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NOTES FROM HJP

Jews recognized as a nation by Rome with treaty of 161 B.C., renewed in 145, 139.

Roman domination began in 63 B.C., when Pompey intervened in Civil War between two brothers of royal house of Hasmoneans, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. Aristobulus first sought Pompey's support, then tried to keep him out of Jerusalem. (Still don't know why Pompey decided to intervene militarily at this point. Presumably opportunity seemed too good to pass up. Palestine certainly in a mess.) Three-month siege, 12,000 Jews killed when Romans entered city. Pompey in Holy of Holies. Then capital and country made tributary to the Romans. A few years later, Palestine was divided into five districts, all under governor of Syria. Hyrcanus was figurehead ruler.

Hyrcanus and his minister, Antipater, won Caesar's favor by supporting him during Roman civil war after death of Pompey. Thus eventual rise to power of Antipater's son Herod.

In the 40's B.C., patriotic movement formed in Galilee, aimed at complete restoration of Jewish independence. First leader was Hezekiah.

Herod met with internal opposition, but was named King of the Jews by Rome in 39, captured Jerusalem with Roman aid in 37. Ruled 37 B.C. - 4 A.D.

Herod's son Archelaus ruled (as "ethnarc," not king - lesser title) 4 - 6 A.D. Revolt immediately following Herod's death, led by Judah, son of Hezekiah, was put down with Roman aid. Romans ousted Archelaus after 10 years. Country then ruled by Roman procurators. (Two of Herod's other sons retained title of tetrarchs.)

Census of 6 or 7 A.D. exacerbated feelings of extreme patriots. Party of Zealots then organized by Judah and Zadok in Galilee. However, majority of people rejected open rebellion.

Agrippa I, Herod's grandson, got both tetrarchies from Caligula in 38-39, also title of king back. Claudius also gave him Judea and Samaria, making him king of all Palestine. (He was half Hasmonean.)

Agrippa I died in 44 and procurators ruled till 66. Roman-Jewish relations deteriorated during this period. Some Zealot activity about 50.

Starting in 50, Agrippa II began getting ~~some~~ control of some territory from Claudius. Also in charge of Temple and high priests' appointments. More territory from Nero (54-68). But never was king of Palestine to the extent that Herod and Agrippa I were. (Josephus calls him king, though.)

The procurators: "The best of them had no understanding of Jewish peculiarities, and the worst, by their rapacity and inexorable severity, drove the people to rebellion."

Zealots: ... "as a consequence, the party of Zealots won more and more adherents... animated by deep hatred of Rome and of the wealthy Jews friendly to Roman rule," absentee landlords who exploited peasants. They murdered, robbed, looted and burned.

Hatred of last procurator, Florus (64-66) led to rebellion. Agrippa pleaded in vain for peace. Insurgents took Masada in 66, also occupied lower city and temple mount in Jerusalem. Fought Agrippa's troops and won all of Jerusalem. Routed 12th Legion under Gallus.

"The effect of the victory was that the peace party ceased to exist. The incorrigible friends of Rome left the city."

Rome sent in troops under Vespasian and Titus in '67. Agrippa's troops fought with them. Routed Jewish forces under Josephus, who was eventually captured at Jodephath. "Vespasian celebrated the capture of the important capital at Agrippa's capital (Caesarea?) for 20 days.

By end of 67, all of northern Palestine back under Roman control. By June 68, entire country except for Jerusalem and the three fortresses of Masada, Machaerus, Herodium.

Zealots, under Johanan of Bish-Halab, gained upper hand in Jerusalem in 68. Liquidated pro-Romans, ousted aristocratic high priests, appointed priests from lower ranks. With help from Idumeans, consolidated control till Johanan was virtual dictator. In mid 69, Simon bar Giora, an ultra-Zealot leader (this turns out to be an incorrect description) entered Jerusalem. He and Johanan fought each other but "joined in terrorizing propertied classes... an upheaval from below, a reign of the commune inaugurated by liberating all slaves."

Nero died June 9, 68. ~~XX~~ Galba was murdered Jan. 15, 69. Vespasian proclaimed emperor by legions in Orient in July 69. Rhine legions proclaimed Vitellius, but he was murdered Dec. 69. (Who Jan-July?)

