

From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond

Text – Re-interpretations – Afterlives

Edited by

CARSON BAY, MICHAEL AVIOZ

AND JAN WILLEM VAN HENTEN

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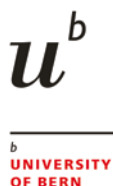
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Acknowledgements

This volume's genesis may be traced back to when two conferences merged in the Spring of 2020. Jan Willem and Michael were planning a conference, "From Josephus to *Yosippon*," to take place in Amsterdam in August 2021. At the same time, Carson was planning with René Bloch a different conference, "The Book of *Sefer Yosippon*: Past, Present, and Future," to take place in Bern in August 2021. As both sets of organizers began inviting many of the same scholars to the respective conferences, they quickly learned of each other's plans and soon joined forces to create "From Josephus to *Yosippon* and Beyond," an event that gathered two dozen scholars, junior and senior, from half a dozen countries to discuss Josephus, *Sefer Yosippon*, and more across four days. Moved online (via Zoom) due to Covid-19, the conference nevertheless proved a major success, drawing over a hundred participants in addition to the presenters and stimulating a wealth of questions, conversations, and debates over questions old and new.

While the conference did not take place in Amsterdam, as initially planned, we remain grateful to our original institutional sponsors: the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam School of Historical Studies & Chair of Religious Studies; Bar-Ilan University, Faculty of Jewish Studies & Vice-President for Research; the University of Bern, Institut für Judaistik; the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF); and the European Association of Jewish Studies (EAJS), the latter of which had generously awarded us a grant to fund the conference. (This grant did end up funding special portions of the event, in addition to the conference website.) We also owe our thanks to the organizations and groups that hosted special portions of the conference: Jitte Waagen and Tijm Lanjouw of 4D Lab UvA facilitated a virtual tour of Vlooienburg, Amsterdam's Old Jewish Quarter; Heide Warncke, Curator of the Ets Haim Library in the heart of Amsterdam's Jewish Quarter, led an audio-visual tour of the library and facilitated a discussion session; and Tessa Rajak gave a special presentation on the Oxford Josephus Reception Project. In addition, the conference included two masterclasses aimed at students and a broader public: for the first, Michael was joined by Steve Mason to lead a class on translating Josephus into modern languages; for the second, Carson was joined by David Levenson, Tom Martin, Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Anthony Ellis, Judith Mania, Lena Tröger, Katharina Heyden, and René Bloch to conduct a class on Josephus' reception history, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and *Sefer Yosippon*. Finally, Sara Moscone served as a session moderator, and Nienke Groskamp, based in Amsterdam, provided invaluable assistance in the administration of conference details.

This volume's contents are drawn primarily from the essays first presented at this conference, augmented by further pieces solicited from Erich Gruen, Kenneth Atkinson, David Edwards, and Ursula Westwood. We thank these latter scholars for their willingness to help fill out this volume. In terms of publication, we are deeply indebted to the University of Bern, the European Association of Jewish Studies, and Brill for all generously contributing to the funding necessary to make this volume Open Access. We thank our anonymous peer reviewers for their careful work in assessing such a diverse and hefty volume. We thank the series editors, René Bloch and Karina Martin Hogan, for accepting this volume and shepherding its progress so diligently. And we thank the staff at Brill, including Katelyn Chin, Katerina Sofianou, and Nitzan Shalev, for their exemplary work in bringing this volume to completion.

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Together, we three have benefitted from conversation and mutual support from the initial conceptualization of our joint conference through its planning and administration to the collecting, editing, and now publishing of the essays presented here. We are gratified to offer this volume, free of charge, to the wider scholarly community (and beyond!) as a series of essays that represent the state of the art as regards Josephus, *Sefer Yosippon*, and their respective sources, contexts, and receptions.

Carson Bay, Jan Willem van Henten and Michael Avioz

Kennesaw, GA / Amsterdam / Ramat-Gan, 14 December 2023

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Abbreviations

All biblical abbreviations follow the standard set by *The SBL Handbook of Style*, Second Edition (2014). The ways in which authors cite the editions of the texts they discuss may vary by essay. This is due to the fact that some scholars prefer, e.g., to cite *Sefer Yosippon* with chapters numbers plus the line numbers provided in Flusser's edition, while others simply cite the chapters. Thus Flusser may be cited differently between essays. In general, authors have been allowed some leeway in using their preferred abbreviations, yet within the confines of a certain level of consistency across the volume.

1QS	<i>Community Rule / Manual of Discipline</i> (Qumran Scroll, Cave 1)
2 Philip.	<i>Philippica ii</i> (Demosthenes)
Adul. Amic.	<i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur</i> (Plutarch)
Agr.	<i>De agricultura</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
Agric.	<i>Agricola</i> (Tacitus)
AJ	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> (Flavius Josephus)
Alex.	<i>Alexander</i> (Plutarch)
Anab.	<i>Anabasis</i> (Arrian)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Part 2, Principat.</i> Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
Ant.	<i>Antonius</i> (Plutarch)
Antiquities	= AJ
Arist.	<i>Aristides</i> (Plutarch)
Aristocr.	<i>In Aristocratem</i> (Demosthenes)
Av.	<i>Aves</i> (Aristophanes)
b. AZ	Tractate <i>Avodah Zarah</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
BDB	Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952.
Bell. civ.	<i>Bella civilia</i> (Appian)
b. Gittin	Tractate <i>Gittin</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
b. Sanh.	Tractate <i>Sanhedrin</i> (Babylonian Talmud)
B. Meş.	Mishnah <i>Bava Metzi'a</i>
BJ	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i> (Flavius Josephus)
Brut.	<i>Brutus</i> (Plutarch)
CA	<i>Contra Apionem</i> (Flavius Josephus)
Caes.	<i>Caesar</i> (Plutarch)

<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon</i> (Eusebius of Caesarea or Jerome of Stridon)
<i>Col.</i>	<i>De coloribus</i> (Corpus Aristotelicum)
<i>Contempl.</i>	<i>De vita contemplative</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
<i>cQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>DEH</i>	<i>De excidio Hierosolymitano</i> (Ps-Hegesippus)
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i> (Suetonius)
<i>EJJS</i>	<i>European Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>EkhZ</i>	<i>Ekha Zuta</i>
<i>EMML</i>	Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae morales</i> (Seneca the Younger)
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenes</i> (Plutarch)
<i>Exil.</i>	<i>De exilio</i> (Plutarch)
<i>Fals. Leg.</i>	<i>De falsa legatione</i> (Demosthenes)
<i>FHG</i>	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum. Paris, 1841–1870.
<i>Flusser I</i>	<i>The Josippon [Josephus Gorionides]: Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes</i> , Volume I. Edited by David Flusser. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1978. [Hebrew]
<i>Flusser II</i>	<i>The Josippon [Josephus Gorionides]: Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes</i> , Volume II. Edited by David Flusser. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1980. [Hebrew]
<i>H&T</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervy E.J. Richardson. 4 Volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i> (Thucydides or Tacitus)
<i>Hist. Conscr.</i>	<i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i> (Lucian of Samosata)
<i>HMML</i>	Hill Museum & Manuscript Library
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IC</i>	Inscriptiones Creticae
<i>IMHM</i>	Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (The National Library of Israel)
<i>In Mach.</i>	<i>Oration 15, On the Maccabees</i> (Gregory of Nazianzus)
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Curriculum Studies</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>

JPS	The Jewish Publication Society
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSIJ	<i>Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSS	<i>Jewish Social Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LAB	<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i> (Ps-Philo)
LamR	<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Leg.	<i>Leges</i> (Plato) or <i>De legibus</i> (Cicero)
Legat.	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
LevR	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>
Loch.	<i>In Lochitum</i> (Isocrates)
Luc.	<i>Lucullus</i> (Plutarch)
Lys.	<i>Lysander</i> (Plutarch)
M&H	<i>Medaevialia et Humanistica</i>
Mar.	<i>Marius</i> (Plutarch)
MLugd	<i>Martyrs of Lyon</i> (from Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 5,1)
Nat.	<i>Naturalis Historia</i> (Pliny the Elder)
Nat. an.	<i>De natura animalium</i> (Aelian)
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Opif.	<i>De opificio mundi</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
Orat.	<i>De oratore</i> (Cicero)
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy For Jewish Research</i>
Pan.	<i>Panegyricus</i> (Pliny the Younger)
PesR	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>
PG	Patrologia Graeca (J.-P. Migne)
PH	Pseudo-Hegesippus
Phil.	<i>Philopoemen</i> (Plutarch)
Phoen.	<i>Phoenissae</i> (Euripides)
Pomp.	<i>Pompeius</i> (Plutarch)
Praep. ev.	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> (Eusebius of Caesarea)
Prob.	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>

PWSup	Supplement to PW
<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	<i>Quaestionum convivialum libri IX</i> (Plutarch)
<i>Quaest. Gen.</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutions in Genesin</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
<i>Quaest. Rom.</i>	<i>Quaestiones romanae et graecae</i> (Plutarch)
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i> (Euripides)
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i> (Aristotle)
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Romulus</i> (Plutarch)
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico</i>
<i>SifDev</i>	<i>Sifre Devarim</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
<i>SPhilo</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Sulla</i> (Plutarch)
<i>SY</i>	<i>Sefer Yosippon</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973.
<i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i> (Plutarch)
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timoleon</i> (Plutarch)
<i>Virt.</i>	<i>De virtutibus</i> (Philo of Alexandria)
<i>y. Ber.</i>	Tractate <i>Berakhot</i> (Jerusalem Talmud)
<i>y. Naz.</i>	Tractate <i>Nazir</i> (Jerusalem Talmud)

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An Introduction to Josephus, *Yosippon*, and Beyond: The Past, Present, and Future of a Josephan Legacy in Modern Scholarship

Carson Bay, Michael Avioz and Jan Willem van Henten

Josephus is a booming industry in academia. Not, of course, economically speaking—no one is getting rich off of Josephus. But the steady outpouring of articles, monographs, dissertations, volumes, translations, commentaries, and even editions dealing with the Flavian historian these days constitutes a healthy, consistent stream. This was not the case a hundred years ago. Neither, however, is it an entirely new phenomenon. Around fifty years ago in his monumental bibliographical exercise, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship* (1937–1980), Louis H. Feldman could already lament the substantial uptick in Josephus scholarship produced between the respective five-year periods of 1909–1913 and 1961–1965.¹ This trend has not relaxed, as testified by the ballooning bibliographies of each new study and the persistent presence of Josephus' name in the tables of contents of hundreds of journal issues and edited volumes, even the odd popular piece.² We live in the heyday of Josephus scholarship.³ Yet (or thus), we think, and hope, that the field has room for another handful of original studies.

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- 1 Feldman's complaint is worth quoting: "As one who has read almost all of this material, the present writer is reminded of the anecdote which Cicero (*Pro Archia* 10.25) tells about Sulla, who rewarded a worthless poet who had composed an epigram about him with a present of property from proscribed persons, on the condition that he should not write anything thereafter. In addition to the *Desiderata* listed at the end of this study, we may be forgiven for expressing the hope—or prayer—that one of the wealthier foundations will establish a fund to give grants on similar conditions, or, at the very least, on the condition that scholars will read what has been written in their field before they embark with pen in hand" (*Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, 3). We hope that Feldman, apparently unimpressed with the bulk of Josephus scholarship, would not have disapproved of the present volume.
 - 2 See, e.g., Steve Mason's piece "Why Josephus Matters" published in *Marginalia* on December 3, 2021, which concludes: "In the complexities of Josephus' works lie inexhaustible riches for the historian as for the humanist."
 - 3 Anecdotally: the Society of Biblical Literature, one of the major academic bodies that collects a great many Josephus scholars within its folds, has even in recent years begun to sell sweat-shirts that read "I ♥ Josephus" across the front. More seriously, see Mason's "Flavius Josephus" entry in the online Oxford Bibliographies.

The anonymous ninth- or tenth-century Hebrew work called *Sefer Yosippon* lies at the other end of the spectrum from Josephus on several counts. Unlike Josephus, *Yosippon* has never been the target of a thousand-page bibliographical study. No edited volume has ever been dedicated to this text. From all appearances, serious scholarship on *Yosippon* seems barely to have begun as a widespread phenomenon. The major watershed moment in living memory came with the appearance of David Flusser's still-standard critical edition in 1978–1980.⁴ Yet this edition did not and has not sparked anything like the kind of attention that Josephus today receives. Perhaps *Yosippon* just needs time. After all, the critical edition of the Greek text of Josephus' writings, produced by Benedict Niese across seven volumes, antedates Flusser's *Yosippon* edition by nearly a hundred years (1885–1895).⁵ Or perhaps *Yosippon*'s relative obscurity owes to its anonymity, or the uncertainty of its provenance, or its original emergence within an oft-ignored historical period once referred to (and usually still treated as) 'the dark ages.' Certainly the fact that the work's modern edition, and much contemporary scholarship thereupon, has been written in modern Hebrew has contributed somewhat to its relative marginality,⁶ as has the historical unreliability with which the work has been saddled by critical readers for centuries now.⁷ Historically "unreliable" works, a dubious category for gauging pre-modern historiography, often dictates the modern popularity of ancient and medieval narrative texts. But whatever the case, while we live in the heyday of Josephus research, we are only just now, maybe, beholding the

4 Flusser, *The Josippon*. Flusser's other contributions to scholarship, consisting among other things of some 1,000+ articles in Hebrew, English, and German, was also to some extent focused on *SY*. See Lowe, "Bibliography of the Writings of David Flusser."

5 Niese, *Flavii Josephi opera*.

6 Moreover, the Hebrew-ness of *SY*'s standard edition will also have contributed to its lacking a modern translation until relatively recently. Josephus' works, for their part, were translated in English by William Whiston in 1732—Whiston's translations are still printed today and are widely available on the internet (e.g. on the Perseus website, linked to the Greek text, and on Richard Matthew Pollard's Latin Josephus Project site)—and have since received multiple translations into all of the major modern European languages, and also into Japanese, as it happens. *SY*, on the other hand, was only translated into German in 2010 (Börner-Klein/Zuber, *Josippon*) and has only just now received its first English translation at the hands of Steven Bowman (see Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*).

7 While all scholars acknowledge that *SY* commanded considerable respect as historiography throughout the Middle Ages, the (post-)renaissance world became critical: Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) has been charged with being "the first to doubt its worth," (in his "Elenchus Trihæresii Nicolai Serarii" [1605]) and "Jan Drusius (d. 1609) held it to be historically valueless on account of its many chronological mistakes." Gottheil and Schloessinger, "Joseph ben Gorion." Modern scholars no longer look to *SY*'s narrative for historical data, although note Kenneth Atkinson's chapter in the present volume.

dawn of an era in which *Sefer Yosippon* demands its own scholarly subfield. And given *Yosippon's* tremendous historical significance, it probably should.⁸

All of this is to say that this volume brings together scholars and studies from an established domain of study—the works of Flavius Josephus—with those of a rather fledgling sphere—the work known as *Sefer Yosippon*. Studies in these respective areas make up Parts 1, 2 and 3 of this volume. Furthermore, as icing on the cake, this volume contains a final collection of chapters (Part 4) that go beyond the study of Josephus and *Yosippon* proper into the examination of their various afterlives. This group of essays joins a widespread body of recent scholarship that is as diverse in methodology and disciplinary boundaries as it is illuminating of how Josephus' *Nachleben* fared across languages, regions, cultures, and eras. The essays found here serve as a microcosm of that variegated milieu: we have chapters on Josephus and/or *Yosippon* in High Medieval art, modern Israel education, nineteenth century English print culture, Christian literature in Western Europe, Medieval Ethiopian historiography, and twentieth century Israeli poetry. These chapters constitute a series of discrete yet integral contributions to the admittedly inchoate, yet no less important, field of Josephan reception history.

If indicative of assorted specialist interests, the twenty-two essays that comprise this volume still cohere closely inasmuch as their separate objects of inquiry all ultimately trace themselves back to one person, Titus Flavius Josephus (ca. 37–100 CE), born Yosef ben Matityahu, and to the four (really three) works that he wrote in his latter years while resident at Rome: the *Jewish War* (ca. 75 CE), an account of the Judean-Roman tensions that ended with the Roman-Jewish War (66–74 CE) and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE; the *Jewish Antiquities* (ca. 93/94 CE), an account of the Jewish people from ancient times to near Josephus' present, addended with a short autobiographical work called the *Life*; and *Against Apion* (post-94 CE), a two-book apologetic work aimed at anti-Jewish notions current within certain cultural discourses of the ancient Mediterranean world. Taken together, this substantial first-century literary corpus, composed in Greek, constitutes the evidentiary bedrock of all the inquiries made in the chapters to follow.

There are several things that we the editors hope that this volume will do within the scholarly arena. First, we hope that this tome will provide a welcome tonic to ongoing Josephus scholarship proper. The several major Josephus volumes that have appeared in the past—volumes well-known to every Josephus

⁸ Scholars who in recent years have analyzed *SY* in any level of depth, most of whom have chapters in the present volume, routinely take exception to the scant attention modern scholarship has paid to that text.

scholar—have often proved major stimulants toward collective progress in the enterprise of studying and understanding Josephus' works.⁹ And they have done so in different ways. One way in which the present volume should advance the field is in the classical manner, which is to say in helping to recreate, explicate, illuminate, and frame the language, literary strategies, rhetorical proclivities, socio-historical contexts, and cultural influences that may be identified within or around the Greek text of Josephus' writings. Another, new way in which this work should advance Josephus studies is by placing Josephus research alongside research on *Sefer Yosippon*, a text built in several ways upon Josephus himself. Thus, the second major hope we have for this volume is that, as the first intentional amalgamation of *Yosippon* studies of which we know, it will enliven *Yosippon* research in the aggregate *and* at the same time situate that work beside its traditional fountainhead, the works of Josephus. Of course, this juxtaposition demands that scholarly attention also be paid to the *Latin* Josephus tradition, for it is from the Latin translations and adaptations of Josephus' *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* that the author of *Sefer Yosippon* drew his primary source material. While this volume has no section on Latin Josephus traditions per se, it is to be hoped that the Latin substrate lying beneath many of the essays herein will serve as a strong signal to that important, nascent, growing field of study as well. Finally, it is our aim that this volume signpost for the broader scholarly realm the enormous amount

9 Most recently there is Chapman and Rodgers, *Companion to Josephus* (2016), which provides a widespread and systematic introduction to Josephus and his reception on the model of the recent 'handbook' fad popular among academic publishers (yet no less valuable to scholars for that!). Akin to this volume in certain ways will be the still-forthcoming Atkinson, *Oxford Handbook of Josephus* (2023/2024). The more traditional and intensive 'Josephus studies' volumes include a cluster from the first decade of the twenty-first century: Pastor, Stern, and Mor, *Flavius Josephus* (2011), Cohen and Schwartz, *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of ancient Judaism* (2007), Rodgers, *Making History* (2007), Sievers and Lembi, *Josephus and Jewish History* (2005), and Edmondson, Mason, and Rives, *Flavius Josephus & Flavian Rome* (2005). One should also mention here Böttrich, Herzer, and Reiprich, *Josephus und das Neue Testament* (2007), in addition to Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (1998) and Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible*—the latter two works, while compilations of essays by a single author, have a size and have had a force within the field of Josephus studies equal to any of the other volumes mentioned here. Add to this the earlier collections published as *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium* volumes from 1998 to 2003, as well as Parente and Sievers, *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (1994). These volumes have been a significant stimulant in Josephus studies along with the many co-eval monographs and articles. The mid 1980s also witnessed a volume of similar effect, still often cited to this day: Feldman and Hata, *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (1987). Finally, we should note that journals have begun to produce similar scholarly artifacts: consider the 2021 special issue (Volume 19) of *JSIJ*, usually called "the Josephus issue." It is in the vein of this larger history of compilatory scholarly exercises that the present volume seeks to establish itself.

of interesting, informative, worthwhile work that remains to be done in and around the study of Josephus and his reception. As one of the most widely-read authors of all time, as one of the most important historians of the ancient Mediterranean, as one of history's most integral—and embattled—Jewish figures, Josephus merits serious and sustained scholarly scrutiny, as does his later legacy. This volume seeks to sustain, perhaps even help shape and re-invent, that academic industry.

A deeper, more specific iteration of this volume's goals and contributions and meanings as we see it appears in the following sections of this introductory chapter. First, however, at the risk of endorsing some kind of historicism, we should mention briefly the genesis of this volume's contributions. In late March 2020, just in time for Covid-19, it was learned that we three editors were between us planning two different conferences with contiguous themes around roughly the same time in 2021: Jan Willem and Michael were planning a conference on Josephus with a strong *Yosippon* component to take place in Amsterdam in August 2021, while Carson was planning a heavily *Yosippon*-centric conference to occur in Bern in June or August of that same summer. We quickly joined forces and got to work planning a new conference, bigger and better, for August 2021. Yet, fools that we were, through the remainder of 2020 we were still anticipating an in-person conference, as yet unwise to the wiles of 'covid culture.' It was not until late March, in fact, that we capitulated to the demands of necessity and moved to a fully-digital, Zoom-based conference. The European Association for Jewish Studies, which had provided a grant to help fund the conference, graciously allowed for us to make this transition. And so, after further subsequent months of planning, we held a four-day, all Zoom conference from August 23 to August 26, 2021.

The conference was an unmitigated success. With two-dozen presenters and over a hundred participants, this four-day event realized in social interaction (albeit digitally mediated) what the present volumes aims to create on the page: a robust presentation by scholars analyzing a variety of topics related to Josephus of the critical, current issues involving Josephus pertaining to their individual fields of study. It also included two multi-instructor masterclasses and two digital outings pertaining to Amsterdam's Jewish heritage.¹⁰ The presented papers and the sustained discussions that accompanied them accrued

10 Namely, an interactive virtual tour of Vlooienburg, Amsterdam's Old Jewish Quarter, created and administered by Jitte Waagen and Tjmm Lanjouw of the University of Amsterdam's 4D Lab, and an audio-visual tour of the Ets Haim Library facilitated by the library's curator, Heide Warncke. Nienke Groskamp provided technological support for the entire conference, and a full report is available on the EAJS website. Support for the conference during various points in the planning process was proffered by the University

to a notably productive and stimulating set of conclusions, questions, and advances at various points in various fields. The majority of the papers presented at the conference have been revised and now appear in this volume. In addition, we commissioned several chapters from scholars who did not present at the conference as a way of balancing out this book's four sections. All of the chapters that follow, we feel, constitute valuable contributions to research.

Part 1 Flavius Josephus: Context, Greek Text, and Literary Features

Perhaps *the* major scholarly project concerning Josephus that is underway today is the Brill Josephus Project, namely the new English translations and full-length commentaries dedicated to individual books of all of Josephus' works that have been appearing sporadically since 1999.¹¹ Steve Mason is the editor of this series and in many ways one of the founders of the contemporary study of Josephus.¹² Thus we were very happy for Mason not only to give the conference's leading paper, but also to speak about the process of translating Josephus from Greek into English as a part of Masterclass 1. Mason's paper is also the leading content chapter of this volume—"Interpreting Josephus Contextually: Composition, Audiences, Messages, and Meaning"—and it works well as an entrée to the subsequent chapters. Mason's argument is a methodological one, is quite straightforward, and draws upon a long career of Josephus research. He calls it a "reference-point." His argument is already apparent from his title: namely, scholars must interpret Josephus contextually, and doing so requires attention to compositional practices, potential audiences, messages encoded at various levels in Josephus' texts, and a sophisticated approach to meaning. Basically, Mason is making a methodological argument for and a call to a literary-historical approach to Josephus, as opposed to the conventional historiographical use of Josephus qua historical source: 'we know that x

of Amsterdam, Bar-Ilan University, the University of Bern (and its Institute for Jewish Studies), and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).

- 11 At the time of this writing, Steve Mason's own translation and commentary of *BJ* 4 has just appeared. Previous volumes are those by Paul Spilsbury and Chris Seeman on *AJ* 11 (2016), Jan Willem van Henten on *AJ* 15 (2013), Steve Mason on *BJ* 2 (2008), John M.G. Barclay on *CA* (2006), Christopher T. Begg and Paul Spilsbury on *AJ* 8–10 (2005), Christopher T. Begg on *AJ* 5–7 (2004), Steve Mason on the *Vita* (2001), and first of all Louis H. Feldman on *AJ* 1–4 (1999). We look forward to the appearance of forthcoming volumes.
- 12 Three of his groundbreaking works are Mason, *A History of the Jewish War*; Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*; and Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, and see also the essays compiled in Mason, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins*.

happened on *y* date because Josephus says *z*.⁷ Mason hereby sets the stage for assessing the means and the “stakes” of the future study of Josephus.

From Mason’s broad-spectrum argument the volume dives right into a series of more or less technical and more or less focused analyses of Josephan text. Erich Gruen’s radical treatment of “Josephus and the Bible” in his *Antiquitates Judaicae* aims to address several longstanding questions in the field. For one, what are we to make of the fact that, while Josephus claims to translate the Jewish Scriptures in Greek in his *Antiquitates*, his account of biblical history contains a plethora of non- or extra-biblical episodes (and ideas)? What does this tell us about how Josephus understood the sanctity of the ‘Scriptures?’ Relatedly, is there a method to Josephus’ madness? That is, does a “consistent pattern or purpose” emerge among Josephus’ numerous departures from the Hebrew Bible? Gruen’s return to this classic question involves using a series of case studies to support the argument that Josephus’ “claim of an exact duplication” must be understood (and was understood) as being of “symbolic significance.” Within Josephus’ therefore authoritative and “even strengthened” rewrite of sacred writ, furthermore, Gruen sees an adaptive strategy whereby Josephus could use variation, addition, and omission to address a variety of topics for an audience that knew the biblical original—far from sacrilegious, Josephus’ ‘Bible’ was a source of creative, fresh communicative technology.

David Edwards’ chapter in some ways illustrates some of Gruen’s points in different relief. In “Ancient Jewish Court-Tales, Scriptural Adaptation, and Greco-Roman Discourses of Exemplarity: Joseph, Esther, and Agrippa I in Josephus’ *Antiquitates*,” Edwards shows how to biblical figures, the Joseph of Genesis and the Esther of Esther, provided exemplary mines of traditionary meaning for Josephus’ retelling of much later Jewish history, namely the court intrigues involving Agrippa I (*AJ* 18–19). In particular, these two “flawless paragons of virtue” from the sacred Scriptures illustrated so many of the things that Herod Agrippa, King of Judea from 41 to 44 CE, was not. Instead, Agrippa I was a paragon of ambition. In demonstrating this within discussions of Greek language, reader expectations, registers of exemplarity, and comparison with Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*, Edwards combines new insight into Josephus’ literary rhetoric with signals toward important methodological tenets, some new, some old.

Silvia Castelli’s chapter, “Narratology and Linguistic Variation in Josephus’ Cultic Laws and Constitution,” applies a method of functional linguistics, namely “register analysis,” to the language Josephus uses to discuss the law in his *Antiquitates Judaicae*. In so doing, Castelli exposes the contextual use of technical language by Josephus to explain the Mosaic *politeia* outlined in the Book of Deuteronomy by means of terms, categories, and concepts

familiar from the Classical Greek usage of authors like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Josephus' engagement with this Greco-Roman technical lexicon has several broader implications. First, Josephus, while a Jewish author writing about Jewish things, must be studied within the broader context of Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature and culture.¹³ This applies not only to the examination of concepts and ideas present in Josephus' writings, but also to the fine-grained philological work of dissecting Josephus' Greek usage. The latter scholarly industry has been considerably easier for the past half-century due to Karl Rengstorf's *Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, but Castelli's study shows that close, careful, and comparative analysis is still needed to achieve a full understanding of Josephan grammar, syntax, and vocabulary.

The final essay of this volume's 'Josephus proper' section is Ursula Westwood's "Free Speech and Moses' Laws: The Limits of *παρρησία* in Josephus' Works." Here we find a sustained treatment of Greek lexicography in Josephus which draws upon the broader context of ancient Greek literature to help illuminate the idea of candid, straightforward speech (*παρρησία*) in his writings. At the same time, Westwood shows that the Mosaic Law possesses a unique brand of *παρρησία* according to Josephus. Furthermore, she explains why such a discourse may have been particularly significant as one put forth during Domitian's reign, where frank and free speech were certainly not the rule. In line with previous essays, and bringing new information to bear on Josephus studies, Westwood's essay is another example of the value of historical contextualization, literary comparison, and intra-Josephan philology and lexicography in seeking to make sense of the Flavian historian's prose.

In part, this volume, like any other of its kind, seeks to push scholarship forward piecemeal. The above studies often take a fine-grained approach to Josephus' Greek text in order to proffer a particular insight or two, or three, into one or more distinctive pockets of Josephus or Josephus-adjacent research. At the same time, significant continuities connect these studies: Josephus' Bible, the concept of law and/or Torah in Josephus, the processual value of comparing Josephan vocabulary internally and of assessing lexical and conceptual comparanda between Josephus and the broader milieu of Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature—these things and more comprise overlaps in methodology and content that are suggestive both of scholarly best practices and of what is or might be interesting, or current, or important in the study of Josephus. As a

13 This has not always been scholarly commonplace, as Classicists have habitually ignored or eschewed Josephus as part of their proper remit: see Beard, "The Triumph of Flavius Josephus," esp. 543–545.

conglomerate, the essays in the first part of this volume therefore evince some harmony and thereby signal, or at least hint at, where Josephus studies has been, and where it is going.

Part 2 *Sefer Yosippon* and Latin Josephus: Manuscripts and Text Criticism

The structure of this volume is designed to serve as an argument in and of itself. We put studies on *Sefer Yosippon* together with research on Josephus proper as a signal to the value and importance of considering and contributing to such spheres of scholarship collaboratively. *Yosippon* must be understood in reference to Josephus, its traditional fountainhead, and this has methodological and conceptual implications. On the other side of the equation, Josephus' own writings and career may be illuminated, sometimes in surprising ways, by his literary *Nachleben* across regions, cultures, languages, and eras. Indeed, to attempt to interpret Josephus without an eye to his later reception can be a precarious proposition.

Part 2 of this volume deals with the nuts and bolts of manuscripts, text criticism, and the critical editions upon which modern scholarship on pre-modern literature usually relies. While more data-driven and descriptive by nature than some of the other chapters in this work, the two chapters that comprise this part of the volume contain the crucial information that provides the foundation for all of the others. Neither the Latin translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* nor the Hebrew text of *Sefer Yosippon* have adequate critical editions. Here the world's leading experts on these respective traditions provide critical insight into the state-of-the-art regarding these texts, creating one more scholarly space in which this volume contains the cutting edge of scholarship.

Saskia Dönitz's chapter on "The Hebrew Manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon*" stands first in this part for a reason. Not only has Dönitz's body of work, most particularly her 2013 volume, *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon*, been at the forefront of *Yosippon* scholarship for the past decade and more, Dönitz has also begun the critical and foundational task of assessing and reconstructing the Hebrew textual basis of *Yosippon*. David Flusser's critical edition of *Yosippon*, long since the standard edition for scholars, is an impressive work of scholarship.¹⁴ It is also highly problematic. As Dönitz has shown elsewhere,

14 Dönitz, "Josephus Torn to Pieces." The other current authority on the issue of *sy*'s Hebrew text is Peter Lehnhardt of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Dönitz and Lehnhardt

and as she presents here, a critical reappraisal of Flusser's edition, long since an important desideratum in the field, shows that a new Hebrew text of *Yosippon* is necessary, lest we attribute entire chapters to the original work (as best we can establish it) that were not in it and retain much later readings within a supposedly tenth-century text. The most important recent evidence showing this are the many Cairo Genizah fragments of *Yosippon*, which complicate Flusser's well-known construct, whereby *Yosippon* developed through three recensions (A, B, and C), each of which extended the earlier one substantially. In a very real way, then, Dönitz's essay herein is a call for a rethinking, perhaps a kind of restart, of *Yosippon* scholarship.

Not all those who have read and studied *Sefer Yosippon* have appreciated the nature of its sources. *Yosippon* is a Hebrew work, and Josephus wrote in Greek, but the author of *Yosippon* did not read Greek, at least so far as we can tell. Instead, *Yosippon* is based mostly upon the *Latin* Josephus tradition that developed between the fourth and sixth centuries. In addition, it uses the *Latin* Vulgate Bible (including Apocrypha), in addition to other sources (Livy and Vergil, e.g.). Thus, a study of *Yosippon* necessarily involves the study of its Latin sources, the most important of which are the Latin translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and the late-fourth century Christian adaptation of the *Bellum Judaicum* called *De excidio Hierosolymitano* (*On the Destruction of Jerusalem*), or "Pseudo-Hegesippus."¹⁵

both presented on the most up-to-date information regarding *SY*'s text, the Cairo Genizah fragments, etc. at the "Seeking *Sefer Yosippon*," workshop held at the University of Bern on May 11–12, 2022 (sponsored by the SNSF under the auspices of the project, "*Lege Josephum!* Ways of Reading Josephus in the Latin Middle Ages;" see <https://www.legejosephum.unibe.ch>).

- 15 The state of the art regarding the Latin *War* and the Latin *Antiquities*—i.e. the Latin translations proper of both of Josephus' major works—has been established by David Levenson and Tom Martin in an ongoing body of work; see Levenson and Martin, "A Revised Classification;" Levenson and Martin, "Ancient Latin Translations;" Bay, "On the Multivocality;" Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations." For the state of the field regarding *DEH*, see, with bibliography, Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 17–69, as well as Bay's broader body of work in recent years. The standard critical edition of *DEH* is Ussani, *Hegesippi qui dicitur* (1932), and no modern scholarly translation exists. For the Latin Josephus, since the critical editions (which need updating) of Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*, Vol. 1 (1958) and, much earlier, Boysen, *Flavii Iosephi Opera* (1898)—which only included *AJ* 1–5 (Blatt) and *CA* (Boysen)—the only modern critical editions yet to emerge are Bader, *Josephus Latinus* (2019), on *BJ* 1, and the recent critical edition by Randolf Lukas (Bochum) on *AJ* 6–7 (2022, continuing Blatt, as it were) and forthcoming work by David Levenson and Tom Martin on *BJ* 6 and *AJ* 13. It should also be noted here that the collected works of Heinz Schreckenberg constituted progress and stimulant in the later twentieth century regarding the Latin Josephus tradition (including *DEH*) within Josephus' reception writ large (including his reception in medieval art—see Heyden's chapter in this volume and

This being the case, the next chapter, like Dönitz's, also constitutes a kind of 'back to the basics' study for *Yosippon* scholarship. In his essay "Beyond Flusser: The Text of Latin *Antiquities* 13 and *Sefer Yosippon*," David Levenson introduces readers to the little-known yet highly-significant state-of-the-art as it pertains to the Latin *Antiquities* and its relationship to *Yosippon*. Levenson begins by presenting Flusser's influential thinking and arguments, which have (in)formed *consensus opinio* regarding *Yosippon's* relationship to its Latin sources for almost half a century. (One reason this summary is important is that Flusser's full thoughts are still only available in modern Hebrew.) Levenson then problematizes Flusser's hypotheses, based as they were upon incomplete information, and shows that the question of which manuscripts, or rather which manuscript groups, of the Latin *Antiquities* comprised the source for *Yosippon* is a question privy to multivocal manuscript readings and more than one codicological surprise. To move toward solving the mystery—or, really, just to try and map the terrain—Levenson provides up-to-date information regarding the manuscript groups of Book 13 of the Latin *Antiquities* and details the many important observations, and problems, that arise from this text-critical milieu. Like Dönitz, Levenson proffers a new starting-point for an informed text-based study of *Yosippon* and its Latin sources.

Part 3 *Sefer Yosippon*: Traditions, Intertexts, and (Re-)Interpretations

This volume's Part 3 seeks to build toward a more robust understanding and broader scholarly arena as it pertains to Josephus' Hebrew afterlife in *Sefer Yosippon*. This text, penned in Southern Italy around the beginning of the tenth century with the Classical Hebrew style and vocabulary of the Jewish Scriptures, is ripe for more concentrated attention.¹⁶ Over the past three decades, and picking up considerable speed in the last ten years or so, research in *Yosippon* has built upon Flusser's foundation to start exposing and exploring

as discussed below). In addition to Schreckenberg's earlier work, see Schreckenberg and Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography*; Schreckenberg, "The Works of Josephus;" Schreckenberg, "Josephus und die christliche Wirkungsgeschichte;" Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*; Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus*.

16 For brief introductions, see more recently Bowman, "*Sefer Yosippon*: Reevaluations;" Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon (Josippon)" and Dönitz, "Historiography Among Byzantine Jews;" more classically, see Flusser, "*Josippon*, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus" and Baer, "The Hebrew *Sefer Yosifun*."

the literary, linguistic, and ideological landscapes of what would become one of history's most widely-read and influential works of Jewish historiography.¹⁷ The basic information regarding this work is now known and widely accessible. Its textual development, reception, and later translations have all received attention (although there remains a great deal more to do in this domain as well). Yet, for all that, the actual study of *Yosippon* as literature, as a history, as a text, as a narrative seems barely to have begun. The first and second chapters of the work, containing respectively a reworked table of nations and a story of Roman antiquity interwoven with biblical myth and legend (read: historiography), have received serious consideration by multiple researchers, yet the other eighty-seven chapters of the work have scarcely been touched. Granted that this is beginning to change. But it is still the case that one seeks in vain for studies on particular chapters of *Yosippon*, or particular themes in *Yosippon*, or particular philological problems in *Yosippon*, or close comparison of *Yosippon* with other texts—in short, all of the kinds of studies that contribute to a robust scholarly understanding of a text or author are for the most part still wanting when it comes to *Yosippon*. We hope that this volume can help stimulate, and accelerate, and consolidate the research that will fill those gaps.

Ruth Nisse is another of the few scholars who have published on *Sefer Yosippon* to date. In her 2017 book, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, Nisse undertook an extensive discussion of *Yosippon's* place in Medieval Jewish-Christian dialogue. In her chapter "The Beginning of the End: *Yosippon's* 'Aeneid' and Adso's Apocalypse," which inaugurates Part 3 of the volume, Nisse exemplifies the value of comparative study between *Yosippon* and roughly contemporaneous literature, in this case the mid-tenth century *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist* by Adso of Montier-en-Der. She compares how these two texts negotiate the meaning of Roman authority in a post-Carolingian age and with sometimes divergent, sometimes similar interests and commitments.

Jan Willem van Henten and Carson Bay in the next two chapters each assess one chapter of *Sefer Yosippon* vis-à-vis its source material and the manifold tradition that lay behind it. Van Henten, in "The Maccabean Mother and Her Seven Sons in *Sefer Yosippon* 15: Interconnections with Previous Versions of the Martyrdom and Important Motifs," examines the story of the Maccabean mother-martyr and her seven sons known from 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees in its idiosyncratic Hebrew form in *Yosippon*. Van Henten's is a close analysis

17 In addition to the above, see Bay, "The Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Identity;" Bay, "The 'Maria Story' in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew;" Börner-Klein, "Jews and Romans as Friends and Foes;" Bowman, "'Yosippon' and Jewish Nationalism;" Bowman, "Dates in *Sefer Yosippon*."

that brings out a number of important features of this chapter, which rewrites the story of a noble Jewish mother and her sons refusing to capitulate to the Seleucid King Antiochus, preferring to die by torture, thus becoming the earliest martyr figures. The features van Henten identifies include its notably biblical language and its correlation with Christian discourses about sainthood.

Bay's contribution, "Killing Matthias: *De excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (נפ)," does something of the same thing for *SY* 81. Bay shows how *Yosippon* adapted and reworked his Latin source for this chapter, Pseudo-Hegesippus, teasing out a few particular aspects of *Yosippon's* editorial technique: these include the creative recycling of biblical language, a concentration upon theological ideas (namely, Yahweh, Temple, and covenant), and the redemption of the story's main Jewish narrative figure/historical actor, a man named Matthias. Matthias, killed alongside his sons by the Jewish rebel leader Simon in *SY* 81, not only resembles the Maccabean mother-martyr in his death, but references her and her story in a final speech he makes before his demise, which ties *SY* 81 to *SY* 15, and therefore Bay's chapter to that of van Henten.

The reader will find a much broader discussion of *Sefer Yosippon* in Steven Bowman's chapter on "Yosippon as an Innovative and Creative Genius." Here Bowman draws upon a lifetime of studying *Yosippon* to outline the literary and narrative value of *Yosippon*, almost a kind of poetics of the work. Having just published the first English translation of *Sefer Yosippon* at the time of writing, Bowman is in a unique position to speak with some authority to aspects of *Yosippon* as a work that requires attention or bear remembering. Moreover, this chapter puts forward with new supporting evidence a longstanding conviction of Bowman's, implicit in his chapter's title: namely, that *Yosippon's* author evinced considerable innovation and creativity in penning his Hebrew text. This chapter thus also serves as a tool with which one can approach other chapters in this work: do the preceding and proceeding chapters, for example, support the idea of *Yosippon's* notable ingenuity? Conversely, the other chapters in this part of the volume can help fill in the details behind Bowman's argument.

Kenneth Atkinson's "*Sefer Yosippon* as a Source for Hasmonean History: The Mysterious Story of John Hyrcanus and the Parthians" takes a different tack from Bowman and the studies the other previous chapters. It is, in fact, a complement to these other more literary and philological approaches. Remarkably, Atkinson argues here that *Yosippon* "should be considered a primary source" for John Hyrcanus' participation in Antiochus VII Sidetes' 131 BCE invasion of Parthia, despite its late date and multiple layers of source-texts. The historian's perspective afforded by Atkinson's chapter is an invaluable addition, and a methodological check, for a scholarship on *Yosippon* that has tended toward

text, language, and literature, and opens up new vistas for the possibilities of research into *Yosippon* and of what *Yosippon* might be able to tell us about ancient history. Not least, this chapter bids us be careful if we are tempted to see *Yosippon*, or other texts like it, as fundamentally derivative in nature given the layers of their source tradition, and thus to brush their historical value aside.

The final chapter of this *Yosippon* part of the volume is Daniel Stein Kokin's "*Sefer Yosippon and Sefer Masa'ot: A Reconsideration.*" This chapter resembles Nisse's in its comparative approach, yet it also spans the divide between this part and the next in that Benjamin of Tudela, with whom Stein Kokin puts *Yosippon* in conversation, was a literary figure of twelfth-century Spain, miles and centuries removed from *Yosippon*'s ninth/tenth-century Southern Italy. Yet Stein Kokin's analysis of geographical and topographical discourse in *Yosippon* and Benjamin of Tudela (and his predecessor) deals with the text of *Yosippon* itself enough to merit inclusion in this section. Another advantage of Stein Kokin's study is the contribution it makes to one of the few aspects of *Yosippon* that has received marked attention in recent years: namely, *Yosippon*'s contribution to medieval geography and toponymy.

Part 4 Beyond Josephus and *Yosippon*: Reception, Afterlives, and Legacy

As Josephus' legacy grew across the centuries following the first century—and, for that matter, as *Yosippon*'s own legacy did so during and after the tenth century—the tradition expanded in multiple directions. Linguistically, Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, for example, split into Semitic (Syriac) and Indo-European (Greek, Latin) tracks already in late antiquity. *Sefer Yosippon*, for its part, existed not only in expanding Hebrew editions but also in Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, and Gə'əz within less than a half-millennium of its writing. Through the High Middle Ages into the Renaissance and beyond, both the Josephus and the *Yosippon* traditions, sometimes together and sometimes individually (though always notionally related), exploded in multiple vernaculars and textual forms. And all of this is to say nothing of the geographical, cultural, and broader traditionary outworkings of this larger Josephus-related legacy. Suffice it to say that, over the past millennium, Josephus and *Yosippon* became some of the most widely-read, popular, and influential historical texts in the Western world.

This being the case, it seems eminently reasonable—even inevitable—that a volume like this should dedicate a section to the later receptions of Josephus

and *Yosippon*. In Part 4 of the volume, the diversity of subject matter is pronounced. At the same time, however, it need not be argued that all of these chapters are telling part of the same story, the story of Josephus, as it were, not of his life but of his afterlife, of the legends and traditions and narratives that accompanied his name and reputation across time, text, and terrain. This broader story is enormous in scope, hence the diversity of time periods, media, and settings that frame these studies.

Martin Goodman's essay on "English Versions of Josephus in the Nineteenth Century: Omissions and Additions" adds to our growing knowledge of the fate of Josephus' writings in the English-speaking world. In particular, Goodman here builds upon the wealth of work he has done in recent years to expose an interesting feature of Josephus' nineteenth-century fate: the drastic abridgement of his text in an 1848 printing of William Whiston's translation purporting to contain "The complete works." Goodman shows that Flavius Josephus is not only a proper object of study for scholars of antiquity and the Middle Ages, but also provides worthwhile material for those interested in the modern world, as it continues to expand our knowledge of Josephus' latter-day fortunes.

Out of the printing press and into primary education, Meir Ben Shahaar's chapter, "Josephus on the School Bench," introduces the place and history of Josephus within modern Israel's educational system and its background. Here we get a glimpse into the future and past of a critical and idiosyncratic modern reception of Josephus. Long debated as a traitor to the Jewish people, Josephus has spent the past few hundred years, among other things, as an embattled figure in modern Jewish textbooks embodying a significant historical moment and catalyzing its capacity for pedagogy. Ben Shahaar's chapter exposes a little-known facet of Josephus' more recent afterlife and, as an added bonus, discusses a good deal of modern Hebrew scholarship that remains quite inaccessible to the larger, non-Hebrew reading scholarly sphere.

Katharina Heyden's essay, "Josephus Proudly Presents': Figurations of Josephus Presenting his Work in High Medieval Latin Manuscripts (12th and 13th centuries)," takes the volume on a graphic turn. By examining how medieval art depicts Josephus presenting his own work, Heyden offers not only visual evidence of Josephus' diversified traditional portfolio in the Middle Ages, but also a demonstration of how Josephus could function as a mirror for the changing artistic and educational norms of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western Europe. Heyden can use Josephus as a cypher for discussing Jewish-Christian relations and the place(s) of Jews, in life and in the imaginary, during these formative centuries, touching upon the long-recognized and deep historical correlation between Josephus as author and 'witness' and Christian traditions and modes of anti-Jewish thought and discourse.

Combining the fields of ‘art’ and ‘text,’ next we have Yael Feldman’s chapter, “Between Josephus and *Yosippon*: Lamdan’s *Masada*.” This essay highlights how the various versions of Josephus’ narrative that came to exist over time—his own writings, Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Sefer Yosippon*, e.g.—created a tradition that sent reverberations of ambiguity into the poetry and national self-consciousness of twentieth-century Zionist and Israeli cultural-artistic discourse: that is to say, poetry, among other things. Couched within a discussion of martyrology, nationalism, and poetry, Feldman suggests that the poem *Masada* by Yitzhak Lamdan (1899–1954), penned in 1927, draws themes and inspiration not straight from Flavius Josephus—our ‘original’ and ancient source for the account of one of the most famous mass suicides of all time on the part of nearly a thousand Jews atop Mt. Masada in 74 CE—but (also?) from the later, much changed and very different version of *Sefer Yosippon*. In *Yosippon*, Jewish zealots die not by their own swords, but in battle against the Romans; as Feldman convincingly suggests, such an inspiration could have had consequential effects, troubling for some, on the conception, creation, and reception of Lamdan’s *Masada*.

Remaining in the twentieth century, though moving forward a few decades, Michael Avioz’s chapter on “Schalit’s Modern Hebrew Translation of Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae*: A Reassessment” provides a bibliographically-contextualized and extensive review and framing of an important translation of Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* from 1944: that of Abraham Schalit. This chapter provides an overview of modern Hebrew translations of Josephus, a biographical sketch of Schalit himself, and a technical and helpfully categorized presentation of the structure and contents of Schalit’s translation, with a number of helpful examples.¹⁸

Moving back to textual reception history again, and moving back over a half millennium from the twentieth century of the previous essays, Yonatan Binyam’s “*Zena Ayhud (The History of the Jews): The Text and Context of the Ethiopic Version of Sefer Yosippon*” introduces perhaps one of the most interesting and perhaps one of the least-known trajectories of *Sefer Yosippon*’s afterlife: namely, the Classical Ethiopic (Gə’əz) version thereof, precipitated by Arabic and Judeo-Arabic translations from the Hebrew (apparently).¹⁹ Binyam traces the fortunes of *Yosippon* within this linguistic milieu and through the cultural

18 This chapter stems from the masterclass that began the conference underlying this volume’s contents, in which Avioz and Mason presented on modern Hebrew and English Josephus-translation efforts respectively.

19 See here Binyam, “Studies in *Sefer Yosippon*,” Vollandt, “Ancient Jewish Historiography in Arabic Garb,” Sela, *The Arabic Josippon*.

and geographical connections within it, providing a new and updated starting point for the continued study of an important, yet marginalized ‘version’ of Josephus’ story that eventually came to find a home in medieval Africa.²⁰

The volume’s penultimate essay returns us to the West, with Nadia Zeldes writing on “The Christian Reception of *Sefer Yosippon* in Western Europe.” Zeldes begins: “Christian reception of *Yosippon* in the Middle Ages and Renaissance rested on three assumptions: that it was authored by Josephus, that it could serve to confirm the historicity of Christianity, and that it could be used as a tool in religious polemics against the Jews.” Hereafter follows an illuminating voyage through many of the ins and outs of *Yosippon*’s interpretation, fate, and utilization (even weaponization) in Christian Western Europe across the Middle Ages.²¹ This essay is a fitting entrée to the finale to this volume as it elucidates the mutual implications of Josephus, *Sefer Yosippon*, and various later receptional spheres—that is, Zeldes moves back and forth between Josephus, *Yosippon*, and beyond.

The volume’s final chapter is, fittingly, itself an essay about endings. Andrea Schatz, in “Un-writing the End: Histories and Counter-Histories in the Early Modern *Yosippon*,” begins her chapter by considering the notable ending to Abraham Conat’s version of *Sefer Yosippon*, printed in Mantua in 1475. There, after the fall of the Temple and Masada, the narrative relates how Jewish captives were resettled across the Roman empire, in Sepharad and elsewhere; Josephus himself (Joseph ha-Kohen) is allotted the island in the Tiber River south of Rome, where he built homes, a synagogue, “and a *bet ha-midrash* to study there.”²² Schatz pitches this ‘new beginnings’ ending against the broader legacy of Josephus’ reception, in which a Christian reading of the *Bellum Judaicum* in particular supported the notion that Jewish history effectively ended around 70 or 74 CE. Such rewriting found contemporary parallels in works like Abraham Zacuto’s *Sefer Yuhasin* (Tunis, 1504), which also underplayed the terminal nature of Jerusalem’s 70 CE destruction. Based on this aspect of the habit of chronicling, Schatz then takes the reader through several Jewish and Christian attempts in the early modern period “to un-write and re-write *Yosippon*’s endings,” ending with an examination of the “comprehensive re-framing of *Yosippon*” in Menachem Man Amelander’s 1743 Yiddish edition (printed in Amsterdam). This volume thus ends with a discussion of endings, a consideration of how *Yosippon* catalyzed history and counter-history

20 A critical edition of this text has existed for almost a century now: Kamil, *Des Josef Ben Gorion (Josippon)*.

21 Cf. the more extensive recent account in Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*.

22 See p. 600.

between Jews and Christians many centuries after the work's first writing, and a millennium and a half from Josephus' lifetime.

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PART 1

*Flavius Josephus:
Context, Greek Text, and Literary Features*



Interpreting Josephus Contextually: Composition, Audiences, Messages, and Meaning

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When this volume's editors kindly invited my participation in the initiating conference, with its focus on Josephus' reception and *Sefer Yosippon*, I suggested offering something general: a reference point in Josephus research for the original reception-historical investigations. Our hosts' agreement explains why this contribution is so broad, in contrast to the specific studies that follow.

It is not possible here to work through all the approaches that Josephus research has taken through the past two centuries, let alone their contexts or the reasons for them. Louis Feldman's annotated bibliography to 1980 and the Blackwell *Companion to Josephus*, edited by Nora Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (2016), largely cover that terrain.¹ For present purposes, with a chapter of real estate, I propose to adopt an angle from which to view the history of research, with the aim of drawing out what might be *at stake* in the methods that have been used for exploiting Josephus' precious material. The long title indicates the angle I have adopted: the need for contextual interpretation.

Argumentative essays typically begin with a definition of key terms. The seven terms in my title have fairly obvious meanings, however, and so we may move directly to their application. If there is a thesis underlying this survey, it is the simple one that, although my title reflects questions we routinely ask of classical or biblical texts (Thucydides, Polybius, or Tacitus; the Bible's Deuteronomist, 1–2 Chronicles; each of the NT gospels), as for example in introductory volumes, it has taken a long time to broach them in Josephus research. Tellingly, we still lack an *Einleitung in Josephus*, which would take up these questions in depth.² But we *should* ask them because they are basic to historical inquiry.

¹ Feldman, *Modern Scholarship*; Chapman and Rodgers, *Companion*.

² Thackeray's 1928 lectures (*Josephus: The Man and the Historian*, 1929) were the closest approximation for more than half a century, then Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and his Society* (1983), and Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome* (1988). Of these, only Bilde offers a methodical survey of Josephus' works, though in a highly compressed single chapter (3); cf. the third chapter of Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (2003).

In the mid-1970s, W.C. van Unnik rightly observed that Josephus was everywhere *used and cited*, but rarely studied as an author.³ His observation found support in Feldman's 1,000+ page bibliography a few years later, which faithfully reflected the main areas of research to 1980 (e.g., Josephus' sources, biblical paraphrase, treatment of specific questions and periods, comparison with other texts, and reception history) but needed no sections on the structures, aims, themes, or audiences of Josephus' histories.⁴ Scholars had not yet formulated these as objects of curiosity. Even that work's 2.5 pages on historiography (118–120) focus on Josephus' competence, accuracy, or reliability, rather than questions we usually associate with ancient historiography.⁵ Likewise, in Per Bilde's exhaustive research in all European languages for his 1988 study of Josephus, he could find no studies of basic introductory matters in relation to the two main histories.⁶ *Interpreting* Josephus' works contextually as whole compositions is of course not the only occupation for a historian of Roman Judea. But this chapter argues that it ought to be *one basic concern*—also useful for comparison with later reworkings of Josephus—and illustrates why this is so.

In case the point seems too obvious in the 2020s to need elaboration, I should add that there remains considerable scope for misunderstanding. I speak from experience, as my efforts to interpret Josephus have struck a surprising number of colleagues as though I were advocating a new-fangled, even “postmodern,” departure from serious history.⁷ It is as if one hears the screams of academic sergeants, accusing one of malingering: “Real men quickly deduce what happened from Josephus, Mason! Why are you hanging about in the rear, stuck on his text? Get out into the fray! Say what happened if you are game!”

This is an unfortunate misunderstanding. Since my first book I have argued that the interpretation of Josephus—like the interpretation of any text, coin, or building remains—should be a distinct but *essential part* of

3 Van Unnik, *Schriftsteller*, 18.

4 Cf. the detailed table of contents in Feldman, *Modern Scholarship*, v–xv.

5 For the usual issues (authority of the writer, moral intervention and reflection, the nature of truth being sought, rhetorical values, mode of investigation, typical themes and tropes, vivid excursus, speeches), see Marincola, *Authority and Tradition* (which makes extensive use of Josephus as exemplary); Pitcher, *Writing Ancient History*; and for some of these issues in Josephus, Villalba i Varneda, *The Historical Method*.

6 Bilde, *Josephus*, 70–71 (“The contents of *Bell.* are not usually rendered in the literature on Josephus;” “To the best of my knowledge, no contribution to a discussion on the arrangement and plan of *Bell.* is to be found”). Cf. p. 89 on *Antiquities* (he finds a few pages in an article by one scholar).

7 Documenting these misguided impressions, some forcefully expressed, would serve no further purpose. Let us move on.

historical investigation, not something separate.⁸ I also made clear my debts, to the rather old-fashioned methods of R.G. Collingwood, Marc Bloch, Arnaldo Momigliano, and then-prominent applications by Jacob Neusner—no postmodernists or historical shirkers among them.⁹ The patient interpretation of evidence is not subversive, communist, nihilist, atheist, postmodern, leftist, or indeed theological. It is *history*. All respectable investigation—legal, scientific, and medical—follows a similar scheme. One must understand evidence first *for what it is* (cf. symptoms or presentation of physical phenomena) before trying to explain it. A passing rash or headache, apparently caused by ad hoc circumstances, needs a different explanation from something chronic. It is worth imagining invisible causes of the evidence we can see only when we have a preliminary understanding of what we are looking at, what needs explaining.

Dissertation research introduced me to a small choir of seekers, as diverse as Helgo Lindner, Harold Attridge, Tessa Rajak, and Jacob Neusner, who from various perspectives were calling for a better understanding of Josephus' works before using them in reconstructing the past.¹⁰ Brill's international translation and commentary project is one expression of this concern.¹¹ In what follows, I hope to give readers mainly interested in the later reception of Josephus a sense of directions in Josephus research but especially of what is at stake in them—once we get past the hobgoblins of postmodernism or perceived solipsism. My perception of the stakes will become clear en route.

1 Josephus

Josephus in the title requires the least discussion. The man whose writings lie at the center of our interest was one of many first-century Josephs, but what an extraordinary impact he had! Born in Jerusalem in the year of Gaius Caligula's accession (37 CE), he seems to have departed life in Rome, early in Trajan's reign (98–117). The first half of his years he spent in Judea, the latter half in Rome, though near the end of the Judean period he undertook a successful diplomatic mission to the imperial capital, ca. 63–65 (v 13–16). His remarkable

8 Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*, 1–17.

9 Collingwood, *Idea of History*; Bloch, *Historian's Craft*; Momigliano, "Rules of the Game" and "Historicism," with Bowersock, "Quest for the Person." To mention only a few salient examples from Neusner's immense *oeuvre*: *Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees*; *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*; *Politics to Piety*.

10 Lindner, *Geschichtsauffassung*; Attridge, *Interpretation*; Rajak, *Josephus*; Neusner as in previous note.

11 Mason, ed., *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*.

life experiences, first as an active priest-aristocrat in the Judean capital, then preparing Galilee for Roman retaliation after the lethal unrest of 66, then as a Roman prisoner for two years (67–69), and finally as a free man at large in Rome (71 onward), were matched only by the unparalleled posthumous fate of his work. Thirty Greek volumes, probably not everything he wrote, have survived more or less intact, a rare feat among ancient texts.

Having quickly outclassed his rivals as the go-to author for Judean matters—Tacitus and the author of Luke-Acts may already have used his work; Aelius Herodian in the second century treats him as *the* authority on Judea—Josephus was adopted with increasing eagerness by Christian writers. They saw the destruction of Jerusalem as proof of a permanent divine divestment from Jerusalem and all it had represented. When Constantine decided to support Christianity in the early fourth century, who better to validate Christian claims about Jerusalem's catastrophe than the star witness: a Jerusalemite who loved the city, its laws, and culture, and therefore could not be accused of Christian bias? In medieval times, though he had no share in the rabbis' halakhic and haggadic explorations, Josephus came back into Jewish hands around 1000 CE with *Sefer Yosippon*. His work would remain essential in the Renaissance, before it became vitally important to critical scholarship, from its embryonic impulses in the sixteenth to the minutely detailed analysis of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I need say no more about Josephus' impact, however, as it is the subject of expert papers in this volume. It seems fair to say, though one must do so without statistical proof, that Josephus became the most widely read and warmly embraced ancient writer outside the Bible in western history.¹²

But what should we *do* with the thirty volumes that Josephus unknowingly bequeathed to us? That is our concern here. In the latter half of the 1980s, Louis Feldman and Gohei Hata, seeing the contrast between the towering importance of Josephus and the dearth of publications on him, commissioned essays representing the state of scholarship.¹³ Their topics are telling because they are so scattered. The few that relate to Josephus' narratives are on very small issues (Justus, Masada, passages in the biblical paraphrase), whereas most concern his use of sources, comparison with other material, or reception history. Those volumes were nonetheless a harbinger of the gathering interest in Josephus in the late 1980s. It was not a complete surprise, therefore, when a few years

12 See Feldman and Hata, *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, 13–16, for Feldman's compelling account of Josephus' impact.

13 *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (1987, 13–14 on their purpose) and *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (1989).

later Joseph Sievers and Fausto Parente organized an international conference on Josephus in San Miniato, Italy (1992), supported by a bequest from the late Morton Smith.

When they scoured the planet for Josephus experts, Parente and Sievers found about two dozen scholars, including Feldman and Hata as well as young colleagues who had recently published their first contributions.¹⁴ Josephus research was on the cusp of becoming a recognized field. As is still the case, however, those who worked significantly on the corpus taught in classics, Jewish history, religious studies, and theology.

San Miniato was to my knowledge the first truly international gathering devoted to the critical study of Josephus. His name was long known to anyone who worked in ancient Judaism, Christian origins, or the classical world, of course, as the main source for Roman Judea. Emil Schürer's multi-volume handbook on the subject illustrated, however, van Unnik's observation above. Explaining that Josephus' works "provide the main source for the history studied here,"¹⁵ Schürer and his revisers then took over much of Josephus' outlook along with his data (the two cannot be separated). Their notes offer occasional criticism, after comparison with other sources, and point out some inconsistencies. But that monumental study, in its various editions, lacks any analysis of Josephus as an author or his works as compositions.¹⁶ Like its poorer cousins, it shows no curiosity about what the corpus *is*: why he wrote, how (historiography or rhetoric), for whom, or with what interests, themes, and literary techniques. Tellingly, when Schürer and his editors come to discuss Jewish literature in the third volume, which obliges them to mention Josephus (he is the

14 The proceedings are in Parente and Sievers, *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period*. Essay collections on Josephus had been rare: one scholar's collection of valuable essays from the previous decades (Schalit, *Josephus-Forschung*, 1973), a *Festschrift* covering several related fields (Betz, Haacker, and Hengel, *Josephus-Studien*, 1974), one scholar's published lectures (van Unnik, *Schrifsteller*, 1978). The San Miniato conference, however, and increasingly its many sequels in workshops and collected-essay volumes, focused on understanding Josephus as such. Many dissertations and resulting monographs in the 2000s have found untapped riches in Josephus' narratives, e.g.: Grünenfelder, *Frauen*; Landau, *Out-Heroding Herod*; Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus*; Brighton, *The Sicarii*; Olson, *Tragedy, Authority, and Trickery*; Pena, "Temple as Cosmos;" Glas, "Fashioning the Self." The Josephus Seminar in the SBL (since 1999), which meets two or three times at the society's annual conference, remains a regular international colloquium for Josephus research.

15 Schürer, *History*, 1.43.

16 Schürer, *History*, duly includes an opening section on sources (1.17–122), in which Josephus receives the fullest discussion by far (1.43–61). But it focuses on his life, dates, and the reception (including manuscripts) of his work, otherwise offering only an unstructured list of each volume's coverage.

eleventh entry, of half a page, under “Jewish literature composed in Greek”), having listed the contents of his work in volume 1, they find less to say about his thirty-volume corpus than about non-extant texts (Demetrius, Eupolemus, Thallus). Their few sentences propose that, whereas *Antiquitates Judaicae* is “apologetic,” *Bellum Judaicum* is “history more for its own sake,” meaning that the events it relates are “so important in themselves that they seemed worthy of a detailed account”¹⁷—an appraisal that helps to explain Schürer’s way of using Josephus. No scholar could say such things today.

This is by no means to suggest that the century preceding the 1970s lacked critical research on Josephus. On the contrary, much of it was critical in the extreme, but it favored atomistic approaches in perhaps five main currents: (1) the re-use of his narratives as historical data, accepted where there was no reason to reject them and filled out with information from other literature and material remains (the Schürer model); (2) especially from about 1870 to 1920, the search for large source blocks that Josephus was thought to have sewn together, as a Judean author not considered capable of expressing his own analysis in Greek;¹⁸ (3) in sharp opposition to this assumption, a biographical approach that purported to detect Josephus’ changing loyalties from one work to the next, with hypothetical editions admixed, by focusing on selected episodes and traits;¹⁹ (4) preoccupation with Josephus’ theology, synthesized haphazardly from scattered passages and presumed to be Pharisaic;²⁰ and (5) his interpretation of the Bible in *Antiquities* 1–11.²¹ These contributions were and remain valuable, but they tended to fragment Josephus’ works, finding his meaning in comparison with external comparanda (archaeology, rabbinic literature, other rewritten Bible, the New Testament) while working from assumptions—about Judea’s level of Hellenization, his membership of the Pharisees, his limited education and political biases—that have since proven at least questionable.

Recent years have seen the revival and refinement of each of these older approaches. The new dimension, developing gradually from the 1970s, has

17 Schürer, *History*, 3:545.

18 Otto, “Herodes,” 1–15 (e.g., 12), Hölscher, “Josephus,” and Bauer, “Essener,” 404, all contributions to an influential *Realencyclopädie* for ancient history, illustrate the approach, avidly pursued in the foregoing decades.

19 See Laqueur, *Historiker*, viii, 131, 77, 123, 130, 138, 160, 231, 242.

20 Montgomery “Religion;” Schlatter, *Die Theologie des Judentums*.

21 Josephus’ biblical paraphrase (*AJ* 1–11) was early on a field of its own, studied mainly by comparison with rabbinic, other Jewish, and Greco-Roman texts rather than as part of *Antiquities* or the corpus as a whole: see Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese*; Cohen, “Josephus and Scripture;” Feldman’s essays beginning from the 1960s (many in his *Studies*); Attridge, *Interpretation*.

been a growing interest in Josephus as an author whose compositions deserve careful study *as such*. The much-discussed “linguistic turn” in humanities research, since the 1960s, as it percolated through scholars’ moods and tastes, undoubtedly had something to do with this shift. One could see it in the work of classicists; of biblical and NT scholars’ turning from form and source criticism to compositional study; and especially in Jacob Neusner’s ambitious program of trying to identify the purposes and compositional traits of each corpus of rabbinic literature, before making use of it for historical claims.²²

How precisely the larger shifts in humanities research influenced this area may not be knowable, but in concrete terms the new interest received a powerful boost from Rengstorf’s *Complete Concordance* to Josephus, published in four volumes from 1973 to 1983.²³ This invaluable reference work removed much guesswork by making it easy to study Josephus’ habits of speech. For example, scholars of a previous generation felt that certain expressions were *surely* copied from Nicolaus of Damascus or Philo of Alexandria, or contributed by Josephus’ imagined literary assistants—on the impressionistic ground that a Pharisee such as Josephus could not have composed such high-level Greek. As Harvard’s G.F. Moore put it in 1929: “At that time [in writing *Bellum Judaicum*] he cannot be presumed to have been capable of producing the kind of literary Greek which we read in the *War*.”²⁴ So, much of the work must come from sources and/or imagined ghost-writers. Now, we could check. If the language in question turns up regularly in his corpus, across all periods, we are obliged to recognize his creative work. Study of the *Concordance*, and *a fortiori* the desktop and web-based tools that have since followed, began to show what Heinz Schreckenberg had perceived in the 1970s: that Josephus exercised more control over his works, and with a more consistent palette of concerns, writing modes, and diction, than most scholars had imagined plausible.²⁵

These newer interests furnished much of the fuel for the profusion of dissertations, graduate seminars, conferences, collected-essay volumes, and commentary projects on Josephus in the past three decades. Or better: the ongoing

22 E.g., Neusner, *Politics to Piety* (p. 6): “previous studies of the Pharisees are seriously inadequate because ... the historical question has been asked too quickly”—viz. without sufficient attention to the nature of the compositions in which evidence is found.

23 Rengstorf, *Complete Concordance*.

24 Moore, “Fate and Free Will,” 383. Eisler (*Messiah Jesus*, 131) reflected prevailing assumptions when he spoke of “Josephus’ own extremely defective knowledge of the Greek language. ... He was unable to speak Greek correctly, to say nothing of writing it. ... He certainly never attempted to compose in Greek, since it was far easier for him to write the draft in Semitic and have it translated by his collaborators.”

25 Schreckenberg, *Untersuchungen*, 174.

use of Josephus among his vast constituency, for the history of Rome's empire and Judea, archeology, and New Testament background, was now interacting with compositional-interpretative research that challenged too-quick impressions of his meaning. The interplay between these approaches has nourished the field's vitality.²⁶ The resulting explosion of activity has made Josephus research an identifiable subdiscipline akin to research in the Qumran Scrolls, Philo of Alexandria, or early rabbinic literature, each of which enjoyed its own conferences and publications. Contrast the "taking for granted" of Josephus as a data-source that we saw in Schürer. Newer areas of interest include: Josephus as representative of a Judean social class and example of Mediterranean elites under Rome; the structures, themes, and diction of his works; his interactions with Graeco-Roman education (*paideia*), historiography, and rhetoric; his attempts at communication with his first audiences in Rome, informed by a realistic view of ancient book publication; and his creative use of the Bible and post-biblical texts for those purposes in Rome. Most recently, scholars have brought economic, social, gender-informed, and post-colonial models from other fields to this rich and diverse corpus.²⁷ So much for *Josephus*.

2 Interpretation and Context

Interpretation and *context*, the crucial terms in my title, are best treated together. One might suppose that everyone who deals with Josephus must interpret his work. And surely every attempt at interpretation requires a context. If so, what is new here? Surprisingly, as I have suggested above, the interpretation of Josephus' works as compositions began to take root only from the 1970s or so. That is partly because of the peculiar history of Josephus' reception (viz., the long Christian exploitation and reworking of his material, followed by atomising academic study) and partly because of the way scholars tended to use all ancient narratives until the twentieth century: as data sources.

To think about what contextual interpretation might mean, it is helpful to take a step back and ask what historians do, or ought to do, when we study the human past. The remaining parts of this paper will explore aspects of contextual interpretation. But let us first contextualize that question itself in the

26 The SBL Josephus Seminar devotes one annual session to understanding Josephus' work (featuring members of the Brill commentary team), and one to "Josephus and X" (e.g., Galilee, Essenes, reception), so that advances in interpreting aspects of the corpus remain in dialogue with other disciplines, for mutual advantage.

27 E.g., Ilan, *Integrating Women*; Grünenfelder, *Frauen an den Krisenherden*; Barclay, "Empire Writes Back"; Spilsbury, "Reading the Bible in Rome;" Keddie, *Class and Power*.

larger frame of historical method. Here I can offer only a thumbnail sketch of my approach.

Present life is for each of us a chaos of unknown events and interactions that we mostly do not see or, if we see, we do not understand. None of us who does not live in Afghanistan knows what is happening there at the moment, obviously. But even those who do live somewhere in that country understand little. Although political leaders in our own states appear daily in the media, delivering carefully crafted speeches or artfully dodging interviewers' questions, we *know* little of their confidential plans. That is why Wikileaks and other whistle-blowing exercises cause such consternation. Indeed, we know little or nothing of what is happening next door, in the lives of people we pass on the street, or indeed in the minds of teenagers living under our roof. Life is infinitely complex, and we must squarely face the fact that we know almost nothing of what is going on around us now.

The past, 50 or 100 or 1,000 years ago, was no different for people who lived at the time. For us today to claim confidence about what people did and why they did it 2,000 years ago, in a faraway place under Roman rule, would therefore be absurd. If we can make modest progress in satisfying our curiosities, that is because a few bits and pieces have survived from those times to ours. Because of them, we can at least investigate the survivals and try to make sense of them: understanding what they are, what produced them, what is in them, and what they are for. If we can spot linkages and connections with other survivals, we might be able to conjure up an imaginative picture of some slivers of ancient life.

From such reflections it emerges that historians of any time and place have *two principal tasks*, which are distinct but related as yin and yang, namely: (1) interpreting what has survived, making sense of what is in front of us, and (2) reconstruction of the past that produced the survivals, which is no longer visible to us. We must imagine it. Imagination here is not fantasy, but just the same use of intelligence that is required by all sciences, to come up with explanations in the unseen world of what we can see. Both operations are forms of explanation, and both require hypothetical scenario-testing. They differ in an important way, however: the first is concerned with what sits before us (a coin, inscription, piece of pottery, foundation wall, or text), whereas the second requires us to investigate *our own questions*, about things we cannot see.

Examples of (1) are trying to understand the site of Qumran, the legend on a Herodian coin, or *Bellum Judaicum's* description of King Herod, the Pharisees, or the high priest Ananus II. These are all things we can see and try to interpret. Examples of (2) are imagining the group that once lived at Qumran and the events and motives that led to its destruction, the real Pharisees or Ananus, or

King Herod's motives as a ruler. When we are occupied with (1), the criterion for a successful hypothesis is that it explains what we are looking at, and the criteria are supplied by clues in the survival itself. We want to know what it is. When we are engaged in (2), we are investigating a problem of our devising. Then, the criteria for a good hypothesis are that it both explain *all* relevant evidence and that it fit with whatever else is thought to be understood about life in Roman times and this context. For example, if we hypothesize a ruling program for King Herod (as a Roman puppet, a Hellenistic monarch, an eastern potentate with aspirations in Parthia), our proposal must explain the remains of his building program, his coins, Josephus' extensive descriptions (with attention to sources), and other evidence. We would also need to show how our proposed image would make sense in relation to Rome's dealings with allied kings—with the proviso that if we can make a compelling case, we might also adjust common views of such kings. These considerations need not concern us much when we are simply trying to understand what Herod meant to say on one of his coins or how Josephus portrays him in *War* or *Antiquities*.

Suppose that a reader of the Gospels comes across Pontius Pilate and wants to know more about the man. The starting point for a historian is that we know nothing about Pilate in advance. We must investigate with an open mind. Our best hope for progress lies in posing particular questions, such as his dates in office in Caesarea, his relationship to his emperor Tiberius, his manner of governing (how much time visiting each city, his relations with local elites), his attitudes toward Jerusalem or Judeans, and so on. Again, investigating any such historical problem will require two distinct operations. First, we need to understand each account of Pilate or piece of relevant material evidence for itself. If we do not separate this step, we run the risk of accommodating evidence to arguments we favor—like the worst example of a prosecuting attorney or southern Sheriff in film, who has instantly decided on a conclusion and forced the evidence to produce a conviction.

In the case of Pilate, this means understanding separately the inscription from Caesarea (What is it? What was it for? What structure did it belong to?), the coins from his time in office (what are the symbols on them and what might they mean?), and the literary episodes in Philo, the Gospels, and Josephus. For each narrative we shall want to ask, "Why does this author mention Pilate? What does the episode contribute to the narrative? What themes or perspectives does it advance? How did this information about Pilate reach this author—what is its source? In other words, we first need to *interpret* what has survived before we can try to answer our questions. If the criterion for a successful answer to our questions about the historical figure is its capacity to

explain the surviving evidence, then we must first understand that evidence for itself.

To be more specific, consider the two episodes from Pilate's long tenure (18 or 26 to 36/37 CE) in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* (2.169–177). If these were transparent accounts of what happened, as though recorded by video, we might conclude that Pilate went to great lengths *not* to disturb Judeans: by introducing military images at night under cover and by securing Jerusalem's water supply. When his efforts faced surprising opposition, he could be quickly moved by a courageous show of Judean opposition. If, however, we realize that Judeans' death-defying courage is a root theme in *Bellum Judaicum* and that the standards and aqueduct stories are highly stylized to be a matching pair in diction and structure, that Josephus changes his perspective in *Antiquities* 18 to become more accusatory of the prefect while reworking the same stories (*AJ* 18.55–62), that Philo's account (*Legat.* 299–308) of a similar incident involves shields *without images* and yet presents Pilate as a hostile figure, in contrast to an emperor who plainly accommodates Judean concerns, and that the Gospels tend to make him a virtual saint in the trial of Jesus (in contrast to their hostile Judeans),²⁸ then we realize that Pilate inspired a wide range of portraits. Some differences, such as Josephus' shift of perspective or the Gospels' varied accounts along a trajectory, are best explained at the literary level. The point is that only when we understand the tendencies and capabilities of each narrative, in the way it refashions other material, are we in a position to produce a responsible reconstruction of the real person who inspired these pictures. We shall not emphasize, for example, features in a narrative that have little claim to reflect the real person.

Our hypothetical image of the historical Pilate will need to account, then, for the literary portraits and the material evidence, and also fit with—or modify—our general picture of how such officials functioned in Roman provincial governance. A good hypothesis will, for example, explain how Pilate remained so long in office under Tiberius (hard to imagine if he were incompetent) and the purpose of the images on his coins. Why would the auxiliary standards and Jerusalem's aqueduct be part of his responsibility, and how would such an official be expected to handle these issues in relation to the local elites under his administration? Clearly, we shall never reach certainty in such imagining. In my view, however, the act of trying to understand the surviving evidence and trying to explain it *is* history. This is a view of history as

28 See Winter, *Trial*.

an activity—"inquiry"—akin to science, not as a static body of assured knowledge, the way we often learn it in school.

The Neuserian model, of studying each kind of evidence separately before moving to historical reconstruction, now provides a standard in the field, in contrast to the older synthetic approach of Schürer.²⁹

Notwithstanding that general development, a juicier example of the stakes in historical method remains in the case of Josephus' Essenes. This group has been known continuously since the first century, because three independent and roughly contemporary authors described them with fascination and in some detail: Philo, Pliny, and Josephus. Consider just one historical question concerning the Essenes: whether they married. Josephus is the only source who includes a note (*BJ* 2.160–161) to the effect that some Essenes married. Otherwise, even he agrees (*BJ* 2.120; *AJ* 18.20–21) with the emphatic claims of Philo (*Hypothetica* apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11.2–3, 14–15) and Pliny (*Nat.* 5.73) that Essenes do not admit women, and indeed this is one of their most outstanding traits. What should we say, then, about the historical Essenes? Did some of them marry or not?

On this question, as on others concerning the Essenes, scholars still tend to bypass the contextual interpretation of each account to move directly to a synthesis with external reference points. Assuming that Essenes produced the community rules from Qumran, in this case, they find a connection between Josephus' marrying Essenes and the *Damascus Covenant* (CD), which assumes a community of families only, as also between Josephus' singletons and 1QS, which mainly seems to assume a bachelor community, though it does not address the issue of marriage. This approach yields a superficially neat historical picture: "Both the Scrolls and the classical sources suggest that there were two basic types of Essenes, a celibate group ... and another variety, whose representatives married and had children."³⁰ That single note in *BJ* 2.160–61 becomes the voice of the classical sources, which then agree with Hebrew scrolls (which, however, say nothing about Essenes).

If, by contrast, we attend first to each source on its own, we are likely to judge the historical possibilities differently. Philo, Pliny, and Josephus give significant attention to the Essenes, each independently for his own purposes:

29 E.g., for Pilate see Bond, *Pontius Pilate*; for John the Baptist, Taylor, *The Immerser*, and Marcus, *John the Baptist*; Sievers and Levine, *The Pharisees*; and as a general approach to the history of ancient Judea, Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*.

30 Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 80; so also Sanders, *Judaism*, 344; Beall *Josephus' Description*, 38–39; D.R. Schwartz, *Reading the First Century*, 91–93.

Philo and Josephus are laudatory, while Pliny seems bemused. Pliny mentions them chiefly *because* their distinctive practice of celibacy is so weird, though he observes that it permits them to flourish in Judea, in sharp contrast to their now barren surroundings after 70: ruined Jerusalem and En Gedi as well as the massive rotten Judean lake (the Dead Sea). Philo, by contrast, in several portraits (*Prob.* 75–91, a lost account mentioned in *Contempl.* 1, and another lost text quoted by Eusebius), sees them as moral giants and “athletes of virtue.” Their extraordinary commitment to celibacy is a basic part of that picture (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11.1–15). All of his portraits assume that they are male communities. Josephus provides substantial new information. He too emphasizes Essene celibacy and the reasons for it, both at the beginning of his main account (*BJ* 2.120–121), and when he reprises that in *AJ* 18.20–21, declaring in the latter passage that Essenes are *males* and “do not take in wives or acquire slaves (ἄνδρες ... ὄντες. καὶ οὔτε γαμετὰς εἰσάγονται οὔτε δούλων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν κτήσιν),” but live alone and take care of each other.

If we ask how ancient readers would have understood Josephus, we have a further clue in Porphyry’s third-century *De Abstinencia* (4.11–13). Porphyry’s larger topic is abstention from animal food, and he praises Judeans in general for their rejection of certain meats. But his admiration leads him to zero in on the Essenes as representative of Judean values. He quotes the whole of Josephus’ main description almost verbatim—omitting only the remark at the end about a marrying group. As far as Porphyry and his readers are concerned, and in keeping with the earlier accounts, Essenes formed disciplined celibate male communities in Judea.

None of this means that we may simply ignore Josephus’ note about the marrying kind (*BJ* 2.160–161). We must first interpret it and then ponder its historical value. When we try to understand it as part of *War*’s narrative, paying attention to his structures, rhetoric, and communication with his audiences, it presents a number of problems. Most obviously, it is hard to explain in light of his emphasis on Essene celibacy, which has governed the entire preceding description (2.119–159). He does *not* say, as scholars often suppose: “There are *two kinds* of Essenes. Let me first describe the celibate kind and then those who marry.” No, he introduces Essenes as a single group, and describes their whole way of life on the premise that they are celibate. After explaining their reasons for this discipline (*viz.*, they do not trust women) and the practical consequences (they must adopt others’ children), it is hard to understand how he can so casually and vaguely add: “And by the way, some Essenes do marry and have children—but they are like the others in every other way.” A matrimonial option completely undermines the picture he has painted. And it contradicts his later summary description (*AJ* 18.21), according to which Essenes take no

wives—with no exceptions. How could he write that, if he knew about two kinds of Essenes?

