**Isolation vs Integration:
Political and Ideological Tensions in the Second Temple Period**

**Rabbi Alan Haber**

**ברכות כט.**

אמר אביי, גמירי: טבא לא הוי בישא. ולא? והכתיב ובשוב צדיק מצדקתו ועשה עול! ההוא רשע מעיקרו, אבל צדיק מעיקרו - לא. ולא? והא תנן: אל תאמין בעצמך עד יום מותך, שהרי יוחנן כהן גדול שמש בכהונה גדולה שמנים שנה ולבסוף נעשה צדוקי! אמר אביי: הוא ינאי הוא יוחנן. רבא אמר: ינאי לחוד ויוחנן לחוד, ינאי - רשע מעיקרו, ויוחנן - צדיק מעיקרו. הניחא לאביי, אלא לרבא קשיא! אמר לך רבא: צדיק מעיקרו נמי, דלמא הדר ביה.

**ברכות דף מח.**

ינאי מלכא ומלכתא כריכו ריפתא בהדי הדדי, **ומדקטל להו לרבנן** - לא הוה ליה איניש לברוכי להו. אמר לה לדביתהו: מאן יהיב לן גברא דמברך לן? אמרה ליה: אשתבע לי דאי מייתינא לך גברא - דלא מצערת ליה. אשתבע לה. אייתיתיה לשמעון בן שטח אחוה, אותביה בין דידיה לדידה. אמר ליה: חזית כמה יקרא עבדינא לך! - אמר ליה: לאו את קא מוקרת לי, אלא אורייתא היא דמוקרא לי, דכתיב סלסלה ותרוממך תכבדך כי תחבקנה. אמר לה: קא חזית דלא מקבל מרות! יהבו ליה כסא לברוכי. אמר היכי אבריך - ברוך שאכל ינאי וחביריו משלו? שתייה לההוא כסא. יהבו ליה כסא אחרינא ובריך.

**קידושין סו.**

תניא: מעשה בינאי המלך שהלך לכוחלית שבמדבר וכיבש שם ששים כרכים, ובחזרתו היה שמח שמחה גדולה, וקרא לכל חכמי ישראל. אמר להם: אבותינו היו אוכלים מלוחים בזמן שהיו עסוקים בבנין בית המקדש, אף אנו נאכל מלוחים זכר לאבותינו, והעלו מלוחים על שולחנות של זהב ואכלו. והיה שם אחד איש לץ לב רע ובליעל ואלעזר בן פועירה שמו, ויאמר אלעזר בן פועירה לינאי המלך: ינאי המלך, לבם של פרושים עליך! ומה אעשה? הקם להם בציץ שבין עיניך, הקים להם בציץ שבין עיניו. היה שם זקן אחד ויהודה בן גדידיה שמו, ויאמר יהודה בן גדידיה לינאי המלך: ינאי המלך, רב לך כתר מלכות, הנח כתר כהונה לזרעו של אהרן! שהיו אומרים: אמו נשבית במודיעים, ויבוקש הדבר ולא נמצא; ויבדלו חכמי ישראל בזעם. ויאמר אלעזר בן פועירה לינאי המלך: ינאי המלך, הדיוט שבישראל כך הוא דינו, ואתה מלך וכהן גדול כך הוא דינך? ומה אעשה? אם אתה שומע לעצתי רומסם. ותורה מה תהא עליה? הרי כרוכה ומונחת בקרן זוית, כל הרוצה ללמוד יבוא וילמוד. אמר רב נחמן בר יצחק: מיד נזרקה בו אפיקורסות, דהוה ליה למימר: תינח תורה שבכתב, תורה שבעל פה מאי? מיד ותוצץ הרעה על ידי אלעזר בן פועירה, ויהרגו כל חכמי ישראל, והיה העולם משתומם עד שבא שמעון בן שטח והחזיר את התורה ליושנה.