By late 69, a third dictator was contending for power in Jerusalem - Eleazar son of ~~XXI~~ Simon. All three fought constantly, burning up each other's provisions. Eleazar had inner temple court, Johanan the rest of the temple mount, Simon the upper city and most of the lower. Eleazar was knocked out early in siege. Simon and ~~XX~~ Johanan buried hatchet when assault on third wall began.

Siege began just before Passover 70. Temple burned in August. Jews held out in upper city till September.

NOTES FROM NEUSNER

Beginning of social revolution in Jerusalem winter 66-67 (siege of Roman garrison, halting of sacrifices for Emperor). Before arrival of Johanan, "moderate" regime of Simeon ben Gamaliel and Gorion ben Yoseph.

Johanan ben Zakkai: several rabbinical accounts. Varying details, but it seems clear that Vespasian did "give" him Jamnia and that he was there from 68 on. Probably left Jerusalem in the spring.

Neusner also mentions probable departure of Jewish Christians in 68 (HJP says to Pella, in Transjordan) and says ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "war marked

beginning of their separation from Jewry."

Jamnia: "pleasantly situated, consisting of two parts, a port and an inland borough, the town was a commercial center in the richest part of the plain. (Sounds like a prosperous place, no problem Amos having been in scholar-business there before ben Zakkai started the school.)

Neubauer:

"sa reputation comme sejour des savants etait probablement deja etablie avant la destruction du second Temple." Ben Zakkai asked Vespasian for "la grace de Yabneh et de ses savants."

old map:

yes there was a port of Jamnia - but seems to be about 10 km by road from inland town. Designated "open village" on this map, while inland borough is an "open city.X" (Ascalon and Jaffa are both "fortified cities").

Farmer:

"Zeal for the Torah". Fundamental question throughout Hellenistic period was how Israel to relate itself to Hellenistic world. Internal conflict fundamentally important. However, conflict became overt only when foreign rule oppressive.

"The powerful aristocratic priestly class, which otherwise would have had a monopoly on the interpretation of religious tradition, actually favored the policy of gradual Hellenization." However - Torah there for all who could read, to serve as rallying point for religious conservatives.

Burning or defacing of Torahs by Romans an intolerable affront - note ancients' great respect for all sacred books. Likewise forcing people to eat pork. Note this kind of abuse not typicalX of generally tolerant Hellenistic practice.

Farmer's basic point is that conflict between ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Hellenizers and followers of the Torah (~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ generally an urban-rural conflict) was absolutely fundamental to the life of Israel for 200 years.

Greek architecture, participation in Hellenistic games, etc., etc., all offensive to conservatives.

Followers of Torah as willing to fight and kill as to suffer and die.

Trouble with Josephus: he tries to picture the active revolutionaries as "brave and courageous but insane and barbarous," motivated by desire for gain, while pious Jews were merely "willing passively to lay down their lives for the Torah."

"No noble excess to which devoted Jews would not go" - speaking of suicide, especially the mass suicide at Masada.

No Sabbath ~~XXX~~ observance during siege.

summing up: "There was no fundamental change in the relationship of Jewish nationalism to the Torah in the period from Antiochus Epiphanes to Tirus."

Farmer sets out to prove, specifically, that the Maccabees were remembered in the time of the Zealots.

Roth (COMMENTARY article on bar Giora):

Simon not a Zealot. (This obviously important, though we get into pretty fine distinctions. I am inclined to go with Roth.)

Simon was about 30 at time of war, "endowed with remarkable strength and physical courage as well as the personal magnetism indispensable for a revolutionary military leader."

Came into prominence in 66 - helped rout Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, at pass ~~XXXX~~ of Beth Horon en route to Jerusalem. (Probably active as rebel leader earlier than this).

Left Jerusalem when moderates took over. Dug in at Masada till winter ~~XXX~~ 67-68.

He proclaimed liberty for all slaves, gathered "a considerable force of slaves and other proletarians," as he moved West with army of about 40,000. Took control of entire South, including Hebron. (He was winning in South while Josephus was losing in North and even later. Assume he was only one of a number of Jewish military leaders active 67-69).

Driven out by Romans, retired to Jerusalem in month of Xanthicus - April or May 69. Zealots had taken over in themeantime. Simon was welcomed in by ex-high priest Matthias, who hoped he'd prove less extreme than Zealots. "Supported by powerful elements... belonging to almost all factions," Simon became master of Jerusalem and (it is to be presumed) titular head of what ~~XXXXXXXX~~ was left of the Jewish state."

