it was expected they quickly would lose; but, having the superior archery position from the palace roof, they were able to kill many and set on fire adjoining houses, flames from which quickly spread over all city buildings, "because they were generally built of wood." When the Antiochans became "very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer," they were fallen upon in narrow passages and a great number, slain.

Once Demetrius II was restored, however, "he broke all his promises and became

estranged from Jonathan,” threatening to make war if tribute was not paid as required always in the past.

*AJ XIII.V.2-3; 1 Maccabees 11:41-53.*

Trypho now emerged from Arabia with Balas’ young son and contender, Antiochus (VI). Joined by “the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay,” he made war upon Demetrius II. Demetrius retired into Cilicia; Tryphon occupied Antioch. The new regime sent an epistle to Jonathan, reconfirming his high priesthood and making brother Simon “general over the forces from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt.” Jonathan responded with ambassadors, pledging alliance against Demetrius II. “Antiochus [VI] gave Jonathan leave to raise...a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia, and to make war against Demetrius’ generals.” Jonathan scoured the Celoesyrian cities (“traveled through West-of-Euphrates and its cities”), exhorting their support of Antiochus VI. The cities received him warmly and promised assistance but then gave no troops. Gaza shut its gates, which provoked Jonathan to despoil their surrounding land until they agreed to the league. Jonathan took hostages to secure performance and sent them to Jerusalem, “while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.”

*AJ XIII.V.4-5; 1 Maccabees 11:54-62.*

Jonathan got word “that the generals of Demetrius [II] had come with a strong force to Kadesh [“Kadesh...(between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee/Kadesh)”<sup>47</sup>], supposing they might draw Jonathan out, in that “he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them.” Jonathan did go out to meet them, leaving brother Simon in Judaea. (Simon himself raised a force and laid seige at Bethsura, the strongest garrison in the region; it surrendered without a fight, and Simon installed his own men.)

Jonathan pitched camp near the waters of Gennesaret (Sea of Galilee; Lake Tiberias). He did not know, arriving on the plain called Asor/Hazor, that the Demetrian army had prior word of his movements and had a troop waiting. Caught in an ambush, his company, “...afraid,..ran away,” leaving Jonathan with but 50 men; but commanders Mattathias son of Absalom and Judas son of Chapseus, who had been “commanders of the whole army,” stayed with Jonathan. With valiant effort they fought off the foe, until the soldiers who had run--seeing the tide turning--rejoined. The opposition was pursued back to Kadesh; and Jonathan, “having thus gotten a glorious victory and slain 2000 [“3000”] of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem.”

*AJ XIII.V.6-7; 1 Maccabees 11:63-74.*

“When Jonathan saw that the times favored him, he sent selected men to Rome to confirm and renew his friendship with the Romans. The Roman Senate issued a confirming decree and gave the ambassadors safe conduct letters “to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities....” Jonathan also commissioned his ambassadors to stop on the way back and remind the Spartans “of their friendship and kindred.” His letter to the Spartans referenced an earlier epistle, from Spartan king Areus to high priest Onias, which mentioned kindred between the Lacedemonians and Jews, in which kindred Jonathan believed “from the sacred writings.”<sup>48</sup> Jonathan told the Spartans, “It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed....” The Lacedemonians returned a decree of friendship and mutual assistance.

“At this time, there were three sects...Pharisees...Sadducees and...Essens.” The Pharisees said “that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. [T]he Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. ...[T]he Sadducees...take away fate, and say there is not such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 1F, Kadesh.

<sup>48</sup> *1 M* 12:9 renders this “the holy books of Scriptures.” Per an editor’s note in the referenced *Josephus* (p. 387), if the original *Old Testament* writings did acknowledge kinship between Lacedemonians and Jews, that part of the Bible was lost, “for we find no such assertion in our present copies.”

evil from our own folly.”

