

## CESARE E GLI EBREI

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1.

Che la campagna di Cesare ad Alessandria abbia rivestito un ruolo cruciale in tutto l'andamento della guerra civile dopo Farsalo mi è accaduto di affermarlo in più occasioni. Napoleone, nel *Précis des guerres de Jules César*, scritto o meglio dettato a Sant'Elena, rimproverava a Cesare di essersi lasciato intrappolare in quella campagna. In questo caso l'imperatore sbagliava. L'Egitto era cruciale per Cesare non solo per il controllo del Mediterraneo orientale ma per la stessa prosecuzione della guerra civile.

Della campagna alessandrina il momento cruciale è stata la battaglia del Delta. Non ne era scontato l'esito. Cesare ha compiuto l'abile mossa di liberare Tolomeo, che aveva presso di sé come ostaggio nel palazzo reale, e di restituirlo al campo nemico: il che ha intralciato la strategia dell'abilissimo generale egiziano Ganimede, cui il giovane sovrano Tolomeo si contrappose immediatamente come rivale nel comando delle operazioni. Jérôme Carcopino, nel suo *Cesare*, mette molto bene in luce il senso di questa mossa di Cesare. Ma è soprattutto sul sopraggiungere di Mitridate Pergameno e delle sue composite truppe ausiliarie che Cesare doveva poter contare per guadagnare la battaglia. Ed è sul ruolo del contingente ebraico unitosi all'esercito di Mitridate che verte questa mia comunicazione.

Il resoconto di questa battaglia, la battaglia del Delta, compreso nel *Bellum Alexandrinum*, tace completamente del ruolo che le truppe ebraiche al comando di Antipatro hanno svolto. Anzi in un particolare molto importante l'anonimo autore attribuisce a merito di Mitridate Pergameno (*Bellum Alexandrinum* 26,3) quanto da Giuseppe Flavio (*Antichità giudaiche* XIV 128-129) apprendiamo essere stato merito di Antipatro. Fu infatti Antipatro che indusse una serie di tribù e popolazioni dell'area, ivi compresi gli Ebrei che risiedevano nella zona del Delta, ad unirsi all'esercito ausiliario che puntava a ricongiungersi con le truppe cesariane spezzando l'assedio che bloccava Cesare nel palazzo reale di Alessandria. E nella battaglia che si svolse in località «Campo degli Ebrei» fu Antipatro a determinare la vittoria sulle truppe egiziane che stavano per aver ragione di Mitridate.

Il resoconto di Giuseppe pone nel massimo rilievo il contributo del contingente ebraico. Su di un punto, che gli sta molto a cuore, egli fa ricorso alla *Storia* di Strabone, di cui ci dà, per suffragare le proprie affermazioni, un cospicuo frammento (*Antichità* XIV 137-139). Si tratta della effettiva presenza del sommo sacerdote Ircano, accanto ad Antipatro, nel contingente ausiliario capeggiato da Mitridate. Conviene riferire per intero il brano:

Conclusa vittoriosamente la guerra, Cesare sbarcò in Siria e lì rese grandi onori sia ad Ircano, cui confermò il sommo sacerdozio, che ad Antipatro, cui concesse la cittadinanza romana e l'esenzione dalle tasse. Molti sono gli autori che hanno parlato dell'aiuto dato da Ircano a questa campagna *e della sua presenza in Egitto*. Dà conferma di questa mia asserzione Strabone il Cappadoce. Egli richiamandosi ad Asinio come sua fonte dice esattamente così: *dopo Mitridate* [nel senso di *al seguito di*] *entrò in Egitto anche Ircano, il sommo sacerdote degli Ebrei*. E lo stesso Strabone in un altro passo dice, richiamandosi questa volta ad Ipsicrate: *che Mitridate si mosse da solo, che da lui fu convocato ad Ascalona Antipatro, ἐπιμελητής* [amministratore] *della Giudea, che Antipatro gli procurò 3000 uomini, che riuscì a mobilitare anche gli altri dinasti, e che alla campagna prese parte anche Ircano, sommo sacerdote*. Questo esattamente dice Strabone.