Second, the endnote on marrying Essenes cannot be correct in claiming that such Essenes are “of one mind with the others in life-regimen, customs, and ordinances,” with the sole exception that they marry and raise children (*BJ* 2.160). His preceding description—the three-year initiation (one to prove self-control, two years sharing only holy water), surrender of all property to the quarter-master, regular travel from one Essene community to another, rising before sunrise for prayers to the sun, hard labors before communal meals taken in absolute silence, defecation (not allowed on sabbaths) into ad hoc pits dug in remote places—is conceivable (and hardly then) only with the adult male community the passage assumes. Anyone who has raised children knows that an image of Essene families following all these prescriptions would be absurd. Since he does not trouble to explain *how* Essene couples with children manage, but describes only celibate communities as the Essene way (as Philo does), his off-hand claim about others who live in precisely the same way, except with wives and children, sounds artificial and historically implausible.

Third, we then face the problem that his earlier and later insistence on Essene celibacy is independently attested in Philo and Pliny. Such attestation is rare in ancient history, and when we find it we treat it as a valuable clue to what really happened. Since Josephus mainly agrees with those two independent observers, that Essenes were celibate, his artificial-sounding remark in *BJ* 2.160–161 is all the more peculiar.

These interpretative observations prompt a straightforward historical question, namely: which hypothesis, that of celibate or marrying Essenes, better explains the evidence?

Imagining that Josephus made something up to qualify what he has already said in *War* 2 presents no problems in principle. He makes up all kinds of things and offers countless afterthoughts throughout the corpus.³¹ We would need only a plausible reason for his doing so. If we ask why he might have wished to add here (only) a claim that some Essenes married, we are not

31 All of *War*'s major speeches, though they have crucial functions in the narrative, are generally held to be Josephus' free compositions. Of the many passages that reflect ad hoc needs never seamlessly integrated, I might mention, from *BJ* 4: his portrait of Vespasian leading the charge and losing his bearings at Gamala (4.30–36), then criticizing his soldiers for doing that (4.44–48); an anonymous rogue Zealot's alleged indictment of all his comrades for doing things Josephus has attributed to the Idumeans, while persuading the Idumeans to leave and not be tainted by Zealot crimes (4.346–352 with 300–344); and the Idumeans' alleged departure en masse (4.353–354), though they evidently remain (4.566).

completely at a loss. Josephus has given the Essenes by far the greatest press among his “three schools,” before dismissing Pharisees and Sadducees in a couple of sentences. His Essenes, like Philo’s, are model Judeans and human beings. They anticipate much of what he will say about *all* Judeans in *Contra Apionem*. In that loving description, the oft-married father Josephus even identifies himself with Essene values, claiming that anyone who has tasted their philosophy finds it irresistible (*BJ* 2.158), obviously implying that he has tasted it (cf. *Vita* 10–11).

The obvious problem in making these champions of virtue representative of the whole *ethnos* and implying his affiliation is, then, that their celibate life marks them as unrepresentative. A critic might well reply: “That’s all admirable, but they must be an extraordinary group. You can’t expect us to believe that *you* or Judeans in general share such values.” It is thus not difficult, at the *purely literary level*, to imagine why Josephus might have added a vague claim about marrying Essenes after his main description. It casts a fuzzy glow over a large segment of the Judean populace, in support of his purposes in *Bellum Judaicum*: to present his people as tough and virtuous (*BJ* 1.1–8). He does not expect his audiences to ask the pesky questions that historians today pose, about how marrying Essenes could have functioned.

Which hypothesis, then, best explains the surviving evidence, once we have considered it in context? We can simply test them for their explanatory power. Either (1) it was the observable reality that there were two kinds of Essenes, marrying and celibate, and Josephus alone recalls that truth momentarily in *BJ* 2; or (2) Essenes were known to be celibate, as he also emphasizes, but the particular character of the long description in *BJ* 2 led him to make up a saving paragraph about marrying Essenes. If we formulate the question this way, we see that the two-kinds hypothesis would leave most of the evidence unexplained. If it were known that only some Essenes were celibate while others married, how and why would Philo, Pliny, and Josephus have written what they did? It would make no sense. The hypothesis that Essenes were known to be celibate, by contrast, would explain *all* the evidence without remainder—on the easily satisfied condition that Josephus’ vague note on marrying Essenes is his passing literary creation (whether or not we have the perfect explanation of his motives for it). It is easier to explain a discordant note in one author than to discount a crucial point on which three independent authors agree. The Qumran Scrolls would come into the discussion, of course, only if they were otherwise known to be Essene.

To conclude this part: interpreting Josephus (or coins, inscriptions, archaeology, or other texts) is a necessary first step in historical investigation *because* we shall eventually need to explain what has survived. This is the justification

for separating interpretation of Josephus (and every kind of surviving evidence) from the reconstruction of events and conditions. The remainder of this essay will unpack the main elements of interpretation with further examples.

3 Composition (Structures and Themes)

We have observed that before about the 1970s, scholars rarely saw a need to interpret Josephus' works as wholes, considering their structures, literary themes, or audience perceptions. To be sure, in 1896 Benedictus Niese offered outlines of each of Josephus' works, but as with Schürer (above) this was limited to a sketch of the contents. Horst Moehring, beginning with his 1957 dissertation, was possibly the first to call for attention to the narrative character of Josephus' compositions, though his few publications applied this principle to parts of *Antiquities* and still not to holistic interpretation. In the 1970s, Helgo Lindner sought a consistent thematic outlook in *Bellum Judaicum*, while granting that much of the work may have been copied from sources, through its main speeches. Soon afterward, Harold Attridge offered a thematic reading of the biblical paraphrase (*AJ* 1–11). More deliberately than any predecessor, Per Bilde (1988) tried to identify structures and coherent themes in all of Josephus' works. I had not seen his book when I submitted my dissertation (in 1986), which attempted to contribute to the then-vibrant quest for the historical Pharisees by isolating *Josephus'* Pharisees as a distinct, compositional object of investigation, a necessary preliminary to historical reconstruction.³²

The Pharisees are another good example of the historical stakes involved in the interpretation-reconstruction relationship. When I began my research, the historical Pharisees were a hot topic because the old ways of seeing them—Christian scholars via the Gospels, Jewish scholars via rabbinic literature, and everyone making assumptions about which other texts were Pharisaic or anti-Pharisaic—had been exposed as futile. In the back-to-the-drawing-board atmosphere that the 1970s generated,³³ scholars realized that one needed to put aside speculations about whether *Psalms of Solomon*, *Jubilees*, and other texts were Pharisaic, to interpret each of the accounts that drew from contemporary evidence (in the New Testament, early rabbinic literature, and Josephus) before sketching a picture of the group. Josephus' accounts took on increasing

32 Niese, "Der jüdische Historiker;" Moehring, "Novelistic Elements," "Joseph ben Matthia;" Lindner, *Geschichtsauffassung*; Attridge, *Interpretation*; Bilde, *Flavius Josephus*; Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*.

33 Encapsulated by Neusner, *Politics to Piety*, and Rivkin, *Hidden Revolution*.

importance, then, as an undoubtedly contemporary witness that mediated between the traditional Jewish and Christian texts. If it seems remarkable that his work was relatively ignored, while scholars undertook careful studies of Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts or rabbinic literature on the Pharisees, that was a symptom of his image at the time as a bland data-source with no coherent point of view.

At the time, moreover, it was universally believed that Josephus either was a Pharisee or he postured as one in his later works—to align himself with the embryonic rabbinic movement at Yavneh. Thackeray's translation of *Vita* 12 in the Loeb edition was the lynch-pin of the impression that Josephus claimed to have investigated Judea's three "schools" and then chosen the Pharisees (emphasis added): "With him [Bannus] I lived for three years and, having accomplished my purpose, returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees (καὶ διατρίψας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον. ἔννεακαιδέκατον δ' ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῆ Φαρισαίων αἰρέσει κατακολουθῶν)." This understanding of Josephus' language had also served as a lever for source-critical readings of his works. That is, if Josephus were a Pharisee, who knew and supported that prominent Judean group, he could not have written either the passages describing all three schools in Greek philosophical terms or those that portray Pharisees in hostile language. These must have been copied from a source that did not share Josephus' own views, such as Nicolaus of Damascus, or been added by imagined ghost-writers.³⁴

By the 1970s, the source-critical approach to Josephus' works had largely yielded to a biographical one (above): the main changes from *Bellum Judaicum* to *Antiquitates Judaicae* were thought to be due to shifting political allegiances, from Flavian propagandist to defender of Judean culture.³⁵ For understanding Josephus' Pharisees, this approach held that Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* had little to say about the group because in pre-70 Judea Pharisees were a negligible presence, in which Josephus naturally had little interest. By the time of *Antiquitates-Vita* (93–94 CE), however, the small but influential group, after the collapse of the temple and its priesthood, were anchoring the new rabbinic movement. Therefore, Josephus gave them much more play in

34 E.g. Hölischer, "Josephus," 1936 (Josephus was a Pharisee; therefore his hostile portraits come from sources); Moore, "Fate and Free Will," 383–84 (portraits of philosophical schools "taken directly from Nicolaus"); D.R. Schwartz, "Josephus and Nicolaus," 158 (passages hostile to Pharisees can hardly come from Josephus, who claimed to be a Pharisee).

35 Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker*; Rasp, "Flavius Josephus," Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*. Tuval, *Jerusalem Priest*, is a recent biographical interpretation of Josephus' works, though arguing for a transition from Palestinian to Diaspora Jew.

Antiquitates-Vita: from a combination of self-interest—hoping to gain favor with the movement’s leaders—and a wish to commend the group to rather nebulous “Roman authorities.”³⁶ Note the absence here of any clear conception of his audiences in Rome, or of how he reached them. The inconvenient hostility toward Pharisees in much of *Antiquitates-Vita* could also be explained as *internal* Pharisaic bickering, with Josephus complaining about his party colleagues. But his alleged claim to be a Pharisee (*Vita* 12) remained decisive for interpretation.

The compositional method attempted to understand Josephus’ descriptions of Pharisees first in terms of each work’s purposes, themes, and language. For example, his frequent observation that Pharisees were reputed to interpret the laws with accuracy (δοκέω with a cognate of ἀκριβεία: *BJ* 1.110; 2.162; *AJ* 17.41; *Vita* 191), which had usually been taken to indicate his approval of the group, turns out to be implicit criticism, as the stories following such claims confirm. Josephus asserts the mere appearance of accuracy in other contexts too (*BJ* 1.406; *AJ* 2.132; 20.43; *CA* 1.18, 67; 2.227). Like others who seem to, or have the reputation of being, careful, Pharisees do not *actually* interpret the laws accurately—that lies with the priests, whom Moses entrusted with legal interpretation—but they are popularly thought to do so. My contextual interpretation argued that Josephus’ descriptions of Pharisees as actors in Judean society are uniformly hostile, not in the sense that every phrase exudes venom, but in the sense that understanding their place in his narratives, and reading them as his first audiences would—taking cues from signpost statements and paying attention to the nuances of his language—create a coherently disparaging, distancing picture. He concedes that Pharisees are one of the three established schools, alongside Sadducees (whom he also dislikes) and Essenes (whom he adores), but this is not relevant to his portraits of the Pharisees’ (or Sadducees’) involvement in events, which contrast with his uniformly admiring accounts of Essenes. He repeatedly contrasts the Pharisees’ *reputation* for piety and scriptural expertise with their self-serving and even murderous behavior.

The aristocrat Josephus grudgingly concedes, however, that the common people love the Pharisees. He makes this point vividly in his accounts of Queen Alexandra Salome (in both *BJ* 1.110–114 and *AJ* 13.400–432), who temporarily succeeds—prolonging Hasmonean rule before its rapid collapse—*because* she restores the Pharisees’ principles of jurisprudence, decades after John

36 E.g., Smith, “Palestinian Judaism;” Neusner, *Politics to Piety*; Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, 140, 144–151; S. Schwartz, 170–208 (Josephus’ later works are generally sympathetic toward Pharisees-rabbis, though he allows contrary source material to stand).

Hyrchanus had abandoned them, allowing them control of internal affairs. This is how she wins over the populace, which her husband Alexander Janneus has alienated. Josephus presents this move, in some detail, as an origin-story. It explains how the present situation in Judea came to be. He drives the same point home when he describes the Sadducees (*AJ* 13.297–298; 18.15–17). The latter are often men of quality and standing, he says, but they are few and based in the aristocracy, and thus lack popular esteem. When they enter *polis* leadership, therefore, they must “yield to what the Pharisee says” (*AJ* 18.17). If they do not—like Alexander Jannaeus of old—the masses will not tolerate them.

This understanding of Josephus’ overall portraits of the group prompted a rethink of *Vita* 12, the place where he supposedly declares his Pharisaic allegiance. Closer examination casts doubt on Thackeray’s influential reading, to the effect that Josephus tried all the schools and opted for the Pharisees. His words do not quite say that. He reports that he tried all three schools and, being *unsatisfied* with any of them (*Vita* 10), went off to spend years with Bannus in the desert (*Vita* 11). *That* experience finally satisfied his yearning for a truly philosophical life: they lived on food that grew by itself, took only frigid baths in nature, and followed a harsh, toughening discipline. After that sublime period of youthful self-discovery, at age 19 Josephus returned to the *polis* to assume his adult responsibilities (εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον)—a shift that would be well understood by Roman audiences (*Vita* 12). This necessarily meant, for a young man of his status, beginning to participate in *polis* governance (ἡρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι)—leading to the diplomatic mission he next describes in illustration (*V* 13–16). He adds in a subordinate clause that this engagement in Jerusalem’s leadership entailed compliance with the Pharisees (τῆ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν). The simplest interpretation of this remark, I argued, is not that he *became* a Pharisee or claimed to do so—any more than the Sadducees of *AJ* 18.17 became Pharisees when they entered public office. He has clearly explained that political life requires submission to the Pharisees’ ways. That is all he needs to be saying here. In accepting his adult civic responsibilities, he had to put aside true philosophy (not found in any of the schools) and defer to the Pharisees’ interpretation of the laws.

If this interpretation has merit, it has significant historical implications, not because we simply believe anything Josephus writes but because we differently understand what a historical hypothesis needs to explain. Instead of seeing Josephus as a Pharisee, and reading Pharisaism through him, or as one who lately wished to identify with the Pharisees, which would support a certain view of events at Yavneh and Rome’s involvement with them, we find an aristocrat looking down on Pharisees from lofty heights as a popular group. This (if valid) is a valuable perspective, to compare with those of early rabbinic texts

and the Gospels. Josephus also remarks that Sadducees were harsh in punishments, whereas Pharisees tended toward leniency (*AJ* 13.293–295; 20.199), and Josephus himself, though not a Sadducee, favors harshness (*AJ* 4.260–264; *CA* 2.214–215, 228, 234, 276–277).

If we now imagine the historical Pharisees in a way that would explain the evidence understood this way, we might imagine that they had a reputation for legal precision, as Josephus concedes (without agreeing), not because they were looking to catch people out—as Mark and Matthew mistakenly assume—but because Pharisees were devoted to helping ordinary folk live by the law of Moses. This also meant protecting them from the Pentateuch's prescriptions for capital and corporal punishments. Knowing the laws precisely, in the way of a good defense lawyer, enabled them to argue that the Torah's conditions for severe punishment had not been met—the very approach taken also in Mishnah *Sanhedrin*. Wealthy aristocrats, such as Josephus or Sadducees, might have favored less amelioration and a more direct application of the laws as written because they were far less likely to be convicted of ordinary crimes.³⁷ We might even reach the surprising conclusion that the Christian composition known as Luke-Acts, writing from a more bottom-up viewpoint and locating Jesus among the poor and powerless, which portrays Pharisees as Jesus' regular associates, treats them more favorably not only than Mark and Matthew, but also than the Judean Josephus from his elevated perch.³⁸

Here is a different kind of example of the stakes in interpretation before historical use. It is commonly held that Josephus' extensive Roman material in *AJ* 18–19, especially the speech of the consul Cn. Sentius Saturninus after the death of Gaius Caligula, was borrowed wholesale from Roman sources, perhaps in part to fill out the twenty-volume work with miscellaneous material.³⁹ Peter Wiseman regards much of *AJ* 19, for example, as “an authentic contemporary Roman view, a generation earlier than Tacitus, of the events that brought about the change” from an image of Rome as Senate and People to that of Senate, People, and Army.⁴⁰

By contrast, if compositional study showed that Josephus composed this part of the *Antiquities* in the same way he composed the rest, if he wrote the Roman consul's speech in *AJ* 19.166–184 as he wrote the scores of other speeches in his works, we would treat it as a different kind of evidence. Josephus was only

37 Since at least Roman times, the wealthy and well-placed have rarely been subject to criminal proceedings (cf. the 160,000+ prisoners sent from Britain to Australia as prisoners to 1868), though modern democracies work hard to show that the law is the same for all.

38 Cf. Mason, “Chief Priests.”

39 Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian*, 68; Wiseman, *Death of Caligula*.

40 Wiseman, *Death of Caligula*, xiv.

four years old when Gaius was assassinated, and lived his pre-school years in Jerusalem. So he must have used sources when he came to write about Gaius' death, as indeed for nearly everything in his narratives. The question is whether he bodily preserved an earlier Roman account or whether he reworked his sources for his purposes. It turns out that the speech of Sentius, if we study its diction and rhetoric, includes a number of terms and themes that (1) are distinctive to Josephus and/or to *Antiquities* 17–19 and (2) continue his programmatic discussions of governance in Books 1 to 6. This is enough to suggest that we should regard this part of his work not as a primary source fortunately preserved intact from the 40s CE, but as the creation of an engaged participant in discussions about monarchy, tyranny, and succession (cf. *AJ* 1.14, 20) late in the Flavian period, under Domitian's tyranny, who reworks whatever sources he had for his purposes. It may be, for example, that some of his emphases in relation to tyranny and aristocracy were not spoken just this way in the 40s, but support his oblique, safe critique of monarchy in both Judea and Rome.

4 Josephus' Audience (Auditors, Impressions of Words, Tone, Assumptions, Irony)

The most tenaciously widespread impression of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, since Laqueur and Thackeray in the 1920s, is that Josephus wrote both the work's Aramaic predecessor and then the Greek translation (more or less) as Flavian-Roman propaganda, for vaguely defined readerships that included leaders in the Parthian Empire. But consideration of the nature and constraints of first-century book publication drive home the need to think more carefully about the way in which Josephus brought his work to public notice. Obviously, he could not send his manuscript to a publisher with an international mailing list, whose marketers would then reach target audiences all over the known world. The means and mechanisms of ancient "publication" left him no choice but first to reach out to people in his immediate social environment in Rome.

The general point, which is well known in connection with other Roman literature,⁴¹ is confirmed by what Josephus himself says about the people who first received copies of his *Bellum Judaicum* (*CA* 1.51); by the prologue to *Bellum*, which reacts against the appalling accounts of the war that he is hearing in Rome, in the present tense—accounts written by regime-flatterers and bigots (*BJ* 1.1–8); by the prologue to *Antiquities*, which names Epaphroditus as the

41 E.g., Starr, "Circulation;" Salles, *Lire à Rome*; R. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature*; Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture*.

head of a local circle that has been leaning on Josephus to complete that work; and by several other considerations. For example, comparison of the introductory prospectus of *Bellum's* contents in *BJ* 1.22–29, which he wrote to stimulate audience interest, with the actual contents of *Bellum* shows that the prospectus highlights, for Roman audiences, what he thinks will sound familiar and not off-putting: famous Romans and their actions. This prospectus omits the main content of the later volumes, concerning Judean leaders and their actions (even his own brilliant career in Galilee), which he will introduce gradually after winning the audience's trust.

Second, he repeatedly begs off describing Roman affairs in detail on the ground that they are familiar to his audience and he must stick mainly to his Judean subject matter. For example, at *BJ* 4.492–496 on Nero's recent reign and the following civil war:

To speak of this—the way in which he abused the governing power, when he entrusted the commonwealth to those consummate contemptibles, Nymphidius and Tigellenus, and the contemptible types among his freedmen; how, when he had been plotted against by these men he was abandoned by all his guards and, after running off to the suburbs with four of the trusted freedmen, he did away with himself, and not much later those who had undone him paid the penalty; the war in Galatia [Gaul] as it wound up, and how Galba returned to Rome from Hispania after being proclaimed *imperator*; how, after he was treacherously murdered in the middle of the Roman forum upon being accused of mean-spiritedness by his soldiers, Otho was proclaimed *imperator*; the undoing of this man's campaign by the generals of Vitellius, and after that the disturbances under Vitellius and the clash around the Capitolium, as Antonius Primus and Mucianus brought an end to the internecine war by destroying Vitellius and the German legions—all these things I have declined to go through with precision, since that is burdensome to everyone and many Greeks as well as Romans have written them up. Nevertheless, both for the sake of connectedness of events, and so as not to break up the history, I have noted each point summarily.

He had done much the same in *BJ* 2.248–251, running through the reigns of Claudius and Nero, but declining to go into them, while assuring his Roman audience that he knows a great deal about these matters. He respects them too much, however, to elaborate on events that are so recent and familiar. He has the discipline to stay on point with the subject in which he is uniquely expert.

Notice also *BJ* 4.599, which mentions Vespasian's older brother and son in Rome, whom Vespasian's soldiers highlight as crucial for supporting the

Flavian cause, but without naming them. Had Josephus been writing about characters in Judea, he could not have done this. He regularly mentions Judean names, even when they go nowhere in the narrative. But his Flavian audience know very well who the brother and younger son of the current ruler are—Vespasian's tragic older brother Sabinus and the problem-teenager Domitian—and he need not state the obvious. He does casually name them 50 sections later because it is efficient to do so then, after they have become part of the story (*BJ* 4.645, 646), though still without the introductions he provides even for such prominent Judeans as high priests.

Once we begin to think of *Bellum Judaicum* as an effort to communicate with Greek-capable cultural elites in Rome, therefore also as a Roman history in that sense, it becomes difficult to sustain the traditional view of it as Flavian propaganda. To take just one example, if Josephus' passages concerning Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian were written to people who knew little of these men, at least parts of them could be read as moderately flattering: Josephus' emphasis on Vespasian's military competence, Titus' über-niceness, and the alleged trembling of the German tribes felt at 18-year-old Domitian's approach (*BJ* 7.85–88). For audiences well acquainted with the Flavians and their far more extravagant boasts in Rome, however, all elaborated by the very historians Josephus is challenging for their obsequiousness, his portraits of the family look very different, restrained, and even potentially critical. A well-informed audience in Flavian Rome would notice the details.

To begin with, the *Bellum Judaicum* undermines the central Flavian claim to have conquered a foreign people: a boast that justified their joint triumph and perhaps the extension of the *pomerium*, along with their claim to have brought such staggering foreign wealth to Rome that they could build the Flavian Amphitheatre from it. For Josephus, this is patent nonsense. The Judeans have been happy allies of Rome since their conquest by Pompey 130 years ago. The Romans know Judea, their elites, and their royal family very well. The recent war was not the Roman *conquest* of a foreign people, but a function of two *civil wars* intersecting, one in Rome and the other in Jerusalem.

Second, Josephus demolishes the Flavian claim that Tiberius Julius Alexander, Prefect of Egypt in 66 CE, independently endorsed Vespasian on 1 July 69, setting off a chain-reaction of later acclamations. Whereas Vespasian back-dated his *dies imperii* to 1 July on this basis (*Tacitus, Hist.* 2.79), Josephus relates that Vespasian was actually acclaimed by his own soldiers in Judea first. He then *wrote to Alexander* to solicit his support (*BJ* 4.616), a rather more pedestrian claim, analogous to the difference between being nominated for a prize and nominating oneself.

Many aspects of Josephus' portraits of Vespasian and Titus might look fishy to an audience competent enough to read between the lines. He is not overtly

disrespectful, of course, but his vignettes might raise questions to knowledgeable readers. Vespasian appears as a serial dissembler, who, although he is undoubtedly a tough character, seems unduly terrified of accepting acclamation, preferring a passive-aggressive simmer at Vitellius' accession, and then being afraid of winter travel to Rome—when it is nowhere near winter, and his Flavian forces will arrive there still in autumn (*BJ* 4.585–604, 619–650). His soldiers hail him as *imperator* with the expectation that he will lead them against Vitellius, but he suddenly becomes fascinated by Alexandria. When he wakes up to the importance of fighting in Italy, he sends Mucianus to do the dirty work while he waits in Alexandria for nearly a year, until the situation in Rome is settled. Josephus' Titus is a different sort altogether, a terribly kind and forgiving young man, personally brave but almost criminally gullible. As for Domitian, the story of German tribes trembling at his approach is funny to anyone who knows the stories circulating in Rome about the eighteen-year-old's arrogance, which infuriated his father, demanding a role he could not handle against the wishes of senior commanders, who had to keep him in check.

Investigating how Josephus reached his audiences, and where and who those audiences were, will affect our understanding of what Josephus meant to say and therefore how we use his work. If he were the regime mouthpiece of common imagination, we would use his *Bellum* in one way. If we find him pushing against regime claims, as a Judean statesman, we shall understand differently not only what his work says and means, but also the range of possibilities for foreign elites living in Rome. Josephus' situation might give rise to many more questions about how such people lived and interacted in the world capital.

5 Messages (Historiography, Devices, Speeches, Textual Irony)

The preceding discussion suggests what might be called audience-dependent irony. That is, Josephus does not say everything he means, but assumes his audience's knowledge (as all speakers and especially comedians do), for example of current Flavian propaganda, to make his points without the dangers of explication. A different kind of irony does not depend on audience knowledge because it is created in the text itself.

For example, *Vita* 22 claims that, since Josephus and his peers knew that they could not persuade those who had been radicalized by the abuses in Jerusalem to put aside their anger and arms, they *pretended* to go along with them. Josephus here creates a deliberate, consciously entered atmosphere of double games, which thereafter pervade the narrative. No one says what he

actually thinks. From John of Gischala and Justus of Tiberias to the delegation sent from Jerusalem and Josephus himself, everyone is desperately deploying rhetoric to achieve his aims by plausible-sounding dissimulation. This deceptive program was not so explicit in *Bellum Judaicum*, though it is clear enough there too: when Josephus finds himself preparing Galilee's defenses even though he knows that the Romans are unbeatable, when he asks Jerusalem's leaders to send forces he knows they do not have, and when he tries to flee Iotapata on the pretext (as he admits to the literary audience) that he is going to bring help or serve as a decoy.

Such pervasive deception, woven into the narrative fabric, would preclude historical uses that read such passages as transparent reflections of reality. For example, at *Vita* 65 Josephus relates that when he reached Tiberias, a town that he has just explained was riven by pro- and anti-Agrippa sentiment (v 31–43), he “began saying” that he had been sent by Jerusalem's leaders to demolish Agrippa's royal residence because it contained forbidden images. If this were mere reportage, one might well conclude that both Jerusalem's leaders and Josephus were radical champions of nationalist ideals, finally ready after centuries to throw off both imperial and Herodian rule.⁴² But is that the most plausible reading of the passage—leaving aside historical realities for a moment—in terms of Josephus' meaning? When we consider that he has framed *Vita* as a world of dissimulation, in which leaders must pretend to follow popular impulses, that no such order from Jerusalem has been mentioned (and it would be implausible in the context), that Josephus introduces his assertion outside Tiberias with the same verb (λέγω) that he used of his dissimulation program at *Vita* 22, and that he shows no interest in actually attacking the palace—but rather immediately leaves town, becomes furious when others act on his alleged program, and undertakes to return the plunder to King Agrippa (v 67–68, 130–131)—then his claim about the images looks like an intended trick to keep a restive populace onside, just as nearly every speech in *Vita* is a deception (cf. 141–142). If that is so, then Josephus is not accidentally disclosing an embarrassing historical truth here, but illustrating his clever efforts to win over the populace. This one temporarily backfired, so convincing was it.

More generally, scholars have argued that Josephus' apparent contradictions in *Bellum Judaicum* expose glaring, uncomfortable historical truths that he tried to conceal. For example, he claims that Ananus and the Jerusalem leaders

42 E.g., Luther, *Josephus und Justus*, 17–18; Laqueur, *Historiker*, 39–40; Drexler, “Untersuchungen,” 297–298; Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 218; Price, *Jerusalem under Siege*, 32; Vogel, “Bilderverbot.”

did not really want war, as he did not, and yet they all eagerly prepared for it (*BJ* 2.648–651; 4.320–324). Many scholars have concluded that these *actions* belie Josephus' *claims* and show that most of Jerusalem's leadership was truly committed to rebellion against Rome.⁴³ The principle here is not a bad one. The need to seek out incidental or "unintentional evidence," which contradicts a witness' main claims, is fundamental to critical investigation of the past.⁴⁴ When a defendant in a tax fraud case claims a lack of current funds, but incidentally mentions going to a concert, tickets for which are discovered to cost \$1,000, an alert investigator will seize on the inconsistency between statement and action. But to prove someone's real intentions, investigators need corroborative evidence. If we seem to find ourselves knee-deep in evidence that contradicts an author's aims, and that evidence looks programmatic, deliberate, and carefully crafted, we should ask whether we have adequately characterized the author's aims in the first place. For if it is abundant and deliberate, part of the crafted presentation, evidence obviously has no value as accidental.

The complexities that face all political leaders in times of crisis are well captured by Polybius' reactions to Rome's arrival in Achaëa in the mid-second century BCE. Polybius, one of Josephus' known inspirations, contrasts Philopoemen, who thought that Roman demands should be resisted as far as possible but accepted when resistance became dangerous, with Aristaenus, who thought it safer for a subject state to capitulate from the start, even anticipating the great power's demands. Polybius held that both men had the interests of their people at heart and both were virtuous, though Philopoemen was more deserving of admiration for the courage of his position. Much of Polybius' *Histories* is about the spectrum of responses to Rome's arrival in the East, embodied not least in the author's own career and multi-layered perspectives.⁴⁵ Josephus' contemporary Plutarch, who had read his Polybius and wrote a *Life of Philopoemen*, which notes that even the Romans admired that man for championing his people (*Phil.* 1.4: "the last of the Greeks"), also wrote an essay on statesmanship under Roman rule. This (*Precepts of Statecraft*) recognized the tightrope that provincial politicians had to walk: recognizing popular sentiment and seeming to embrace it while working quietly to steer a disgruntled populace to a safe harbor, and not attracting Roman legionary medicine for internal ills.⁴⁶ Josephus' portraits of Jerusalem's leaders

43 E.g., Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, 186; Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 20–21; Price, *Jerusalem under Siege*, 186.

44 See Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, 61, 64; Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 25, 265–282.

45 See e.g., Eckstein, *Moral Vision*, 194–236.

46 See Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, and Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, for detailed discussion of the many nuanced Greek responses to Rome's *imperium* and national self-respect from Josephus' time onward.

and of his own position fit the conditions described by Polybius and Plutarch. Political leaders did not have the luxury of speaking their minds in earnest, but had to lead the populace and *gradually* bend them to their will, even if this required deception and stratagem.

I am not suggesting that Josephus' descriptions of Ananus and himself are accurate, or reflect just what they felt at the time. But they are plausible characterizations for Josephus to have formulated, and not as contradictory as they may seem to scholars in western democracies. If that complexity was precisely what Josephus was going for, again, we have no basis for extracting part of his description (they prepared defenses) as though it contradicted his purposes and was accidentally left as a clue to realities that he was trying to obscure. Again, the interpretation of Josephus' works as compositions, prepared in particular contexts and assuming certain audience knowledge and values, is a necessary preliminary to using them for historical reconstruction.

6 Conclusion: "The Meaning" of Josephus' Works

Meaning, it is trite to observe, is inexhaustible. People will always find new meaning in Josephus' works, as in any other text. This is normal and welcome. But we need criteria to distinguish more and less plausible interpretations. We shall only be able to argue for some kind of meaning if we can formulate the criteria it satisfies. An extreme reader-response position, for example, might hold that narratives offer material for any readers, at any time, to find their own meaning from impressions and purely private connections, as the viewers of a painting might see ever new things that the painter never imagined. Since no picture of historical reality hangs on any particular interpretation—a painter may hope to inspire infinitely varied responses—articulation of strong criteria may be undesirable. In the field that has become Josephus research, it sometimes appears that interpretative criteria are in this vein: each scholar reacts to Josephus' passages in a unique way and uses them for purposes that other scholars cannot follow.

In this chapter I have not tried to provide an objective description of Josephus research or what it should be—an impossible aim. I have rather proposed a reference point for discussions of the uses of Josephus later in this volume. Namely, I have argued that it is worth trying to interpret Josephus before using his work in reconstruction of lost events and conditions, and that it is reasonable to adopt shared criteria for such interpretation.

My proposed starting point is simple and conservative: that Josephus wrote to communicate with first-century audiences. If he did, then an obvious first step is to figure out what he wished to communicate. Although we shall never

recover that experience in anything like its original vitality and richness, it is a basic consideration if we ask *what* Josephus meant. The idea is not that his audiences' possible impressions could somehow decide what he meant, if we knew them. Rather, he provides abundant clues and cues for interpretation in his programmatic passages (prologues, summaries, narrative reflections), structural arrangements, recurring formulas and habits of diction, and persistent themes. But recognizing that he was speaking to real groups in space and time, we need also to take account of what audiences in Flavian Rome likely knew, as the shared extra-textual property that made communication possible.

The program is simple because each of us knows what it means to communicate in daily life. We attempt it every day, as each essay in this volume does. One proof that we care about effective communication is our annoyance when we are misunderstood, when the cues we thought we provided are missed and our decoders take a completely different sense from what we intended. Attempting communication is fundamental to being human. Although it is always imperfect—and leaving things partly obscure is also part of the game—we can and do communicate every day in homes, offices, and written texts. To *ask* about what someone intended to communicate is neither naive essentialism nor positivism. It is what we all do. Asking what Josephus meant to say to his first-century Roman audiences should likewise not cause distress, though claims to know the answer with confident comprehensiveness would be silly. We have no space here to work out the structures, themes, and communicative devices of Josephus' works. My purpose has been only to offer one angle on the importance of doing so.⁴⁷

In scholarship at times, but especially in the public world of the internet, Josephus continues to be “used and cited” for extraordinary ends. Typically, a casual reader sees a connection between something in Josephus and some external model or theory or text: in the Qumran Scrolls, the New Testament, or imagined Flavian propaganda. And then we are off to the races, as the author presents this parallel as a key to everything. I have argued that history cannot begin with such insight or epiphany, for which supporting evidence should then be assembled, but with an open question about the lost human past that generates an investigation. Any suspected epiphany is valuable, that is, only if it leads to the open investigation of some question, not as mere assertion of the alleged insight. But before we can usefully imagine answers to our question, we need some understanding of the evidence in its own context. We cannot blame casual readers for being impatient with the scholars' interpretation of

47 Even still this is rarely attempted. My efforts: for *Bellum Judaicum, History*, 60–137; for *Antiquitates-Vita, Life of Josephus*, xxi–xxvii.

Josephus. But scholars who want to use his work in historical explanation need at least a responsible notion of what he meant to say in his context (understanding will always be partial and provisional), before we move to hypothesizing the lost realities that would explain his surviving accounts.

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Josephus and the Bible

Erich S. Gruen

Josephus opens his twenty-volume work on *Jewish Antiquities* in Greek with a strong assertion. He declares that he will set forth the entire ancient history of his people and the constitution of the state translated from the Hebrew writings themselves.¹ He follows this commitment a few lines later with a more striking statement. Josephus affirms quite explicitly that he promises neither to add nor to omit anything. The declaration is repeated in various forms several times.² The theme derives its force from the injunction that the Lord imposed upon the children of Israel, according to the Book of Deuteronomy, before they entered the promised land. He instructed them to obey his commands unstintingly, to add nothing to them, and to subtract nothing.³

The claim is consistent and categorical. Yet it is manifestly false. As is well known, Josephus himself did not adhere to his own precepts. Very far from it. Not only did he depart considerably from a mere reproduction of the biblical text, offering in general a paraphrase rather than a literal translation of the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint. He also omitted numerous portions of the received text, dropping a number of somewhat embarrassing stories, such as that of Jacob's deception of Isaac in Genesis or the construction of the Golden Calf in Exodus; he further inserted several episodes not found in the Bible, like Moses' adventures in Ethiopia and his wedding to an Ethiopian princess.⁴

The deviations from the text raise two broad questions that this essay seeks to address. First, what does the discrepancy between Josephus' general statements and his practice tell us about his attitude toward the sanctity of

1 Josephus, *AJ* 1.5: μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρημνησμένην γραμμμάτων. On the rendering of μεθρημνησμένην, see the lengthy note by Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 3–4.

2 Josephus, *AJ* 1.17: ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν προσθεῖς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπῶν. See also 10.218. Similar statements in 2.347; 4.196; 9.208; 14.1; 20.261; *CA* 1.42; 1.54. On one occasion Josephus does allow for the possibility of correction. In his retelling of the story of the Pentateuch's translation into Greek, he has the Alexandrian community declare that any additions or omissions should be corrected; *AJ* 12.109. But he does not apply this to his own rendition.

3 Deut 4:2; 12:32. A similar pronouncement at the end of Rev 22:18–19.

4 See the examples collected by Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 37–39; Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 7.

the Scriptures? And second, is there consistent pattern or purpose behind Josephus' numerous variants?

Discomfort with the discordance has generated numerous efforts to get around the problem.⁵ Yet there is something singularly unsatisfying about them. Josephus' language about adding or subtracting nothing is pointed and firm. It does not readily allow for interpretations of loose phraseology, analogizing, or commonplace rhetoric. Josephus, after all, reiterated this position several times, and could hardly have taken it lightly.⁶

A central fact needs to be borne in mind from the outset. Rewritings of biblical material were nothing new. Indeed, they go back to the beginning. The Bible itself contains its own internal revisions. One need think only of the "Book of the Covenant" in Exodus as recast and expanded by Deuteronomy or the two books of Chronicles which offered their own retelling of material to be found in the books of Samuel—Kings.⁷

Even more noteworthy and telling, the appearance of Greek translations of the Hebrew text spawned a whole spate of altogether new versions of biblical tales, composed by Hellenistic Jews in Greek, but diverging, sometimes slightly, often quite drastically, from the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. A veritable industry of reframing and retelling biblical stories long preceded Josephus.

5 It has been suggested, for example, that Josephus, at least in his own mind, did not really alter the text but just applied new readings to it that left the meaning intact. Or by stressing the authorship of Moses Josephus could dodge any infringement of God's word by claiming the right to modify the words of a human being. Or else Josephus was simply uttering a rhetorical commonplace of historians justifying the reliability of their work. Or, on another theory, the historian hoped to get away with his sweeping statements, since readers, in the absence of bound manuscripts, indexes, or research assistants, let alone search engines, would simply be unable or unwilling to challenge his claims on exactitude. The efforts to resolve this glaring problem are thus many and occasionally ingenious. A valuable summary of opinions, with their principal proponents, may be found in Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 39–44; Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 7–8; see also Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 252–256; Barclay, *Against Apion*, 31; Inowlocki, "Neither Adding nor Omitting," 50–51. A notable parallel to Josephus' statements occurs in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' claim that early Greek historians, in drawing on non-Greek sources of other peoples added nothing and subtracted nothing; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* 5.331: μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες. See the commentary of Pritchett, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, 54. Cf. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History*, 59.

6 Inowlocki, "Neither Adding nor Omitting," 51–65, usefully cites parallel texts in other authors, indicating that ἀκριβεία can be understood in a flexible sense, pertaining to significance and meaning rather than exact rendering. But she goes too far in claiming that Josephus' references to "neither adding nor omitting anything" were not of great importance and that he saw himself from the outset as an interpreter rather than a translator.

7 Exod 20:22–23;33; Deut 12–26. Among innumerable discussions, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, esp. 231–277. On the Chronicler, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 380–403.

Numerous Jewish writers operated with tales familiar from the Scriptures, and then manipulated them at will. The phenomenon has spawned a raft of scholarly publications devoted to defining a presumed genre of literature, namely the “rewritten Bible.” And various proposals emerged to identify which works qualify under that rubric and which not. It has generated a vibrant scholarly debate.⁸ To subsume Josephus, however, under some such category (a strictly modern category), does nothing to illuminate the historian’s motivation or attitude in reshaping biblical narratives. It is preferable to avoid labels and pigeon-holes.

Efforts to find a consistent pattern or a driving motive to account for Josephus’ refashioning of biblical stories and characters have also occupied much scholarly attention. A lengthy list of researchers have sought the key to a coherent plan or a predominant purpose to explain the historian’s recasting of biblical figures and the stories in which they were enmeshed. Clues have most commonly been found in Josephus’ own career and aspirations or his apologetic aims in defending and promoting the achievements of his countrymen to a gentile readership who were otherwise critical or hostile. The impulse to discern a comprehensive aim and a systematic means toward it is understandably strong.⁹ Yet the diversity of Josephus’ own retellings complicates rather than establishes any firm formula.

8 The term was evidently coined by Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95. Numerous efforts have been made to define a genre and to identify the texts that would fit into that concocted category. It goes without saying that no such pigeon-hole ever receives mention in antiquity. Among attempts to provide a frame and to assemble works that can be set within it, see, in general, the survey of Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten,” 89–156; further, Harrington, “Palestinian Adaptations, 239–247; Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” 99–121; Halpern-Amaru, “*Rewriting the Bible*,” 4–5; Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 7–8; Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 2–15; Zahn, “Rewritten Scripture,” 323–336; Campbell “Rewritten Bible,” 49–81; Petersen, “Reflections,” 13–48. Bernstein, “Rewritten Bible,” 169–196, ostensibly questions the value of the category but struggles at length to define criteria, more narrow than loose, that would include some texts and exclude others. See also Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture,” 271–288, and Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting*, 56–73, with additional bibliography. She does reckon rewritten Bibles as a genre, but with a flexible and nuanced understanding. On the issue of genre in Hellenistic Jewish literature more broadly, see now Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors*, esp. 174–181 on rewritten scripture and 244–249 on Josephus’ *Antiquities*.

9 It is neither possible nor desirable to register the numerous treatments that have endeavored to offer an overall assessment of Josephus’ methods, goals, and unifying themes. Valuable surveys, among many, can be found in Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 67–79; Bilde, *Flavius Josephus*, 123–171; Mason, in Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, xiii–xvi; xxii–xxxv; Feldman, *Josephus’ Interpretation*, 214–217. The argument for apologetic aims recurs regularly in the literature: note, especially, Attridge, *Interpretation of Biblical History*, 43–66; Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 114–69; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 226–310.

The examples discussed here represent only a small sample. In a short paper, one cannot, of course, profess to survey the innumerable occasions on which Josephus departs from his model or to draw definitive conclusions from them. Limits of space prevent a detailed examination or a comprehensive bibliographical survey on each passage. This chapter offers instead an inquiry into select instances in the *Antiquities* that may provide some sense of the historian's approach (or approaches) and expectations and shed some light on his general attitude to the Scriptures.

Did Josephus have some persistent, objective guiding principle in his reframing of the original? And do his many modifications reflect on the authority or sacred character of the Scriptures?

1 Abraham in Egypt

A famous narrative in the Bible sets Abraham in a rather less than positive light. A famine took place in the land of Canaan, so Abraham took his wife Sara and went down to Egypt. But he suddenly had a very troubling concern. Sara was an exceedingly beautiful woman, so much so that Pharaoh was likely to want her for his own, and would thus probably kill her husband first, in order to wed Sara himself. So Abraham, foreseeing this, concocted a scheme whereby Sara would pretend to be his sister rather than his wife, and thus Abraham could escape death. This seemed to work like a charm for a time. Pharaoh was indeed smitten by Sara, did take her into the royal palace to live with him, and paid off Abraham, ostensibly her brother, with lavish gifts of sheep, oxen, camels, donkeys, and slaves. Abraham thus seemed to have gotten away with it, enjoyed wealth and luxury at the hands of Pharaoh—simply for the price of giving his wife away. Abraham may have been content with this, but the Lord was not. Divine punishment rained down from heaven in the form of mighty plagues afflicting Pharaoh and his people because the king had taken to himself the wife of another. Pharaoh at least got the point. He immediately returned Sara to Abraham, but not before rebuking the patriarch for telling him that she was his sister rather than his wife, and thus bringing pestilence and disaster upon Egypt. He then sent Abraham back to Canaan, with his wife, and with all his possessions.¹⁰

10 Gen 12:10–20.

Such is the narrative in the Book of Genesis.¹¹ Abraham certainly does not come off very well in the story. Josephus in general maintained fidelity to the biblical text, but certain changes suggest that he was not altogether comfortable with it. Abraham receives an added dimension of some significance in the historian's hands. His trip to Egypt was not simply to find food but to inquire of Egyptian priests about their religion, even to consider adoption of their beliefs if they could persuade him. The voyage was thus an intellectual as well as a practical one. Josephus acknowledges that Abraham pretended to be Sara's brother in order to preserve his own life, but, unlike the account in the Bible, he makes sure to say that God intervened right away, triggered an outbreak of timely pestilence and disease, and thwarted the criminal passion of the wicked king—just when he was about to lay hands on Sara. God therefore preserved her chastity. Also unlike the Bible, Josephus has Pharaoh provide Abraham with abundant wealth only after restoring Sara, and not as part of a bargain. And he elaborates further on Abraham's discussions with the priests, exhibiting the patriarch's superiority in their theological debates and his earning of their admiration through his intellectual prowess and learning. Indeed he proved responsible for introducing Egypt to the sciences of mathematics and astronomy.¹²

Josephus concludes his tale by saying that Abraham's reputation for virtue scaled even greater heights.¹³ It is hard to see much justification for that verdict in Genesis. Josephus plainly did not feel bound by that narrative. He conveyed the essence of the biblical version but took pains to leave the reader with a fuller picture of the patriarch and one that would deliver a most positive impression—however forced and unwarranted. The historian transformed the critical tale into an encomium. The dubious actions of Abraham gave way to laudation and elevation. The freedom that Josephus felt in revising the original is characteristic.

11 Variants on this version occur already in Genesis itself: 20:1–18 and 26:6–11 (with regard to Isaac).

12 Josephus was not the first to make Abraham a provider of knowledge to the Egyptians. Hellenistic Jewish writers like Artapanus and Ps.-Eupolemus ascribed to him the teaching of astrology to Egyptians; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.8, 9.18.1. On the preservation of Sara's chastity, other writers too sought to give assurances; see Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 272–73.

13 Josephus, *AJ* 1.161–168. See 1.165: τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξαν ἐντετύθεν ἐπιφανεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι. Cf. the notes of Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 60–64. On the depiction of Sara, an interesting study in itself, see most recently McDonald, *Searching for Sarah*, 40–46, 193–200.

2 Joseph

The Genesis narrative of Joseph portrays a complex and manifold personality, no mere one-dimensional man of virtue. The young Joseph, ambushed by his brothers, was hardly an innocent waif. His boastful recounting of dreams that forecast his own ascendancy not only angered his brothers but even troubled his father.¹⁴ When he went in search of his brothers on what seems little more than a spying mission, he flaunted the multi-colored coat—thus leading directly to his humiliation, being dumped in a pit and then sold to the Ishmaelites.¹⁵ Joseph, of course, was then taken to Egypt, where he nobly resisted the blandishments of Potiphar's wife, preserving his virtue and principles at the cost of imprisonment. When his reputation as interpreter of dreams brought him to Pharaoh's attention, his administrative talents put him in a position to run the country, and he took without hesitation the symbols of authority that elevated him to a rank second only to that of the king himself.¹⁶ The rediscovery of and reconciliation with his brothers forms a moving story. But one should not omit to note that Joseph calculatngly put them through some severe anxieties and emotional trials before revealing himself to them. Joseph's magnanimity obviously had its limits. Further, his stern and exacting management of grain allocation during the famine years brought all Egyptian land under the king's control and transformed the entire Egyptian peasantry into vassals of the crown.¹⁷ In short, Genesis supplies an intricate tale, a multifaceted personality, and rich material to be exploited by Hellenistic Jews. And exploit it they did.

The virtuous Joseph, scrubbed of all (or most) of his blemishes, appears in Josephus' lengthy reproduction of the biblical narrative.¹⁸ The brothers envied and hated him because of Jacob's favoritism, not because of any preening deeds by Joseph.¹⁹ Josephus pointedly omits Jacob's annoyance with Joseph for his excessive boasting, indeed even has him take pleasure in the recounting of his dream.²⁰ The historian embellishes liberally upon the Genesis text,

14 Gen 37:5–11.

15 Gen 37:3, 12–24.

16 Gen 39–44.

17 Gen 47:13–26.

18 For a detailed comparison between passages in the biblical narrative of Joseph and those in Josephus' adaptation, see Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 335–373, though he emphasizes too much the historian's impulse to make changes in accord with the presumed attitudes of his Roman readers.

19 Josephus, *AJ* 2.9–10. Cf. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 439.

20 Josephus, *AJ* 2.14.

a showpiece for his rhetorical training, as in the full-blown speech accorded to Reuben, based on just a few lines in the Bible.²¹ He freely expands upon the encounter with Potiphar's wife, not only stressing Joseph's chastity and restraint on the basis of his obligation to his patron, but supplying him with a noble speech that reminded her of her marriage vows and even offered her sage advice about how she could better command her household as a chaste mistress than as a compromised woman.²² The historian presents the exchange between Joseph and Potiphar's wife as a series of scenes with far more color and drama, including passionate avowals, tears, and ferocious anger, than the relatively brief and bland Genesis account. Joseph's steadfastness and composure stand out all the more.²³

The Genesis version of Joseph's deception of and double-dealing with his brothers, by contrast, is a full one and does not reflect well on the hero. The ordeals which Joseph inflicted upon his brothers and even his father Jacob stand out starkly. When they came to Egypt to purchase grain in order to relieve the famine in Canaan, as the famous tale has it, Joseph, now as chief minister of the Pharaoh, toyed with them to their deep discomfort and to his evident, even malicious, pleasure. The patriarch did eventually relent, reveal the truth, and declare reconciliation with his brothers, followed by tearful embraces all around and a happy ending.²⁴ But he had put them all through hell before disclosing the devious deceit. The author of the biblical text supplies no explicit reason for this elaborate and hurtful game. It may indeed be implied that Joseph was finally exacting vengeance for his brothers' dastardly deed of selling him off so long ago. If so, however, it means that Joseph nursed this bitter grievance for many years, finally enjoying revenge when his brothers were most vulnerable. That hardly commends the character of the perpetrator.

Josephus strained to clean up the picture. He supplies a motive for Joseph's dissembling, namely that he simply wished to test his brothers' true feelings

21 Josephus, *AJ* 2.20–28; cf. Gen 37:21–22. On Josephus' rewriting of the encounter of the brothers, see Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities,"* 221–31.

22 Josephus, *AJ* 2.50–52: καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ δεσπόσει μάλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποίνης ἐξουσίᾳ χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτον, ἀλλ' οὐ συνεξαμαρτάνοντος αἰδοί, πολὺ δὲ κρείττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ γινωσκομένοις τοῖς εὐ βεβιωμένοις ἢ ἐπὶ λανθανούσῃ κακοπραγίᾳ. On Josephus' presentation of Joseph as an exemplar of rationality, see Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation,* 346–351.

23 Josephus, *AJ* 2.41–59. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation,* 369–372, rightly stresses the heightened coloration added by Josephus to the episodes involving Joseph and Potiphar's wife, although it need not follow, as is widely believed, that the historian was adapting the tale of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. On Josephus' expansion of the Potiphar's wife story, see also Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities,"* 231–238.

24 Gen 45:1–15.

and qualities.²⁵ When Joseph extended the plot by surreptitiously placing the goblet in Benjamin's luggage, the historian gives as reason Joseph's wish to see whether the brothers would protect Benjamin in his travail or would abandon him.²⁶ There is no explicit suggestion or implication here that Joseph wished to make them squirm because they had once betrayed him.

The biblical account of Joseph's restructuring of Egyptian economy and society delivers a mixed message, and a somewhat troubling one. The famine had left most Egyptian farmers desperate to find means for survival. Joseph controlled the grain supply and distributed it to the needy in return first for cash, then for livestock. When both ran out and starvation became even more imminent, the farmers offered to cede their lands to Pharaoh and become his slaves in order to survive. Joseph embraced the idea, the peasantry became serfs, and the lands became crown property. He went further still and resettled people from place to place, thus separating them from their hereditary holdings, while still requiring them to pay a fifth of their produce annually to the king.²⁷ The author of this narrative makes no comment on the justification of this policy, but the effect is clearly a negative one.

Josephus followed the outline of the account but hesitated to embrace its implications, thus making some subtle but important changes. He acknowledges that all land was surrendered and became the property of Pharaoh, that people were moved from place to place, and even that the suffering shackled both bodies and minds.²⁸ But the historian moved swiftly to repair the damage. Once the Nile resumed its normal flow and the famine abated, he has Joseph restore the lands to their proprietors to cultivate in perpetuity, with payment of a fifth as a token tithe, much to the delight of the peasantry and a marked boost for the reputation of the royal minister.²⁹ Nothing of this in Genesis, and all remarks about servitude to the crown were notably expunged by Josephus.

25 Josephus, *AJ* 2.97. He further seeks to soften the negative implication of Joseph's temporary imprisonment of his brothers by suggesting that he simply wished to have more time to interrogate them; *AJ* 2.105; cf. Gen 42:17. Cf. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 461.

26 Josephus, *AJ* 2.125: ἐποίησεν δὲ ταῦτα διάπειραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερόν ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμὶν κλοπῆς ἀγομένῳ καὶ δοκοῦντι κινδυνεύειν, ἢ καταλιπόντες ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ κεκακουρηκότες ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. Similarly, Philo, *Jos.* 232. On Josephus' narrative of the deception and revelation, see the discussion by Franxman, *Genesis and the Jewish Antiquities*, 249–267.

27 Gen 47:13–26.

28 Josephus, *AJ* 2.189–191.

29 Josephus, *AJ* 2.193: καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τό τε ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μείζον Ἰώσηπος ἀπεργάζεται καὶ πλείω γε τὴν εὐνοίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ' αὐτῶν. Cf. Franxman, *Genesis and the Jewish Antiquities*, 279–281.

The biblical hero's repute is thus salvaged, and the whitewash predominates.³⁰ As in the case of Abraham, Josephus evidently felt a need to purge the patriarch of unseemly characteristics that might be inferred from the biblical narrative. With Joseph, however, the historian went to greater lengths, embellishing with rhetoric, enhancing scenes with dramatic flavor, inventing praiseworthy motives for questionable behavior, and casting dubious deeds in a more favorable light. Josephus kept ostensible fealty to the biblical account, while in fact applying his own more generous spin.

3 Moses in Ethiopia

Moses, of course, plays a very large role in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, as he does in much Hellenistic Jewish literature. But one tale stands out in remarkable relief, for it possesses no biblical precedent at all: Moses' military conquests in Ethiopia. A single possible prompt in the Scriptures exists: a remark in Numbers that Moses married an Ethiopian woman, a fact deplored by both Aaron and Miriam.³¹ It is unlikely in the extreme that this sole passing reference gave rise to Josephus' rather elaborate tale that had Moses as a successful general in Ethiopia whose triumphs induced an Ethiopian princess to fall in love with him and become his bride. Josephus drew on material well beyond the Bible and, to some degree on his own imagination.

The narrative in summary proceeds as follows. Ethiopian forces invaded Egypt and plundered Egyptian possessions. Egyptians retaliated with an invasion of their own but were badly beaten, fled back to Egypt, and thus provoked a much more devastating assault in which the Ethiopians overran the land, with little resistance, all the way to Memphis and the sea. The peoples of Egypt, in dire straits, resorted to oracles and divine prophecies, and received advice from God that they should have a Hebrew lead them into battle. Pharaoh consequently called upon his daughter to offer up Moses as general of the forces, which she consented to do, after rebuking the priests who had sought to have him killed as an enemy.³² Moses gladly took on the job, to the delight of both Hebrews and Egyptians, the one because they saw him as future leader of his people out of Egypt, the other because they expected that after driving out

30 Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 359–361, also correctly notes that Josephus plays down any divine influence in Joseph's admirable deeds. The hero's inner qualities are responsible.

31 Num 12:1.

32 Josephus, *AJ* 2.238–242.

the Ethiopians Moses would fall victim to Egyptian assassins.³³ Moses' expedition, however, proved strikingly successful. He chose a land route through treacherous territory and managed to dispose of the menace of flying snakes by shrewdly bringing along baskets of ibises who consumed them. There followed smashing victories over the Ethiopians, to the point that they faced enslavement or extirpation.³⁴ The daughter of the king who witnessed Moses' impressive ingenuity and his warrior exploits became hopelessly enamored of him and made him an offer of marriage. Moses readily agreed, but only on condition of surrender of the Ethiopian capital which he promised not to damage. The pact was made, and Moses led the Egyptians back to their homeland.³⁵

Josephus evidently did not blanch at inserting an adventure tale and romance that had no basis whatever in the Bible. Moses emerges as a military hero, a shrewd and commanding figure who routs the hitherto invincible Ethiopians and captures the heart of an Ethiopian princess to boot.

How much of this story is Josephus' creation and how much is adapted from elsewhere we cannot know. What we do know is that Josephus was not the first to convey a yarn about Moses and an Ethiopian expedition. A comparable but fundamentally different version appeared already in the quirky treatise of Artapanus. In his inventive rendition, Moses brought numerous salutary changes to Egyptian culture, religion, society, and administration. His innovations, however, and the fame which he had attained stirred the jealousy of the Pharaoh who conceived a nefarious scheme. He appointed Moses as commander of the army against the Ethiopian invaders but provided him only a ragtag group of forces, which (so he expected) should lead to failure and death. But Moses confounded the plan by winning every battle, founding a new city, and eventually even gaining the affection of the Ethiopians.³⁶

Much scholarly debate has been devoted to sorting out the relationship between these two fanciful tales. A variety of opinions have suggested either that Josephus employed Artapanus as a source or relied on an intermediary or that both authors drew upon a no longer extant text.³⁷ A definitive answer will always elude us. Clearly Josephus did not make up the story himself. Artapanus' version shows that diverse renderings of an expedition by Moses against Ethiopians had been floating about for some time. The significant differences between the accounts of Artapanus and Josephus render any effort

33 Josephus, *AJ* 2.243.

34 Josephus, *AJ* 2.244–248.

35 Josephus, *AJ* 2.252–253.

36 Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.27.4–10.

37 The bibliography is large. Useful compilations can be found in Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 200–202; Römer, "Les guerres de Moïse," 169–193.

to see the one as dependent on the other or both dependent on a third source largely pointless.³⁸ One can dispute whether they were conveyed by written compositions or by oral transmission, whether they were based on folkloric traditions and popular memory or influenced by Jewish-Hellenistic historical literature or by writings that go back to the Persian period.³⁹ Nor does it help much to postulate apologetic motives that aimed to elevate Jewish virtues against the slanders of pagan critics and make the Jews more palatable to Roman readers.⁴⁰ Few pagan critics would be disabused by reading a fanciful tale of Moses' exploits.

It would be preferable to eschew the speculation. What matters is that Josephus chose to transmit or reconceive an engaging narrative that combined an adventure story of military cunning and heroism with a romantic tale and a plot arising out of court intrigue—none of which had the slightest connection with Scripture. The Israelite lawgiver emerges with added dimensions, those of vaunted warrior and novelistic hero. The entertainment value of this addition stands out. It calls attention to another dimension of Josephus' diversified reproduction of Israelite history. He evidently had no problem with inserting an altogether novel scenario into his narrative of biblical antiquity.

4 Jephthah and His Daughter

The wrenching tale of Jephthah and his daughter leaves a poignant and painful impact. It occupies a single chapter in the book of Judges but its resonance was meaningful and memorable. In the biblical account Jephthah had gained significant renown as a warrior but carried some genealogical baggage. He was son of a prostitute and when his father's legitimate sons grew to adulthood they drove him out of the household and denied him any rights of inheritance.

38 Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 269–279, usefully juxtaposes the two texts and underscores the discrepancies.

39 Rajak, "Moses in Ethiopia," 118–122, for example, sees a background of both Greek historical-ethnographic literature and oral traditions with folkloric elements. Runnalls, "Moses' Ethiopian Campaign," 149–150, calls attention to the possibility that the story may have circulated among Jewish mercenaries in the service of the Persians or the Ptolemies. For Römer, "Les guerres de Moïse," 188–190, both Artapanus and Josephus echo legends of the Egyptian hero and ruler Sesostris. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, 200–202, sagely refrains from adopting any of the hypotheses.

40 How far the *Antiquities* serve apologetic purposes as a whole cannot be explored here. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 226–310, makes an extensive case for Josephus as an apologetic historian. See also Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 361–362. But see the cogent reservations of Ribary, "Josephus' Rewritten Bible," 249–266, with bibliography.

Jephthah consequently dwelled in an unsavory location and surrounded himself with desperados. But at a time of dire need for the Israelites in Gilead, the nation facing a war with the Ammonites, it called upon Jephthah, with his martial reputation, to lead them into battle. Before engaging, however, he uttered a vow to God, promising that if he should gain victory, he would sacrifice to him as a burnt offering whatever emerges first from the door of his house after his victorious return. That vow proved to be fateful. Once Jephthah returned in triumph, the first to emerge from the door with timbrels and dances was his beloved virginal daughter and only child. The totally distraught Jephthah could do nothing more than tear his garments, berate himself for the foolish vow, and acknowledge that the pledge had to be honored. His daughter willingly submitted herself to the sacrifice as the vowed recompense to the Lord, asking only that she be allotted two months in the mountains in the company of her nubile companions to mourn the fact that she will die a virgin. Her father granted that last wish and, after two months, performed the fatal deed. The event would be commemorated annually through lamentations by the daughters of Israel.⁴¹

The biblical text provides almost no comment on this grim tale. Jephthah castigates himself for having made the vow once he sees his daughter emerge from the house, but does not question his obligation to fulfill the promise. And the daughter (the text never gives her name) accepts her fate unquestioningly. The issue of justice or righteousness does not arise. Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter was the straightforward carrying out of the warrior's oath, followed by an unquestioning acquiescence by the maiden. Whatever anguish readers may feel, the biblical author refrains from passing judgment.

Josephus' version of the story closely follows the biblical presentation. But not altogether. Some important differences emerge. In Josephus' narrative, Jephthah does not censure himself for having uttered the fatal vow but blames his daughter for undue haste in coming to meet him.⁴² And the historian allows himself a brief but pointed reflection that contrasts sharply with the biblical writer's reticence. He branded the deed as unlawful and displeasing to God, adding that Jephthah failed to take into account the possible consequences of his vow or to ponder how it would be perceived by those who learned of it.⁴³ Josephus, evidently dissatisfied with the absence of a moral verdict on Jephthah in the biblical story, felt compelled to exercise judgment.

41 Judg 11:1–40.

42 Josephus, *AJ* 5.264.

43 Josephus, *AJ* 5.265–266: τῆ δὲ τὸ συμβησόμενον οὐκ ἀηδῶς προσέπεσεν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνηξομένη, παρεκάλεισε δὲ δύο μῆνας αὐτῆ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ

By reminding readers of the moral implications of the episode, Josephus injected a critical element that had been lacking in the received text.⁴⁴ It could inspire readers to ponder a deeper dimension in this troubling tale. The historian allowed himself a personal reflection not often to be found in his retellings.

5 Samson

The familiar tale of the imposing but ill-fated Samson stands among the Bible's most memorable narratives. The character of Samson as it appears in the scriptural account, however, is far from a fully admirable one. It thus presented a challenge for later retellings.

An annunciation scene heralded the birth of Samson, according to the Book of Judges. The coming child is to be a holy man, a Nazirite devoted to God from the womb. But, more than that, he is destined to take up the cause of the Israelites who are currently under the oppression of the Philistines.⁴⁵ So a glorious future was in store for Samson, both as a man of God and as a warrior. But the tale takes a number of disturbing twists and turns.

Samson's initial adventure involves neither his sacred mission as servant of the Lord nor his armed struggle with the Philistines. Instead, he became enamored of a Philistine woman, to the dismay of his parents. The strong-willed youth had his way, unaware that this was all part of God's plan to entangle the Israelites in a contest with their Philistine overlords.⁴⁶ The awesome strength of Samson, a super-hero in the mold of a Hercules, showed itself immediately in the trip to claim his woman. He tore apart a young lion with his bare hands. On a second trip, when the wedding took place, thirty companions were assigned to Samson. The Israelite, in a surprising turn, instead of fighting Philistines, now posed a riddle to his Philistine associates and challenged them to resolve it. Samson's posture, in other words, is not as brave warrior but as trickster hoping to show superiority over less clever Philistines. And the Israelite did

μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρηνηῆσαι τὴν νεότητα, τότε ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν. συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα θύσας τὴν παιδα ὠλοκαύτωσεν, οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῶ κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἐπιτελών, μὴ διαβασανίσας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἶόν τε πραχθῆν δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι. See the note of Begg, *Judean Antiquities*, 5–7, 66.

44 On Josephus' concern with moral considerations in the *Antiquities*, see, in general, Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History*, *passim*. With regard to Jephthah, however, Attridge focuses only on his miscalculation, not the moral issue; 113. See further Mason in Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, xxxii–xxxiv.

45 Judg 13:3–7.

46 Judg 14:1–4.

not play fair. His riddle involved the slaying of the lion, an event the Philistines had not witnessed and could hardly imagine. Samson, in short, relied neither on strength nor wit.⁴⁷ In fact, the Philistines outwit him by enlisting his new wife (through threats) to wheedle the answer of the riddle out of him. The outcome not only stirred Samson's wrath but provoked use of his superpowers in the most damaging fashion. He immediately slew thirty Philistines in order to wreak vengeance.⁴⁸ Samson hardly emerges as an estimable figure.

The fury of the super-hero only escalates from there. Samson failed to gain access to his wife and scorned the offer of a younger sister by her father. He subsequently exercised his revenge upon the larger community of Philistines. Somehow he miraculously captured three hundred foxes, tied them up tail to tail with a torch between each and set them onto the Philistines' grain fields, olive groves, and vineyards to spread fire throughout. The tit-for-tat then had the Philistines in turn burn up Samson's erstwhile wife and father-in-law, thus prompting still additional devastation by Samson who struck his enemies "hip on thigh." The escalation continued. The Judahites preferred to avoid further conflict by binding Samson and turning him over to the Philistines. Samson deceptively went along with the plan but at the moment of falling into Philistine hands, he burst the bonds, conveniently found the jawbone of an ass, and clubbed no fewer than a thousand Philistines to death with it.⁴⁹ The Lord, to be sure, supplied the hero with his super-powers, but Samson consistently applied them with ruthlessness, vengefulness, and excess.

The well-known climax carries through with the same themes. Samson succumbed once again to lust, this time with another Philistine, Delilah, who ultimately encompassed his demise. The strongman who had kept the root of his power under wraps was once more out-deceived.⁵⁰ Delilah snipped his locks when he slept, and Samson fell helpless into the hands of the Philistines who gouged out his eyes and reduced him to a mere grinder of mill in a prison. They then imposed a further and devastating humiliation by having him put on some sort of performance in the temple of their god Dagon, an exhibit of the superiority of their deity to that of the Israelites. The symbolism of that culminating divine contest came when God answered Samson's prayer, breathed new life into him (some hair had grown back), and Samson pulled down the pillars of Dagon's proud temple, crushing to death more people than he had ever slain in

47 Judg 14:5–14.

48 Judg 14:15–20.

49 Judg 15:1–17.

50 Judg 16:4–17.

his lifetime—including himself.⁵¹ The biblical story concludes with a notable pronouncement not to be overlooked. Samson's poignant appeal to the Lord for the final infusion of strength did not come as a means to demonstrate the predominance of his deity over that of the Philistines. That may have been God's intent. But Samson expressed it only as a personal desire to settle scores for the loss of his sight.⁵²

The will of the Lord was done. But his instrument was no saint. The exploits of the Herculean hero are decidedly less than gratifying. Samson is repeatedly motivated by lust rather than by principle. He engages in deception as well as brute force to gain his ends. But he is outfoxed by scheming women and by evil Philistines. And his slaughter of enemies reaches colossal proportions. Samson is more brawn than brains. Not exactly a model to be emulated.

The unsavory character of Samson presented a dilemma for Josephus. The awesome champion of the Israelites against the oppressive Philistines was, in fact, a flawed figure. In this case, the historian does not seek to eradicate the unattractive features of Samson's makeup. He takes a different approach. Josephus seems more concerned to minimize God's responsibility than to blot out Samson's blemishes. God, of course, plays a key role in the scriptural story at its outset, with regard to the annunciation of Samson's birth and the expectation of his devotion to the deity as a faithful Nazirite. Josephus follows this narrative, indeed elaborates upon it with emphasis on the beauty of Samson's mother and the jealousy of his father, thus to add some spice to the tale.⁵³

The Lord, in fact, remains an occasional presence in the biblical account, but hardly surfaces in Josephus. Samson's Herculean feat of single-handedly tearing apart a young and aggressive lion was due to divine inspiration, according to the Bible. No such inspiration in Josephus: Samson did it on his own.⁵⁴ A similar contrast holds in the recounting of Samson's wreaking of vengeance after his riddle was solved through the betrayal of his new wife. The biblical version has him infused by the spirit of the Lord; Josephus leaves God out of it.⁵⁵ The historian seems to shrink from saddling God with responsibility for Samson's excesses.⁵⁶

51 Judg 16:18–30.

52 Judg 16:28.

53 Judg 13; Josephus, *AJ* 5.276–285.

54 Judg 14:5–6; Josephus, *AJ* 5.287.

55 Judg 14:19; Josephus, *AJ* 5.294.

56 Josephus does have Samson disingenuously claim that his slaughter with the jawbone came from his own valor rather than the fact of divine aid; Josephus, *AJ* 5.301. But the reference is to God's infusion of strength, not to his support of the deed.

The final episodes of the drama underscore the absence of God. When Samson awoke after the sleep in which Delilah had cut off his hair, the biblical author pointedly notes that he failed to realize that God had abandoned him.⁵⁷ This implicates God in his fate. Josephus omits the notice altogether.⁵⁸ For him, God is not a player here, whether in presence or absence. Samson's own foolishness brought about his end. When the blinded Samson gropes for the pillars that will bring the temple of Dagon down upon himself and thousands of Philistines, he calls upon the Lord to revive his strength just one more time so that he could have his revenge upon those who had put out his eyes. So says the biblical narrative.⁵⁹ Nothing of this in Josephus. For him, Samson is led into a Greek-style symposium to be mocked and jeered by the guests, and he determined, without divine assistance, to avenge the mockery by removing the pillars and crushing his tormentors, himself with them.⁶⁰

The relative sidelining of God deserves emphasis. After echoing the scriptural remark that the Lord set the entire course of events in motion, Josephus largely keeps him off stage. Samson's deeds, his successes, and his missteps are fundamentally his own doing. And, while his awesome physical power provided him with spectacular achievements, his susceptibility to women, his wildly disproportionate acts of cruelty, his resort to deception, and his repeated mental lapses deeply tarnish his character. Whereas God determines the overall plot, Samson makes his own decisions, including the blunders, the ill-fated erotic entanglements, and the excessive butchery, none of which is imputed to the Lord.⁶¹ Josephus keeps God's interventions to a minimum, so as not to involve him too much with Samson's transgressions.⁶²

The transgressions, however, could not be gainsaid. Josephus maintained throughout his declared general policy of keeping to the text by recording all

57 Judg 16:21.

58 In Josephus' version, when Samson gives away his secret to Delilah, he adds that he is under God's protection so long as his hair remains untouched. But the historian points out that, notwithstanding God, Samson's fate was already sealed; Josephus, *AJ* 5:312; cf. 5:306; Begg, *Judean Antiquities*, 5–7, 78.

59 Judg 16:28.

60 Josephus, *AJ* 5:314–316. Cf. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 485.

61 Whether Josephus presents the Samson story as a Greek tragedy, as suggested by Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 484; 489, is a more dubious proposition. There are few resemblances.

62 Roncace, "Another Portrait," 203–205, observes that Samson's superhuman powers had been the gift of God. But Josephus does not imply that the Lord sanctioned or guided the malevolent exercise of them.

the key episodes that disclose Samson's questionable qualities.⁶³ Yet he plainly had misgivings about the portrait delivered by the Scriptures. In a surprising turnabout at the conclusion of his narrative, the historian suddenly seeks to rescue Samson's reputation. His summary ascribes to the hero the features that compel admiration: bravery, strength, magnanimity at the end, and righteous wrath. Samson's flaws are here conveniently suppressed. Josephus has to admit Samson's vulnerability to feminine wiles, but he excuses it as a symptom of general human failing, quite minor when set next to his surpassing *arête*.⁶⁴

On the face of it, the Jewish historian reproduces the biblical account. But a combination of omission and addition give it a decidedly different flavor. He duly records Samson's character failings and misdeeds. This was no white-wash. But by reducing the involvement of God, he relieved the deity of responsibility for Samson's vices and offenses. Josephus' belated efforts to rescue the hero's reputation at the close soften the negative record but do not erase that dominant narrative. In the end they stand as an embarrassing anomaly. But the arresting shift at the conclusion underscores the historian's willingness to compromise the impact of the sacred tale by leaving readers with an altogether different impression of the hero's character and quality. The admirable features of the superhero stand side by side with the unpleasant ones, leaving an awkward composite image. In this re-conception Josephus complicates, even confounds, the Scriptures at the risk of leaving his readers at a loss.

6 The Judean Monarchy and Saul

The origins of monarchy in Judea are fraught with complexity and controversy. Did the Israelites need a king to lead them into battle against their enemies? Did they indeed want one or did they have a ruler foisted upon them? Was the outcome a salutary one, a mixed blessing, or a harbinger of evils to come?

63 That Josephus' narrative largely follows the biblical presentation is rightly noted by Roncace, "Another Portrait," 185–207, as against Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 461–489. But Roncace oddly fails to discuss the closing portion of the Josephus' account which is most glaringly at odds with the rest of his retelling.

64 Josephus, *AJ* 5.317: θαυμάζειν δὲ ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν μεγαλόφρονος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς μέχρι τοῦ τελευτᾶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλῶναι δεῖ τῆ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσάπτειν ἤττονι ἀμαρτημάτων οὕση, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίαν. Begg, *Judean Antiquities*, 5–7, 79, surprisingly, does not comment on Josephus' striking reversal here. It is inadequate simply to ascribe it to Josephus' supposed penchant for balancing both good and bad qualities in the characters who appear in his works; so Mason in Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 1–4, xxxii.

The text of 1 Samuel contains the principal account of the Judeans' dilemma and their struggles over it. But that text itself is riddled with puzzling shifts and inconsistencies, most of them centered upon the problematic character of Saul. The fluctuations have prompted commentators to conceive of at least two separate strands woven together somewhat awkwardly to produce a composite version.⁶⁵ That may well be true. But the composite text as we have it or something like it was the basis for Josephus' subsequent rewriting and served as its jumping off point.

A brief summary of key passages in 1 Samuel on the installation of monarchy and the personage of Saul can supply the foundation for this discussion.

The sons of Samuel the prophet proved to be unfit to step into his place. The elders of Israel thus urged the seer to institute a new form of rule and to set a king over them, like other nations. Samuel sharply resisted the idea, pointing to the deleterious effects of such a change, especially the likelihood of tyrannical behavior that would reduce all to the status of slavery.⁶⁶ The narrative, however, immediately raises troubling ambiguities. Where does God stand on this? He ostensibly shares Samuel's deep discontent with the idea of a monarch, although he has his own personal motive. He ascribes the proposal to the Israelites' turning away from him and preferring a different ruler, another example of Israelite forsaking of the divinity who had made them the chosen people and looking instead to other gods.⁶⁷ The Lord, however, takes an unexpected stance. Instead of backing Samuel's efforts to discourage the establishment of monarchic governance, Yahweh instructs him to heed the wishes of the people, though warning them of the evils of the institution.⁶⁸ Why this apparent double-stance? Did God deliberately encourage monarchy for his wayward flock in order that they should suffer its injustices and then see the error of their ways? That question is left open. The people will have to endure an unsatisfactory king in the person of Saul, but the institution of kingship was evidently unaffected and lasted well beyond his disquieting reign. God has simply placed Samuel in the tortured situation of condemning monarchy while at the same time adhering to the popular will and creating a monarch.⁶⁹ The tension in the text is palpable, thus creating a challenge to readers and retellers.

65 See McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 12–23.

66 1 Sam 8:1–6, 11–18.

67 1 Sam 8:7.

68 1 Sam 8:7–9. Cf. the comments of McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 159–162.

69 1 Sam 8:19–22.

God does not disclaim responsibility for this major change in Judean governance and history. Nor for the appointee himself. The biblical text has him declare to Samuel that he will supply the man whom the seer should anoint as ruler over the nation.⁷⁰ And Samuel does indeed perform that function, while announcing that the anointment of Saul was the choice of Yahweh.⁷¹ Yet the very institution evidently remained a problematic matter. When Saul was questioned about his encounter with Samuel, he pointedly omitted any reference to the kingship.⁷² Samuel himself, however, despite initial misgivings, proclaimed the establishment of the monarchy and introduced the new monarch unequivocally as the choice of God, a decision duly hailed by the populace.⁷³

Samuel acknowledged that he adhered to the voice of the people who sought monarchy—but, even in his final days, he seemed well short of embracing the concept. The speech put in Samuel's mouth is notably equivocal. The seer reminds the Israelites, with a touch of sarcasm, that it was they who had insisted upon a king even though the Lord God was already their king, and he had granted their wish. Samuel exhorts them to follow their ruler as the agent of God, but not without adding that their wish was itself an act of wickedness.⁷⁴ This whole segment of the text indulges in irony, and increases perplexity. Whereas neither God nor Samuel ever declares explicit endorsement of monarchy as such, the institution evidently gained unspoken acknowledgment without explanation. The author or authors refrained from commenting and left the matter in a curious limbo.⁷⁵

The troubling ambiguity about monarchy is closely tied to a comparable ambiguity about the first monarch. The twists and turns engendered or suffered by Saul would require a separate treatment beyond the scope of this essay. The biblical text represents him as a tortured soul, sometimes admirable, often despicable, with frequent reversals of fortune and of character. They cannot be explored here. But one central question must be raised. Where is the hand of God in this drama?

70 1 Sam 9:15–17.

71 1 Sam 10:1, 24.

72 1 Sam 10:14–16. Josephus, *AJ* 6.63 ascribes Saul's hesitancy to self-control and moderation, ἐγκράτεια καὶ σωφροσύνη, rather than to any doubts about the institution.

73 1 Sam 10:23–25. Cf. 15:1, 17.

74 1 Sam 12:12–25.

75 When God lost confidence in Saul, he turned immediately to another choice for the kingship and orders for his anointing; 1 Sam 15:35; 16:12–13. Continuation of the monarchy was assumed and unquestioned.

Surprisingly, the divine entity takes a back seat through most of it. “The Lord’s word was rare in those days,” says the text.⁷⁶ He did emerge to summon Samuel to his post as successor to Eli and as prophet to the Lord, and spoke through him.⁷⁷ He could intervene in Israelite battles against the Philistines and to restore the Ark to its proper place. When the suggestion of installing monarchic rule arose, however, Yahweh did not take the initiative. The elders of Israel conceived the idea and pressed it upon Samuel, who sought God’s advice. The response that came was surprising and somewhat paradoxical. Yahweh instructed Samuel to follow the wishes of the people. Why? His reasoning lacks discernible logic. God reassures Samuel that the desire for a monarch is not a rejection of the seer but of God himself, an example among many of Israelite denial of the true God for false idols. This hardly explains Yahweh’s instruction to Samuel to abide by the people’s wishes while warning them of the despotic behavior that a king is likely to bring to his subjects.⁷⁸ Does he endorse monarchy as a means of punishing recalcitrant Israelites? Is this a begrudging acquiescence to popular outcry, a manipulation of the reluctant Samuel, and a trap for the faithless flock?

Samuel’s impassioned speech to the nation both reminds them that God has provided them with a king and rebukes them for having asked for one in the first place, claiming it to be an evil in the eyes of the Lord.⁷⁹ Just where does God stand? He has not previously and will not subsequently denounce monarchy itself as a wicked institution. Is Samuel representing divine sentiments or misconstruing them? There is more perplexity than direction in this account. And Yahweh does not come off well.

God himself expresses regret that he had ever bestowed the kingship on Saul, a most notable admission.⁸⁰ Was he acknowledging error? That would be a rather surprising confession. Samuel in fact insists that God never repents, only humans do so.⁸¹ On the face of it, that is a direct contradiction of God’s own expression of remorse, recorded a few lines earlier and again a few lines later. Bewilderment about the nature of God’s part in the tale only increases. He did at last determine upon the removal of Saul and the anointing of David.⁸² But the reasons for this rejection of Saul seem far less than obvious.

76 1 Sam 3:1.

77 1 Sam 3:4–21.

78 1 Sam 8:7–22.

79 1 Sam 12:13–17.

80 1 Sam 15:10–11, 35.

81 1 Sam 15:29. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 268, maintains that this must be a late addition to the text. Be that as it may, the glaring inconsistency stood to confront subsequent readers.

82 1 Sam 16:1, 3, 12–14.

A premature sacrifice by Saul (for which he had good reason and for which he apologized) and the sparing of the Amalekite ruler would appear to be quite inadequate grounds, thus casting God in a rather dubious light.