Idumeans an important element in Simon's forces; "came to an understanding with their compatriots in the city, who were by now out of sympathy with the Zealots."

Opposition: John of Gischala (~~XXXXXXXX~~ alternate spelling) was leader of Galilean war refugees in Jerusalem. ~~XXX~~ Had cooperated with Zealots, but was ~~XXXXX~~ now isolated. Held Temple Mount and outer court.

"Old-time doctrinaire Zealots" under Eleazar ben Simon had inner court.

(Note discrepancies between this version and "JP").

Simon had the city; established his headquarters in tower near East Gate (built by Herod, named for brother Phasaël, known today as David's Tower.)

John of Gischala eliminated Eleazar and brought Zealots under his command. (Late 69-early 70?)

"At the beginning of the Roman siege, the factions combined for a short while in the brilliant attack in which the 10th Legion of evil memory was routed, but thereafter there was no effective collaboration until the days when resistance was nearly at an end...gallant sorties, destruction of Roman siege works, construction of new bastions and strong points which confronted the enemy when they had overthrown weak sections

(2)

of wall, fierce hand-to-hand fighting, surprise attack in which Titus himself was nearly overwhelmed, magnificently organized attempt - all but successful - to destroy the Roman camp on the Mount of Olives, ruthless action against all who favored compromise or even breathed the word 'surrender'... So far as we can tell, Simon bar Giora was the mastermind behind it all: it was he who directed the defense, and his powerful frame was foremost in all the desperate actions, leading and encouraging his forces. It was from his headquarters in the Tower ~~XXXXXX~~ of Antonia (when he move?) that the city was governed, strategy was planned, policy was decided..."

"After the Romans brought their battering rams to bear on the city walls, internal hostilities ceased."

Note ambiguities still here: how much internal hostility could there have been while all that fighting going on? And Roth says of later period both "even now the factions did not combine under a single command..." and "Simon was henceforth reckoned the unquestioned leader of all the Jewish forces."

Simon "administered the city with a heavy hand." Assembly of anti-government groups punished by death, as was public lamentation. Traitors were executed on ramparts in view of enemy.

(One of Simon's lieutenants, Judas ben Judas, tried to surrender. Possible identification for our villain?)

How much fighting did John of Gischala and the Zealots actually do?

"...it was a hopeless prospect: a starving city, its population swollen by tens of thousands of refugees, beset by the superbly trained and magnificently equipped legionaries of the most powerful army of the ancient world. Slowly the defenders were pushed back, and shortly after mid summer, the Temple...went up in flames."

Roth notes scene in Josephus where Titus demands surrender of Simon and John as they stand facing him on the wall.

After the entire city had fallen (Sept.), John took refuge in an underground passage. Forced out by hunger, he surrendered and was sent to life imprisonment in Italy.

Simon held out longer in underground passages: he and his men took along stonecutters with tools, tried to extend the passages by cutting through solid rock to get beyond Roman lines. Attempt failed. At the end, "putting white robes over his military accouterments, (Simon) climbed to the surface and made a sudden appearance in the Temple Court, apparently in the hope of scaring the Roman sentries." Overpowered, captured, sent to Caesarea (where Titus) then Rome.

Bit about scaring the sentries sounds silly. Wouldn't it have been just a dramatic gesture?

WHAT WERE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SIMON AND THE ZEALOTS? I suspect Simon more socially oriented, less pure "zeal for the Torah." Roth says: "that Simon bar Giora considered himself a religious teacher is nowhere indicated in our sources, but it is by no means impossible."

"the revolt against the Romans in A.D. 66 was in the nature of a revolution, which followed much the same course as other revolutions, while the ensuing war had much in common with the resistance and partisan movements familiar in contemporary history.

Zealots / sicarii:

"It is assumed by most historians that Zealots and sicarii are more or less synonymous terms, the former being the more extremist fraction of the latter, who are inturn~~e~~ referred to by Josephus as the followers of the 'Fourth Philosophy'...the term sicarii is obviously a description, not a title.. natural to consider it like its modern analogy in a similar political context, 'gunmen' or 'terrorists'.. (literal translation "daggersmen")... (no Hebrew equivalent for "sicarii", but for "Zealots" there is.)