E sui meriti precipui di Antipatro a Pelusio e nella battaglia di «Campo degli Ebrei» Giuseppe menziona (§ 136), ma purtroppo non cita, una lettera di Mitridate a Cesare.

Quando racconta questi stessi avvenimenti nella *Guerra giudaica*, Giuseppe non dà dettagli così minuziosi. Racconta la battaglia (*Guerra giudaica* I 190-192) ed in particolare il ruolo determinante di Antipatro e dei 3000 del contingente ebraico i quali sgominano gli Egiziani che stavano per avere il sopravvento su Mitridate Pergameno e sulle sue truppe. Ma non adduce la testimonianza – per lui preziosa – di Strabone: necessaria, nella sua strategia espositiva, per fugare il sospetto di avere ecceduto nel valorizzare il ruolo del contingente ebraico. Né sono presenti nella *Guerra giudaica* i numerosi documenti messi a frutto nelle *Antichità giudaiche*, a cominciare dalla importante lettera di Mitridate Pergameno a Cesare, che attestava e documentava i meriti di Antipatro nella battaglia del Delta. Dunque Giuseppe ha proseguito le ricerche – il racconto presente nelle *Antichità* è stato elaborato dopo – ed ha seguito, da storico provetto, due piste: cercare le tracce della vicenda in storici non ebrei (Strabone «il Cappadoce», come lo chiama) e attingere alla documentazione epigrafica esposta a Roma, in Campidoglio, ma anche nelle città di Tiro, Sidone, Ascalona, che per una ragione o per l'altra avevano rapporto con la vicenda.

2.

L'utilizzo dell'opera storica di Strabone gli ha consentito di attingere indirettamente a quanto in proposito aveva scritto Asinio Pollione, la cui opera sulle guerre civili, che tanto allarmava Orazio (*Carmina* II 1: *incedis per ignis suppositos cineri doloso*), era stata largamente messa a frutto da Strabone. Grazie a questo fortunato intreccio di fonti (Giuseppe che adopera Strabone, che a sua volta adopera Asinio e lo cita) veniamo a scoprire che anche su questo punto specifico del ruolo degli Ebrei nella battaglia del Delta, Asinio Pollione si discostava dalla tradizione consolidatasi nel *Corpus* dei "continuatori" dei *Commentarii* cesariani. Conosciamo bene, grazie a Svetonio (*Divus Iulius* 56) il severo giudizio di Asinio sui *Commentarii* e sulla loro scarsa veridicità. Tale diffidenza si estendeva a maggior ragione al resto del *Corpus*, allestito, da uno staff rimasto anonimo, in accordo con l'erede di Cesare e gestore oculato della sua memoria. Tanto più appare rilevante che Asinio abbia voluto esprimersi su questo punto («con Mitridate c'era anche Ircano») se si considera che Asinio dopo Farsalo non ha seguito Cesare ad Alessandria, ma è tornato, con Antonio, in Italia.

3.

Un'ultima considerazione si impone. La politica cesariana di apertura verso gli Ebrei, e verso Ircano e Antipatro in particolare, va compresa nei suoi termini politici. Lo schieramento, al momento della guerra civile, di molti Ebrei dalla parte di Cesare è ben comprensibile: il nemico di Cesare, Pompeo, era stato, al momento della conquista della Siria (65 a.C.) e della Palestina, il profanatore del Tempio (63 a.C.), come racconta con dovizia di dettagli Dione Cassio (XXXVII 15-16). Dal punto di vista di Cesare, d'altra parte, si trattava di subentrare quanto possibile a Pompeo nella gestione della vasta rete delle sue clientele orientali. Che è la ragione per cui, vinto Tolomeo, Cesare ha preferito sistemare lo scacchiere orientale prima di occuparsi della "insorgenza" catoniana a Occidente.