The closing portions of 1 Samuel show Yahweh more as reactor than initiator. David, now chosen as the anointed one, had access to the Lord to whom he could appeal and who responded to his requests as patron for his conflicts against both the Philistines and Saul.⁸³ He even called upon God to serve as arbiter between him and Saul.⁸⁴ But no arbitration took place. And the Lord disappears from the scene for the rest of the tale through the death of Saul, apart from a single reply to a request of David regarding pursuit of an Amalekite raiding party.⁸⁵

The biblical text presented a severe challenge for readers and for any who wished to recast it. Was monarchy a blessing or a curse? The attitudes of both God and Samuel seem pliant and perplexing on both sides of the issue.

Josephus faced a formidable task in attempting to make sense of this convoluted story. He chose to follow closely the outline of the narrative but to expand upon it liberally, to give it more vividness, and to provide more range to its characters. The historian gave full play to his rhetorical skills by supplying lengthy speeches to the protagonists, and adds numerous details to the confrontations, thus making a richer tableau. The result is a notably longer text than the scriptural version itself.

The historian, interestingly enough, however, did not come to grips with the issue of monarchy as a desirable or undesirable mode of governance. He deviates little from the scriptural account in presenting the people's demands for a king, Samuel's reluctance to embrace the idea, God's authorization of the prophet's yielding on this score, and Samuel's warnings of the evils of one-man rule.⁸⁶ Writing, as he did, under the Roman Empire and as a beneficiary of the Flavian dynasty, Josephus would understandably hesitate to denounce the institution itself. But he adds a small item of no small significance. He observes that Samuel's hatred of kings stemmed from his deep commitment to aristocracy which he regarded as a divine and blessed form of government.⁸⁷

83 1 Sam 23:2–4, 10–13.

84 1 Sam 24:13–16.

85 1 Sam 30:6–8.

86 Josephus, *AJ* 6.35–44.

87 Josephus, *AJ* 6.36: ἤττητο γὰρ δεινῶς τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὡς θείας καὶ μακαρίους ποιούσης τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῆς τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Josephus' references to aristocracy are generally favorable; *AJ* 4.223; 5.135; 6.84–85; 6.268. But his attitude is not always consistent. Cf. 11.111; 20.229; Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History*, 139; Schwartz, "Josephus on Jewish Constitutions," 30–52; Spilisbury, *The Image of the Jew*, 161–171; Mason, in Feldman, *Judean*

Josephus thus transforms, without making an issue of it, the theological and Deuteronomistic matter of the people's rejection of God into a constitutional matter. By ascribing the view to Samuel (the Bible has none of this), the historian alludes to the political significance without taking a stand on it. Samuel, as the Scriptures have it, called another assembly, railed once more against the grievous drawbacks of kingship, and delivered the Lord's message that by choosing monarchy the people have cast aside God's own rulership—but monarchy they will have.⁸⁸ Josephus provides a faithful paraphrase of that text, and expresses no judgment.⁸⁹ The inner tension of the original is thus restated. And Josephus refrains from attempting to elucidate it. When Samuel anointed Saul for the second time to confirm his position, the biblical narrative has the prophet remind the populace that the installation of a king was their idea and a wicked one at that in the eyes of the Lord.⁹⁰ Josephus here again inserts his addition that the πολιτεία of the Hebrews had been transformed into a monarchy.⁹¹ While Samuel might deplore it, Josephus held back an explicit judgment. But a close reader could read between the lines. Josephus does observe that under Moses and Joshua, and subsequently under the Judges, the Israelites remained under aristocratic rule.⁹² He did not say but did not need to say that that was the preferable regime. But if any Roman reader should suspect an indirect questioning of monarchy, Josephus had deniability.

Once the fraught beginnings of monarchic rule were over, the issue disappears as if uncontroversial and unquestioned. Although Saul as first king is a most problematic character, there was no turning back on the institution. Josephus nurtured the notion (through Samuel) of a slide from admirable aristocracy to terrible tyranny, but the topic itself and the controversy disappeared with stunning swiftness. When Saul confronted the likelihood of displacement by David, the expectation of succession was already established fact.⁹³ It was assumed and confirmed by Samuel from the grave, although his initial stance had been fiercely hostile to one-man rule.⁹⁴ Josephus' general assessment of Saul in his concluding digression includes the striking statement that the king

Antiquities, 1–4, xxvi–xxvii, 414. The issue of aristocracy in Josephus was reassessed recently by Feeley “Josephus as a Political Philosopher.”

88 1 Sam 10:17.

89 Josephus, *AJ* 6.60–61, with the notes of Begg, *Judean Antiquities*, 5–7, 114–115.

90 1 Sam 12:12–24. Cf. Josephus, *AJ* 6.88–91.

91 Josephus, *AJ* 6.83: καὶ οὕτως ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν μετέπεσεν.

92 Josephus, *AJ* 6.84–85.

93 Josephus, *AJ* 6.291.

94 Josephus, *AJ* 6.335–336.

determined not to flee from his fate lest he disparage the dignity of kingship.⁹⁵ In the end, according to Josephus, Saul showed intense concern for his future reputation—something especially appropriate for kings.⁹⁶ The legitimacy of kingship had already moved beyond question. The transition from contested and reluctant installation to established system occurred as if in an instant and without apparent resistance—or at least without notice either by the biblical writer or by the Jewish historian.

Josephus' recounting and elaborations upon the life of Saul cannot here be explored in detail.⁹⁷ But two notable excursions in the text prompted by that life give access to Josephus' own reflections on larger matters.

Saul's act of most horrendous nature, the murder of the High Priest of Nob simply for hosting David, followed by the massacre of his whole family, then all the inhabitants of the town, is duly registered by Josephus and condemned by him in no uncertain terms.⁹⁸ The deed did, however, prompt general thoughts that were not drawn from the Scriptures. Josephus presents Saul as exemplar of a deep character flaw fundamental to humanity itself. In the historian's jaundiced view, all men exhibit gentleness, moderation, and righteousness when they lack power. But once they are in a position of untrammelled authority and sovereignty, they strip off the mask, abandon their false benevolence, and give free reign to irrationality, malevolence, and cruelty, of which a prime instance is Saul's calamitous vengefulness at Nob.⁹⁹ Josephus concludes his devastating digression there and makes no more of it. He returns directly to his narrative with close adherence to the scriptural story. But the excursus leaves an ineradicable impression. Josephus trod on treacherous ground here. The idea that absolute power brings out the darkest traits of human character could reverberate with those subject to the rulers of the Roman Empire. Josephus gave voice to but swiftly dropped that line of reasoning—a prudent move. But he had already dropped a suggestive hint that owed nothing to the Bible.

A surprising turn occurred somewhat later in Josephus' text. He provided yet another digression, inserted just prior to the culminating scene of Saul's death, without any scriptural authority, in order to leave his own stamp on the meaning and significance of Saul's life and deeds.¹⁰⁰ It comes quite unexpectedly

95 Josephus, *AJ* 6.344: καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα.

96 Josephus, *AJ* 6.349; cf. 6.343.

97 On Josephus' portrait of Saul, see Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 509–536, although his emphasis on the praiseworthy qualities of Saul is one-sided and exaggerated. For a more judicious literary analysis, see Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 23–56.

98 Josephus, *AJ* 6.255–262.

99 Josephus, *AJ* 6.262–268.

100 Josephus, *AJ* 6.343–350.

and seems to have a life of its own. Unlike the earlier excursus which deployed Saul as archetype of inner human wickedness, this one draws out his worthy traits that could inspire those who would emulate them to deeds of virtue and renown. The historian points to Saul's courage and perseverance at the end of his life: he faced his fate unflinchingly, rejected the idea of clinging to life and besmirching the dignity of kingship; he would go down fighting and provide those left behind with a model of bravery that would earn him eternal renown. Josephus' lofty encomium makes Saul the very epitome of righteousness, courage, and wisdom.¹⁰¹ He reiterates the point more than once in this section, holding up Saul's determination and valor at the end as the true means for all, but especially for kings, to leave a lasting lesson for posterity.¹⁰² This is a quite remarkable, even startling, parenthesis in the text. Coming shortly before the description of Saul's suicide, which Josephus commends (although he notoriously shunned that choice for himself), it is particularly striking. Is this indeed a model to be emulated? And how does one reconcile the powerful praise of Saul's virtues with the rest of the narrative that suggests nothing of the sort. Josephus seems almost embarrassed and sheepish about the excursus. In its concluding lines, he claims to have much more to say about Saul's fortitude but forbears to continue lest he appear excessive and tasteless in his panegyric.¹⁰³

The sharply different, even mutually contradictory, judgments delivered in Josephus' two digressions on Saul, the one epitomizing internal immorality and the other exemplary virtue, resist reconciliation.¹⁰⁴ Josephus appears to have had an attack of bad conscience at the end and thus labored to provide a different side of Saul. It did not bring coherence to the convoluted portrait stemming from the Scriptures, indeed only added to the incoherence. The suicide of Saul plainly resonated with Josephus' own personal experience. He felt an urgency to confront it and its reverberations. But he left the discordance with his earlier remarks unaddressed and unresolved. Readers would have to put the pieces together themselves.

101 Josephus, *AJ* 6.346: δίκαιος και ἀνδρεῖος και σώφρων.

102 Josephus, *AJ* 6.349–350. On Josephus' attitude toward self-killing more generally, see van Henten, "Noble Death," 203–207.

103 Josephus, *AJ* 6.350: ἔτι τούτων πλείω περι Σαούλου και τῆς εὐψυχίας λέγειν ἠδυνάμην, ὅλην ἡμῖν χορηγησάσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ φανώμεν ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνειμι πάλιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τούτους ἐξέβην.

104 Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 54, suggests that Josephus included the encomium simply because it was a literary convention or because he wished to soften the negative portrait of Saul and the institution of monarchy. That does not account for his willingness to let the blatant inconsistency stand.

Josephus leaves the role of God as slippery and ambivalent as the biblical account. The Bible made him a somewhat secondary character. The tale revolved around Samuel, Saul, and David, with God for the most part letting it play out on its own. Josephus clings close to the Scriptures, but adds some subtle supplements that suggest a slightly different perspective on the deity.

The tortured logic of God's authorization of monarchy out of pique because the people sought it, rather than being content with God's own dominion over them, is essentially repeated without comment by Josephus.¹⁰⁵ But he nuances the original by having Samuel explain the divine intention. Samuel infers that the Lord is putting his people through a trial. The harsh brutality of a king will drive them to implore God for succor, but he will not heed their prayers, thus to teach them a lesson for seeking a monarchy in the first place.¹⁰⁶ This spells out what was unexpressed in the original and endeavors to account for the divine motivation.¹⁰⁷ In a subsequent popular assembly summoned by Samuel, the prophet again voices Yahweh's will as punishing the Israelites for having preferred a ruler other than himself.¹⁰⁸ The Deuteronomistic character of the story stands forth: an affront to God followed by divine retaliation. God's will is expressed through his prophet and represented by his choice of king. But the agents of the Lord play the principal roles. Yahweh is appealed to, spoken for, even disobeyed, but more detached than engaged. His order for the extermination of the Amalekites, however, does draw Josephus' attention. The Lord's fury at Saul seems excessive and unjustified in the biblical narrative. Josephus felt the need to give some accounting for it. He ascribes it to God's unrelenting hatred of all Amalekites, the people who ambushed the Hebrews on the Exodus.¹⁰⁹ Indeed Josephus adds to the biblical text an express contrast between the unremittingly irascible Yahweh and Saul who showed at least a modicum of compassion.¹¹⁰ That contrast forecast Saul's demise. His sparing of the Amalekite ruler found God quite unforgiving and bent on retribution.¹¹¹ The Lord is not especially laudable in the biblical version. Josephus' additions

105 Josephus, *AJ* 6.38–39.

106 Josephus, *AJ* 6.42: ὁ δ' οὐ προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψας ἑάσει δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ὑμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίας. See Begg, *Judean Antiquities*, 5–7, 107–108.

107 Cf. 1 Sam 8:4–22.

108 Josephus, *AJ* 6.60–61.

109 Josephus, *AJ* 6.138.

110 Josephus, *AJ* 6.137: οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιῶν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικῶμενος ἰδίῳ καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκαίρως περὶ ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν ἀκίνδυνον ἔξουσίαν οἴκτω; 142–151. On Saul and the Amalekites, see Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 37–39.

111 Josephus, *AJ* 6.142, 150, 335–36, 378.

make him even less so. But the historian does endeavor to account for Yahweh's actions which the biblical author had evidently reckoned as self-evident.

Josephus, on the whole, faithfully reproduced the tangled tale of Samuel and Saul in the web of an inscrutable God. But although he did not disentangle it, he exercised to some advantage the historian's craft. He ventured to pose the problematic issue of monarchic rule as both a theological and a political one. His insertion or elaboration of speeches in the tradition of classical historiography, his commitment to find some rationality in seemingly irrational behavior, and his pauses to reflect upon the effects of character upon events and as exempla for the future provide historical perspective that far exceeded mere reproduction of a narrative. Josephus did not tie up the loose ends. But his new version, prompted by historical considerations and broader issues, added ingredients that could provoke serious rethinking and reflection well beyond the basic story.

7 Conclusion

These examples do not, of course, tell the whole story. The variety of approaches to the biblical material even in these few samples, however, indicates that Josephus operated without a fixed agenda or goal that governed his rewritings. He followed no firm pattern or repeated scheme in recasting the tales. The stories and characters themselves prompted a range of reactions from the historian. For the most part, he retained the framework of the received story, but he could shift the emphasis, reimagine a character, drop or soften unwelcome actions, and inject his own inferences or judgments to leave a quite different impression depending upon the character or message of the biblical segment that he was treating. He eschewed any consistent formula that might determine his disposition.

Josephus could rewrite a story to massage the reputations of Abraham and Joseph, to add a military and a romantic dimension to the lawgiver, to implant moral considerations into the tale of Jephthah, to complicate the harsh portrait of Samson, and to tackle (though not resolve) the delicate problem of the relation between monarchy and the deity. It would be reductive and misguided to force the historian's multiple, miscellaneous, and disparate re-imaginings of biblical material into some neat schema that guided his history.

What inferences follow for the broader question of attitude toward the sanctity of tradition? For Josephus, Scripture clearly allowed for flexibility and manipulation. But there is no reason to see his additions, omissions, or variations as constituting irreverence or a cavalier attitude toward biblical

authority. What these re-writings confirm is that scriptural sanctity did not require consistent or precise replication. The adaptation of Jewish legend through different approaches and angles had been an integral part of Jewish culture almost from the start. And Josephus' *Antiquities* falls well within that tradition. Nothing suggests that new versions of scriptural material sought to supersede the biblical account, to substitute for it, or to displace it.¹¹² It did not, in any way, compromise the integrity, let alone the holiness, of the Bible to provide alternative ways of presenting a narrative or a character. In fact, I would urge, the reverse holds. The variants, perhaps paradoxically, only served to validate the original, even occasionally to elevate it. Indeed they generally took for granted that the readership knew the original. In this way readers would best appreciate the divergences from and the twists applied to the antecedent text, the expansions and the nuances, even the altogether new renderings that would provide a fresh angle on the earlier text. Far from weakening the force of the original, they called attention to its authority.¹¹³ Variants on scriptural material only reinforced the importance of its inspiration. The relationship was a reciprocal one. The scriptures stimulated novel variations and the variations validated the source of stimulation.

The claims of an exact duplication of the original issued by Josephus about his own rendition need to be understood and, I believe, were understood as statements of symbolic significance. Readers of Josephus who were familiar with the Hebrew Bible and its diverse reproductions would not have been misled by his pronouncements. The rewriting of biblical tales maintained, even strengthened, their authority, but also found room for thoughtful, provocative, reflective, and even inventive variations on their rich themes and unforgettable characters.

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¹¹² So, rightly, Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 44. Petersen, "Reflections," 33–35 endeavors to make the case that *Jubilees* at least did present itself as superseding its scriptural predecessors.

¹¹³ Cf. Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon," 96.

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Ancient Jewish Court-Tales, Scriptural Adaptation, and Greco-Roman Discourses of Exemplarity: Joseph, Esther, and Agrippa I in Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*

David R. Edwards

Josephus¹ penchant for the figures of Joseph and Esther from the Jewish scriptures stands out on the basis of his own retellings of them in *Antiquitates Judaicae*.² There they are flawless paragons of virtue that exceed even their lofty original personae from the Hebrew Bible.³ They are both models of virtue

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- 1 Full discussion of the topics in this chapter can be found in Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 29–56; 112–165, of which this essay is a condensed treatment.
 - 2 Josephus' account of Joseph encompasses *AJ* 2.9–200 while his account of Esther spans *AJ* 11.184–296.
 - 3 Josephus' tendencies in retelling the stories of Joseph and Esther in *AJ* have been amply documented. On Joseph in *AJ*, Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities,"* 213–284; Niehoff, *Figure of Joseph*, 84–110; Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*, 335–373; Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, 130–186; Whitmarsh, "Josephus, Joseph, and the Greek Novel;" Bosman, "Joseph Narratives;" Tinklenberg Devega, "Man Who Fears God," 31–56; Nodet, *Antiquités Juives, Volume 1*. On Esther in *AJ*, see Feldman, *Studies*, 500–538; Kneebone, "Josephus' Esther and Diaspora Judaism," 165–182; Chalupa, "Book of Esther in Josephus;" Spilsbury and Seeman, *Judean Antiquities 11*, 51–87; Nodet, *Antiquités Juives, Volume v*. On Josephus' scriptural source text of the Joseph and Esther stories, see the limited discussion later in this chapter.

The form, contents, and language of Josephus' source text of the Jewish scriptures, broadly speaking, is highly debated and largely unresolvable, even though some features are reasonably clear. There is good reason to assume that, as a result of his priestly education in Jerusalem, Josephus was literate in Hebrew and Aramaic and possessed deep familiarity with the Jewish scriptures prior to the writing of *AJ* (Feldman, "Use, Authority, and Exegesis;" Mason, "Did Josephus Know His Bible;" but note the doubts of Satlow, "Josephus' Knowledge;" Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaeae Politics*, 22–44; Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest*, 115–128). Although Josephus himself frames *AJ* as a translation project (*AJ* 1.5–6), there is ample evidence both that he struggled his entire life to gain competency in high-register literary Greek (*AJ* 20.263) as well as that he accessed large parts of the Jewish scriptures in existing Greek translation, modifying them to suit (e.g., the use of Greek 1 Edras rather than Hebrew Ezra/Nehemiah in Spilsbury and Seeman, *Judean Antiquities 11*, 5). Most scholars, including myself, assume that Josephus was competent in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, and that he possessed his scriptural sources and other Jewish traditions in some mixture of these languages (Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*, 23–36; but note the singular use of Hebrew Ur-text proposed by Nodet, *Hebrew Bible*). Further precision is sometimes possible in specific

and heroes for Josephus, notable exemplars of Jews successfully navigating the highest reaches of Gentile power in the diaspora. But these powerful court-tales serve as inspiration, models, and archetypes for the composition of several non-scriptural accounts in *Antiquitates Judaicae*.⁴ In this chapter I will examine one account which is modeled in significant respects upon the figures of Joseph and Esther: Josephus' narrative of Agrippa I, which spans *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18–19.⁵ In this story of the life of Agrippa I and his various intrigues at the Roman court, Josephus casts Agrippa in the mold of Joseph and Esther in several unmistakable ways. Yet, at the same time, he subverts the parallels between Agrippa and those heroes of old as the king is portrayed as consistently falling short of their famed virtue.

My methodology in this chapter involves a three-part procedure. First, there is the search for simple parallels between the non-scriptural account and the scriptural archetype—that is, imitation and copying. Parallels are usually exhibited at the broader level of plot and characterization but sometimes extend to specific vocabulary. Then, I explore ways in which the expectations that these straightforward parallels establish for the reader are disturbed in one or more of three ways: (1) subversion involves the undermining of the reader's expectation; (2) inversion, on the other hand, entails the unexpected reversal or switching of one figure or action with the other; (3) and irony, lastly, depends on a disparity either between the reader's knowledge and the character's knowledge or between intended meaning and actual/resultant meaning. While I entertain the likelihood that Josephus composed his account of Agrippa I with these features in mind, that is not necessary for my thesis given that the most prominent ones are clearly recognizable and indisputably present irrespective of any putative authorial intent. It could also be argued that my approach expects quite a lot of Josephus' imagined reader; noticing subversion, inversion, and irony demands a relatively high level of familiarity with the Jewish scriptures in that it involves, first, a recognition of the parallel with the archetype (i.e., the stories of Joseph and Esther) and, then at a

cases but is not necessary for or relevant to this study. See fuller discussion in Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 5–10.

4 Some of the scriptural allusions which I flesh out in this chapter are briefly noted by Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 16–18.

5 Note that while Josephus' account of Agrippa I spans *AJ* 18.127–19.352, the entirety of 19.1–235 recounts the Roman conspiracy against Gaius, with Agrippa only entering the story again from 19.236. Agrippa I has most often been studied in the context of the Herodian dynasty, Roman Palestine, the Alexandrian crisis, and the reigns of the emperors Gaius and Claudius. For studies on Agrippa I in Josephus, see Krieger, "Darstellung König Agrippas I," 94–118; Kushnir-Stein, "Agrippa I in Josephus," 153–161; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*.

deeper level, the disruption of the parallel which results in a new and coherent reading of the narrative. To that point, we may justifiably postulate the recitation of literary works by Greco-Roman elites as part of the ongoing process of composition and “publication” as an opportunity for Josephus to close the gap between his readers’ background knowledge and that minimally required to recognize the elements of subversion, inversion, and irony in his narrative.⁶ However, while I undertake analysis from what might be termed a maximalist position, I do not harbor the expectation that each one of Josephus’ readers necessarily recognized every point and connection that I note herein.⁷ Finally, after demonstrating this procedure of subversive adaptation, I will show in my conclusion how this surprising feature of Josephus’ account of Agrippa I can be explained in light of Greco-Roman discourses of exemplarity. Here I appeal to Plutarch as a notable contemporary who, like Josephus, also utilized exploratory exemplarity in the narrative historiography of his *Parallel Lives* in order to exploit unexpected tensions, incongruities, and subversive elements so as to engage the reader in moral reflection and ethical judgement in response to the narrative. In what follows, the Greek text of Josephus that I cite is drawn from the Loeb edition in consultation with Niese’s critical edition, while all translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

6 Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture*, 42–56; Augoustakis, “Literary Culture;” Huitink and van Henten, “Publication of Flavius Josephus’ Works;” Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 13–15.

7 Even among the relatively homogenous elite Greco-Roman audience which scholarship has reconstructed as Josephus’ immediate readership (see the dedication to Epaphroditus in *AJ* 1.8–9 and the discussion in Mason, “Should Anyone Wish to Enquire Further”), we must allow that his readers are to some degree variegated and diverse in terms of their prior background knowledge and their commitment to and interest in our author’s project. Despite the doubts of Nodet regarding a non-Jewish audience (“Josephus’ Attempt,” 103–104), the extent to which Josephus consistently explains Jewish customs and history in *AJ* as if he expects the reader to be fundamentally unfamiliar with their details confirms the essentially non-Jewish core of his anticipated readership. However, given the notoriety of Josephus in post-war Flavian Rome, it is difficult to imagine that other Jews in the capital would be unaware of our author’s profile and would not take an interest in a new work from him which purports to relate the whole of Jewish history and translate the entire Jewish scriptures. Certain explicit indicators indeed confirm that he expected Jews to read *AJ* as well, such as his petition for the leniency of the imagined Jewish reader for the decision to reorganize the scriptural ordering of Jewish laws so as to present a more comprehensible account (*AJ* 4.197). In this chapter I refer to Josephus’ immediate readership as “Greco-Roman” so as to include Romans as well as Greeks and other provincials living in Rome.

1 Agrippa I and the Figure of Joseph in *Antiquitates Judaicae*

Before analyzing specific scenes which portray Agrippa in the mold of the scriptural Joseph, it is important to highlight three editorial statements by Josephus which provide second-order reflection for the reader on the lessons learned from the life of Agrippa (*AJ* 18.127–129, 18.142, and 19.294–296). These comments show Josephus elaborating upon the significance of the figure of Agrippa and his many reversals of fortune and already interpreting him for the reader in a manner highly reminiscent of the figure of Joseph.

The first editorial comment occurs at the very beginning of Josephus' account of Agrippa I and just before he relates the genealogical data of the Herodian family (*AJ* 18.130–141). The reader is told (*AJ* 18.127–129) that narrating the life of Agrippa I can show “how neither greatness nor any other human strength is of benefit in meeting with success apart from piety towards the divine” (δίχρα τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβειῶν), and that “it might lead in some way to the moral education of human nature (σωφρονισμῶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου) to learn of the ill fate of his [Herod's] offspring and also to narrate the figure of Agrippa, which is most worth marveling over—who from an altogether common station and against every expectation of those who knew him rose up to such a position of power.” While in many ways this statement could be applied to all the protagonists of all the scriptural court-tales,⁸ including Daniel and Esther, its perspective is particularly prominent in the Joseph story and in Josephus' retelling of it.⁹ Joseph is first a slave and then a prisoner. He alone of the three is especially remembered in the way that Josephus here summarizes Agrippa. I will show later in this chapter how Josephus also plays on parallels with the Esther story, but here it is in light of the Joseph narrative that his statement should be read.

The second editorial comment (*AJ* 18.142) occurs right after the Herodian genealogy mentioned above and just before the narrative proper begins (*AJ* 18.143ff.). Josephus' commentary here shows an emphasis on the changing

8 Broadly speaking, this is a programmatic agenda in *Antiquitates* as indicated by *AJ* 1.14 and explored by Attridge, *Interpretation of Biblical History*; Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest*. See further discussion later in this chapter.

9 The figures of Esther and Daniel do attain remarkable prominence at court, but their prior positions are not at all stressed as being low and, to the contrary, are in many ways even enhanced. Esther, for instance, is given a suitably honorable pedigree from the start, especially in the Greek scriptural texts and in Josephus' retelling in *AJ* 11. Likewise, Daniel is specially groomed for court service from the outset and Josephus adds that he is already known to and admired by the king before his first court appearance. In short, then, neither of these two figures is emphatically of a low status even if they do ultimately rise much higher.

fortunes of Agrippa which ultimately terminate in success: “I now recount the rest—what fates (τύχαι) came upon Agrippa; how he made an escape from them as well as progressed to both the greatest honor (ἄξιωματός) and power.” The theme of escaping disaster only to reach an exalted status echoes the figure of Joseph, as does also Agrippa’s ἄξιωμα, which is reminiscent of Josephus’ application of the same term to Joseph in several places (*AJ* 2.97, 193).¹⁰

Similar sentiments are expressed in the third editorial comment, at *Antiquitates Judaicae* 19.294–96, much later in the narrative as Claudius confirms Agrippa upon his imperial accession. This scene fully resolves the tensions surrounding Agrippa’s fluctuations in status that drive so much of the plot. The reader is told that the gold chain that Gaius had given him upon his release from prison and elevation to kingship was retained as “a reminder of his dismal fate and a testimony of the reversal (μεταβολῆς) for better things” (*AJ* 19.294); “an example (δειγμα), both that greatness is able to fall as well as that God raises what has fallen” (*AJ* 19.294–295); and a reminder “that King Agrippa, on little account put into chains, was stripped of his former honor (ἄξιωμα) and, after a short time shackled, went out raised as king more splendid than before” (*AJ* 19.295–296). The particular terminology for “reversal” (μεταβολή) used for Agrippa is twice applied to scriptural Joseph in Josephus’ retelling in relation to the trials he experiences (*AJ* 2.40, 42), while the theme of falling and rising is also emphasized here several times. Further, Agrippa’s gold chain (χρυσὴν ἄλυσιν) is highly reminiscent of the gold collar (κλοιόν) given to Joseph by Pharaoh upon his release from prison (Old Greek Genesis 41:42).¹¹ In fact, I suggest that it is deliberately placed here so as to portray Agrippa here as a Joseph-like figure: both are framed by means of the shared experience of unjust imprisonment and ultimate vindication (with golden accoutrement).¹²

Beyond these brief editorial comments, the full-scale scenes in which Agrippa most clearly and explicitly echoes the figure of Joseph involve false

10 The term ἄξιωμα is absent in Old Greek Genesis, indicating that it is likely Josephus’ own addition to his retelling of the Joseph story.

11 The term κλοιόν is also used for collars worn by prisoners and therefore seems chosen specifically to represent an inversion of Joseph’s imprisoned state, just like Agrippa’s chain (ἄλυσιν). The Göttingen edition is used where I reference or cite the Greek text of Genesis. The extant Hebrew text of Genesis (Masoretic text) and the Greek translation of Genesis (Old Greek/LXX) are in principle distinct, with the latter reflecting a slightly different Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, while they do indeed vary at minor points (sometimes with significant impacts upon meaning), in practice they converge so closely that they may be treated as a single textual tradition for the purposes of this study.

12 Schwartz notes certain correspondences between the circumstances of the release from imprisonment of both Agrippa and Joseph (*Agrippa I*, 34, 55), but not the collar/chain gifted to each figure.

accusation of him and his resulting unjust imprisonment, during which time divine portents are interpreted as presaging his release and ultimate vindication.¹³ In *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.168, Josephus reports that Agrippa once was out riding with Gaius when the former's freedman, Eutyclus, overheard him express the wish that "Tiberius might soon step aside and yield his rule to Gaius who was more worthy in every way."¹⁴ When Eutyclus was later imprisoned by Agrippa for theft, he retaliated by claiming to have information pertinent to the emperor's safety (*AJ* 18.170). Though Tiberius allowed the freedman to linger in prison for some time, at Agrippa's urging he investigated the charges more closely. Eutyclus then made the further false charge that he had heard Agrippa offer the idea that, once Gaius was installed as ruler, Tiberius' grandson (Gemellus) could easily be disposed of so as to present no obstacle (*AJ* 18.187). Upon hearing this Tiberius promptly had Agrippa imprisoned as well (*AJ* 18.188–191).

What is so striking about this sequence in relation to the story of Joseph is the grounds for imprisonment. Perhaps the most memorable aspect of Joseph's imprisonment is that it is based on a false accusation. In his own retelling of the Joseph story in *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Josephus consistently heightens the emphasis on the false accusation by creating an elaborate dialogue and scheme for Potiphar's wife, making it all the more galling when she takes recourse to falsely accusing the innocent Joseph who did nothing but resist her advances (*AJ* 2.41–59). Josephus is, then, quite keen to emphasize the falsity of the accusation and to imbue Joseph with the aura of a victim and martyr. In the same vein, the falsity of the accusation against Agrippa is a key element in the *Antiquitates Judaicae* version of the story; this stands in contrast to the parallel passage in *Bellum Judaicum*. The latter narrates no more than the report by one of Agrippa's servants to the emperor of an injudicious remark he had made, in which Tiberius' death and Gaius' accession are prayerfully expected (*BJ* 2.179–180). In this exceptionally brief parallel account in *Bellum Judaicum* there is no hint that the accusation is false. The most that the reader might infer is that the remark is incredibly ill-conceived and the resulting imprisonment an unsurprising reaction by the emperor. It is, therefore, significant that Josephus chose in *Antiquitates Judaicae* to add the extended scenario of false accusation and unjust imprisonment.

13 Several of the points of contact which follow were first noted (though not developed further) by Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 34–35.

14 Note that in the parallel passage from the much shorter *BJ* account the setting of the conversation is not riding but dining (*BJ* 2.179).

The affinity between the false accusations against Agrippa and Joseph is not simple imitation, but rather exhibits a playfulness with the character of Agrippa. Where Joseph is entirely innocent of the charges against him and did nothing whatsoever to bring his fate upon him, the same cannot be said for Agrippa. Though he is, like Joseph, falsely accused, Josephus does not attempt to lessen the impropriety of Agrippa's actual remark. He in no way downplays it. Rather, he leaves the reader with a complicated character. Agrippa is certainly falsely accused as the reader well knows; the lie of the freedman is explicit and manifest in the *Antiquitates Judaicae* narrative. Yet, Agrippa did in fact come dangerously close to espousing precisely the sentiments which Eutychus attributed to him—so close, in fact, as to border on treason.

Unlike Joseph, then, Agrippa's misfortune seems to be at least a little bit a result of his own poor judgement. Therefore, he does not quite cast the stoic silhouette of the patiently enduring Joseph. Thus, Josephus characterizes Agrippa here—as throughout *Antiquitates Judaicae*—as a complex figure who, through his own shortcomings, lands himself in tight spots as often as he manages to squeeze out of them and regain prosperity. Agrippa's career is more complicated and ambiguous, then, than Joseph's. The basic affinity remains between Agrippa and Joseph, but it functions also to establish a foundation for the extra layer of complexity and ambiguity.

While imprisoned by Tiberius on charges of treason, Agrippa encounters a German fellow-prisoner who, upon seeing a bird land on a tree over Agrippa's head, predicts his imminent release by the workings of divine providence as well as his eventual death (*AJ* 18.195–204). This scene evidences affinities with Joseph's imprisonment in Genesis, in which the patriarch encounters two of Pharaoh's disgraced courtiers, a baker and cupbearer, whose dreams he interprets as signifying the former's death and the latter's release (*Gen* 40). The resemblance between the figures of Agrippa and Joseph here is unquestionable. First, both episodes are interpreted within the framework of divine providence, one of Josephus' favorite themes in *Antiquitates Judaicae*. In his retelling of the scriptural Joseph story, Josephus interprets for the reader that Joseph (*AJ* 2.60–61) “relied completely upon God” and was “confident that God who knew the reason for his disaster and the truth was stronger than those who bound him—which proof of the providence (προνοίας) [of God] he received straight away.” Some of the same moralizing tones are to be found in the scene of Agrippa's imprisonment. For instance, just as Josephus editorialized about Joseph's plight, the German prisoner also credits divine providence (τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προνοίαν) with designing Agrippa's imminent release (*AJ* 18.197).

Second, the exchange between Agrippa and the German also stands out in relation to the Joseph story for the way that both narratives feature one

imprisoned and disgraced courtier interpreting divine signs to another concerning their release, return to court, and death. The German goes on to prophecy to Agrippa (*AJ* 18.200) that, after he is released, he will “advance to both the greatest honor and power” but must also remember that “when you see this bird another time your death will take place five days later.” This alludes to the two prophecies in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 2.64–73 / *Gen* 40:9–19 issued by Joseph to Pharaoh’s cupbearer (for restoration) and baker (for death). The sight of a bird above Agrippa’s head is the sign of his impending release and his eventual death, much as in the baker’s dream, where the bird is also the sign of his imminent death (*AJ* 2.71–73 / *Gen* 40:16–19).¹⁵ Then, when the German completes his prophecy to Agrippa, he begs the latter to remember him after his release (*AJ* 18.201–202), much like Joseph’s plea to the cupbearer to put in a good word for him to Pharaoh after he is released (*Gen* 40:14 / *AJ* 2.68).

While the whole scene is highly evocative of the Joseph story,¹⁶ the two protagonists are not connected by way of simple imitation or direct parallel but are, rather, inverted or reversed. In the case of the scriptural story, it is Joseph who skillfully divines the meaning of his fellow prisoners’ dreams; it is Joseph who interacts with two fallen courtiers and prophesies their opposing fates, one for good and the other for ill.¹⁷ In the account of Agrippa, however, it is not the protagonist who possesses skill in reading divine signs but a nameless non-Jewish prisoner. As a result, it is not Agrippa who plays the role of Joseph but, rather, the nameless German prisoner. Agrippa, meanwhile, takes on the function of both baker and cupbearer in that his release and his death are predicted by a fellow prisoner. There is a sort of irony here at which a reader with knowledge of the Joseph story could only smile: Agrippa is like a

15 Schwartz, *Agrippa* 1, 34.

16 There are also several other minor points of convergence and contrast between Joseph and Agrippa (Schwartz, *Agrippa* 1, 34). For instance, upon release both Joseph and Agrippa are treated to haircuts and a change of clothes (*AJ* 18.237 / *Gen* 41:14). On the other hand, although Agrippa is treated well during his imprisonment like Joseph, unlike the latter this is not attributed to virtue or God’s providential care. Instead, Agrippa receives preferential treatment due to the intervention of benefactors in the halls of power: Antonia the Younger, sister-in-law of Tiberius and mother of Claudius, arranges for his care (*AJ* 18.202–204 / *Gen* 39:20–23). As Matthews points out, Antonia functions as something of an inverse of Potiphar’s wife (*First Converts*, 31–32).

17 Joseph’s divinatory and oracular skill is even more forcefully emphasized in Josephus’ retelling (*AJ* 2.63, 65). It is likely that, for Josephus’ elite Roman audience, skills of an oracular/divinatory type were a priori closely linked to other fields of knowledge. Jovanović, for instance, shows that in Josephus’ retelling and in other ancient Joseph traditions, Joseph’s skills in divination sit comfortably alongside his φρόνησις and other prominent qualities as the stock in trade of the Hellenistic scientist (*Joseph of Genesis as Hellenistic Scientist*, 76–118).

less-commendable version of Joseph. Like Joseph, God providentially cares for Agrippa in designing his release, just as the German predicted, but it remains a mystery why this should be deserved in a figure so unlike his archetype.

2 Agrippa I and Esther in *Antiquitates Judaicae*

After Agrippa's post-imprisonment fate is secured through the banishment of Herod Antipas (also known as "the Tetrarch"), who contested his younger kinsman's elevated status under the new emperor Gaius Caligula (*AJ* 18.240–255), Josephus turns once again to Gaius and to his reign. Josephus' sole interest in Gaius is the emperor's attempt to erect his own statue in the Jewish temple in the wake of the violent unrest in Alexandria.¹⁸ While several broader aspects of the narrative allude to the Esther story, the key scene of Agrippa petitioning on behalf of the Jewish people at a banquet unmistakably echoes Queen Esther.¹⁹

Unlike the parallel passage in *Bellum Judaicum* 2.184, the framing of Gaius in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.256 mirrors the Persian king in the Esther story.²⁰ In *Bellum Judaicum* 2.184, no indication is given that Gaius administered the empire respectably for any length of time before his wickedness became manifest; he is entirely evil, right from the start. The Gaius of *Antiquitates Judaicae*, who rules well for the first year and at least a portion of the second, is a bit

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- 18 The unrest between the city's Greek and Jewish inhabitants led each side to send rival embassies to Rome to argue their case before Gaius personally. For brief but thorough surveys of the Alexandrian crisis, see Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 235–255; Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 161–183; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 48–78. For a full-length study, see Gambetti, *Alexandrian Riots*. Josephus' extensive account of the conspiracy against and assassination of Gaius, which occupies the bulk of *AJ* 19, is a product of his preoccupation with Gaius' attempt to erect his image in the Jerusalem temple: the emperor's ignominious death is exactly the sort of fate which befalls those who behave so impiously.
- 19 My references to the scriptural Esther story are drawn from the Hebrew version (Masoretic text). There are, additionally, two distinct Greek translations of Esther (Alpha text and Old Greek/LXX) that differ from each other and from the Hebrew text in a multitude of ways large and small, but they are not relevant for the purposes of this study. For a discussion of the ancient versions of Esther and of their relationship to Josephus' retelling of the Esther story in *AJ* II, see Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 136.
- 20 The question of whether *BJ* was used generally as a basis for *AJ* or whether some common source was used for both has been much debated (see especially Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 58–65). More recently, Krieger has shown conclusively and at length that, at least for *AJ* 18–20, Josephus rewrote his *BJ* account and added much new material (*Geschichtsschreibung*; English summary in Krieger, "Synoptic Approach to B 2:117–283 and A 18–20," 90–100).

different, and a bit more like the king in Esther. The Gaius of *Bellum Judaicum* bears no such resemblance to the Persian king of Esther.²¹ Likewise, the language used to describe Gaius' divine aspirations in *Bellum Judaicum* attributes initiative to the emperor himself, as opposed to *Antiquitates Judaicae*, where it is allowed that Gaius—though by no means absolved of responsibility—was in some measure moved by outside forces to take his regrettable course; non-Jewish peoples who initiated divine honors for him spurred on his own divine aspirations.²² This sounds a lot like the Persian king of Esther, who is goaded by a subordinate into taking anti-Jewish action (Esth 3:7–14 / *AJ* 11.209–220).

In *Antiquitates Judaicae*, the anti-Jewish subordinate is the Alexandrian figure Apion, who appears before Gaius to plead the cause of the city's Greek embassy in opposition to the Jewish one (*AJ* 18.257–260). Apion plays a role quite similar to that of Haman in the story of Esther. Apion is, in *Antiquitates Judaicae*, a central antagonist second only to Gaius himself. He is, however, absent from the parallel account in *Bellum Judaicum* 2.181ff along with, in fact, the entirety of the Alexandrian crisis.²³ On the other hand, in *Antiquitates Judaicae* the Jews come to Gaius' attention only after the slanderous denunciations of Apion, so that the anti-Jewish Alexandrian and the embassy he leads are directly responsible for instigating the anti-Jewish imperial action.

Although Philo's *Legatio* is believed to be the ultimate source for this section of *Antiquitates Judaicae*,²⁴ unlike Josephus, Philo never refers to Apion in his extant corpus, much less claims that he led the Alexandrian embassy. Instead, Philo introduces Isidorus as the leader of the Alexandrian embassy, but only near the end of the text.²⁵ Furthermore, Philo never claims that the

21 While the Persian king's portrayal is somewhat mixed in the scriptural version of the Esther story, Josephus in his own retelling perfunctorily rectifies this and distances the king from the anti-Jewish activities of his wicked servant Haman. See Feldman, *Studies*, 500–508; Kneebone, "Josephus' Esther and diaspora Judaism," 174–177; Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 139–141.

22 Condemnations of Gaius' divine aspirations were commonplace and practically a trope among the emperors' biographers; on historical grounds they may be understood in light of Gaius' love of eastern culture and his affinity for Hellenistic models of kingship (Adams, *Roman Emperor Gaius*).

23 Josephus may have wished to avoid bringing to mind an instance of violent Jewish civic unrest so soon after the end of the Jewish War.

24 Schwartz, *Agrippa 1*, 18–23. He argues that Josephus also drew on Philo for his account in *BJ*, though much less extensively. On Josephus' use of Philo in his account of Agrippa I in *AJ*, see Schwartz, *Agrippa 1*, 11–33. On Josephus' use of Philo more broadly, see Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*, 52–54; Sterling, "Man of the Highest Repute," 101–113.

25 *Legat.* 355. Elsewhere in *Legatio* the members/leaders of the Alexandrian delegation to Gaius are not named. The substitution by Josephus of Apion for Isidorus as head of

Alexandrian embassy caused Gaius to attempt to erect his image in the temple. Finally, for most of *Legatio*, blame for Gaius' alignment against the Jews and their embassy is cast upon Helicon, who is an Egyptian courtier in the imperial house, but not part of the Alexandrian embassy itself.²⁶ Similarly, the design to erect Gaius' image in the Jewish temple is attributed by Philo not to the Alexandrian embassy, as in Josephus, but to the machinations of other anti-Jewish interests.²⁷

The substitution of Apion for Isidorus is not due to a simple mistake or the use of some other source (from Apion himself or a third party).²⁸ The lone references to Apion in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.257 and 259 may indicate a first encounter between Josephus and his future rhetorical opponent in *Contra Apionem*.²⁹ That Apion is nowhere else mentioned in *Antiquitates Judaicae* where anti-Jewish charges are brought up—points where Josephus often deviates from the narrative at hand and engages in polemic with various

the embassy is also noted by Smallwood, "Philo and Josephus as Historians of the Same Events," 118–119; Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini*, 248–249, 319.

It frequently goes unnoticed or unmentioned that Josephus replaces Isidorus with Apion. Niehoff, for instance, although writing on Philo and his oeuvre, refers to Apion as the head of the Alexandrian embassy (Niehoff, *Philo*, 14 and throughout). The preference for Josephus' account over Philo's firsthand testimony on this point is never acknowledged or explained. On a general preference between the two accounts for Philo over Josephus, see Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini*, 32. For a rejection of this preference, see Schwartz, "On Drama and Authenticity in Philo and Josephus," 113–129. For a demurral to prefer one over the other, see McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 123.

26 *Legat.* 166–168; 178.

27 *Legat.* 198–206. Philo mentions Capito (a tax official), Helicon (a freedman, presumably Alexandrian, functioning as a courtier in the imperial house), and Apelles (an actor who was a personal friend and advisor of Gaius). On these figures, see Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini*, 246–247, 261, 264–265.

28 Harker notes the discrepancies between Josephus' and Philo's accounts and, therefore, assumes that Josephus cannot have used Philo—hypothesizing the use of a non-extant account composed by Apion himself (*Loyalty and Dissidence*, 34). Kerskeslager also suggests that Josephus used an account from Apion himself as his source ("Absence of Dionysios, Lampo, and Isidoros," 89). However, there is no need to assume that the differences preclude Josephus' use of Philo when the literary qualities of his account are considered, as I discuss below.

29 The *Contra Apionem* is Josephus' last work, written as a rejoinder to the objections that *AJ* apparently received in some quarters to the effect that his claims about the Jewish national past were controverted by the Greek historians (*CA* 1.1–3). Its date of composition is unknown other than sometime in the mid- or late-90's or possibly the very early second century CE. In addition to addressing Apion posthumously in *CA*, Josephus also quotes extensively from other Greek writers such as Manetho, Chaeremon, and Lysimachus in order to refute disparaging views of Jewish history, personages, and customs. For an introduction to *CA*, see Barclay, "Against Apion."

enemies of the Jews—indicates that he may not have previously been aware of or concerned with Apion. Josephus' willingness to substitute Apion for Isidorus may reflect, then, a nascent awareness that Apion constituted the greater threat in the long run and may also indicate an incipient interest in that figure—an interest which would soon grow to a degree such as to require writing an entire volume. As Smallwood notes, Apion was to Josephus “the typical anti-Semite.”³⁰ Yet, in light of the affinities he was creating between his account of Agrippa I and the Esther story, Josephus may also have substituted Apion as a result of the literary sensibility that this figure modelled the Jewish arch-enemy Haman much more closely than the relatively unknown figure of Isidorus.³¹ By the later first century CE the very name “Apion” raises to Josephus the same virulently and dangerously anti-Jewish associations as does the legendary “Haman.”

Additionally, Josephus establishes a definite causal connection between the Alexandrian embassy's charges in the scene before Gaius and the attempt to erect the emperor's image in the Jerusalem temple. As noted above, Philo does not make this connection, instead supplying other reasons for Gaius' action. It is likely that, as Schwartz suggests, Josephus' reason for omitting Philo's reference to the letter of Capito and the incident between the Jews and Greeks at Yavneh (*Legat.* 201–203), which provoke Gaius' plot in the Alexandrian's account of the crisis, is because it would seem to Josephus to justify the emperor's anti-Jewish action as a retaliatory response for the destruction of the altar erected to him—justification which Josephus is not at all prepared to allow.³² Josephus' alterations to Philo should be interpreted as a single and deliberate act to capitalize on a literary potentiality, with the result being the portrayal of the Alexandrian embassy—and Apion in particular—as directly instigating the emperor to take action against the Jewish people. By making Apion

30 Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini*, 319.

31 In contrast to Apion's comparative renown, Isidorus is poorly known and little knowledge of his background has been preserved. He appears in the fragmentary *Acta Alexandrinorum*, which can be consulted in Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*. A recent analysis of this corpus, including the figure of Isidorus, can be found in Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence*. A brief overview of the historical Apion, his career, and his posthumous reputation can be found in Barclay, *Against Apion*, 170n7.

Allen Kerkeslager argues on the basis of Philo and other evidence that Isidorus (along with Dionysius and Lampo) was neither particularly anti-Jewish nor an official ambassador for the Greek embassy, but rather a patriotic Alexandrian who functioned unofficially as a legal advocate and counselor for the embassy (“Absence of Dionysios, Lampo, and Isidoros”). If this is true, and if Josephus also knew this, then it further explains his substitution of Apion for Isidorus.

32 Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 80–83.

the proximate cause of Gaius' anti-Jewish threat, Josephus was thereby able to echo the story of Esther in which the figure of Haman incites the king against the Jewish people.

After introducing the reign of Gaius, the charges of Apion, and the origin of the crisis against the Jews, Josephus then turns the narrative to focus on the repercussions of the crisis in Judea and Syria surrounding the figure of Petronius. Towards the end of this section Josephus returns to Agrippa and to his response to Gaius' anti-Jewish plot (*AJ* 18.289–297). Here, he narrates a dramatic banquet scene in which Agrippa speaks boldly with Gaius to preserve the Jewish people from harm (*AJ* 18. 289–296).³³ Resemblances with the famous banquet scene, at which Esther petitioned to revoke the murderous anti-Jewish decree of Haman, are conspicuous. They also help form a bedrock for more complex facets of Agrippa's characterization in light of scriptural archetypes.³⁴

The scene itself is the most prominent point of contact between these two stories: a banquet at which a momentous petition is made. However, other significant parallels between the two scenes are also present. Both protagonists, for instance, make their requests to revoke anti-Jewish imperial action in the midst of eating and drinking, when the monarch is relaxed and in a good mood. In Josephus' retelling of the Esther story, the reader is told that Esther's supplication takes place "in the midst of drinking" and "while the king [Ahasuerus] together with Haman was being entertained."³⁵ In the Agrippa story, similarly, the king's petition takes place as Gaius was "driven by wine and had his mind turned more cheery."³⁶ Additionally, when both figures finally issue their petitions it is only after first declining to disclose their request. In Josephus' version of the Esther story, the queen "delayed until the next day to voice her wish to him [King Ahasuerus]."³⁷ In the Agrippa story, the king demurs "although he was entirely ready to supply his request, he did not reveal his intention."³⁸ Finally, in both cases, the ruler expects for the petition to include a request for territory. In Josephus' retelling of the Esther story, the king reassures her that

33 Although Schwartz (*Agrippa 1*, 18–23) convincingly argues that the banquet scene is drawn from a hypothesized biography of Agrippa, which he names *Vita Agrippa*, it is also possible that Josephus invented it. Regardless, I treat the text in its final form as a Josephan composition irrespective of its origin in a putative source.

34 Several of the points of contact which follow were first noted (though not developed further) by Schwartz, *Agrippa 1*, 34–35.

35 *AJ* 11.242, 262.

36 *AJ* 18.291.

37 *AJ* 11.243.

38 *AJ* 18.294.

she “would not fail to obtain anything, not even should she wish to receive a share of his kingdom.”³⁹ Likewise, Gaius extends his offer to Agrippa “thinking that he would request either a large acquisition of neighboring territory or even the revenue of cities.”⁴⁰ No reader familiar with the Esther story could fail to note the remarkable role in which Agrippa is here cast.

As much as Agrippa resembles noble Esther in this banquet scene and is no doubt admirable for it, he also fails to reach that illustrious character’s heights of bravery and virtue. Esther goes to exceptional lengths to devise the plan of the banquet, to go to the king in private and make the invitation at great personal risk, and then, finally, to put forward the request itself after the second banquet. Agrippa, on the other hand, has motives that are far less benevolent and far more self-serving. As Josephus reports (*AJ* 18.289): “And at that time he [Agrippa] set up a banquet for him [Gaius] and had the intention to surpass all, both with respect to bearing the financial expenditure for those in attendance at the banquet as well as the provision for pleasure.”

Given that Josephus has already consistently portrayed Agrippa in *Antiquitates Judaicae* as over-spending recklessly to the point of bankruptcy in an effort to cultivate social contacts in the upper reaches of Roman society (*AJ* 18.143–46, 161–67), the motives assigned to him for the banquet are entirely appropriate within the larger narrative.⁴¹ Thus, there is not the slightest hint that Agrippa had planned to act out of his exalted position at court to avert the anti-Jewish plot. Although in the cases of both Esther and Agrippa the ruler prompts the protagonist to make a petition, Esther is characterized as elaborately planning the banquet precisely so as to elicit this scenario, while Agrippa

39 *AJ* 11.243.

40 *AJ* 18.293.

41 Agrippa’s reputation for overspending to the point of destitution may have persisted in some circles. In the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, at a point when Isidorus makes accusations to Claudius against Agrippa, he refers to him as a “three-penny (τρίωβολεῖος) Jew.” While the expression is obviously intended to be pejorative, its exact meaning is not known. But one likely meaning is to insultingly imply that the referent is poor. Hence, this could be taken as evidence that Agrippa’s financial predicaments were more widely known, at least in the Alexandrian circles where the *Acta* circulated. See the discussion in Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 176–177. Alternatively, Kokkinos translates the term as “cheap Jew,” taking it as deriding Agrippa’s Jewishness as no more than a superficial veneer atop his Idumean ancestry and his upbringing in Rome (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 291).

But whether or not Josephus’ elite Greco-Roman readers would have previously associated Agrippa with prodigal spending, perpetual indebtedness, and lavish banqueting is more difficult to tell. Dio Cassius (59.8.2; 59.24.1; 60.8.2–3) associates the Jewish king closely with the hated Gaius, whose legacy suffered *damnatio memoriae*, but says nothing of finances or banquets. The only notice of substance (59.24.1) is, however, strongly negative, referring to Agrippa as one of Gaius’ “teachers of tyrants” (τυραννοδιδασκάλους).

is presented somewhat ironically—though nonetheless admirably—as merely taking advantage of an opportunity which he stumbled upon while trying to ingratiate himself to Roman aristocrats.⁴²

In a similar fashion Agrippa departs from his archetype in the ultimate failure of the petition. Esther is fully successful in convincing the king to revoke the murderous decree of Haman. Josephus at first leads his readers to expect the same outcome from Agrippa's petition as well. Gaius assents to Agrippa's request to relent and writes to Petronius to put the project on hold (*AJ* 18.298–301). However, no sooner is the reader assured that Agrippa is every bit as successful as Esther than this providential ending is derailed: Gaius receives a dilatory letter from Petronius in Syria and, thereupon, quickly decides in anger to continue on his original course. In Josephus' narrative, Agrippa's well-intentioned but unplanned petition is not what brings an end to Gaius' madness, but only the stalling tactics of a lone Roman legate and a senatorial conspiracy issuing in the emperor's assassination.

3 Summary of Analysis

Agrippa I is depicted in Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* account as imitative of two of the most significant figures from the Jewish national past, Joseph and Esther. However, expectations for Agrippa are then subverted when the king fails to fully reach these figures' benchmarks. This element of subversion allows Josephus to bear out his interpretation of Agrippa I as a figure with a mixed legacy, a ruler who accomplished a great deal and far exceeded the rest of his grandfather Herod's immediate heirs, yet who also led a life punctuated by shocking nadirs and marked by self-interest. As Tuval has also pointed out, "Agrippa is often portrayed as a spendthrift and something of a rogue."⁴³ This interpretation of Agrippa is encapsulated in Josephus' account of his death in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 19.343–352, which brings together the themes which I have explored in this chapter and aptly closes the biography of a figure which spans nearly two whole books of *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

42 It may also be the case, as Kerkeslager ("Agrippa I and the Judeans of Alexandria," 49) argues concerning the king's actions in relation to the Alexandrian riots, that not merely the literary figure depicted in Josephus' *AJ* but also the historical Agrippa I "was motivated primarily by personal interests typical of other Roman elites." On locating Agrippa principally within a Roman rather than Jewish context, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 291.

43 Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest*, 238.

Just as the German prisoner predicted to Agrippa during his Joseph-like imprisonment following a false accusation, the same sign of a bird overhead that signaled the king's release would years later signal his impending death. This occurred when Agrippa was in Caesarea celebrating festivities in honor of the emperor and most unwisely accepted blasphemous flattery from the adoring crowds (*AJ* 19.345–346).⁴⁴ At the end of his life and at the peak of his rule, Agrippa once again brings ruin upon himself, this time by committing a grave impiety on account of vanity and ambition. The character of Agrippa conforms to a definite pattern. Much earlier in his life and at a point of great success in Rome, it was an injudicious remark which was the basis for a false accusation that landed him in prison. Although he was freed that time through the working of divine providence, he later failed to recall to whom he owed his success and Josephus makes clear that divine judgement is responsible for his death as well (*AJ* 19.347–348).

However, while the account of Agrippa's death represents some of Josephus' harshest and most explicit critique of the king, his evaluation of Agrippa I is both more nuanced and multi-faceted on the whole. Before narrating Agrippa's death, Josephus provides a summation of his life and reign which is altogether more positive (*AJ* 19.328–331).⁴⁵ Considering the juxtaposition of this positive appraisal with the unflattering account of Agrippa's death, we find that Josephus presents a highly nuanced portrait of Agrippa I. He pointedly focuses on Agrippa's vicissitudes over the years as well as the role of divine providence and the king's own choices in bringing about those successes and failures. We witnessed this across several important scenes from Agrippa's life in *Antiquitates Judaicae*, where the king is a hero in the mold of the Jewish icons Joseph and Esther, yet at the same time crucially falls short of their examples. One may justifiably ask what the purpose of this agenda could be—why should Josephus present Agrippa in such a way? While the entertainment value of rounded and complex characterization helps to explain Agrippa's portrayal in *Antiquitates Judaicae*,⁴⁶ I would like to suggest turning to Josephus' Greco-Roman context, specifically to discourses of exemplarity.

44 On Agrippa's death, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, 302–304. The story of his death is paralleled in Acts 12:19b–23.

45 Krieger notes that although there are grounds for assigning *AJ* 19.328–331 to a source (as in Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 16), it represents Josephus' own view of Agrippa and is consonant with other material in his account of Agrippa in *AJ* (Krieger, "Darstellung König Agrippas I," 99).

46 Noted by Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest*, 238n471. On Hellenistic Jewish literature more broadly as representing cultural confidence and the manipulation of literary traditions for the purposes of entertainment, see Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*; Gruen, *Diaspora*.

4 Greco-Roman Discourses of Exemplarity and Josephus⁴⁷

In its narrowest sense, exemplarity is a phenomenon circumscribed by the term *exemplum* (Greek synonyms: ὑπόδειγμα or παράδειγμα), which appears in the Greco-Roman intellectual tradition especially from the first century BCE onwards in a variety of social contexts and literary genres. This term appears in reference to stories of past figures, deeds, and events that are deployed for the reader's present utility, usually for instruction of a moral sort, but also pragmatic/practical (e.g., leadership or martial qualities).⁴⁸ The social and literary contexts in which *exempla* appear are varied but may be heuristically put under three broad headings:⁴⁹ rhetoric and public speech;⁵⁰ ethics and morality;⁵¹ and historiography and biography.⁵² Naturally, scholarly attention

47 For expanded discussion, see Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 29–56.

48 Introductions to the topic of exemplarity, with a focus on the Roman period and Latin literature, can be found in Roller, *Models from the Past*; Langlands, *Exemplary Ethics*; contributions in Bell and Hansen, eds., *Role Models*. For exemplarity in Greek literature during the Roman imperial era, which is a more direct comparison to Josephus, see the discussion on Plutarch below as well as, more generally, Alewell, "Über das rhetorische Paradeigma;" Gowing, "Roman *exempla* tradition in imperial Greek historiography," 232–247.

49 This rubric is drawn from Roller, *Models from the Past*, 10–23. Roller refers to these three domains as "cultural contexts" where I prefer to describe them as "social contexts and literary genres." Furthermore, Roller does not explicitly refer to biography and would presumably subsume it under the historiographical context. One might also add to this trifold list of contexts a fourth setting constituted of rules and laws. See Langlands, "Rules and the Unruly," 103–123.

50 E.g., the speeches of Cicero, which were frequently public acts of rhetoric and oratory delivered before a live audience on specific occasions in first century BCE Rome before they were given textual form. In that context, *exempla* served as examples or proofs designed to persuade the audience to adopt the speaker's perspective or to take a particular course of action. See van der Blom, *Cicero's Role Models*; van der Blom, "Historical exempla," 49–67; Bücher, *Verargumentierte Geschichte*.

51 E.g., the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* (*Memorable Deeds and Sayings*), a first century CE Latin compilation of *exempla* by Valerius Maximus. Such collections of individual "case studies" illustrate the tendency of Roman ethical reasoning to eschew moral abstractions in favor of casuistic particularity. Despite this, *exempla* often conglomerate as groups that typify one sort of moral action or value in a way that is, effectively speaking, not entirely dissimilar to the abstract and theoretical moral reasoning of earlier classical and Hellenistic thinkers, such as the virtue ethics of Aristotle. On Valerius, see Skidmore, *Practical Ethics*. For a similar case of the use of *exempla* in ethical reasoning, see Seneca's *Ep.* 24. On the useful distinction between exemplary ethics and abstract moral reasoning, see Langlands, *Exemplary Ethics*, 124–126; 337–338, Roller, *Models from the Past*, 13–16.

52 Countless specific instances of *exempla* recur in late republican and early imperial historians and biographers such as Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius as one component of their

has generally focused on instances in which the key Greek and Latin terms of exemplarity explicitly appear (i.e., *exemplum*).⁵³ Matthew Roller has added further precision by arguing for a formal model of exemplarity constituted by a consistent set of specific ordered features.⁵⁴ However, useful though the terminology and the model may be in identifying *loci classici*, exemplarity as a moralistic mode of discourse which draws upon the past is much richer than the fairly limited number of passages and authors circumscribed by these formal delimiters.⁵⁵ This is especially true of exemplary discourse in historiography and biography. Thus, although a sharp line cannot and should not be drawn between “historicist” and “exemplary” approaches to writing historiography,⁵⁶ it is certainly the case that pre-modern writers tended strongly towards the latter and so evidence a strong didactic and moralistic bent, Josephus included.⁵⁷ Cicero famously captured the impulse of his day to instruct through the example of the past in the oft-quoted aphorism *historia ... magistra vitae* (“history ... is life’s teacher”).⁵⁸ This raises the question of how to characterize and interpret stories which appear to have an exemplary function even when the terminology is not necessarily employed, a model such as Roller’s cannot be easily applied, and/or the moral lesson is not explicitly set out—even more, remains ambiguous and murky.

In place of “exemplarity,” then, many scholars have employed broader categories such as “moralism,” “moral didacticism,” “ethical discourse,” etc. for ancient historiography’s frequent use of past figures and events for the purposes of ethical instruction and moral reflection. However, “moralism” (and related terms) is, for me, a higher-order umbrella category that includes abstract and/or non-exemplary modes of moral instruction (e.g., moral

broader didactic agendas. See Chaplin, *Livy’s Exemplary History*; Alston, “History and Memory,” 147–159.

53 See especially Roller, *Models from the Past*; Langlands, *Exemplary Ethics*.

54 Roller, *Models from the Past*, 4–8. A similar definition is offered by Sinclair Bell (“Role Models in the Roman World,” 6).

55 For instance, although Langlands’ studies are almost exclusively limited to material that uses the term *exemplum*, she theorizes a broader system of “exemplary ethics” and acknowledges that “not every morally edifying tale from ancient Rome is an exemplum, not every memorable historical episode is rendered into exemplary form” (*Exemplary Ethics*, 4). See also Langlands, “Roman Exemplarity.”

56 On the distinction between these two approaches and the shift from (principally) the “exemplary” to (principally) the “historicist” during the Enlightenment, see Nadel, “Philosophy of History before Historicism,” 291–315; Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 26–42; and many of the contributions in Lianeri, ed., *Western Time of Ancient History*.

57 See Hau, *Moral History*.

58 Cic., *Orat.* 2.36.

abstraction, legal and rule-based reasoning, philosophy, allegory, logical arguments). Therefore, I continue to use the term “exemplarity” in the absence of both the explicit terminology of exemplarity and Roller’s model of exemplarity so as to highlight the fact that the mode of engagement with the reader is through the *example* set implicitly or explicitly by the narrative’s characters and events, and not through the many other non-exemplary forms which moral instruction can take. I take exemplarity to be a subset of moralism and a particular type of moral reasoning and instruction, then, and I use the term accordingly where others often refer to “moralism.” Correspondingly, I use the phrases “Greco-Roman discourses of exemplarity” and “exemplary discourse” to refer to those modes of moral formation especially characteristic of narrative historiography and biography in which past events, figures, and deeds are utilized as examples from which the reader can learn, regardless of whether or not the lesson is explicitly stated, Roller’s formal model may be applied, or the terminology of *exemplum*, παράδειγμα, or ὑπόδειγμα is present.⁵⁹

A further distinction is useful for explaining Josephus’ practices of subversively adapting scriptural figures as documented in this chapter. A number of scholars on Plutarch’s biographical works have distinguished between two different modes of ethical discourse which both use past figures and their deeds as examples of behavior to be imitated or avoided.⁶⁰ (As I defended above, where they tend to use the term “moralism” I prefer the term “exemplarity.”) First, there is the use of past figures and events in a fashion best described as didactic, prescriptive, expository, or protreptic. In this type, the author explicitly holds out the actors in the narrative as positive or negative examples of moral behavior which the reader ought to imitate or avoid. The explicit terminology of exemplarity may occur in select cases, and Roller’s model may be appropriate on some occasions, but not necessarily every time. There are, for instance, many places in *Antiquitates Judaicae* in which Josephus presents prescriptive examples in his narratives, explicitly evaluating the stories he tells and the behaviors of the figures in them for the reader’s moral education. Josephus was likely inspired in part by his immediate model for *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with which he shares a number of broad

59 Thus, I use the phrase “Greco-Roman discourses of exemplarity” in a way roughly synonymous with “role models in the Roman world” as proposed by Sinclair Bell, “Role Models,” 1–39. However, I eschew the term “role model” as it is generally limited to contexts of positive emulation whereas exemplarity is not.

60 For the fundamental (if artificial and blurry) distinction into two types and the various terminologies employed, see Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, 237–251; Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 68–71; Duff, “Plutarch’s Readers,” 3–18; Duff, “Plutarch’s *Lives* and the Critical Reader,” 59–82; Stadter, “Rhetoric of Virtue,” 493–510; Chrysanthou, *Plutarch’s Parallel Lives*.

features.⁶¹ Josephus states openly in a programmatic statement in the preface to *Antiquitates Judaicae* that he aims to present Jewish customs, written accounts, and history as divinely ordered and as every bit as worthy as—or more than—the Greeks and the Romans:

On the whole, what anyone who wishes to review history might especially learn is that those who follow the will of God and do not dare to transgress that which has been soundly legislated prosper in all things beyond belief and are offered happiness from God as their prize. Contrastingly, to whoever should depart from a precise concern over these things, the passable becomes impassable, and any good thing they should eagerly do turns into irreparable misfortune. Consequently, here and now I exhort the readers of these books to turn their mind to God and test whether our legislator [Moses] comprehended his [God's] nature in a worthy manner and always attributed to him deeds befitting his power by guarding the account concerning him as undefiled by every indecency which is found in other mythologies.⁶²

Josephus proceeds to prove this to the reader by reviewing the Jews' past figures and events and divine responses to them, even using at times the explicit terminology of exemplarity in the same fundamental manner as other Greco-Roman historians (e.g., *AJ* 1.19; 7.142; 8.196; 13.198).⁶³

Much more frequently, however, Josephus explicitly uses a figure, deed, or story in *Antiquitates Judaicae* to teach a moral or pragmatic lesson without employing the terminology of exemplarity, a phenomenon usually studied in the past under the broad rubric of Josephus' "moralizing tendency"⁶⁴ or in the context of his pattern of consistently elevating scriptural figures as virtuous models,⁶⁵ but more recently treated from the perspective of exemplarity as delineated by Roller's model.⁶⁶ One example of this protreptic or expository exemplarity is found in a passage that I have already treated above. At

61 Cowan, "Tale of Two *Antiquities*."

62 *AJ* 1.14–15. Hence Sterling's designation of *AJ* as a work of apologetic historiography (*Historiography and Self-Definition*).

63 When explicit terminology of exemplarity is used, the term παράδειγμα is almost exclusively found in *AJ* whereas the term ὑπόδειγμα is exclusively found in *BJ*.

64 Attridge, *Interpretation of Biblical History*.

65 The "portraits" of scriptural figures in *AJ* collected in Feldman, *Studies*; Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*.

66 Several scholars have appropriated Roller's model in order to detect exemplarity in Josephus even where the explicit terminology is absent. See Reed, "Construction and Subversion of Patriarchal Perfection," 185–212; Petitfils, *Mos Christianorum*, 87–140.

the outset of his account of Agrippa I in *Antiquitates Judaicae* (AJ 18.127–129), Josephus supplies to the reader a justification for the fact that he will detail the king's life at great length on the basis that it will show "how neither greatness nor any other human strength is of benefit in meeting with success apart from piety towards the divine" and because "it might lead in some way to the moral education of human nature." Clearly, therefore, a concept of expository exemplarity is both useful and appropriate for application to *Antiquitates Judaicae* regardless of the key terms or models that scholars have used to narrowly delimit exemplarity, primarily in the Latin literary tradition.

But it is the non-expository type of exemplary discourse which I find crucial for understanding why Josephus tells the story of Agrippa I through a rich but subversive dialogue with the scriptural figures of Esther and Joseph. This second type of exemplary discourse, which is altogether more subtle, multifaceted, and nuanced, can be termed "descriptive," "exploratory" (my preferred term), or "experimental."⁶⁷ As I noted above, this type of exemplary discourse is usually treated from the broader perspective of moralism and has been developed primarily in research on Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. This point of origin is a result of the fact that, as Timothy Duff has noted, "most Lives provide very little explicit guidance as to how to understand the moral position of their subjects or of the actions narrated. Plutarch rarely intervenes into the narrative to point out where right and wrong lie."⁶⁸ This is a feature which I find highly suggestive and significant for interpreting Josephus' accounts in this study, because although some aspects of Agrippa's behavior come in for explicit judgement by Josephus, by contrast, the decidedly ambiguous shading of Agrippa in comparison to the outstanding virtue of Esther and Joseph is never stated explicitly.

On the basis of exploratory exemplarity, then, I theorize that Josephus' procedure as delineated in this chapter—subversively adapting scriptural figures and accounts—can be read as creating disruptions that invite reflection upon the moral qualities of the protagonists with respect to their archetypes. This is

67 See note 60 above.

68 Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 55. The ambivalence and ambiguity of Plutarch's narratives as to how his subjects are to function as examples for the reader carries over into the *synkrisis*, which are the formal evaluations that conclude most of the Lives after the narrative proper ends (excepting *Pyrrhus-Marius*, *Phocion-Cato the Younger*, *Themistocles-Camillus*, and *Alexander-Caesar*). They weigh each pair of subjects in turn and do contain explicit moral judgements, but they do not provide a summation and the final verdicts do not always appear to align with the depiction in the narratives themselves of the subjects and their deeds. For analysis of the *synkrisis*, see Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 252–286; Swain, "Plutarchan Synkrisis;" Larmour, "Synkrisis;" Boulogne, "ΣΥΝΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ de Plutarque."

similar to those “moments of tension” which Chrysanthou describes Plutarch exploiting in his *Parallel Lives*:

Plutarch presents his readers with incongruous elements ... that are not compatible with what readers already know or have assumed from the preceding or wider narrative. These “moments of tension” ... are capable of drawing readers, through their subsequent surprise, into reflecting on and re-evaluating the various threads in a bid to pass their own moral judgement on the men of the biographies. This is also the case when readers confront gaps or silences in the text, temporal displacements, and evocations of past and future, or when they may recognise intertextuality. All these devices prove highly effective in increasing readers’ engagement with moral evaluation, sensitising them to exploratory parallels and wider contexts that inform their act of judging in many challenging ways.⁶⁹

The fact that the concept of exploratory exemplarity has been successfully utilized in research into Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*, in particular, makes it especially appealing to borrow for application to Josephus. There are, however, several specific reasons to entertain the possibility that Plutarch and Josephus engage in similar kinds of exemplary discourse in their writings.

First, Plutarch and Josephus are very near contemporaries, with Plutarch being only around ten years younger than Josephus, and both writing works under the Flavian emperors.⁷⁰ It is, therefore, entirely justifiable to seek in Josephus some of the same practices, habits, and trends that we find in Plutarch. While Plutarch did not write in Rome like Josephus, he made multiple trips there and, like Josephus, had close and ongoing contacts in the capital.⁷¹ Second, Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* can be read as largely consisting of a series of biographies of illustrious individuals (e.g., Abraham, Joseph, Moses, etc.),⁷² in which light *Antiquitates Judaicae* stands much closer to Plutarch’s

69 Chrysanthou, *Plutarch’s Parallel Lives*, 2. For a similar perspective, see also Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 52–71.

70 Josephus wrote exclusively under the Flavians (excepting perhaps *Contra Apionem*), while Plutarch wrote only minimally under the Flavians and mostly under Nerva and Trajan (Jones, “Towards a Chronology of Plutarch’s Works”).

71 On Plutarch’s contacts in Rome, see Stadter, *Plutarch and his Roman Readers*, esp. 6–12; Stadter, “Plutarch and Rome,” 13–31. On Josephus’ Roman context, see the contributions in Edmondson, Mason, and Rives, eds., *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*.

72 On *AJ* as essentially a series of connected biographies, see Mason, “Introduction to the *Judean Antiquities*,” *Judean Antiquities* 1–4, xxxii; Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation*, 74–75; Schwartz, “Many Sources But a Single Author,” 37.

Parallel Lives than it might otherwise appear. Third, I have shown in this chapter that Josephus establishes Agrippa I as a figure parallel to scriptural Joseph and Esther, thus constructing for the reader an implicit set of parallel lives not entirely dissimilar from Plutarch's work. Understanding Plutarch's techniques of exploratory exemplarity, therefore, may go a long way towards clarifying the nature and purpose of Josephus' somewhat peculiar account of Agrippa I.⁷³

5 Conclusion

In my view, the kind of culturally-contemporary discourses of exemplarity that Plutarch used supplies an explanation for why Josephus provides both positive and negative depictions of Agrippa I in *Antiquitates Judaicae* and gives a thoroughly mixed assessment of his reign. In particular, it provides a coherent explanation for Josephus' decision to cast Agrippa in the mold of Joseph and Esther in an implicit comparison which subversively leaves him falling short of them both. When Agrippa is portrayed so much like Joseph and Esther but then fails to attain to their heights of virtue, the reader is invited to wrestle with the cause and to evaluate his actions for themselves.

Even more, juxtaposing Esther and Joseph with Agrippa in an implied comparison allows Josephus to provoke (but not necessarily answer) exploratory moral reflection on questions such as: Has contemporary morality qualitatively declined in comparison to the exemplars of the distant past? If tyrants such as Esther's Persian king have appeared throughout history, are there lessons from the past regarding exercising virtue and conducting an honorable life under tyrannical emperors such as Gaius? Given Agrippa's failures and successes, especially in relation to the models of Joseph and Esther, what is the proper balance of ambition and virtue? Are the moral exemplars of the past, like Joseph and Esther, no more than ideals that are fundamentally unreachable? Or are they models of what is actually obtainable in the present?

Josephus' nuanced portrait of Agrippa I in *Antiquitates Judaicae* rings loudly in his final statement on the king (*AJ* 19.352) that "his ambition was unsurpassing" (ἦν δὲ ἀφειδές αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλότιμον). With this evaluation Josephus ends his account of Agrippa I, appropriately underlining one of the themes he highlighted throughout. As the reader surmises, the king who is portrayed in

73 The same is true of Josephus' account of the Tobiad family in *AJ* 12.158–236. On the parallels between the figure of Joseph and Josephus' Tobiads, which function in the same manner as those documented for the Agrippa story in this chapter, see Edwards, *Court of the Gentiles*, 57–111.

circumstances of imprisonment like Joseph, or at a banquet urgently petitioning the ruler on the Jews' behalf like Esther, is also shown to have entered these roles by means quite unlike these scriptural archetypes—through “unsparing ambition.”

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The Language of the Law: Narratology and Register Variation in Josephus' Cultic Laws and Constitution

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1 Legal Discourse and Register Variation*

Legal discourse—in antiquity as now—distinguishes two categories of texts: texts of actual laws, such as legislation, arbitration, and contract—which in antiquity are mostly found in documentary sources—and texts *on* the laws. In both kinds of texts the narrative dimension is present, but in the lawgiving λόγῳ,¹ namely in texts *on* the laws, such as in Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*, the narrative is more marked and therefore should be taken into consideration at the outset, before any analysis of linguistic variation. However, since narratological approaches have been widely explored in scholarship of Classics and biblical studies and recently have been used for Josephus as well,² while the analysis of linguistic variation is not common in Josephan studies, in this chapter I will mostly focus on the latter.

The analysis of linguistic variation in a specific, situationally defined discourse, is called register variation in modern functional linguistics.³ It considers, among others, the use of pronouns and other anaphoric devices, prepositions,

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1 On the distinction between lawgiving ἔργῳ (the real act of legislation) and λόγῳ (discourse *on* legislation), see Bartels, *Plato*, 151.

2 On law and narrative, Bartor, *Reading Law as Narrative*; Adam et al., *Law and Narrative*; Olson, “Narration and Narrative in Legal Discourse;” Berner & Samuel, “Biblical War Legislation.” On narratological approaches to ancient Greek literature, see de Jong et al., *Narrators, Narratees and Narratives*; de Jong, *Narratology and Classics*; an application of narratological perspectives to Josephus are found in van Henten “Josephus as Narrator;” and van Henten and Huitink, “Josephus.”

3 Biber and Conrad, *Register, Genre, and Style*.

definite articles, nominalization, tense, modality, length of the sentences, transitivity (passive/active verbs), verbal aspect, and lexicon. More generally, these features have been grouped into (a) morphology and syntax, (b) structural properties, and (c) lexical features. Among the lexical features, a key role is played by the semantic domain typical of the specific discourse⁴—that is technical vocabulary—which, for legal discourse, is legal terminology. Technical vocabulary, in general, is (a) recognized by native speakers as belonging to a specific technical field, and specialists in particular are self-conscious in employing a vocabulary which is specific to their discipline; (b) is not commonly used, even if it may be understood by non-specialists; (c) tends to be standardized, economic, and concise (that is, polysemy and synonymy are generally avoided in favor of monosemy); (d) tends to be systematic; and (e) it is expressively neutral.⁵

While the analysis of register variation has been applied especially in modern languages and modern translation studies, and recently also to legal discourse,⁶ it seems to be a promising field of research also in the study of the ancient world. In register analysis, “language variation according to use is captured ... as a recognition of how situational context affects language.”⁷ In New Testament studies, Stanley Porter has applied register variation analysis to Mark 13 and Chiaen Liu to the Petrine texts;⁸ in Septuagint studies, register variations have been highlighted by Marieke Dhont for the book of Job.⁹ With regard to ancient Greek, register variation has been investigated by Andreas Willi, initially in the language of Aristophanes and later in the language of tragedy; and by Alessandro Vatri, who has applied register variation to Greek oratory.¹⁰ To date, however, there is no major work on register variation in

4 See Langslow, *Medical Latin*, 7.

5 I refer here to the criteria proposed by Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 66; 69, reworked by Schironi, “Naming the Phenomena,” 246. One of the main problems faced when dealing with ancient technical language is what to consider as technical and what not.

6 Goźdz-Roszkowski, *Patterns*; Biber, “Multi-dimensional Analysis;” Berūkštienė, “Legal Discourse;” Simonnaes, “Legal Language;” Fanego and Rodríguez Puente, “Corpus-based Research.”

7 Porter, “Exegesis,” 207.

8 Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, 219–236; Liu, *Register Variation*.

9 Dhont, *Style and Context*, 142–178.

10 Willi calls his 2003 monograph *The Languages* (plural!) *of Aristophanes*, to stress the different registers used in Aristophanes’ comedy; see also Willi, “Register variation,” for methodological issues on the application of register analysis to ancient Greek, and Willi, “Der Sprachraum der Tragödie” for the language of tragedy. Vatri, “Stilistica,” focuses on Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias, and Aeschines.

ancient legal Greek texts, except for an article by Alfred Bloch dated 1975, and that has made my attempt to compare Josephus' legal language with comparable texts more challenging.¹¹

An awareness of register variation, usually defined as “style,” formed an essential part of ancient theorizing about language in action.¹² Aristotle writes in his *Rhetorica*:

Δεῖ δὲ μὴ λεληθέναι ὅτι ἄλλη ἐκάστῳ γένει ἀρμόττει λέξις. οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀγωνιστικὴ, οὐδὲ δημηγορικὴ καὶ δικανικὴ.

One must not forget that a distinct style is appropriate for each genre; for the style of writing is not identical with that of debating, and the style of assembly speeches is not the same as that of lawcourt speeches.

ARISTOTLE, *Rhet.* 1413b3–5

Such an awareness is found also in the Roman world. In the second book of *De legibus* Cicero describes as “the voice of the laws” (*legum voce*) the kind of language that he will use for his law code (*Leg.* 2.18): namely, some characteristically legal terms, not as antique as that of the Twelve Tables and the religious laws, but rather old fashioned compared to the language of ordinary conversation.¹³ In the case of Cicero, while his basic register is derived from the language, legal or non-legal, of his time, he consciously adds some elements of the language and style of the archaic laws for particular effect.¹⁴

In this contribution I follow Andreas Willi's theoretical framework and terminology, and define as “register variation” what is sometimes called as “variation in style/genre.” I indicate thus with “register” the linguistic code that is used in the creation of a text that belongs to a specific (sub-)genre, in this case legal discourse. Narratological considerations and register variation analysis will be here applied to two major portions of Josephus' legal discourse: the

11 Bloch, “Geetzesprosa.” There are, however, relevant articles on the Gortyn Code: Lallot, “L'opposition aspectuelle;” Minon, “L'aspect.” Moreover, Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 51–96, considers technical languages, including legal language; likewise, Willi, “Register variation,” 262–263. Other works concern rather legal discourse in Plato's *Laws* (Yunis, “Laws;” Bartels, *Plato*) and in Cicero's *De legibus* (Powell, “Cicero”).