*AJ XIII.V.8-9; 1 Maccabees 12:1-23.*

In the interim, Demetrian generals had gathered a greater army. Jonathan, resolved to keep them out of Judea, met them in the country of “Hamoth.”<sup>49</sup> Intelligence work enabled Jonathan to elude a planned surprise attack. The Demetrians feared an open battle and retreated. Jonathan, finding their camp empty, pursued them until they had retreated well into their own territory. Jonathan “then went into Arabia, fought against the Nabateans, drove away a great deal of their prey, and took captives, and came to Damascus, [where] he sold off what he had taken.” “About the same time,” Simon fortified strongholds “over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon,” took Joppa (whose people were indisposed to Demetrians) and established a garrison there. On their return, Jonathan and Simon organized restoration of Jerusalem’s walls and towers and the building of a wall in the middle of the city, to weaken the opponent’s garrison through want of provisions by cutting off the marketplace from the citadel. Simon then returned to securing fortresses.

“In the year 172,” Demetrius II marched into Mesopotamia/Media, “looking for resources to fight Trypho,” being desirous also “to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom” and retain both that country and Babylon. The opportunity arose when “Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there” sent Demetrius II promises that, if he went, they would aid him against Parthian king Arsaces/Phraates (*per Maccabees*, “king of Persia and Media”), by which Demetrius II might recover all lost Seleucid territories. Demetrius II planned on overthrowing the Parthians and then, with an increased army, eject Trypho out of Syria; but he lost the fight with Arsaces, was captured, and imprisoned. *AJ XIII.V.10-11; 1 Maccabees 14:3.*

“Trypho was determined to become king of Asia, assume the crown, and do away with King Antiochus [VI];” “the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus’ son, laid a plot against Jonathan.” First, however, he had to get Jonathan, who had made a league with and was friend to Antiochus, out of the way. Trypho went from Antioch to Scythopolis (Bethshan), where Jonathan, expecting a fight, met him with 40,000 men. Trypho, however, chose deceit and treachery over battle. Through assurances and gifts he convinced Jonathan that he intended to give Ptolemais to him. Duped, Jonathan dismissed almost all of his own army and went up to Ptolemais with only 1,000 men, where he fell into a prearranged trap as the city gates shut behind them. Trypho took Jonathan captive, slew all those who were with him, and sent soldiers to take care of the 2,000 men Jonathan had left in the Galilee (but they were able to evade the execution). *AJ, XIII.VI.1-2; 1 Maccabees 12:39-53; BJ, I.II.1.*

Great fear arose among the people upon Jonathan’s defeat and capture, as formerly quiescent neighbors also began to rise up against them while Trypho’s force prepared to make war on Judaea. Simon held an inspiring assembly and obtained overwhelming support from the multitude, who made him their governor. He “got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war,” and hastened to strengthen the city walls and erect new high towers. He sent a company under friend (Absalom-) Jonathan to “eject the inhabitants out of [Joppa]...lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho,” while Simon, himself, held fast at Jerusalem. *AJ, XIII.VI.3-4; 1 Maccabees 13:1-11.*

Trypho had Jonathan, in bonds, with him when he came out of Ptolemais with his army, and faced Simon’s at Adida on a hill above the Judaeian plains. Trypho sent a message to Simon: if he wanted Jonathan back alive, he was to send 100 talents of silver with two of Jonathan’s sons as hostages. Simon, well aware Trypho could not be trusted, had no real choice; he complied, on the slim chance Jonathan might be saved. Once Trypho had the money and Jonathan’s sons, he changed course to enter Judaea via Idumaea; but unseasonably heavy snowfall made passage impossible for his cavalry. Trypho instead removed his army to Celeosyria. From there he fell “vehemently upon the land of Gilead,” where he killed Jonathan. Jonathan had been high priest and governor for “four years.” Trypho then returned to Antioch. *AJ XIII.VI.5-6; 1 Maccabees 13:12-24, 36ff.; BJ I:II.1.*

<sup>49</sup> If “Hamath, in the vicinity of the Orontes River some 175 miles north of Damascus.