"We have to conclude that the Fourth Philosophy launched by Judah the Galilean, the sicarii who became prominent in the next generation and were always associated especially with his family, and the Zealots who were active at the time of the war against the Romans, were identical, or at all events overlapping bodies."

(Roth thinks the Zealots were the Qumran community!)

"Fourth Philosophy" launched by Judah the Galilean: "refusing allegiance to the ~~ROMANS~~ Romans in any shape or form.

Term Zealots did not come into use until the war years, Roth says.

IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE POLITICS AND RELIGION. "Every political attitude had its religious justification, as every religious grouping had its political counterpart."

"Fourth Philosophy"'s cardinal principle was that it was sinful to recognize any authority over the Jewish people other than that of God.

("Fourth" because of Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes.)

Zealot chronology: More precisely, of extreme religious nationalist movement)

Hezekiah led revolt against Romans in 46 B.C.

Judah the Galilean, Hezekiah's son, launched Fourth Philosophy movement 6-9 A.D., died leading revolt in 6.

Judah's sons, Jacob and Simon, led partisan movement till their execution about 46-48 A.D.

Surviving son, ~~XXXX~~ Menahem, then took over, was responsible for "active launching in Judea during the procuratorship of Felix (52-60) of the terrorist" or "sicarii" movement.

It was ~~XXXX~~ Menahem who occupied Masada in 66, joined March on Jerusalem, helped capture Antonia, and tried to ~~X~~ enter the Temple. Then: "the priests, who had led the revolt in its early stages, were able to rally the people to their side; there was sharp

(8)

chose new priest by drawing lots and selection fell to a "simple stone mason or peasant named Phinehas (Phanni) ben Samuel. He was the last High Priest.

John of Gischala was responsible for letting in the radical Idumeans who fought on the side of the Zealots and enabled them to defeat the priestly faction. (Remember Simon had his tame Idumeans, too). "For a short time, the capital was wholly, as it seems, under Zealot control." John was very closely associated with the Zealots at this time, though probably not a member of the party. His later clash with Eleazar ben Simon may have been based on "personal ambition or military policy." He may have had professed Zealots in his ranks even after the ~~XXXX~~ split. Simon was invited in by the anti-Zealots, "acting together with the survivors of the moderate party under the deposed High Priest Matthias (who were soon to realize their mistake)."

Roth again emphasizes here, Simon not a Zealot but an independent. Also says: "apparently, he was what might be termed a social revolutionayr, having his own social program (obviously with religious undertones) L for the name bar Giora (= son of a Proselyte) suggests that he belonged to the underprivileged element, and we read of him that he plundered the wealthy, opened the prisons, set free the debtors and even released the slaves."

John occupied the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ inner temple at Passover 70, and thereafter Eleazar and his men fought under his command. Thus Zealots were not a separate force in last months of siege. (Nobody knows what happened to Eleazar, he may have died in the siege or may have escaped.)

Some Zealots who managed to escape from Jerusalem joined Eleazar ben Jain at Masada.

Menorah J.

Ref. to Johanan ben Zakkai as pacifist: quoted as saying to advocates of war against Rome, "How long will you do this, slaying the world with famine?" Also as preaching tolerance toward Gentiles. Also mentioned: his significance as defender of Judaism's spiritual treasures.

Roth in Menorah J:

Summer 66: first outbreak in Jerusalem: coalition between Zealot-Sicarii and more moderate elements. Zealots set fire to upper-class residences and public archives "to destroy money-lenders' bonds." Menachem arrived, tried to seize power, was defeated and killed by "moderate" elements led by Captain of the Temple. (Coalition short-lived). Then "a provisional government representing a coalition between priestly and bourgeois elements took over the administration...leading figure Hanan.

~~XXXX~~ Ananus executed in 68?

Roth suggests here Eleazar ben Simon more "doctrinaire", John of Gischala more "secular" and "politically motivated". Bar Giora was "a democrat in the fullest measure, and in a sense that was true of none of the other leaders of the revolution, he believed in equality for all."

Roth again states that bar Giora after spring '69 "is to be reckoned as head of the attenuated Jewish state."

Williams

Missing Roman Emperor was Otho: Nero, ~~XXXX~~ Galba (68), Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian (69). Nero and Otho committed suicide, Galba and Vitellius were murdered. (Did Vitellius ever have control?)