12 Willi, “Register Variation,” 261. An analogous awareness is shown by ancient literary critics for characterization (e.g., Horace, *Ars Poetica* 114–118, and Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 58). See de Bakker and de Jong, *Speech*, 4.

13 *Sunt certa legum verba ... neque ita prisca ut in veteribus XII sacratisque legibus et tamen ... paulo antiquiora quam hic sermo est.* Cicero's law code is found in *Leg.* 2.19–22 and 3.6–11.

14 So Powell, “Cicero,” 126.

cultic laws of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.224–286, which deal mostly with the laws of Leviticus, and the *politeia* of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 4.199–301, focused mostly on the laws of Deuteronomy. The choice of dealing with these two sections is not arbitrary. They are the most extensive legal sections of the *Antiquitates Judaicae* and are distinctively marked by Josephus: they are both introduced by the author/narrator in a specific way—as we shall see—and called by a different name: the cultic laws are defined as “legislation” (νομοθεσία; *AJ* 3.287), or simply as “the arrangements of the laws” (διάταξις τῶν νόμων; *AJ* 3.286); the laws of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 4 are called *politeia*—normally intended as “constitution”¹⁵ (*AJ* 4.195–196)—or “the arrangement of our laws that are relevant to the *politeia*” (διάταξις ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, *AJ* 4.198).

How does Josephus organize his discourse in those sections? Do pervasive and frequent linguistic features¹⁶ occur in each section? What major differences are found between the way Josephus crafts the biblical cultic laws and the *politeia*, and how can they be explained? To provide a comprehensive answer on the use of register variation in Josephus’ legislation one should engage in a systematic (and quantitative) analysis of Josephus’ legal sections, and include *Contra Apionem* 2.145–286, notably the summary of the laws of 2.190–218. Such enquiry, however, goes beyond the scope of this contribution and would require a separate investigation. Here I shall limit myself to the two mentioned sections of *Antiquitates Judaicae* (3.224–286 and 4.199–301): I shall first point to the most prominent narratological aspects, stressing the major divergences with the correspondent biblical accounts, then highlight the most frequent linguistic features of each group, and stress their difference. Finally, I shall explain Josephus’ use of register variation in the larger framework of Greek discourse, notably ethnographic historiography for the cultic laws, and Plato’s *Laws* for the *politeia*. As argued by Sean Adams, Josephus did have genre awareness.¹⁷ This contribution will show that he was also aware of the linguistic code appropriate to a specific (sub-)genre.

15 On the complexity of the term πολιτεία in Greek literature, see Mulhern, “*Politeia*,” on πολιτεία in Josephus, see Rajak, “Josephus’s Political Thought,” and Troiani, “The πολιτεία of Israel.”

16 Register features should be frequent and pervasive according to Biber and Conrad, *Register*, 53–54.

17 Adams, *Greek Genres*, 229–239.

2 Cultic Laws (*AJ* 3.224–286)

Josephus organizes the biblical laws of Leviticus in three macro-sections, according to the topic: (1) laws concerning sacrifices and festivals (chapter ix and x: 3.224–257); (2) laws concerning purifications (chapter xi: 3.258–273); and (3) various laws (chapter xii: 274–286. Before pointing to the most recurring linguistic features in these sections, I shall set out some narratological considerations, starting with the laws on sacrifices and festivals.

2.1 *Narratological Considerations*

2.1.1 Sacrifices and Festivals

While Leviticus opens with God giving instructions to Moses on what to tell the Israelites,¹⁸ Josephus as author/narrator opens the section of sacrifices and festivals with an introduction in the first person singular (*AJ* 3.224)¹⁹ about his reasons for writing on the sacrifices; likewise, he closes the section with a remark in the first person plural (*AJ* 3.257) about his planned work on the reasons behind the laws.²⁰ The discourse is not only introduced and closed by the author/narrator, as well as organized according to topics, as we shall see in the *politeia*, but the author/narrator repeatedly makes editorial remarks in the first person singular or plural: for example, at *AJ* 3.225: “I shall speak about the former;” and a few paragraphs later (*AJ* 3.230): “But we shall speak more precisely concerning the sacrifices of these animals in the work about the sacrifices.” These copious metanarrative elements point to an overt narrator, such as Herodotus in his *Histories*.²¹

Moreover, Josephus categorizes and classifies the sacrifices, providing a higher level of abstraction compared to the Levitical legislation. In particular, he points to the two-fold agency of sacrifices and their two-fold typology. First, sacrifices are performed by individuals and by the community: The subject changes accordingly from an individual (ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης) performing the sacrifice to a generic plural (“they sacrifice,” θύουσιν), which indicates the community.

18 Lev 1:1: “The Lord summoned Moses and spoke to him saying: Speak to the people of Israel and say to them: When any of you bring an offering of livestock to the Lord, you shall bring your offering ... If the offering is a burnt offering ...” Biblical translations are taken from the NRSV, unless otherwise stated.

19 *AJ* 3.224: “Now I shall mention some few of the regulations pertaining to the rites of purification and types of sacrificial ceremonies. For it happens that in my discussion is presently concerned with the sacrifices.” All the translations of Josephus are by L.H. Feldman for the Brill Josephus Project, unless otherwise stated.

20 *AJ* 3.257: “We shall later reveal (δηλώσομεν) more precisely the reasons for these things. Enough seems to be to have been said already even now about them.”

21 See de Jong, “Herodotus.”

Second, sacrifices are distinguished between sacrifices where the victim is completely burned and those where the victim is partly consumed by those who offer the sacrifice. Such classifications are marked by a calibrated structure of μὲν ... δέ.

Finally, and remarkably, in the section of sacrifices and festivals Moses is never explicitly mentioned and probably, except for one case (3.248),²² when no subject is found one should imply “the law” as a subject, and not Moses. In so doing, Josephus consciously pauses his narrative about Moses at *AJ* 3.223, and resumes it at *AJ* 3.258 with the purification of the Levites. From the narrative point of view, the section on the sacrifices and festivals is crafted very differently from the rest of the discourse.

2.1.2 Purifications

Moses re-enters the scene at *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.258, which opens with a Μωυσῆς δέ, after Josephus’ editorial remark closing the section on sacrifices and festivals. Moses purifies the Levites and is the subject of most of the following purity prescriptions.²³ Unlike the previous sections on sacrifices and festivals, which are in the present indicative, most of the verbs here are in the imperfect or aorist indicative,²⁴ while the present indicative is less common, and therefore marked (e.g., at *AJ* 3.263 “likewise, they sacrifice”). For example, in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.261 Josephus says that Moses segregated until the seventh day women with menstruation: he uses μετέστησε, an aorist indicative. After seven days Moses permits them—with a present tense, ἐφήσιν—to associate with the community. Two laws follow which are not specifically related to Moses but are brought here by Josephus by association: by association with the prescription of the menstruating woman of Lev 15:19 Josephus mentions the segregation of people in contact with the dead from Num 19:11, which likewise lasts seven days. This logic of association is marked by the adverb ὁμοίως, which is found both at *AJ* 3.262 and 3.263. The verb of the associated law is in the present indicative. In this case, the present indicative marks a change

22 At *AJ* 3.248 Moses is the implied subject of ἐνόμισεν “prescribed:” in this case alone Josephus uses the aorist indicative instead of the present indicative, and makes an explicit connection with the liberation from Egypt: “in the month of Xanthicus ... because in this month we were liberated from slavery under the Egyptians, he prescribed ...”

23 E.g., *AJ* 3.258: ἡγνιζε, he purified; διέκρινεν, he distinguished; *AJ* 3.260: ἀπηγόρευσε, he prohibited (the use of all blood); *AJ* 3.261: ἀπήλασε, he expelled; μετέστησε, he secluded; *AJ* 3.264: ἐξήλασε, he banished. At *AJ* 3.262 however, we have the expression νόμιμον (ἔστι), it is lawful.

24 On the use of aorist indicative, Beetham “Aoriste Indicative;” Nijk, “How to Control the Present,” and “Bridging the Gap.”

in focalization, from the action of Moses (and the Levitical legislation) to the author/narrator (and a law of Numbers).

The narrative about Moses continues at *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.264: Moses banishes the lepers from the city. But that brings our author to another association: the apologetic excursus on the falsehood of Moses' leprosy (up to *AJ* 3.268). Such an excursus once again shows the author's perspective, ending in the same way with "but with regard to these things let each one judge as it seems best to himself" (*AJ* 3.268). The author's focal point is kept for the prescription of the purity of women in childbirth (*AJ* 3.269): Moses has forbidden women who have just given birth from entering the temple, but after the time of impurity has elapsed, women offer sacrifices—with a present indicative, *θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν*. Probably also by association, although not marked linguistically with an adverb such as *ὁμοίως*, Josephus describes the law of the suspected adulteress, the *sotah*. The focalization is still that of the author/narrator, who uses the present indicative, and closes the entire section of sacrifices/festivals and purifications by saying: "Moses ordered these provisions for his fellow countrymen with regard to the sacrifices and the purification related to them, and he drew up the preceding laws for them" (*AJ* 3.273).

2.1.3 Various Laws

The subject of the rest of the prescriptions is mostly Moses, except for *ὁ νόμος ἀπέπειν* ("the law prohibited") of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.274. In this section, *ἐκώλυσε* "he forbade," in the aorist indicative, is a recurrent verb, followed by the infinitive. In several cases, however, the present tense is used, indicating a less marked feature.

2.2 Register Analysis

2.2.1 Morphology, Syntax, Structure

As pointed out by Biber and Conrad, typical register features should be frequent and pervasive.²⁵ In the cultic laws we do find some recurrent, although not systematic, linguistic features, but they do not point to a prescriptive text. That is remarkable, because it diverges from biblical legislation. Scholars have mostly related the priestly regulations of Leviticus and Numbers either to prescriptive "ritual texts,"²⁶ or to casuistic priestly law typical of the ancient Mediterranean context.²⁷ In either case, biblical legislation points to

25 Biber and Conrad, *Register*, 53–54.

26 Levine, "Tabernacle Texts;" "Ritual Texts."

27 Darshan, "Casuistic Priestly Law." On law and narrative in Leviticus, see Bibb, *Ritual Words*; Carmichael, *Illuminating Leviticus*.

prescriptive texts. Josephus, on the other hand, chooses to craft the ritual laws in a full narrative dimension.

Use of the third person. In fact, the most frequent and pervasive feature of the cultic laws—sacrifices and festivals, purifications, and various laws—is the use of the third person, either singular or plural. To give but one example:

226 An individual (ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης) who offers a whole burnt offering sacrifices (ὄλοκαυτῶν θύει) ... 228 In performing the sacrifices of thanksgiving they sacrifice (θύουσιν) the same animals.

AJ 3.226–228

Moods and tenses. In the section on sacrifices and festivals the most frequent mood is the indicative, and the most frequent tense the present. The use of the present indicative is not typical of actual laws, which generally prefer the use of the aorist.²⁸ The laws of purifications are mostly in the aorist indicative, as they are connected to Moses: as we have seen, in the purifications laws the present tense is used as a narrative strategy to mark the point of view of the author. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.269 uses the perfect indicative: Moses “has forbidden” (κεκώλυκε) puerperae from entering the temple. In this case, we may either suppose that Josephus follows the Hellenistic use of perfect as an aorist,²⁹ or that once again he comes closer to his own perspective by using the “present effect” of the perfect: in fact, after the time of impurity has elapsed, women “offer sacrifices” (θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, with present indicative). The final laws are mostly in the aorist indicative, as connected to Moses as with the laws on purifications.

Short sentences and parataxis. A frequent feature of the laws of sacrifices and festivals is also the use of short sentences and parataxis. This feature, however, is more frequent in the laws of sacrifices and festivals than in the other laws connected to Moses’ narrative. Other features, on the other hand, are recurrent but neither pervasive, nor used systematically.

Passive verbs. Passive verbs are recurrent, although not systematically used: AJ 3.225–226, 230 ὄλοκαυτεῖται “is offered as burnt-offering,” AJ 3.249 “two bulls, a ram and seven lambs are slaughtered (σφάζονται): these are used as

28 Lallot, “L’opposition aspectuelle,” 158 on the Gortyn laws; Willi, “Register Variation,” 267: “The present-tense used in manumission inscriptions from Boeotia instead of the aorist seems to be a regional peculiarity.”

29 Willi, “Register Variation,” 283, points out that in the Hellenistic use perfect and aorist tend to merge.

burn-offering (όλοκαυτεῖται), a kid being further added (προστιθεμένου) as sin-offering.”

Infinitive. The infinitive is mostly used together with impersonal expressions such as “there is a law, it is lawful” (AJ 3.231, 233), “the law does not allow” (AJ 3.236). However, it is not systematically used.

Use of the article. Josephus often refers to a law generally speaking “there is a law” (νόμος δέ, AJ 3.233; νόμος ἐστίν, AJ 3.237), for example for the offering of flour, oil and wine, and for the daily sacrifice, omitting the article before νόμος; in other cases he clearly mentions “the law” with the article, for example “the law forbids (ό νόμος κωλύει) us to sacrifice an animal on the same day and place with its parent” (AJ 3.236). In other cases again, he prefers the impersonal “it is prescribed” (νόμιμον, AJ 3.254).

Pronouns. At the morphological level, demonstrative pronouns are frequent, but not pervasive. It should be noticed, however, that demonstrative pronouns are sometimes placed in a marked position, at the end of the sentence: this is a relevant point, as we shall see in Herodotus below. For example,

καί ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἐστὶν οὗτος ...

The manner of the whole burnt-offering is *this* ...

AJ 3.227

τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ζῶα θύουσιν, ὀλόκληρα δὲ ταῦτα ... θύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ...

They sacrifice the same animals, but *these* are unblemished ... Having sacrificed *these* ...

AJ 3.228

Adverbs. The adverb “likewise” (ὁμοίως) is recurrent, but not pervasive.

Structure. Finally, at the level of structure, the prescriptions on sacrifices and festivals do not follow a formulaic, stereotypical, or consistent structure. Only the festivals show some consistency: every festival, with the sacrifices taking place in it, starts with the time of the year in which it occurs, namely on the new moon (AJ 3.238), in the seventh month (AJ 3.239), on the tenth of the same lunar month (AJ 3.240), on the fifteenth of this same month (AJ 3.244). For the rest, there is no clear pattern or structure, neither for the prescriptions on purifications, nor for the final laws. In the section concerning the cultic laws, the rationale for the law is omitted, that is, the law is not explained.

2.2.2 Lexicon: Technical, Semi-technical, and Shared Language in the Cultic Laws

The semantic domain is mostly that of the cult/ritual, not what we would currently define as “legal,”³⁰ and we can hardly speak of technical vocabulary. While we find in Josephus’ cultic laws several *performative verbs* (“the law forbids/prescribes, [Moses] expelled, banished”), performative verbs are not exclusive to legal discourse. Performative verbs are also found, for example, in religious discourse, such as in prayer.³¹ Likewise, there are *modal verbs* “it is permitted (ἐφείται) to sacrifice oxen that are older” (AJ 3.226), “the law does not allow (οὐκ ἐᾷ) to keep it the next day” (AJ 3.231), although less frequent than in the πολιτεία, as we shall see. And there are *stance verbs*. For example, εἶσιν, γίνονται, ἐστὶ in the first two paragraphs (AJ 3.224–225). Although these lexical features are common in legal texts, they are not register-specific, that is, they are not specific of legal register. We find, however, occasional technical or semi-technical vocabulary. On the burnt-offering, Josephus writes in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.225 “in the one case all of the sacrifice is burnt whole and [precisely] for this reason it has acquired such a name.”³² The author does not introduce immediately the technical term ὀλοκαύτωσις, but he first explains it. The word ὀλοκαύτωσις does appear, but only at the end of paragraph 227: “the manner of the whole burnt-offering is this.” ὀλοκαύτωσις is a neologism of the Septuagint,³³ attested also in Philo, for the Hebrew הַלֵּב, yet is not found outside Jewish-Greek literature: that is probably the reason why Josephus finds it useful to explain it first.

In other cases we find medical terms, which are sometimes more precise than in the biblical models. At *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.228, in describing the thank-offerings, in correspondence to Lev 3:3 Josephus says that “they lay upon the altar the kidneys and *the caul* and all the fat together with the lobe of the liver.” For the “caul,” that is the membrane enclosing the entrails, Josephus uses a technical term, ἐπίπλους. Unlike Lev 3:3 which uses the unclear periphrasis “the fat that covers the entrails and all the fat that is around the

30 A list of Greek legal words in *Wasps* and other plays of Aristophanes, in Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 73–76: e.g., ἀλίσκομαι, to be convicted; ἀποφεύγω, ἐκφεύγω, to be acquitted; ἀφίημι, to acquit; γραφή/αί, (bill/s of) indictment; γράφομαι, to indict; διαθήκη, testament; ὁ διώκων, the prosecutor. Rightly Willi does not consider those words as technical because they do not belong to an exclusive specialist discourse (79).

31 See Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 23–24.

32 AJ 3.225 τῆς μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται πᾶν τὸ θυόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν.

33 Daniel, *Recherches*, 249–254.

entrails”³⁴—one may wonder what is the precise difference between the two—Josephus is specific and differentiates between the membrane enclosing the entrails, that he calls the ἐπίπλους/ἐπίπλοος, and all the fat, which he calls πάντα τὰ πιμελή. In this case, the choice is exegetical insofar that it clarifies an unclear biblical periphrasis, but it also points to a known referent in the Greco-Roman world. While ἐπίπλους is not attested in other Jewish-Greek authors, it is found in Herodotus 2.47, in the description of the sacrifice of a pig in Egypt—a passage that we shall see below at Section 4. Moreover, it is strongly attested in Hippocrates and the *Corpus hippocraticum* (20×), as well as in Aristotle, notably the *Historia animalium* (8×) and *De partibus animalium* (7×). In other words, the term was technical, but widely attested in technical literature (on animals, sacrifices, and as a medical term) and probably well understood by Josephus’ audience.

Likewise, instead of the periphrasis of Num 5:27 on the suspected adulterous woman “the water that brings the curse shall enter into her and cause bitter pain, and her womb shall discharge, her uterus drop,”³⁵ Josephus (*AJ* 3.273) uses the technical medical term ὕδερρος, “dropsy,” a *hapax legomenon* in his work as such, although in *Bellum Judaicum* the corresponding verb is used: in *BJ* 1.656 Herod gets swollen feet as if he had dropsy (ὥσπερ ὕδρωπιώντος). Moreover, ὕδερρος is attested 32 times in Hippocrates and the *Corpus hippocraticum*. In other cases legal terminology is shared by non-legal texts, which means that, strictly speaking, it is semi-technical.³⁶ However, most language used by Josephus for the cultic laws is shared, common, or unmarked. Words such as θυσία for “sacrifice” or ἱερουργία for “religious service” were shared knowledge in the ancient world. It is also worth mentioning that in the cultic laws there are no Latinisms.

2.3 Summary on the Cultic Laws

Narratological considerations and register variation analysis in Josephus’ Levitical laws point neither to the (sub-)genre of legislation, nor to prescriptive

34 Lev 3:3 אֶת־הַחֵלֶב הַמִּכֶּסֶה אֶת־הַקֶּרֶב וְאֵת כָּל־הַחֵלֶב לֶבֶן וְאֵת עַל־הַקֶּרֶב: LXX τὸ στέαρ τὸ κατακαλύπτον τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ στέαρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας.

35 Num 5:27 וַיִּבְרָא יְהוָה הַמַּיִם הַמְאָרְרִים לְמַרְיָם וַיִּצְבְּתָהּ בְּטִנָּה וְנִפְלְאָה יְרֵכָהּ: LXX καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς αὐτήν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγμοῦ τὸ ἐπικαταρῶμενον, καὶ πρησθήσεται τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ διαπεσείται ὁ μηρὸς αὐτῆς.

36 For example, at *AJ* 3.232 ὁ ἄμαρτων, the sinner; συνειδώς, consciously; and ὁ ἐξελέγχων (in the accusative τὸν ἐξελέγχοντα), the accuser. E.g., συνειδώς is widely attested in the historians (Herodotus, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus) and Plutarch; Josephus uses it also in *AJ* 1.45 to indicate Adam’s consciousness of his crime in the garden of Eden.

ritual texts. The laws on sacrifices and festivals are codified as a short essay, mostly in the present tense, pausing the narrative on Moses; the purification laws are openly connected to Moses, and thus mostly in the aorist; for the final laws Josephus displays a dynamic shift of perspectives from the narrative to his own point of view, especially on the laws about priests, which is linguistically translated with a shift from the aorist to the present tense.

The structure of each prescription is not formulaic, stereotypical, or consistent. The only consistent and pervasive feature seems to be the use of the third person. The use of technical terminology is likewise limited. When he uses technical terminology which may not be known to his audience, Josephus first explains it (such as in the case of *ὄλοκαύτωσις*); most technical terms, however, were probably common enough to be understood by his audience (such as *ἐπίπλους* or *ὑδερως*), since they are widely attested in Greco-Roman technical literature. Moreover, the limited technical vocabulary is used together with semi-technical or shared language. In the general conclusions I will point to Josephus' motivations for crafting this section of the Mosaic laws in the way he does. But first I shall turn to the analysis of the *politeia*.

3 The *Politeia* (AJ 4.199–301)

3.1 *Narratological Considerations*

Josephus introduces the *politeia* with a series of *caveats* for his audience: nothing has been added for embellishment, the order of the laws is different from the biblical order,³⁷ some laws will be covered by the work on “customs and causes.” Unlike the sacrifices and festivals which are codified as an essay in the third person (e.g., “there is a law ... the law forbids ...”) or the purification laws which are codified as part of Moses' narrative, likewise in the third person (e.g., “Moses prescribes”), from the narratological point of view the *politeia* is codified as a direct speech of Moses to the Hebrews, as it is in Deuteronomy.³⁸ This choice is significant, because the author could have provided another summary of the laws, as he did for the sacrifices, or use indirect speech. I will explain this choice in section 4. In following the narrative setting of the biblical account and embedding Moses' *politeia* in such narrative, traces of the

37 Order (*τάξις*, *ordo*) is a central concept in ancient rhetorical theory, both in the organization of arguments (*dispositio*) and in the treatment of expression (*elocutio*). See de Jonge, *Dionysius*, 252. On Josephus' rearrangements of the laws of the *politeia*, see Feldman, *Rearrangements*, 398–407; Avioz, *Legal Exegesis*, 83–86.

38 In biblical legislation, the commands are given by God in Leviticus, by Moses in Deuteronomy.

direct speech remain in Josephus' text in the occasional "you" pointing to the Hebrews (*AJ* 4.205 "by you;" *AJ* 4.208 "none of you"), especially at the beginning of the speech, and even "I," pointing to Moses (*AJ* 4.205 "which I appointed").³⁹

3.2 Register Analysis

From the linguistic point of view, in contrast to what we have seen for the cultic laws, in the *politeia* pervasive linguistic features typical of legislation do occur. I will consider in the following sections some of the most frequent features.

3.2.1 Morphology

Imperative/infinitive pro imperative. Third person imperative. First, in the *politeia* there is a pervasive use of the imperative or of the jussive infinitive (infinitive *pro* imperative). Moreover, the imperative is mostly in the third person. We see it right at the outset, at *Antiquitates Judaicae* 4.200:

Let there be one holy city (ἱερὰ πόλις ἔστω μία) ... let there be one temple in it (καὶ νεὼς εἷς ἐν ταύτῃ ἔστω), ... and one altar (καὶ βωμὸς εἷς) of stones ... let the access to this be (πρόσβασις ἔστω) not by steps ... in another city let there be neither an altar not a temple (ἐν ἑτέρῃ δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεὼς ἔστω).

While for the first paragraph (*AJ* 4.199) Josephus, like Deuteronomy, uses the second person plural in the indicative (πράξετε, ἔξετε), marking thus Moses' direct speech, from *AJ* 4.200 onwards he mostly employs the third person imperative, either singular, as in the passage of *AJ* 4.200 above, or plural, as at *AJ* 4.203 "let them come together three times a year" (συνερχέσθωσαν). Only in very few cases is the second person kept either in a verb or in a pronoun. This is a major difference with Deuteronomy, where laws are often (although not always) directed in the second person plural.

Reduplications. In the first law of the *politeia*, which conflates Deut 12 on the holy city and the temple with Exod 20:14–25 on the altar, the imperative ἔστω is repeated four times; likewise, the motif of the unicity of temple and holy city is repeated four times, with no apparent need for lexical variation. Conjunctions are likewise frequently repeated.⁴⁰

39 On *AJ* 4.205, see below 3.2.2.

40 E.g., *AJ* 4.202 καὶ ... καὶ. *AJ* 4.201, 209 μήτε ... μήτε. Reduplication has been highlighted in legal Latin by De Meo, *La lingua giuridica*, 119.

Pronouns. In the *politeia*, indefinite negative pronouns such as “none, nobody” are recurrent,⁴¹ but also relative pronouns, especially the indefinite relative pronoun ὅσος.⁴²

Adverbs. Adverbs are frequent, although not pervasive: the blasphemer must be buried “both ignominiously and in obscurity” (*AJ* 4.202), and the adverb “likewise,” to indicate a similar case, recurs only seven times in the whole constitution.⁴³

3.2.2 Syntax

The syntax of the *politeia* is often complex, combining implicit and explicit hypothetical clauses or numerous relative clauses. For example, at *Antiquitates Judaicae* 4.220:

Ἄν δὲ πραχθέντος φόνου ἐν τινι χώρᾳ μὴ εὐρίσκηται ὁ δράσας μὴδ' ὑπονοῆται τις ὡς διὰ μίσος ἀπεκτονηκῶς, ζητείτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μήνυτρα προθέμενοι· μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πλησίον τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐν ἧ ὁ φόνος ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία συνελθόντες μετρεῖτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν χώραν.

If, when a murder has been committed in a certain place, the doer is not found, and no one is suspected of having committed the slaying because of hatred, let them seek him with much diligence, offering rewards for information. But if there is no informer, let the officers of the city near the place where the murder was committed and the council of the elders come together and measure the ground from the place where the corpse lies.⁴⁴

In this sentence, the main clause “let them seek him with much diligence” (ζητείτωσαν... μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς) is preceded by two subordinate hypothetical clauses with finite verbs: “if the one who did it is not found” (Ἄν δὲ ... μὴ εὐρίσκηται) and “if no one is suspected (μὴδ' ὑπονοῆται τις). The last hypothetical clause features itself a subordinate clause constructed with ὡς + participle, “of having committed the slaying because of hatred” (ὡς διὰ μίσος ἀπεκτονηκῶς). Moreover, there are a subordinate hypothetical clause

41 E.g., μηδεῖς, *AJ* 4.207–208; μὴδ' ... τις ... μηδενὸς δέ, *AJ* 4.220.

42 E.g., *AJ* 4.213, 260.

43 *AJ* 4.206, 231, 251, 274, 276, 288, 291.

44 Feldman's translation has been slightly modified in this passage. The translation of ὁ δράσας as “the doer” is by Thackeray, which I prefer here, as more technical. On Josephus' exegesis of this law, Avioz, *Legal Exegesis*, 90–91.

with participle (genitive absolute) at the beginning, “when a murder has been committed in any place” (πραχθέντος φόνου ἔν τινι χώρῃ), and a subordinate clause with participle at the end: “offering rewards for information” (μῆνυτρα προθέμενοι). Likewise, relative clauses are very often used in the *politeia*.⁴⁵ Let us read, for example, how Josephus renders the extensive narrative of Deut 14:22–26 concerning tithes (AJ 4.205):

Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαίρεσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἧς διέταξα⁴⁶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδόσθαι, ἢ πιπρασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετεῖτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει· δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδομένων, ἣν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχευεν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἀπολαύειν.

Let there be a selection by you of a tithe of fruits, apart from that which I ordered to be given to the priests and Levites, and (lit. “that”) let it be sold in its native regions and let it serve for the feasts and the sacrifices in the holy city. For it is proper to enjoy for the honor of the one who has given it, that which has grown from the land that God has granted them to possess.

The first part of the law is summarized in one single period with two relative clauses; the explanation (δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι) features itself a relative clause.

To sum up so far. First, in contrast to what we have seen for the cultic laws, Josephus not only keeps most of the morphological and syntactic features of the biblical laws, but makes them more frequent, especially in terms of the use of the third person imperative and the complex syntax. Second, although from the narratological point of view Josephus keeps Moses’ speech, as in Deuteronomy, he goes a step towards the register of actual legislation. The use of the third person imperative or of the jussive infinitive, the use of reduplication, indefinite pronouns, and of a complex syntax are typical syntactic features of legislation nowadays and some of these features have been pointed out also for ancient laws,⁴⁷ as we shall see in the next paragraph.

45 AJ 4.200, 203, 205, 207, 209, 210, 212.

46 With the *difficilior* reading of SPL, instead of διετάξατε.

47 The syntax of contemporary legislation is characterized by conditionals and hypothetical formulations, relative clauses, abundance of restrictive connectors and the density of subordination and parenthetical restriction; see Varo & Hughes, *Legal Translation*, 19–20. On the complex syntax as typical of “legalese” in Roman legal discourse, see Powell, “Cicero.” The use of pronouns is likewise recurrent in any genre of legal texts, past and

3.2.3 Third Person Imperative and Jussive Infinitive in Actual Legislation
Some examples of the use of the third person imperative or the jussive infinitive in actual legislation are found as early as in the Great Gortyn Code, an inscription from Crete from the fifth century BCE pertaining to private law.

Whoever intends to bring suit in relation to a free man or slave, shall not take action by seizure before trial (πρὸς δίκας μὲ ἄγεν); but if he does seize him, let the judge fine him (καταδικασάτῳ) ten staters for the free man, five for the slave, and let him release him within three days. But if he does not release him, let the judge sentence him (καταδικαδδέτῳ) to a stater for a free man, a drachma for a slave, each day until he has released him. But if he denies that he made the seizure, the judge shall decide (κρίνειν) with oath, unless a witness testify.⁴⁸

Gortyn Code, col. 1, ll. 2–12

Καταδικασάτῳ/καταδικαδδέτῳ are third person imperatives “let (the judge) fine/sentence (him).” In the same law, μὲ ἄγεν (“shall not take action”) and κρίνειν (“shall decide”) are jussive infinitives. In his 2017 article on register variation in ancient Greek, Andreas Willi highlighted that the use of the jussive infinitive is a typical feature of actual laws (legislation, decrees, proclamation), but is also used in discourse *on* the law, such as in a parody of legal discourse in Greek comedy.⁴⁹ In the *Birds*, for example, Aristophanes quotes a law of Solon, using two jussive infinitives (μὴ εἶναι, μετεῖναι):

Πε. ἐρῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνός σοι νόμον·
νόθῳ δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεῖαν παίδων ὄντων γνησίων.
ἐὰν δὲ παῖδες μὴ ὦσι γνήσιοι, τοῖς ἐγγυτάτῳ γένους
μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων.

(Peisetaerus:) But in addition I will quote to you the law of Solon: “The illegitimate child is not to have the right of next of kin as long as there are legitimate children; and if there are no legitimate children, those nearest of kin are to share in the inheritance.”

Av. 1660–1666

present; see Lallot, “L’opposition aspectuelle” on the Gortyn Code; pronouns are frequent also in biblical law.

48 The text of the inscription (1C IV 72) is found at <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/200508>.
49 Willi, “Register variation,” 262–265.

Latin actual laws likewise make large use of the imperative of instruction (also called “future imperative”) in the third person (in *-to*): in fact, since laws are meant to be obeyed whenever applicable, the normal verb-form found in them is the imperative of instruction.⁵⁰ Such imperative is purposely used by Cicero in his discourse on the laws (*De legibus*). The same goes for the use of relative clauses, typical of Latin legal syntax, likewise extensively used by Cicero.⁵¹ From the above examples I suggest that Josephus’ frequent use of the third person imperative for the *politeia*—more frequent than in the biblical account—is intentional, and speaks for his awareness of the register of legislation.

3.2.4 Lexicon: Technical, Semi-technical, and Shared Vocabulary in the *Politeia*

On the basis of the typical features of legislation pointed out so far, one would expect a very register-specific vocabulary, that is a large use of technical legal terminology. However, although some technical legal terms are found, Josephus often uses semi-technical words—that is words which are attested in the Greco-Roman world also outside legal discourse—and mostly shared, unmarked words. Moreover, he often departs from the vocabulary of the Greek Bible, confirming a tendency that I have observed elsewhere.⁵² Let us go back, for example, to the prescription on the holy city, the temple, and the altar. While the first part of the law on the holy city and the temple features plain, non-technical words, in the second part of the paragraph the prohibition to cut the stones for the altar (Exod 20:25), becomes in Josephus:

And one altar (βωμός) of stones, not hewn (μὴ κατεργασμένων) but chosen (λογάδην) and joined together (συγκειμένων), which, smeared with whitewash (κονιάματα), will be appealing and clean (καθάριοι) to the view.⁵³

The more common βωμός is preferred by Josephus to θυσιαστήριον used by the LXX. Moreover, Josephus adds details and more specific words: for example, κονίαμα “whitewash, stucco, plaster,” is a technical term related to constructions. It is a *hapax legomenon* in Josephus, well-attested in Greek Classical and

50 Examples in Powell, “Cicero,” *passim*.

51 Powell “Cicero,” 130.

52 Castelli, “Tabernacle.”

53 AJ 4.200. Feldman’s translation is here slightly adapted.

Hellenistic literature,⁵⁴ as well as in Jewish-Greek literature: it is found, among others, in Philo in similes (*De cher.* 104; *De agr.* 152, 160), as well as in the LXX at Dan 5:5.⁵⁵

As a matter of fact, we do find typical legal vocabulary, technical or “semi-technical,” according to the definition used provided in the introduction to this chapter.⁵⁶ At *AJ* 4.214–218 τὸ δίκαιον indicates justice, δικάζειν administer justice, ἀρχή the magistracy, ὑπηρέται the officers assigned to each magistracy, οἱ δικασταί the judges.⁵⁷ All these words are used in Greek legal discourse. For ὑπηρέται, in particular, Sarah Pearce has convincingly argued that the use of the term “would suggest to a Greco-Roman reader parallels with the term as employed in descriptions, both real and ideal, of Greek judicial administration:” for example, in Plato’s *Laws* (*Leg.* 9.873b), a text that we shall see later, capital sentences delivered by judges are executed by ὑπηρέται.⁵⁸ Another example is παρακαταθήκη, “deposit” (*AJ* 4.285–288), which has a very strong attestation in legal and economic texts.⁵⁹ The same goes for ὁ δράσας, “the doer” (*AJ* 4.220) in the law considered in section 3.2.2 above.⁶⁰ This last example is significant, since the use of participles with the article is a characteristic feature of Greek legal texts.⁶¹ A very peculiar case of the same passage is that of ἀπεκτονηκώς, “having committed slaying,” which seems to be a neologism of Josephus.⁶² As I pointed out for the cultic laws, Latinisms are likewise not found in the *politeia*.

54 Theophrastus 4.16; Diodorus Siculus 5.12.2; 20.8.3; Timaeus (Jacoby F3b, 566, F 164, l. 231); [Aristotle], *Col.* 791b, 794b, 899b Bekker.

55 Philo, *Cher.* 104, in a simile between the adornments of the building and the adornment of the soul; in *Agr.* 160 likewise in a simile “just as it is that plaster should become firm and fixed and acquire solidity, so too ... the souls ... should become more firmly settled.”

56 Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 66 and 69; Schironi, “Naming the Phenomena,” 246–250.

57 Similar considerations can be made for μάρτυς/μαρτυρέω of *AJ* 4.219 “witness, bear witness,” which is a de-terminologized term and thus synchronically no longer technical. On this law, Pearce, “Witness Laws.” Likewise, at *AJ* 4.220 the council of the elders is called γερουσία, as in the LXX (*Deut* 21:3), a word which is not exclusive of legal texts.

58 Pearce, “Levitical servants,” 488.

59 On παρακαταθήκη, see Taubenschlag, *Law*, 349–352. The term, however, is also found in Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 1.27, in an explanation of the law (“For [γάρ] man has a wife entrusted to him as a deposit [παρακαταθήκη] from her parents”).

60 Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.40; Euripides, *Rhes.* 875; Isocrates, *Loch.* 2; Demosthenes, *Arist.* 218; Plato, *Leg.* 869b; Arrian, *Anab.* 7.29.2.

61 Bloch, “Gezetzprosa.”

62 ἀπεκτονηκώς is the reading of RMSPL. The reading ἀποκτενηκώς of O is clearly an error, since the form is otherwise unattested.

3.2.5 Structure

Finally, in the *politeia* we observe a specific structure as a recurring feature, although not systematic for all laws: the law is first defined, then explained. The explanation is more often codified with γάρ and a finite verb: for example, “for God is one and the stock of the Hebrews one” (θεός γάρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἓν, *AJ* 4.200), “for it is good” (*AJ* 4.203), “for it is right ... for the deity ...” (*AJ* 205–206); sometimes a non-finite verb is used, such as in *AJ* 4.212 (“thanksgiving being a natural duty”). Explanations of the laws are found already in biblical legislation, but in Josephus they become more frequent.⁶³ I will come back to this last point in the following paragraph, where I shall explain Josephus’ reasons for crafting Moses’ laws in the way he does.

4 General Conclusions: Anchoring Moses’ Legislation in Greek Discourse

The combined application of narratological considerations and register variation analysis to two of the most extensive sections of Josephus’ biblical legislation brings some interesting results.⁶⁴ First, it shows that Josephus does not craft the cultic laws as legislation: in the entire section of cultic laws there are hardly pervasive linguistic features, except for the use of the third person (mostly) indicative, which is not typical of actual laws; even at the lexical level, while the vocabulary presents some technical and semi-technical terms, the overall picture points to a shared, unmarked lexicon. How can we explain this choice? Josephus was aware that the Mosaic cultic laws were a form of “legislation”—he calls it νομοθεσία or διάταξις τῶν νόμων (*AJ* 3.286–287). Moreover, as a proud priest of Jerusalem he describes Moses’ tabernacle with copious details, indulges in an ekphrastic excursus, and employs for that description technical terminology, as I have shown elsewhere.⁶⁵ Thus, his choice on the Levitical laws cannot be due to lack of interest in the cultic laws. The overall impression is that Josephus intentionally did not present the Levitical laws with the linguistic code of legislation. A first reason may be the fact that an extensive, prescriptive account of cultic laws was less engaging for both his non-Judean audience, as foreign customs, and his Judean audience, as they could no longer be performed. But there is an additional reason, which I find

63 Avioz, *Legal Exegesis*, 120–128.

64 On the limited scope of this investigation, which excludes the summary of legislation of Josephus, *CA* 2.190–218, see the Introduction to this chapter.

65 Castelli, “Tabernacle.”

more cogent in terms of Josephus' history writing, notably evident in Josephus' summary of Levitical sacrifices and festivals: presenting the cultic laws as a non-prescriptive text in the third person would anchor⁶⁶ the Mosaic constitution in Greek ethnographic historiography, where laws and customs of foreign people did find their place, yet from an outsider perspective.⁶⁷ Herodotus—to take but the most famous example surely known by Josephus—writes extensively about the Egyptians and the Scythians, and considers also their cultic laws and customs. On the sacrifices of the Scythians, he writes:

In all their sacred rites they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered (θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περι πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ᾧδε). The victim (τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον) stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer (ὁ δὲ θύων) stands behind the beast, and throws it down by pulling the end of the rope; [2] as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose around the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the first-fruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and skinned the beast, he sets about cooking it.

HERODOTUS 4.60; trans. Godley (emphasis added)

The ritual is described in the third person, which ensures cognitive distance.⁶⁸ In the first sentence we notice the attempt at generalization (περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ, “in all their sacred rites”), as we have seen in Josephus, and the marked position, at the end, of ᾧδε, “in this way,” as we found in Josephus (above, section 2.2.1). The same marked position of ᾧδε is seen in Herodotus a few paragraphs later (4.62): “This is their way of sacrificing to other gods and these are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are of this sort (τῷ δὲ Ἄρει ᾧδε).”⁶⁹ I remarked above (section 2.2.2) that Josephus uses the technical term ἐπίπλους (*AJ* 3.228), the “caul”—that is the membrane enclosing the entrails—for Lev 3:3. The term is found, among others, in Herodotus' book 2, where the historian describes the sacrifice of a pig to the Moon.

But this is how they sacrifice (θυσίη δὲ ἧδε) swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and (καί) the spleen and (καί) the caul

66 On the concept of “anchoring” see Sluiter, “Anchoring Innovation.” On its application to Josephus, see Castelli, “Bronze Bases.”

67 So Skinner, *Greek Ethnography*, 6.

68 On “distance” in Herodotus, see Allan, “Distance and Immersion.” Tyrell, *Persuasion*, 105.

69 Herodotus 4.62: τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἄρει ᾧδε. The repetition of the demonstrative pronoun should also be noticed.

(ἐπίπλοον) together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds around the belly, then consigns it all to the fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, with but slender means, mold swine out of dough, which they then take and sacrifice.

HERODOTUS 2.47.3; trans. Godley

In this case, as noticed for description of the Scythians' cultic laws, there is an attempt at generalization and a marked position of the demonstrative pronoun (θυσίη δὲ ἦδε). Moreover, the use of the third person is pervasive, as well as the use of the present indicative (σιτέονται, θύουσι) or subjunctive (θύσωσι), and the polysyndeton, which we have observed in Josephus. Finally, Herodotus uses occasional technical or semi-technical terms, in this case the very word for "caul" used by Josephus, although in its ionic form (ἐπίπλοον). I have already remarked that the metanarrative elements used by Josephus for sacrifices and festivals point to an overt narrator, such as Herodotus is.⁷⁰ My point here is not to show how Josephus was indebted to Herodotus, but to show how Josephus was aware of the discourse of ethnographic historiography in the description of foreign laws, and intentionally used it.⁷¹ By crafting his summary of the Levitical laws in the way he does, Josephus intentionally embeds the Mosaic cultic laws in Greek ethnographic historiography.

How can we explain Josephus' way of writing Moses' *politeia*? As we have seen, Josephus deliberately chose to keep a partial conative function in presenting the legislation of Deuteronomy, even in a work of historiography. While the laws of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 4 are built as part of the narrative, using the biblical direct speech of Moses, and are meant for an audience who is expected to grasp from them the nature of the laws, although not to perform them, they are prescriptive in most of their formal characters: the use of the third person imperative or of the jussive infinitive, combined with reduplication, indefinite pronouns, and a complex syntax are pervasive features in Josephus' *politeia* and typical of legislation. In some of these formal aspects, such as the use of the third person imperative, Josephus moves more consistently than his biblical models towards what must have been perceived by his audience as the register of actual legislation.

70 Above, section 2.1.1, with reference to de Jong, "Herodotus."

71 Awareness of Herodotus' ethnographic discourse has been noted also for Lucian's *De syria dea*; see Lightfoot, "Greek ethnography," 139–140. The description of laws and customs was still a matter of interest in Greek imperial historiography, as demonstrated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus' introduction of his Roman history (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.8.1–2).

On the other hand, the very structure of Josephus' *politeia*, with the extensive use of the rationale—more frequent than in biblical legislation—seems to point to legislation λόγῳ,⁷² that is to texts *on* the law. Although “motive clauses” are present in the biblical legislation, for example in the prohibition of pagan practices (Deut 14:2) or in the rules of warfare,⁷³ the rationale of the laws is mostly used in Jewish-Greek legal discourse in texts *on* the laws, not in actual legislation. For example, in Philo's treatise on the *Special Laws* on the borders (*Spec.* 4.149), or on the prohibition of mixing wool and linen (*Spec.* 4.207–208); it is also found in pseudo-Philo's narrative on the decalogue (*LAB* 11.9–13); and the apostle Paul in 1 Cor 9:7–10 provides an explanation similar to that of Josephus on the muzzling ox.⁷⁴ While that could certainly be explained as an elaboration of the biblical legislation itself, in Jewish-Greek literature the use of the rationale can also be explained as a strategy to embed Moses' legislation into the wider frame of Greek legal discourse. Josephus seems to go in that direction. In Plato's *Laws*, in particular, there are preambles to several laws of book IX and X, such as the law against temple robbing, murder, impiety, and adulteration (κιβδηλεία; *Leg.* 9.916d–917b):⁷⁵ in Plato those preambles are meant to preface, and ideally render superfluous, the imperative of the law in the narrow sense. To understand what Plato meant with preambles, let us consider *Leg.* 4.721b 1–3, where the Athenian first formulates a law without preamble (ὁ μὲν ἀπλοῦς [νόμος]) and then with preamble. The simple law reads as follows:

Γαμεῖν δέ, ἐπειδὴν ἐτῶν ἦ τις τριάκοντα, μέχρι ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, εἰ δὲ μή, ζημιουῦσθαι χρήμασιν τε καὶ τιμῆ, χρήμασι μὲν τόσοις καὶ τόσοις, τῆ καὶ τῆ δὲ τιμῆ.

A man shall marry when he is thirty years old and under five and thirty; if he fails to do so, he shall be punished both by a fine in money and by degradation, the fine being of such and such an amount, and the degradation of such and such a kind.

PLATO, *Leg.* 4.721b 1–3; trans. Bury

72 On the distinction between lawgiving ἔργῳ (the real act of legislation) and lawgiving λόγῳ (discourse *on* legislation), see note 1 and 2 of the introduction to this chapter, with references.

73 Bartor, *Reading Law as Narrative*, 14.

74 See also Philo, *Virt.* 145–146 and B. Meş. 7.1–3.

75 Bartels, *Plato*, 135. Yunis, “Laws,” 235–236 argues that Plato creates with *Laws* “a new rhetorical genre of legal-political discourse.” Plato's preambles, as well as the rationale of the laws in Jewish-Greek literature seem to obey to a need for an epistemic, as opposed to practical, authority; see Vroom, *Authority of Law*, 202–203.

The double law, instead, is preceded by a preamble, which runs as follows:

A man shall marry (Γαμείν δέ) when he is thirty years old and under thirty-five, bearing in mind that this is the way by which the human race, by nature's ordinance, shares in immortality (διανοηθέντα ὡς ἔστιν ἡ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος φύσει τινὶ μετείληφεν ἀθανασίας), a thing for which nature has implanted in everyone a keen desire. The desire to win glory, instead of lying in a nameless grave, aims at a like object (τὸ γὰρ γενέσθαι κλεινὸν καὶ μὴ νώνυμον κείσθαι τετελευτηκότα τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἔστιν ἐπιθυμία). Thus mankind is by nature coeval with the whole of time, in that it accompanies it continually both now and in the future; and the means by which it is immortal is this: by leaving behind it children's children and continuing ever one and the same, it thus by reproduction shares in immortality.

PLATO, *Leg.* 4.721b6–c7; trans. Bury

The Platonic preambles, although keeping the law in its prescriptive form with a jussive infinitive—γαμείν δέ is found in both the simple and double law—places the act of the individual in a larger, cosmic framework. Thus, in Plato's *Laws*, persuasion is the best criterion for proper lawgiving λόγῳ: “the lawgiver must never omit to furnish preludes, as prefaces both to the laws as a whole and to each individual statute, whereby they shall surpass their original form by as much as the ‘double’ examples recently given surpassed the ‘single’” (Plato, *Leg.* 4.723b). This idea was still relevant to first-century Roman political and philosophic discourse: although the Platonic approach was contested by Posidonius, in his epistle 94 Seneca defends Plato, insisting that the introduction set the mind of the reader in the right philosophical direction, enabling them to perform the precepts with full intention.⁷⁶ Similarly, according to Philo's *Opif.* 1–2 the account of creation precedes the law code because “it was necessary to mold beforehand the minds (προτυπῶσαι τὰς διανοίας) of those who will use the laws,”⁷⁷ a line of thought followed by Josephus' introduction to *Antiquitates Judaicae* (1.19–21).⁷⁸

Josephus highlights in Moses' *politeia* the formal register of legislation for some aspects, pointing thus to real legislation (νομοθεσία ἔργῳ), yet he frames his discourse according to the tradition of Greek legal discourse (νομοθεσία

76 Seneca, *Ep.* 94.1–21, 25, 31, 38.

77 Niehoff, “Philo's Rationalization of Judaism,” 35.

78 Feldman, *Judean Antiquities*, 9n26 at *AJ* 1.21, with references. Barclay, *Against Apion*, LVIII–LIX, argues that in giving to the political concept of *politeia* a more “religious” dimension Josephus is indebted to Plato.

λόγω) that goes back to Plato's *Laws*, where lawgiving, although featuring some linguistic aspects of real legislation, is not imposition but persuasion.⁷⁹ Moreover, in designing the *politeia* within Moses' speech, Josephus not only is more faithful to the biblical account of Deuteronomy, but can use speech to highlight a decisive moment in the narrative according to the best models of Greek historiography, such as Herodotus and Thucydides.⁸⁰ Finally, the limited strictly technical legal language in both the *politeia* and the cultic laws in favor of semi-technical or common language points to Josephus' attempt to make Moses' legislation accessible and understandable to the wide Greek-speaking audience to which he refers in the preface to *Antiquitates Judaicae*. Not only by interpreting and making clearer the biblical laws, as an exegete would do,⁸¹ but also by "anchoring" his discourse in Greek discourse—ethnographic historiography, notably Herodotus, for the cultic laws, and legal discourse, notably Plato, for the *politeia*—and his language in the common, shared, or semi-technical vocabulary of the Greco-Roman age.

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79 Likewise Cicero goes back to Plato's *Law* as a model for *De legibus*. See Powell, "Cicero."
 80 On Herodotus, de Bakker, "Herodotus;" on Thucydides, Rood, "Thucydides;" on Josephus' speeches specifically, van Henten and Huitink, "Josephus."
 81 Josephus' exegetical project is stressed by Avioz, *Legal Exegesis*.

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Free Speech and Moses' Laws: The Limits of παρρησία in Josephus' Works

Ursula Westwood

1 Introduction

In the fourth book of his *Antiquitates Judaicae*, as part of his summary of the Mosaic πολιτεία, Josephus uses the term παρρησία (“free speech,” “frankness”) to describe the capacity of Moses’ laws when read out in the assembly to confront and correct wrongdoers (*AJ* 2.210). This term has a long history, associated both with the freedoms of democratic Athens (contrasted with the limits upon speech in autocracies), and with the openness that is a marker of friendship. Josephus’ use of the term creates an implicit metaphor, in which the text of Moses’ laws becomes a boldly speaking advisor to a monarch, or a companion in a virtue-pursuing friendship.

The *Antiquitates Judaicae* were written during the reign of Domitian, an emperor whose memory in the literary record is associated with a particular absence of open speech: Tacitus famously praises the new era of freedom as a result of Nerva’s accession with the statement that this is a time when one can “feel what one likes, and say what one feels”—in contrast with the past.¹ Josephus’ invocation of the laws’ frank speech in such a context seems marked.

A thorough investigation of this potentially charged example requires two preliminary stages. The first is to explore the meanings of the term παρρησία within Greek political discourse—starting with democratic Athens, and then showing the shift in later periods and contexts, from παρρησία as “political right” to “private virtue.”² Particular attention will be paid to the biographer

1 Translations of Josephus’ works, and of other ancient authors, are generally taken from the LCL editions, and texts are borrowed from either the LCL or OCT editions.

Tacitus, *Hist.* 1; cf. *Agric.* 1–3; Suetonius, *Dom.* 10; Pliny, *Pan.* 76; cf. Lang, “Freiheit’ in Plinius Secundus’ *panegyricus*,” 48, 55–56.

2 Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 258; for παρρησία in biblical texts, see Papademetriou, “The Performative Meaning of the Word Παρρησία in Ancient Greek and in the Greek Bible,” 34. For aspects of its usage in the New Testament see (particularly on Acts) Neumann, “Παρρησία in Erzähltexten;” den Heijer, “The Performance of Parrhesia in Philo and Acts.” Christian texts have not been discussed here—for a good discussion of the

Plutarch, for two reasons: first, his *floruit* overlaps with that of Josephus, making him a good source for the implications of terms within Greek literature in the Roman period; secondly, Plutarch is an author who not only uses the term extensively,³ but also theorises lengthily in the *Moralia* about its appropriate use.⁴ This will prepare the ground for the second part of this study, which surveys the use of the term within Josephus' works to establish the semantic range it covers. Finally, we will then evaluate its occurrences in the Moses story.

Josephus' terminological choices during the Moses narrative are significant.⁵ In the prologue to the *Antiquitates*, Josephus summarises his history as an account of three main points: the origins of the Jewish people, the kind of lawgiver by whom they were educated in virtue, and the wars they faced up to the final war with Rome.⁶ Moses is the only individual referred to in this précis, and the final portion of the prologue is devoted to describing Moses' legislative philosophy.⁷ Josephus' account of Moses' legislative project reveals an awareness of the tradition into which he is fitting the Jewish νομοθέτης, encouraging his readers to read the *Antiquitates Judaicae* through the lens of Greek political philosophy.

As such, when he uses charged terms such as παρρησία, particularly as an attribute of the laws, or within speeches given by Moses, this language deserves to be interrogated. Speaking of the law's παρρησία towards wrongdoers is strange—one could more simply speak of a rebuke, challenge, or reproach.⁸ As we will see from its usage in classical Greek discourse and in Plutarch, παρρησία contains broader baggage which Josephus is bringing into his characterisation of the law's relationship with the people, and the people's relationship with their lawgiver (and his laws).

problems involved in including them, see Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 18–19.

3 Plutarch uses the noun 162 times.

4 Esp. Plutarch, *Quo Adulator* 59Bff. On Plutarch as a helpful *comparandum* for Josephus, esp. on Moses, see Feldman, "Parallel Lives of Two Lawgivers: Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus'.

5 On the importance of the Moses narrative in general, and particularly parallels with figures from Greek and Roman history, see the three articles by Feldman: Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses;" Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses. Part Two;" Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses. Part Three."

6 Josephus *AJ* 1.6.

7 *AJ* 1.18. In its immediate context this description serves to explain the opening of the history with the creation of the world—cf. Philo, *Opif.* 1–3. On Josephus' use in this passage of vocabulary "which triggers associations with philosophy," see van Henten, "The Use of Νόυς in Flavius Josephus," 160.

8 E.g. μέμφομαι, ἐπιτιμάω, ψέγω, ὀνειδίζω, αἰτιάομαι.

2 Παρρησία in Greek Thought

At its roots, *παρρησία* refers to “saying everything” (πάς + ῥήσις). Alongside the older and more formally political term *ἰσηγορία* (“equal speech”), it has often been translated as and equated with “freedom of speech” in something close to the modern sense: the right of citizens to say what they choose within both political and private contexts. Momigliano refers to *ἰσηγορία* and *παρρησία* as “technical terms for freedom of speech” in his article tracing the history of the idea.⁹ The translation “freedom of speech” has come under criticism, summarised by Saxonhouse: it “ties the word too strongly to the passive language of rights rather than the active expression of one’s true beliefs.”¹⁰ Mulgan also points to the absence of any etymological connection with freedom.¹¹ More importantly, the modern notion of freedom of speech refers usually to freedom *from* censorship and government overreach, often associated with parallel freedoms of religion and conscience.¹² These are not concepts that map straightforwardly onto the term *παρρησία*.

Instead, *παρρησία* in its early appearances is a type of speech employed in both public and private contexts—the stating in full of one’s honest opinion. As such, it has a strong connection with two things: first, truth telling (especially involving some risk to the speaker);¹³ and second, political freedom, particularly as opposed to tyranny.¹⁴ The Athenian orator Demosthenes regularly refers to his own use of *παρρησία* alongside *ἀλήθεια* (“truth”)—he is truthfully telling everything, holding nothing back (despite the risk of inciting anger).¹⁵ According to a fragment of Demokritos, *παρρησία* is a “thing particularly belonging to freedom” (οὐκίχιον ἐλευθερίας *παρρησίης*); that it is intrinsically dangerous is revealed by his next clause: the risk is recognising the right moment

9 Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 258; cf. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire*, 526.

10 Saxonhouse, *Free Speech and Democracy in Ancient Athens*, 86.

11 Mulgan, “Liberty in Ancient Greece,” 12.

12 Carter, “A Conceptual Difference between Ancient and Modern Ideas of Freedom of Speech,” 198; Saxonhouse, *Free Speech and Democracy in Ancient Athens*, 19.

13 This risk can take different forms: the advisor to a tyrant who uses *parrhesia* at the wrong moment may face death; the speaker in the Athenian assembly who proposes an unpopular motion may face exile, but the risk may simply be of losing face, and the softer ostracism resulting from disagreement with the majority.

14 See discussions in Monoson, *Plato’s Democratic Entanglements*, 58; Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 259.

15 E.g. Demosthenes, 2 *Philip*. 31; *Fals. Leg.* 237; *Aristocr.* 204. See Monoson, *Plato’s Democratic Entanglements*, 64; Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 17.

(κίνδυνος δὲ ἢ τοῦ καιροῦ διάγνωσις).¹⁶ In Euripides' *Phoenissae*, the Theban Polyneikes names the lack of *παρρησία* the most difficult aspect of his state of exile.¹⁷ His mother's response equates a lack of *παρρησία* with slavery (δούλου τὸδ' εἶπας).¹⁸ In democratic Athens it is associated with citizenship—so that in Euripides' *Ion*, the eponymous hero wishes for his mother to be Athenian precisely because that would mean he has *παρρησία*.¹⁹

Ἰσηγορία refers to the ability of every citizen to contribute to debate, while *παρρησία* is more about the content of what is said. Foucault, in his famous lectures on the topic, speaks of *παρρησία* as a risky form of speech which *directly represents* the opinion of the speaker.²⁰ He traces the problematisation of *παρρησία* in the Greek tragedies—both its definition as key to Athenian citizenship, and the development of a *negative παρρησία*, a frankness which is simply abuse and serves no one: in Euripides' *Orestes*, a speaker in the assembly is described as “unable to close his lips” (ἀθυρόγλωσσος), relying on “ignorant *παρρησία*” (ἀμαθεῖ *παρρησία*).²¹ This reflects the criticisms of the democratic assembly by later authors, as well as advice given to tyrants about who should be *granted παρρησία*.²²

For *παρρησία* is not limited to democratic contexts. In fact, it has even been argued that *παρρησία* as it operates and is described within the Athenian assembly relies on an implicit analogy between the Athenian *demos* and a

16 Democritus *Fr.* 226. See Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 259; Saxonhouse, *Free Speech and Democracy in Ancient Athens*, 86n6; Konstan, “The Two Faces of Parrhêsia,” 2; Monoson, *Plato's Democratic Entanglements*, 58.

17 Euripides, *Phoen.* 391: ἐν μὲν μέγιστον οὐκ ἔχει *παρρησίαν*. Note Plutarch's later mockery of this claim (*Exil.* 606B–C).

18 For Konstan (“The Two Faces of Parrhêsia,” 5–6), Polyneikes is missing the frankness that should be available to him as an *aristocrat*. Foucault (*Fearless Speech*, 24) similarly emphasises here the role of social status, and the fact that an absence of *parrhesia* equates to a complete lack of power. Saxonhouse (*Free Speech and Democracy in Ancient Athens*, 141) suggests that the necessity of *concealing* his thoughts is an important element of Polyneikes' complaint. On *παρρησία* associated with citizenship in juxtaposition to the lack of speech of slaves and metics, see also Berrey, *Hellenistic Science at Court*, 106.

19 Euripides, *Ion* 670–673: εἰ δ' ἐπεύξασθαι χρεών/ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μ' ἢ τεκοῦσ' εἶη γυνή/ ὧς μοι γένηται μητρόθεν *παρρησία*. See Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, 51.

20 Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, 12, 14: “In *parrhesia* the speaker is supposed to give a complete and exact account of what he has in mind, so that the audience is able to comprehend exactly what the speaker thinks ...”

21 Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, 74.

22 E.g. Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of Athens* 6–9; Isocrates, *On the Peace* 113 (ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι *παρρησία*, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν); *To Nicocles* 2.28 (Δίδου *παρρησίαν* τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν). Cf. Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, 82; Landauer, “*Parrhesia* and the *Demos Tyrannos*,” 193; Carter, “A Conceptual Difference between Ancient and Modern Ideas of Freedom of Speech,” 208.

tyrant.²³ Isocrates criticises the *demos* for its willingness to listen to speakers who flatter, rather than those who are honest—precisely the problem which is identified in autocracies, revealing as well that *παρρησία* is assumed to be unpleasant for the audience to hear.²⁴ Importantly, there are few examples of tyrants in the Greek world actively curbing the speech of their subjects—it is rather the case that within a tyranny, where the monarch faces no accountability, the rational thing to do is to avoid saying things that will not please.²⁵

In later periods, *παρρησία* increasingly becomes an attribute or quality found within private relationships of friendship—an emphasis not present in the earlier Athenian evidence.²⁶ The *παρρησία* of the true friend is able to point out faults and draw one towards moral virtue. The shift is explained primarily by the change in modes of government in the Hellenistic age, when the political involvement of the average citizen became less significant, and those writing treatises to and about rulers were interested in how frank speech could be practically employed within unequal relationships—whether of king and courtier, or of tutor and student.²⁷

We have thus identified in *παρρησία* a variety of implications: at its root, a “telling of all,” which, in democratic Athens means the ability of each citizen to give his true opinion within the assembly and agora. Its association with freedom, *ἐλευθερία*, is clear, but also reveals the extent to which notions of frank speaking within political contexts at Athens are shaped by an opposition to the (often self-imposed) limits on speech within more sharply hierarchical contexts, notably Persia. Yet even in Persia, as Herodotus notes, the king can be pleased to receive frank criticism from his advisors.²⁸ The need for orators to

23 Landauer, “*Parrhesia* and the *Demos Tyrannos*,” 196.

24 Isocrates, *On the Peace* 2.5. Cf. Landauer, 201; Walzer, “*Parrêsia*, Foucault, and the Classical Rhetorical Tradition,” 11. Lévy (“From Politics to Philosophy and Theology,” 324) notes the absence of the term from Thucydides, despite the importance of deliberative speeches in his history, suggesting its failure as a tool within the fraught political context of the war. Cf. Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 260.

25 Carter, “A Conceptual Difference between Ancient and Modern Ideas of Freedom of Speech,” 211.

26 Momigliano, “Freedom of Speech in Antiquity,” 260: “*parrhesia* as a private virtue replaced *parrhesia* as a political right.” Konstan (“The Two Faces of *Parrhêsia*,” 9) has questioned the simplicity of this division, noting that *παρρησία* within private relationships is clearly assumed in earlier uses as well, and that claims to employ *παρρησία* even in public in Athens generally have a defensive bent.

27 Konstan, “Friendship, Frankness, and Flattery,” 9: “it became necessary to recommend and insist on *parrhesia* as a duty rather than to prize it as a universal mark of citizen status.” For *παρρησία* as a characteristic of the court scientist, see Berrey, *Hellenistic Science at Court*, 28, 107, 119, 154.

28 Herodotus 8.69.

insist upon their own *παρρησία* both reveals its generally positive meaning, as an insistence on good-faith truth-speaking, even if painful, but also suggests that it is no longer assumed as a basic function of speaking within democratic contexts. With the development of more autocratic and hierarchical systems of government, the role of frank speech shifts into the private sphere, alongside being something an ideal prince ought to enable from those with intelligence and knowledge. Finally, *παρρησία* in all these contexts has an underlying purpose, which is the edification and improvement of the audience. The speaker in the assembly insists that his harsh words are for the *demos'* own good; the advisor to a tyrant is expected to give frank advice to help the autocrat and state; a good friend will tell you what you don't want to hear precisely because you need to hear it. To practice *παρρησία* is not simply about "saying everything," but honestly and sincerely saying what *needs to* be said.

This leads us to look at how the term is used in Plutarch. In the treatise *How to tell a flatterer from a friend*, it is *παρρησία* that is one of the defining attributes of the true friend, but also one that can be misused and imitated by flatterers.²⁹ It is clear from many of the examples which he employs (of frank speech and flattery towards autocrats) that Plutarch is concerned not with friendships between equals, but between people of different social and political standing—precisely where flatterers become a problem.³⁰ In the whole Plutarchan corpus, *παρρησία* most often appears in such contexts—those of unequal power relations, with the frankness of the socially or politically inferior individual as the issue at play.³¹

Telling the difference between flatterer and friends becomes a process of distinguishing between different kinds of *παρρησία*, because the flatterer recognises the role of *παρρησία* as the "language particular to friendship" (*ἰδίαν ... φωνὴν ... τῆς φιλίας*) and so employs a corrupted form of it—this is the most wicked thing flatterers do (*ὁ δὲ πάντων ... πανουργότατον*).³² To distinguish between flatterer and friend one needs to have a solid understanding of how the true friend employs *παρρησία*. This, combined with Plutarch's regular

29 For the essay as a practical manual in the guise of a philosophical treatise, see Engberg-Pedersen, "Plutarch to Prince Philopappus on How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," 64. Cf. Berrey, *Hellenistic Science at Court*, 108.

30 Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 49C. Cf. Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 145–146.

31 Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*, 104; Engberg-Pedersen's contention ("Plutarch to Prince Philopappus on How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," 76–77) that friendship is the context in which awareness of social status can be relaxed is perhaps overstated.

32 Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 51C; cf. Walzer, "Parrēsia, Foucault, and the Classical Rhetorical Tradition," 18.

references to frank speech in the *Moralia* and the *Lives*, enables us to say a few things about how it operates in his thought world.

As the language of friendship, *παρρησία* is employed at specific moments: it is a mechanism for correcting moral failures, and as such is not pleasant to receive, but is necessary for the sake of the person addressed.³³ It is regularly compared with medicine, with the friend in the role of doctor.³⁴ As such, false *παρρησία* is compared with a physician who clips a patient's nails instead of operating on a tumour: the lack of pain is the evidence that something is not true *παρρησία*.³⁵ Similarly, however, *παρρησία* misapplied can produce pain without gain, or even make things worse: "for people are injured not only by being praised at the wrong moment, but also by being blamed."³⁶ Plutarch here *equates παρρησία* with blame, or rebuke.

One of Plutarch's major concerns is thus precisely how to employ *παρρησία* properly. Aside from causing injury when applied at the wrong moment and driving the patient into the hands of flatterers, it can also be confused with arrogance, ridicule, or insult: as a surgeon needs to keep his hand movements neat and tidy, so a frank-speaker should keep from his speech all extraneous rudeness or jocularity.³⁷ *Παρρησία* needs to be combined with *ἦθος* ("moral character," "tact") and *λόγος* ("reason") to prevent it seeming like fault-finding or abuse.³⁸ This matters, because people who misuse *παρρησία* may bring about their own destruction—examples are of Antiphon at the hands of Dionysius and Timagenes' loss of Caesar's friendship.³⁹ The context Plutarch imagines is one of the advisor to an autocrat, whose speech is necessarily risky. One should not take unnecessary risks, and therefore *παρρησία* should only be employed in a careful and delicate manner. It is also not to be employed for private grievances, but only for the good of the person in question, or the people they rule.⁴⁰ As such, it should only be used in private, and not before

33 Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 51D, 55B–C.

34 *Adul. amic.* 59B. For this metaphor of *παρρησία* as medicine and its association with Diogenes of Sinope, see Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 15.

35 *Adul. amic.* 59B, cf. 60D.

36 *Adul. amic.* 66B: βλάπτονται γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαινούμενοι μόνον ἀκαίρως ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεγόμενοι.

37 *Adul. amic.* 67E–F: οὕτως ἡ παρρησία δέχεται τὸ ἐπιδέξιον καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον, ἂν ἡ χάρις τὴν σεμνότητα σῶζῃ, θρασύτης δὲ καὶ βδελυρία καὶ ὕβρις προσοῦσα πάνυ διαφθείρει καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν. For the delicacy of Plutarch's negotiation of status in his discussion, see Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 154.

38 *Adul. amic.* 66B, D.

39 *Adul. amic.* 68B.

40 *Adul. amic.* 66E–F. The example is given of Achilles, whose *bad παρρησία* involves attacking Agamemnon over a private grievance, and Odysseus, who speaks up on behalf of all the Greeks. Cf. Berrey, *Hellenistic Science at Court*, 105.

an audience.⁴¹ This is an important distinction from *παρρησία* as understood in Athens, which is closely bound up with the public context.⁴²

We thus have a picture of what *παρρησία* is for Plutarch. It is an essential tool, the defining language of friendship, employed to correct faults and improve moral character. In practice, it is something employed by the weaker party in a relationship, for the purpose of improving the stronger party, and as such it comes with significant risks and needs to be employed with caution and tact—when this does not happen, it can be interpreted as abuse, and lead to poor outcomes for the speaker. This picture of *παρρησία* plays out in the *Lives*: most references to *παρρησία* refer to its employment towards, or suppression by, tyrants and autocrats; it is often confused with abuse when the frank speaker fails to apply appropriate caution, and many of the statements which Plutarch defines as *παρρησία* are effectively insults which speak to a truth.⁴³ One element that emerges more clearly in the *Lives* is the association between *παρρησία* and freedom more generally—advisors who do *not* use *παρρησία* are seen as slavish, and the Saturnalia, with its role reversal, is the one time when slaves have *παρρησία*.⁴⁴

Other notable examples involve *παρρησία* employed not *towards* a ruler but *about* him, outside his hearing. Thus in the *Dion*, Callippus, who is pretending to be a friend to Dion while plotting against him, gets permission to employ *παρρησία* in discussions with the soldiers—this enables him to find out which are hostile to Dion. *Παρρησία* here means critical speech about the ruler, which could get one into trouble.⁴⁵ Similarly, the soldiers of Lucullus become rebellious after hearing the *παρρησία* of their comrades: here *παρρησία* is defiant speech, and it seems to be catching. In neither case is this represented as a good thing, implicitly suggesting that positive *παρρησία* is only available to those of a particular status, whether social or moral.⁴⁶

41 *Adul. amic.* 70E.

42 Cf. Walzer, “Parrēsia, Foucault, and the Classical Rhetorical Tradition,” 17. Cf. Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 36: [Plutarch] “treat[s] *parrhesia* not as a formal privilege tied to a specific locality, but rather as a matter of choice to be exercised wherever one finds oneself.”

43 See Plutarch, *Tim.* 15.5, 37.2; *Dion* 5.4, 34.1; *Them.* 29.4; *Mar.* 31.5; *Luc.* 21.6; *Eum.* 2.4; *Alex.* 51.5; *Pomp.* 44.2, *Caes.* 33.2; *Ant.* 5.10.

44 *Dion* 6.3; *Sull.* 18.6. Cf. Fields, *Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 37.

45 *Dion* 54.3.

46 Although Plutarch himself in the *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* (822F) insists that *παρρησία* is available to all, regardless of wealth, as long as they are of good character. But see also Fields’ (*Frankness, Greek Culture, and the Roman Empire*, 32–33) discussion of the inseparability of *παρρησία* and *εὐγένεια* in other (possibly spurious) parts of the Plutarchan corpus, esp. *De liberis educandis* 1a–b.

Finally, it is repeatedly made clear in the *Lives* and *Moralia* that *παρρησία* can be interpreted as abusive or insulting speech, either when misused, or when the audience is not willing to hear it. Thus, Dion's *παρρησία* is called *αὐθαδεία* ("wilfulness," "surliness"), and in the same *Life* Dion's opponent Sosis, who complains about and insults him, is referred to as having an over-abundance of *παρρησία* (*περιουσίαν ἡγουμένους ἐλευθερίας τὸ μέχρι τοιούτων ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν*).⁴⁷ Favorinus, trying to be like Cato, ends up simply insulting both Caesar and Pompey.⁴⁸ Plutarch names certain statements *παρρησία*—from Dionysius of Syracuse's sister declaring boldly that she would prefer to be an exile's wife than a tyrant's sister, to the Sabine women, protesting their treatment by both their Sabine brothers and Roman husbands.⁴⁹ Drunken speech is also called *παρρησία*, explaining the name Liber for Dionysius.⁵⁰ Finally Caesar's bold (apparently joking) speech to his pirate captors, threatening to crucify them, is called *παρρησία*—they enjoy his bold jocularly, until he is ransomed and then has them killed exactly as he said he would.⁵¹ *Παρρησία* is thus often equated to insult, threat, or mockery in contexts outside of the philosophical, idealised friendships about which Plutarch speaks elsewhere. But most often, it retains a sense of being truth-speaking, with a significant undertone of risk to the speaker—the core of the meaning in the classical period as well.

3 Παρρησία in Josephus

Josephus uses *παρρησία* and its cognates 56 times—not a vast number, but not insignificant.⁵² Uses cluster around the Herod narrative in the *Antiquitates*, and *παρρησία* is employed (or fails to be employed) by a range of actors. Our discussion will thus start with its use in the Herod narrative and then move to its more limited usage in the *War* (particularly in connection with the various factions of rebels) and the biblical parts of the *Antiquitates*.

The term *παρρησία* appears in the Herod narrative in two distinct ways: first, as the (often hostile) language employed by family members, friends, and subjects; and second, as something which Herod himself possesses in connection

47 *Dion* 34.1; on Dion as the focaliser of *παρρησία* in opposition to tyranny, see Zadorojnyi, "The Ethico-Politics of Writing in Plutarch's *Life of Dion*," 149, 158.

48 *Brut.* 34.3; *Caes.* 41.3; *Pomp.* 60.4. Cf. *Arist.* 24.7, where *παρρησία* effectively means insult.

49 *Dion* 21.5; *Rom.* 19.4. See also *Lys.* 22.1 for a harsh retort named *παρρησία*.

50 *Quaest. rom.* 289A; *Quaest. conv.* 707E.

51 *Caes.* 2.4. This is *παρρησία* which is true speech, but not recognised as such by its hearers.

52 Josephus uses the term more often than Philo, whose uses are surveyed briefly in Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire*, 527–528.

with Rome—the extent of his *παρρησία* often seems to reflect not only his ability to speak freely to (and make requests of) the Romans, but also his broader ability to *do* as he wishes in his kingdom, an extension in meaning suggesting a close relationship between speech and action.⁵³

Perhaps the most interesting example of the first form of *παρρησία* is in connection with Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, whom Herod accuses of plotting against him on behalf of her son Aristobulus. Herod makes the accusations at the same time as promising to appoint Aristobulus to the high priesthood, and Alexandra tearfully defends herself, promising ongoing obedience. She then makes an apology "if she had done anything rash in indignation because of her family and *παρρησία*."⁵⁴ As van Henten notes in his commentary, these "almost ridiculously polite words" are to be expected within the court context, but they also reflect Alexandra's negotiation of her status as a Hasmonean in Herod's court.⁵⁵ When she is forced to remain in the palace, her every move watched by guards, she grows furious, thinking that anything would be better than living in a state of slavery and fear under the appearance of honour: this is alongside "having been deprived of her *παρρησία*."⁵⁶ It is not clear from the context that she is being prevented from speech as such, only from any action, showing the range of the term, but what is perhaps more important is the close association Alexandra's complaint makes between *παρρησία* and general freedom as opposed to slavery. Likewise, her association of her own *παρρησία* and possible over-use of such liberty of speech with her status as a Hasmonean reveals something like the connection made in Euripides' *Phoenissae*: one's ability to speak freely is based on one's status in a community, and loss of that ability is like slavery, regardless of other circumstances.

Παρρησία is also a core characteristic of Alexandra's daughter Mariamme in Josephus' description of her after her death. Despite Herod's love for her, she had "unmeasured *παρρησία*" (*τὴν παρρησίαν ἀσύμμετρον*).⁵⁷ Mariamme appears to have had the same manner of speech as her mother, which may suggest a similar relationship with status. In the *Bellum Judaicum*, Josephus states that her *παρρησία* was enabled by the king's passion for her, giving the example of

53 See *AJ* 15.198; 15.217; 16.293, 359, 362.

54 *AJ* 15.37: εἴ τι διὰ γένος καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῇ παρρησίαν προπετέστερον ὑπ' ἀναξιοπαθείας δράσειεν.

55 Van Henten, *Judean Antiquities* 15, 33 (on *AJ* 15.37).

56 *AJ* 15.44: φρονήματος γὰρ ἔμπλεως οὖσα γυναικείου τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὑποψίας ἐπιμελείας ἀνηξιοπάθει, παντὸς οὐτιποσοῦν ἀξιούσα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς παρρησίας στερομένη τιμῆς εὐπρεπεία μετὰ δουλείας καὶ φόβων καταζῆν.

57 *AJ* 15.238.

her berating him over the deaths of her grandfather and brother.⁵⁸ This example makes clear the underlying assumption that *παρρησία* here involves accusation or insult, but there is a difference between this and the kind of rebuke discussed by Plutarch, where the goal of the person employing *παρρησία* is the moral improvement of the subject. In the case of Alexandra and Mariamme, their *παρρησία* is not necessarily intended for the improvement of Herod. While critiquing his murder of two high priests could be understood as aiming at improved governance for Judaea, Josephus presents her speech as rooted in personal hatred—it is introduced with the statement that Mariamme's hatred (*μίσος* for Herod) was equal to his passion (*ἔρωσ*) for her. Her hostile *παρρησία* has little connection with the virtuous and bold councillor, even if her speech is similarly risky.⁵⁹

Finally, Herod banishes and even kills individuals for employing *παρρησία* towards him, marking his descent into full-blown tyranny.⁶⁰ In his account of the banishment of Herod's friends, Andromachus and Gemellus, Josephus uses the term *παρρησία* in five consecutive paragraphs, making clear its importance as the driving force behind the expulsion. First, Herod's friends are told not to enter the palace, because their presence and *παρρησία* limits Herod's freedom of action. Then the two, also tutors to his sons, are expelled, and Josephus notes that they had been good friends to Herod, with much *παρρησία*. In a side note, Josephus observes that Antipater was the cause, as he had recognised the *παρρησία* (i.e. "license," "freedom of action") with which his father was acting. Finally, when his friends have all been driven away, and therefore have no *παρρησία* with the king, Herod is able to torture everyone thought to be loyal to the disgraced Alexander. Throughout this account, the precise meaning of

58 *BJ* 1.437: ἔχουσα δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐλογον, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἐκ τοῦ φιλείσθαι, φανερώς ὠνειδίζεν αὐτῷ. Notably, in the *Antiquitates*, it is precisely her railing against Herod for these murders which precedes her death—ill-advised *παρρησία* leading to death at the tyrant's hands (*AJ* 15.222). Cf. van Henten, "Constructing Herod as a Tyrant: Assessing Josephus' Parallel Passages," 212.

59 Josephus also makes mention of the "*παρρησία* of their life together" (*τῆ παρρησία τῆς συμβιώσεως*), despite which Herod's love was not overcome. Van Henten (*Antiquities* 15, 7b: at 15.240) remarks on the ambiguity of this phrase: it can "point either to the open character of their marriage (implying that Herod and Mariamme could say everything to each other) or the freedom involved in their married life." This is fair, but given the earlier references to Mariamme's *παρρησία* as something troublesome to Herod, it is possible that it has a more negative connotation, primarily about her willingness to insult him. Herod's sons also have a difficult relationship with *παρρησία*, struggling to use it appropriately during their trial. See *AJ* 16.101, 108, 113, as well as *BJ* 1.447, 469.

60 On Herod as a tyrant in the *Antiquitates* (particularly in comparison to the *Bellum*), see van Henten, "Constructing Herod as a Tyrant: Assessing Josephus' Parallel Passages."

παρρησία shifts between the honest and frank council of a good friend (without which Herod becomes more tyrannical) and the licentiousness of action which is enabled in the absence of such friends: a play on the word's shades of meaning.

The final example of παρρησία in the Herod narrative is also the one which solidifies his status as tyrant: this is the torture and killing of the soldier Tiro. Tiro's son was a friend of Alexander, and while everyone else is silent about Herod's cruelty to his sons, Tiro makes public statements, speaking out "with freedom" (ὕπ' ἐλευθεριότητος) about the destruction of the truth (ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ... ἢ ἀλήθεια).⁶¹ His willingness to speak out (παρρησιάζεσθαι) is seen as dangerous, but others are relieved to hear someone saying what they are thinking.⁶² Tiro later forces his way in to speak directly and with complete παρρησία (μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας) to the king in private (μόνος μόνῳ). He announces his intention to speak by saying he prefers παρρησία to his own safety, and that his words can be to the king's benefit, if Herod so chooses.⁶³ Tiro is thus presented as the standard wise advisor, whose frankness is painful for the monarch to hear, but ultimately of benefit to both monarch and state. It is worth comparing this with Herod's response to criticism in the first phase of his career, after the execution of the "bandit" leaders (his first "tyrannical" action)⁶⁴—that time, Herod heard the criticism and respected the critic.⁶⁵ For a moment, this looks the same. At first, Herod listens "not completely inconsiderately" (ἀγνωμόνως), and becomes moved when Tiro speaks of his family; but as Tiro continues, being immoderate and soldierly in his παρρησία, the king perceives Tiro's words as rebuke rather than advice, and therefore has Tiro and others imprisoned.⁶⁶

The story of Tiro plays an important role in the structure of Herod's descent into madness. In Josephus' telling, the reader almost feels that if Tiro had been more careful in his use of παρρησία (if, for example, he had read Plutarch's

61 AJ 16.377.

62 AJ 16.378.

63 AJ 16.379: οὐ δυνάμενος ... ὦ βασιλεῦ, διακαρτερεῖν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πάθει, τὴν τολμηρὰν ταύτην παρρησίαν, ἀναγκάειαν δὲ σοὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ λάβοις τι χρῆσιμον ἐξ αὐτῆς, προύκρινα τῆς ἐμῆς ἀσφαλείας.