Simon retrieved Jonathan's remains and buried him at Modein. Over the tomb of his father and brothers he erected a polished stone monument high enough to be seen at a distance, and also erected carved pyramids set on large columns, to be "seen by all who sailed the sea." (The fate of Jonathan's sons is not told.) *1 Maccabees 13:25-30.*

Simon, "who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from...the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years." He continued to fortify Judaea. "[I]n the year 171" he beseiged and starved the last resisters out of the citadel, and afterward caused the people to demolish it and the hill upon which it stood."<sup>50</sup> Simon, who had supported Demetrius II, drove the last Seleucids out of Jerusalem, and was granted independence. *AJ XIII.VI.7; 1 Maccabees 15:1ff.*

"[I]n the year 172, that is, the third year under Simon the high priest in Asaramel,<sup>51</sup> in a great assembly of priests, people, rulers of the nation, and elders of the country," a proclamation was issued, and an inscription engraved on a bronze tablet in the temple precincts (as well as copies deposited in the treasury) that decreed Simon "as high priest, governor general, and ethnarch...to exercise supreme authority over all."

The people of Gazara capitulated to Simon; he did not destroy them but made them leave the city, where he "settled men who observed the law. He improved its fortifications and built himself a residence." "Simon...took Gadara, and Joppa, and Jamnia." He granted peace to Gadara,<sup>52</sup> where he stationed son John as governor and army commander. Rome and Sparta sent Simon missiles of condolence over Jonathan's death and reaffirmed the pacts established under Judas and Jonathan. Simon sent to Rome a "great gold shield weighing 1,000 minas, to confirm the alliance with the Romans."

*AJ XIII.VI.7; 1 M 13:43-53; 14:18-49; BJ I.II.2.*

"In the year 172 Demetrius II was [had been] captured by and imprisoned by Arsaces, king of Persia and Media." *1 Maccabees 14:1.*

Meanwhile, young Antiochus VI died, after a reign of "four years" (reportedly, his death was caused by Tryphon, "though he gave it out that the king died under the hands of surgeons"). This occurred "a little while after Demetrius II had been captured" by the Parthians. Tryphon, "putting on the crown of Asia," secured his position by shrewd artfulness with the populace and promises of great wealth to the military. However, once he had full power, he reverted to his true self. "[T]he soldiery, [who] hated him, revolted from him to Cleopatra [III], the wife of Demetrius [II], who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as [the exiled] Antiochus [VII], the brother of Demetrius [II]...was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Tryphon, Cleopatra [III] sent to Antiochus [VII] and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom." "The reasons why she made this invitation were these: that her friends persuaded her to do it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Tryphon." *AJ XIII.VII.1.*

Antiochus VII wrote to Simon that he intended to come from "the islands of the sea," to reclaim his ancestral kingdom. In exchange for a mutual assistance league, Antiochus VII's ambassadors offered Simon the cancellation of all debts, freedom for the temple and its citizens and--most significant--the authority to strike coinage. Simon readily accepted and provided supplies and money. In the "year 174," Antiochus VII arrived in Seleucia, marched against Trypho; "ejected him from Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dor/Dora, a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled." (Simon was "an

<sup>50</sup> This project "cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought [the site] to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city."

<sup>51</sup> This term is elusive.

<sup>52</sup> Tentatively placed a short distance S/SE of the Sea of Galilee.

auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before [Antiochus VII] went on his expedition against the Medes [as reported below].”

Antiochus VII encamped before and assaulted Dor continuously. Simon sent 2000 elite troops, gold, silver and much equipment; but Antiochus VII now refused the aid. “[I]n fact, he broke all agreements...with Simon,” and sent his Friend, Athenobius, to Jerusalem, to demand that Simon return Joppa and Gazara--“cities of my kingdom” Antiochus claimed--and that Simon return tribute “of the districts outside the territory of Judea” of which Simon had possession, or pay to Antiochus a considerable amount of money. “If you do not do this,” Antiochus VII threatened, “we will come and make war on you.” Simon refused to return any territory, claiming what he possessed was his people’s ancestral land; but he was willing to pay 100 talents. His reply enraged Antiochus VII. *AJ XIII.VII.2; 1 Maccabees 15:1-9; 25-36; BJ I.II.2.*

Trypho had escaped Dor and fled to Apamia/Orthosia.<sup>53</sup> Antiochus VII, before going in pursuit, made one Cendebeus commander of the seacoast, gave him an infantry and cavalry, and ordered him to move against Judaea. From Jamnia, where Cendebeus arrested the people, he made incursions into Judaea, killing many and taking captives. Further acting on Antiochus’ orders, Cendebeus fortified Kedron, from where their men patrolled the roads. Meanwhile, Trypho was captured at Apamia and put to death; “he had reigned three years.”