(Would Greek be lingua franca for Romans and Jews rather than Latin? What languages would Jared and Eben speak?)

Remember Saducees more worldly than Pharisees, less interested in spiritual content of Judaism, more pro-Roman. Williams ~~XXXXXX~~ calls Saducees "the Establishment". (Most people neither - right?)

Agrippa II born about 27 A.D.

Williams confirms Berenice's incestuous relationship with Agrippa and general promiscuity (mistress of Vespasian before Titus)

Doubt if Agrippa ever in Jerusalem after 66. (His palace burned in first revolt).

Williams calls John of Gischala "an unprincipled, vicious trickster, a ready liar who made a virtue of ~~XXXX~~ deceit, a habitual murderer who put to death all advocates of just causes, an ambitious but contemptible bandit."

(BUR?)

calls Simon of Giora "a man of exceptional resource..."

63 B.C. Pompey takes Jerusalem

40's B.C. First independence movement in Galilee under Hezekiah

37 B.C. - reign of Herod. Revolt 4 A.D. following his death led by Judah, son of Hezekiah

6-7 A.D. Party of Zealots organized by Judah. Another revolt (census protest). Judah dies in 6. Sons Simon + Jacob take over partisan movement.

± 27 A.D. Agrippa II born.

39-44 A.D. reign of Agrippa I

44-66 A.D. rule by procurators David born in 44

±46-48 A.D. Simon + Jacob executed; Menahem, surviving son of Judah, takes over partisan movement.

~~Jared born in 46~~

Jared taken to Community in 48

50 A.D. Agrippa II gets first territories from Nero

~~Jared taken to Community~~

±52-60 A.D. increase in Zealot activity under Menahem.

66 A.D. rebellion breaks out. Insurgents take Masada, route 12th Legion, occupy Jerusalem.

Simon bar Giora appears.

Moderate elements in Jerusalem rally against

Zealots, take control.
Menahem executed. Zealots
Flee to Masada, led by
Eleazar ben Sair. Simon
bar Giora probably
with them.

67 A.D. Jerusalem under control
of priestly-bourgeoisie
coalition led by former
high priest Ananus.

Roman troops under Titus
& Vespasian enter Palestine.
Josephus surrenders in
late fall. Pacification of
north complete by end
of year. John of
Gischala escapes from
Gischala, enters Jerusalem.

68 A.D. Refugees from north
pour into Jerusalem.

John of Gischala
takes effective control
of city (separate group

Early in year, Roman
patrol enters Community
& kills overseer.

Jared becomes Keeper of
the Scrolls.

of Zealots under Eleazar
ben Simon hold inner
Temple court.)

Moderate regime overthrown
Ananus executed,
High Priest Matthias
replaced by countryman
Phineas ben Samuel.

Johanan ben Zakkai to
Jamnia.

Most Christians to
Transjordan.

Simon bar Giora out
of Masada, conducting
guerrilla war against
Vespasian's troops in
South.

Nero dies in July;
Galba becomes emperor.

Vespasian postpones attack

of Jerusalem because of Rome political situation.

69 A.D. Galba assassinated in Rome Jan. 15, succeeded by Otho.

Jared sent to Jerusalem + Jamnia before Passover.

Roman army mopping up in south. Simon bar Giora falls back to Jerusalem in April or May.

Simon takes over in Jerusalem, forcing John back to Temple area.

Roman pacification complete by summer except for Jerusalem, Masada, + two other fortresses (Machaerus, Herodium)

Otho commits suicide.
In July, Vitellius
proclaimed emperor
by Legions of The Rhine,
Vespasian by legions in
the Orient. Vespasian
leaves for Alexandria,
en route to Rome.

Titus takes command
of army in Palestine.

Vitellius killed by pro-
Vespasian forces in Rome
Dec. 20.

70 A.D. Titus lays siege to
Jerusalem (May 1?)

Saved leaves Community
to fight in Jerusalem

John of Gischala
takes inner Temple
court, absorbing forces
of Eleazar ben Simon.

Simon's forces and John's

stand off Romans Throughout
summer.

Roman battering rams up
around Temple in August.
Romans enter Temple area
Aug. 28. Temple burns
Aug. 29.

Jared + Eben captured
when Temple falls.

Romans take upper city
Sept. 26.

John captured shortly after
fall of city. Simon before
Titus leaves Caesarea for
Rome (some time in Oct?)