64 See van Henten, "Constructing Herod as a Tyrant: Assessing Josephus' Parallel Passages," 207–208.

65 AJ 14.172–175; cf. Landau, *Out-Heroding Herod*, 137. On this episode as the first test of Herod's kingly authority, see Shaw, "Tyrants, Bandits and Kings," 184. On the so-called bandits, see Horsley, "Josephus and the Bandits," 54–55; Grünwald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire*, 95; Horsley, *Galilee*, 261–63; Loftus, "The Anti-Roman Revolts of the Jews and the Galileans," 82.

66 AJ 16.386; Tiro is later tortured and finally executed when one of Herod's barbers accuses him of plotting Herod's assassination.

as-yet-unwritten treatise on the topic), the execution of Herod's sons could have been avoided—it is after Tiro's death that any hesitation Herod may have had is gone.⁶⁷ Tiro's failed attempt at *παρρησία* is thus more than simply an example of how frankness may not succeed within a tyrant's court; rather, it is the final thing that leads Herod down the path to filicide—as Plutarch will later say, misapplied *παρρησία* really can make things worse.

But *παρρησία* plays another role in Herod's story, reflecting his standing with respect to Rome. When Herod manages to establish an alliance with Octavian after Actium, Josephus highlights the fact that this friendship gives Herod *παρρησία* on his return to Judaea. This is reasonably translated “freedom of action” in both the Loeb and the Brill translations. Later on, Herod's *παρρησία* in connection with Octavian is highlighted, reflecting Herod's status as a friend.⁶⁸ When this friendship cools, it is *παρρησία* that Herod loses and then later regains, enabling him to deal with his troublesome sons.⁶⁹ Herod thus becomes a figure who gives us two perspectives on *παρρησία*: *παρρησία* displayed towards him by his family, friends, and subjects, which refers primarily to critical speech, and Herod's own *παρρησία* in relation to Octavian and Rome, which is about action more than speech, but also links with Plutarch's language of friendship, reflecting Herod's changing status as imperial friend.

The term only appears four more times in the *Antiquitates* after the death of Herod.⁷⁰ Three of those are in connection with Agrippa I and his friend Silas, and we find familiar tropes being played out: the true friend who has *παρρησία* towards the monarch, but equally whose frank speech becomes a problem over time, leading eventually to his downfall. Silas is introduced as Agrippa I's general, entirely loyal and willing to perform the most dangerous tasks. Believing that solid friendship must be based on equality, he does not defer to the king, but employs *παρρησία* in all discussion.⁷¹ By flagging this as Silas' “belief” (*ὑπολαμβάνων*), Josephus signals that Silas' view of friendship is idealising. Silas' frankness begins to get on Agrippa's nerves, particularly as he has a tendency to mention dishonourable earlier episodes in the king's life as a means to reference his own contributions. Josephus calls Silas simple-minded (*εὐήθης*) for doing this. Inevitably, Agrippa's anger eventually breaks out and he

67 AJ 16.392.

68 AJ 15.217.

69 AJ 16.293, 359.

70 At AJ 18.246 a noble is put to death for complaining about Anilaeus' marriage to a Parthian princess—he is put to death “because he employed too much *παρρησία*” (ὅτι πλέονι *παρρησία* χρῆσαιτο ἀπέκτεινε).

71 AJ 19.318: προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων ἰστοιμίαν βεβαιότητα φιλίας. οὐδαμῆ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνετο βασιλεῖ, *παρρησίαν* δὲ διὰ πάσης ὁμιλίας ἤγεν.

imprisons Silas. After a time, the king's anger cools and he decides to recall his friend, inviting him at a moment's notice to a birthday dinner, but Silas proves his commitment to *παρρησία* by complaining of his treatment, and is thus left in prison.

Silas, like Tiro, proclaims his own *παρρησία*, acknowledging his awareness of the cause of his downfall, and committing himself to his notion of friendship, even after his imprisonment. In the story of Silas, therefore, we have another example of poorly employed *παρρησία* causing predictable trouble for the speaker, and our narrator shows little sympathy for such foolishness. Silas also employs his *παρρησία* in public. As such, he disobeys one of Plutarch's rules for the employment of *παρρησία* in this kind of relationship. Josephus may not state such rules, but he has a similar view: we have not yet seen a character employing *παρρησία* towards a monarch with any success, and his narrative is structured so that we recognise the issues with the approaches taken by the characters, whether Alexandra, Mariamme, Tiro, or Silas.

In the biblical books of the *Antiquitates*, most uses of *παρρησία* are fairly standard—characters attempt to rebuke or speak frankly to a figure of authority. Sometimes they meet with success, and sometimes not.⁷² The prophet Samuel rebukes the people for demanding a king, announcing his own *παρρησία*, while the king Uzziah laments his loss of *παρρησία* when he is struck with leprosy for offering incense despite not being a priest.⁷³

More interesting is the occasion when Joshua directs *παρρησία* towards the ultimate authority figure: the deity (*AJ* 5.38).⁷⁴ This takes place after the failure of the Israelites to capture Naia: the army is despondent at the setback, since they had thought they were to conquer all before them (as per God's promise). Joshua perceives this and therefore "takes up *παρρησία* towards God" (*παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς τὸν θεόν*).⁷⁵ He reminds God that they have made this campaign based on his promises, and not based on confidence in themselves.

In the biblical book of Joshua, the Israelite leader falls prostrate before God for a whole day before speaking, and his opening words are pleading rather than confrontational.⁷⁶ Josephus only mentions at the end of the speech that Joshua made it "having fallen upon his face" (*ἐπὶ στόμα πεσών*). The biblical Joshua's prayer does finish with a challenge ("What will you do for your great

72 Judas towards his father: *AJ* 2.116; Joseph's brothers to the Egyptians: *AJ* 2.131; Ahimelech to Saul: *AJ* 6.256.

73 *AJ* 6.88; 9.226. Momigliano ("Freedom of Speech in Antiquity," 256) discusses Jewish prophetic utterance as a form of ancient free speech.

74 Cf. Philo, *Spec.* 1.203 with Momigliano, "Freedom of Speech in Antiquity," 261.

75 *AJ* 5.38; cf. Begg, *Judean Antiquities* 5–7, ad loc.

76 Josh 7:6–7; cf. Begg, *Judean Antiquities* 5–7, ad loc.

name?").⁷⁷ Both versions could certainly be called *παρρησία*, reflecting the audacity of challenging the divinity to live up to his promises. But Josephus' Joshua fits more clearly into the category we have looked at so far: he is speaking truth and effectively rebuking God for not keeping his promise, potentially at risk to himself.

Παρρησία towards the deity is also found in Josephus' account of the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife. The biblical Joseph simply runs, but Josephus' hero declaims a moral lesson, explaining that adultery is irrational, because she can have the same form of pleasure with her husband without compromising her *παρρησία* towards people and God from a clear conscience (ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος).⁷⁸ The core idea of *παρρησία* was saying *everything*: having *παρρησία* based on a clear conscience therefore means the ability to say everything because one has nothing to hide, which of course she will lose if she commits adultery with Joseph.

Finally, in the *Bellum Judaicum*, Josephus uses *παρρησία* as a key term as the revolt develops. We see this first under Albinus, whom Josephus harshly criticises, when in Jerusalem those wishing to rebel become bolder, and some put together armed bodyguards to plunder the people. In this context, those who have lost property, whether to Albinus' extractive measures or to the new brigands, keep silent instead of protesting, and those as yet untouched flatter the thieves as a means of protection.⁷⁹ In this way, Josephus says, there was a complete lack of *παρρησία*, tyranny on all sides, and the seeds of destruction were being sown.⁸⁰ By referencing flattery, *παρρησία*, and tyranny so close together, Josephus places the early rebels squarely into this historiographical tradition—and suggests that a lack of *παρρησία* is part of the cause of the later disaster.

He plays on this tradition further a few chapters later in the immediate prelude to the revolt, under the governor Gessius Florus. After Florus arrests those who had asked for help in connection with events at Caesarea, and then goes on to take funds from the temple treasury, serious unrest breaks out in Jerusalem. Florus returns to Jerusalem with armed cavalry, but is met by a gathering of people who intend to greet him respectfully (θεραπευτικῶς). Josephus makes clear that they are attempting to ward off violence, but Florus responds by sending a centurion to deliver a mocking speech, accusing them

77 Josh 7:9 (NRSV).

78 AJ 2.52; cf. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities* 1–4, ad loc.

79 BJ 2.275; cf. Mason, *Judaean War* 2, ad loc.

80 BJ 2.276: καθόλου δὲ ἢ μὲν παρρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννίς δ' ἦν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης ἀλώσεως ἔκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.

of dissembling in their apparent welcome, and insisting that if they are “noble and free-speaking” (γενναῖοί ... καὶ παρρησιασταί), they should insult him to his face, and show themselves to be lovers of freedom (φιλελευθέρους) with weapons and not only words.⁸¹ Aside from the role this speech plays in the narrative (with Florus intentionally stoking the flames of rebellion), it shows again the association of παρρησία with broader notions of political freedom.⁸² Florus closely links words and actions: using παρρησία, he claims, implies a wish for fuller forms of freedom, which must be taken by force. This is reminiscent of the retort made by the Spartan Lysander, according to Plutarch—when facing the παρρησία of a man from Megara, he sharply tells him that his words “lack a city,” that is, that someone who wishes to use παρρησία should have real force at his back.⁸³ It is also important to observe the pairing of παρρησία with the adjective γενναῖος (“noble”)—this is the picture of παρρησία as an ideal associated with good character, but also social status.⁸⁴

When Agrippa II tries to convince the rebels to stand down, he states that “many other nations are full of more παρρησία in connection with freedom” (ἄλλα τε ἔθνη μυρία πλείονος γέμοντα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρρησίας), yet they have yielded to Rome.⁸⁵ This is a rhetorical strategy—suggesting that freedom is not one of the core virtues or necessities in the Jewish world—but as with Florus’ speech, it has a mocking edge with respect to παρρησία as a virtue. The underlying thought is that talking about freedom doesn’t mean much in the Roman world.

Josephus’ core message about the rebellion is that in demanding freedom, the people of Judaea end up under an even worse tyranny—that of the rebels. Naturally, παρρησία appears in precisely this context: among others who are killed during the reign of terror in Jerusalem is Gurion, a “democratic man, full of free thought,” whose παρρησία destroys him.⁸⁶ By pulling these three words together (δημοκρατικός, ἐλευθέριος, παρρησία), Josephus clearly signals

81 *BJ* 2.299: δεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ γενναῖοί εἰσιν καὶ παρρησιασταί, σκώπτειν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ παρόντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις φιλελευθέρους.

82 Mason, *Judaeen War* 2, 2.299.

83 Plutarch, *Lys.* 22.1.

84 See Mason, *Judaeen War* 2, 2.299: “The connection between nobility of character and frank, fearless, or candid speech was basic to ancient moral philosophy.” As in Plutarch, the true user of *parrhesia* must have good character. For παρρησία as “marking a noble’s status,” see Berrey, *Hellenistic Science at Court*, 106.

85 *BJ* 2.361.

86 *BJ* 4.358. Josephus makes the interesting qualification that Gurion was full of free thought “if any other of the Jews was” (εἰ καὶ τις ἕτερος Ἰουδαίων), suggesting (in keeping with Agrippa’s framing) that there are limits to the importance of freedom within Jewish society. But cf. *AJ* 2.281.

that Gurion belongs to the Athenian school of *παρρησία*, but at the same time, having read this far, we know that such a notion of freedom and *παρρησία* does not work in this world—not under Rome, and not under the tyrannical rebels, who, as we are told later, interpret frank speech from anyone as contempt.⁸⁷

A full reading of Josephus' treatment of *παρρησία* outside the Mosaic portions of the *Antiquitates* therefore leaves us with a fairly negative view of frank speech: in the world about which Josephus writes, it is generally a bad idea to employ *παρρησία* towards an authority: you can expect poor consequences. We have few examples of *παρρησία* doing the kind of positive moral work which Plutarch associates with the term. Yet it remains worth observing that in the *War* its suppression is seen as a bad thing—*παρρησία* apparently does have a role to play in society, but it is difficult to use it correctly.

4 Conclusion: Moses and Παρρησία: A Frankly Speaking Law

After their forty years in the wilderness, Josephus' Moses announces his impending death to the people, tells them to obey the laws and respect their rulers, and hands over the physical copy of the constitution he has written. It is here that the term *παρρησία* appears twice—first in the speech, and then in Josephus' digression summarising the contents of the laws with his new classification.⁸⁸

Within the prefatory speech, the use of *παρρησία* is particularly associated with the succession, and the rulers whom the people are being told to obey in future. Moses rebukes the people for their treatment of him, and observes that future rulers will not be so tolerant. He speaks of freedom, and uses *παρρησία* in his explanation of their present behaviour, which needs correction: "Don't consider freedom to be resentment of whatever your rulers think you should do; for now it is in insulting your benefactors that you locate *παρρησία*."⁸⁹ Two things are worth noting.

87 BJ 4.364. Equally, they suspect anyone who does not speak to them of pride, and anyone who pays them particular attention of plotting, leaving little room for manoeuvre.

88 AJ 4.196–197. For discussion of his classification, and claim not to have added or subtracted anything, see Altshuler, "On the Classification of Judaic Laws in the *Antiquities* of Josephus and the Temple Scroll of Qumran," 5; Van Unnik, *Flavius Josephus als historischer Schriftsteller*, 39; Rajak, "The *Against Apion* and the Continuities in Josephus' Political Thought," 234; Rajak, "Josephus," 590. See also the discussion by E. Gruen in this volume (pp. 58–86) and the bibliography for that essay.

89 AJ 4.187: τήν τ' ἐλευθερίαν ἠγείσθε μὴ τὸ προσανακτεῖν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἡγεμόνες πράττειν ἀξιώσι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοῦς εὐεργέτας ὑβρίζειν ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παρρησίαν τίθεσθε.

First, the problem Josephus' Moses has with freedom (ἐλευθερία) is simply a misunderstanding of what freedom entails by the people: by speaking of their "resentment" or even "anger" (τὸ προσαγανακτεῖν) at what they are told to do, Josephus suggests that freedom lies in obedience to legitimate authorities.⁹⁰ Secondly, the core example given is of the misuse of παρρησία—their wrong notions of freedom are expressed in the use of παρρησία merely to insult (ὕβριζεν), and in particular to insult *benefactors* (εὐεργέτας). Freedom is primarily about speech, and while the people do indeed have παρρησία, they have consistently misused it.

In light of how we have seen Josephus narrate episodes of παρρησία in the rest of the *Antiquitates Judaicae* and in the *Bellum Judaicum*, the final note which Moses adds to this instruction is striking: if they watch out for this in the future, things will be better and safer for them.⁹¹ The underlying message is that misuse of παρρησία towards rulers can have serious consequences, which is precisely what we see throughout Josephus' writings.

Finally, we come to the law's παρρησία, which appears in the first section of the summary of the law, alongside rules about the single temple, blasphemy, and regular festivals. Loosely paraphrasing the biblical injunction about the year of Jubilee, Josephus explains that at the feast of Tabernacles every seventh year the high priest should stand in front of the people (including women, children, and slaves) and read out the laws. Josephus provides an explanation for this rule: it is good for the laws to be written upon their souls and kept in memory so as never to be forgotten. This would be sufficient explanation, but Josephus goes on: in this way, he says, they will do no wrong, being unable to plead ignorance of the requirements of the laws. Moreover, the laws will have great παρρησία towards those doing wrong.⁹²

Those towards whom the law has παρρησία are the ἀμαρτάνοντες ("those doing wrong," "the erring"). This use of παρρησία clearly links with the notion of rebuke, but it does more than that, as Josephus' explanation makes clear: the law's παρρησία accomplishes two tasks. First, it tells wrongdoers in advance what they will suffer, and then it writes its requirements upon their souls.⁹³

90 Spilsbury ("Reading the Bible in Rome," 226–227) notes here that we could understand this as Josephus' ("apologetic"?) insistence on submission to Roman rule, but at the same time the speech concludes with insistence upon victory over enemies through obedience to the laws—"a message of both acquiescence and national fortitude."

91 AJ 4.187, 189: ὁ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἄμεινον ἔξει τὰ πράγματα.

92 AJ 4.209–210: οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτήσονται μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνωιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διωρισμένων, οἳ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἔξουσι παρρησίαν...

93 AJ 2.210: ὡς προλεγοντων αὐτοῖς ἃ πείσονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραψάντων διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἃ κελεύουσιν.

The law's *παρρησία* is effective: it is presented as successfully correcting wrongdoers (by means of making them aware of impending punishments) and imprinting its requirements on them. There is a straightforward relationship between knowing what the law requires and doing it. Josephus does not appear to allow for the possibility that someone could know the law and consequences of breaking it, and nevertheless choose to do wrong.

This is striking particularly given how ineffective *παρρησία* appears to be in all other contexts in Josephus. By using the term, Josephus creates an image in which the law is a wise advisor, and the wrongdoer is the tyrant—yet this wise advisor is not destroyed by his use of *παρρησία*; instead the tyrant is changed. The written word, read out, has greater power than an individual human can have—perhaps because as these are the unchanging words of Moses, there is no possibility of misuse.

Josephus' approach to *παρρησία* reflects a realism and pragmatism even stronger than we find in Plutarch's insistence on tact and caution. An observer of both Roman rule and the extremes of rebellion, who presents himself as a skilled operator of speech, whether in his praise of Vespasian, his attempted opposition to mass suicide at Yodfat, or even his own *παρρησία* towards a mob at Tarichaea, Josephus knows about the limits of truthful, frank speech.⁹⁴ But Moses' laws are different: unchanging, steadfast, and entirely true, they have *παρρησία* and can use it successfully where people cannot. At the same time, it is perhaps worth noting that it is individual members of the assembly whose wrongdoing can be challenged by the law—not rulers, tyrants, or foreigners. Even Moses' textual *παρρησία* has its limits.

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PART 2

**Sefer Yosippon *and Latin Josephus:*
*Manuscripts and Text Criticism***



The Hebrew Manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon*

Saskia Dönitz

1 Introduction¹

Sefer Yosippon stands among the most widespread medieval Hebrew works. This description of the history of the Second Temple and its destruction by the Romans provided the background for the medieval notion of exile and the self-understanding of the Jewish diaspora communities in Europe and the Middle East. It was transmitted in more than 60 manuscripts in three different recensions copied in Central Europe, the Mediterranean region, and in the Near East. Along with its wide dispersion and many copies, the book was subject to changes and alterations made sometimes by mistake and sometimes intentionally. Steven Bowman was the first to label it an “open book,”² similar to many works copied and altered by Jewish scribes and scholars during the Middle Ages.³ These alterations started to become more substantial when the text was not only changed in wording and phrasing but enlarged by whole passages or even chapters, called ‘interpolations.’ The most famous interpolations are parts of the Alexander Romance in the chapter on Alexander’s visit to Jerusalem (SY 10) and based on the Hebrew translations of the Greek and Latin Alexander tradition, and a Jewish version of the Testimonium Flavianum in the chapter on Philo’s embassy to Rome (SY 58). In contrast to other Medieval Hebrew compilations, however, the text never completely lost its literary structure due to its historiographical nature.⁴ Its narrative framework, based on the

1 I thank the editors for their advice and help in improving this article in content and form. I am especially grateful to Carson Bay, who invited me to Bern on several occasions and shared with me his writings and thoughts. His arrival in Bern has reignited scholarly interest in *Yosippon* and elevated research on this seminal text to a much higher level over the past few years.

2 Bowman, “Yosippon and Jewish Nationalism,” 31.

3 Ta-Shma, “The ‘Open Book;’” Beit-Arié, “Transmission of Texts.”

4 Cf. the “fuzzy” character of Rabbinic or Hekhalot literature; see the discussion by Peter Schäfer and Chaim Milikowsky, “Current Views on the Editing of the Rabbinic Texts of late Antiquity,” and earlier portions of this longstanding debate. For medieval literature see Marcus, *Sefer Hasidim* and Ta-Shma, “The ‘Open Book;’” Beit-Arié, “Transmission of Texts.”

chronology of events, beginning with the table of nations and ending with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, was not altered, but rather expanded, by phrases, interpolations within the text, and additional passages at the end.⁵

The standard Hebrew text of *Sefer Yosippon* was published in 1980/1981 by David Flusser, including a long discussion of the text's nature, transmission, and reception in a second volume.⁶ Flusser reconstructed the manuscript tradition and divided the manuscripts into three larger groups: Recensions A, B and C. He based his edition on a group of manuscripts of Recension A, especially on one of them, MS Jerusalem oct. 4120, written in Italy in 1282.⁷ According to Flusser, the manuscripts of Recension A provide the earliest version of the text, Recension B mainly includes the interpolation on Alexander,⁸ while Recension C represents a text that is thoroughly revised and rewritten, resulting in a much longer version, first printed in Constantinople in 1510 and again in Venice in 1544. Until Flusser's critical text in the 1980s, this long version had been the *textus receptus* of *Yosippon* among scholars.⁹

Despite the fact that David Flusser's edition of *Sefer Yosippon* is a major achievement, it has become clear that the text he published does not represent any of the manuscripts.¹⁰ It also does not provide the oldest version of the text. In fact, the early manuscripts of *Yosippon*, at least in certain passages, look different. Most striking is Flusser's decision to integrate the end of Chapter 3 and Chapters 4–6 into his text, containing the stories of Daniel in the lion's den, Daniel and Bel, and Zerubabel at the Babylonian court, sub-narratives not present in the Recension A manuscript group upon which Flusser based his edition. Yet Flusser integrated them into his published text.¹¹ Furthermore, he

5 On the various additions at the end see below and the contribution by Andrea Schatz in this volume.

6 Flusser, *Josippon* [*Josephus Gorionides*]; hereafter cited as Flusser I (text of *SY*) and II (introduction).

7 This manuscript was also published in a facsimile edition; Flusser, *Josippon. The Original Version*.

8 Also as an early print: Mantua 1475.

9 Modern edition Hominer, *Josiphon*; see also Bowman, "Yosippon and Jewish Nationalism."

10 The recently published translation of *Yosippon* by Steven Bowman into English is based on this edition: Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*; the same goes for the German translation published in 2010: Börner-Klein, *Josippon: Jüdische Geschichte vom Anfang der Welt*.

11 He argued that these chapters existed in the original version of *SY* and were deleted afterwards because of chronological problems; see Flusser II, 47f. However, none of the early manuscripts has these chapters; see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 39f. and below.

did not account sufficiently for the Genizah fragments of *Yosippon*, more of which have been discovered during the past decades. However, their role in the transmission is crucial for the reconstruction of the history of the text.¹² During my examination of the transmission and reception history of the book, I reviewed all extant manuscripts and was able to discover additional textual witnesses that were unknown to Flusser. This led me to the hypothesis that *Yosippon*'s oldest text was contained in the Cairo Genizah fragments, while the complete manuscripts represented later editorial stages.

In this article I will provide a discussion of the Hebrew manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon* together with a reconsideration of their relation to and relevance for the textual history of the book, based on the findings presented in my first book and on more recent discoveries in the past several years.¹³ My research has shown that a stemma of *Yosippon*'s manuscripts cannot be established without uncertainties.¹⁴ The variants suggest that the transmission history has to be seen as a fluid one.¹⁵ Nevertheless, I maintain the division into three recensions, although some of the manuscript witnesses display features for which they should be assigned to more than one recension. Those I define as manuscripts standing in between two recensions, i.e. they illustrate the transition. My analysis is based on considerations of textual development in light of inspection made of each and every manuscript. It allows me to present a modified schema of the classification of *Yosippon* manuscripts based on the fact that not every manuscript meets the criteria of only one single group. Below I present the manuscripts in turn and discuss their features, after which a complete list of the manuscripts of *Yosippon* examined here is provided in an appendix. Incomplete manuscripts, fragments, and excerpts are only included in the discussion of Recensions A and B, because here these fragments contribute substantially to the textual history. The other incomplete manuscripts will be surveyed in a different context.

12 The same is true for the history of the Judeo-Arabic version of the book; see Sela, *The Arabic Josippon*.

13 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*.

14 Flusser provided a stemma in the Facsimile publication of MS Jerusalem oct. 4120, 9 and in Flusser II, 53, which should be used with caution.

15 Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante*.

2 New Findings concerning the Manuscript Tradition of *Sefer Yosippon*

The following reconstruction of the textual witnesses and their classification is based to a large extent on the interpolations in *Sefer Yosippon*.¹⁶ Flusser's establishment of three major recensions is kept. However, recent manuscript findings, in particular the fragments of the Cairo Genizah and the old and new witnesses for Recension B, allow us to draw a modified and more refined picture of the classification of *Yosippon*'s manuscripts.

The manuscript witnesses for Recension A are organized into three sub-groups. The first group contains the Genizah fragments originating from Southern Italy and the Near East, which were produced in the 11th and 12th centuries. Their textual version is the one that found its way into Recension B and C. The second group represents a different editorial stage of the text, characterized by certain features like attribution to Gershom Me'or ha-Golah and a different, longer ending.¹⁷ It is called the "Ashkenazic" Recension A, since it circulated in Ashkenaz and Italy and deviates from the Cairo Genizah text. The third group encompasses later manuscript copies that continue the textual tradition of the Cairo Genizah fragments while at the same time adding elements of Recension B (transitional stage).

In contrast to what Flusser's text would have us believe, all of the witnesses of Recension A do not contain *SY* 3–6 on Daniel and Zerubavel. These are added only in the transitional stage to Recension B. Furthermore, while Flusser thought that the first of the two interpolations to *Yosippon*'s chapter on Alexander's visit to Jerusalem was appended only in manuscripts of Recension B, a newly discovered witness of the Cairo Genizah fragments proves otherwise.

Also due to new manuscripts findings, Recension B is now represented by more than one manuscript.¹⁸ The textual variances within these manuscripts show that Recension B can be subdivided into groups as well, one conveying a shortened version (also in the early printed edition of Mantua 1475), while the other continues the text of Recension A/Cairo Genizah. All witnesses of Recension B include Chapters 3–6 on Daniel and Zerubavel and the first Interpolation on Alexander.

16 For a table of the interpolations and their distribution see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 276–277. For some chapters, textual variants have also been taken into account; however, a thorough textual comparison still needs to be done.

17 See below.

18 Flusser only listed one, see Flusser II, 16–17.

Regarding Recension C: this version of *Sefer Yosippon* was produced by Judah Mosqoni, who expanded the wording of the text and added several passages, including parts of Abraham ibn Daud's *Divre Malkhe Yisrael* (*History of the Kings of Israel*), which itself is a reworking of *Yosippon* (see discussion of Recension B and C). Mosqoni's text was printed in the 16th century and was seen as "the" *Yosippon* until the publication of Flusser's text (based on Ashkenazic Recension A) in 1980/1981. Ever since, Flusser's text has served as the basis of research on *Yosippon*. Yet, the true story of the manuscripts and their features has yet to be told.

3 Manuscripts of Recension A

A review of the manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon* which constitute Recension A can be seen to establish three subgroups. The first group encompasses the fragments of the Cairo Genizah, which will be discussed in section 3.1. The second group consists of the three manuscripts that share several textual features and deviate from the other versions. Flusser based his edition mainly on this group, in particular on MS Jerusalem oct. 4120 (dated to 1282 and written in Italy, the eldest textual witness apart from the Cairo Genizah fragments), which he also published separately as a facsimile.¹⁹ The other two manuscripts belonging to this group are New York JTS 3572 and the famous illuminated Italian Rothschild Miscellany (Israel Museum B61.09.0803—formerly Israel Museum 180/51).²⁰ Since these manuscripts share a number of features that do not appear in the Cairo Genizah fragments and were probably added when the text of *Yosippon* was copied and reshaped in Ashkenaz/Italy, this group is called the "Ashkenazic" group of manuscripts of Recension A and will be discussed in Section 3.2.²¹

Two more manuscripts belong to Recension A: Vatican Urb. 52 and Oxford Heb. d. 11. Vatican Urb. 52 presents a difficult case. In some parts of the manuscript, the wording and phrases seem to be closer to the text presented in the Cairo Genizah fragments. On the other hand, the text was later corrected and reworked from a Vorlage close to Recension B. Therefore, Vatican Urb. 52 is a witness for the early stage of Recension A, while on the other hand it shows parallels in phrasing to Recension B.

19 Flusser, *Josippon. The Original Version*.

20 Fishof, *Rothschild Miscellany*, 181–215.

21 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 44–45.

Oxford Heb. d. 11 is an example for the transition between Recension A and B. The text of *Yosippon* presented in this manuscript is part of a compilation of texts with a historiographic outlook. Some of these texts were compiled by Yerahme'el ben Solomon in Italy in the 12th century.²² In the 14th century, this collection was again integrated into a larger compilation of texts by Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi in Ashkenaz, who called his work *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (*Book of Memories*).²³ In contrast to the other textual witnesses of Recension A, the *Yosippon* text of Oxford Heb. d. 11 encompasses *sy* 3–6 in Flusser's edition, which provide additional stories on Daniel at the Persian court. Therefore, these chapters were only added to Recension A at the point of transition to Recension B. The text of *Yosippon* in this manuscript also shares other features with textual witnesses of Recension B. Thus, Oxford Heb. d. 11, similar to Vatican Urb. 52, shows features parallel to the Genizah fragments on the one hand, and elements in common with the version in Recension B (and sometimes C as well) on the other.

This suggests that it was the text of the Cairo Genizah fragments as well as the text in Vatican Urb. 52 and Oxford Heb. d. 11 that became the "textus receptus" in the later versions, while the text of the "Ashkenazic" Recension A circulated only within this textual branch.

3.1 *The Cairo Genizah Fragments of Sefer Yosippon*

The fragments transmitted in the Cairo Genizah represent the earliest textual versions of *Sefer Yosippon* currently available.²⁴ The dating of the fragments to the 11th century shows that they were produced around two centuries before the Jerusalem manuscript, which Flusser took as the earliest witness of *Yosippon*. The Genizah fragments were written much closer to the presumable production-date of the text in the beginning of the 10th century in Southern Italy. These fragments do not attest to the entire text of *Yosippon*, yet there are fragments presenting the first as well as the last chapter of the text. This supports the notion that the fragments belonged to codices encompassing the Hebrew book of *Yosippon* as a whole.²⁵ Regarding additions and interpolations

22 See Jacobson, "Thoughts on the Chronicles."

23 Yassif, *The Book of Memory*.

24 Most of the Cairo Genizah fragments are available online either via the Ktiv-website or the Friedberg Genizah website.

25 Compare the discussion held by Shulamit Sela about the possibility that *sy* was actually produced in stages with a core comprised of the chapters on the Maccabees (similar to the Arabic Book of the Maccabees). In the course of time, according to this theory the text would have gradually grown by accruing further material before and after these chapters. Since Sela compared the Judaeo-Arabic fragments to Flusser's text without considering

to the text that establish the differences between the recensions, the fragments from the Cairo Genizah do not contain any of them save one. Their textual version does not include either the story of Daniel or the Testimonium Flavianum.²⁶ But they do contain the interpolated portions of the Alexander romance.²⁷ The fragments also differ in wording from the Jerusalem manuscript on which Flusser based his edition, at least in those passages presented by the fragments.²⁸

On paleographic grounds, the transmitted Genizah fragments can be divided into four groups, each group containing a number of fragments that belong to the same codex.²⁹ Ca. 20 fragments belong to the oldest of these codices, the so-called *Codex Italicus*, which was probably written in Southern Italy at the end of the 10th/beginning of the 11th century. This codex may come close to the Hebrew “original version” of *Sefer Yosippon*, if there indeed ever was only one.³⁰ The rest of the fragments can be assigned to three separate codices. These were probably written in the Orient in the 11th and 12th century, so they are called *Codex Orientalis* I–III.³¹ In this framework, the fragments can only be described briefly. A thorough and detailed examination of each and every manuscript fragment still needs to be done in a future study, which will require traveling to all the libraries to see the original manuscripts.³²

3.1.1 Codex Italicus

The biggest group of fragments of *Sefer Yosippon* was collected under the shelfmark of Cambridge University Library T-S 10 K 16 No. 1–20.³³ The majority of the Cambridge T-S 10 K 16 fragments belong to the same codex, which originated

its eclectic character, however, her theories are difficult to assess without a proper textual basis; for this discussion see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, Chapter 3.4 and Sela, *The Arabic Josippon*.

26 See p. 180 below on the Ashkenazic Recension A.

27 I am indebted to Peter Lehnardt (in a private conversation, 24.03.2022) for the reference to this fragment.

28 For a discussion of MS Jerusalem oct. 4120, see below on Ashkenazic Recension A.

29 For a first attempt to identify fragments belonging to the same codex, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 39–44.

30 For the early circulation of SY’s manuscripts in Southern Italy, see the fascinating description of the robbery of a copy in a letter to Hasdai ibn Shaprut; Golb, Pritsak, *Khazarian documents*, 86–90; Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1, 1–27.

31 The dating and details on the paleography I owe to Dr. Edna Engel from the IMHM in Jerusalem.

32 This description is a modified version of my division of the fragments in my 2013 book (Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*). Some new insights are based on conversations held with Peter Lehnardt in Jerusalem in March 2022.

33 Flusser named them each J followed by the number of the fragment.

in Southern Italy. The rest, as stated above, can be attributed to the Oriental codices. After a look at the catalogues and the manuscripts presented on the Friedberg Genizah website, to my knowledge there are 24 folios preserved in different libraries that belong to the Italian codex, identifiable according to matching paleographic features. These are:

- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 16 (1 folio; SY 23–24)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 254.91 (1 folio; SY 23–24)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 64, fol. 120r–v (1 folio; SY 26–27)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 10 (1 folio; SY 36–38)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 15 (2 folios; SY 45–46)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 175.75 (1 folio; SY 48)
- St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. Antonin B 917 (2 folios; SY 49–51)³⁴
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S AS 213.32 and 34 (tiny pieces; SY 49–50)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 17 (2 folios; SY 50–51)
- Cambridge, University Library, Lewis-Gibson Glass 7 (2 folios; SY 54–56)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 18 (1 folio; SY 74–75)
- Paris, Library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle VII A.8 (1 folio; SY 76)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 18, 11, 14, 19 (4 folios; SY 77, 79–81)
- St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. Antonin B 916 (1 folio; SY 84–85)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 13 and 12 (4 folios; SY 85–86, 89)

The folios of this codex present parts of SY Chapters 23–27, 36–38, 45–46, 48–51, 54–56, 74–77, 79–81, 84–86, and the last chapter, 89. The text transmitted starts with the battle of the Maccabees with Antiochus Eupator and ends with the story of Masada. The final page of the codex (T-S 10 K 16.20 No. 12) reveals in a different script the name of a later owner of the manuscript, Yeshua bar Yoshiahu b. Shemayya ha-Gaon (second half of the 12th century). He was a judge in Old Cairo/Fustat and the nephew of another judge, named Abraham ben Shemayya (1092–1132). From this it can be assumed that the nephew, Yeshua, lived around the 1140/1150s and bought books such as this one and had others copied for him.³⁵ So, this codex was produced in Southern Italy, but later brought to Cairo where it came into the possession of a Jewish judge who was interested in books. As we will see, Codex Orientalis I may have appended

34 Flusser named them each \beth followed by the number of the fragment.

35 Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, 2.268 and 2.584n53.

the first part of the Interpolation to Alexander. Thus, it was in the Middle East that the story of Alexander's marvellous travels entered the text of *Yosippon*.³⁶

The other three hands which I have arranged into groups I label *Codex Orientalis* I, II and III, since they were probably written in the Orient in the course of the 12th century.

3.1.2 Codex Orientalis I

Codex Orientalis I encompasses eight folios, presenting the beginning of *Yosippon* until chapter 10. These are:

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 64, fol. 118v–119v (2 folios; *SY* 1 and 9)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 3, 4 and 5 (4 folios; *SY* 1–2, 10)
- Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, No. 34 (2 folios; Alexander romance)³⁷

Especially interesting for the textual history of *Sefer Yosippon* is the fact that fragment T-S 10 K 16 No. 5, fol. 2r–v provides the text of *SY* 3. The text leaves *SY* 3 at the final line (72) in Flusser's edition and continues directly with *SY* 6, line 181. There are no gaps or holes or missing pages in the manuscript. The same can be seen in all of the manuscripts that belong to Recension A of *Yosippon*. Thus, the assumption that parts of *SY* 3 and *SY* 4–6 were not part of the earliest textual stage of *Yosippon* is confirmed by the fragments from the Cairo Genizah.³⁸

Another fragment of this codex presents *SY* 10 of *Sefer Yosippon*, which contains the story of Alexander's meeting with the High Priest and with Sanballat in Jerusalem (T-S 10 K 16, No. 3). In the later recensions, according to the traditional view, this chapter was enlarged by two interpolations, which include passages from the Alexander Romance. The first one describes Alexander's marvelous travels. The second interpolation pertains to Alexander's birth story. The earliest complete manuscripts to have the first of these interpolations on Alexander belong to Recension B of *Yosippon* and date from the 14th and 15th century. This interpolation consists of a compilation of Alexander's wars and travels, ending with a chronicle from Alexander the Great to the Roman Emperor Augustus derived from the Hebrew Alexander Romance as it is known from MS Parma, Palatina 2457 (de Rossi 1087; Italy, 14th century). This latter manuscript up to now has been the only known textual witness to this version

36 For *SY* in the book lists of the Cairo Genizah, see Allony, *The Jewish Library*, index.

37 Rosenthal, *The Cairo Geniza Collection*, 118.

38 The first manuscript to include the Daniel story is Oxford, Heb. d. 11; see p. 189 below.

apart from *Yosippon*'s manuscripts.³⁹ However, recently a new fragment has been identified that is definitely part of this Oriental codex of *Yosippon*, from the University Library of Geneva, No. 34. This fragment provides passages from the first interpolation on Alexander taken from the Greek Alexander Romance and is probably the earliest existing textual witness to this Hebrew version; it was produced in the Near East in the 12th century.⁴⁰

At the same time, these passages are part of interpolation A concerning Alexander in *Yosippon*, which was thought to be added to the text much later. Since these passages in the Geneva fragment are presented in the same script as that of the other fragments of Codex Orientalis I, the crucial question is: were these pages part of the copy of *Yosippon* in this codex, or is this a witness to a separate part of the codex that encompasses a copy of the Alexander romance?

If future discoveries of fragments belonging to this codex show that these two folios were part of *Sefer Yosippon*, then the whole story of how the interpolations of Alexander entered into the text of *Yosippon* has to be rewritten. This would mean that already at a very early stage of textual production, namely in the 12th century, the Alexander romance was integrated into *Yosippon* in the Near East.

3.1.3 Codex Orientalis II

The reconstruction of this codex of *Sefer Yosippon* was already undertaken by Simon Hopkins in 1978.⁴¹ The codex, written in the East in the 12th century, encompasses five folios presenting passages from chapters 3–10 in *Yosippon*. Again, as in Codex Orientalis I, sY 3 shows a direct transition to sY 6, l. 181 (Cambridge Or 1080 A 45.1). Thus, this codex too lacks chapters 4–6 (the interpolation on Daniel), another proof that these chapters were not part of *Yosippon* in the Cairo Genizah. Moreover, this codex has parallels to the texts transmitted in *Codex Orientalis I* in that both codices present passages from chapter 9.

- Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1080 A 45.1 (1 folio; sY 3/6)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 20 (2 folios; sY 7–9)
- Cambridge, University Library, T-S C 2.206 (2 folios; sY 9)

39 F 13461; Italy, 14th century; Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in Parma*, 146; Flusser, "Alexander-Geste;" see translation by Bowman, "Alexander and the Mysteries of India," included now in his *Sefer Yosippon*.

40 The other one being the mentioned ms Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ebr. 2457 (de Rossi 1087; Italy, 14th century), edited by Flusser in the appendix, 461–491; see also pp. 192–194 below in the discussion of Recension B.

41 Hopkins, *A Miscellany of Literary Pieces*, 109 (appendix A).

3.1.4 Codex Orientalis III

This codex, written in the East in the 12th century like the other Oriental codices, comprises ten folios, the second biggest group of folios belonging to one single codex after *Codex Italicus*. It preserves passages from chapters 38–41, 43–46, 49–50, meaning that there are several folios that contain parallel texts to the Italian Codex, especially with regard to chapters 46 and 50. These are:

- Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 6–9, 1–2 (*SY* 38–41, 43–46)
- St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. Antonin B 283 (*SY* 49–50)

There are also fragments of *Yosippon* which do not belong to these codices, but to others.⁴²

This overview of the early Cairo Genizah fragments of *Sefer Yosippon* has shown that a considerable number of Hebrew manuscript fragments is preserved in the Cairo Genizah, which represent the earliest extant textual witnesses to the Hebrew text of *Yosippon*. The fragments belonging to *Codex Italicus* were produced very close to the time of the production of the book in Southern Italy at the beginning of the 10th century. From there the text, even the manuscript, i.e. *Codex Italicus* itself, was brought to the East, copied, and later stored in the Genizah of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat, where it was discovered at the end of the 19th century. The other codices represent Eastern copies of the Italian codex.

The fact that the Geneva fragments present the same script as Codex Orientalis I and have certain portions of the Alexander romance could indicate that the first Alexander interpolation was appended to the text during the copying of *Sefer Yosippon* in the East. However, in Ashkenazic Recension A, it is missing—the manuscripts of this recension do not include this interpolation. This means that Ashkenazic Recension A was derived from a text lacking the Alexander interpolation, and thus that *Sefer Yosippon* was brought from Italy to Ashkenaz in a textual version without the Alexander interpolation. The version of *Yosippon* that circulated in the East in the 12th century, however, included that passage, suggesting that it was added there. This hypothesis is supported by Vatican Urb. 52, which is close to the Genizah group. In this manuscript, discussed below, the interpolation very probably was part of the text of *Yosippon*. Furthermore, the Alexander interpolation is included in all manuscripts of Recensions B and C. From this it follows that the version of *Yosippon* that circulated in the East became the starting point for the later recensions. In contrast, the version of *Yosippon* that circulated in Ashkenaz became a separate textual branch that was further enriched by interpolations like the

42 E.g. Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 176.12 and T-S Misc. 28.21; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. e. 30; see also Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 42–43.

Testimonium Flavianum (see section 3.2 below). However, these interpolations did not enter Recensions B and C; thus Ashkenazic A had only a minor influence on the textual development of *Yosippon* in Recensions B and C. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Cairo Genizah fragments reveal a different version of the final chapter than the manuscripts of Ashkenazic A; it is actually the version of the Cairo Genizah that is found in Recension B and C.⁴³

This demonstrates the necessity of a new edition of the Cairo Genizah fragments of *Sefer Yosippon*, because their textual versions contribute extensively to our understanding of the textual history of *Yosippon* and, in particular, to the early textual stages represented in these fragments.

3.2 *Manuscripts of Ashkenazic Recension A*

The following three manuscripts form the second group, the so-called Ashkenazic Recension A of *Sefer Yosippon*. They are: MS Jerusalem, National Library oct. 4120, MS New York 3572 (ENA 1674), and MS Israel Museum B61.09.0803 (so called “Rothschild Miscellany,” former Israel Museum 150/51/12). They share a number of specific features, which are not found in the other versions of the text. They all have a note saying that the text is based on a copy written by Gershom, the “great teacher” (הרב הגדול). It has been suggested that this remark refers to Gershom Me’or ha-Gola, known for copying the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Masorah and bringing them to his academy in Mainz.⁴⁴ That Gershom knew the *Yosippon* is reasonable to assume. However, a manuscript copy of the text written by him has not survived. Whether he really copied the text himself or whether the attribution only served as an enhancement of *Yosippon*’s authority cannot be decided at present. Gershom also produced two *piyyutim*, which contain phrases paralleled in the description of the death of Antiochus in SY 28 and a formula used in chapter 58.⁴⁵ These parallels, however, do not prove indisputably that Gershom used the book as a model for his poems or that he in copied *Yosippon* himself.

Furthermore, the manuscripts of this group do not encompass SY 3, l. 58 to the end of SY 6, i.e. they do not include the story of Daniel and Zerubavel as stated already several times. Instead, they contain a passage on the death of

43 A comparison of both versions can be found in the discussion of the Ashkenazic Recension A, section 3.2 below.

44 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 44–45. For a different opinion see Soloveitchik, “Halakha, Hermeneutics, and Martyrdom (Part II),” 280.

45 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 180–181.

Darius.⁴⁶ This feature they share with the Cairo Genizah fragments, supporting the assumption that *SY* 3–6 in Flusser’s edition were not part of the early textual stages of *Sefer Yosippon*, but were added later, probably by Yerahme’el ben Solomon in his reworked text of *Yosippon* in MS Oxford, Heb. d. 11 (see below).

Other characteristic features of Ashkenazic A are found in the beginning of Chapter 9, which has a different arrangement than the other textual versions.⁴⁷ In *SY* 60, ll. 58–143 are included in the manuscripts of the Ashkenazic redaction A but are missing or replaced in the other versions.⁴⁸ MS Israel Museum B61.09.0803 (“Rothschild Miscellany,”) provides several additional passages in the text that are not found in the other manuscripts either of Ashkenazic A or of Recension B or C. The most famous is a version of the Testimonium Flavianum, which will be discussed shortly below.

Finally, in this group of manuscripts the course of the final events at Masada differs from the other versions. In the description of the murder of the women and children at Masada, the manuscripts of the Ashkenazic Recension state that the women and children were killed the day before, and then the men spent the night together, mourning their fate, before going to fight the next morning.⁴⁹ In the Cairo Genizah version, all the people, men, women and children, mourn together during the night, and then the women and children are killed in the morning before the men leave for battle. Yet, it is the version in the Cairo Genizah fragments that is also found in the manuscripts of Recensions B and C. This again supports the notion that Ashkenazic Recension A was derived from the early versions in the Cairo Genizah and then reworked in several ways including its ending. These changes did not find their way into the other versions of *Sefer Yosippon*, but are only found in this group of manuscripts.

The following is a synoptic representation of the end of *SY* 89 from line 127 in Flusser, providing the text of the Genizah in comparison with MS Jerusalem 4120:⁵⁰

46 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 44; 47–48.

47 On the Esther story in *SY*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 197–203, and Dönitz, “Sefer Yosippon and the Septuagint.”

48 It is also part of MS Vat. 52; see pp. 188–189 below.

49 Flusser 11, 431; this is the version in MS Jerusalem oct. 4120, MS Israel Museum (Rothschild Miscellany), and New York JTS 3572. This version seems to be the same one as in MS Oxford Heb. d. 11, which does not belong to this group—see below.

50 For an English translation of both versions see Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 392.

T-S NS 10 K 16, No.12, fol. 2r-v

Jerusalem oct 4120, fol. 119r-v

ויהי בבקר ויקחו את נשיהם ואת
בנותיהם ובניהם לשחוט אותם ארצה
ויחשבו לקרבן עולה לרצון לפני יי כי על
שמו הלכו ולא יהרגו לפני עצבי רומנים.
ויעשו כאשר דבר אליהם אלעזר בן ענני
הכהן ויחגרו איש את כלי מלחמתו
ויקהילו את נשיהם ובניהם ובנותיהם
אל רחוב מצדה וינשקו איש אל אנשי ביתו
ויחבקום ויבכו אלה נוכח אלה בכי גדול
ויענו הכהנים והזקנים ויאמרו אל הנשים
ואל הטף לאמר

טוב לכם לבכות ולמות הנה כי אם
למות בקרב עצבי רומנים. וישלחו האנשים
את ידיהם ויהרגו את נשיהם ואת
ובניהם ואת ובנותיהם וישליכו אותם אל
הבורות אשר במצדה וימלאום בעפר וילינו
העם בלילה ההוא בבכי ונהי ואל גדול
ובמספד מר.

וישימו בבוקר ויצאו כולם יחד כאיש
אחד מן העיר באכזריות חימה וילחמו
בהמון רומנים וימיתו מהם רבים עד
לאין מספר עד אשר תמו כולם במלחמה
עד הנה קץ ירושלים עיר הקדוש ועם
נחלתו.

ויהי רצון מלפני יי אלהינו שיחמול
וירחם על עמו ועל עירו ועל ביתו ועל
היכלו ועל מקדשו ועל נחלתו במהרה
בימינו ויקבץ נדתי ישראל מהרה מארבע
כנפות הארץ וישלח לנו גואל ויבנה
חומות אריאל במהרה בימינו בחיינו
וכל בית ישראל אמן.

ויקומו האנשים
ויקהילו את נשיהם ואת בניהם ואת
בנותיהם וינשקו אותם ויחבקום ויאמרו
להם

הטוב בעיניכם תמותו באדמתכם מלכת
בשבי בארץ אויביכם
ותמותו שם לפני עצבי רומנים וילינו
העם בלילה ההוא בבכי ובמספד ונהי
וקינה בוכים בכייה גדולה האנשים והנשים
והטף ויהי בבקר ויקחו את נשיהם ואת
בניהם ובנותיהם וישחטו אותם ארצה
וישימו אותם אל הבורות וישליכו עליהם
עפר. ויהי אחרי הדבר [ים] האלה ויצאו
האנשים {מן} העיר ויתגרו מלחמה במחנה
רומנים [ויהרגו] מהם רבים עד אין מספר
וילחמו היהודים עד אשר תמו כולם וימותו
על יי
[ועל מקדשו ???] מלחמות הבית השני.

אוי לנו כי חרבה ע[יר משושינו ונהרס
בית מאמינו ו]נשרף היכלינו וגלינו מנחלת
אבותינו וא[ין] ידינו. נו. יהי רצון [מלפני]ך
יי אלהינו [שיזכור שבועת אבותינו ויבנה
עירינו ושיכלל היכלנו ויקבץ פזורינו ויכנס
נדוחינו וישיב שבותינו ויחיש משיחינו
וימהר לגאלינו

ויפיל אויבינו ויכנע שונאינו וינקום
 נקמתינו ויקיים עלינו מקרא שכתוב ונתתי
 נקמתי באדום [ביד] עמי ישראל⁵¹ וגו'
 וכתו' כאיש אשר אמו תנחמינו כן אנכי
 אנחמכם ובירושלם תנוחמו⁵² ויקיים
 עלינו מקרא שכת' ונשא נס לגויים ואסף
 גדחי ישראל ונפוצות יהודה יקבץ מארבע
 כנפות הארץ? נאם יהיה נדחד בקצה
 השמים משם אקבצך יי אלהיך ומשם
 יקחך⁵³ וכת' בעת ההיא אביא אתכם
 ובעת קבצי אתכם [כי] אתן אתכם לשם
 ולתהילה בכל עמי הארץ בשובי את
 שבותכם [לענייכם] אמר יי⁵⁴ ואנו וכל
 ישראל חבירים יחד אמן כן תהא רעווא
 חזק פינחס בר מתתיה חזן.
 זה הספר ליצחק בר כלפון אבו אבי
 הישאם נוח נפש.

3.2.1 (ת) Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. oct. 4120

[B 65] *Italy, 1282, Ashkenazic semicursive, octavo, parchment, 119 folios, linings.*⁵⁵

This manuscript is the one on which Flusser based his edition. It was written in Italy by Benjamin, son of Abraham, who finished it on the 2nd of Adar, 1282.⁵⁶ He might also have copied MS Parma 2530 (de Rossi 331),⁵⁷ containing biblical writings (Psalms to Nehemiah), in 1260. In this case, the copyist could be identified with Benjamin ben Abraham from the famous Anav family.⁵⁸ This family claimed to be able to trace their descent to the nobles

51 Ezek 25:14.

52 Isa 66:13.

53 Deut 30:4; Isa 11:12.

54 Zeph 3:20.

55 The number in square brackets refers to the number of the microfilm in the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts. Available online: [https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts>NNL_ALEPH002582454/NLI#%\\$FL26291834](https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts>NNL_ALEPH002582454/NLI#%$FL26291834). For a description see Sirat, Beit-Arié, *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques*, vol. II, no. 11.

56 Flusser, *Josippon*. Colophon on fol. 119v.

57 IMHM Film No. 14292.

58 This is denied by Sirat and Beit-Arié in *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques*, vol. II, no. 11, due to the different script in MS Parma 2530. However, the Parma manuscript contains the Megillot (written in square script and vocalized), while here the text

of Jerusalem, brought to Rome by Titus.⁵⁹ This could explain interest in the subject of *Yosippon*. Benjamin lived in Rome, was the author of several works, and belongs to the most important liturgical poets of his time. His poems refer to the persecutions the Jews were suffering in Italy during the 13th century, e.g. the agitations by Nicolas Donin, the burning of the Talmud in 1245, or the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in Rome in 1270.⁶⁰ The Jews in Rome were facing a time of persecution, which also may have fostered interest in the reason for the Jewish exile, the history of the destruction of the Temple as told in *Yosippon*.

The first two folios are filled with many scribbles. Among them on fol. 1r it says: זה הספר נקרא יוסיפון וקורין בו בכל תשע באב. —“This book is called *Yosippon* and it is read on every Tisha be-Av.” It is very difficult to date the note. However, it is evidence that *Sefer Yosippon* was read on Tisha be-Av as a memorial to the destruction of the First and the Second Temple.

The manuscript belongs to the group of Ashkenazic redaction A and has all above-mentioned characteristics: On fol. 42v and 43r there are the remarks inserted into the text identifying the words as those of the scribe found in a manuscript written by Rabbenu Gershom (דברים האלה מצאתי כתוב בספר ר' גרשום הרב הגדול וכתבת ידו —“such words I found written in a book of Rabbenu Gershom, the great teacher, and written by his hand”).⁶¹ The text does not contain the stories of Daniel and Zerubavel. From sY 3, l. 58 the text continues with the passage on Darius and then returns to Flusser's text at sY 7, l. 10.⁶² The text ends with a description of the murder of women and children at Masada that differs from the one in the Cairo Genizah fragment (see above).

3.2.2 (1) New York, Jewish Theological Seminary MS 3572 (ENA 1674) [*F* 29377], *Orient or Byzantium, 16th century, semicursive script, paper, 73 folios*.⁶³

This manuscript was copied in the Orient or Byzantium around the 15th or 16th century. It begins with sY 2, l. 47–124 on fol. 1r–v. Fol. 2r–v and starts again

belongs to a secular genre (written in semicursive). So the copyist might have changed his style due to the different genres.

59 Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography*, 146.

60 Vogelstein, Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2.379–382.

61 Fol. 42v; see also on fol. 43r: כך קיצר רבנו גרשום הדברים —“This is how Rabbenu Gershom summarized the words.” Both remarks are found in sY 40.

62 Fol. 4v–5r; for the additional passage on Darius see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 47–48.

63 www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH000088390/NLI. Accessed July 12, 2022. The film lacks the image of fol. 73v, which includes the last lines of sY 89.

with SY 7, l. 10. From here the manuscripts encompasses the text until the end. The attribution of the text to Gershom Me'or ha-Gola is found on fol. 26r–v. For fol. 50ff. the lower part of each page is missing. The text is close to that of MS Jerusalem oct. 4120. It is an example of the circulation of the Ashkenazic A version in the East at a later period, long after the Cairo Genizah fragments were produced.

3.2.3 (7) Israel Museum B61.09.0803 (Rothschild Miscellany)/formerly Israel Museum 180/51/12

[F 32638] *Italy after 1450/before 1479/80, cursive script, parchment, octavo, fol. 206r–298r.*⁶⁴

In contrast to the other two manuscripts of this group, the so-called “Rothschild Miscellany” contains more than just the text of *Sefer Yosippon*. It is a codex of 473 folio pages, consisting of two parts: a Bible manuscript encompassing Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, and a prayer book in the Ashkenazic rite. On the margins of the second part a great many narratives, halakhic texts, and philosophical pieces were added, among them *Sefer Yosippon*, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* by Abraham ibn Daud, *Mashal ha-Qadmoni*, and more.⁶⁵ The manuscript is lavishly decorated with illustrations, ornaments, and gold initials in the Renaissance style, and was probably produced in the workshop of Leonardo Bellini.⁶⁶ It represents one of the most impressive illuminated Hebrew manuscripts known today.⁶⁷ It was produced between 1453 and 1479/80 in Northern Italy. The name of the owner and probably the commissioner of this manuscript is mentioned: Moses ben Yequtiel ha-Kohen. The name of the scribe may have been Shabtai.⁶⁸

The text of *Sefer Yosippon* starts on the margin of fol. 206r. Its artistic design is demonstrated by the fact that the story of the seven Maccabean brothers accompanies the *piyyutim* of Ḥanukkah, especially the *piyyut* by Joseph bar

64 Available online on the Ktiv website in black and white, starts with page 226 in the pictures; [https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH000180153/NLI#\\$FL138279360](https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH000180153/NLI#$FL138279360) (accessed July 12, 2022). Some pictures of the manuscript are available in colour on the website of *The Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art*: <https://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=28>. There are two different ways of numbering the folios. Here the folios are indicated by the modern counting added on the page below.

65 For a list of content see Lévi, “Le manuscrit hébreu” and the description in the Jerusalem Catalogue of the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, Film No. 32638.

66 See Bauer-Eberhardt, “Die Rothschild-Miscellanea.”

67 Fishof, ed., *The Rothschild Miscellany*; Beit-Arié, *Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book*, 93–126. For the dating see also Elizur, “Dating of the Rothschild Miscellany.”

68 See fol. 167r; Beit-Arié, *Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book*, 208–211.

Shlomo (בי אנפת ביי אודד/11th century).⁶⁹ There are several illustrations, in particular the famous one with the Maccabean knight and Judith with the head of Holofernes (fol. 217r).⁷⁰ From fol. 275r onward the text of *Yosippon* fills the whole of each page.

The text of *Sefer Yosippon* presented in this manuscript betrays all the features of the two other manuscripts of Ashkenazic Recension A, described above.⁷¹ However, the text has three additional passages. First, it provides a short description of Cleopatra's suicide by snakes in *SY* 47.⁷² Second, it includes the so-called Testimonium Flavianum of *Yosippon*, a bundle of short texts added to *SY* 57 and 58. The most famous scene involves a certain Jeshu, who advised the Emperor Caligula against the Jews. It is inserted after the story of the *Legatio ad Gaium* in *SY* 58 and has parallels to some early versions of the *Toledot Yeshu*. This passage is preceded by the story of Liza, who bore an illegitimate son after intercourse with a false God. The final passage tells the story of Hannah, who was pursued by the elders in her garden, a reworking of the Book of Susanna.⁷³

These texts appear in *Sefer Yosippon* at a place at which the author deviated from his source, i.e. *De excidio Hierosolymitano* or Ps-Hegesippus, and added the story of Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*.⁷⁴ A later copyist found this the ideal spot to add a longer passage on the evil advisor of the emperor who tried to start a persecution but was blocked by divine interference. This passage has parallels to the earlier versions of *Toledot Yeshu* and may have been inspired by this polemical text.⁷⁵ In discussing what the Testimonium Flavianum in Josephus'

69 Fol. 217r–218v. Davidson & 1651; for the relation between *SY* and this *piyyut*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 183–190. For a new discussion of this *piyyut*, see Wasserman, *Liturgical Poems of Hanukka*, 74–76. See also Shalev-Eyni, “Martyrdom and Sexuality.”

70 On design and layout, see Beit-Arié, *Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book*, 184. He assumes that this manuscript was designed after a model.

71 The reference to Gershom Meor ha-Golah is found on fol. 171r.

72 Fol. 262r–v (*SY* 47, l. 57); see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 49. This passage is also included in MS Budapest Kaufman 355, on which see below.

73 Fol. 277v–278v; see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 50–62. Flusser presents these passages at the end of his edition, thus showing awareness of the fact that this is a later interpolation, see Flusser I, 439–444. See also Lévi, “Jesus, Caligula et Claude;” Lévi, “Histoire de Suzanne.”

74 This text and its relation to *SY* has been recently examined thoroughly by Carson Bay in several articles, which completely renew our understanding of the relationship between the Latin source and the Jewish author of *Yosippon*. See Bay, “The ‘Maria Story,’” Bay, “The Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Identity,” and his contribution to this volume.

75 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 56–57.

Antiquities might have looked like, this passage from *Yosippon* was used in order to reconstruct the original wording of Josephus' text.⁷⁶

The third interpolation is an addition at the end of the text which continues the story of the prisoners after the downfall of Masada. Titus brought them to Rome and some of them settled in Otranto and in Tarent. They became the ancestors of the Southern Italian communities, as described also in the *Megillat Ahimaatz* (written in 1025 in Capua).⁷⁷ This passage appears in other manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon* too. MS Oxford, Hunt. 345 and the early printed edition of Mantua 1475 include it. MS Oxford Heb. d. 11 provides a shorter version lacking the information on Spain.⁷⁸ The passage became a foundation legend for the Jewish communities in Southern Italy, who came to flourish in the 8th–10th centuries.⁷⁹

Finally, this manuscript bears a hint at the date of production of *Yosippon* or of an early copy of the text. The text reads as follows:⁸⁰

ואגרות הרבה כאלה מצאנו בספר יוסף בן גוריון ולא כתבנו אותם פה כי הרבה לספר באגרות האלה אשר מצאנו מספרו משנת חמש מאות ושמנה שנה לחורבן הבית ואנחנו כתבנו והעתקנו מן הספר מספר יוסף בן גוריון הכהן בשנת שמנה מאות ושמנים וחמשה לחורבן.

And many more letters like these we found in the book Joseph ben Gorion and we did not write them down here, because he wrote a lot in these letters which we found in his book from the year 508 of the destruction of the Temple [576],⁸¹ and we wrote them and copied them from the book, the book of Josef ben Gorion, the priest, in the year 885 of the destruction [953].

This note led Flusser to assume that *Sefer Yosippon* was written or finished in the year 953. However, this need not necessarily be true. It could also provide the date of the copy of the text that later was used as a Vorlage for the text in

76 See the numerous publications on the Testimonium Flavianum, among others Whealey, "Josephus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Testimonium Flavianum;" Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*, 83–85.

77 See Flusser I, 432–433, text B; Bonfil, *History and Folklore*, 235.

78 See Flusser I, 432–433.

79 See Marcus, "The Foundation Legend;" Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 266. For a further discussion of this passage see Andrea Schatz's essay in this volume.

80 SY 40; fol. 249v. All translations made by the author.

81 It is not clear what this date refers to.

the Rothschild Miscellany. Recent research supports the theory that *Yosippon* was completed in the first half of the 10th century.⁸²

3.3 Transition to Recension B

3.3.1 (⌘) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urbinas ebr. 52

[F 0069r] *Italy, 14th or 15th century, semi-cursive script, octavo, paper with linings, 186 folio.*⁸³

This manuscript represents the transition between Recension A and B.⁸⁴ It is incomplete: it lacks the beginning and the end as well as some passages in the body of the text.⁸⁵ As noted by the copyist, there were pages missing in his Vorlage.⁸⁶ The examination of the text yields the following: The text does not contain the interpolations on Daniel or the other interpolations of Recension A.⁸⁷ It shares some minor textual parallels with the Ashkenazi Recension A, but it does not contain the attribution to Gershom Me'or ha-Golah.⁸⁸ There are some features in the text of this manuscript that also appear in the witnesses of Recensions B and C, e.g. the structure of the beginning of sY 9 and the missing lines 136–173 in sY 43.⁸⁹ Thus, Flusser's characterization of the manuscript being a mixture of features of Recension A and B is correct. Obviously, the text of the Vorlage was derived from the Cairo Genizah version and then reworked, maybe on the basis of a text close to Recension B.

One of the crucial points concerning the attribution of this manuscript is the question of whether it contained the first interpolation of the Alexander romance. Unfortunately, in Vatican Urb. 52, the chapter on Alexander's visit is incomplete. Flusser was of the opinion that the missing folios could have encompassed the first interpolation of Alexander and that therefore the manuscript should be seen as a witness of Recension B. Moreover, he thought that

82 Flusser II, 4, 82–84; see also Bowman, "Dates in Sefer Josippon;" Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 9–11.

83 For description see Richler and Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 633; the manuscript is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.ebr.52.

84 Flusser II, 10, 15f.

85 Starts at sY 2, l. 14 and ends at sY 89, l. 42.

86 See fol. 10v, 12v, 50r.

87 See below.

88 See below. Vatican Urb. 52 shares with the manuscripts of the Ashkenazic A group the missing lines of sY 3, ll. 40–47 (fol. 4v), which are included in the manuscripts of Recensions B and C. Vatican Urb. 52 also contains ll. 58–143 of sY 60, which are part of the Ashkenazic recension but are missing in all the other manuscripts.

89 This is also found in MS Vatican 408, MS Milano 67, and the print Mantua 1475 of Recension B. In the witnesses of Recension C the gap is even larger, lacking lines 136–190.

this manuscript could have been the Vorlage for the Arabic translation of *Sefer Yosippon*.⁹⁰

A look at the manuscript reveals the following: When the text breaks up in Chapter 10, l. 58, the copyist noted: פה חסר יותר מעשרה דפים ("here more than ten pages are missing").⁹¹ It restarts in *SY* 13, l. 8. From an average estimate, one may assume that one folio in the manuscript provides the text of ca. 1.5 pages in Flusser's edition. The missing text of chapters 10–13 without the interpolation of Alexander in Flusser's edition (which fill 9 pages) would be equivalent to only 6 folio pages. Since the copyist mentions that there are more than 10 pages missing, one has to assume that these missing pages provided more text than that of Chapters 10–13. Therefore, it could well be the case that Vat. Urb. 52 included the first interpolation of Alexander. The text of this interpolation alone takes 20 pages in Flusser's edition, i.e. ca. 14 folios. Together with the missing text of *SY* 10–13, this would add up to ca. 20 folios that may be missing here. This is supported by the statement of the copyist that there were more than 10 pages missing. If this is the case, this manuscript would encompass also the first Interpolation on Alexander. This supports the assumption that the first interpolation on Alexander entered the text of *Yosippon* at early stage of the text's development, as demonstrated by Codex Orientalis 1.

3.3.2 (*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 11 (Neubauer 2797/1) [*F* 16716], *Ashkenaz, first half 14th century, parchment, quarto, semicursive script*.⁹²

This textual witness to *Sefer Yosippon* too represents the transitional stage from Recension A to Recension B. It contains the famous *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* by Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi, compiled in the first quarter of the 14th century, a huge collection of texts which includes a copy of *Yosippon*.⁹³ The family of Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi lived in the Rhineland.⁹⁴ His compilation of texts displays an interest in texts outside the Jewish traditional canon with a

90 Flusser 11, 15f. For an in-depth discussion of the Arabic translation of *SY*, see now Sela, *The Arabic Josippon*.

91 MS Vat. Urb. 52, fol. 12v. All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

92 No digitalization available; partial edition by Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 127–128, 148–154, 231–312, which does not include the whole text of *SY* as contained in the manuscript. The edition omits *SY* 28–89. However, the manuscript does include the book as a whole. For this reason it is not clear why Nadia Zeldes speaks about Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi using excerpts from *SY*; see Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*, 27–28.

93 For a detailed description of the manuscript see Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen*, 163–186.

94 Raspe, "Ascher ha-Lewi und die Gründung," she argues that the manuscript served as a means of preserving family history.

historical outlook, beginning with biblical history, the Second Temple period, rabbinic and medieval times, and coming up to the messianic age. *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* is seen as one of the more important examples of medieval Jewish historiography, even though it is a compilation rather than an original historical work.⁹⁵ It also contains some of the most famous Hebrew narrative texts, as the Alexander romance or the *Mishle Sendebār*.⁹⁶ *Yosippon* provides the text with its historical backbone for the Second Temple period. Eleazar took this version of *Yosippon* from an earlier compilation of texts produced by the 12th century Italian author and compiler Yerahme'el ben Solomon.⁹⁷ It is not clear where the compilation of Yerahme'el in *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* starts and where it ends.⁹⁸ There is a core of texts that are attributed to him, because Yerahme'el inserted remarks mentioning himself. These are also found in the text of *Yosippon*, and thus it is included in Yerahme'el's collection.⁹⁹

Yerahme'el was interested in mathematics, calendrical issues, poetry, and history.¹⁰⁰ The compilation suggests that he tried to establish chronological tables and lists with the help of Jewish and non-Jewish sources.¹⁰¹ Moreover,

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- 95 For the content, see the table of contents in Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 3–8. It was actually seen as a pendant to the Christian genre of universal history; see Yassif, “Hebrew Narrative Anthology.” It also contains the chronicles on the crusades by Eliezer bar Nathan and Ephraim of Bonn; Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte*, 163.
- 96 The Alexander romance is represented in a different version from the one that entered into *SY* as Interpolation A and B; it was edited by Reich, *Tales of Alexander*. On this version of the Alexander story see also Dönitz, “Alexander the Great in Medieval Hebrew Traditions,” 35–38.
- 97 Gaster, ed., *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. This is first indicated when Eleazar ben Asher notes: למליצת ירחמיאלי—“let us return to the narrative of Yerahmeel;” Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 128.
- 98 The exact extent of this compilation is not clear. In his article, Howard Jacobson argues for a minimal version of this compilation; Jacobson, “Thoughts on the Chronicles.” Moses Gaster called the first 100 folio of MS Oxford Heb. d. 11 *Sefer Yerahme'el*.
- 99 See fol. 113r: ועתה יישר בעיני לספר המעשים אשר נעשו אחריה כי אני ירחמאל בר שלומה בר שלומה דברים אומ' כי כל הכתוב אשר יתוב ספרים ... ואני ירחמאל בן שלומה ליקטתי דברים Here Yerahme'el replaced Joseph ben Gorion with his own name in *SY* 35, ll. 1ff. At the end of *SY*, Yerahme'el added one word to the biblical verse, which then contains his name as an acrostic; see fol. 197r.
- 100 His poems are published in Neubauer, “Yerahmeel ben Shelomoh,” transmitted in MS Oxford Opp. 697/Neubauer 2079 [F 19364].
- 101 He also produced a version of *Seder Olam*, which starts with the destruction of the First Temple and ends with the Mishnah, presenting a list of Jewish priests, kings, and rabbis besides non-Jewish rulers; Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 365–368 and 368–382. The text includes a description of the Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew Bible; Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 382. On the relation between this text and *SY*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 216–223.

Yerahme'el translated texts from Latin, Greek, and Aramaic into Hebrew.¹⁰² His collection in *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* includes Hebrew translations of the Aramaic parts of the biblical Book of Daniel as well as translations of the Greek additions to Daniel in the Septuagint.¹⁰³ The fact that Yerahme'el dealt with these texts in particular led to the assumption that it was he who added the stories from Daniel into his version of *Sefer Yosippon*.¹⁰⁴ The interpolation contains the tales of Daniel becoming the advisor of King Darius (SY 4), Daniel in the lion's den, and Daniel and Bel from the Septuagint (SY 5 and 6).¹⁰⁵ The second part deals with Zerubavel, who becomes Daniel's successor as advisor to the king and wins the contest of the three youths (SY 7). As a consequence, Zerubavel is sent to Jerusalem by the Persian King Cyrus with the order to rebuild the Temple. If the above hypothesis is true, SY 3–6 were added by Yerahme'el in the 12th century in Italy, and only from that time onward were they an inherent part of *Yosippon*.¹⁰⁶

The version of *Sefer Yosippon* within *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* has some insertions in Chapter 9, the story of Esther and Mordechai. This chapter in *Yosippon* is peculiar, because it does not present the story as it is told in the biblical book in the first place, but mostly consists of the additions to the Septuagint, i.e. the plot against Ahashverosh, Mordechai's dream, Mordechai's and Esther's prayer, and Esther's reception by Ahashverosh.¹⁰⁷ The compiler of *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* added a number of passages into this chapter which are not part of *Yosippon*. Thus, after Esther's reception follows Haman's letter and two versions of the throne of Solomon.¹⁰⁸ These texts are found in the various Esther-Midrashim. After that the text returns to *Yosippon* and continues with SY 10, Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.

This version of *Sefer Yosippon* also includes biographical passages concerning Philo and Josephus. The note on Philo is added to SY 58, which tells the story of the *legatio ad Gaium* headed by Philo.¹⁰⁹ The passage on Josephus is

102 He translated parts of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* by Ps-Philo; see Jacobson, "Thoughts on the Chronicles," 250–263.

103 Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 231–250.

104 This is corroborated by the fact that the Daniel story in SY has some parallels in the translations of the additions to the biblical Book of Daniel as they were presented by Yerahme'el; see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 62f.

105 Dan 6; Dan 14 (addition to the Septuagint); see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 62–65.

106 For text and translation of these parts, see Gaster, ed., *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 207–231.

107 For a discussion of this chapter, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 197–203.

108 Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 271–281. For an English translation see Gaster, ed., *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 236–253.

109 Flusser I, 434f. (Oxford, Heb. d. 11, fol. 145v).

added at the end of the text and follows as a note on the account of prisoners taken by Titus to Rome, which later turned into one of the ideas behind the foundation myths of the European Diaspora Communities.¹¹⁰ It is not clear whether these parts were added by Yerahme'el in the 12th century or by the second compiler Eleazar in the 14th century. In other cases, there are notes indicating the treatment of the text by the redactor. So, it most probably was Eleazar who detached Chapters 1 and 2 of *Yosippon* from the body of the text and put them in between other texts that precede the copy of *Yosippon*.¹¹¹

Thus, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* contains a copy of *Sefer Yosippon* that was reworked and changed, in particular by the insertion of passages like the interpolation of Daniel, biographical notes on Philo and Josephus, or the short passage at the end concerning the prisoners of Titus. The text of *Yosippon* preserved herein is not based on the textual version known as the Ashkenazic redaction A, but continues the textual tradition as represented in the Cairo Genizah fragments and in Recension B, as can be seen in the final chapter (see above in the discussion of Ashkenazic A). Moreover, here and in all manuscripts of Recensions B and C there is a gap in *SY* 60, ll. 58–143. Therefore, this manuscript represents the transition between Recension A and Recension B.

4 Manuscripts of Recension B

As demonstrated above, Recension B is characterized first and foremost by continuing the textual versions of the Cairo Genizah fragments and second by the integration of the stories of Daniel and Zerubavel (*SY* 3–6).¹¹² Before the discovery of the fragment of the Alexander romance in one of the codices of the Cairo Genizah, the inclusion of two interpolations to the chapter on Alexander's visit to Jerusalem (*SY* 10) was the criterion that defined Recension B, because all the manuscripts attributed to Recension B include at least the first interpolation on Alexander.¹¹³ However, as demonstrated above, this interpolation was possibly already added to the text of *Yosippon* in

110 This passage is also contained in the Rothschild Miscellany; see above. For the text see Flusser I, 432–433, 435–437 and Oxford, Heb. d. 11, fol. 197r–199r.

111 Yassif, ed., *Book of Memory*, 127 and 148.

112 All the manuscripts also have the gap in *SY* 60, lacking ll. 58–143; see discussion of Oxford, Heb. d. 11.

113 For the inclusion of the first interpolation; see above on the Cairo Genizah fragments. For the Alexander interpolations see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 75–90. For the Hebrew Alexander in general see Dönitz, "Alexander the Great" and the introduction in van Bekkum, ed., *A Hebrew Alexander Romance*.

the Cairo Genizah codices in the East during the 12th century; from there this version spread back to Italy, whence most of the manuscripts of Recension B originate (all of them date from the 14th century onward).

The second interpolation depicts Alexander's birth and childhood. This interpolation has many parallels to the birth story told in the Hebrew Alexander Romances transmitted in MS London 145 and MS Paris Hébreu 671.¹¹⁴ This interpolation is probably contained in the newly discovered MS Milano, Ambrosiana I 67, although only fragmentarily. It is included in the print edition of Mantua 1475. It is also included in all the manuscripts of Recension C (see below). In all manuscripts that contain the second Interpolation the texts of both interpolations have been reworked.¹¹⁵

Recension B, as established by Flusser, was represented by one manuscript only (MS Vatican 408; Italy 1443, written for Giannozzo Manetti; see below) and the early print produced in the workshop of Abraham Conat in Mantua in 1475.¹¹⁶ After the reexamination of *Sefer Yosippon's* manuscripts, four additional witnesses were classified as Recension B, so altogether there are now five manuscript witnesses for this recension. These additional manuscripts are: MS Budapest A 355 (previously identified as Recension A by Flusser) and the recently discovered MS Milano I 67 (unknown to Flusser) as complete manuscripts. Furthermore, MS Oxford Hunt. 345 (seen as an epitome by Flusser) and the binding fragments from MS Munich 153 (unknown to Flusser).¹¹⁷ Several of these manuscripts were written around the 15th century, meaning that at least in Italy Recensions A (see "Rothschild Miscellany" and Vatican Urb. 52) and B seem to have circulated at the same time.

The comparison of the textual witnesses results in the conclusion that there are three categories of Recension B: the first has a shortened textual version (early print Mantua 1475, the binding fragments in MS Munich, Steinschneider 153, and the excerpt in MS Oxford Hunt. 345).¹¹⁸ The text is shorter than in the manuscript versions of Recension A, from which many words are omitted. All references to Joseph ben Gorion being the compiler

114 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 85–90; van Bekkum *Hebrew Alexander Romance London*, 27.

115 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 85–87.

116 Flusser II.

117 This article does not provide an exhaustive discussion of the fragments and excerpts that exist from SY. However, for the discussion of Recension B, they are important because they illuminate the manuscript tradition of this recension, which is completely lacking in Flusser's work.

118 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption* and Dönitz, "Josephus torn to Pieces."

or copyist of *Sefer Yosippon's* text are missing.¹¹⁹ A superficial comparison between the text in the Cairo Genizah fragments and this shortened version shows that the latter has less text and simplified syntactical structures. The circulation of *Sefer Yosippon* in such an epitomized version is proven not only by these manuscripts, but also by the writings of Abraham ibn Daud, who used a shortened text of *Yosippon* as a Vorlage for his compilation *Dorot Olam*.¹²⁰ Yet he probably did not use one of the transmitted manuscripts, since there are few textual parallels. He may have reworked his Vorlage in order to fit the text into his concept of *Dorot Olam*.¹²¹

MS Vatican ebr. 408 together with MS Budapest Kaufmann A 355 present a version in which the text continues the Genizah version, and both manuscripts include the Interpolation on Daniel, the first interpolation of the Alexander romance (his wondrous travels), and the Testimonium Flavianum. Finally, MS Milano I 67 presents a text that is further enlarged in comparison with the previous groups and which also shares some characteristics with Recension C (i.e., the interpolation of Alexander's birth story), so this manuscript demonstrates the transition from Recension B to Recension C.¹²²

4.1 *Group 1: Short Version*

4.1.1 (מ) Mantua 1475

Recension B is transmitted in a shortened version, which is represented in the early print Mantua 1475.¹²³ This was produced in the workshop of Abraham Conat who added an introduction in which he ascribed the book to Joseph ben Gorion: ראיתי לכתוב זה הספר הנכבד אשר חברו איש אלהים גבור חיל משוח מלחמה: מה גוריון כהן לאלהי עליון הנקרא יוסף בן גוריון—“I saw this excellent book written by a man of God, hero and soldier, anointed for war, a priest to the highest God, called Joseph ben Gorion.”¹²⁴ The print contains the interpolation to Daniel, both interpolations on Alexander, and the passage on the prisoner of Titus.¹²⁵ *Sefer Yosippon* belongs to the early Hebrew books printed in Italy.

119 On the role of Joseph ben Gorion as alias of Flavius Josephus, see below on Recension C.

120 See Vehlow, ed., *Abraham Ibn Daud's Dorot 'Olam*.

121 See the discussion in Recension C; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, Chapter 5.3. and Dönitz, “Josephus torn to pieces.”

122 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 72–73.

123 Offenberg, “Chronology of Hebrew Printing.” For an online version of the Mantua print see https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH001268325/NLI (accessed July 5, 2022). The book was later reprinted by Günzburg, ספר יוסיפון כפי דפוס מנטוואה.

124 SY, Mantua 1475, 269.

125 See above on Oxford Heb. d. 11 and the discussion of the passage by Andrea Schatz in this volume.

4.1.2 (7) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 345 (Neubauer 793/2) [F 20330] *Orient, 1462, semicursive, paper, fol. 218v–245v*.¹²⁶

This manuscript presents an excerpt of *Sefer Yosippon* starting with Chapter 74 until the end (SY 89) and is dated to 1462. The text is shorter than the other versions, its closest parallel being the Mantua print of 1475. At the end it also provides the passage on Titus' prisoners. The text contains parallels to the binding fragments in MS Munich 153/8 (see below).

4.1.3 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 153 VIII [F 25997], *Ashkenaz, 14th century, parchment fragments used as binding fragments for Munich Clm 3560, semicursive, 4 folios*.¹²⁷

These fragments were found in a book binding in the framework of the "Books within Books" project in Germany.¹²⁸ They encompass bits of the text of SY 29, 35, 82, and 89. In the last two passages they show parallels to Mantua 1475 and Oxford Hunt. 345. With these textual parallels these fragments provide proof that in Ashkenaz during the 14th century there was not only the Ashkenazic Recension A available, but also Recension B. Both versions of *Yosippon* circulated during the same time in the same geographical region.¹²⁹

4.2 Group 2: Long Version

4.2.1 (7) Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Kaufmann A 355 [F 15131] *Ashkenaz/Italy, 16th century, semicursive, paper with linings, 236 pages*.¹³⁰

This manuscript is incomplete. It starts with SY 5, l. 57 and ends with SY 88, l. 58. It is numbered according to pages. The text includes the interpolations on Daniel as well as the first interpolation of the Alexander romance

126 Available online: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/8fuaacfc-207f-42a9-89ce-78dccadb51a3> (accessed July 12, 2022).