**ירמיהו כה:א-יד**

הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה עַל יִרְמְיָהוּ עַל כָּל עַם יְהוּדָה **בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִעִית לִיהוֹיָקִים בֶּן יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה הִיא הַשָּׁנָה הָרִאשֹׁנִית לִנְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל**: אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא עַל כָּל עַם יְהוּדָה וְאֶל כָּל יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם לֵאמֹר: מִן שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לְיֹאשִׁיָּהוּ בֶן אָמוֹן מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה זֶה שָׁלֹשׁ וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה הָיָה דְבַר ה' אֵלָי וָאֲדַבֵּר אֲלֵיכֶם אַשְׁכֵּים וְדַבֵּר וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם: וְשָׁלַח ה' אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת כָּל עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִאִים הַשְׁכֵּם וְשָׁלֹחַ וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם וְלֹא הִטִּיתֶם אֶת אָזְנְכֶם לִשְׁמֹעַ: לֵאמֹר שׁוּבוּ נָא אִישׁ מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָעָה וּמֵרֹעַ מַעַלְלֵיכֶם וּשְׁבוּ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן ה' לָכֶם וְלַאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם לְמִן עוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם: וְאַל תֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְעָבְדָם וּלְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לָהֶם וְלֹא תַכְעִיסוּ אוֹתִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיכֶם וְלֹא אָרַע לָכֶם: וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם אֵלַי נְאֻם ה' לְמַעַן הכעסוני הַכְעִיסֵנִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיכֶם לְרַע לָכֶם: ס **לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר ה' צְבָאוֹת יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם אֶת דְּבָרָי: הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ וְלָקַחְתִּי אֶת כָּל מִשְׁפְּחוֹת צָפוֹן נְאֻם ה' וְאֶל נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל עַבְדִּי וַהֲבִאֹתִים עַל הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וְעַל יֹשְׁבֶיהָ וְעַל כָּל הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה סָבִיב וְהַחֲרַמְתִּים** וְשַׂמְתִּים לְשַׁמָּה וְלִשְׁרֵקָה וּלְחָרְבוֹת עוֹלָם: וְהַאֲבַדְתִּי מֵהֶם קוֹל שָׂשׂוֹן וְקוֹל שִׂמְחָה קוֹל חָתָן וְקוֹל כַּלָּה קוֹל רֵחַיִם וְאוֹר נֵר**: וְהָיְתָה כָּל הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְחָרְבָּה לְשַׁמָּה וְעָבְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה אֶת מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה:** וְהָיָה כִמְלֹאות שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה אֶפְקֹד עַל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל וְעַל הַגּוֹי הַהוּא נְאֻם ה' אֶת עֲוֹנָם וְעַל אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים וְשַׂמְתִּי אֹתוֹ לְשִׁמְמוֹת עוֹלָם: והבאיתי וְהֵבֵאתִי עַל הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא אֶת כָּל דְּבָרַי אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי עָלֶיהָ אֵת כָּל הַכָּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר נִבָּא יִרְמְיָהוּ עַל כָּל הַגּוֹיִם: כִּי עָבְדוּ בָם גַּם הֵמָּה גּוֹיִם רַבִּים וּמְלָכִים גְּדוֹלִים וְשִׁלַּמְתִּי לָהֶם כְּפָעֳלָם וּכְמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם: ס

**מלכים ב כה:ח-יב**

וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֲמִישִׁי בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ הִיא שְׁנַת תְּשַׁע עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ נְבֻכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל בָּא נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן רַב טַבָּחִים עֶבֶד מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל יְרוּשָׁלִָם: **וַיִּשְׂרֹף אֶת בֵּית ה' וְאֶת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֵת כָּל בָּתֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם** וְאֶת כָּל בֵּית גָּדוֹל שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ: **וְאֶת חוֹמֹת יְרוּשָׁלִַם סָבִיב נָתְצוּ** כָּל חֵיל כַּשְׂדִּים אֲשֶׁר רַב טַבָּחִים: וְאֵת יֶתֶר הָעָם הַנִּשְׁאָרִים בָּעִיר וְאֶת הַנֹּפְלִים אֲשֶׁר נָפְלוּ עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ בָּבֶל וְאֵת יֶתֶר הֶהָמוֹן **הֶגְלָה נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן רַב טַבָּחִים:** וּמִדַּלַּת הָאָרֶץ הִשְׁאִיר רַב טַבָּחִים לְכֹרְמִים וּלְיֹגְבִים:

**עזרא א:א-יא**

וּבִשְׁנַת אַחַת לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס **לִכְלוֹת דְּבַר ה' מִפִּי יִרְמְיָה הֵעִיר ה' אֶת רוּחַ כֹּרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס** וַיַּעֲבֶר קוֹל בְּכָל מַלְכוּתוֹ וְגַם בְּמִכְתָּב לֵאמֹר: כֹּה אָמַר כֹּרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס כֹּל מַמְלְכוֹת הָאָרֶץ נָתַן לִי ה' אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמָיִם וְהוּא פָקַד עָלַי לִבְנוֹת לוֹ בַיִת בִּירוּשָׁלִַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה: **מִי בָכֶם מִכָּל עַמּוֹ יְהִי אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ וְיַעַל לִירוּשָׁלִַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה וְיִבֶן אֶת בֵּית ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלִָם**: וְכָל הַנִּשְׁאָר מִכָּל הַמְּקֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר הוּא גָר שָׁם יְנַשְּׂאוּהוּ אַנְשֵׁי מְקֹמוֹ בְּכֶסֶף וּבְזָהָב וּבִרְכוּשׁ וּבִבְהֵמָה עִם הַנְּדָבָה לְבֵית הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלִָם: וַיָּקוּמוּ רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לִיהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם לְכֹל הֵעִיר הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת רוּחוֹ לַעֲלוֹת לִבְנוֹת אֶת בֵּית ה' אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלִָם: וְכָל סְבִיבֹתֵיהֶם חִזְּקוּ בִידֵיהֶם בִּכְלֵי כֶסֶף בַּזָּהָב בָּרְכוּשׁ וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבַמִּגְדָּנוֹת לְבַד עַל כָּל הִתְנַדֵּב: ס **וְהַמֶּלֶךְ כּוֹרֶשׁ הוֹצִיא אֶת כְּלֵי בֵית ה' אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִיא נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מִירוּשָׁלִַם וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו: וַיּוֹצִיאֵם כּוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס** עַל יַד מִתְרְדָת הַגִּזְבָּר וַיִּסְפְּרֵם לְשֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר הַנָּשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה: וְאֵלֶּה מִסְפָּרָם אֲגַרְטְלֵי זָהָב שְׁלֹשִׁים אֲגַרְטְלֵי כֶסֶף אָלֶף מַחֲלָפִים תִּשְׁעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים: ס כְּפוֹרֵי זָהָב שְׁלֹשִׁים כְּפוֹרֵי כֶסֶף מִשְׁנִים אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת וַעֲשָׂרָה כֵּלִים אֲחֵרִים אָלֶף: ס  **כָּל כֵּלִים לַזָּהָב וְלַכֶּסֶף חֲמֵשֶׁת אֲלָפִים וְאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת הַכֹּל הֶעֱלָה שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר עִם הֵעָלוֹת הַגּוֹלָה מִבָּבֶל לִירוּשָׁלִָם**: פ

***Inscription - Cyrus Cylinder*, 539 BCE, Babylon**



From [Shuanna] I [Cyrus] sent back to their places to the city of Ashur and Susa, Akkad, the land of Eshnunna, the city of Zamban, the city of Meturnu, Der, as far as the border of the land of Qutu - the sanctuaries across the river Tigris - whose shrines had earlier become dilapidated, the gods who lived therein, and made permanent sanctuaries for them. **I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements, and the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad** which Nabonidus – to the fury of the lord of the gods – had brought into Shuanna, at the command of Marduk, the great lord, **I returned them unharmed to their cells, in the sanctuaries that make them happy.** May all the gods that I returned to their sanctuaries, every day before Marduk and Nabu, ask for a long life for me, and mention my good deeds…