Orbene Ircano era stato, a suo tempo, gratificato da Pompeo. Proprio la fazione di Ircano, nel 63 a.C., aveva aiutato Pompeo (Dione XXXVII 15,3) e Pompeo aveva adeguatamente ricambiato Ircano: il Tempio – racconta Dione – fu saccheggiato, dopo che i Romani lo avevano conquistato di sabato senza colpo ferire, ma Pompeo si era affrettato a ricompensare Ircano «affidandogli il regno» (XXXVII 16,4).

Ecco perché, nel 47, Ircano, morto ormai Pompeo, aveva voluto essere assolutamente accanto ad Antipatro nel corpo di spedizione che Mitridate

Pergameno conduceva in Egitto, a tappe forzate, in soccorso di Cesare per liberarlo dall'assedio alessandrino. E Giuseppe si affanna a portar documenti attestanti che Ircano era davvero lì, in quella vicenda salvifica per Cesare. E Cesare, a guerra ormai conclusa, aveva pensato bene che gli conveniva confermare Ircano nei suoi poteri. Per controllare una regione, è fondamentale un saldo rapporto con le élites locali dominanti: quelle che Ernst Badian ha chiamato nel suo celebre libro, «le clientele esterne». Era l'ABC della “sapienza imperiale” romana.

### Appendice

#### *Documenti cesariani in favore degli ebrei*

(*Giuseppe Flavio, Antichità giudaiche XIV 189-222*)

[189] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρὸς τε Ἰρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν. [190] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον Σιδωνίων ἀρχουσιν βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε [191] εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, καγὼ δὲ ἔρρωμαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τῆς γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ πρὸς Ἰρκανὸν υἱὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ὑμῶν ἀνακείται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ [192] καὶ ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ τοῦτο ἀνατεθῆναι. ἔστιν δὴ τοῦτο· Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Ἰρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμῳ πίστιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς αὐτῷ [193] πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκράτορες, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἦκεν σύμμαχος καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντας ἀνδρεῖα τοὺς [194] ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλεν, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ἰρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη, εἶναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ἡμῖν ἔτι τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις [195] ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους ἔστιν ἀρχιερατικὰ φιλόνηρωπα, ταῦτα κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· ἂν τε μεταξὺ γένηται τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι [παρ' αὐτοῖς]. παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πράσσεισθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω. [196] Γαίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος ὑπάτου δεδομένα συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχοντα. ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχη, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζονται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων προίστηται τῶν [197] ἀδικουμένων. πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ἰρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῇν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἐν τε τῷ

Καπετωλίω καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαράγμενην γράμμασιν Ῥωμαίκοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. [198] ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταμίαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἡγουμένοις \* εἶς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνευέγκωσιν καὶ ξένα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὰ διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ. [199] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ ὑπάτος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἰρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις, οἷς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διακατέσχον. [200] Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπάτος τὸ πέμπτον ἔκρινεν τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν Ἰρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς προαι [201] ρῆται. ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως [ἔτει] τῆς προσόδου κόρον ὑπεξέλωνται καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσι τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τελῶσιν. [202] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως Ἰόππης ὑπεξαρουμένης χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν προσαγορεύουσι, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμ [203] βάνουσιν μήτε σπεύρουσιν. καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ἰρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν [204] καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἀρχῶν μήτε ἀντάρχων μήτε στρατηγῶς ἢ πρεσβευτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνίστας συμμαχίαν καὶ στρατιώτας ἐξῆ τούτῳ χρήματα εἰσπράττεσθαι ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ' εἶναι πάντα [205] χόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους. ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει, [206] φόρους τε ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ἰρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Σιδῶνι μοδίους δισμυρίους χοε' ὑπεξαρουμένου τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν καλοῦσιν, καθ' ὃν οὔτε [207] ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν. τὰς τε κώμας τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, ἃς Ἰρκανὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ ταῦτα Ἰρκανὸν καὶ [208] Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. μένειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαια, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ ἱερεῦσιν ἦν τὰ τε φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα τε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἔσχον. ἐπὶ τούτοις τε τοῖς δικαίοις [209] χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις. τοὺς τε τόπους καὶ χώραν καὶ ἐποίκια, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμαχοῖς οὔσι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δωρεὰν ὑπῆρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει ἢ [210] σύγκλητος Ἰρκανὸν τὸν ἐθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν. δεδόσθαι δὲ Ἰρκανῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἔν τε πυγμαῖ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένοις μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν \* αἵτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱπάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον

είσάγωγιν καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἀπάσαις, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται. [211] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὑπάτος τε τὸ πέμπτον δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου λόγους ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ἰρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως [212] Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους· [τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκράτορων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ἰρκανῶ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπὶ τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν, ὡς Ἰρκανῶ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ἰρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῆ. [213] Ἰούλιος Γάιος υἱοσσο στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν ἀρχουσι βουλή δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ τινες τῶν παροίκων Ἰουδαίων παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβων καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ψηφίσματι κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς [214] πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς χρῆσθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι ψηφίσματα καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σὺνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερά εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ [215] κεκωλυμένων. καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς [καὶ] ὑπάτος ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐκώλυεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε [216] σὺνδειπνα ποιεῖν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους θιάσους κωλύων τούτοις μόνους ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαι τε καὶ ἐστιᾶσθαι. καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ καλῶς ἔχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρώσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐνοίαν. [217] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαίου θάνατον Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας ὑπάτοι ὄντες τὴν τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἰρκανοῦ πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ἠξίουσαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν, καὶ πάντα συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ [218] σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσαστο ὅσων τυγχάνειν ἐβούλοντο. παρατέθειμαι δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα, ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· [219] Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου ἀντιγεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ταμειυτικῶν Κοῖντῶ Ῥουτιλίῳ Κοῖντῶ Κορινθίῳ ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτη, πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῆς Ὀμονοίας. [220] γραφομένῳ παρήσαν Λούκιος Καλπούριος Μενηρία Πείσων, Σερουίσιος Παπίσιος Λεμωνία Κούντος, Γάιος Κανείσιος Τηρητίνα Ῥέβιλος, Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία, Λεύκιος Ἀπούσιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία, Πόπλιος Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μάρκος Σέλλιος Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος Ἐρούκιος Λουκίου Στηλητίνα, Μάρκος Κούντος Μάρκου [221] υἱὸς Πολλία Πλανκίνος, Πούπλιος Σέρριος \* Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὑπάτοι λόγους ἐποίησαντο περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμειῶν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίῳ Δολαβέλλῃ καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα

εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίαις, [222] ὅπως φροντίσωσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς δέλτους ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχους. ἐγένετο πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμοιοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ Ἰγρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦσαν οὗτοι· Λυσίμαχος Πανσανίου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου Ἰωάννης Ὀνείου.

Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation. «Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valor to all the rest of that army; – for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that besides this, everyone of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favors have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them». «The decrees of Caius Caesar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured; and that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters; that this decree may also be communicated to the quaestors and praetors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them; and that these decrees be sent every where». «Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honor, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same



laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood». «Caius Caesar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period], a corus of that tribute; and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute». «Caius Caesar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that sabbatical period], the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea; nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretense; but that they be free from all sorts of injuries; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also; and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the furthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs». «Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of



Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us». «Julius Caius, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Caesar, our emperor and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue and kind disposition towards us.» Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus' ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say. The decree was this: «The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the quaestors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were quaestors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the Ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinins Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilus of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancinus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quaestors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the Ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these: Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patroclus, the son of Chereas, and Jonathan, the son of Onias».