127 Available online: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00039620?page=1> (accessed July 12, 2022). Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften*; Lehnardt, *Die hebräischen und aramäischen Einbandfragmente*, 638.

128 The search for Hebrew fragments that were reused as book bindings or covers was organized in the framework of a DFG-funded project called Genizat Germania supervised by Prof. Dr. Andreas Lehnardt (Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz). See now <http://www.hebrewmanuscript.com> (accessed May 14th, 2023).

129 For a more detailed discussion of these fragments, see Dönitz, "Josephus Torn To Pieces." Another binding fragment containing SY was found in the Vatican Library: MS Vatican 617/1 [F 74201], Spain, 15th century. It has fragments of SY 49–50; see Richler and Beit-Arié, eds., *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 505.

130 Available online: https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/viewerpage?vid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001794800205171-1#§FL39031739; See Weisz, *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften*, 113.

(pp. 18–34). Moreover, this manuscript includes the story of Cleopatra's death (p. 124), like the Rothschild Miscellany of Ashkenazic Recension A, so there is a connection between these two recensions. Moreover, Budapest 355 also includes the interpolation of the Testimonium Flavianum in *Sefer Yosippon* (pp. 158–163). It shares the gap in the text of *SY* 60, ll. 58–143 with MS Oxford Bod. d. 11 and the other manuscripts of the longer Recension B. So, this manuscript of *Yosippon* is a perfect example of how the different recensions start to merge in the 15th and 16th centuries. It is difficult to determine the role of this witness in the stemma, which is why Flusser placed it in Recension A; in my opinion it belongs to Recension B. Yet, since there are overlapping interpolations with the Rothschild Miscellany, there seems to be a fluid textual tradition here.

4.2.2 (7) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 408
 [F 08636] Italy, Fano 1443, Italian semicursive script, parchment, octavo, 153 folios.¹³¹

This manuscript belongs to the long version of Recension B. The manuscript was copied in Fano/Italy by Elijah ben Moses for the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459). The copy was completed on Thursday, 28th of Kislev 5204 = 1443.¹³² The text of *Sefer Yosippon* contains the Daniel interpolation and the first interpolation to the Alexander chapter. It also possesses a version of the Testimonium Flavianum which is different from the passages in MS Rothschild Miscellany and MS Budapest 355 (see above).

This is the only manuscript of *Sefer Yosippon* that was definitely written for a Christian audience.¹³³ The Italian humanists grasped Josephus as an accessible source for Jewish history. Their interest in *Yosippon*, of course, was probably mainly sparked by the quest for information on Jesus in these writings. Thus, the humanists knew Josephus as well as *Yosippon*. Giannozzo Manetti, who commissioned this copy, started his study of Hebrew in 1435 and admired Philo and Josephus for their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew respectively. Josephus, in his mastery of both languages, was an inspiration for his own studies. Manetti owned copies of Josephus' works in Latin as well.¹³⁴

131 Available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ebr.408 (accessed July 4, 2022). For the description in the catalogue see Richler and Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 353–354.

132 The same scribe copied MSS Vat. ebr. 95 in 1438 (commentary on Job by Gersonides), Paris, BnF hébreu 196 in 1439 in Cortona (commentary on the Bible by David Qimhi; F 4179), and Parma 2445 (collection of philosophical and other works) in 1444.

133 Stein Kokin, "The Josephan Renaissance," 231; Flusser II, 56.

134 Stein Kokin, "The Josephan Renaissance," 207–210. On *SY*'s copy see 218, FN 68.

So, Vatican 408 is the manuscript that Manetti commissioned from Elijah ha-Melamed of Fano in 1443. However, it seems as if he did not use it much. In his writings, he quotes Josephus several times, but never *Sefer Yosippon*. It has been argued that his interest in *Yosippon* was mainly elicited by the fact that he hoped to find a reference to Jesus in that text.¹³⁵ The copyist was aware of the fact that his commissioner was Christian and might be searching for exactly this information. Therefore, he decided not to include the whole passage. So in fact, MS Vatican ebr. 408 does include the Testimonium Flavianum from *Yosippon*. Yet the manuscript does not encompass the passage on Jesus in its full scope; the text breaks up halfway through and omits the ending.¹³⁶ It starts with a narrative of Jews, who are drawn to Christianity. Among them is a certain man who is described with these words: ויאמרו בא מלאך אלהים בנו—“and they said there comes a messenger of God, his son, of whom the prophets have prophesied.”¹³⁷ Yet the text does not give the name of this messenger, who becomes the advisor of the Emperor. In other manuscripts, he is named שוי, as a permutation of ישו.¹³⁸ He promotes the cult of the Emperor and the erection of a statue to be worshipped. A Jewish embassy is sent to Rome to ask for the revocation of this abominable situation in Jerusalem. The following story, which narrates how the Emperor died and his evil advisor is killed in a brutal way after a trial, is omitted in this manuscript. The copyist Elijah may have wanted to spare these details, which suggest Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. A careful reader may still have recognized this passage as referring to Jesus. In any case, however, Manetti did not mention it.¹³⁹

4.3 *Group 3: Transition to Recension C*

4.3.1 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I 67 Inf.

[F 4118r] *Spain, 15th/16th century, semicursive, quarto, paper, 80 folios. No digitization available.*¹⁴⁰

135 Stein Kokin, “The Josephan Renaissance,” 220f.; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 79.

136 Vat. ebr. 408, fol. 94v–95r; see Flusser I, 439–440, ll. 1–28. For a discussion of the version in Vat. ebr. 408 see Stein Kokin, “The Josephan Renaissance,” 226.

137 Vat. ebr. 408, fol. 95r.

138 Rothschild Miscellany, fol. 278r; Budapest A 355, p. 158. In Milano I 67 there is a gap in the manuscript.

139 Stein Kokin, “The Josephan Renaissance,” 220f., 231f.; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 80.

140 There is no description of this manuscript in the catalogue by Bernheimer, *Codices Hebraici Bybliothecae Ambrosianae*.

This manuscript is one of the witnesses of *Sefer Yosippon* that was not known to Flusser. The manuscript is incomplete at the beginning and at the end, starting at sY 4, l. 25 and ending at sY 85, l. 6. Thus, it contains the interpolation on Daniel. There are several pages missing in the body of the text. Chapter 10 is incomplete, starting on fol. 9v, but fol. 10r begins with the ending of the second interpolation on Alexander followed by the first interpolation and the Chronicle. This means that this manuscript is the first that included both interpolations on Alexander (see above). It also proves that both interpolations on Alexander were included in *Yosippon*'s text before the reworking of Judah Mosqoni (see below Recension C). The manuscript lacks sY 55, l. 73 to sY 59, l. 2 (fol. 61v–62r). Therefore, it is not certain whether it contained the Testimonium Flavianum. The text shows expanded phrasing in comparison to the other manuscripts of Recension B. All of these elements support the role of MS Mailand 67 as marking a transitional stage between Recension B and C.

5 Manuscripts of Recension C

In the following, I will discuss the manuscripts of Recension C, which is the longest and the latest version of *Sefer Yosippon*. This longer recension became the most popular version of the book from the Early Modern period onward—many translations are based on it (the Yiddish translation printed in 1546, the Early English translation in 1561).¹⁴¹ It is presented in three manuscripts, of which two were known to Flusser. The third was identified when I reviewed the Jerusalem IMHM catalogue for *Yosippon* manuscripts listed there. All three manuscripts were copied in Italy in the 15th century. Recension C was first printed in Constantinople in 1510 and in Venice in 1544. It was used by Haim Hominer, who published this version first in 1956 and later in 1961 and 1967.¹⁴²

All three manuscripts of Recension C include the introduction by the 14th century scholar Judah Mosqoni (1328 until after 1370).¹⁴³ According to his own words, he had several manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon* of various length and quality before him:

141 For the Yiddish translation, see Dönitz, "Josephus im jiddischen Gewand;" for the early English version see Reiner, "The English Josippon;" Vehlow, "Fascinated by Josephus."

142 Hominer, ed., *Josiphon*; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 91–102.

143 MS Paris 1280, fol. 1r–3v; MS Vatican Borg. 1, fol. 1–4; MS Milano H 70, fol. 1r–2v; Hominer, *Josiphon*, 34–40.

כי מצאתיו ארוך כזה מלבד שהיו חסרים ממנו ספורים סודיים רבים אשר המה העקר והיסוד בספר. והם הספורים המלמדים להועיל. גם מצאתיו מקוצר אשר קצרו והעלים ריב ספוריו החכם ר' אברהם ב'ר דוד הלוי הידוע בן אל צדיק מגדולי חכמי גרנאטא. וגם מצאתיו עוד מקוצר על דרך אחרת קרובה לדרך ר' אברהם הנז' בהתעלות ספורים רבים גם כן קצרו החכם הגדול ר' שמואל הנגיד מגדולי מדינת קורטובה. ואמנם עזרני יי' ואמצאה את הספר כלו בלשון החכם יוסף הכהן בן גוריון הכהן מחברו ולא חסר ממנו ספור אחד מכל הספורים אשר כתב בו כאשר אודיע עוד. ואז שמחתי מאד בו במוצא שלל רב ... אמרתי אני עם לבי מה יש לעשות בזה הספר כי אם להוציא במספר צבא הספורים הנמצאים בכלל ספר וספר מהספרים הפרטים. שהם חלקי הספר הכולל הגדול הנקרא בעברי יוסיפון וביוני יוסיפוס וברומי ג'וסיפוס.¹⁴⁴

Because I found it long like this, except that there were missing from it many important stories, which are the basis and the essence of the book. They are the stories that teach a lesson. And I also found it (the book) shortened, because he shortened it and he omitted many stories, the wise Rabbi Abraham ben David ha-Levi, who is known as a son of God and a righteous from the sages of Granada. And I also found it shortened in another way, (yet) similar to the way Rabbi Abraham did it, who is mentioned above, by omitting many stories. Also the great sage R. Samuel ha-Nagid shortened it, from the great (sages) of the city of Cordoba. And the Lord helped me, and I found the complete book in the language of the wise Joseph ha-Kohen ben Gorion ha-Kohen, its author, and nothing is missing from it, not one of all the stories he wrote in it, as I will mention later. And so I enjoyed it and found great peace ... And I said to myself, what can be done with this book but to publish it with all the multitude of stories that are included in every single book. They constitute the parts of the complete book called in Hebrew *Yosippon*, in Greek *Josephos* and in Rumi (Latin) *Giosippus*.

Mosqoni complained that none of the manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon* he found was complete. He mentions the shortened versions of *Yosippon*, e.g. the one produced by Abraham Ibn Daud.¹⁴⁵ Finally, he found one “in the language of the wise Joseph ha-Kohen ben Gorion.” This could mean that he actually saw a text ‘by Josephus himself,’ either in Greek or in Latin. That he knew about translations of Josephus’ works can be derived from the final sentence of the quotation, where he presents the different names of Josephus in Hebrew,

144 MS Paris 1280, fol. 2v.

145 See on Recension B above and the discussion below.

Greek, and Latin. This fits in with the character of Recension C, which shows an enlarged and broadened textual version with several additional passages in the text; some seem to have been taken from non-Jewish sources in Latin. The most prominent one is the interpolation about the coronation ceremony of Vespasian. He also may have added passages from the text's Latin source, *De excidio* (Ps-Hegesippus).¹⁴⁶

Apart from the additions and rewriting of the text, Mosqoni divided the text into books and paragraphs and added a list of contents in his introduction. Moreover, it is in this recension that the author of the text and Joseph ben Gorion (i.e. Flavius Josephus) are unified into one and the same person. From then on, Joseph ben Gorion, i.e. Flavius Josephus, was identified as the author of *Sefer Yosippon*. In the Christian reception of *Yosippon*, the identification of Joseph ben Gorion/Flavius Josephus and the author of *Yosippon* was taken for granted and even used as a polemical tool against the Jews.¹⁴⁷ Mosqoni also adds details from Josephus' biography.¹⁴⁸

Judah Mosqoni came from Byzantium, traveled through several countries searching for manuscripts of the Torah commentary by Abraham Ibn Ezra, and finally moved to Majorca.¹⁴⁹ There, beginning in 1356, he started to compile his version of *Sefer Yosippon*. A few years later, in 1362 he began to write a super-commentary on Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Torah.¹⁵⁰ Mosqoni's redaction of *Yosippon* still awaits a more thorough examination with regard to its reworking of the text, its interpolations and their sources, as well as the cultural context in which Mosqoni composed this version.¹⁵¹

Mosqoni's text shares several features with the reworking of *Sefer Yosippon* produced by the 12th century Spanish scholar Abraham Ibn Daud known as *Divre Malkhe Yisrael*, mentioned by Mosqoni in his introduction (see quotation

146 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 97–100.

147 Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*. It was Azaria de Rossi who first differentiated between the two authors and their works in the middle of the 16th century; see Weinberg, "Early Modern Jewish Readers of Josephus."

148 Hominer, *Josiphon*, Chapters 8, 35, 38, 43.

149 See the description of his travels in his introduction to the super-commentary on Ibn Ezra now in Kreisel, *R. Yehudah Le'on ben R. Mosheh Mosqoni*, translated by Bowman, *Jews in Byzantium*, 283–285.

150 Kreisel, *R. Yehudah Le'on ben R. Mosheh Mosqoni*.

151 See a preliminary analysis in Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 91–102, and in Dönitz, "Historiography among Byzantine Jews." Recently, Katrin Kogman-Appel provided some further insights into his contemporary intellectual milieu in her latest book: Kogman-Appel, *Catalan Maps and Jewish Books*. For the library of Judah Mosqoni see Steinschneider, "Yehuda Mosconi;" Lévi, "L'inventaire;" Hillgarth, ed., *Readers and Books*, 434–441.

above). This text presents a reworking of *Yosippon* with a polemical tendency against the Karaites.¹⁵² The changes made by Ibn Daud include shortenings of the text as well as added information, such as the Midrash on Zechariah at the end of the text as well as the story of the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. These changes and additions are also found in Mosqoni's redaction of *Yosippon*. Therefore, Flusser assumed that Ibn Daud used a manuscript of Recension C. However, in my analysis, I put forth the possibility that Ibn Daud used a manuscript of Recension B and reworked it. The parallels between Ibn Daud's text and Mosqoni's redactions of *Yosippon* therefore are evidence of the fact that Mosqoni used Ibn Daud's *Divre Malkhe Yisrael*. Since Mosqoni explicitly says that he used Ibn Daud's text, it is probable that he took these passages from Ibn Daud when he compiled the long version of *Yosippon*.¹⁵³

5.1 (פ) *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Hébreu 1280*

[F 30898] *Italy, 1472, square and semi-cursive, parchment and paper, octavo, 186 folios.*¹⁵⁴

This manuscript was copied by Judah ben Solomon of Camerino in the year 1472 in Lucera for Raphael Cohen from Lunel, who lived in Foggia (here called Manfredonia).¹⁵⁵ It has glosses in the margins. The manuscript contains all the characteristic features of the Mosqoni recension, the introduction by Mosqoni (fol. 1r–3v), a list of contents according to paragraphs (fol. 4r–39r), and the interpolation on the coronation of Vespasian (fol. 147r–148r). In SY 58 there is no interpolation of the Testimonium Flavianum as in Recension A and B, but one sentence hints at Jesus nevertheless:¹⁵⁶

בימים ההם היו מחלקות רבות וקטטות גדולות ביהודה בין פרושים ובין פריצי ישראל
אשר נטו אז אחרי ישוע בן פנדירא הנצרי אשר עשה פליאות גדולות בישראל עד
נצחוהו הפרושים ותלוהו על העץ.

152 Vehlow, *Abraham Ibn Daud's Dorot 'Olam (Generations of the Ages)*.

153 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 235–239. Zeldes repeats the argument by Flusser, basing herself on the very same texts that I analysed; see Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 17–18.

154 Available online: [https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/viewerpage?vid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001319660205171-1#\\$FL55482365](https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/viewerpage?vid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001319660205171-1#$FL55482365) (accessed July 5, 2022); for a description see Beit-Arié, Sirat, *Manuscrits médiévaux en caracteres hébraïques 1*, no. 132 and <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc5378x>.

155 According to the colophon on fol. 185v; for the text see Beit-Arié, Sirat, *Manuscrits médiévaux*, vol. 1, no. 132.

156 MS Paris 1280, fol. 123v.

In these days there was great strife in Judah between the Perushim and the lawless of Israel who were attracted to Jeshua ben Pandera, the Christian, who did great miracles in Israel until the Perushim defeated him and hanged him on a tree.

5.2 (Ⓜ) *Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Borgiana ebr. 1*

[F 11654], Italy, 15th century, semi-cursive script, paper, octavo, 191 folio.¹⁵⁷

This manuscript was copied by Ephraim ben Yoav of Moderna for Mordechai ben Benjamin the physician. Unfortunately, the year is not stated. Ephraim copied at least five other manuscripts between the years 1467 and 1501 in Florence and northern Italy, and thus his copy of *Sefer Yosippon* probably has been produced in the second half of the 15th century as well.¹⁵⁸ The folios are numbered by hand and a number is stamped in the left corner below, which deviates by one from the written numeration. The first folio is an addition and contains a description of the codex in Italian.

The text starts with the introduction by Judah Mosqoni (fol. 2r–5r) and his list of contents (fol. 5r–41r) according to paragraph numbers, which are also found in the margins of the text. The text of *Sefer Yosippon* starts on folio 41v. The interpolation on the coronation of Vespasian is found on fol. 152v–154r. On fol. 129v, at the beginning of sY 58, there is a sentence that may have referred to Jesus. It has been censored and made illegible. The copy is very similar to MS Paris 1280 and was produced around the same time.

5.3 *Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 70 Inf.*

[No Microfilm]; Italy, 15th/16th century, semi-cursive script, paper, 105 folio.

This manuscript was unknown to Flusser. I discovered it in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan during my visit in 2007. It shares all the characteristics of Recension C. However, the text contains some alterations, e.g. in sY 57–60. In sY 58 there is also a censored, but readable, sentence referring to Jesus slightly different than that in Paris 1280:¹⁵⁹

בימים ההם קמו המחלקות והקטטות בין הפרושים והפריצים על דבר ישו בן פלטר
הנצרי שהיו אומרים שהיה משיח עד נצחוהו הפרושים ותלוהו על העץ חב הים
ערב פסח.

¹⁵⁷ Available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.ebr.1 (accessed July 5, 2022).

¹⁵⁸ Richler and Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 516.

¹⁵⁹ Milano, Ambrosiana H 70 Inf, fol. 69v.

In those days there arose strife and dispute between the Perushim and the lawless over the matter of Jeshu ben Paltera, the Christian, about whom they said that he was the Messiah until the Perushim defeated him and hanged him on a tree on the eve of the festival of Pessah.¹⁶⁰

The three manuscripts transmitting *Sefer Yosippon*, Recension C, were all produced in Italy during the decades between 1470 and 1500. At the same time, Giannozzo Manetti ordered his copy of *Yosippon* (Vatican 408/Recension B). The Rothschild Miscellany was produced in Italy between 1450 and 1480, representing the Ashkenazic Recension A and including the Testimonium Flavianum. The interest in *Yosippon* and the circulation of several recensions at that time in Italy reflects the interest of humanists, both Christian and Jewish, in Second Temple history. The integration and disintegration of the Testimonium Flavianum into the text of *Yosippon* in the manuscripts mirrors the Jewish-Christian encounter on the subject of Josephus.¹⁶¹ Also in exactly that period *Yosippon* was printed for the first time in Mantua in 1475. Thus, the copies of Recension C fit with the general interest in historiography in humanist Italy. The text's development finds ends with this recension. In the following centuries, *Yosippon* would be printed and translated into various languages, many of them based on Recension C.

6 Conclusion

What does this all mean for our understanding of *Sefer Yosippon* and the history of its transmission? First of all, the character of *Yosippon* as an open book that was altered and enlarged by many scribes and scholars needs to be taken into account when dealing with the text. There hardly ever existed "one" single *Yosippon*. Thus, whenever discussing textual evidence from this book, one must consider which text is meant and in which recension or manuscript the relevant passage is found. Descriptions of the manuscripts support the notion that *Yosippon*'s textual transmission was a fluid one; at the same time it is possible to establish subgroups of manuscripts belonging to the three established recensions. The literary structure remained as a basis, while the extensions and

160 For a discussion of these different versions of the reference to Jesus, see Stein Kokin, "Josephan Renaissance," 227 note 115; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*, 83–85. See also the numerous publications on the Testimonium Flavianum, among others Whealey, "Josephus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Testimonium Flavianum."

161 See Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 50–65.

insertions show how the work was read according to the needs and views of its readers and copyists in their various times and environments.

Second, shortly after it was written in Southern Italy, *Sefer Yosippon* spread throughout the Mediterranean region and as far as the Near East, as evidenced by the fragments of the Oriental codices preserved in the Cairo Genizah. Here the text was read as a historical narrative taken from non-Jewish sources, which is why it received its first interpolations on Alexander's wars and travels.¹⁶² At the same time, the book was known in Central Europe, i.e. in Ashkenaz and in Spain. In Ashkenaz, *Yosippon* became a model for the literary formation of Jewish martyrdom. In Spain, the text served Abraham ibn Daud as a means for polemic against the Karaites as well as against the Christians.¹⁶³

Sefer Yosippon's manuscript transmission and its reception history in the Medieval Jewish diaspora communities of Europe and the Middle East illuminates the framework in which *Yosippon* was seen and read by its wider Jewish audience. The interpolations, in particular those on Daniel at the Babylonian court and the Testimonium Flavianum, added material to the Jewish-Christian dispute in the 12th as well as in the 15th century. By integrating these texts into the Hebrew paraphrase of Flavius Josephus' writings, they served their Jewish readers as ammunition in the struggle over the monopoly of the right to interpret the history of the Second Temple and its destruction by the Romans.¹⁶⁴

Appendix: List of Manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon*

Recension A

Cairo Genizah

Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1080 A 45.1

Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16, No. 1–20 (1)

Cambridge, University Library, T-S AS 213.32 und 34

Cambridge, University Library, T-S C 2.206

Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 254.91

Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 175.75

162 See also the rich Judaeo-Arabic tradition of *sy*; Sela, *The Arabic Yosippon*; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, Chapter 3. For the Arabic tradition and its relevance for the Ethiopic translation, see the oeuvre of Yonatan Binyam and his contribution to this volume.

163 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, Chapters 4 and 5.

164 That this is one of *Yosippon's* major characteristics has recently be shown beautifully in the publications of Carson Bay on the adaptation of *Yosippon's* source, Ps-Hegesippus, in the Hebrew text; see Bay, "The Maria Story," Bay, "The Jerusalem Temple," and chapter 11 of this volume.

Cambridge, University Library, Lewis-Gibson Glass 7
 Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, No. 34
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 64
 Paris, Library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle VII A.8
 St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. Antonin B 916
 St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. Antonin B 917 (ב)

Ashkenazic A

Israel Museum 180/51/12 (Rothschild Miscellany)/ Israel Museum B61.09.
 0803 (ט)
 Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. oct. 4120 (ת)
 New York, Jewish Theological Seminary MS 3572 (ENA 1674) (י)

Transition to Recension B

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urbinas ebr. 52 [ס]
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 11 (Neubauer 2797/1) (ו)

Recension B

Group 1: Short Version

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 345 (Neubauer 793/2) (ה)
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 153 VIII

Group 2: Long Version

Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Kaufmann A 355 (פ)
 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 408 (ז)

Group 3: Transition to Recension C

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I 67 Inf.

Recension C

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 70 Inf.
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Hébreu 1280 (צ)
 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Borgiana ebr. 1 (ק)

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Beyond Flusser: The Text of Latin *Antiquities* 13 and *Sefer Yosippon*

David B. Levenson

1 *Sefer Yosippon* and the Latin Josephus Tradition

The identification of the main sources of *Sefer Yosippon*'s account of events from the end of the Maccabean period (Chapter 27) through the capture of Masada (Chapter 89), which concludes the work, is not a matter of scholarly controversy.¹ With only a few exceptions, the narrative from the rule of John Hyrcanus (Chapter 27) through Herod's Rebuilding of the Temple

* This chapter has its origins in my contribution to the joint paper Carson Bay and I presented at the International Conference, "From Josephus to Josippon and Beyond." Carson has remained an invaluable and constant conversation partner as the project has widened its scope considerably. I would also like to thank Carson and the other organizers of the conference, Jan Willem van Henten and Michael Avioz, for putting together an international and interdisciplinary conference at the height of a pandemic and for their work as the editors of this volume. For seven years I have had the good fortune to be in regular contact with the members of the University of Bern's *Lege Josephum* team, led by Gerlinde Hubner-Rebenich, Katharina Heyden, and René Bloch. In addition to Carson, I thank my Bern colleagues Anthony Ellis, Judith Mania, Lena Tröger, Sara Moscone, and Patricia Berchtel for their willingness to share their expertise and resources so generously on so many occasions. The shape and content of this chapter owes much to the workshop at Bern on *Sefer Yosippon* and its Latin sources where I benefitted immensely from the papers and ongoing conversation with Carson, René, Yonatan Binyam, Saskia Dönitz, Peter Lehnardt, and Tessa Rajak. As is the case with all my work on the Latin Josephus, I thank Randolf Lukas, Richard Pollard, and Thomas Martin for their regular (and in Tom's case, daily) discussions about a host of specific textual problems. I also am grateful to Kamila Kavka for helping me decipher a Czech manuscript catalogue. Finally, I thank my student Ashleigh Witherington for her enormous assistance in sharing the work of the collation of so many manuscripts as well as for her insightful comments on the full range of interpretive problems arising from these texts.

1 Abbreviations: *L AJ* = Latin *Antiquities*; *LBJ* = Latin *Bellum*; Flusser = *Sefer Yosippon* (2 vols); Blatt = *The Latin Josephus* I; Niese = *Flavii Iosephi Opera*; a.c. = *ante correctionem*; p.c. = *post correctionem*; s.l. = *supra lineam*. *Yosippon* is cited by the chapter and line number in Flusser's edition (e.g. sY 35, 17). For the Levenson-Martin manuscript groups and sigla (e.g. grC), see below p. 220. Blatt's sigla are used for individual mss, and an abbreviated shelfmark is used for the six manuscripts not listed in Blatt. "Cassinense group" refers to a group of eight *DEH* mss identified in Ussani, "De ignoto codice," four of which (including ms Pi, which Ussani had not seen) have *L AJ* 1–16 together with *DEH*. "Unique variant" in a group or

(Chapter 50) relies, for its often significantly embellished adaptation of its source, on the Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*,² commissioned by Cassiodorus in the second half of the sixth century.³ After Chapter 50, *Yosippon*'s main source becomes the fourth-century Christian historical work, for convenience referred to in this chapter as the *De excidio Hierosolymitano*,⁴ one of several titles found in the extensive manuscript tradition of that work.⁵

subgroup refers to a reading found in all (or almost all) members of a group and in no other groups.

- 2 The use of *AJ* as a main source ends with *SY* 50, corresponding to the end of *AJ* 15, but material from *AJ* 16 appears in a few places in *SY* 51 (Flusser notes *AJ* 16.124–125 and 128 in his commentary on *SY* 51, 29–32, and *AJ* 16.253 at *SY* 51, 90–94). For a careful identification of *SY*'s use of *AJ* and *DEH* in each passage, see the notes in volume one of Flusser's edition; for overviews, see S. Dönitz, "Historiography among Byzantine Jews," 956–960, and "Sefer Yosippon (*Josippon*)," 383–385. The Latin *Antiquities* is also a source for Alexander the Great's encounter with the High Priest in Jerusalem (*SY* 10; *AJ* 11.311–347; see the notes in Flusser 1.54–60 and the discussion in Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 75–80). For *AJ*'s paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas* as a source for *Yosippon*'s story of the origin of the Greek translation of the Bible (*SY* 12; *AJ* 12.2–118), see Flusser, 1.64–66, Dönitz, *Überlieferung*, 76 ("auf Josephus beruht, aber stark bearbeitet ist."), and Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint*, 195–196 (an ultimate, but not direct source). For the complex question of the sources and content of the story in various versions of *Sefer Yosippon*, see Veltri, *Gegenwart der Tradition*, 122–143, and Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint*, 192–217. For material from *AJ* 18 in the account of the embassy to Gaius, see n. 16. References in *SY* to deeds of great figures written in multiple sources including the book of Yosef ben Gurion appear as early as *SY* 8, 8–10 ("the book of Yosef the Priest, that is Yosef ben Gurion, who was exiled from Jerusalem in the days of Vespasian and Titus his son") with three more references before *AJ* becomes *SY*'s main source in Chapter 27 (*SY* 16, 41: death of Mattithias [at *SY* 16, 40 Flusser notes the use of *AJ* 12.276 as a supplement to 1 Macc]; *SY* 26, 3: Death of Judah; *SY* 26, 31: Death of Simon).
- 3 For the context of the Cassiodoran translation of the *Antiquities* and review of the scholarship discussing it, see Levenson and Martin, "Ancient Latin Translations," 322–327. The circumstances of the translation are treated by Carlo Maria Mazzucchi as part of his important recent study of Cimelio 1, the sixth- or seventh-century papyrus containing *AJ* 5:334–10.204 (Blatt manuscript A), "Natura e storia del Giuseppe Flavio Ambrosiano," 271–318. For additional bibliography, see Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations of Josephus's Writings," 481–483.
- 4 Material from *DEH* as well as material ultimately deriving from Jerome's *Chronicon*, usually in the form of short phrases, is also introduced sporadically in earlier chapters. In the passages analyzed in this chapter, for example, Flusser notes material from *DEH* at *SY* 27, lines 11, 22, 34, 38, 41, and 43 (*DEH* 1.1.7); *SY* 28, 28 (*DEH* 1.1.8); *SY* 29, 6–7 and 27–29 (*DEH* 1.1.9); *SY* 31, 18 (*DEH* 1.1.5); *SY* 31, 84 (*DEH* 1.1.8). Information ultimately deriving from Jerome's *Chronicon* is introduced at *SY* 27, 2 (*Chron.* 228f [Helm]). Flusser cites only a few cases of *SY* using *LAJ* to supplement the Latin text of 1 Macc.
- 5 For a comprehensive study, including a full bibliography, of the early manuscripts and reception of this work, see R.M. Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus," 65–100. For an up-to-date detailed discussion of all the major "introductory"

While some of the earliest manuscripts attribute the history to Josephus,⁶ the ascription to “(H)egesippus” eventually predominates in the manuscript tradition and also becomes the basis for the name “Pseudo-Hegesippus,” the most common designation for the author in scholarly literature.⁷ This work, an heir to both Classical and Christian historiography,⁸ to a large degree represents a free translation of the Greek text of Josephus’ *Jewish War*, but in many places completely reworks its main source by dramatic elaboration, theological reflections, and the introduction of material from other sources (including the *Antiquities*). For much of its reception history, it, like *Yosippon*, was regarded as the work of Josephus,⁹ even though both books clearly refer to Josephus as a source and not the author.¹⁰

While the fact that the Latin *Antiquities* (*LAJ*) and the *De excidio* (*DEH*) were *Sefer Yosippon*’s primary sources for the final two-thirds of the work is not in dispute, the question of the precise textual form of each to which *Yosippon*’s author had access is more problematic. This, of course, is of obvious importance for any analysis that requires a close comparison of *Yosippon*’s Hebrew

questions relating to the *De excidio*, including an extensive list of manuscripts, see the introduction and first chapter of Carson Bay’s *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 1–69.

6 For the predominance of the tradition that Josephus was the author of *DEH* from the fifth up to the ninth century, see Pollard, “The *De Excidio* of ‘Hegesippus’ and the Reception of Josephus,” 76–77, 85, and passim. See Bay, 18–19, for the question of Ambrose as the actual author.

7 The variety of names for both author and title, including attributions to Josephus and/or Hegesippus, is illustrated by the group of *DEH* manuscripts identified by Ussani, designated here the “Cassinense group” (“Un ignoto codice cassinese”), which Flusser correctly identified as related to *SY*’s source (see Appendix 5, which presents new evidence supporting Flusser’s hypothesis). Manuscripts B, La, MC Compact. VIII, and Vat. Lat. 1987 provide evidence of attribution of the work to Josephus with *Historiarum Iosep(p)i Liber* at the end of Book 3 or beginning of Book 4 (Compact. VIII has it at both places); La, V, Plut. 89sup.15, and Plut. 67.17 have *Liber Historiarum Egesippi* (V: *Eruditissimi*; La: *Hyst[]sippi*) *Hierusolimitani Excidi(i)* (V: *Hierusolimitanae Subversionis*) *a beato Ambrosio ex Greco sermone in Latinum translatus decenter* at the end of the manuscript. Four manuscripts from this group have a title at the beginning: V: *Egesippi uiri sanctissimi et egregii historiographi apostolorum quoque temporibus proximi Romanorum bellorum adversus Iudeos et Hierusolimitani Excidii sive Captivitatis Iudaicae liber primus*; Plut. 89sup.15: *Egisippi viri illustris de Bello Iudaico liber incipit et primo proemium*; Vat. lat. 1987: *Liber Egesippi apostolorum discipuli disertissimi de excidio Iherusolime a Romanis*; Plut. 67.17: *Incipit Egesippi discipuli apostolorum de bello Iudaico ex Greco in Latinum per sanctum Ambrosium tractus liber primus*.

8 See Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, passim.

9 For a survey of the tradition that Josephus was the author of *SY*, an assumption reinforced by the printed editions prior to Flusser’s critical edition, see Flusser, 2.69–79; Flusser provides an overview in “*Josippon*, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus,” 387–390.

10 A parallel noted by Flusser (2.127). See n. 15 on citations of “the book of Yosef ben Gurion” by the author of *Yosippon*.

text with its Latin source, a crucial component of both literary- and rhetorical-critical approaches, which focus on how and why *Yosippon* modified its sources, and of textual criticism, which seeks to establish the earliest text or to track the history of the variety of forms of the manuscript tradition.¹¹

1.1 *David Flusser's Hypothesis*

As in many areas of *Yosippon* scholarship, the question of the specific form of the Latin Josephus text used by *Yosippon* begins and, for this question, also ends with David Flusser's magisterial two-volume edition, published in 1978 (text and commentary) and 1980 (introduction and critical apparatus).¹² Its extensive introduction in the second volume and succinct but thorough notes accompanying the critical text in the first illuminate many details in the text and carefully provide, often line by line, the specific references in *Yosippon's* sources for each passage. The introduction presents Flusser's most detailed discussion of a wide range of topics on which he had been working for decades and puts on full display his astounding erudition. The treatment there of *Yosippon's* use of Josephus fully develops his hypothesis about the specific Latin Josephus manuscript tradition to which *Sefer Yosippon's* source belongs. As far as I am aware, Flusser first announced this hypothesis in his introductory article on *Yosippon*, published in 1953,¹³ and then supported it with specific evidence in his important and still valuable 1959 review of Franz Blatt's edition of Books 1–5 of the Latin translation of the *Antiquities*, a work which included a ninety-two page annotated catalogue of 171 manuscripts and twenty extracts and fragments, and upon which Flusser relied heavily for his knowledge of the *LAJ* manuscript tradition.¹⁴

According to Flusser's hypothesis, the author of *Sefer Yosippon* used a single manuscript comprised of *Antiquities* 1–16 and the *De excidio* that belonged to a specific manuscript group not properly identified by Blatt. This hypothesis is based on the following points:

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- 11 For the immensely complicated questions connected to the texts and redactions of *SY*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung*, and her up-to-date discussion in Chapter 7 of this volume.
 - 12 A slightly revised reprint appeared in 1980/81.
 - 13 "The Author of the Book of Josiphon."
 - 14 "Review of Franz Blatt." Flusser's 1974 article, "Der lateinische Josephus und der hebräische Josippon," provides a useful summary of his views but often without the supporting evidence provided in his review of Blatt and in the Introduction to his edition. His chapter, "Josippon, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus," is a summary of the German article with less documentation. It should be noted that the German article, the fullest presentation of Flusser's views accessible to those who do not read Modern Hebrew, is marred by several typographical errors in its citation of the key manuscripts (Vat. lat. 1989 instead of 1998; the first "ten"¹⁰ books of *AJ* instead of "sixteen" for Harley 3691; and the siglum *ho* instead of *hr* for that manuscript).

1. The author repeatedly refers to one of his sources as a single book of “Yosef ben Gurion,” which he not only names, but even claims to cite verbatim at a number of points.¹⁵
2. There is no decisive evidence for the use of *Antiquities* 17–20¹⁶ or the Latin translation of the *Jewish War*.¹⁷

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- 15 *SY* cites Josephus as a source 33 times, calling him Yosef ben Gurion, the name of a commander mentioned in *DEH* 3:3.2 (*SY* 65, 2, 5; cf. 89, 10), whom *SY* mistakenly identified with the historian. Fourteen of these citations refer to his book (ספר יוסף בן גוריון) or (ספרו) and thirteen are direct quotations introduced by וידבר or ויאמר. Several comments in the voice of the author go beyond mere citation: a description of gathering information from the book of Yosef ben Gurion, which is praised as inferior only to the Bible and the books of wisdom produced by King Solomon and the sages (*SY* 35, 4–8); a comment that he wrote out only a few of the letters from the Romans he found in the book of Yosef ben Gurion (*SY* 40, 9–10; cf. 40, 44–45 [only in ms 7; see Dönitz in this volume, pp. 187–188, with bibliography for this much discussed passage]); a statement, after the description of the Temple drawn from *AJ* 15:380–425, that Yosef ben Gurion also wrote about the building of Herod’s Temple in his *Book of the Wars* (presumably *DEH*) and in his *Book of Wisdom* (based on the false assumption that Josephus actually carried out his plan to write about the reasons for Jewish religious practices [*AJ* 1.25, 3:143; 15:371; cf. *SY* 49]), and that he wrote many books including a book of polemics attacking and defeating those who slandered the Jewish people (clearly referring to the *Contra Apionem*; cf. Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 13). This last statement, appearing at *SY* 50, 112–117, is the final explicit reference to Yosef ben Gurion’s book as one of his sources. The fact that it appears just before *DEH* takes over as *SY*’s main source raises the question of why there are no references to the book of Yosef ben Gurion in Chapters 51–89, where *SY* is closely following the *DEH* (*SY* does, however, at *SY* 73, 1 and 79, 59, attribute to “Yosef” material that appears in *DEH* as statements of the author).
- 16 The embassy to Gaius in *SY* 58 presents a problem for Flusser’s hypothesis, since *SY*’s story is clearly closer to the story in *AJ* 18:257–260 than to the parallels in *DEH* or the *BJ* (note the presence of Apion only in the *AJ*). Flusser recognizes this but argues that the *AJ* version reached *SY* through an unknown medieval Christian source, which included an abridged version of the story in Josephus, which *SY* elaborated on the basis of Jewish traditions. Flusser might well be correct, but, on the other hand, *SY*’s interest in the elaborated material could be why it shortens and departs from the story in *AJ*. See Dönitz, *Überlieferung*, 53–55 for discussion of this passage and the introduction of anti-Christian features into the later *SY* manuscript tradition.
- 17 Flusser is vague about *SY*’s use of the Latin translation of the *BJ*, saying that while there are no parallels that represent an absolutely clear use of *BJ*, there is some reason to suppose that the author had read the *BJ*, perhaps before beginning work on the book, or, that if he did have it while engaged in the writing of *SY*, he would have only glanced at it. In any case, according to Flusser, it “was certainly ... not on his work desk (על שולחן עבודתו) at the moment he was writing his book” (2.130; cf. 2.131). For an example of this ambivalence while interpreting the text, see his note on *SY* 33, 27: “The author, therefore, took the name Eucærus from the Latin translation of the *Antiquities* or from those Latin manuscripts of the *War* in which this name was found” (see below, pp. 248–250, for discussion of the name Eucærus in this passage). Only a very close comparison of *SY*, *LBJ*, and *DEH* would be able to detect places where a word or phrase from *LBJ* might have been introduced to

3. Blatt mentions four Italian mss, which he dates to the 10th (Naples V F 34 = B), 11th (Florence Plut. 66.1 = La; Vat. Lat. 1998 = V), and 13th (Pisa 20 = Pi) century that have the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* as well as a fifteenth century ms that has *AJ* 1–16, *BJ*, and *DEH*.¹⁸
4. No other manuscripts include both the *Antiquities* and *DEH*.¹⁹
5. Two manuscripts from this group that he was able to examine, Naples V F 34 (Blatt's siglum B) and Florence Plut. 66.1 (Blatt's siglum La), share readings against the rest of the *AJ* manuscript tradition that point to a distinctive textual tradition not reflected in Blatt's stemma.²⁰
6. Variants in the *Antiquities* (the name *Mallius* in *AJ* 13.360 instead of *Manlius*) and in *DEH* (the word *cythara* in 5.22.1 instead of *cera*), found in both of these manuscripts, differ from the rest of the manuscript tradition but correspond to readings in the Hebrew text of *Sefer Yosippon*.

Flusser was well aware that his hypothesis was based on an extremely limited textual base because he did not have access to a wide range of variants in the manuscript traditions of either the *Antiquities* or the *De excidio*. He regretted

supplement the main source, in the same way as *DEH* occasionally provides a word or brief phrase in passages otherwise following *LAJ*. An example of this might be in *SY* 53, 93, where the failure of Pheroras' wife to kill herself by jumping off a roof is attributed to God in *SY* and *LBJ* 1.593 (כִּי מוֹהַאֱלֹהִים; *Dei providentia*) but not in *DEH* or *LAJ*.

18 See below for correction of dates and format for several of these mss.

19 Flusser did not notice that Munich Clm 15841 (Blatt siglum Sa) has *AJ* 1–20, *BJ*, and *DEH*. However, both its *LAJ* and *DEH* texts are from quite different manuscript traditions from those with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, which Flusser argues are from the same group as *SY*'s Latin Josephus source. In any case, arguments from format become irrelevant once it is possible to analyze the manuscripts themselves, something Flusser had not had the opportunity to do.

20 Flusser, 2.125n380 refers to his review of Blatt, 462n23, where he cited five variant readings from *AJ* 11.313–338 where B and La agree against the 1524 Basel edition: omission of *exercitum* (313), *uxore vs uxore simul* (316), *ne vs ut nequamquam* (318), *uelle aiebat vs uolebat* (322), *genti vs gentibus* (326 [Flusser accidentally prints 320]). On the basis of a collation of 99 manuscripts for *AJ* 11.311–347, one of the test passages used to establish the Levenson-Martin groups, the following should be noted: the omission of *simul* is found only in grG mss (reaching the 1524 Basel edition by means of ms Werd, used by the 1524 Cologne mss, the 1524 Basel edition's main source), with the result that here mss B and La agree with the rest of the tradition against grG. However, the omission of *exercitum* and the readings *ne*, *uolebat*, and *gentibus* are found not only in B and La but in all grC manuscripts and nowhere else in the ms tradition. What Flusser missed in the variants he cited was that in B *uolebat* is a correction of *uelle aiebat*, *gentibus* is a correction of *genti*, and two or three words are erased after *ne*. In two of these cases the original text of B corresponds to the earlier (correct) reading and has been corrected on the basis of a ms with characteristic grC readings. In any case, these variants provide clear evidence that B is from a grC subgroup different from La and represents an earlier stage of the grC tradition (for a full discussion, see below, pp. 226–229).

that there was no critical edition with textual variants of the books of the *Antiquities* relevant to the material in *Yosippon* and that, while Ussani's critical edition of the *De excidio* was available, the manuscripts and variants listed in his critical apparatus were selected to reconstruct the original text and not to provide data representing the full variety of the manuscript tradition. The importance of textual variants in identifying *Yosippon*'s source and in analyzing how *Yosippon* used it is succinctly stated in the following passage from his introduction.

All four Latin Manuscripts [B La V Pi] are related to each other, not only in format, since they comprise the first sixteen books of the *Antiquities* and HeGESIPPUS, but also in their text. In order to determine what the Latin text of the main source of *Yosippon* was, it would, of course, be desirable to know the textual variants of those four Latin manuscripts, something which would indeed be suitable for demonstrating that a large part of the anomalies in *Sefer Yosippon* are based on errors which happened to be in the Latin text that was in his possession.

In addition to this, the comparison of the four Latin manuscripts comprising the same format would make an important contribution to the history of the development of the text of the *Antiquities* and of HeGESIPPUS. Until now there exists only the critical edition of HeGESIPPUS and of the five first books of Josephus' *Antiquities* in Latin. Consequently, there does not yet exist a critical edition of the Latin translation of those books of the *Jewish Antiquities* that discuss the Second Temple Period and which were *Yosippon*'s guiding light, and so I have used the best edition of the Latin Josephus, which was published by Frobenius at Basel in 1524.²¹ Together with this edition, for the sake of checking the words of *Yosippon* and comparing the manuscripts of that group to which belonged the "Book of Yosef ben Gurion" used by *Sefer Yosippon*, I have

21 It is clear from this passage and an examination of the citations in his commentary for the passages discussed in this chapter that the Latin text of the *Antiquities* that Flusser relies on and from which he frequently cites words and phrases comes almost exclusively from the 1524 Basel edition. Flusser's high evaluation of this edition (also found at 2.76–77n235) clearly echoes Niese's judgement that it is "*editio ... omnium et nitidissima et optima*" (*Flavii Josephi Opera*, 1.lxx). For the mss on which the 1524 Basel edition ultimately depended, see Levenson and Martin, "Early Printed Editions," 801–812; Ammann, *Josephus Frobenianus*, 51–70 provides a superb detailed study of this edition and the context in which it was produced. Oddly enough, in the sections I analyzed for this project, Flusser only cites two variants from mss B and La: the names *Iaddo* at SY 29, 5 (*AJ* 13.256) and the above-mentioned *Mallius* at SY 29, 15 (*AJ* 13.260).

received copies of an extract from the Latin *Antiquities* and an extract from Hegesippus in the Naples ms (B) and the Florence ms (La).

FLUSSER, 2.125–126

2 Manuscript Groups in Latin *Antiquities* 13

Unfortunately, there is still no critical edition for any of the parts of the *Antiquities* with material parallel to *Sefer Yosippon* (i.e. *AJ* 10–16).²² One of the primary aims of this chapter, therefore, is to advance the discussion of the identification of *Yosippon's LAJ* text by providing a detailed analysis of textual variants from a large number of manuscripts for an extended section of *LAJ* 13 which has close parallels in *Yosippon* (*AJ* 13.228–322; 395–397 // *SY* 27–31; 33). The purpose of this analysis is not to establish the earliest possible text of the Latin translation of *Antiquities* 13 but to determine what form of the text might have been read by the author of *Sefer Yosippon*. In this context, the reason for identifying manuscript groups, therefore, is to provide a tool for taking into account as wide a variety of textual traditions as possible for comparison with the Hebrew text. Because this represents the first comprehensive analysis of all the variants from an extended passage in this section of the *Antiquities*, it is important to report the evidence for identifying groups as fully as possible and not just to present the conclusions in a summary form that cannot be checked and refined. Particular attention will be given to the group which includes the manuscripts Flusser thought best represented the *LAJ* text used by *Sefer Yosippon* (= Levenson/Martin Group C) and the group that consistently has the earliest text (grG). Not surprisingly, given the fact that Flusser's analysis is based on only two of the 98 manuscripts collated and analyzed for this chapter, his well-known hypothesis will have to be substantially modified to account for the data reported here.

The identification of manuscript groups for *LAJ* 13 in this chapter is based solely on the analysis of all textual variants from a large number of manuscripts. Clearly other factors in establishing the relationship among manuscripts such as paleography, marginalia, illustrations, manuscript format, and provenance have crucial roles to play. However, hundreds and sometimes thousands of data points represented by textual variants provide a uniquely valuable way of determining the relationship among Latin texts.

²² Randolph Lukas' recently published critical edition, extensive introduction, and commentary for *AJ* 6–7, *Josephus Latinus*, *Antiquitates Judaicae Buch 6 und 7*, marks a major milestone in the study of the Latin text of the *Antiquities*.

The classification of manuscript groups in this chapter is based on all variants from the following:

1. The nicknames for the Seleucid rulers Antiochus VIII (Grippus) and Demetrius III (Acerus) in 13.269, 271, 365, 376, and in the Table of Contents for *AJ* 13 (98 manuscripts);²³
2. A list of names of cities under Jewish control in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (*AJ* 13.395–397; *SY* 33; 92 mss);
3. The extensive narrative comprising 95 Niese sections of the lengthy reign of John Hyrcanus (*AJ* 13.228–300; *SY* 27–30; 48 mss), where *Yosippon* begins to use *LAJ* as its major source, and the short tragic reign of Aristobulus I (*AJ* 13.301–322; *SY* 31; 48 mss for 301–313 and 66 mss for 314–322).

2.1 *The LAJ Manuscript Tradition for AJ 13: An Overview*

The following table lists the manuscripts belonging to each group based solely on the variants in the passages collated for this project. This classification is, therefore, not necessarily relevant for other sections of *LAJ*. Manuscripts are designated using Blatt's sigla and, in the case of six manuscripts not in his comprehensive catalogue, abbreviations of the shelfmarks are used (e.g. Plut18sin10). These sigla with the list of all manuscripts collated for this study can be found in Appendix 1. The sigla designating the groups were first introduced by Thomas Martin and me for our chapter on the ancient Latin translations of Josephus in *A Companion to Josephus* (2016) and expanded for our detailed analysis of a passage in *AJ* 6 published in *Medievalia et Humanistica* (2021).²⁴

23 Our earlier classification of manuscript groups in *LAJ* 13 (Levenson and Martin, "Ancient Latin Translations," 328) was based solely on the different forms of these names in 61 manuscripts.

24 Not all groups listed in these two studies appear here; some are omitted because they do not include any or a sufficient number of manuscripts with *AJ* 13. There has also been a small change in the designation of grC subgroups 3–5. The relationship of our groups to the families identified by Blatt is discussed in detail in Levenson and Martin, "A Revised Classification." Many, but by no means all differences can be accounted for by Blatt assigning each manuscript to only one family, when in fact different sections of a manuscript can have different affinities. A new group (grP) is introduced here to account for the data from *AJ* 13. Because they are so frequently cited, Blatt's sigla for his manuscript families are included in the manuscript list in Appendix 1, where they can be compared to the results of the analysis in this chapter. In his analysis of the manuscript groups in the introduction to his new critical edition of Books 6 and 7, Lukas, while using his own sigla, provides a reference for each group correlating his sigla to ours. Lukas does not include the manuscripts from our groups H and J, which are generally less relevant for establishing the earliest text.

While not attempting to mark all manuscript relations within a group or subgroup, obvious connections are indicated by brackets. It should be noted that for six manuscripts (Cb ld h Ca Mir Fl) the group classification is based solely on the list of the names of the Seleucid rulers.

TABLE 1 Manuscript groups

Group	Sub-group	Manuscripts
C	C.1	B Vi
	C.2	[C La] Pt v
	C.3	[V ¹ V ²] ^a Pi
	C.4a	[M l Vt Ve Cr Ne ^{a.c.}] pat Sr par
	C.4b	Ne ^{p.c.} pa Plut18sin10 Fl
	Unclassified grC	[Ptr O]
E		Cl Nv al
G		St [D Werd Best7010 r GKS1571] [Lau Tr Ml]
H		El Ha Br c Mn Si H R Rem re Cor Cp Cb Pa
J		Alb li Du vl mz Ca ld Cov Mir [d n] [U Mk Ly]
L	L.1	Sa b Sch t
	L.2	Adm Cn Lamp Sec Vn z [Pd PragXXIII.D121]
M		Aus [Vat (vt rg Madr10270)]
N		[L Bo] [Pal u] ve No
P		Prs cf p Crem1
Unclassified		[Ba G] ^b w pg ^c hr ^d Pr Cb ^e h ^f ld ^g

a V¹ = Vat. lat. 1998, 1r–167r (AJ 1–20); V² = Vat. lat. 1998, 168r–219v (AJ 16:368–394 [end of LAJ 16]; DEH). V² presumably had the format AJ 1–16 + DEH (see below, pp. 231–233); AJ 13 is only extant in V¹. Simple citations of V, therefore, will refer to this manuscript.

b Closely associated with grN.

c Closely associated with grG.

d Contains a large number of grC readings.

e Only collated for list of Seleucid rulers where it has grH and grJ readings identical to ld, d, and n.

f Only collated for list of Seleucid rulers where it has grH and grJ readings identical to Pa.

g Only collated for list of Seleucid rulers where it has grH and grJ readings identical to Cb, d, and n.

2.2 *Establishing Manuscript Groups E, H, J, L, M, N, P*

The following comments on each manuscript group have two aims. The first is to comment briefly on some features of the primary evidence for establishing

the groups and the second is to report the provisional conclusions derived from this study about the relationship of individual manuscripts within a group to one another and about the relationships between groups. These brief reports are to be read in tandem with Appendix 2, which provides a list of all unique variants for each group except for grP, for which group only a sample of the 190 unique variants is reported, and grC.4b, which includes only the corrected text of Ne and its two copies pa and Plut.18sim10.²⁵ Because of their importance for this chapter, Groups C and G will be discussed in the next section and will include (1) comprehensive lists of manuscript variants establishing the distinctive character of the Group C and Group G manuscript traditions; and (2) comprehensive lists of readings found only in Groups C and G or in Groups C, G, and one other group.

Group E. There are 31 unique variants shared only by all grE manuscripts collated (al, Cl, Nv).²⁶ For the passages collated here, grE often agrees only with grN,²⁷ or only with grM.²⁸ In cases where grE, grN, and grM have similar readings against the rest of the manuscript tradition, grN usually has the earliest reading and grM the latest.²⁹ No unique grE variants represent the earliest text, but two readings found in all grG and all grE mss and nowhere else are clearly the earliest reading: *fratres eius* (αὐτοῦ) for *fratres* (13.320) and *se mores* (ἔθη) for *seniores* (13.397). Lacunae at both 13.298 (6 words) and 13.396 (5 words) in Groups E, L.2, N, P and mss B, G, and w indicate a clear connection among these manuscripts and groups.³⁰

Group H. Only manuscripts El, Mn, and H (out of 15 mss) are collated for 13.228–322. There are 4 distinctive variants shared only by all grH manuscripts

25 All manuscripts from each group were collated for the list of names of Seleucid rulers and all but six manuscripts for the names of cities possessed by Jews in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. For some groups only a relatively small selection of the total were collated for AJ 13.228–322. These are listed in the discussion of each group in this section.

26 Levenson Martin, “Revised Classification,” 95–100, and unpublished collations from AJ 9, 11, 18, 19, 20 and from BJ identified a significantly larger number of grE mss. A number of these do not include AJ 13 (most have the format AJ 1–12 + BJ + AJ 18–20). Others belong with different groups for AJ 13 (Prs with grP; R and H with grH).

27 E.g. *muro* for *muros* (13.239); omission of *a* (13.264); *fraterna* for *fraternae* (13.314); omission of *caedes* (13.314); *magnam* for *maga* (13.397).

28 E.g. *Adoreon* for *Abora* (357; cf. grP *et adoreon et*), *Grippa* for *Grippus* (13.365), *prouidi* for *pudoris* (13.319), *melior* for *melius* (13.243), *leticia* for *licentia* (13.273), *Maresennos* for *Marissenos* (13.275), *constanter eueniret* for *constat euenisse* (13.283).

29 *Omagenis* (grN) and *Omagenes* in grE and grM for *Timagenis* (earlier)/*Timagenes* (hr *Homagenis* is influenced by grN); *Eliodorus* or *et Eliodorus* (grN) vs. *et Liodorus* (grE) for *et Diodorus* (260); *Crispus* (grN grE grP grL) vs *Erispus* (grM) for *Grippus* (see below for all variants).

30 Ms vl (grJ) is also among the manuscripts with a lacuna at 13.298.

collated. The reason that there is such a low number of unique variants for grH is because it shares a large number of secondary variants with other groups, predominantly with groups J and the combination grJ + grM. This indicates that it represents an early version of a widespread textual tradition that includes a high percentage of secondary readings. This group is therefore identified primarily through the specific pattern of secondary variants shared within the group and especially the lack of distinctive variants characterizing each of the other groups. Because grH includes so many widely shared secondary readings not found in grC or grG, all readings from grH manuscript El are included in the Latin text of *AJ* 13.228–322 in Appendix 3 in order to represent the earliest layer of a widespread secondary textual tradition.

Group J. Only manuscripts Alb, li, and vl (out of 14 ms) are collated for 13.228–322. Cb, Mir, Cov, and Mir are collated only for the names of Seleucid rulers.³¹ There are 29 unique readings.

Group L. Only Sa and b (out of 4 mss) are collated from grL.1, and only Adm and Cn (out of 8 mss) from grL.2 are collated for 13.228–322. Pd, Prague XXIII.D.121, and Vn are collated for 13.301–322. There are 27 unique readings for these grL manuscripts, 22 additional unique readings for only grL.1 manuscripts, and 7 additional unique readings for grL.2. The unique grL.2 reading *Rinocorura* at 13.395 is probably the earliest reading because it is the only reading in the *LAJ* manuscript tradition that corresponds precisely to the Greek text.³² Group L.2 manuscripts Pd (“Codex Gigas”) and Prague XXIII.D.121 form a distinctive subgroup within grL.2 characterized by simplification of the Latin, omissions, and paraphrasing. Within grL.1, Sa usually has the earliest readings.³³ In a few places it shares readings with only grC and grG, and in one place it shares a reading with a unique grC reading (where it is corrected to the reading in all other manuscripts).³⁴ For the clear connection between grL.2 and groups E, N, P and mss Ba, G, and w, see the notes on grE above. Group L.1 has had an important impact on the dissemination of the Latin *Antiquities* tradition because manuscript b (or a direct copy of it) was used as the exemplar for the *AJ* text in the 1470 Augsburg *editio princeps*, which in turn influenced all later early editions of the Latin *Antiquities*.³⁵

31 These manuscripts, which were collated in preparation for our chapter on “Ancient Latin Translations,” were unavailable for the present project.

32 For this reading all grL.2 mss were collated.

33 See below, p. 244.

34 At *AJ* 13.291, *principatum* (grC) is the original reading in Sa, which has *magistratum* (all other groups) above it.

35 See Levenson and Martin, *Early Editions*, pp. 771–777.

Group M. Only mss Vat and Aus (out of 4 mss) were collated for 13.228–313. There are 12 unique readings. Manuscripts vt, rg, and Madrid 10270 are closely related to Vat, but share consistently later readings. Aus shares occasional readings with other groups, predominantly grE. Group M has a significant number of readings found elsewhere only in Groups H and J, and also a number of readings found elsewhere only in grE or in grE and grN. In the cases of similar readings with grN and grE, grM consistently has a later reading (see above comments on grE).

Group N (+ Ba, G, hr, w). Manuscripts L, Bo, ve, and No were collated for 13.228–313 and all mss in the group for 13.314–322, 13.395–397, and the names of Selucid rulers. There are 17 unique variants. Within grN, L/Bo and Pal/u make up clear subgroups. Unclassified manuscript Ba shares 12 readings with one or more grN manuscripts that are not found elsewhere, and it generally agrees with grN against other groups.³⁶ Manuscripts Ba and G (uncorrected text) are closely related to each other and to grN, sharing 5 variants with grN found nowhere else in the manuscript tradition. Almost all readings shared by Ba and G are also found in grN, although in a number of places Ba and G have an earlier reading than that in grN. This indicates that these two manuscripts reflect an earlier stage in the tradition from which grN developed. This is not surprising, since the ninth-century Ba is more than a century older than the next oldest manuscripts containing *AJ* 13, which come from the early eleventh century. There is also a clear connection between grN and unclassified manuscripts hr and w, although not as strong as the connection between Ba-G and grN. Manuscript hr, which has a large number of grC readings, is influenced by several other traditions, of which grN is the most prominent.

Group P. This group, consisting of manuscripts cf, p, Prs, and Cremona 1, constitutes a distinct group only for *AJ* 13 in the passages we have collated.³⁷ There are 190 unique variants (only a small sample is listed in Appendix 2), only one of which might possibly have the earliest text.³⁸ Many of the unique

36 Manuscripts B, G, hr, and w are listed with unique grN manuscripts in Appendix 2.

37 In passages from *AJ* 6 and 9 we have collated, cf (which only has *AJ* 1–14) and p are closely related and, in passages from *AJ* 18–20, Prs and Pl or Prs and p are closely related. For the complex manuscript Prs (BnF 8959), see Levenson and Martin, “A Revised Classification,” 95–99 (where Prs is in grE) and “A Critical Edition,” 70 (where it is connected with Pl [*AJ* 18] and p [*AJ* 20]). For a detailed description of the manuscript with bibliography, see Judith Mania’s entry in the online *Lege Josephum* Manuscript Database <https://legejosephum.ch/en/manuscripts/5f201d8ac7b2212b9070ef42>.

38 The unique grP reading *inuasit* is much closer to the Greek εἰσῆλθε than *possidebat* in grE or *possedit* in all other manuscripts. The tendency of unique grP readings to be secondary synonyms, however, raises the possibility that the close relationship with the Greek might be accidental.

variants in grP represent an attempt to improve the style of the text through substitution of synonyms and additions of one or two words, especially participles and other adjectival phrases. In a number of places where grP agrees with other traditions, a connection with grC can be recognized, and to a much larger extent with groups N, E, and L. In one place only grC and grP appear to have preserved the earliest reading.³⁹

2.3 *Manuscript Group C*

Group C is the largest and most complex of the manuscript groups. It is easily identified by 68 unique readings shared by all manuscripts in the group. It is also the most directly relevant group to Flusser's analysis of *Yosippon's* Latin sources for chapters 27–89, because all four of the manuscripts Flusser identifies as members of the same group as *Yosippon's LAJ* and *DEH* source belong to this group. In addition, manuscript hr, which Flusser mentions as related because it includes *LAJ* 1–16 and *DEH* (in addition to *BJ*), has a high percentage of grC readings.

The 22 manuscripts of grC can be divided into four groups and two unclassified manuscripts: C.1 (B Vi); C.2 (C La Pt v); C.3 (V¹⁴⁰ Pi); C.4 (4a: M I Vt Ve Cr Sr par pat Ne^{a.c}; 4b: Ne^{p.c} pa Plut18sin10 Fl⁴¹); unclassified (Ptr O).⁴² The division into subgroups is based on the large number of common secondary variants shared only by members of each of the subgroups grC.2–grC.4 (see Appendix 2). Subgroup C.4 is divided into two additional subgroups because of the distinctive variants and extensive corrections in ms Ne, whose uncorrected text (when it can be determined) fits closely with grC.4a manuscripts. Group 4b consists of the corrected text of Ne and the texts of manuscripts pa and Plut18sin10, which derive from it. Manuscript Ptr and its probable copy O do not fit neatly into a single subgroup, since they sometimes share readings with grC.1–2, but more often with grC.3–4. With the exception of one distinctive

39 *Antonia* (13.307) corresponds to the Greek better than *Antoniana*, which is found in all other manuscripts except Ml, where the reading *Anthonia* is best explained as accidental. For other examples of readings only in grP and grC, see 13.245 (*advertens* for *animaduerstens*), 13.250 (*amicitiam* for *amicitias*), 13.229 (*properante* for *properantem*), 310 (*passionis* for *passiones*). For the clear connection of groups E, L.2, N, P and mss B, G, and w established by the two common lacunae found in all these, see the comments on grE above.

40 On the basis of the collation of the last page of *AJ* 16, V² can also be classified with grC.3.

41 Fl was unavailable for this project and was only collated for the names of the Seleucid rulers (Case Study 1).

42 Here, as in the other *LAJ* passages collated (see, for example, Levenson and Martin, "A Revised Classification"), the 12th/13th-century ms O follows the 11th/12th-century Ptr closely and is probably a direct copy of that manuscript (Blatt, 61). For this project, O is particularly valuable, because it almost certainly has preserved the text of Ptr 13.314–333, which has been lost and is replaced by a blank folio page in the extant manuscript.

variant shared by B and Vi, grC.1 is recognized by the presence of the 68 grC variants shared only by all grC manuscripts and the absence of the distinctive variants characterizing other subgroups.

Although Flusser, on the basis of the common format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*,⁴³ insisted that Blatt had erred in not placing B, La, Pi, and V in the same part of the stemma, in fact these four related manuscripts clearly belong to three different subgroups. Flusser was, however, fully justified in pointing out Blatt's failure to connect B more directly to the groups in which the three other manuscripts are found. Because Flusser's analysis was based only on the information in Blatt's catalogue for V and Pi and on a small sample of the same passages for B and La, a fuller and more accurate description of all four manuscripts will be presented here in the context of the discussion of Groups C.1–3. Flusser's errors do not invalidate his hypothesis, but they unnecessarily complicate the task of evaluating its strengths.

2.3.1 Group C.1: Naples V F 34 (B) and BnF 5048 (Vi)

The text of ms B, like manuscripts C, La, and Vi, written in Beneventan script, represents the earliest form of the grC textual tradition.

Following Blatt (27–28), Flusser dates B (*AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*) to the end of the 10th century and evidently interprets Blatt's citation of the book list from Benevento in Zazo, "L'inventario dei libri antichi," to mean the manuscript originated there.⁴⁴ The manuscript, currently in the National Library of Naples, has a 15th century ex-libris indicating it was in the Benevento "Chapter Library" and it is listed in the 1447 library catalogue as "*liber Iosephi continens expositionem ueteris testamenti qui alio nomine dicitur liber antiquitatum*."⁴⁵ It is uncertain whether the manuscript was written at Benevento⁴⁶ or at Naples.⁴⁷ While Blatt (27) dates the manuscript to the end of the 10th century, he allows that from f. 20 (= *AJ* 1.251), it is "perhaps later." Lowe, Brown, and Newton⁴⁸ all date the manuscript to the 11th century. It should be noted that they also date ms C to the early 11th century, and since that manuscript appears to be derived from B, B also must be from the beginning of the century. The manuscript has a number

43 Flusser had not seen mss V and Pi, and he had only collated a small selection from B and La.

44 Flusser, 2.124; "Die lateinische Josephus," 128. Blatt does not explicitly say the manuscript was produced at Benevento.

45 Mallet and Thibaut, "*Les manuscrits en bénéventaine*," 1.17. The *DEH* is not in the catalogue itself, but is mentioned in the notes of Luigi Theuli, who revised the catalogue in 1447.

46 Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, 124n35277; cf. 124n35.

47 Cavallo, "Trasmissione," 382; Brown, *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, 681: "Probably copied at Naples (palaeography)?"

48 Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, 2nd ed. prepared and enlarged by Brown, 2.99; Brown, *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, 681; Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, 277.

of missing pages, including the last three folios of *AJ* 16 (= 16.379b to 16.394),⁴⁹ which have been cut out, and the end of *DEH* (from 5.40.1 [408r; Ussani, 383, 7]).

The precedence of B in the grC tradition is based on two primary pieces of evidence: (1) For seven variants, the uncorrected text of B has the earliest reading, which has been corrected to a unique (and secondary) grC reading; (2) the insertion of material from BJ 1.82–84, written in what appears to be a hand different from the surrounding text, appears to be added to B and then subsequently is found in all grC manuscripts written in the same hand as the rest of that section of those manuscripts.⁵⁰

2.3.1.1 *Manuscript B as Representative of Earliest grC Textual Form: Evidence from the Uncorrected Text*

There are six places where B has the earliest reading, which is corrected to a unique grC variant, which then becomes the reading in all subsequent grC manuscripts:⁵¹

269. **Grippi*] grC *Agrippa* (small a added at the beginning and final i changed into a); 278. *cogere*] grC *cogere cepit* (*cepit* added in the margin); a] grC *ut a* (*ut* added above the line); *recedere*] grC *recederet* (abbreviated *t* attached to final *e* in B); 295. *contristabatur*] grC *contristabantur* (*n* added above the line in B and La); 307. *occiderent*] grC *non occiderent* (*non* added above the line in B)

Blatt had already noted, on the basis of evidence from *Antiquities* 5, that ms B had frequent corrections from what he called the “Cassinesis-group (C, La, Pt, v;”⁵² in fact, these corrections are found in all grC manuscripts and not just these).⁵³ Whether these corrections derive from another grC manuscript or are the emendations of a scribe followed by later grC manuscripts, it is clear that the uncorrected text of ms B preserves an earlier form of the grC tradition than any other extant manuscript from that group.⁵⁴

49 16.395–404 are missing in all *LAJ* manuscripts.

50 Ptr is missing the section with this addition, but its text can be reconstructed from its copy, ms O.

51 Cf. also the correction of *laudatque* (*LAJ* 13.245) to the grC variant *laudantque* (*n* added above line), which is also found in grL.1 grP (note grC.4 variants variants *laudansque* (Ve Cr), *laudanque* (M), and *laudantes* (Ne).

52 Levenson and Martin grC.2

53 For a similar phenomenon in *LAJ* 11, see above n. 20, and in *AJ* 6, Lukas, *Josephus Latinus*, XC–XCI.

54 Cf. Lukas, *Josephus Latinus*, XC–XCI. There are three cases I have noted in the passages collated for this project where the underlying text is appropriately corrected: the clearly erroneous uncorrected *emistique* (-q;) (*LAJ* 13.240) and *propterque* (-q;)(13.243)

TABLE 2 Synopsis of the material surrounding the lacuna in grG ms St and grC manuscript B

Group G text: Brussels II 1179 (St)	Group C text: Naples V F 34 (B)
(315) Quo facto, clamor uidentium fusum sanguinem eleuatus est dum existimarent hoc puerum sponte fecisse.	Quo facto, <i>ululatus autem continuo sublatus est, qui puerum tamquam de industria sanguinem libas<s>e conspexerant</i> (BJ 1.82b).
Clamorem uero cum Aristobolus audisset causamque requisisset tacentibus amplius minabatur, discere uolens clamoris causam.	Clamorem uero cum Aristobolus audisset causamque requisisset tacentibus amplius conabatur, discere uolens clamoris causam.
	<i>Atque ille cum lacrimis opplesset oculos, et quantum poterat ingemisset, haec locutus est: Sperandum certe non erat, ut maximum Dei lumen facta mea nefaria laterent, nam cito me ultrix cognatae caedis iustitia persequitur</i> (BJ 1.83b–84a).
	[Lacuna in grC continues through LAJ 13.320]

2.3.1.2 *Manuscript B as Representative of the Earliest grC Textual Form: Evidence from the Lacuna at LAJ 13.315–20*

The most dramatic example of a unique grC textual feature in the sections collated for this project is the existence of a large lacuna extending from 13.315c–20. In seven grC manuscripts, beginning with manuscripts B, V, and Pi, this is marked by a large gap in the text.⁵⁵ In all 22 grC manuscripts collated for this section, the content of the beginning of the omitted material is supplied from the parallel passage in the *War* (BJ 1.83b–184a–84). In addition to this material, a sentence from *LBJ* 1.82 replaces part of *LAJ* 13.315. Table 2 provides a synopsis of the material surrounding the lacuna in grG ms St and grC

are corrected to *emisit quae* and *propter quae* and the erroneous reading *transeat* is corrected to *transeant* (13.262). The only other clear error found in no other *LAJ* manuscript is *munima* for *munimina* (13.237), for which C, La, and Pt have *munim̄* and v *munimen*.

55 Group C.1 mss B and Vi, grC.2 ms C, grC.3 mss Pi and V, and gr4 mss O and par. Since O is probably a copy of Ptr, in which a folio page where the lacuna would have been located is missing, it is likely that Ptr had a large blank space corresponding to that in O.

manuscript B illustrating the difference between the Group C text and all other manuscripts.⁵⁶ The insertion from the Latin *War* is italicized.

Here again ms B provides evidence of a grC text earlier than that of any other grC manuscript, because the inserted material from *LBJ* 1.82–84 appears to be written in a closely related but different Beneventan hand from the rest of this section of the manuscript.⁵⁷ The underlying text of Naples V F 34, therefore, would preserve a stage of the grC tradition after the missing text had become unreadable and was represented by a large blank space, but before the introduction of the supplement from *LBJ*. At some point a scribe would have filled in the lacuna in such a manuscript with the passage from *LBJ*. While this process could have happened earlier in another manuscript, which could then have been the ultimate source of the added material in ms B, the simplest hypothesis is that the inserted material was first introduced into ms B, which then became the ultimate source for at least this section of the *LAJ* text in all subsequent grC manuscripts.

The late-11th century **BnF 5048** (Vi), also written in Beneventan script, is included in grC.1 because (1) only Vi and B share the distinctive reading *azicico* for *a Cizico* (C.2–4: *azici*) and (2) in all but ten places it follows the corrected text of ms B,⁵⁸ and with only two exceptions, has none of the 157 unique variants characterizing the other grC subgroups.⁵⁹ These ten differences in the texts of the two manuscripts indicate that Vi used at least one other manuscript, but the use of an earlier now lost grC.1 manuscript is ruled out by the presence of all the corrected readings and the insertion from *BJ* 1 in the same hand as the scribe of that section of the manuscript. While the insertion of the

56 A full English synopsis of *LAJ* 13.314–322 comparing St and B texts together with an analysis of the entire passage focusing on its significance for the Latin *Antiquities* manuscript tradition and for the relation of *Yosippon* to that tradition is presented in Case Study 4 below (“The Death of Aristobulus 1”). A Latin text of the passage in St and B can be found in Appendix 3, pp. 311–313.

57 I thank Ashleigh Witherington for pointing out a change in the scribal hand.

58 *torquebat* (13.231), omission of *impetum* (13.233), *tyrannidem* (13.235), *qua* (13.237), *principatu* (13.278) *quam* (13.292), *sententia* (13.295), *amare* (13.303), *Antigono* (13.308), *uero stadiis* (13.312), *Antigoni* (13.314). In all cases but *torquebat* and omission of *impetum*, Vi has the earlier reading found in almost all other manuscripts. The omission of *impetum* and *quam* are found in grC.3–4 and ms Ptr. Among other grC mss, *amare* (vs the distinctive grC variant *amari*) is found in Ptr, Ve, Ne, and, among other grC mss, *Antigono* (vs the distinctive grC variant *Antigonus*) is found also in Ptr, Ve, and Ne.

59 Vi agrees with only grC.3–4 and ms Ptr against the rest of the *LAJ* manuscript tradition at 13.233 (omission of *impetum*) and at 13.292 (*quam* vs *qua*).

material from the *War* is derived from ms B, Vi adds, in a different Beneventan hand, the corresponding section from *DEH* 1.8–9.⁶⁰

2.3.2 Group C.2: Monte Cassino 124 (C); BML Plut. 66.1 (La); Bas. s. Pietri A 37 (Pt); Vat. lat. 1998 (V¹ and V²)

Flusser follows Blatt in dating ms C (*AJ* 1–20) to the 10th CE⁶¹ and in ascribing an “unknown” origin to the eleventh-century La (*AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*).⁶² Lowe, followed by all recent scholarship I have seen, dates both C and La to the first half of the 11th century, when he says both were written at Monte Cassino.⁶³ An eleventh-century date eliminates Blatt’s suggestion⁶⁴ that Monte Cassino 124 (C) is probably the Josephus manuscript Duke John III of Naples (928–968)

60 Vi also adds, after the *DEH* insertion, a sentence not found elsewhere, which serves as a transition to the point at which the text is resumed after the lacuna: *Qui antequam nascerentur patri eius a Deo reuelatum est quod impius et prophanus futurus esset.*

61 Blatt, 31; Flusser, 2.124.

62 Blatt, 32 (end of 10th century); Flusser, 2.124. Martin and I have also erred in previous publications by relying on Blatt’s dating of both B and C to the 10th century.

63 Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, 220, declares La “doubtless of Cassinese origin;” cf. 71: “the script [of La] is unmistakably Cassinese of the early 11th century.” For bibliography, see Lowe and Brown, *Beneventan Script 2nd ed.*, 42–43; 69. In his introduction to his edition, Flusser follows Blatt in saying the provenance of C is unknown, but he cites Lowe’s connection of the manuscript to Monte Cassino in his 1953 article, “The Author of the Book of Josiphon,” 2.122n64.

64 Blatt, 31, incorrectly cites Lowe as identifying Monte Cassino 124 (rather than MC 123) with the manuscript commissioned by Duke John; see the next note. In his review of Blatt, 462n22, in his “Der lateinische Josephus,” 130, and in the Introduction to his edition, 2.124, Flusser points out that Blatt’s identification of Monte Cassino 124 with the Josephus volume ordered by the Duke is only a conjecture, but if correct, it would eliminate it as a possible source for *Yosippon*. In his “Der lateinische Josephus,” he returns to his suggestion in “The Author of the Book of Josiphon,” and speculates that, if it is not to be identified with Monte Cassino 124, *Yosippon* might indeed have used the book in Duke John’s library as his source. In his introduction to his edition, 2.124, and in “Der lateinische Josephus,” 129–130, Flusser points out that even if the Josephus volume the Duke ordered copied for his library was not used by *Yosippon*, copies of Josephus’ works could be found in Naples already in the 9th century when Sergius I donated three “codices” of Josephus to the episcopal library in Naples. Sergius’ donation is recorded in the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI–IX*, 434 (*dedit etiam in eiusdem episcopi bibliothecam tres Flabii Iosephi codices*). Unfortunately, there is no basis for identifying Sergius’ donation with any extant Josephus manuscripts.

ordered to be made for the library he enhanced after the death of his learned wife Theodora.⁶⁵

For the present study, it is important to correct Flusser's failure to recognize the close connection between manuscripts C and La, which are both part of Levenson-Martin grC.2, which, like Blatt's family β , also includes the 12/13th century Bas. s. Pietri A37 (Pt) and the 15th century Vat. lat 1995 (v). Blatt's stemma indicates that v is to be connected with manuscripts C and La, but in this passage it is, in fact, closer to ms Pt.⁶⁶ As can be seen in Appendix 2, grC.2 can be identified by 39 unique readings, a number of them quite striking (e.g. *citius* for *Hyrceanus*; *ad deum si iram* for *ad mensuram*; *Startoris* for *Stratonis*). Appendix 2 also provides the data for the relationship of the manuscripts to one another with five agreements of Pt/v vs C/La (e.g. C/La share the error *regineam* for *reginam*), three agreements of C/Pt/v vs La (e.g. C/Pt/v share the errors *artea* for *argentea* and *principi* for *principis*), and no agreements of Pt/v/La vs C. This suggests that both La and Pt depend on C. Both manuscripts, however, have used at least one source other than C, since in each case listed in Appendix 2, when all four do not agree, either Pt/v or C/La has a reading found elsewhere, in most cases the reading found in the vast majority of manuscripts, which makes it difficult to identify the source with a specific manuscript or group.

C's dependence on B is suggested by the fact that all the corrections in B as well as the insertion of the material from *BJ* 1 at the beginning of the lacuna appear as part of the text in C written in the same hand as the surrounding text. The almost identical format of the lacuna in C and B, not found elsewhere (blank lines in the second part of one column and continuing for the entire next column) also suggests C's dependence on the earlier manuscript B.

65 Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, 82–83, provides the Latin text from Bamberg Hsc. Hist. 3 (formerly E III 14), 193r (Prologue to Leo Archipresbyter's *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni Regis*) describing Duke John III's interest in promoting the collection and translation of Latin manuscripts. Manuscripts of Josephus and Livy (*Ioseppum vero et Titum Livium*) are mentioned among the texts of historians. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, 130, pl. 48 (cf. *Beneventan Script*, 2nd ed., 69) identified these as Monte Cassino 123, a 10th century *BJ* manuscript (*BJ* 1.11b–3.402a), and Prague, Czech National Library VII.A.16/9, four folios from Livy (3.35.7–40.4). Following Lowe, Newton, *Scriptorium*, 177 identifies Monte Cassino 123, a 10th century *BJ* manuscript, as the Josephus text ordered by Duke John, but errs in stating it has survived “complete,” since it begins at *BJ* 1.11b and ends with 3.402a (Lowe dates the ms to the second half of the 10th century, *Beneventan Script*, 2nd ed., 69).

66 This is clear from the five agreements of Pt/v vs C/La listed in Appendix 2, with only agreements of Pt vs C/La/v (*malitiam* vs *malitia* and *tradidisset* vs *tradisset*).

2.3.3 Group C.3: Vat. lat. 1998 (V¹ and V²) and Pisa 20 (Pi)

According to the most recent scholarship, **Vat. lat. 1998** is of Roman origin and can be dated between the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century.⁶⁷ The most significant mistake Flusser makes in his description of the four manuscripts which he identifies with the tradition used by *Yosippon* is his inaccurate account of the format of this manuscript. Beginning with his review of Blatt, he consistently describes it as including *AJ* 1–16 and *DEH* and asserts that the information that it contains *AJ* 1–20 in Blatt's catalogue must be a careless mistake.⁶⁸ In fact, ms V does include *AJ* 1–20. However, the story is more complicated, because the manuscript has two parts: (1) *AJ* 1–20 (here designated V¹); and (2) a fragment of a manuscript consisting of the last page of *AJ* 16 followed by the *DEH* (here designated V²).⁶⁹ This is clear from the fact that *AJ* 20 ends on 167r (*Flavii Iosephi Antiquitatis Iudaicae Liber XX Explicit*), 167v is blank, and the next folio page (168) has the end of *AJ* 16⁷⁰ on the recto side and the beginning of *DEH* on the verso side.⁷¹ Vat. lat. 1998, as it came to be constructed, then, has evidence for both a manuscript with *AJ* 1–20 and an additional manuscript with *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*. Both *LAJ* manuscripts, however, are clearly from the same group. A comparison of the variants at the end of *AJ* 16 in the first part of the manuscript (V¹; 136v) with those on the recto side of the folio page containing the beginning of *DEH* on the verso side (V²; 168r–v) reveals that the last page of *AJ* 16 belonging with *DEH* is very close to the uncorrected text of the last page of *LAJ* 16 in the manuscript with all twenty books.⁷² Furthermore, the similar paleography and illuminations of the first letter in the *AJ* and *DEH* books

67 Bilotta, *I libri dei papi*, 86–87.

68 Flusser, 2.125n378; “Review of Blatt,” 461m9.

69 Since *AJ* 13 is only extant in V¹, all citations from *AJ* except the last page of *AJ* 16 will simply be cited as v.