**נחמיה ב:א-ט**

**וַיְהִי בְּחֹדֶשׁ נִיסָן שְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים לְאַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא הַמֶּלֶךְ** יַיִן לְפָנָיו וָאֶשָּׂא אֶת הַיַּיִן וָאֶתְּנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ וְלֹא הָיִיתִי רַע לְפָנָיו: וַיֹּאמֶר לִי הַמֶּלֶךְ מַדּוּעַ פָּנֶיךָ רָעִים וְאַתָּה אֵינְךָ חוֹלֶה אֵין זֶה כִּי אִם רֹעַ לֵב וָאִירָא הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד: וָאֹמַר לַמֶּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ לְעוֹלָם יִחְיֶה מַדּוּעַ לֹא יֵרְעוּ פָנַי אֲשֶׁר הָעִיר בֵּית קִבְרוֹת אֲבֹתַי חֲרֵבָה וּשְׁעָרֶיהָ אֻכְּלוּ בָאֵשׁ: ס וַיֹּאמֶר לִי הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל מַה זֶּה אַתָּה מְבַקֵּשׁ **וָאֶתְפַּלֵּל אֶל אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמָיִם: וָאֹמַר לַמֶּלֶךְ אִם עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב וְאִם יִיטַב עַבְדְּךָ לְפָנֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁלָחֵנִי אֶל יְהוּדָה אֶל עִיר קִבְרוֹת אֲבֹתַי וְאֶבְנֶנָּה: וַיֹּאמֶר לִי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשֵּׁגַל יוֹשֶׁבֶת אֶצְלוֹ עַד מָתַי יִהְיֶה מַהֲלָכֲךָ וּמָתַי תָּשׁוּב וַיִּיטַב לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁלָחֵנִי וָאֶתְּנָה לוֹ זְמָן:** וָאוֹמַר לַמֶּלֶךְ אִם עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב אִגְּרוֹת יִתְּנוּ לִי עַל פַּחֲווֹת עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבִירוּנִי עַד אֲשֶׁר אָבוֹא אֶל יְהוּדָה: וְאִגֶּרֶת אֶל אָסָף שֹׁמֵר הַפַּרְדֵּס אֲשֶׁר לַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יִתֶּן לִי עֵצִים לְקָרוֹת אֶת שַׁעֲרֵי הַבִּירָה אֲשֶׁר לַבַּיִת וּלְחוֹמַת הָעִיר וְלַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר אָבוֹא אֵלָיו וַיִּתֶּן לִי הַמֶּלֶךְ כְּיַד אֱלֹהַי הַטּוֹבָה עָלָי: וָאָבוֹא אֶל פַּחֲווֹת עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר וָאֶתְּנָה לָהֶם אֵת אִגְּרוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁלַח עִמִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ שָׂרֵי חַיִל וּפָרָשִׁים: פ

**יומא דף סט.**

תניא: בעשרים וחמשה [בטבת] יום הר גרזים [הוא], דלא למספד. יום שבקשו כותיים את בית אלהינו מאלכסנדרוס מוקדון להחריבו ונתנו להם. באו והודיעו את שמעון הצדיק. מה עשה? לבש בגדי כהונה, ונתעטף בבגדי כהונה, ומיקירי ישראל עמו, ואבוקות של אור בידיהן, וכל הלילה הללו הולכים מצד זה והללו הולכים מצד זה עד שעלה עמוד השחר. כיון שעלה עמוד השחר אמר להם: מי הללו? אמרו לו: יהודים שמרדו בך. כיון שהגיע לאנטיפטרס זרחה חמה, ופגעו זה בזה. **כיון שראה לשמעון הצדיק, ירד ממרכבתו והשתחוה לפניו. אמרו לו: מלך גדול כמותך ישתחוה ליהודי זה? אמר להם: דמות דיוקנו של זה מנצחת לפני בבית מלחמתי. - אמר להם: למה באתם? - אמרו: אפשר בית שמתפללים בו עליך ועל מלכותך שלא תחרב יתעוך גויים להחריבו?** - אמר להם: מי הללו? - אמרו לו: כותיים הללו שעומדים לפניך. - אמר להם: הרי הם מסורים בידיכם. מיד נקבום בעקביהם ותלאום בזנבי סוסיהם, והיו מגררין אותן על הקוצים ועל הברקנים עד שהגיעו להר גריזים. כיון שהגיעו להר גריזים חרשוהו, וזרעוהו כרשינין. כדרך שבקשו לעשות לבית אלהינו. ואותו היום עשאוהו יום טוב.

**I Macabees 1:10-15, 20-23, 41-51; 2:15-28**

And there came out of them a wicked root Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks. In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow. So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen: Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen: And made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief….

And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, And entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials. and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crown, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which he pulled off. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found.

Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, And every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king. Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath. **For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda that they should follow the strange laws of the land, And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days: And pollute the sanctuary and holy people: Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts: That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation: To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.** And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die. In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city.

In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice. And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together. Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren: Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards. **Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments: Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.** We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left. Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment. Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar. Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down. Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God like as Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom. And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me. So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city.

**Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews* XIII 8:2-4; 9:1-2**

2. But Antiochus, being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth years' of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments; but did just nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valor of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them; and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the wails, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. **And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, be gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly. And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice,** bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army, **which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers;** for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him *Antiochus the Pious*, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. **Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly;** and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation, by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother. But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. **He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians**….

1. BUT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighboring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. **Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise** their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. **But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans.** Accordingly, he sent an embassage to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: "Fanius, the son of Marcus, the praetor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs [of Jordan], and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them; and that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave; and that they would endeavor, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done to them; and that their praetor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.