*1 Maccabees 15:37-41; AJ XIII.VII.2.*

John (Hyrcanus I) went from Gazara to Jerusalem to inform father Simon of Cendebeus’ actions. Simon, advanced in years, turned over primary defense command to John and Judas (“his oldest sons”). John “mustered in the land 2000 warriors and horsemen. Setting out against Cendebeus, they spent the night at Modein, rose early, and marched onto the plain,” where a stream separated them from the foe’s frighteningly large army. John divided his infantry--who, fearful, would begin to cross over only when John, himself, went first--in two corps with the cavalry between, “for the enemy’s horsemen were very numerous.” In the battle that followed, “Cendebeus and his army were put to flight; many of them fell wounded, and the rest fled toward the stronghold.” Judas of Chapseus was wounded; but John chased Cendebeus back to Kedron and also put fire to enemy towers on the plain, killing about 2000 of the enemy there. “John then returned to Judea in peace.”

*1 Maccabees 16:1-10; AJ XIII.VII.2.*

In the interim, Simon had envoyed an appeal to Rome for a league of mutual assistance. Rome returned a directive to all surrounding regions that any troublemakers were to be handed over to Simon. Letters went to “Kings Demetrius, Attalus, Ariarthes and Arsaces; to all the countries--Sampsames, Sparta, Delos, Myndos, Sicyon, Caria, Samos, Pamphylia, Lycia, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis, Cos, Side, Aradus, Gortyna, Cnidus, Cyprus, and Cyrene.”

*1 Maccabees 15:15-24; AJ XIII.VII.3.*

Simon’s end, after a rule of eight years, came about at the hands of his “son-in-law, Ptolemy, son of Abubus,” then governor of the plain of Jericho. “Ptolemy, son of Abubus, had been appointed governor [by whom is not said] of the plain of Jericho, and he had much silver and gold, being the son-in-law of the high priest; but he became ambitious and sought to get control of the whole country.” In the “year 177 [134 b.c.]”, Simon and two of his sons, Mattathias and Judas, while on a routine tour of their cities, were deceitfully welcomed and feasted by said Ptolemy at “a little stronghold called Dok” that he had built. When Simon and his sons were sufficiently drunk, Ptolemy “son of Abubus” and his men sprang out and killed all three and their attendants.

Ptolemy, son of Abubus, then wrote a report of Simon’s death to Antiochus VII, “asking that troops be sent to him and that the country be turned over to him. He sent men to Gazara to kill John [Hyrcanus I], and sent other men to seize Jerusalem and temple

<sup>53</sup> Uncertain?--Antiochus I had founded a city which he called Apame after his mother [Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, (1); “Orthosia, [1] a town of Caria; [2] a town of Phoenicia” (*Lempriere*, page 419).

mount." Hyrcanus, however, had received advance notice of what had transpired at Dok. When Ptolemy's men arrived he arrested them and had them put to death, "for he knew what they meant to do." (According to *Maccabees*, the people of Gazara--in that they hated Ptolemy--admitted Hyrcanus in one gate while driving away the foe at another.)

Meanwhile, Ptolemy, son of Abubus, "also caught Simon's [unnamed] wife, and two [others] of his sons, and kept them in bonds"/"put them in prison."

<sup>54</sup>  
*AJ* XIII.VII.4; *1 Maccabees* 16:11-17; *BJ* I.II.3.

-----Resumed in Appendix 4B, I-----

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<sup>54</sup> Here, verses 16:23-24, *1 Maccabees* ends with, "Now the rest of the history of John [Hyrcanus I], his wars and the brave deeds he performed, his rebuilding of the walls, and his other achievements--these things are recorded in the Chronicle of his pontificate ["in some Greek copies, 'The Fourth Book of Maccabees',"] *Whiston*, n.\*, XIII.VII.4], from the time that he succeeded his father as high priest."