70 *AJ* 16.368–394. All Latin *AJ* mss end at 16.394.

71 Flusser misunderstood Blatt's note about the end of the *Antiquities* and beginning of Pseudo-Hegesippus: “... f. 167r prohibemur. f. 168r interfici vero (*Antiquitates* XVI 368), fff. 168v–219v the Latin Hegesippus.” It is easy to see how Flusser overlooked the word *prohibemur*, which marks the last word of *AJ* 20, and took *AJ* XVI 368 to mean the end of the *Antiquities* in the entire manuscript rather than what is in fact the first word of the last page of an otherwise lost manuscript with *AJ* 1–16. Given this reading of Blatt, Flusser was confused by his description of the contents of the manuscript as “*Antiquitates* 1–XX. Hegesippus 1–v,” and assumed it was a mistake.

72 Unfortunately, the manuscript has a large number of corrections, which are very difficult to read in the poor quality microfilm that is the only version of the text available at present. Examining the manuscript carefully over several days at the Vatican Library, I was able to clarify almost all the readings in the passages from *AJ* 13 collated for this project, but I was still unable to read about 15% of the text of 168r (cf. Nogara, *Codices Vaticini Latini*, 3: “*Quae in f. 168 leguntur, atramento valde evanido exarata sunt*”).

provide clear evidence that both the complete and fragmentary manuscript were produced at approximately the same time and place.⁷³

The variants in the last page of *LAJ* 16 in both *V*¹ and *V*² are closely related to the variants in the 13th-century (2nd half) **Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana ms 20** (Pi), which is one of the manuscripts with *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* mentioned (but not seen) by Flusser.⁷⁴ This is not surprising, because the *Antiquities* text of Pi is exceptionally close to the text of *V* throughout the sections collated for this chapter (see list of common variants in Appendix 2). An important clue to the relationship of these two manuscripts can be found in the margin of Pi, where at 16.369 the reading “*uel mutauer(u)nt*” appears (in what seems to be the same or a contemporaneous hand)⁷⁵ as a comment on the reading “*nuntiauer(u)nt*” found in the text. Since, of the selection of manuscripts collated for *V*², the variant *nuntiauerunt* is found only in Pi and *V*² and *mutauerunt* is found only in the *V*¹ *LAJ* 16, it appears that Pi had access to both versions of the ending of *LAJ* 16 in Vat. lat. 1998. This strongly suggests that for the *Antiquities*, Pi depends primarily on the *LAJ* 1–16 + *DEH* manuscript of which only one page from *LAJ* remains (*V*²). This is supported by a comparison of the ending of *LAJ* 16 in both manuscripts found in Vat. 1998. Pi and the two manuscripts in *V* consistently agree against the rest of the manuscripts collated for this passage, and Pi almost always agrees with *V*² against the text in *V*¹. The close connection of Pi and the *DEH* text in Vat. 1998 (*V*²) is confirmed by the many distinctive readings in a short section of each collated in connection with this project.⁷⁶ What this means for the text of the *Antiquities* is that Pi, from the second half of the 13th century, is a witness to at least as early a version of the text as that in the 11th/12th-century Vat. lat. 1998. Further study is required to determine if the Pi *DEH* text is a copy of the *DEH* text in Vat. lat. 1998, but that would be the most likely model at this stage of research.

Group C.3 is clearly identified by the close relationship between *V* and Pi in all the passages we have collated. The data presented here correspond closely with Blatt’s stemma, which locates the two manuscripts together as one branch of family γ and not, as Flusser argues on the basis of the format alone (since he had not seen either manuscript), part of a subgroup with B and La.

73 For the distinctive initial letters of this manuscript, making it possible to establish the date and place of origin, see Bilotta, *I libri dei Papi*, 86–87.

74 Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana, ms. 20. Description with dating at Manus Online (the brief text at the end of the manuscript is not from an omitted part of the manuscript, as the description tentatively suggests, but is an extract from the *Regesta* of Innocent III [5.155; PL 214. 1168C]).

75 According to the Manus Online description, the marginal notes are contemporary with the manuscript.

76 *DEH* 1.1.8–1.8.

For the sections of *LAJ* discussed in this chapter, Appendix 2 lists the 26 unique variants shared by only these two manuscripts as well as the 41 unique variants shared by Groups C.3 and C.4. Evidence that the text of Pi was influenced both by a manuscript like V² and one like V¹, just as was the case in *AJ* 16, can also be found in a corrected reading. At 13.257, the grC.3–4 reading *Mariso* (for *Marisso*) is corrected to *Matriso*, the reading in V¹. As in *AJ* 16, this suggests that the uncorrected text of Pi depends on the lost *LAJ* text of V², and the correction on V¹. The common format of Pi and V² (*AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*) also supports the idea that V² was Pi's primary source, which was supplemented or corrected by V¹.

The fact that Vat. lat. 1998 preserves evidence from two manuscripts does not present a problem for Flusser's hypothesis. In fact, to some degree it strengthens it by eliminating the potential problem of a manuscript comprising *AJ* 1–20 + *DEH*.

The sources of grC.3 are difficult to establish, but the general trajectory from grC.1 through grC.3 and then into grC.4 is clear. Because grC.3 does not have the multiple distinctive variants of grC.2, one of its main sources must ultimately derive from grC.1 and not grC.2. There are, however, four variants that indicate some connection between grC.3 and manuscript La alone, one of which is a common omission of eight words by haplography.⁷⁷ While this might indicate a common source, it is also possible that La had a direct, though minor, influence on the grC.3 manuscript tradition. In any case, evidence from the form of the lacuna at 13.315–320 in Pi, V, La, and B clearly indicates that grC.3 does not depend on ms La for this section, because, like B and C, manuscripts Pi and V have large blank spaces indicating the lacuna, while La has a continuous text with no indication of a lacuna. Comparison of the *DEH* texts in Pt/V, B, and La might clarify the relationship of La to grC.3. An initial probe collating B, La, Pi, and V for *DEH* 1.1.8–1.9 (Ussani, 7–14), however, provided clear evidence of a close relationship between Pi and V, but no tendency of Pi/V to agree with B against La or La against B.

2.3.4 Unclassified Manuscript Harley 3691

In addition to manuscripts B, La, Pi, and V, Flusser mentions Harley 3691 (hr), a 15th-century Italian manuscript now in the British Library.⁷⁸ Based solely

77 At 13.291, the words *sacerdotii et tantum sufficiat tibi populi regere principitum* are omitted by La and grC.3. The only other examples of La and grC.3 agreeing against the rest of the manuscript tradition are the readings *prostratus* for *protractus* at 13.234 (where Laa.c. agrees with grC.3 + Ptr, par, and hr), *plene* for *poenae* at 13.294 (where La agrees with grC.3–4), and *mortem* for *morte* at 13.312 (where La agrees with grC.3–4 Ptr, and hr).

78 "Review of Blatt," 461; Flusser 2.125; "Der lateinische Josephus," 128 (the mistaken information that it includes the first ten books of *AJ* and that Blatt's siglum for it is "ho" is found only in this article).

on Blatt's description, he reports only that it was written in 1457 and includes *AJ* 1–16, *BJ*, and *DEH*.⁷⁹ While noting the format of the manuscript, thereby implying some connection to the manuscripts including *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, he does not comment on how hr might be related to B, La, Pi, and V. The place of Harley 3691 in the Latin *Antiquities* 13 manuscript tradition and possible connections to *Yosippon* will be discussed in some detail at various points in this chapter. Here it is important to provide an accurate description of the manuscript, since all descriptions of its unique format, including Blatt's, are misleading or incomplete.⁸⁰ A colophon at the end of the *War* and before the *DEH* states that Julian of Viterbo wrote it for Guido de Gonzaga in 1457 (222v). According to Watson, on the basis of the "Mantuan" decoration and the fact that Guido de Gonzaga (d. 1483) was bishop of Mantua, the manuscript was probably written in that city.⁸¹ While beginning with *AJ* 1–16 and ending with *DEH*, the text of the *War*, in fact, includes only 1.552–2.373 and 5.366–7.455, with 5.366b seamlessly and without any notice following 373a.⁸²

There are, of course, parallels to an edition with *AJ* 1–16 (B, La, Pi, V),⁸³ as discussed in the previous section in this chapter, as well as to the format

79 Flusser ("Review of Blatt," 462) correctly points out the discrepancy between Blatt's catalogue (Blatt, 41–42), where hr is classified among "late contaminated manuscripts (variants from the Italian and the Northern groups)," and Blatt's stemma, where it is classified with family α . Blatt's inconsistency reflects the combination of a significant component of the manuscript deriving from an earlier source (part of Blatt's "Southern" or "Italian" group), combined with readings from other groups with a high percentage of secondary readings.

80 Blatt: "Antiquities I–XVI. Bellum Iudaicum I 552–VII. Hegesippus I–V" (not noting the omission from 2.373–5.366); British Library Digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscript: "Josephus, Hegesippus, Historia (1–222v) and Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church (ff. 223–296)" (confusing Pseudo-Hegesippus, the author of the *DEH*, with the second-century church historian Hegesippus quoted by Eusebius, a mistake deriving from *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3:52: "1. Flavii Josephi, Iudaicae Antiquitatis, libri 18, Latine, at imperfecti, et praecipue in fine; ubi excerpta dantur potius quam verba Historici. Conclusio a fine Belli Iudaici sumpta est. 2. Hegesippi, Commentariorum Actorum Ecclesiasticorum, libri 5."

81 Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, 1138.

82 Skipping from the middle of Agrippa's speech in *BJ* 2 to a passage at the beginning of Josephus' speech in *BJ* 5 (196v). The excerpt begins at 1.552, the accession of Antipater, because that is the point at which *AJ* 17 begins, which is replaced in the manuscript by the *BJ* parallel.

83 See n. 102 for a reference to an *LAJ* volume with Books 1–16 in the Stavelot Abbey library catalogue. Manuscript Cr also appears to have originally had only *AJ* 1–16, since *AJ* 17–20 are added in a later hand. The format *AJ* 17–20 in a number of manuscripts provides additional evidence for the format *AJ* 1–16.

AJ + *BJ* + *DEH* (Clm 15841)⁸⁴ and *AJ* + large extracts from *BJ* (mss Ne, pa, Vt, Ptr),⁸⁵ but almost everything else about the manuscript is eccentric:

1. The *War* excerpts are divided into two unequal books, the first designated Book 17 with three chapters covering *BJ* 1.552–2.116, and the second called Book 18 with ten chapters covering *BJ* 2.117–373 + 5.366–7.455.
2. The excerpts from the *War* are introduced with the comment that no more from the “*stilus Iosephi*” is found after Book 16 and that what follows are diverse translations (referring to *BJ* and *DEH*) up through Book 22 (i.e. *AJ* 1–16 + Books 17–18 [= *BJ* extracts] + Egesippus 1–4 [= *DEH* 1–5]).
3. The colophon in all capital letters, which precedes the information mentioned above about the scribe and date in the same script as the text of the manuscript, says that it is the end of *AJ* Book 12 (sic)⁸⁶ “and no more is found” (222V).
4. *DEH* is divided into four instead of five books (Book 2 = *DEH* 2–3),⁸⁷ but the colophon (without a reference to the date or scribe)⁸⁸ runs: EGESIPPI HISTORIE LIBER QUINTUS EXPLICIT.⁸⁹

While there are a number of mistakes and puzzling secondary unique readings in Harley 3691, the *Antiquities* text in the passages we have collated also clearly reflects early manuscript traditions. For example, in passages from *AJ* 6 and

84 Unlike hr, Clm 15841 (Sa) has *AJ* 1–20 and *BJ* 1–7.

85 Ne, pa, Vt have *AJ* 1–20 and *BJ* 1.1–351 + 4.325–7.455 (= *LBJ* Books 5–7), numbered as Books 21–24. (Ptr ends at *BJ* 5.391a [mid Bk 23]). For connection of *LBJ* texts in Ne, Vt, and Ptr, see Bader, *Josephus Latinus*, 35–36.

86 There are a large number of early manuscripts comprised of only *AJ* 1–12. This colophon, as bewildering as it is, indicates that the scribe clearly knew at least one of these manuscripts and perhaps used it together with the manuscript containing *AJ* 1–16.

87 The only other possible examples of a division of *DEH* into four books I have found are in abbey library book lists: “de Bello Iudaico, libri iiii” (Stavelot Catalogue of 1105 CE, found at the end of first volume of the “Stavelot Bible” (BL Add. 28106, 228v); “de bello Iudaico libri vii ... Item in tertio [volumine] libri iiii” (St. Gallen no. 16; Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1.81, lines 12–13); “Josephi de antiquitate Iudaica libros xii in volumine i. Item libros iiii in volumine uno” (St. Gallen no. 17; Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1.84, lines 19–21). None of these is indisputably a *DEH* manuscript, and the last entry seems to refer to *AJ*. There are also manuscripts with *AJ* 17–20 (e.g. a, f, Ga) as well as *AJ* 1–12 + 17–20 (S, Vo). It is possible that a four-book division of the *DEH* or a catalogue entry (mistakenly) listing four books was influenced by the words, *Quattuor libros*, which begin the work (in context actually referring to *Reigns* 1–4 [Samuel and Kings]). I thank Richard Pollard for pointing out the references in the St. Gallen catalogues. For a four-book division in *LBJ* mss, see n. 85.

88 According to Watson, *Catalogue*, 138, *DEH* is by the same hand as in the earlier part of the manuscript.

89 Like the colophon at 222v, this one also suggests use of more than one manuscript.

AJ 9,⁹⁰ the text is very close to the 6th/7th century papyrus Cimelio 1, which was produced at most a century after the Cassiodoran translation was made. In the passages collated from *AJ* 13 for this chapter, the hr text has 53 variants found elsewhere only in grC: 20 with all grC mss; 16 with grC.3–4; 11 with grC.4; 3 with grC.3; 2 with grC.1–3; 1 with grC.2 + grC.4. However, there is a much larger number of readings in hr that are not shared with unique grC readings. These are distributed among multiple groups, with only one group (grN) having as many as four cases of a unique group reading shared with hr.⁹¹

Finally, although its closeness to grC and its *AJ* 1–16 format point to some connection with the manuscripts Flusser suggest belong to the same group as *Yosippon's AJ* source, the fact that hr clearly belongs with grC.4 (with generally later variants) is puzzling, because the other manuscripts with *AJ* 1–16 and *DEH* are either with grC.1 (B); grC.2 (La), or grC.3 (Pi V). More significantly, the *DEH* text of hr, in all the places I have checked, clearly belongs to a textual tradition quite different from the Cassinese group. It does not have the large lacuna in *DEH* 1.41 and the transposition of 2.8–2.9 to 5.53, by far the most striking characteristics of all manuscripts in this group. This difference is also seen in the text of *DEH* 1.1.8–1.9, for which B, La, Pi, V, and hr were collated for this project. In addition, at 5.22.1, hr has *cera* rather than *cythara*, the sole textual criterion Flusser used to identify the *DEH* text in B and La with *Yosippon's* source.⁹² There is, however, one passage where a possible connection of hr to the source of *Yosippon* must be considered. At 13.396, hr and *Yosippon* both omit the series of names Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor (*Ithaburium*).⁹³

2.3.5 Variants Found Only in Group C

The most obvious feature of Group C is the enormous number of readings which differ from all other manuscripts. Only Group P, which consistently replaces and expands individual words and phrases, and the related grL.2 manuscripts Pd (“Codex Gigas”) and Prag XXIII.D.121, which significantly modify the tradition by frequent omissions, paraphrasing, and simplification of the language, have more unique variants.

The following list of unique Group C variants found in all grC manuscripts provides the evidence for the distinctiveness of this manuscript tradition and a resource for evaluating its connection to *Sefer Yosippon* and to any other

90 For the text of hr in *AJ* 6.356–360 and 6.362b, see “A Revised Classification,” 93.

91 See below, p. 278 for an example of hr combining elements from its grC source with its source related to grN.

92 See Appendix 5, p. 316–317.

93 For discussion, see below, p. 254–255.

medieval literature making use of this section of the Latin *Antiquities*. Lists of all unique variants for grC.2, grC.3, grC.4a, and grC.3–4a can be found in Appendix 2. Here the focus is on the distinctive character of the earliest extant layer of the Group C manuscript tradition as it first appears in the uncorrected text of Naples V F 34. The list can also be a tool for reconstructing the prehistory of the Group C tradition, making it easier to imagine how it might have appeared several generations before *Sefer Yosippon* was composed.

In order to include all the data from Group C.1, variants that appear in Groups C.1–2 and C.1–3 are also included in addition to all variants shared by all Group C manuscripts. The list also includes variants from other grC subgroups when they are clear variations of the readings listed for the above groups. The lemmata give the reading in grG ms St. In a few cases, one or two manuscripts from another group are also cited. Variants from hr are cited when they agree with grC manuscripts.

2.3.5.1 *Proper Names*⁹⁴

230] ***Dagon**] nandagon grC.1–2; inan dagon grC.3; mandagon Vt Ve Cr; mamdagon M; madagon Ne; magadon Ptr O. 235. **Zenonem**] Cenonem. 255. ***Medaba**] Minadabam grC.1 Ptr; Minadam grC.2; Nadabam grC.3–4; Nabadam hr. 255. ***ac Garizin gentemque**] nargariz ingentemque grC.1–3 Ptr; narzari ingentemque grC.4a; nazarinque ingente grC.4b; nagariz gentemque hr. 260. ***Manlio**] Mallio (- Ne^{p.c.} Pluti8simio). 261. **Zora uel**] Zorobabel grC.1 grC3–4 Ptr; Zoarobabel grC.2. 267. **Seleuci**] Seleucii grC.1–2. 269. ***Grippi**] Agrippa (- B^{a.c.}). 270. **Cizico**] Zicico grC.1; Zici C.2–4. 271. ***Graspi patris**] Grasbi patris. 285. **Heliopolitana**] Hieropolotana grC (- Pi); Metropolitana Pi. 287. **Celchiam**] Chelciam. 314. **Antigoni**] Antigonus grC.1–2 (- Vi v; Pt Antigonus corr. to Antigoni). 322. **Antigonum**] Antiochum grC (- Pt v l pa Pluti8simio; C M Ne Antigonum over erasure). ***Hyrcano**] Hyrcani 396. ***Azotum**] Azoton C.1 C.3–4a (- O pat) Ptr; Azotan M l; Azaton pat; ***Marissam**] Marissimam; **Ithabirium**] Ithabirum grC. 397. ***Lembaoronem**] Baoro C.1 C.2 (- Pt); Baora C.3 (V: Boara; Ptr/O Bocora [derived from Beneventan ms with Baora]) C.4 Pt; Borane hr; ***Mega**] Nemega; ***Aulonem**] Oculonem [Beneventan “a” read as “oc”] grC (- M l; B: prob Ocolonem, but could be Aulonem); occulonem hr.

94 Asterisk (*) indicates that the reading will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.3.5.2 *Omissions*

229. *sui* hr. 236. *anno* hr. 240. *uero*. 250. *est*. 254. **eas* hr. 260. **Lucii* hr. 262. *illa* hr. 297. **has*. 303. *non* (- B^{a.c.}). 306. *fratris interitum*] *fratrem*. 315a. *clamor...fecisse* (replaced by *LBJ* 1.82b) hr. 315b–320. **homines ... multum* (replaced by *LBJ* 1.83b–84a).

2.3.5.3 *Words or Expressions*

231. *torquebat*] *torquebatur* (*torquebat* Vi La V). *remitteret*] *remittere* grC.1–2; 234. *obsidendi*] *obsedendi*. 236. *sui*] *suo*. 237. *inopiam*] *inopia*. *qua*] *quam*. *propter*] *pro* grC.1–2 Ptr. 239. *incursiones*] *cursiones*. *moliebantur*] *moliebatur* + L. 242. *sacrificium*] *ad sacrificium*. 246. *ciuitatum*] *ciuitatum* grC.1–2. 255. **sexto mense*] *intra septem menses* hr (B: *intra* s.l.). 256. *ducentos*] *ducenti*. 259. *quo*] *cum quo*. 267. *deberet*] *deberent* hr. 265. *uacuum habuerint*] *uacuauerit* grC.1–2. 268. *tentus*] *temptus* grC.1–2, grC.4 (Ve *tempus*); *tempus* grC.3 (- Ve). 278. *quos Ptolomeus*] *eos*. 278. *populatione*] *copulatione* hr. *cogere*] *cogere* cepit (- B^{a.c.}) hr. A] *ut a* (- B^{a.c.}) hr. *recedere*] *recederet* (- B^{a.c.}) hr. 281. *contentus*] *contemptus*. 288. *male*] *mali*. 289. *uelle*] *uel*. 291. *Te*] *et*. *magistratum*] *principatum* hr. 292. *contra quem*] *contra quae/contraque*. 292. *irritatus*] *iratus*. 293. *qua*] *quia* grC.1–3 hr. *multari*] *multati*. 295. *contristabatur*] *contristabantur* (- B^{a.c.} La) hr. 295. *incitator ... irae*] *incitata ... ira*. 297. *disseremus*] *disserimus* grC.1–3 Cr. 300. *domini*] *domino*. 303. *amare*] *amari*. 307. *occiderent*] *non occiderent* grC (- B^{a.c.}). *autem Antigonom*] *autem Antigonus* grC.1–3. 308. *Antigono*] *Antigonus* (*Antigono* Vi Ne Ptr; *Antigorum* Ve). *inquit tuus*] *tuus inquit* hr. 308. *armis*] *armatis*. 311. *praedicendi*] *praecinendi* hr. 312. *uero stadiis*] *stadiis uero* (- Vi Ptr) hr. 313. **uatem*] *autem* grC.1 grC.2; *per* grC.3; *autem* *per* grC.4^a Ptr hr. 314. **autem*] *et eum* 315. **minabatur*] *conabatur*; 315. **[lacuna]* additions from *BJ* 1.82b (+hr) and 1.83 (end)–184^a; **dimisit*] *permisit* hr.

2.3.6 Group C and the Identification of the Earliest Readings

Although the primary purpose of this chapter is not to determine the earliest variants for each reading, it is helpful for the purpose of analyzing the development of the Latin *Antiquities* manuscript tradition to get a general sense of how far each group departs from the earliest recoverable text. The determination of the earliest text starts with a comparison with the Greek, but in the many cases

when the Greek text does not provide clear evidence, it is necessary to judge each variant individually. Given the limited aims of this project, I have relied primarily on the relationship to the Greek in trying to identify what constitutes the earliest text. On the basis of this criterion, it is clear that **the variants found only in grC represent a text that is farther from the earliest text than any other group aside from grP**. For these variants found only in grC, there are, based on the Greek Vorlage, only three probable cases of the preservation of the earliest reading, *conabatur* instead of *minabatur* at 13.315,⁹⁵ *promisit* instead of *dimisit* at 13.322,⁹⁶ and *Azoton* rather than *Azotum* at 13.395.⁹⁷ This situation changes dramatically, however, when turning to variants found in grC and one or two other groups, where there are a number of cases of grC readings preserving the earliest reading. This is especially true of variants found only in both Group C and Group G.⁹⁸

2.4 *Group G*

Group G consists of nine manuscripts identified by 20 readings found only in each of these manuscripts. Brussels II 1179, written by the scribe Goderan in the latter part of the 11th century at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Remacle of Stavelot,⁹⁹ is the oldest member of this group and has the highest percentage of earliest readings. Aside from St, there are two identifiable subgroups, Werd, D, r, Best1070, and GKS1571, on the one hand, and Lau, Tr, Ml, on the other. However, there are relatively few unique variants for these subgroups, because the differences from St sometimes reflect the influence from other groups. Manuscript Werd is important in the history of the Latin Josephus tradition in that it was one of the manuscripts used by the 1524 Cologne edition and, through it, by the 1524 Basel edition. It was also one of the main manuscripts Niese used for the “Lat” readings in his apparatus (occasionally cited

95 See below, p. 273–274.

96 See below, p. 274.

97 See below, p. 252.

98 Outside of readings shared only by grC and grG manuscripts, I have been able to find only one case of only grC and one other group sharing what appears to be the earliest reading. At 13.307 all grC and all grP manuscripts read *Antonia*, and all other manuscripts (with the exception of *Anthonia* in Ml) have *Antoniana* (*in turri quae Antonia dicebatur; ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνίᾳ*).

99 Goderan is most famous for having written together with the monk Ernesto the Magnificent two-volume Stavelot Bible from 1093–1097 (Add MS 28106/28107; see the online British Library digitized manuscripts for detailed description and bibliography). Goderan wrote an elegant colophon for both the Stavelot Bible and ms St (256r).

as “Berol”).¹⁰⁰ Each of the unique grG readings will be listed below and will be classified as either being a clearly earliest reading (7 cases), probable secondary reading (7 cases), clear secondary reading (2 cases), or reading for which the earliest reading is uncertain (4 cases). Group G also shares with other groups, especially grC, a number of earliest readings (see below). There are, however, several important exceptions to St providing the earliest grG readings. In two places the uncorrected text of St corresponds to the unique and clearly secondary grC text (13.254; 13.397),¹⁰¹ with the corrections following the readings in other grG manuscripts, which are also found in almost all other manuscripts. In another place (13.265), the unique grG reading is found in the uncorrected text with the grC.3 or grC.4 reading above the line.¹⁰² Because it appears to be closest to the grG archetype, St is the base for the Latin text of *AJ* 13.228–322 in Appendix 3.

Unclassified manuscript pg has a clear connection with grG, with which it shares 8 out of the 20 unique grG readings, 11 out of the 20 readings shared only by grC and grG, and 4 out of the 7 readings shared only by groups C, G, and L (see below, pp. 241–244). In addition, at 13.397 only grG, grE, and mss t and

100 For a detailed description of the manuscript with bibliography, see Anaïs Jacquier’s entry in the online *Lege Josephum* Manuscript Database: <https://legejosephum.ch/en/manuscripts/5d773a3bc7b2213be168b7d2>.

101 Omission of *eas* (13.254; see below p. 264) and *promisisset* for *non promississent* (13.397; see below, pp. 258–259).

102 Catalogues of the abbey libraries at Lobbes and Stavelot might help explain the connection of ms St and grC. The Stavelot Abbey library catalogue from 1105 (a relatively short time after the writing of St in the late 11th century) lists the following: “Egesippus. Josephus ex integro nouus. Josephi antiquitatum libri sedecim in uno uolumine. Josephi belli iudici libri quatuor in i uol.” (Add ms 28106, 228v [end of vol. 1 of the “Stavelot Bible”]). It is generally thought that the last two entries refer to ms St (e.g. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 288; Gessler, “Les Catalogues des Bibliothèques monastiques,” 94; Blatt, 82–83; Leibl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 178–180; Gaspar and Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures*, 67). However, this cannot be right, because the manuscript has one volume instead of two, has *AJ* 1–20 and not *AJ* 1–16, and all seven books of *BJ* and not four (see n. 87 for *LBJ* text in four books). More likely St is the “Josephus ex integro nouus,” which would have been recently written when the catalogue appeared in 1105. The *Antiquities* volume with 16 books might well be a grC manuscript, since that format is only found in grC and in the closely related manuscript hr. This might account for several grC readings influencing St (see below, p. 258). It is possible that the exemplar for St was the one-volume manuscript with the complete *Antiquities* and *War* that is listed in the catalogue of the close-by Lobbes Abbey library, written in 1049 (BL Royal MS 6 A V, quoted in Warichez, *L’abbaye de Lobbes*, 280). The fact that it has the same format as St and that St was written by the monk and master scribe Goderan, who worked at both Lobbes and Stavelot, provides some basis for this admittedly speculative suggestion.

pg have the earliest reading *se mores* instead of the clearly secondary reading *seniores* found in all other manuscripts.¹⁰³

2.4.1 Readings only in Group G

2.4.1.1 *Clearly Earliest Reading*

269. **Gryppi**] τοῦ Γρυποῦ. grG B^{a,c}; Grippe pg; Agrippa grC (B^{p,c}); Crippi grH (-Cb Pa) cf Ba G w; Crispi grE grN (No: Crispino) grL hr Aus; Eripi grJ Prs Pa h Cb; Erispi grM (- Aus); Cypri p; Cippi Cremi

304. **Antigonus cum**] τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου ποτέ. grG; cum Antigonus all other mss

317. **meum**] τοῦμον. grG pg; omitted by all other mss

320. **fratribus et humiliorem multum**] μετριότητα. grG pg; omitted by all other mss

396. **Hitaburium**] Ἰταβύριον. grG ve; (H)itabirum grC (par Tabirum); (H)itabirum grE grH grN (- ve) Pa G w Sa pg Pr; It(h)abirum grL (- Sa) grP (p bitabrium) Ba (erasure btw b and r); T(h)abirum grJ (n Ithabirium); T(h)abiricum grM (Aus bithabericum); omit hr

397. **Medaba**]¹⁰⁴ Μήδαβα. grG pg; Midabalam G re; Midabalem all other mss

Lembaoronem] Λεμβὰ Ορωναί (μαγελ-). grG (Ml Lembada.Oronem); Lemboronee pg; Baoro grC.1-2 (- Pt); Baora grC3-4 (V Boara; Ptr O Bocora); Baoronee grL (Pd PragXXIII.D.121 Bagronee) grN grP Ba; Baorenee grE grH (-Br) grJ (- U Ly Mk) grM (Baoreuce Aus) Pr G; Baorene U Ly Mk; Barone hr; Barronee w; orenee Br. Earliest reading probably Lembaoronee (p.256)

2.4.1.2 *Probably Secondary Reading*

234. **semper Iudaei**] Iudaei semper grG Mn

239] **laboris**] no Greek. grG Adm; labores all others

246. **Ioppe**] Ἰόππης. Ioppen grG (- Lau; Ioppem Ml)

265. **uacuum habuerit** grG (St corr. to uacauerit)] εὐσχολήση. uacua-
erit grC.1-2 (Pt euacuaerit [e added?]); uacauerat Vt p; necauerit No;
uacauerit all other mss

¹⁰³ See below, p. 259.

¹⁰⁴ *Medaba* is the earliest reading in the extant manuscript tradition. *Midaba*, the reading before *lem* from the next word was attached to it at a very early stage, could also have been the earliest reading (see below for discussion).

265. **uero**] τε. grG (- Ml); autem Ml; et pg; omitted by all other mss
 265. **iusserunt**] no Greek. grG; omitted by all other mss
 397. **Mega**] μαγελ-. grG; mag(eton zora) pg; Nemega grC; Maga grH grJ grL
 grM grP Ba G w; Magnam grE grN; Magam hr

2.4.1.3 *Earliest Reading Cannot Be Determined*

260. **campo**] ἐν Κομιτίῳ.¹⁰⁵ grG pg; templo Lau; campum all other mss
 291. **et**] no Greek. grG Ba pg; omitted by all other mss
 314. **arbitror**] οἶμαι. grG; ut arbitror all other mss
 292] **irritatus est**] παρωξύνθη. grG pg; iratus grC; omit hr; irritatus all
 other mss.

2.4.1.4 *Clearly Secondary Reading*

291. **uiuere**] no Greek. grG; esse pg; et p; omitted by all other mss
 est] εἶναι. grG Ba cf; esse all other mss

2.5 *Variants Shared Only by Group C and Group G*

2.5.1 *Clearly the Earliest Reading*

236. **principatus**] ἀρχῆς. grC grG hr pg; omitted by all other mss
 239. **altam ... latissimam**] βαθείαν καὶ πολλήν τὸ εὔρος. grC.1–3 grG;
 altamque ... latissimam grC.4 (- Cr); latam ... altissimam all other mss.
 255. **Samogan**] Σαμόγαν. grC.1–2 grG V L; Samogam all other mss.
 267. **abhorrentes**] ἀπεχθανομένων. grC grG; ab(h)orrerent et all other mss.
 269. **Gryppi**] Γρυποῦ. B^{a.c.} grG; Grippe pg; Agrippa grC (B^{p.c.}); Crippi grH
 (- Cb Pa) cf Ba G w; Crispi grE grN (No Crispino) grL hr Aus; Erippi grJ
 Prs Pa h Cb; Erispi grM (- Aus); Cypfri p; Cippi Cremi
 289. **iuste uiuere omniaque agere**] αὐτὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ
 πάντα ποιοῦντα. grC grG hr pg; iuste omnia agere all other mss
 286. **testatur et**] μαρτυρεῖ καὶ. grC grG hr; testatur grP; testatus est all
 others

¹⁰⁵ Niese prints Brissonius' conjecture Κομιτίῳ. The Greek mss have κομπιω, κομπω, κοππω. Niese gives *campo* for the Latin. Of the Latin manuscripts he lists in his preface, this would have been found only in Werd. He was probably also influenced by the reading in the 1524 Basel edition (which follows the 1524 Cologne edition, which used Werd as one of its sources). See above for Niese's praise of the 1524 Basel as "*editio ... omnium et nitidissima et optima*" (*Flavii Iosephi Opera*, 1.lxx). On the basis of the Greek, *campo* has a good claim to be the earliest reading.

302. **ornauit**] ἤξιου. grC.1–2 grG pg; ordinauit all other mss
 309. **ut ei armorum demonstraret**] ἐπιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῷ. grC grG hr; ut ei pg; ut armorum demonstraret all other mss
 314. **sceleris**] ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους. grG grC pg; celeri all other mss
 321. **cum mox genitus fuisset odio patris despectus erat et usque ad mortem**] συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθύς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ. grC grG hr pg; omitted by all other mss

2.5.2 Earliest Reading Cannot Be Determined

241. (exalabant) **animam**] ἀπέθνησκον. grC (- Vt Cr) grG (- Ml r) hr pg; animas grL.1 Ml; animum Vt; animi Cr (corr. to animas); omitted by all other mss
 260. **Februarias**] Φεβρουαρίων. grC.1–2 grG pg; Februarius grC.3–4; Februarii Mn H grJ Sa hr ve No al (fbrii); febr b Adm Bo Cl Nv grM Aus; Feb Ba L El; Februariarum Ptr; (Cr -ias or -ius corr. to -iarum); Februario mense grP
 263. **sunt ablata**] ἀφαιρεθέντα. grC grG; ablata sunt all other mss
 286. **istis**] τοῦτοις. grC grG hr pg; is grN (ve eis; No his); his all other mss
 288. **uel**] καὶ. grG grC.1, grC.3–4 hr; et all other mss
 322. **suos filios**] τῶν παίδων. grG (- Ml r) grC hr; filios grP pg; filios suos all other mss.

2.5.3 Clearly Secondary Reading

263. **ut et**] καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσονται. grC grG pg; et (prouinciam aestiment) all other mss (**earliest reading**).
 302. **puniret atque consumeret**] καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι. grC grG hr; inopique grP; **penuriaque consumeret** all other mss (**earliest reading**).
Table of Contents AJ 13; Seuerus grC grG] Εὐκαίρος/Ἄκαιρος. Eucerus all other mss (**earliest reading**).
 397. **cum promississet**] οὐχ ὑποσχομένων. grC St^{a-c}; cum promississent pg; cum non permisissent grH; cum promississet grM; all other mss non promississent (**earliest reading**).¹⁰⁶

106 Niese prints ὑποσχομένων, which is found only in Greek ms P, apparently also depending on the Latin of Naples V F 34 (*LAJ* ms B), which he reports inaccurately as *cum promississent* (instead of *cum promississet*). Naber, Marcus, and Nodé read οὐχ ὑποσχομένων, which is found in all mss aside from P. In the Latin manuscript tradition, only pg would support the reading ὑποσχομένων (see below, p. 258).

2.6 *Readings Shared by Only Group C, Group G, and Group L*

2.6.1 Clearly the Earliest Reading

238. **tria** (tecta)] τριωρόφους. grC grG grL hr pg Bo; tres all other mss

251. **ibi**] αὐτόθι. grC grG Sa hr; ubi all other mss

293. **ualde**] μάλιστα. grC.1–3 grG grL.1 pg; uel de grC.4 (Ve u de) hr; omitted by all other mss

2.6.2 Earliest Reading Cannot Be Determined

237. **conclisit**] ἐνέκλεισε. grC.1–2 grG Sa; inclusit grE grH grJ grL (- Sa) grN grP Ba grM pg; concludit grC.3–4 (Ne: conclusit, but s over erasure) Ptr hr

278. **qui cum**] ὅς. grG grC grL; omitted by hr; qui dum all other mss

314. **fraternae caedis**] ἀδελφοκτονίας. grG grC grL pg; fraternae Ba G w; fraterna grE grN Ba G w; fraternae necis grH grJ grM grP

2.6.3 Clearly Secondary Reading

395. **Rinocora**] ῥινοκόρουρα. grG (- Werd Best7010 GKS1571) grC.1–4a (- M l Vt) grL.1 Ly; Rinocoram C.4b M l Vt hr GKS1571 Rinocoro grH (Br Rinocero) grJ grN grP (Prs: arynocoro) Ba G Werd Best7010 Aus Cp Pr; Rinocoron grE; Rincoro grM (- Aus); Rinocorura grL.2 (Pd: Rinocoruram; PragXXIII.D121 Rinocoruca) (cf. ῥινοκόρουρα, the reading in almost all Grk mss); Ronocoruram w (transposed to after Cilicum)

2.7 *Readings Shared by Only Group C, Group G, and Group P*

2.7.1 Clearly Earliest Reading

242. **dierum**] ἡμερῶν. grC grG grP; diebus all other mss

2.7.2 Clearly Secondary Reading

262. **quatenus**] ἴνα τε. grC grG grP pg; et quatenus all other mss

2.8 *Summary of Analysis of Unique Readings in Group C, Group G, Groups C + G, and Groups C+G+L.1*

1. Of the 20 readings found only in all grG mss and nowhere else in the manuscript tradition, 7 clearly have the earliest reading, 2 are clearly secondary, and the rest are uncertain.

2. Next to grP, grC has by far the largest number of unique readings. In addition to the unique readings in all grC mss (68), each of the four subgroups has a large number of unique readings in each and in combination with one other subgroup (e.g. grC₁₋₂; grC_{3,4}). Only three of the unique grC variants probably preserve the earliest reading.
3. A clear connection between grC and grG can be established by the 23 readings shared only by these two groups. Of these, 12 clearly preserve the earliest reading, and 4 clearly are secondary. For 6 it is impossible to determine which reading is earlier. The clearly secondary shared readings are particularly important in that they cannot be explained by grG and grC having independent access to the earliest reading.
4. In addition to the shared readings in grG and grC, there are also several examples of readings shared only by grC, grG, and grL.1. Of these, 3 are clearly earliest and 1 clearly secondary. For readings shared by grC, grG, and grP, one is clearly the earliest reading and one is clearly secondary.
5. In the passages collated for this chapter, aside from grG and grC no other single group or ms has a clearly earliest reading found only in that group.¹⁰⁷
6. Within grG, St, with only three exceptions, has the earliest reading.
7. Within grC, the uncorrected text of B is closest to grG and consistently has the earliest readings.
8. Within grL.1, Sa is closest to grC and grG.

The data from the *unique variants* for grG, grC, grG+grC can be explained by the followed hypothesis. A manuscript very close to the grG archetype was the source of the grG and grC archetypes. This manuscript had all the readings shared only by grC and grG. The grC manuscript with the earliest readings, Naples V F 34, already exhibits the introduction of the distinctive grC features, such as a large number of misreadings (especially incorrectly divided proper names) and omissions, which did not influence any other manuscript group but which developed even more distinctive variants that can be found in the various grC subgroups.

3 Case Studies

The following four case studies provide a detailed analysis of a large number of variants with the twin aims of discussing in a narrative context the evidence

¹⁰⁷ A possible exception is the reading *inuasit* (13.314) in grP (see above, n. 38).

for the identification of manuscript groups and of comparing the *AJ* 13 manuscript tradition to *Sefer Yosippon*. The first case study focuses on the identification of manuscript groups by presenting the evidence of all the variants from 98 manuscripts for the names of three Seleucid rulers. Only one variant is compared to *Yosippon*. The rest of the case studies present and analyze variants as they appear in three passages: *AJ* 13.395–397 (a list of cities controlled by Jews during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus; 92 mss); *AJ* 13.254–260 (cities conquered by John Hyrcanus and the embassy he sent to Rome; 48 mss); *AJ* 13.313c–322 (the Death of Aristobulus I; 66 mss). In each of these passages the identification of the groups and a comparison of the *AJ* 13 readings with readings in *Yosippon* are presented in a short commentary.

3.1 Case Study 1: Variants in the Nicknames for the Seleucid Rulers Antiochus VIII (Grippus) and Demetrius III (Acerus/Eucherus)

The following table reports variants from the largest number of manuscripts I have been able to collate for any section of *AJ* 13. It also provides a succinct guide to how manuscript groups can be identified with confidence by taking into account both readings appearing in only one group and the distinctive pattern of variants for each group.

TABLE 3 Names of Seleucid rulers

	Γρυποῦ (13.269)	Γρυποῦ πατρός (13.271)	Γρυπός (13.365)	Ἄκαιρον (13.370)	Ἐχαιρον (13.376)	Ἐχαιρος/ Ἄκαιρος (AJ 13 TOC)
Group C.1–4a	agrippa	grasbi patris	grippus	acerus	eucherum	seuerus
					B ^a Vi C La Pt v V Pi ^b Ptr O M I Vt Cr Sr par pat Ve	
Group C4b	agrippa	grasbi patris	grippus	eucherus	eucherum	seuerus
					Ne pa Plut ¹ 8sim ¹ o Fl	
Group E	crispi	crispi patris	grippa	acerus	eucerum	eucus
					Nv Cl al	
Group G	grippi	graspi patris	grippus	acerus	eucerum	seuerus
					St Lau Werd D Tr r Ml ^c Best ⁷ o ¹ o ^d GKS 1571	

a grippi corr. to Agrippa

b quia cerus instead of qui acerus

c encerum; no TOC

d a certis for acerus

TABLE 3 Names of Seleucid rulers (*cont.*)

	Γρυποῦ (13.269)	Γρυποῦ πατρός (13.271)	Γρυπός (13.365)	Ἄκαιρον (13.370)	Ἄκαιρον (13.376)	Εὔκαιρος/ Ἄκαιρος (AJ 13 TOC)
Group H	crippi	graspi patris	grippus	eucherus	eucherum	eucherus
		El Ha Cor H Cp At Mn Re Rem R re c Br ^e				
Group J	erippi	gaspi patris	grippus	eucherus	eucherum	eucerus
		Alb li Cov Mir U Du Mir Ca Ly Mk vlf mz				
Group L	crispi	crispi patris	crispus	ceraunus	eucrum	
		Sa Sch Adm Lamp Cn Vn Sec z b t Pd ^g PragXXIII.D121 ^h				
Group M	erispi	crispi patris	grippa	eucerus	eucerum	eucerus
		Vat vt rg ⁱ Madrid10270				
Group N	crispi	crispi patris	grippus	acerus	eucerum	eucerus
		L Bo ve No Pal u				
Group P	crippi	craspi patris	grippus	ceruus	seuerum	chapter missing in TOC
		cf pj Prs ^k Crem ^l				
<i>Not Classified</i>						
Cb ld d n	erippi	graspi patris	grippus	eucherus	eucherum	eucherus
Pa h	erippi	craspi patris	grippus	eucherus	eucherum	eucherus
hr	crispi	crispi patris	agrippus	auccerus	aucherum	euthen
G w	crippi	graspi patris	grippus	acerus	eucherum	eucherus
Ba	crippi	graspi patris	grippus	cerus	eucrum	chapter missing from TOC
pg	grippe	graspi patris	agrippus	acerus	eucerum	
Aus	crispi	crispi patris	grippa	eucerus	eucerum	eucerus
Pr	omitted	graspi patris ^m	grippus	eucerus	eucerum	

e cycerus

f iaspi patris

g omits crispi patris

h iaspi patris

i cuterus; eucenum; no TOC

j cypri; ceros; no TOC for AJ 13

k eryppi

l craspi patris corr. to crispi patris; grippus; ceru(us) corr. to acerus; seuer(um) corr. to heucerum; heucerum in the unnumbered chapter title added to TOC in margin

m graspi patris

3.1.1 Variant Patterns That Do Not Correspond to an Established Group
 The data from these names are not sufficient to classify twelve manuscripts into a single established group. The relationship of these manuscripts to established groups will have to rely on further evidence, some of which can be provided by variants from other passages we have collated for *AJ* 13. For example, **Cb**, **ld**, **d**, and **n** agree fully with each other, having the same combinations of grJ and grH readings. **Pa** and **h** agree fully with each other, having the same combination of grJ and grH readings, but different from the combination of readings in **Cb**, **ld**, **d**, and **n**. Elsewhere in the passages collated for *AJ* 13, **d**, **n**, and **Pa** exhibit variants from both grJ and grH, but grJ readings clearly predominate in the very closely related manuscripts **n** and **d** and grH readings in **Pa**. For the purpose of the analysis here, I have, therefore, classified **n** and **d** with grJ (rather than create a grJ.2) and **Pa** with grH (rather than create a grH.2), noting when these manuscripts differ from their respective groups.

3.1.2 Relationships among Groups

Although a full consideration of the relationships among groups is beyond the scope of this study, clear connections can be observed in the case of a number of groups and manuscripts, e.g. grC and grG; Groups E, M, N (with connections between E and N, and E and M); Aus and grM and grE; pg and grG; hr and grN; Ba and grH and grP. The direction of the development of the first reading can be easily reconstructed: *Grippi* (grG) to either (1) *Agrippa* (grC);¹⁰⁸ or to (2) *Crippi* (grH grP mss Ba G w); *Crippi* to either (1) *Erippi* (grJ) or (2) *Crispi* (grE grN grL; *Crispi* (grE grN grL) to *Erispi* (grM).

3.1.3 Seleucid Ruler Names and *Sefer Yosippon*

Unfortunately, of these names, only *Eucherus* appears in the *Sefer Yosippon* textual tradition.¹⁰⁹ In many *LAJ* manuscripts, *Eucherus* appears in both 13.370 and 13.376. In others, the earliest reading *Acerus* is found in 13.370 instead of *Euc(h)erus* (grC grG grE grN). If it was clear that the name *Eucerus* in *Yosippon* was influenced by its appearance in 13.370, it would be possible to eliminate those manuscripts that have *Acerus*. In fact, however, the name appears in the context of 13.376, as can be seen by a comparison of the Hebrew and Latin texts:

108 Note that the original reading *Grippi* in grC ms B has been corrected to *Agrippa*.

109 Flusser's apparatus does not record the omission of the name in several manuscripts. The omission of the other names is a result of *Yosippon* omitting the digression in *AJ* 13.267–273 describing the battles between Hellenistic rulers, reporting only that “in those days the kings of Macedonia were fighting, brother against brother” (SY 29, 27; cf. 13.272: *diu cum fratre bella commisit*).

And they rebelled against King Alexander, and they went to King Demetrius, King of Macedonia, who is called Eucerus, and they brought him against Alexander for war, and Demetrius came and encamped at Shechem, and Demetrius had an army of 40,000 Macedonian warriors and 3,000 horsemen.¹¹⁰

Yosippon (FLUSSER, *SY* 33, 26–29 [p. 1.134])

AJ 13.376–377 (parallel to *BJ* 1.92–93¹¹¹ and *DEH* 1.10 [Ussani, 14–15]) is clearly a source for *Yosippon* at this point:

Then they sent to Demetrius Eucerus to ask him to be an ally. When, with a very great army, he reached those who had summoned him, he encamped around the city of Shechem ... He (Demetrius) had 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 foot soldiers.¹¹²

AJ 13.376–377

While clearly parallel to the passage in 13.376, the phrase “who was called Eucerus” is reminiscent of the previous mention of Demetrius in 370 (*Demetrius qui Acerus [or Eucerus] dicebatur*). This would raise the possibility that *Yosippon* was reading an *LAJ* ms with *Eucerus* in both places, thus eliminating Groups C, G, E, N and mss G, w, hr, and pg. However, even if it *Yosippon* took the phrase “who was called” from 13.370, it might still have read *Acerus*, but he chose to use the name as it appeared in 13.376. The question is further complicated by the fact that the reference to Demetrius’ nickname in *BJ* 1.92, as in *Yosippon*, occurs in the context of the appeal to Demetrius and not in the context of Demetrius being made king in Damascus as in *AJ* 13.370.¹¹³ This might then suggest that *Yosippon* was also influenced by the account in *BJ*.¹¹⁴

110 ויפשעו במלך אלכסנדר וילכו אל מלך דמיתריאוס מלך מקדון הנקרא איאוקירוס ויביאוהו על אלכסנדר למלחמה, ויבא דדיתריאוס ויחן בשכם ויהי לדמיתריאוס חיל ארבעים אלף גיבורי מקדון ושלישת אלפים פרשים.

111 Note that the Latin *BJ* 1.93 agrees with *AJ* 13.377 in having 40,000 foot soldiers rather than 14,000, as in the Greek text.

112 *Tunc ad Demetrium Eucerum destinauerunt ut eum auxiliatorem rogarent. Qui maximo cum exercitu dum peruenisset ad eos qui eum inuitauerant circa Sycimam ciuitatem castra metatus est ... Cui (i.e. Demetrio) equites fuerunt tria milia pedites uero quadraginta milia* (ms St).

113 The formulation “was called” in *SY* is closer to *AJ* than *BJ*, which has “whose nickname was” (*cui cognomentum Acaero fuit*).

114 Flusser (2.134 on 33,27) suggests that *SY* either took the name *Eucerus* from *AJ* 13.376 or from one of the *BJ* mss that had *Eucerus* at 1.92. He does not specify which *BJ* manuscripts have *Eucerus*, perhaps depending only on the marginal note “Alias Eucero” in the 1524

The use of at least the *Antiquities*, however, is clear from the word for encamped (*castra metatus est*/חָיַן in *L AJ* vs *uenisset* in *LBJ*).¹¹⁵

While the use of Eucerus in *Yosippon* is striking and raises some interesting questions about *Yosippon*'s use of *LBJ* in addition to *L AJ*, unfortunately it cannot be relied upon to identify the use of a particular *L AJ* manuscript group.

3.2 Case Study 2: List of Cities under Jewish Control in the Time of Alexander Jannaeus (*AJ* 13.395–397)

The second passage for which all available manuscripts have been collated¹¹⁶ is the list in 13.395–397 of Syrian, Idumean, and Phoenician cities the Jews possessed in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. Unlike the list of the names of Seleucid rulers, however, where only one name is found in *Yosippon*, in this passage *Yosippon* includes 23 of the 28 names found in *L AJ*.

Sefer Yosippon 33, 55–63
(Flusser 1.136–137)

Brussels, Roy. Bibl. II 1179 (St)¹¹⁷

At that time the Jews went down against the land of Syria and ruled it and all the land of Edom and all the land of Moab and Ammon and all the land of Philistia and all the land of Arabia up to Sela Midbar (*Petra deserti* in Isa. 16:1).

³⁹⁵ Now at this time the Jews possessed the cities of the Syrians, Idumeans, and Phoenicians:

Basel edition. Ne and its copy pa are the only manuscripts I know of with the reading *Euc(h)erus* in *LBJ* 1.92. See Bader, *Josephus Latinus*, 178, who correctly notes that Thomas Martin and I did not know of the reading in *LBJ* 1.92 (as opposed to *AJ* 13.376 and the *AJ* 13 TOC) when we wrote our article on the nicknames of Demetrius III.

115 *DEH* does not mention Demetrius' nickname, but at one point has language closer to *SY* than the other sources: "they called forth King Demetrius to war to assist them against Alexander" (*Demetrium regem sibi auxilium futurum aduersus Alexandrum in bellum excitauerunt* / וַיִּבְיְאוּהוּ עַל אֱלֶכְסַנְדֵּר לְמִלְחָמָה). See above, n. 155, for places where *SY* introduces language from *DEH* into his main source *L AJ*.

116 The discrepancy in the number of manuscripts collated for the names of the Seleucid rulers (98) and for 13.395–397 (92) is because, when collating the latter passage, I no longer had access to 6 manuscripts, 4 of which I had collated at the British Library and for which images were not available.

117 See Appendix 4 for a text with all variants from the manuscripts collated. The city names in the English translation follow the Latin form of the name in ms St, but are generally given in the nominative, with some exceptions when the nominative form might not be certain or less helpful in explaining variants. The translation of the Hebrew text generally presents the names in a series without using "and" for every appearance of the conjunction *vav*.

These are the names of the cities which King Alexander did not destroy when he took them. And those on the sea-coast were **Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rinocora, and Hebron, Maresha**, which belongs to Edom,¹¹⁸ and **Scythopolis** which belongs to Syria, **Gadera, Gaulan, Seleucia and Gabala**, which belongs to Moab, **Heshbon, Medaba, Bahoron, Megan, Ein Zora, Cilicus, Aulan and Pella.**

These are the cities which Alexander did not destroy because they entered a covenant with him, and they circumcised the flesh of their foreskins, and they remained in their cities. And the rest of the cities of Syria the King destroyed.

by the sea: **Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rinocora;**
 396 in the interior through Idumea: **Abora, Marissa and all Idumea, Samaria, Mount Carmel and Mount Itaburium, Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, Gabala**
 397 **Moabitis, Sebon, Medaba, Lembaoronem, Mega, and Onzora, Cilicum, Aulon, Pellente.**

He destroyed this city, because its inhabitants had not promised to take up the ancestral customs of the Jews. Also they overthrew the rest of the cities of Syria.

3.2.1 *AJ* 13.395–397 and *Sefer Yosippon*

The following table presents a succinct overview of the relationship between the names in the Latin text and its Greek source and between the names in the Hebrew text and its Latin source. As an initial reference, the names are given as they appear in grG manuscript St and in Flusser's edition (with the many emendations he proposes indicated by an asterisk). Variants for the names in each language are, of course, of the greatest importance for this study and will be listed and briefly discussed in the commentary following table 4, which focuses on the examples most relevant for understanding the *LAJ* textual tradition and its relationship to *Sefer Yosippon*. Since Flusser's apparatus is not comprehensive, additional variants are listed when relevant.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ For the reading "which belongs to Edom," omitted by Flusser, see p. 254.

¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, I did not have access to several important SY manuscripts, so I was not always able to list readings from these not included in Flusser's apparatus.

TABLE 4 Greek, Latin, and Hebrew city names (* = emendation by Flusser)

Greek	Latin	Hebrew	Greek	Latin	Hebrew
Στράτωνος πύργον	Stratonis Turrim	מגדל סתרתון	Σκυθόπολις	Scytopolim	שיטופולי
Ἀπολλωνίαν	Apolloniam	אפולוניא	Γάδαρα	Gadaram	גדירה
Ἰόππη	Ioppem		Γαυλανίτιδας	Gaulanitidem	גאולן
Ἰάμνειαν	Iamniam		Σελεύκειαν	Seleuciam	סיליאוכיא*
Ἄζωτον	Azotum/ Azoton	אשדוד	Γάβαλα	Gabala	גבלה
Γάζαν	Gazam	עזה	Μωαβίτιδας	Moabitidem	אשר למואב
Ἀνθηδόνα	Antidonem	אנטידונס*	Ἡσεβών/ Ἴσ(σ)εβών	Sebon	חשבון
Ῥάφειαν	Rafiam	רפיס*	Μήδαβα	Medaba	מידבא
Ῥινοκόρουρα	Rinocora	רינקורה*	Λεμβά	Lembaoronem	בחורון
Ἄδωρα	Aboram	חברון	Ορωναι - μαγελ-	Mega	מיגן
Μάρισσαν	Marissam	מרשה	εθων Ζόαρα	Et Onzora	עין זורה
Σαμάρειαν	Samariam		Κιλίκων	Cilicum	קיליקוס*
Καρμήλιον	Carmelum		αὐλώνα	Aulonem	אולן
Ἴταβύριον	Itaburium		Πέλλαν	Pellente	פילן

3.2.2 Commentary

Apolloniam (Ἀπολλωνίαν; ואפולוניא) all mss except Appollonium grC.3-4a; **Antoniam** grC.4b

Yosippon cannot depend on a manuscript in grC.3-4, which would include grC.3 mss V and Pi, which have the format *AJ* 1-16 + *DEH*.

Azotum (Ἄζωτον; ואשדוד) [Azoton C.1 C.3-4a (-O pat M l) Ptr; Azotan M l; Azaton pat; Azotam rg

While the grC.1 and grC.3-4a reading *Azoton* is probably the earliest reading because of its closeness to the Greek, *Yosippon*'s use of the biblical name makes it impossible to determine the reading in its Latin source.

Raphiam (Ῥάφεια; ורפיס) [all mss except grJ, which has **Raphia**

Flusser prints his conjecture ורפיס¹²⁰ but comments that “perhaps ורפיס should be read,” which must be certainly correct, since the sameḥ here, as often elsewhere, is a misreading of final mem. Flusser’s conjecture can be supported by the appearance of the place name in *SY* 32, 73, where ורפיס is found in all *SY* mss I have seen. The proposed final mem representing the accusative form of the name would correspond to all *L AJ* mss except those in grJ.

Rinocora (Ῥινοκόρυρα; ורינוקורה) [grG (-Werd Best7010 GKS1571) grC.1-4a (-M I Vt) grL.1 pg Ly; **Rinocoram** C.4b M I Vt hr GKS1571; **Rinocoro** grH (Br **Rinocero**) grJ (- Ly) grN grP (Prs: **Arynocoro**) Ba G Werd Best7010 Aus Cp Pr; **Rinocoron** grE; **Rincoro** grM (-Aus); **Rinocorura** grL.2 (Pd: **Rinocoruram**; PragXXIII.D121: **Rinocoruca**) (cf. Ῥινοκόρυρα, the reading in almost all Grk mss); **Ronocoruram** w (transposed to after **Cilicum**)

Only grL.2 manuscripts have the reading *Rinocorura*, which is closest to the Greek (note also *Ronocoruram* in ms w, which shares a number of distinctive readings with grL.1 manuscripts). Of greatest significance for our analysis, Groups C, G, and L.1 have the same reading as *Yosippon*, which Flusser appropriately emends from ודינוקורה.¹²¹ This provides clear evidence for a connection of one of these groups to *Yosippon*’s *L AJ* source.¹²²

Omission of in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam

Both *Sefer Yosippon* and Groups E, L.2, N, and P and mss Ba, G, and w omit the geographical notice *in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam*. (The same groups and manuscripts also omit the words *populares uero non eis obsequabantur* in

120 Variants cited in Flusser’s apparatus: ורפיס (Roth 24, Yerah Bod 2797, Jer. 8° 41820); ורפיס (Urb. 52). Not cited in Flusser’s apparatus: ורפיס (Budapest 355) as well as variants from non-Recension A mss Vat 408 (ודאפיס) and Borg 1 (רפאים).

121 ודינוקורה appears in Redaction B ms Vat. ebr. 408, although it could be reading a resh for a dalet.

122 Flusser does not cite this reading, which is attributed to Naples 34 V F in Niese’s apparatus, but prints *Rhinocorura*, which also happens to be found in the grL.2 (and probably earliest) reading *Rinocorura*, corresponding to the Greek Ῥινοκορούρα (or Ῥινοκοροούρα). The 1524 Basel edition, which is Flusser’s usual source of the *L AJ* readings in the passages discussed in this chapter, has the puzzling *Rhinocoluram*, which it adopted from the 1524 Cologne edition. (Niese cites a variant Ῥινοκλούραν with “F(?)” following it. This would refer to BML Plut. 69.20, but that manuscript actually reads Ῥινοκοροούραν). Perhaps Flusser emended the Latin text based on the Basel 1524 reading (note Flusser prints Rh), on Niese’s apparent emendation *Rinocoruram* (found only in Pd) which he would not have known), or on the Greek text itself.

13.298, but in that passage these words are reflected in *Yosippon's* Hebrew text.) This common omission of what might be considered non-essential information might well be coincidental. However, the fact that the reading *Baoronee* in Groups N, L, P and mss Ba, G, and w best corresponds to *Yosippon's* source (see below) is worth noting and suggests the value of exploring other connections between readings in *Yosippon* and variants in these groups.

Aboram (Ἀδωρα; ואת חברון) **Abora** grC.2; **Aboran** Ly Mk U; omit w

In 13.257 *Aboram* (v.l. *Adoreon*; see p. 266) is transliterated as חברה, while here the biblical name חברון is used.

Marissam (Μάρισσα; ואת מרשה) **Marissimam** C.1 C.3 C.4a; **Marissima** C.2; **Marisam** C.4b; **Maresam** grP; **Marissa** Alb; **Marissan** Ly Mk U; **Marissiam** Aus
In grC.1–4a, *Marissima(m)* appears in this passage instead of a form of *Marissa(m)* or *Maresa*. In 13.257 all grC mss have *Marisso* together with Groups G, J, and N. *Yosippon* has the biblical מרשה in both passages, making it impossible to determine which form of the Latin appeared in its source. For other cases of using biblical names, see *Azotum*, *Gazam*, *Sebon*, and *Aboram* in Table 4 above.

The reading אשר לאדום מרשה (“which belongs to Edom”), which Flusser rejects in favor of מרשה, is probably the original reading because (1) it corresponds to *Aboram Marissam omnemque Idumaeum*; (2) the same phrase is also found in the account of Hyrcanus’ capturing the city (SY 33); (3) it would make a reasonable four-part division of the cities corresponding to the introduction of the list in *Yosippon*: on the coast, followed by three areas each demarcated with ל אשר (“which belong to”): to Idumaea, to Syria, and to Moab; (4) it appears in two other mss, Vat. Ebr 52 and Vat. Borg. 1, in addition to Jerusalem oct. 41280, which is the only ms cited for this variant in Flusser’s apparatus; (5) it could have easily been omitted by a scribe who, seeing ואת מרשה אשר לארם מרשה, confused אדום with ארם and eliminated the former as a redundancy.

Omission of Samariam, Carmelum montem, et Itaburium montem and Ioppem, Iamniam

Yosippon shares with ms hr the omission of the sequence *Samariam, Carmelum montem, et Itaburium montem*, an omission found nowhere else in the LAJ manuscript tradition. This is particularly intriguing because hr, like mss B, La, V, and Pi, includes AJ 1–16 together with DEH. In addition, the grC tradition clearly provided a major source for the *Antiquities* in ms hr. However, ms hr has

the closest connections to grC.4, making it a somewhat unlikely witness to the earliest layer of grC tradition. Of course, the common omission might be accidental, and *Yosippon* also omits *Ioppe* and *Iamnia*, which are found in all Latin manuscripts. Nevertheless, the case for a relationship between hr and *Yosippon* would be considerably strengthened if other distinctive connections emerge.

Gabala Moabitidem (Γάββαλα Μωαβίτιδα; גבבלה אשר למואב] Gabela Moabitidem Aus; Gabala Moabitiden Ly Mk U

Yosippon takes *Moabitidem* as an adjective modifying *Gabala*. Of the manuscripts that have punctuation marks separating the cities (almost all), grG ms St and grM mss Vat and rg are the only ones I have seen that do not have a punctuation mark separating the two words and thus possibly reading *Moabitidem* as an adjective describing *Gabala*.

Medaba (Μήδαβα; מידבא] grG pg; Midabalam G re; Midabalem all other mss Group G and the closely related ms pg read *Medaba* here and at 13.255, where several different variants appear (see p. 264). Here all groups except grG read *Midabalem*, which transfers the first syllable of the next word to the end of *Medaba* (*medabalembaaronem*). It should be noted that *Midabalem* is clearly intended to be read as one word, because virtually all the manuscripts have clear punctuation marks separating the words and not just spaces. *Yosippon* uses the biblical form מִדְבָּא, whose first syllable could be pronounced as ī or ē (as the Masoretic tradition vocalizes it).

Lembaoronem (Λεμβῶ Ορωναιμαγγελ[εθων, Λεμβῶ Ορωναι μαιται λ[αιθωνα, Λεμβῶ Ορωναι αίματαιλ[αιθωνα]; בְּהוֹרֵן] grG (Ml Lembada.Oronem); Lemboronee pg; Baoro C.1 C.2 (- Pt); Baora C.3–4 (V: Boara; Ptr O: Bocora) Pt; Baoronex grL (Pd PragXIII.D121: Bagronee) grN grP Ba; Baorenee grE grH (Br: orenee) grJ (- Ly Mk U) grM (Aus: Baoreuce) G Pr; Baorene Ly Mk U; Borane hr; Barronee w

The Greek text for the next two (or three) words is uncertain. Niese lists a number of variants (three are cited here). For the Latin he gives *oronemegaeton* (for the word after *Lemba* and including *Mega* and *et on[zora]*). This reproduces the grC reading from Naples V F 34, but without the incorrect word division marked in all grC manuscripts. As we have seen, in all manuscripts outside of grG and the closely related pg, *Lem* is attached to the previous word, yielding for the next word the variants *Baoro*, *Baora*, *Baoronee* (often spelled *Baoronee*; cf. the Greek variant Ορωναι αίματαιλ- [αι = e]), *Baorenee*, *Barrone*, and *Borane*. All grC mss have the ending of the word (-ne) attached to the next word

(= *Nemega*). Based on the Greek and Latin variants, *Lembaoronem* is probably the earliest reading.

In any case, *Yosippon*'s reading (בְּחֹרֶוֶן) would correspond best to *Baoronem* (Groups N, L, P, and ms Ba). However, with the proper word division of the reading in the source of the grC archetype (*Baorone|mega*), grC might have preserved evidence of a reading not in the extant manuscript tradition but equally close to that in *Yosippon*.¹²³

Mega (μαγελα-; מֵיגַן) grG; **Nemega** grC; **Maga** grH grJ grL grM grP Ba G w Cp Pr; **Magam** hr; **Magnam** grE grN; **pg mag(eton zora)**

The uncertainty of the Greek text makes it impossible to determine if the next word was originally a separate word or part of the previous word in the Greek manuscript tradition. What is clear is that it is a separate word in *Yosippon* and the entire LAJ manuscript tradition (with the exception of ms pg). It is also clear that *Yosippon* depends on the form *Mega* and not *Nemega* (grC) or a form beginning with *Ma-*. It is possible, however, that *Yosippon* was using the source of the grC archetype, which, like grG, would have read *Mega*, with the *ne* belonging to the previous word. The origin of the final nun is not clear. Perhaps it was influenced by forms such as אֹלֶן and פִּילֶן, which follow it.¹²⁴

Aulonem (αὐλώνα; אֹיֶלֶן) **Oculonem** grC (M I Aulonem; B? [hard to distinguish oc from a])

All groups except for group C have the reading corresponding to that in *Yosippon*. Groups C's *Oculonem* (hr *Occulonem*) derives from a misreading of Beneventan *a* as *oc*. The reading in Naples V F 34 (B) could possibly (but not likely) be read as Aulonem. If so, this would be one more example of ms B agreeing with an earlier reading in that manuscript against all the other grC manuscripts.

123 Because Flusser depended only on the 1524 Basel edition, which ultimately depended here on grG ms Werd, he only knew the reading *Lembaoronem* (1.136n60). He had therefore to assume that sy's Latin source had the corrupted reading *Baoronem*, which it understood to be the accusative of *Baoron*. The LAJ manuscript tradition clearly supports Flusser's conjecture, but also makes it clear that sy could not have been reading a grC mss which had *baoro nemega* with the two words clearly demarcated.

124 It could also represent the accusative case, but while *Magam* (hr) and *Magnam* (grE grN) are found in the extant manuscript tradition, *Megam* is not.

Pellante (Πέλλαν; פִּילָן] grC.2 grH grJ grM grP B No Ba G; Pellantem grC.3 grC.4b grE grL Vi w pg; Pellente grG (- Lau Ml) grC.4 grN (-ve No); Pellentem Lau Ml hr ve

Yosippon depends on a Latin source with either *Pellante* or *Pellantem*.

Hanc (i.e. Pellante[m]) etiam destruxit, cum non promisissent habitantes in ea patrios Iudaeorum se mores suscipere. Alias quoque Syriae ciuitates euerterunt

destruxit] destruxerunt grL

non promisissent] grG (St^{p.c.}) grE grL (- Sa Sch Pd PragXXIII.D121) grN grP hr Ba Aus;

promisissent pg;

promisisset grC St^{a.c.};

non permisissent grH Vat Pr Sa Sch G;

non permisisset Madr10270 vt; uero permisisset rg

ea patrios] patria grC.4b

se mores] (ἔθη)] grG grE pg t; seniores all other mss

Hanc ... euerterunt] omit grJ; has omnes ciuitates Alexander pugnando Iudeis subiecit Pd Prag.XXIII.D121

ταύτην δὲ κατέσκαψεν οὐχ ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι, ἄλλας τε πόλεις πρωτεύουσας τῆς Συρίας ἃ ἦσαν κατεστραμμένοι.

δὲ] om. P Niese. κατέσκαψεν] κατέσκαψαν F V W Naber Marcus. οὐχ] omitted by P Niese¹²⁵ ἐς τὰ] ἐς P Niese. μεταβαλεῖσθαι] P Niese Naber Marcus; μεταβαλέσθαι LAMVW Nodet. ἃ ἦσαν] ἦσαν P Niese. κατεστραμμένοι] κατεστραμμένοι P Niese

אלה הערים אשר לא הרס אלכסנדר כי באו בברית עמו וימולו את בשר
ערלתם וישבו בעריהם, ויתר ערי ארם הרס המלך.

Both the Greek and Latin textual tradition are exceedingly complex for the final sentence of this passage and present a number of significant problems that cannot be addressed here. The following comments are focused on

125 Niese's apparatus incorrectly reports that Naples V F 34 reads *cum promisissent* (*cum* *promisissent* cod. Neap alique, *cum non permisissent* alii cod Lat). B and all other grC manuscripts have the singular *cum permisisset*.

understanding the relationship of Groups G and C and on the text *Yosippon* might have been reading.

destruxit] Singular and plural forms appear here in both the Greek and the Latin textual traditions (κατέσκαψεν/κατέσκαψαν; *destruxit/destruxerunt*).¹²⁶ *Yosippon* is clearly reading a Latin text with the singular (הרס אלכסנדר).

cum non promississet] This reading corresponds exactly to οὐχ ὑποσχόμενων, providing a close translation of the Greek (“He destroyed the city, because its inhabitants had not promised that they would adopt the ancestral customs of the Jews”). Niese prints ὑποσχόμενων (i.e. without οὐχ) found only in P, but he is not followed by any subsequent editors. The grC reading *cum promississet* is clearly secondary, since it does not correspond to the plural ὑποσχόμενων, and makes little sense in the context. Presumably it is concessive (“he destroyed the city, although he had promised ...”), but the rest of the sentence does not make clear what he promised. The reading *cum promississet* (only in pg), however, does make sense (as does ὑποσχόμενων without οὐχ), even if it is probably not the earliest reading: “He destroyed this city, even though its inhabitants promised to adopt the ancestral customs of the Jews.”

Of particular note is the fact that the uncorrected reading in St has *cum promississet*, the same reading as in the unique grC reading, which is corrected to *non promississet*, the reading of all the other grG manuscripts (as well as of a number of other manuscripts). Similarly, at 13.254, the uncorrected text of St omits *eas* as do all the grC mss, with *eas* added above the line. On the other hand, at 13.265 the uncorrected text of St has the uniquely grG reading *uacuum habuerit* with the unique grC.3–4 reading *uacauerit* above the line. It seems then that a grC manuscript was available to both the original scribe and to a corrector.¹²⁷ Whether this has any connection to the clear relationship between grG and grC, established above on the basis of multiple readings found only in these two groups, requires a full analysis of the textual affinities

126 Both Marcus and Villeneuve (et al.) cite the Latin in their apparatus as supporting the singular reading. Since Niese does not cite Lat in his apparatus, it is unclear what source they are using. (Villeneuve could depend on Marcus). Although *destruxerunt* in grL is probably a secondary reading, it should still be noted in future editions.

127 All corrections I have seen are in a hand very close to that of the main text. The corrections are generally above the line, although the *non* in 13.397 is in the margin immediately after the text, perhaps because it is inserted after the last word in a line.

of the corrections in St.¹²⁸ At the very least it provides a case of grC and grG manuscripts in close proximity to one another.¹²⁹

Yosippon changes his source to produce a different but clear text: “These are the cities which Alexander did not destroy because they entered a covenant with him, and they circumcised the flesh of their foreskins, and they remained in their cities; and the rest of the cities of Syria the king destroyed.” In effect, it is as if *Yosippon* is reading *non* before *destruxit* instead of before *promisissent*. While not offering direct evidence, *Yosippon*’s text provides some support for the reading *cum non promisissent*,¹³⁰ since it nowhere suggests the idea that Alexander destroyed a city, *even though* (concessive *cum*) the inhabitants adopted Jewish customs.

se mores] All manuscripts except those in grG and grE and ms pg and grL ms t have the reading *seniores*, easily explained as reading *m* as *ni*. This produces a highly problematic text, with the relationship between *patrios* and *seniores* obscure.¹³¹ Here *Yosippon* is almost certainly reading a manuscript with *se mores*. In any case, there is no evidence for the reading *seniores* in *Yosippon*.¹³²

Hanc ... euerterunt] This entire section is omitted by all grJ manuscripts. It is also omitted by the Lübeck edition, which is based on the grJ manuscript tradition, and therefore is also missing from the 1514 Paris and 1519 Paris editions, based on the Lübeck edition. This accounts for its absence in the 1524 Basel edition, Flusser’s primary source for the Latin *Antiquities*, which sometimes modified the 1524 Cologne edition using the text from one of these editions.¹³³

128 The reading in pg (*cum promisissent*), which, unlike the reading in grC and the uncorrected text of St, is fully comprehensible, introduces another possible connection between an early form of the grC and grG manuscript tradition because pg has a large number of grG readings.

129 See above, n. 102, for the possibility that the scribe Goderan’s main exemplar for St was the *AJ/BJ* text mentioned in the Lobbes monastery library catalogue of 1049 and for the possibility that the *AJ* 1–16 manuscript at Stavelot was from grC.

130 Groups G, E, N, P L (-Sa, Sch) and mss Ba w. The readings with *non permisissent* and *non permisisset* are clearly secondary since they do not correspond to the Greek οὐχ ὑποσχόμενων. These readings might have been influenced by the Latin of a similar passage in the reign of John Hyrcanus (13 257): *permisit* (ἐπέτρεψεν) *eis prouinciam habitare si circumcideretur legibusque Iudaicis uteretur*. A simple misreading of *promisissent* as *permisissent* is also possible, since the only difference between them in most manuscripts is an abbreviation mark attached to the *p*. *Yosippon* does not have a word corresponding to either *promisisse(n)t* or *permisisse(n)t*.

131 The three manuscripts of subgroup C.4b have made the text smoother by reading *patria* instead of *patrios*.

132 The reading *seniores* in the 9th-century ms Ba means that this puzzling variant is already in the manuscript tradition by the time SY was written.

133 Levenson and Martin, *The Early Printed Editions*, 806–807.

3.2.3 Summary and Conclusions for Case Study 2

1. The earliest text of this passage is found in grG, with the following exceptions:
 - a. *Rinocorura* in grL.1 is probably the earliest reading because it reproduces the Greek;
 - b. *Mega* in grG and in the source of grC variant *Nemega* is probably secondary because all Greek mss and all other Latin manuscript groups have a name beginning with the syllable *ma*;
 - c. *Pellante(m)* rather than *Pellente(m)* in grG grN grC.4 hr corresponds better to the Greek Πέλλαν;
 - d. *Azoton* in grC.1 and grC.3–4a is closer to the Greek Ἀζωτον than *Azotum*, found in almost all other manuscripts;
 - e. *promisisset* in the uncorrected text of grG ms St in 13.397, which agrees with grC, is later than *non promississent* in all other manuscripts.
2. Only group G has *Lembaoronem* (with the original first syllable), and only grG, grE, and ms t have preserved the original reading *se mores*.
3. Two lacunae provide important evidence for the establishment and connection of groups:
 - a. The omission of *in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam* by all manuscripts from Groups E, L.2, N, and P and manuscripts Ba, G, and w indicates a clear connection, which is confirmed by the same manuscripts omitting *populares uero non eis obsequabantur* in 13.298;
 - b. the omission of 13.397b (*hanc ... euerterunt*) by all nine manuscripts in grJ is a significant marker for that group.
4. The obviously secondary readings in all almost all grC mss—*Baora/Baoro, Nemega, Oculonem*—clearly derive from earlier readings in the source of the grC archetype: *Baorone, Mega, Aulonem*, of which *Baorone* and *Mega* are connected to grG (grG *Lembaoronem*) becomes *Baoronem* after the first syllable is attached to *Midaba* and the last to *Mega*.
5. This passage provides potentially useful information about *Yosippon's* Latin source for the following readings:
 - a. רינוקורה *Rinocora* (grC grG grL.1) rather than *Rinocoro* (grH grJ grN grP), *Rinocoron* (grE), *Rinocorura* (grL.2), or *Rincoro* (grM).
 - b. בחורון *Baoronee* (grL grN grP Ba) rather than *Lembaoronem* (grG), *Baorene(e)* (grE grH grJ grM G), *Baoro* (grC), *Barronee* (w), *Barrone* (hr), *Lemboronee* (pg).

- c. מֵיגָן *Mega* (grG) rather than *Nemega* (grC), *Maga* (grH grJ grL grM grP Ba G w), *Magnam* (grE grN), *Magam* (hr).
- d. אוֹלוֹן *Aulonem* in all mss except grC (*Oculonem*) hr (*Occulonem*).
- e. פִּילֵן *Pellante(m)* (grC.1–3 C.4b grE grH grJ grL grM grP Ba G w pg) rather than *Pellente(m)* (grC.4 grG grN hr).
- f. Omission of *in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam*: sy and grE, grL.2, grN, grP, Ba G w.
- g. Omission of *Samariam, Carmelum montem, et Ithaburium montem*: sy and hr.
- h. כִּי באוּ בברית עמו וימולו את בשר ערלתם (“because they entered into a covenant with them and they circumcised the flesh of their foreskin”) corresponds to the reading *se mores* in grG, grE, ms pg, and grL ms t better than to the obscure reference to *patrios ... seniores* in the other groups and manuscripts.

3.3 Case Study 3: *Hyrcanus' Conquests and Embassy to Rome*

A concentration of variants in the account of Hyrcanus' successes in conquering a number of cities and in renewing the alliance with Rome makes this passage particularly useful in evaluating the relationship of *Yosippon* to the *LAJ* textual tradition and especially its relationship to grC manuscripts, the family to which the manuscripts that Flusser identified as related to the source for *Yosippon* belong. As a guide to the narrative context in which the variants appear and as an illustration of how closely *Yosippon* follows the Latin *Antiquities*, an English synopsis is provided. Readings discussed in a brief commentary following the synopsis are in bold. A Latin text based on ms St with variants from B and El can be found in Appendix 3 (pp. 303–304).

Sefer Yosippon 29, 1–19

And Hyrcanus saw that Antiochus was dead, and he ceased going against Arsaces. And he directed his attention to Aram Zoba,

Antiquities 13.254–260

²⁵⁴ When Hyrcanus learned of the death of Antiochus, he immediately prepared an expedition against the cities of Syria, thinking that he would find **them** unprepared and bereft of fighters and defenders, which actually happened.

and he came to **Medaba**, and he besieged it for **six months**. And God gave it into his hand, and he subjected it to forced labor. And he turned from there and went to **Shamgan** and captured it and all its neighboring areas. And he returned and came to Shechem and he struck it because it did not open up for him.

And he struck **Mt. Gerazim** and destroyed the temple that Sanbalat made for Manasseh his son-in-law, the brother of **Iddo**, the chief of the priests.

And Hyrcanus destroyed it 200 years after its construction. And King Hyrcanus overturned it down to its foundations, and he struck the Cutheans who were on the mountain of Samaria.

And he set out and went to the land of Edom. And he struck **Abora Maresha**, which belong(s) to Edom. And he subdued the pride of Edom and subjected them to forced labor until the Exile,

²⁵⁵ For he captured **Medaba in the sixth month**, after his army had endured much hardship. After this he also captured **Samoga** and the cities near it and also even **Sycima**

and **Garizin** and the nation of the Cutheans, ²⁵⁶ which possessed a temple built according to the likeness of the Jerusalem temple that Sanaballat, their leader, built at the command of Alexander, for the sake of his son-in-law Manasses, the brother of the chief of the priests **Iaddus**, just as we have related previously.¹³⁴

So it happened that this temple was demolished 200 years later.

²⁵⁷ So when Hyrcanus had subdued the cities of Idumea, **Abora along with Marissa**, and all the Idumeans,

¹³⁴ Cf. *AJ* 13:281.

for the King bound and tied them and enchained them with chains of circumcision and circumcised the flesh of their foreskins.¹³⁵

And from that day forward they were circumcised and were keeping the observance of the Torah of the Jews¹³⁶ until the Exile.

And thus the king did to all the nations that he conquered.

And it came to pass when the LORD made his way prosper, that he sent messengers to Rome to renew the covenant with the leaders of the Romans.

And these are the words of the covenant which the Roman leaders renewed for Hyrcanus, king of Judah:

Fannius, son of Marcus, and **Lucius and Mallius, sons of Mentinus**, Gaius Sempronius, son of Falernus, and the rest of the leaders of the Romans and the Elder¹³⁷ who is with us, to Hyrcanus, King of Judah, Peace.

he permitted them to inhabit the province if they would be circumcised and observe Jewish laws.

258 And they, from longing for their native land, endured **circumcision** and the other parts of the Jews' way of life. And for this reason, from that time they began to be Jews.

259 When this was accomplished, the chief of the priests Hyrcanus, wishing to renew the alliance with the Romans, sent an embassy to them.

And when the senate had taken up what he had written, it arranged an alliance of friendship in the following manner:

260 "The consul Fannius, the son of Marcus, has ordered all the senate to convene in the Campus on the eighth day before the Ides of February, with **Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius Mentinus**, and Gaius Sempronius, the son of Falerna present, for this matter ...":

135 Cf. *SY* 10, 71–72; *AJ* 13, 319.

136 All mss except Rothschild 24 have תורת יהודה; on the basis of the reading ״ (without תורת) in Rothschild 24, Flusser emends the text to ״ תורת. The Latin *legibusque Iudaicis* (cf. *conuersationem Iudaeorum*), however, confirms the reading reported by Flusser for all Hebrew manuscripts except Rothschild 24.

137 In his note on *SY* 29, 16, Flusser cites *SY* 2, 133, for the author's belief that the Romans chose a single Elder to rule with 320 counselors. He also suggests that here *Yosippon* might have been influenced by 1 Macc. 8:16.

3.3.1 Commentary

254. *eas* (ἀὐτὰς)] omitted grC; added above St

One of two places the original reading in St agrees with a unique grC variant and is corrected to the reading found in all other manuscripts.¹³⁸ Based on the Greek text, the grC omission of *eas* is obviously secondary.

255. *Medaba* (Μήδαβαν; מִדְבָּתָה)] grG (- Lau Tr Ml) grM grP; *Medabam* grL grE (- al); *Minadabam* grC.1 Ptr; *Minadam* grC.2; *Nadabam* grC.3–4; *Midaba* grH grN (L *nādabam* to *nāmidabam*) grJ Ba; *Medebam* al; *Nabadam* hr; *Bedaba* Lau Tr Ml

The place name *Medaba* is found in five places in *LAJ* and exhibits a variety of forms in the various groups and even within the same manuscript.¹³⁹ See p. 255 for discussion of the name in 13.397. Here *Medaba* is found in Groups G, M, and P, with the closely related forms *Medabam* and *Medebam* in Groups L and M. *Bedaba* is a clear indication of the distinct grG subgroup Lau Tr Ml. The grC subgroups present a typical case of grC.2 and grC.3 independently deriving from grC.1. Manuscript hr, as is often the case, has the reading in grC.3–4.

Yosippon's reading here, as at 13.397, probably derives from the biblical form (מִדְבָּתָה) and not from the Latin variant *Midaba* or *Medaba* (the Masoretic tradition vocalizes the Hebrew with ē in the first syllable).

sexto mense (ἕκτῳ μηνί; ששה חודשים)] *intra septem menses* grC.1 (B *intra* s.l.) grC.3–4 hr; *intra menses septem* grC.2

All grC mss have *intra septem menses*. The uncorrected reading in ms B (*septem menses*) would mean “for seven months” rather than within seven months.

Yosippon was most probably reading a text with *sexto mense* rather than *intra septem menses* (or *septem menses*), since “six months” is closer to “in the sixth month” than “within seven months.” The uncorrected variant in B (“for seven months”) could clearly not be the reading in *Yosippon's* source.

Samogan (Σαμόγαν; שמוגן)] grG grC.1–2 V L; *Samogam* (often spelled *Samogā*) in all other manuscripts

The reading in *Yosippon* clearly corresponds to the earliest reading, found only in grG grC.1–2 grC.3 ms V and grN ms L. Flusser evidently did not know

138 See pp. 258–259 for the discussion of the other reading, *promisisset* (grC) corrected to *non promisissent* (13.397). At 13.265, a unique grC.3–4 reading (*uacauerit*) corrects a unique grG reading (*uacuum habuerit*).

139 E.g. St has *Midaba* (cor. to *Medaba*) at *AJ* 13.11, *Minadaba* at 13.19, *Medaba* at 13.355 and 13.397, and *Midaba* at 14.18; B has *Nabatha*, *Nabatham*, *Minadabam*, *Midabalem* (incorrect word division), and *Midabalybias* (another incorrect word division) in the same passages.

(or notice in B or La) this reading, since he prints *Samogam* in his commentary, which is found in the 1524 Basel edition as well as in the vast majority of mss.

256. ac **Garizin gentemque** (καὶ Γαριζεῖν τό τε [Κουθαίωv] γένος; הַר גַּרִּיזִים; cf. וַיְדַם אֶת הַכוּחִים in the continuation of the story)] grG (- Ml) grJ (- li) w; nargariz ingentemque grC.1–3 (Vi nagariz in gentemque) Ptr; narzari ingentemque grC.4a (M narzani ingentemque); nazarinque ingente grC.4b; agarizin gentemque grN Ba G; garizim gentemque grL; et argarizim gentemque grE; ac Garizim gentemque grH grM li; et Garizim gentemque grP pg Ml; nagariz gentemque hr

The different variants correspond well to the established groups, with the reading in grG and grJ being closest to the Greek. Influence from the parallel passage in *BJ* 1.63 probably accounts for *ac Garizin* becoming *Argarizin* in grE (see below for another possible example of a grE reading being influenced by *BJ* 1.63).

Just as in 13.397, an incorrect word division in the grC archetype has given rise to names found only in all grC manuscripts: *argarizin gentemque* becomes *nargariz ingentemque* in grC.1–3, which then is corrupted to *narzari ingentemque* in grC.4 grC.4a. The initial n might derive from the last letter of the previous word *Syciman*, although the spelling with *n* rather than *m* or a line over the *a* is found only in Ba. Appearance in that 9th-century text does indicate that the variant with *n* is early. In any case, this is clear evidence that the source of the grC archetype had the reading *Argarizin*.

The reading הַר גַּרִּיזִים in *Yosippon* almost certainly derives from the biblical form rather than from a secondary variant in either grE or in the source of grC.1–3. הַר גַּרִּיזִים translating *Garizin* or *Garizim* is also found in in *SY* 10, 56, based on *AJ* 11.340.

(*fratrem*) **Iaddi** (Ἰαδδῆς; Ἰαδδῆς Ἰαδδῆς); [עִידוֹ] grG grH grJ grM; **Iaddo** grC grL w; **Ieddo** grE grN pg Ba G; **Iadi** hr; **Iaddonis** grP

In addition to this passage, the name of the high priest who met Alexander the Great occurs five times in *AJ* 11 (302, 306, 322, 326, and 347), where there are variants in both the Greek and Latin manuscript tradition, e.g. Ἰαδδῆς, Ἰωαδδῆς; *Iaddus*, *Ioaddas*, *Ioideas*, *Ioaddus*, *Iaadus*). In most manuscripts the name is not spelled the same way in the different passages.¹⁴⁰ In the Greek Bible, this name, in its various spellings (Ἰαδδῆς, Ἰωαδδῆς, and Ἰωαδδῆς), corresponds to the High Priest יְדוּעַ in Neh 12:11 (11 Esd 22:11), while Ἰωαδδῆς and Ἰωαδδῆς are also found as variants for Ἰωδδῆς, which corresponds to יוֹדֵעַ, the grandfather of יְדוּעַ, who is also mentioned in Neh 12:11.

140 E.g. *Iaddus* (11.302, 11.322), *Iaddo* (11.306), *Ioadas* (11.326), *Iaadus* (11.347) in B; *Iaddus*, *Ioadas* (11.326) in St.

It is noteworthy that *Yosippon* names the High Priest עִידו in the story of Alexander in *SY* 10 (*AJ* 11) and עִידו in the reference to that story here in *SY* 29 (*AJ* 13).¹⁴¹ This corresponds to the name עִדְיָא, a different priest, who is mentioned in the same list in *Neh* 12. Flusser suggests that *Yosippon* used this name because it is closer to *Iaddo*, a variant found in both manuscripts B and La, which, according to him, were in the same group as *SY*'s source. For the present project this would also seem to be evidence for the use of a grC ms, since the reading is found in all grC manuscripts. However, the same variant is also found in all grL mss and ms w.¹⁴² Furthermore, the Hebrew עִידו could just as easily reflect the reading *Ieddo* in grN, grE, and mss Ba and G.¹⁴³

257. *Abora cum Marisso* (Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισσον; חברה מרשה) [*abora cum*] *aboracum* grL grH; *adoreon* grE grM; *adoreon et* grP; *Marisso*] grC.1–2 grG (- Ml) grJ grN; *Marissam* grL (b *Marissum* corr. to *Marissam*); *maresan* grE grM grP; *Mariso* grC.3–4 (V *Matriso*; Pi *mariso* corr. to *matriso*)¹⁴⁴ Ptr hr No; *Mariso* cepit Ml

Abora cum Marisso, the reading in all mss except Groups L, E, M, and P, is a possible, but odd translation of the Greek. The reading *Aboracum Marissam/Marissum* in grL (grH has *Aboracum Marisso*) could either be an attempt to correct the text or an earlier reading with *aboracum* later read as two words, which would require the ablative form for *Marissum*. The reading *Adoreon* in grE, grM, and grP is closer to the Greek, and grP's *adoreon et maresan* corresponds exactly to the Greek. However, the specific spellings *Adoreon* and *Maresan* and the fact that grE elsewhere appears to be influenced by a *BJ* reading for this passage (see *Argarizin* above) make it somewhat more likely that this is a secondary correction, based on *LBJ* 1.63, of an awkward reading.

Yosippon is clearly reading a text with *Abora* and not *Adora* or *Adoreon*. Here חברה transliterates the Latin, while in 13.396 the biblical name חברון is used for *Abora*. The lack of the connective is probably accidental and not related to the same phenomenon in grE and grM. The spelling מרשה, as in 13.396, derives from the biblical spelling and not necessarily from a form without an i.¹⁴⁵

141 In *SY* 10, the high priest's name appears as עִידו in a passage parallel to 322 (the brother of Iddo) and as חוניה in three mss in a passage parallel to 11.326 (cf. Onias, Iaddus' son, in 11.347; the other *SY* mss do not give the high priest's name).

142 *Iaddonis* in grP is an attempt to improve the text by declining the indeclinable form *Iaddo*. grC.2 mss C and Pt make it a (possessive) dative by changing *principis* to *principi*.

143 The name *Iaddo* for the high priest is attested as early as the ninth century, where it is found in the large manuscript group D at 11.306 (a group not relevant for *AJ* 13, since most of its mss have only *AJ* 1–12), which includes several 9th-century manuscripts. The reading *Ieddo* at 13.255 is found in the ninth-century ms Ba.

144 See above, p. 233.

145 2 Chr 11:8; 14:8–9; 20:37. 1 Chr 2:42; 4:21 (Josh 15:44 has מראשה).

260. **Fannius Marci filius consul omnem senatum octauo Idus Februarias in campo iussit conuenire praesente Lucio Manlio, Lucii Mentini filio, et Gaio Sempronio Falernae filio;**

Φάννιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς βουλὴν ἤγαγεν πρὸ ὀκτώ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομητίῳ¹⁴⁶ παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντῖνα καὶ Γαίου Σεμπρωνίου Πενναίου¹⁴⁷ υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα; גיוס מנטינוס בני מנטיאוס ומליאוס ולוקיאוס ומרקוס בן פניאוס סמפרוניאוס בן פלרנאוס

omnem senatum] senatum omne grC.2; **Februarias]** grC.1–2 grG pg; **Februarii]** grJ Mn H Sa hr ve No al; febr b Adm Bo Cl Nv grM; Feb Ba L El; **Februariarum]** Ptr; **Februarius]** grC.3–4; **Februario mense]** grP; **campo]** grG (- Lau); **campum]** all other mss except Lau (templo); **Manlio]** Mallio grC (- Ne^{p.c.} Plut8sin10); **manlicio]** grP; **Lucii]** Luci grN pg Ba G w; **omitted]** grC; **Mentini]** Mentinii grL; **Lucii Mentini]** lumentini grP

In both his 1959 review of Blatt and the introduction to his edition, Flusser utilizes the variant *Mallio* for *Manlio* to prove that *Yosippon* was reading a manuscript belonging to the group represented by the manuscripts with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*. This was based on *Mallio* in mss B and La (the only two manuscripts he had seen from the group) and *Manlio* in the 1524 Basel edition.¹⁴⁸ Here Flusser is clearly correct. The reading is in fact found in 20 grC manuscripts and nowhere else in the *LAJ* manuscript tradition. Furthermore, Flusser’s argument can be made even stronger by noting that *Yosippon* also follows grC by omitting *Lucii*, which is missing only in this group (*SY*: Lucius and Mallius, the sons of Mentinus; grC: Lucius Mallius, the son of Mentinus). Given the limited resources with which he was working, it is quite impressive that Flusser was able to identify the only unambiguous example of *Yosippon* using a manuscript related to grC that we have found in this part of the *Antiquities*.

3.3.2 Summary and Conclusions for Case Study 3

- Five place names in this passage have multiple variants that make it possible to clearly identify specific manuscript groups and subgroups: *Samogan* (grC grG), *Medaba* (grC.1, grC.2, grC.3–4), *ac Garizin gentemque* (grC.1–3, grC.4, grE, grL, grN, grP), *Abora* (grL, grP), *Marissa* (grC.3, grL).
- Because *Yosippon* uses the biblical names for *Medaba*, *Garizin*, and *Marissa*, it is not possible to determine which name would have been in its Latin source. *Yosippon* was clearly using a source with *Abora* and not

146 Note that Κομητίῳ is a conjecture and that the Greek mss have κομπῖω, κομπω, κοππω (see above, p. 105).

147 v.l. Γναίου.

148 Niese cites the reading *Mallio* in B (“cod. Neapol.”) in his editio maior and introduces it into his text in his editio minor.

- Adoreon* (grM, grN, grP). *Samogan* (vs *Samogam*) is found only in grC and grG manuscripts, indicating a connection between one of these groups and *Yosippon*, which has שמגן.
3. *Yosippon*'s ששה חודשים is more easily derived from the reading *sexto mense* than from *intra septem menses* or *septem menses* in grC.
 4. *Yosippon*'s בליאוס, as Flusser noted, corresponds to the variant *Mallius* (vs *Manlius*). Flusser's discovery of this reading in mss B and La and not in the 1524 Basel edition was one of the two textual bases for his argument that *Yosippon*'s Latin source belonged to the group of mss with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*. That the variant *Mallius* is a distinct marker for the group to which B, La, V, and Pi belong can now be confirmed, since it is found in 20 grC manuscripts and nowhere else. The omission of the next word *Lucii* in all grC manuscripts, *Yosippon*, and nowhere else provides further evidence supporting this element of Flusser's hypothesis. The appearance of *Manlio Lucii* in ms hr indicates that it is here using a source other than a grC manuscript.
 5. Flusser suggested that the Biblical name עידו for the High Priest who met Alexander is chosen because it is close to the reading *Iaddo* in the group to which B and La belong. While it is true this is the universal reading in grC mss (vs *Iaddi*), *Iaddo* is also found in all grL manuscripts and ms w and is implied by *Iaddonis* in grP. The name עידו could also just as easily be derived from the variant *Ieddo* in Groups E and N and manuscripts B, G, and pg.

3.4 Case Study 4: *The Death of Aristobulus* (*AJ* 13.314–322)

The fourth case study analyzes the tragic story of the death of Aristobulus, beginning at the point he becomes sick with grief and guilt over his role in the murder of his brother Antigonus. The distinctiveness of the text found in all Group C manuscripts offers a striking example of how far the form of the text in that group can depart from the rest of the *LAJ* manuscript tradition. This makes it particularly useful for evaluating possible links of the grC manuscripts B, La, V, and Pi to *Yosippon*, whose extended narrative at this point follows its *LAJ* source closely. The variants in this passage also add significant support to the evidence presented in the first two selections that, in this part of the *Antiquities*, Group G has preserved the earliest form of the tradition. In addition to the clear examples of secondary variants in grC manuscripts and of earliest readings in Group G, the variants in this passage also include two places where grC alone probably has the earliest reading and also a full clause

shared by grC and grG, which has disappeared from the rest of the manuscript tradition and which has parallels with *Yosippon*. This connection between grC and grG, which has been demonstrated at many points already in this chapter, is an important key to understanding the early development of the tradition and is of particular importance for reconstructing the form of the text used by *Sefer Yosippon*.

3.4.1 Unique Group C and Group G Variants

The most important variant in this passage found only in all 22 grC manuscripts collated is a large lacuna from 13.315c–320, which has already been discussed in connection with the precedence of ms B in the grC manuscript tradition. There it was shown that the insertion of material from the Latin *War* to fill in part of the lacuna that is found in all grC manuscripts probably derives from ms B, where the insertion appears to be an addition to the manuscript. In this case study, the other distinctive connections between grC and grG and their importance for reconstructing *Yosippon's LAJ* source will be discussed with the help of English synopses comparing grG ms St and grC manuscript B and comparing the *LAJ* text with *Yosippon*. In the comparison below, aside from the lacuna, places where the grC and grG texts differ are indicated by *italics*. A passage where grG and grC agree against the rest of the tradition is indicated by **bold italics**, and readings only in grG are printed in **bold**. The commentary following the synopsis focuses on selected passages most relevant for understanding the grC and grG manuscript traditions and their relationship to the Latin text used by *Sefer Yosippon*. The complete Latin text of the passage in St with variants from B and El can be found in Appendix 3 (pp. 311–313).

Group G: Brussels II 1179 (ms St)

Therefore, this disturbed *the prophet*.
³¹⁴ *But* remorse for a brother's ***murder*** and weeping took hold of *Aristobulus*, and also illness spread through his mind because of grief for his crime and kept up the intolerable suffering due to the rotting away of his innards. He also vomited an abundance of blood.

Group C: Naples V F 34 (ms B)

But, therefore, this disturbed *Aristobulus* ³¹⁴ and remorse for a brother's ***murder*** and weeping took hold of *him*, and also illness spread through his mind because of grief for his crime and kept up the intolerable suffering due to the rotting away of his innards. He also vomited an abundance of blood.

While some boy was carrying it, he slipped in the place in which stains of the blood of Antigonus were still remaining, I believe by the disposition of God's providence.

315a When this happened,

315b *a cry went up from those seeing the blood poured out, since they thought that the boy had done this of his own accord.*

315c But when Aristobulus heard the cry and asked the cause, he *threatened* more insistently those who were silent, wanting to learn the cause of the cry.

For people are suspicious about those things that are held in silence and always think that they are worse.

316 *But when they revealed the truth to him as he was coercing and threatening [them],*

his mind was confounded, struck by his conscience, and groaning from the depths of his chest and with tears, he spoke, "Am I really able to escape the notice of God for such impious and cruel deeds, so that I might not be consumed by swift punishment for the crime of a brother's murder?"

While some boy was carrying it, he slipped in the place in which stains of the blood of Antigonus¹⁴⁹ were still remaining, as I believe by the disposition of God's providence.

315a When this happened,

[BJ 1.82b in place of 315b] *wailing immediately arose [from those] who had seen the boy pour out the blood as if on purpose.*

315c But when Aristobulus heard the cry and asked the cause, when they were silent, he *exerted himself* more insistently, wanting to learn the cause of the cry.

[BJ 1.83 end] *And when he filled his eyes with tears and groaned as much as he could, he said this: [BJ 1.84] "It should certainly not have been expected that my wicked deeds should escape the great eye of God, for avenging justice quickly pursues me for the murder of my kinsman.*

149 Reading *Antigoni* for the erroneous *Antigonus* found in mss B, C, La, and Pt^{a-c}.

317 How long, shameless body, do you hold back my soul from approaching the shades of my brother and mother? Why do you not quickly return it, but instead little by little I make my blood a libation to the murdered.

318 After he had said these things, he died in the first year of his reign. He was also called Philhellene, that is lover of the Greeks. Indeed, he benefitted his homeland much. For he subdued the Itureans and attached most of their province to the Jews and compelled the ones living in it to be circumcised according to the laws of the Jews, if they wanted to remain in the province.¹⁵⁰

319 Moreover, he was of a very temperate nature and of innate decency, according to the testimony Strabo presents in the name of Timagenes, saying the following: “This man was temperate and exceedingly beneficial to the Jews; for he acquired a province for them and joined part of the people of the Itureans to them by the bond of circumcision.”

150 Cf. AJ 13,257 and 397.

³²⁰ When Aristobulus died, his wife Salome, who had the name Alexandra among the Greeks, freeing his brothers, whom Aristobulus held in bonds, as was mentioned earlier, appointed as king Janneus, who also was called Alexander, being greater in age **than his brothers and much more humble.**

³²¹ *As soon as he had been born, he was demeaned by his father's hatred, and up to his death* he never came before the countenance of his father. The cause of this hatred is said to have been the following:

³²² Since Hyrcanus loved *his* elder *sons* Antigonus and Aristobolus, when God appeared to him in his sleep, and he (Hyrcanus) asked him which of his sons would become his successor, upon God showing him the face of that one, having become depressed because this one would become the heir of all of his possessions, he *sent him away from birth* to be brought up in Galilee. But God in no way lied *to Hyrcanus*. For after the death of Aristobolus, that one took up the reign.

³²¹ *As soon as he had been born, he was demeaned by his father's hatred, and up to his death* he never came before the countenance of his father. The cause of this hatred is said to have been the following:

³²² Since Hyrcanus loved *his* elder *sons* Antiochus and Aristobolus, when God appeared to him in his sleep, and he (Hyrcanus) asked him which of his sons would become his successor, upon God showing him the face of that one, having become depressed because this one would become the heir to all of his possessions, he *let him from birth* be brought up in Galilee. But God in no way lied. For after the death of Aristobolus, that one took up the reign *of Hyrcanus*.

3.4.2 Other Unique Group C Variants

13.313 (end)–314 (beg). **Igitur uatem hoc perturbauit (314) Aristobolum autem** (τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάρραξεν. (314) Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ). **igitur]** ita hr; **uatem]** autem grC.1 grC.2; per grC.3; autem per grC.4a Ptr hr; **uatem hoc]** Antigoni mors grC.4b (over erasure in Ne); **perturbauit]** turbauit grC.3–4 Ptr; **autem]** et eum grC hr

The text in this sentence is changed significantly by the grC archetype's misreading of *uatem* as *autem* at the end of 13.313. This led to four distinct variations that correspond to grC subgroups:

grG. Igitur uatem hoc perturbauit. (314) Aristobolum autem fraternae caedis paenitentia fletusque possedit ...

τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν. (314) Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθύς εἰσήλθε μετάνοια ...

grC.1–2. Igitur autem hoc perturbauit (314) Aristobolum et eum fraternae caedis paenitentia fletusque possedit ...

grC.3. Igitur per hoc turbauit (314) Aristobolum et eum fraternae caedis paenitentia fletusque possedit ...

grC.4a. Igitur autem per hoc turbauit (314) Aristobolum et eum fraternae caedis paenitentia fletusque possedit ...

grC.4b. Igitur Antigoni mors¹⁵¹ turbauit (314) Aristobolum et eum fraternae caedis paenitentia fletusque possedit ...

314. Antigoni (Ἀντιγόνου)] Antigonus B C La Pt (corr. to Antigoni); Antigonis Pi O. in loco in quo maculae sanguinis adhuc Antigoni permanebant εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὗ σφαγέντος Ἀντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκεῖνου συνέβαινε εἶναι

The clear error in B is reproduced in grC.2 manuscripts C, La, and Pt^{a.c.} (La and Pt both probably depending on C).¹⁵² The correction in grC.2 ms Pt might reflect an additional source in that manuscript, if it is not simply an obvious grammatical correction. The puzzling variant *Antigonis* in Pi is probably another attempt to correct the error in B.¹⁵³ The appearance of the same variant in O almost certainly depends on Ptr, in which the folio page where this passage occurs is replaced by a blank page. A connection between Ptr and grC.3 is found elsewhere, but, however that connection is to be explained (both Ptr and V, the earliest grC.3 manuscript, are dated to late 11th or early 12th century), it is an indication of a source, reflected in Ptr and grC.3–4, that introduces new elements into the grC manuscript tradition, sometimes (although not here) bringing in earlier readings to correct readings in Groups C.1 and C.2. This source might also account for the readings in grC.1 ms Vi (late 11th century) not found in B.

315. minabatur (ἐπετείνετο)] conabatur grC.1–2 grC.4b Vt l O hr; conabantur grC.3–4a (-Vt l O pat); conabatur pat; mirabantur w

151 *Antygoni* in Ne is written over an erasure (presumably *autem hoc*) and *mors* is extended into the margin. Mss pa and Plut. 18simo (not listed by Blatt), derived from Ne, have *Antigoni mors* as the original reading in the text.

152 See above, p. 230.

153 See above, p. 233, on grC.3's dependence on grC.1 rather than grC.2.

causamque requisisset tacentibus amplius **minabatur/conabatur**,
discere uolens clamoris causam ... Ut uero cogenti et interminanti;
Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο
μαθεῖν... ὡς δὲ ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου).

While either *minabatur* or *conabatur* could be the earliest reading (*conabantur* is clearly secondary), the grC reading *conabatur* (exerted himself) seems a better fit for ἐπετείνετο (being intent on) than *minabatur* (threatened). With the reading *conabatur*, *tacentibus* would best be construed as an ablative absolute corresponding to the genitive absolute μὴ λεγόντων. Perhaps *minabatur* (found in all mss except w, which has *mirabantur*) is an attempt to simplify the text by taking *tacentibus* as the object of *minabatur*, influenced by the following *interminanti*.

321. ad faciem (εἰς ὄψιν)] ante faciem grC.3–4.

A clearly secondary reading in grC.3–4.

322. Antigonom (Ἀντίγονον)] Antiochum grC.1 (Vi corr. to Antigonom) grC.3
La; Antigonom over erasure C M Ne

With the readings in the erasures almost certainly correcting *Antiochum*, there remain only five grC manuscripts with the correct reading. Four of these are either direct copies or dependent on other mss, with the result that only grC.2 ms Pt would be a possible independent witness for the reading *Antigonom*, and this could easily be a scribe's correction of an obvious error rather than evidence of *Antigonom* in the manuscript's Vorlage.

322. dimisit (εἶασεν)] permisit grC.

genitum in Galilea nutriri **demisit/permisit**; γενόμενον εἶασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ
τρέφεσθαι.

The grC reading permisit is closer to the Greek εἶασεν. The possibility that *dimisit*, found in all non-grC manuscripts except grG ms Werd (*iussit*), is the earliest reading cannot be excluded, since both *dimitto* and εἶω can mean “let go.” See below for discussion of these readings in the context of *Yosippon*.

322. Hyrcano (Ἵρκανόν)] Hyrcani grC.

The grC reading Hyrcani is clearly secondary. All manuscript groups except for grC correspond to the Greek in having “he by no means lied to Hyrcanus” as the end of one sentence and “That one took up the rule after the death of Aristobulus” as the beginning of another: *nequaquam mentitus est Hyrcano namque Hyrcani regnum post Aristobuli finem iste suscepit*. (οὐ διεψεύσατο τὸν

Ἵρκανόν. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου τελευτὴν οὗτος παραλαβών). Group C manuscripts end one sentence with “he by no means lied” and begin another with “That one took up the rule of Hyrcanus after the death of Aristobulus.”

3.4.3 Unique Group G Variants

314. arbitror (οἶμαι) grG; ut arbitror in all other manuscripts.

The earliest reading is unclear. For example, the *LAJ* text in grG ms St provides a number of different translations for parenthetical οἶμαι, for example, *ut reor* (6.59), *reor* (6.41), *ut arbitror* (6.63, 11.39), and *arbitror* (8.409).

317. meum [sanguinem] (τοῦ μόν [αἷμα]) grG pg; omitted in all other manuscripts (lacuna in grC).

grG clearly has the earliest reading, because “my blood” in grG corresponds to the Greek better than “the blood” in the rest of the manuscript tradition. It is impossible to know what reading would have been in the source of the grC archetype, which would not have had a lacuna.

fratribus et humiliorem multum (καὶ μετριότητα) grG pg; omitted in all other groups (lacuna in grC).

grG clearly has the earliest reading, since *et humiliorem* corresponds to the Greek. There is no word corresponding to *fratribus* in the Greek, although it is clearly implied. It is impossible to know what reading would have been in the source of the grC archetype, which would not have had a lacuna.

3.4.4 Unique Variants Shared by Group C and Group G

314. sceleris (ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους) grG grC pg; celeri grE grH grJ grL grM grN Ba G w hr; omit grP

Groups C and G clearly have the earliest reading.

321. cum mox genitus fuisset odio patris despectus erat et usque ad mortem (συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθύς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ)] grG grC pg; omit grE grH grJ grL grM grN grP Ba G w hr.

Here, most significantly, immediately after the lacuna, grC preserves an entire clause also found in grG, but nowhere else in the manuscript tradition. See below for the discussion of the connection of this phrase to the text in *Yosippon*.

322. suos filios] τῶν παίδων. grG (- Ml r) grC; filios suos grE grH grJ grL grN grM L Ba G w Ml r; filios grP pg

This transposition is significant only in so far as it provides another example of grC agreeing with grG against the rest of the manuscript tradition.

3.4.5 Groups C and G and *Sefer Yosippon*

3.4.5.1 *The Lacuna in Group C and Sefer Yosippon*

As can be seen from the synopsis below, *Yosippon* includes a number of details from the story that are missing in all grC manuscripts due to the lacuna. It is clear, therefore, that its sole LAJ source could not have been a grC manuscript.

Sefer Yosippon 31, lines 80–92¹⁵⁴

LAJ 13.316–319 (St)

The king asked again forcefully, as kings do, and said: “Tell me [the reason for] the sound of the people’s cry. And if you do not tell me, you shall surely die!” And they answered and said to the king what had been done, that the blood had been spilled upon the blood of his brother.

316 When they revealed the truth to him as he was coercing and threatening (them),

And the king groaned and cried out and said, “Blessed be the Righteous Judge, the True Judge, and blessed be the Avenger of innocent blood, in that the blood of the wicked was spilled upon the blood of the righteous one who was killed.”

his mind was confounded, struck by his conscience, and groaning from the depths of his chest and with tears, he said “Am I really able to escape the notice of God for such impious and cruel deeds, so that I might not be consumed by swift punishment for the crime of a brother’s murder?”

154 Trans. Bowman, 124, with some modifications. See 13.286.

And the king said to his body,
 “How long, O wicked body, will you
 imprison my soul and not allow it
 to leave and go to the souls of my
 people? Rather cast out my blood,
 and pour it outside, sacrificing it
 to give it to the demons who are
 with Satan to lap it up, for they have
 incited me and driven me in this
 affair to do such things and to kill my
 brother.¹⁵⁵

As he was speaking these words he
 ended his life, died, and was gath-
 ered to his people.

The days that he reigned were one
 full year. All Judah wept for him
 exceedingly, for the Jews loved him
 because he was beneficent and
 victorious. For he vanquished a great
 nation called the Itureans. And he
 circumcised the flesh of their fore-
 skins and he subdued them under
 the yoke of Judah. And the Greeks
 called him Aristobulus Philelleni,
 that is lover of the Greeks.¹⁵⁶

317 How long, shameless body, do you
 hold back my soul from approach-
 ing the shades of my brother and
 mother? Why do you not quickly
 return it, but instead little by little
 I make my blood a libation to the
 murdered.

318 After he had said these things, he
 died in the first year of his reign. He
 was called Philhellene, that is lover
 of the Greeks. Indeed, he benefitted
 his homeland much. For he subdued
 the Itureans and attached most
 of their province to the Jews and
 compelled the ones living in it to be
 circumcised according to the laws of
 the Jews, if they wanted to remain in
 the province.¹⁵⁷

319 Moreover he was of a very tem-
 perate nature and of innate decency,
 according to the testimony Strabo
 presents in the name of Timagenes,

155 This sentence depends on *DEH* 1.8 (Ussani, 12; cf. Flusser’s note on *SY* 31, 84): “Let the daemon not be satisfied by the torture and lingering decay of my innards, the one who pushed me into such abominable bold acts of a savage crime” (*Non uiscerum meorum cruciatibus et lenta tabe daemonium exsaturetur, quod me in tam nefarios ausus saeui facinoris impegit*). I thank Carson Bay for noting this connection and his help in analyzing this passage.

156 Hebrew: **אֹהֶב לַיּוֹנִים**. Flusser comments on *SY* 32, 90 and *SY* 47, 42 that *SY* at times uses **אֹהֶב** (“beloved”) for **אֹהֶב** (“lover”). Bowman (*Sepher Yosippon*, 124n11) uses the literal translation, but comments that “the author prefers the form *ahuv* (= beloved), instead of the literal ‘friend’ (*ahuv*).”

157 *AJ* 13.257 and 13.397.

And the rest of his words and mighty deeds, are they not written in the book of Yosef ben Gurion, in the book of the kings of Rome, and in the book of Strabo of Caphtor¹⁵⁸ and in the book of Timagenes the Jerusalemite.

saying the following: “This man was temperate and exceedingly beneficial to the Jews, for he acquired a province for them and joined part of the people of the Itureans to them by the bond of circumcision.

3.4.5.2 *Manuscript hr, Group C, and Sefer Yosippon*

While all grC manuscripts have a lacuna, ms hr does not. This manuscript is closely related to grC, with a high percentage of variants shared only with grC. In addition, like mss B, La, Pi, and V, it has *AJ* 1–16 and *DEH*. Does this 15th century manuscript, then, preserve an early form of the grC tradition before the material in the lacuna was lost and which might have been *Yosippon*'s source for the material in the lacuna? The variant *Homagenis* in the place of *Timagenis* or *Timagenes*, which connects hr with the unique grN variant *Omagenis* (cf. *Omagenes* in grE and grM) suggests that hr has filled in the lacuna in its grC source with material from a source related to grN, with which it shares a number of distinctive readings. A remnant of the grC source is found in the first interpolation from *BJ* (1.82b) which appears before the sentence immediately preceding the lacuna. However, the second *BJ* interpolation (1.83c–84), which fills in the lacuna in grC, is not found in hr, which has inserted the text omitted in the lacuna from another textual tradition. In any case, the text in hr cannot be related to the source for *Yosippon*, which clearly has a form of *Timagenis*.¹⁵⁹

3.4.5.3 *Sefer Yosippon and Distinctive Group C Readings*

In addition to not having the lacuna, in two places *Yosippon* appears to agree with the rest of the manuscript tradition against two of the uniquely grC readings discussed above.

321. genitum in Galilea nutriri *dimisit*] genitum in Galilea nutriri *permisit* grC

γενόμενον εἶασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεισθαι.

As mentioned above, based on the Greek εἶασεν, *permisit* probably represents the earliest reading. The word וַיִּדְחֵהוּ (“and he banished him (pushed

¹⁵⁸ See 13.286.

¹⁵⁹ Flusser's emendation תימגיניס is a reasonable conjecture based on the Hebrew manuscript evidence. It is supported by a Genizah fragment of the Arabic (تمنج[يغ]يس), which he did not know (Sela, *Introduction and Hebrew Translation*, 176n31).

him away”) in *Yosippon* is closer to *dimisit* (“sent him away”) than to *permisit* (“allowed him”).

322. *Antigonum*] *Antiochum* grC

As mentioned above, the mistake *Antiochum* for *Antigonum*¹⁶⁰ is found in all but seven grC manuscripts. Three of these clearly are corrected over erasures and three others are copies of corrected manuscripts. Given that Antigonus is obviously the correct reading, it is surprising that the mistake has survived in so many manuscripts. The reading אנטיוגוניוס in *Yosippon* agrees with the rest of the manuscript tradition against the distinctive grC reading. It is, of course, quite possible that the author of *Yosippon* made the correction from the context.

3.4.5.4 *Sefer Yosippon and a Reading Shared by Groups C and G*

cum mox genitus fuisset odio patris despectus erat et usque ad mortem] grG grC hr; omitted by all other mss

As mentioned above, the first part of the first sentence in 13.321 (shown in **bold** below) is omitted in all manuscript traditions except Groups G and C.

qui cum mox genitus fuisset odio patris despectus¹⁶¹ **erat et usque ad mortem** numquam ad¹⁶² faciem patris uenit (ὧ καὶ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι).

He [Alexander], **as soon as he had been born, had been demeaned by the hatred of his father and up to his death** never came before his father's face.

This sentence introduces the story of God's revelation to Hyrcanus in his sleep that Alexander would be his successor. After the revelation is reported, Josephus comments that Hyrcanus let him be brought up in Galilee (see above).

The *Antiquities* recounts Hyrcanus' revelation from God as a flashback, using it to introduce the reign of Alexander. *Yosippon* transfers the story to where it belongs chronologically, at the end of the reign of Hyrcanus.¹⁶³ It also

160 Note the mistake *Antigonum* for *Antiochum* in grC.2 at 13.276.

161 *dispectus* grC.3–4 hr

162 *ante* grC.3–4 hr

163 In his commentary to this passage, Flusser seems to assume but not cite *AJ* 13.322 as *SY*'s source.

combines the sentence introducing the dream with the sentence picking up the theme at the end of the story.

This one [Alexander] was *hated and despised* in the eyes of *his father* and he sent him away to Galilee, and *he did not see the face of his father* (זה היה שנאו ומתועב בעיני אביו וידיחהו בגליל ולא ראה פני אביו).

Here *Yosippon* clearly depends (in addition to the clause discussed above) on the entire first sentence of 13.321, as is indicated by the italicized phrases. The similarity between *despectus* and מתועב is especially striking. This is particularly significant for this study in that it clearly demonstrates a connection between *Yosippon* and material found exclusively in Groups C and G.

3.4.6 Summary and Conclusions for Case Study 4

AJ 13.313c–322 provides significant data both for the analysis of the grC and grG manuscript traditions and for the connection of those traditions to *Yosippon*.

1. A lacuna comprising five Niese sections (13.315c–320) with insertion of two texts from BJ 1.82–84, which replace the missing material, is a clear marker for identifying the 22 grC manuscripts collated.
2. Because *Yosippon*'s story includes a significant amount of material corresponding to the text missing in the lacuna, a grC manuscript cannot be its only source, although the possibility that *Yosippon* was reading the source of the grC archetype cannot be eliminated.
3. The unique grC reading *permisit* is much less likely to have been in *Yosippon*'s source than the reading *dimisit*, which is closer to the Hebrew וידיחהו.
4. *Yosippon* has *Antigonus* at 13.322 rather than *Antiochus*, found in almost all grC manuscripts, although this might have been an obvious correction made from the context.
5. This passage has three examples of readings shared only by all grG manuscripts: *arbitror* (vs *ut arbitror*), *meum* (not in any other manuscripts), and the phrase *fratribus et humiliores multum* (not in any other manuscripts). The last two examples are clearly the earliest readings.
6. This passage has two examples of readings shared only by all grC and grG manuscripts: *sceleris* (vs *celeris*) and twelve consecutive words at the beginning of 13.320. Based on the Greek being translated, it is clear that both represent the earliest stage of the textual tradition.
7. *Yosippon*'s inclusion of some of the material in 13.320 found only in grC and grG indicates that at least one of *Yosippon*'s sources was a manuscript related to one of these two groups.

4 Summary and Conclusions: Manuscript Groups in Latin *Antiquities* 13, *Sefer Yosippon*, and Moving beyond Flusser's Hypothesis

The purpose of identifying manuscript groups in this chapter has been to provide a tool for taking into account as wide a variety of textual traditions as possible for understanding how *LAJ* 13 was read in different times and places and, in particular, for identifying what textual traditions were used by *Yosippon*. Based on 98 of the 122 manuscripts that include *AJ* 13,¹⁶⁴ nine groups can be identified with a high degree of certainty. Only nine manuscripts remain unclassified, although clearly identifiable affinities with the firmly established groups can be recognized for eight of these. Identifying groups in the passages collated for this study with confidence is made possible both by the large number of unique variants for each group (i.e. variants that only appear in all manuscripts in a group and nowhere else in the manuscript tradition) and by a consistent pattern of the appearance in a particular group of the same secondary variants which are found elsewhere. All the unique variants for each group, with the exception of grC.4b and the 190 unique variants in grP, are listed either in the text (gr.C.1 and grG) or in Appendix 2. The importance of a common pattern of secondary variants is illustrated by the cases of the names of the three Seleucid rulers (Case Study 1) and of the names of cities under Jewish control at the end of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (Case Study 2).

Particular attention has been given to Groups G and C, both because, at this stage of research, they seem most important in reconstructing *Yosippon's LAJ* source and because they provide crucial data for understanding the earliest recoverable layer of the *LAJ* 13 manuscript tradition. Group G, and in particular ms St, has the fewest number of secondary readings to the extent that these can be determined by comparison with the Greek.¹⁶⁵ Group C has a large number of secondary readings found only in that group (68 in all grC manuscripts and many more when the distinctive readings in the grC subgroups are taken into account). There are, however, many readings shared only by grC and grG, most of which represent the earliest text. This leads to the conclusion that grG and grC share a common source for this section of the *Antiquities*. The source would be much closer to the extant grG manuscripts because the grC tradition exhibits so many errors already present in Naples V F 34, the

164 Not all available manuscripts were collated for each case study. 98 were collated for the Seleucid names; 92 for *LAJ* 13.395–397; 66 for *LAJ* 13.314–320; 48 for *LAJ* 13.228–313.

165 Determination of the earliest readings for a critical edition, will, of course, require consideration of other factors, such as the relationship of individual manuscripts and groups to one another and the careful application of text-critical principles to evaluate each variant.

manuscript closest to the grC archetype. These arose primarily from a misreading of the text, e.g. omissions, incorrect word divisions, and mistaking one word for another, such as reading *autem* for *uatem*, and *Oculonem* for *Aulonem* (mistakes in proper names are particularly common and especially helpful in identifying characteristic grC variants). Ideological, literary, or exegetical factors do not appear to play a large role in creating secondary variants in Group C, as opposed to the development of Group P, whose archetype introduced several hundred new readings with the aim of improving the text, or of the closely related manuscripts Pd (“Codex Gigas”) and Prague XXIII.D.121, which have significantly modified the tradition by frequent omissions, paraphrasing, and simplification of the language.

The data and analysis from the passages studied in this chapter confirm the priority of Naples V F 34 within grC based on two pieces of evidence: (1) six places where the uncorrected text has the earliest reading which is corrected by the unique grC reading in all subsequent manuscripts, a phenomenon that has already been noted in other passages;¹⁶⁶ (2) the insertion of material from *LBJ* to fill in part of a lacuna at *LAJ* 13.315c–320, which, along with the lacuna, is found in all grC mss,¹⁶⁷ appears to have first entered the grC manuscript tradition with ms B, since it appears to be added there in a different hand, while it is found in the same hand as the surrounding material in all other early grC mss.¹⁶⁸ While it is highly probable that Naples V F 34 was used by mss C and Vi as their primary source and perhaps by La as a minor source, the use of other sources in the early grC tradition cannot be absolutely ruled out and is clearly demonstrable in the case of Vi. In addition, a better understanding of the early grC tradition will be advanced considerably by a careful paleographical analysis of the manuscripts and their correctors.

4.1 *Sefer Yosippon and the AJ 13 Manuscript Tradition*

The identification of the *AJ* 13 manuscript tradition to which *Yosippon*’s *LAJ* source belonged is complicated by several factors, all illustrated in the commentary section of the four case studies presented in this chapter.

First, even when the Hebrew text follows the Latin closely, becoming, in effect, a translation (something which is not very common), it is often impossible to determine which Latin textual variants would correspond to the Hebrew.

166 See Blatt, 27; Lukas, *Josephus Latinus*, xc–xc1, and a set of variants noted in this chapter for a passage in *AJ* 11 (n. 20 above).

167 With the exception *Ptr*, which is missing the page where it would have been located.

168 See above, p. 228.

For example, ויקצף (SY 30, 15/LAJ 13.392) could represent either *iratus* (grC) or *irritatus* (all other groups).

While proper names are very useful in identifying variants that might correspond better to *Yosippon* than others, *Yosippon's* tendency to substitute biblical names for the form of the name in its Latin source makes this impossible in some cases. For example, the name מידבתה (Biblical מידבא) corresponds to *Medaba* or *Midaba* in some LAJ manuscripts, but the distinctive grC readings *Minadabam* (grC1), *Minadam* (grC.2), or *Nadabam* (grC.3–4) in one passage or *Midabalem* (all groups except grG) in another passage do not prove that *Yosippon* was not using a grC manuscript, because *Yosippon* might have simply substituted the biblical names for the form of the name in its source.

A second significant impediment to determining the reading in *Yosippon's* Latin source is the complicated question of determining the readings in the Hebrew text, which is found in multiple recensions in relatively late manuscripts and for which a full analysis of crucial evidence from the numerous fragments from the Cairo Genizah of both Hebrew and Arabic texts is in its early stages.¹⁶⁹ Here it should also be pointed out that in the case of many proper names, all the Hebrew variants are significantly distorted. Flusser often prints a convincing reconstruction of the original Hebrew on the basis of the Latin, but the readings in his text must remain provisional until more evidence is evaluated, not only from the Genizah fragments, but also from the manuscript tradition, from which Flusser reports only a limited number of readings in his critical apparatus.¹⁷⁰

Another difficulty in evaluating the form of the LAJ tradition used by *Yosippon* is the possibility, and in many cases strong probability, that the author has changed a distinctive but difficult reading to fit the narrative. For example, the reading *Antiochum* is found in place of *Antigonus* at 13.322 in all the early grC mss (except ms C where *Antiochum* has been corrected to *Antigonum*). *Sefer Yossipon's* אנטיוגנוס does not necessarily mean it did not use

169 See Dönitz's analysis of the Hebrew manuscript tradition in Chapter 8 of this volume.

170 In the passages analyzed in this chapter, there are two clear cases where his text can be improved on the basis of the Latin: on the basis of the Latin's *legibusque Iudaicis*, תורת יהודה in the manuscript tradition should be read instead of Flusser's emendation ״ תורת ״ (SY 29, 11; see n. 136), and מרשה אשר לאדום should be read instead of מרשה, because the longer reading, found in mss Vat. Ebr 52 and Vat. Borg. 1, in addition to Jerusalem oct. 41280 (the only ms cited for this variant in Flusser's apparatus), corresponds to *Marissam omnemque Idumaeum* in the LAJ manuscript tradition (SY 33, 60; see p. 254).

a grC manuscript, since *Yosippon* might have introduced the correct reading on the basis of the narrative context.¹⁷¹

In spite of these difficulties, there are a number of places where *Yosippon* has a reading for which there are clear cases of corresponding LAJ variants that distinguish specific groups.

For this purpose, proper names often provide the best evidence. The name of the Roman official Manlius, for example, is spelled *Mallio* (ablative of *Mallius*) in all but two grC mss and nowhere else and corresponds unambiguously to the Hebrew מלִיאֹוס.¹⁷² On the other hand, there are a number of readings in the Hebrew text that do not appear to depend on a grC manuscript:¹⁷³ שֵׁשֶׁה חֲדָשִׁים,¹⁷⁴ וידיחהו,¹⁷⁵ אֹולֶן,¹⁷⁶ and, most significantly, the large lacuna from 13.315c–320, found in all grC mss and nowhere else in the manuscript tradition.¹⁷⁷ The reading מִיגֶן presents an interesting case in which a reading cannot depend on a grC manuscript but provides indirect evidence of a connection between *Yosippon* and groups G and C.¹⁷⁸ All grC manuscripts read *Nemega*, but this is obviously the product of an incorrect word division, with the last syllable of the previous word (*Lembaoronemega*) attached to *Mega*. The reading *Mega*, found only in grG and the source of the grC archetype, corresponds more closely to *Yosippon* than do any of the readings in all other mss, which begin with *ma*. This would provide one of several cases of a reading in *Yosippon* corresponding to a Latin variant shared by Groups C and G. Only these two groups, for example, have preserved a clause describing Hyrcanus' hatred of Alexander, whose contact and specific language is paralleled in *Yosippon*.¹⁷⁹ In addition, the variant

171 See the similar example at 13.308, where the queen betrays Antigonus by having a messenger report that he should go to the king “with arms” (*cum armis*) (instead of unarmed) so that he might see their workmanship. All Group C manuscripts read “with armed men” (*cum armatis*), which makes little sense in the context of LAJ, but is presumably influenced by *cum suis armatis* in 13.304. sY’s “with implements of war and dressed in battle armor” (sY 31, 49) clearly agrees with the non-grC mss, but it is possible that the author changed the reading in his source to fit the context.

172 See above, p. 267, for Flusser’s use of this example to identify the group to which he thought sY’s source belonged.

173 In addition to the following list, the reading *Dagon* in LAJ 13.230 (not in one of the Case Studies) provides another example of a place where the reading in sY (דגונה) (sY 27, 7 and 10) cannot depend on a grC manuscript tradition, which has *Nandagon* (C.1–2); *inan Dagon* (C.3); *mandagon* Vt Ve Cr; *mamdagon* M; *madagon* Ne; *magadon* Ptr.

174 *sexto mense* (grC: *intra septem menses*; B^{a-c}: *septem menses*); see above, p. 264.

175 *dimisit* (grC: *permisit*); see above, pp. 278–279.

176 *aulonem* (grC: *oculonem*); see above, p. 256.

177 See above, pp. 276–278.

178 See above, p. 256.

179 See above, pp. 279–280.

Rinocora (13.395) is found only in *Yosippon* and in grC, grG, and grL.1,¹⁸⁰ and the variant *Samogan* (13.255) only in grG, grC.1–3 (-Pi), and grN ms L (which has several distinctive grC readings).¹⁸¹

There are only three variants I have found that might imply a connection between *Yosippon* and a group other than C or G. The reading בַּחֲוֹרֹן must reflect a stage of the tradition later than the reading *Lembaoronem* in grG, when the the first syllable was read as the final syllable in the previous word (*Midabalem*).¹⁸² The *Yosippon* reading with final nun is closer to the reading *Baoronee* found in Groups L, N, and P and ms Ba than to *Baoro* in grC.1–2 or *Baora* in grC.3–4. However, this reading is also possibly connected to the grC manuscript tradition in that *Baorone* would have been the reading in the source of the grC archetype, which would have had the reading *baoronemega* divided correctly. The common omission of the non-essential information in *mediterraneis uero per Idumeam* by sY and Groups E, L.2, N, P, and manuscripts Ba, G, and w could be accidental, but a connection between these related groups and manuscripts with sY is worth exploring, given the reading *Baoronee* mentioned above.¹⁸³

There is one possible connection between *Yosippon* and ms hr, which includes a large number of distinctive grC readings as well as at least as many readings from other groups (most prominently grN). Only *Yosippon* and hr omit the series of names *Samaria*, *Carmelum montem*, and *Itaburium* in 13.396.¹⁸⁴

4.2 *Flusser's Hypothesis and the AJ 13 Manuscript Tradition*

Flusser's hypothesis, described in detail in the first part of this chapter, can now be evaluated in the light of the data and analysis presented in the two following parts, summarized in the first section of the conclusion. For this purpose, it is helpful to distinguish two related elements of the hypothesis: (1) *Yosippon*'s source for the material from Josephus was a single manuscript containing AJ 1–16 + DEH; (2) This manuscript was an early representative of a distinct manuscript group with the same format and textual tradition that is found in only four extant manuscripts: B, La, V, and Pi. Flusser implies, but does not state explicitly, that ms hr, which has AJ 1–16 + BJ + DEH, is also part of this group.

180 See above, p. 253.

181 See above, pp. 264–265.

182 See above, pp. 255–256.

183 See above, pp. 253–254.

184 See above, pp. 254–255.

I will begin with the second element of the hypothesis, since that is most directly affected by the new data and analysis presented here.

1. It is a credit to Flusser's intuition and erudition that he was able to identify, on the basis of only two manuscripts (B and La) and two printed editions (1524 Basel edition for the *AJ* and Ussani's critical edition for *DEH*), a variant in *LAJ* and a variant in *DEH* that each point to a connection between *Yosippon* and the manuscript group with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*. Flusser's identification of the reading *Mallio* (ablative of *Mallius*) in *AJ* 13.360 in both B and La can now be extended to include, not only V and Pi, but also 20 manuscripts in the larger group to which they belong, Levenson-Martin grC. Further support of Flusser's hypothesis is found in the omission of the word *Lucii* after *Manlio*, an omission which is also found in all grC manuscripts but nowhere else. Similarly, the reading *cythara* in B and La in *DEH* 5.22.1 is not only found in V and Pi, but also in three of the four other manuscripts belonging to the Cassinese group identified by Ussani.¹⁸⁵ Even more significantly, there is compelling evidence that the large lacuna from *DEH* 1.41.4 to 1.41.9 (Ussani, 97–99), found only in the Cassinese group, accounts for omitted material in *SY* 53, and there is also evidence that the transposition of a large part of Agrippa's speech from *DEH* 2.9 to Eleazar's speech in 5.53, found only in the Cassinese group, is reflected in *SY* 89.¹⁸⁶
2. While this additional evidence confirms a connection between the group represented by the manuscripts with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* and *SY*, it also extends the connection to many more related manuscripts that have only *AJ* or only *DEH*. In the case of *AJ*, the four manuscripts Flusser identifies as forming a distinct group (which he claims Blatt did not recognize), in fact belong to three different subgroups (Levenson-Martin C.1, C.2, C.3), each subgroup including manuscripts with both the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* and *AJ* 1–20.
3. Flusser's hypothesis is severely challenged by places in the four manuscripts (and also in all grC mss) where *Yosippon* has material that cannot be from this group. Furthermore, I have found no unique grC variants except for *Mallio* and the omission of *Lucii* immediately following it in the passages collated for this chapter that correspond to a reading in *Yosippon*. However, a close comparison of the Hebrew and Latin texts, using the large lists of Group C variants presented here for these

185 The fragmentary manuscript Compact VIII does not appear to have preserved the passage in which this reading occurs.

186 See Appendix 5 for discussion of *Sefer Yosippon* and the *DEH* Cassinese manuscript tradition.

Antiquities sections, might expose more examples. And of course, the analysis needs to be extended to the rest of the *Antiquities* passages that parallel *Yosippon*.

4. The text-tradition element of Flusser's hypothesis can be saved by assuming that *Yosippon* used the source of the grC archetype. This would not, for example, have had the lacuna at 13:315c–320, and would have had the correct form of the proper names (which correspond to the names in *Yosippon*) before they became distorted already in Naples V F 34, the manuscript with the earliest grC readings.
5. Fortunately, there is significant evidence in the passages collated for this chapter that can account both for the clearly grC and the clearly non-grC readings that can be identified in *Yosippon*. In four places there is evidence of a correspondence between the combination grC + grG and SY, summarized in the earlier part of these conclusions. As we have also seen, in a number of other places, grC + grG share significant readings found only in manuscripts of those groups, and in almost all cases these groups alone preserve the earliest reading.¹⁸⁷ Flusser's hypothesis could then be refined by specifying that *Yosippon's LAJ* source was not a grC manuscript (and therefore not a mss like B, La, V, and Pi) but the grC archetype's source, which in fact was very close to grG. This is not surprising, because in the passages collated here, grG consistently has the earliest readings. *Yosippon* then would have had access to an early form of the text before a large number of secondary readings had been introduced into the distinctive grC manuscript tradition. The South Italian location of this development is supported by the fact that the earliest grC manuscripts come from Benevento or Naples (B) and Monte Cassino (C and La). In other words, stripped of the unique grC readings, almost all of which represent various kinds of misreadings, the AJ 13 grC manuscript tradition has preserved an early form of the text very close to grG. It should be noted that the large number of secondary readings in grC manuscripts only appears to emerge fully after AJ 1–12. The high value Blatt puts on these "Italian" manuscripts in general and Naples V F 34 in particular (which he puts in his α family) is explained by the fact that his analysis is based primarily on the first half of AJ.¹⁸⁸
6. Even though distinctive variants in the four manuscripts identified by Flusser clearly represent three different grC subgroups, the fact that they all have the format AJ 1–16 + DEH indicates a specific connection among

187 See above, pp. 242–243 for a few exceptions.

188 See Levenson and Martin, "Revised Classification," 82–85 for evidence of the very early textual form of grC.1 manuscript B in a passage from LAJ 6.

them. According to the analysis in this chapter, the connection between grC.3 mss V and Pi is best explained by their *AJ* texts up through *AJ* 16 depending on a manuscript with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, from which only the last page of *AJ* and the *DEH* is extant (V^2). Pi then would depend on V^2 for its *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* format. Manuscript V^2 is more likely to depend on B (grC.1) than on La (grC.2), because grC.3 (Pi and V) has none of the 40 unique variants that mark grC.2, indicating it ultimately depends on grC.1 rather than grC.2. In addition, the lacuna at 13.315–20 in Pi and V is marked by a number of blank lines as in B, while La has a continuous text without any marking of the lacuna.¹⁸⁹ On the one hand, there are a few variants (including a lacuna) where there is a clear connection of manuscript La (but not any of the other grC.2 manuscripts) with grC.3 mss.¹⁹⁰ While this might indicate a common source, it is also possible that grC.3 used ms La directly as a supplementary source.¹⁹¹ In this case, grC.3 could have been aware of the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* in both B and La. The dependence of La on B is certainly the most likely explanation for their common *format*; however, there is no clear direct connection between the *texts* of the two manuscripts, since there are 38 variants for which La agrees with ms C against B, and only a few minor and possibly accidental agreements of La and B against C.

7. The probability that *Yosippon* depended on the common *source* of the grG and grC archetypes for its *AJ* 13 source and that it used a *DEH* text from the Cassinese group does not prove that these were found together in one volume with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*. Aside from the complicated question of the Embassy to Gaius, which ultimately (though not necessarily directly) depends on *AJ* 18, it is possible that *Yosippon* simply chose to follow *DEH* as its primary source after reporting the description of Herod's building of the temple just as the creator of the edition with *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* decided to jump from *AJ* to *DEH* at a slightly later point in the historical narrative. In fact, *DEH* becomes the primary source for *Yosippon* already at the beginning of *AJ* 16. That the author of *Yosippon* was aware of and had at least looked at more than one work of Josephus is clear from the comments at the end of *SY* 50, whose narrative ends with material corresponding to *AJ* 15. Here the author explicitly acknowledges that Josephus wrote about the building of Herod's temple in multiple

189 See above, p. 233.

190 See above, p. 233.

191 See above, p. 233.

books, one of which he calls the *Wars of the Jews*. This appears to be different from the source of his own account, which is clearly based on *L AJ*. If, as Flusser reasonably suggests, this is a reference to *DEH*, which would become *Yosippon's* main source in *SY* 51, the author of *Yosippon* would have been aware that *L AJ* and *DEH* were two separate works, whether or not they might have been found in one manuscript.¹⁹² It is also interesting to note that whatever form of the history of Josephus Duke John III of Naples had ordered for his library in the second half of the 10th century (which Lowe identified as *BJ* manuscript Monte Cassino 123), the three codices presented as a gift to the episcopal library of Naples by Sergius I in the 9th century most probably represented three different texts (rather than three copies of the same text) such as *L AJ*, *DEH*, and *LBJ* or perhaps *AJ* 1–12, *AJ* 13–20, and either *DEH* or *LBJ*.¹⁹³ The possibility that *Yosippon* had access to *AJ* (at least through *AJ* 16) and *DEH* as separate manuscripts or considered them separate works even if they were in one manuscript is by no means more probable than Flusser's model of one manuscript, which has the advantage of being a simpler hypothesis. It is raised here only as a reminder that other models might account for the certain data that we have that *Yosippon* turns to *DEH* as its primary source at the beginning part of *SY* 51.¹⁹⁴

8. Flusser's hypothesis, although based on an extremely narrow textual base (as he readily acknowledged), remains an important starting point for identifying the source of the Latin Josephus tradition used by *Yosippon*. His correct identification of the readings *Mallio* and *cythara* as pointing to a connection between *Yosippon* and a particular group of manuscripts was remarkable given the resources with which he was working. Not surprisingly, there are a number of places where he can be corrected, such as his description and/or dating of several key manuscripts (Vat. lat. 1998, Monte Cassino 124, Naples V F 34), his failure to fully appreciate the importance of Ussani's distinctive "Cassinese" group of *DEH* for the study of *Yosippon*, his dismissal of Blatt's analysis of the relationship of Monte Cassino 124 and Plut. 66.1, leading him to miss the fact that his four manuscripts actually belong to three different subgroups, and his overlooking

192 Of course, it is also possible that *Wars of the Jews* refers to the Latin *War* (*LBJ*), whose description of Herod's temple is considerably more detailed than that in *DEH*.

193 See above, pp. 229–230.

194 This does not rule out the possibility of *SY* using *LBJ* as a supplement to *DEH* in the same ways that *SY* used *DEH* as a supplement to *L AJ* before turning to *DEH* as its main source.

the fact that another manuscript, Clm 15841, includes the *Antiquities* and the *DEH* in one volume.

4.3 *Practical Considerations: What LAJ Manuscripts Should Be Consulted for Comparison with Sefer Yosippon?*

The practical question of which Latin Josephus manuscripts should be consulted as reliable guides to the text of *Yosippon's* source cannot be answered definitively based on the analysis in this chapter, which, as far as I am aware, represents the first comprehensive exploration of the relationship between *Sefer Yosippon* and the Latin manuscript tradition of *AJ* and *DEH*.

One thing, however, is very clear from the data and analysis presented here: the sole use of the manuscripts B, La, V, and/or Pi for this purpose would be a grave mistake. The theoretical question of whether these manuscripts are from the same group as *Yosippon's* Latin source is irrelevant to the practical question of which manuscripts should be consulted because the *AJ* 13 text of all grC manuscripts, the group to which these manuscripts belong, has a large number of unique omissions and unique secondary readings, several of which have been shown here to differ from the Latin text that *Yosippon* must have been using. It is possible and even likely that *Yosippon* was using a textual tradition that was closely related to the source for the grC archetype, into which so many errors were first introduced. However, the text of that source, which would not have contained most of the errors characterizing so many grC manuscripts, can only be reconstructed from the text of manuscripts that are not part of grC.

At this point in research, I would recommend consultation of the following *LAJ* manuscripts to cover the breadth of the *LAJ* manuscript tradition: St (grG), B (grC.1), and Sa (grL.1), L (grN), Adm (grL.2), Cl (grE), El (grH), Alb (grJ), Vat (grM), cf (grP), and the unclassified manuscripts Ba, hr, and pg. I fully expect that these recommendations will change on the basis of further research. There is no reason to consult the 1524 Basel edition. The primary manuscripts on which the *LAJ* text in that edition is ultimately based are known (and available online): grG ms Werd and grL.1 ms b. Since it is impossible to reconstruct from the 1524 Basel edition which manuscript is the basis of a particular reading and since the texts in these two manuscripts are not the earliest representatives of their respective groups, the 1524 Basel edition is inadequate and often misleading for comparison with *Yosippon*.¹⁹⁵ This also means that Flusser's Latin citations from *LAJ* cannot always be relied upon.

195 In addition to being ultimately based on these two manuscripts (through the 1524 Cologne edition), the 1524 Basel edition also incorporated some readings from the Lübeck edition (or one of the editions based on it), which clearly depended on a grJ manuscript.

The question of which Latin manuscripts of *DEH* to consult is much easier to answer. In addition to the limited apparatus in Ussani's edition, B, La (which has a major lacuna), V, and Pi should certainly be consulted, but so should the other four representatives of Ussani's Cassinese group: Vat. lat. 1987, Plut. 67.17, Plut. 89.sup.15, and the fragmentary Monte Cassino Compact. VIII (70 folio pages).¹⁹⁶

Finally, it should be stressed that the collection and analysis of data in this chapter represent only an initial attempt to better understand the textual history of Books 13, 14, and 15 of the Latin *Antiquities* and its relationship to *Sefer Yosippon*. The next step is the production of editions and synopses based on them that will attend both to the identification of the earliest readings and to the need to provide resources for those wanting to understand how the text was read in a variety of times and places. Only fully collaborative and interdisciplinary research will make possible the data collection and careful analysis of individual passages required to produce these fundamental tools for studying two texts which have played such an important role for so long in shaping the understanding of Jewish history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

196 Additional fragments from the same manuscript are found in Monte Cassino Compact. III and in the Schøyen Collection, MS. 183 (*DEH* 1.2.10; 3.5; 1.1.7, 9)

Appendix 1: Collated Manuscripts

Siglum ^a	Manuscript	Contents	Date	Blatt ^b	Levenson–Martin
Adm	Admont 71/72	71: <i>AJ</i> 1–12; <i>BJ</i> pref.; <i>AJ</i> 13; 72: <i>AJ</i> 14–20; <i>BJ</i> 1–2	12	ρ	L.2
al	BL Add. 22859/22860	22859: <i>AJ</i> 1–11; 22860: <i>AJ</i> 12–20	13	ξ	E
Alb	BL Royal 13 D vi/vii	vi: <i>AJ</i> 1–14; vii: 15–20; <i>BJ</i>	12	ω	J
Aq	Douai 877	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	H
At	Boulogne-sur-mer 138	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> (Blatt lists only <i>AJ</i>)	12	σ	H
Aus	Vich 162	<i>AJ</i>	14	φ	M
B	BN Naples V.F. 34	<i>AJ</i> 1–16, 379; <i>DEH</i> 1.1.–5.40.1	11	α	C.1
b	BSB Clm 4510	<i>AJ</i>	12/13	ρ	L.1
Ba	Bamberg 78	<i>AJ</i>	9	φ	Unclassified
Br	Brussels BR II 991	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> 1–7.433	12/13	φ	H
C	Montecassino 124	<i>AJ</i>	11	β	C.2
c	Cambrai 680	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12/13	φ	J
Ca	Cambridge Dd I 1,4	I: <i>AJ</i> 1.68–14; II (St. Johns A 8): <i>AJ</i> 15–20, <i>BJ</i>	12	ω	J
Cb	BL Add. 15280	<i>AJ</i> 1–20; <i>BJ</i>	13	φ	H/J
cf	Vat. lat. 1996	<i>AJ</i> 1.34– <i>AJ</i> 14	14	χ	P
Cl	Troyes 137	<i>AJ</i>	12	σ	E
Cn	Klosterneuburg	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	σ	L.2
Cor	BnF 16730	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	H
Cov	BL Harley 5116	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	14	ω	J
Cp	BnF 16941	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	13	ξ	H

a Blatt's ms sigla with abbreviated shelfmark for mss not in Blatt.

b Blatt's group sigla are included because they are frequently cited and as an acknowledgement of the work of a scholar who laid the foundation for all future work on the Latin *Antiquities*. His families, however, in many places do not fit the data presented in this chapter.

(cont.)

Siglum	Manuscript	Contents	Date	Blatt	Levenson–Martin
Cr	BML Plut. 19sin.01	<i>AJ</i> (lacunae in 6–11; 17–20 later hand); <i>CA</i>	11/12	ε	C.4a
D	Cologne Dom 162/163	162: <i>AJ</i> 1–4, 8–13; 163: <i>AJ</i> 14–20; <i>BJ</i>	12	σ	G
d	NYC Morgan 533/534	533: <i>AJ</i> 1–15; 534: <i>AJ</i> 16–20; <i>BJ</i>	13	ν	J
Du	Durham B.11.1	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	ω	J
El	Valenciennes 546	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	11/12	φ	H
Fl	BL Harley 3699	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>CA</i>	1478	ζ	C.4b
G	Brussels 5571/2	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	11/12	σ	Unclassified
H	Berlin Ham. 359	<i>AJ</i> 1–15.416	12	χ	H
h	BL Harley 4960–4963	4960: <i>AJ</i> 1–7; 4961: 8–13; 4962: 14–20; <i>CA</i> ; 4963: <i>BJ</i>	1457	σ	H/J
Ha	Valenciennes 547	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	H
hr	BL Harley 3691	<i>AJ</i> 1–16; <i>BJ</i> 1.552–2.373; 5.366–7.455; <i>DEH</i>	15	α	Unclassified
L	BML Plut. 66.2	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>CA</i> 1–2; <i>BJ</i> 1.1–276	11	α	N
l	BML Plut. 66.3	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>CA</i> 1–2	15	ε	C.4a
La	BML Plut. 66.1	<i>AJ</i> 1–16; <i>DEH</i>	11	β	C.2
Lamp	Graz 105	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	ρ	L.2
Lau	BML Plut. 66.5/66.6	<i>AJ</i> 1–18.3; 18–20, <i>BJ</i>	12	χ	G
ld	BL Add Royal 13 E viii	<i>AJ</i> 1–20; <i>BJ</i>	13	ω	H/J
li	Lincoln 145	<i>AJ</i> (many lacunae); <i>BJ</i>	12	ω	J
Ly	Rouen 1124/1125	<i>AJ</i> 1–14	12	ω	J
M	BML San Marco 385	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>CA</i> 1	11/12	ε	C.4a
Mir	Winchester ms. 6	<i>AJ</i> 1–20.268	12/13	ω	J
Mk	Cambridge, Trinity Hall 4	<i>AJ</i> 1–20	12	ω	J
MI	Cesana S 11.2	<i>AJ</i> 1–20; <i>CA</i>	15	φ	G
Mn	Manchester Ryland's 40	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	H
mz	Mazarine 1581	<i>AJ</i>	16	ω	J
n	BnF 16731	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12	ξ	J

(cont.)

Siglum	Manuscript	Contents	Date	Blatt	Levenson–Martin
Ne	BnF 5045	Vol. 1: <i>AJ</i> 1–12; Vol. 2: <i>AJ</i> 13–20; <i>BJ</i> 1.1–351; <i>BJ</i> 4.325–7.455	12	ζ	C.4a (uncorr) C.4b (corr) ^a
No	Novara 28 (xvii)	<i>AJ</i>	11	σ	N
Nv	BL Harley 3883	<i>AJ</i>	12	ξ	E
O	Vat. Otto. lat. 84	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>CA</i>	13/14	σ	C
p	BnF 5047	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	12/13	σ	P
Pa	BnF 5049	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> ; <i>CA</i>	12/13	φ	H
pa	BnF 5050	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> 1.1–351; <i>BJ</i> 4.325–7.455	13/14	ζ	C.4b
Pal	Vat. Pal. lat. 815	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> ; <i>CA</i>	15	σ	N
par	BnF 5051	<i>AJ</i>	15	η	C.4a
pat	BnF 8835	<i>AJ</i>	15	η	C.4a
Pd	Stockholm A 148 (Codex Gigas)	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	13	ρ	L.2
Pi	Pisa 20	<i>AJ</i> 1–16; <i>DEH</i>	13	γ	C.3
pg	Leipzig 782/783	<i>AJ</i> 1–20	12	χ	Unclassified
Pr	Prague, NK ČR, XIV.A.14	<i>AJ</i> 1–13	13	φ	Unclassified
Prs	BnF 8959	<i>AJ</i> 1–17; <i>BJ</i> 1–7; <i>AJ</i> 18–20	12	σ	P
Pt	Bas. s. Petri A 37	<i>AJ</i>	12/13	β	C.2
Ptr	Bas. s. Petri A 39	<i>AJ</i> 1.207–20.268 (missing 13.314–333); <i>BJ</i> 1.1–351; 4.325–5.390	11/12	σ	C
R	Reims 1343, 1344, 1345	1343: <i>AJ</i> 1–10; 1344: 11–20; 1345: <i>BJ</i>	12	ν	H
r	Vat. Reg. 900	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	15	χ	G
Re	Reims 1341, 1342	1341: <i>AJ</i> 1–12; 1342: 13–20; <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	H
re	Reims 1347, 1348	<i>AJ</i> 11–20; <i>BJ</i>	14	ξ	H
Rem	Reims 1346	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i>	13	φ	H
rg	Vat. Reg. lat. 1935	<i>AJ</i>	15	ξ	M
Sa	BSB Clm 15841	<i>AJ</i> ; <i>BJ</i> ; <i>DEH</i>	12/13	ρ	L.1

^a See Bader's analysis of Ne's 12th and 13th century correctors (Josephus Latinus, 21–23).

(cont.)

Siglum	Manuscript	Contents	Date	Blatt	Levenson–Martin
Sch	BSB Clm 17404	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	13	ρ	L.1
Sec	Graz 132	<i>AJ</i> 1–12, <i>BJ</i> pref., <i>AJ</i> 13	12	ρ	L.2
Si	Charleville 203/1 & 2	<i>AJ</i> 1.205–12; 14–20; <i>BJ</i> 1–7.436	12/13	φ	H
Sr	BnF 15427	<i>AJ</i> 1–20 (missing 13.279–311)	12	η	C.4a
St	Brussels II 1179	<i>AJ</i> 1–20; <i>BJ</i>	11	χ	G
t	BSB Clm 18003	<i>AJ</i> 10–20	11	ρ	L.1
Tr	Chantilly, 774–775	<i>AJ</i> 1–13; <i>AJ</i> 14–20, <i>BJ</i>	12	φ	G
U	BnF NAL 2453	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	12	ω	J
u	Vat. Urb. lat. 400	<i>AJ</i>	15	α	N
V	Vat. lat. 1998	(1) <i>AJ</i> 1–20 (V ¹); (2) <i>AJ</i> 16.368–394 (V ²); <i>DEH</i>	11/12	γ	C.3
v	Vat. lat. 1995	<i>AJ</i>	15	β	C.2
Vat	Vat. 1997	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	12	φ	M
Ve	Vercelli 13	<i>AJ</i>	11	η	C.4a
ve	Berlin 625	<i>AJ; CA; BJ</i>	14	α	N
Vi	BnF 5048	<i>AJ</i>	11 ^{end}	α	C.1
vl	Valencia Bibl. Cat. 29	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	12	ω	J
Vn	Vienna: Pal. Lat. 333	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	14	ρ	L.2
Vt	Vat. lat. 7015	<i>AJ; BJ</i> 1.1–351; 4.325–7.455	13	η	C.4a
vt	Vat. lat. 8698	<i>AJ</i>	14/15	φ	M
w	Fulda 100 C 1	<i>AJ</i> 1–13	12	ι	Unclassified
Werd	Berlin 226	<i>AJ</i> 1–20; <i>BJ</i>	12	χ	G
z	Zwettl 25	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	12	ρ	L.2
	Cologne Hist. Archiv. Best 7010	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	12		G
	BML Plut. 18sin.10	<i>AJ; CA</i>	15		C.4b
	Copenhagen GKS 1571	<i>AJ</i> 13–20	12		G
	Madrid, BNE, 10270	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	15		M
	Cremona, Fondo Civico 1	<i>AJ; BJ</i>	1284		P
	Prague, NK ČR, XXIII.D.121	<i>AJ</i> 1–13	15		L.2

Appendix 2: Unique Variants for Each Group

Unique readings for grG, all grC manuscripts, grC.1–2, and grC.1–3 are listed on pp. 237–238, 242–242. Variants for grC.4b (Corrected text of Ne followed by its copies pa and Plut.18sim10) are not listed here.

Group C.2

230. hinc] hic; 231. quos] quod; reputaretur] deputaretur; 232. mater ... manus] manus ... mater; hostes] hostem; 240. citius] Hyrcanus; 241. proiectos] proiectas; saeuissimis] saeuissimus; 242. argentea] artea (- La); 256. similitudinem] similitudine (-Pt v); principis] principi (-La); 254. Medaba] Minadam; 259. Romanorum] omitted; 260. omnem senatum] senatum omne; 261. publicis] puplicis (-Pt v: pu^{eis}); rebus habuerunt] (p)rebuerunt (v: rehabuerunt); Zora uel] Zoarobabel; 265. festinabitur] festinauit; 267. exercitum] exercitu; malitiam] malitia (-Pt); 269. amicitiam] amicitia (-Pt v); 273. post] sine post; summam] summa (-Pt v); 275. qualiter] quatenus; obsidebat] obsedebat; 276. circumdedisset] circumdedissent r; Antiochum] Antigonom; 278. a] omit; Samariae] marie; 283. processisset] processissent (La processent); 285. sacrarii] sacrari; tradidisset] tradisset (-Pt v^{p.c.}); 287. permansere] permansere vl; reginam] regineam (-Pt v); 288. eum pati] eupati; dixissent] dixisset; 292. captiuam] captiua (-Pt v); 293. scientibus] scriptibus; fecisse] fecisset; 294] ad mensuram] ad deum si iram; 302] amans] clamans; altercantem] altercante; uinculis] a uinculis; 307. fratrem autem] autem fratrem; intraret] intrare; 309. Stratonis] Startoris; peruenisset] peruenisse; 311. hoc] his (Pt is)

Group C.3

228. Hyrcanus] Hycanum; 230. et] omit; 232. deperirent] deperiret; 234. protractus] prostratus La Ptr hr; 236. sexagesima] sexagesimo; 247. obsidibus] obsidionibus hr L; 257. Marisso] Matriso (Pi corr. from Mariso); 260. et] omit; Alexandri] Alexandrii; 262. per Antiochum] Antiochum; 267. malitiam] militiam; 269. cum] omit; 270. congregasse] congregasset; 271. terminarat] terminaret; 275. nominata] anominata; 282. solus] solo; 283. constat euenisse] constat euenisset; 285. Ananiam] Ammaniam; 291. sacerdotii et tantum sufficiat tibi populi regere magistratum] omitted La; 292. captiuam] captam; 293. existit] extitit; 294. uestra sententia] uestram sententiam; 204. uidebatur] uidebantur; potuisset] potuissent; 299. rebus] regibus; 309. ornatum] ornamentum; 313. haec] hoc

Group C.4

231. obsidionis] obsidioni (- Sr par); 232. ne] omitted (-Sr par); sed] omitted; deperirent] deperire (-Sr); 234. uacant] uocant (- Vt Sr par) hr; obseruant] obseruabant (- Vt) hr; 236. Olympiade] Olympi de (-Sr par pat); 237. domabatur] domabitur; 240. necessariis]

necessarius (- Cr); 244. hunc] hic (- Sr par); animaduertens] auertens V; 247. erat] erant (- Vt par) hr; 254. ciuitates] ciuitatem Pi Ptr hr (- Ne); inparatas] inparatus inparatas (-Sr par); 255. ac Garizin gentemque] narzari ingentemque (-Sr par); 271. nuncupatur] non cupabatur (Ne Sr: nuncupabatur; - par); 273. ut (amicus)] omitted; quando] quo modo (-Sr par); Iudeam] Iudea (-Cr par); 276. Aristobolum] eristobolum (-Cr Sr par); 279. ad] a hr L (- par); 280. Samariae] Samarei - par); 281. uallum] uallium Ptr; 282. audisse] audisset Ptr hr; 285. Ptolomeum] omitted (-par) hr; Ananiam] Amaniam Ptr; templum aedificasse] aedificasse templum hr; 287. et Ananiam] eaniam (- par); Strabon] trabon (- par); 293. ualde] uel de hr; 294. non (uidebatur)] omitted (-Vt par) hr; morte] mortem (-Ne par); quas] quia hr; 297. successione] sucessionem (-Cr); 303. ammittens] amittens (- par); 304. expeditione] expectatione (- par) hr; 305. occasionem se cepisse pompam Antigoni putauerant et uictoriam] omitted (-Vt par); 307. fratrem autem] fratrem ante (-Ne par; M fratrum ante); 313. esset] esse (-Ne Sr par); maritima] maritana (- par; Ne maritania); uatem hoc] autem per hoc (Ne^{a.c.?}); 322. Deus] deo (- Sr par); 395. Rinocora] Rinocoram (- Cr Sr par; omit pat) hr

Group C.3-4

229. portam] omit C.3 Ptr; 230. hostem] hostes Ptr hr; amore] amorem (-Ne Vt par); 233. tormentis] tormentum Ptr (Ne?); impetum] omit Vi Ptr; 236. centesima] centesimo; secunda] secundo; 237. propter] omit; conclusit] concludit Ptr hr; 240 consumendis] consumendi hr; 242. ad (Antiochum)] omit; indutias] indutiam; sacrificium] ad sacrificium Vi Ptr hr b; magnificentissimum] omit Ptr; 243. ius] uis (- Sr); 245. erga] circa; 251. legitimum] legitimum sic; 255. Medaba] Nadabam hr (Nabadam) Ptr (Minadabam); 257. ciuitates] ciuitatem Ptr hr; Marisso] Mariso (-V) Ptr No hr; 260. Februarias] Februarius; 262. subiecti sint] subiecti sunt hr; 265. uacuerit] uacauerit; 266. pecunias eis publicas] et pecunias eis publicas Ptr (ei); 271. obuius] ob huius Ptr (-Sr par); Antiochi] hochi Ptr (bochi); duxisse] duxisset (Vt dixisse); 275. ad eam] ad eum (- Sr par M); 279. Epicrati] Epigrati Ptr hr; 280. locis] omit Ptr hr L; Epichrates] Epigratis Ptr hr Bo; 287. Cleopatram] Cleopatrae; 289. scitis] sitis L No (-par); 294. poenae] plene La; 295. putabat] putat Ptr hr; 303. uidebatur] uidebantur (-Vt); 311. futura] futurae hr (-Ne); 312. mortem] morte La Ptr hr; 313. perturbauit] turbauit; 315. causamque] causam; 321. despectus] dispectus hr; ad] ante hr; 322. nutririi] nutrire p Adm; 395. Appolloniam] Apollonium; 397. Lembaoronem] Baora Pt

Group E

230. in aliis] malis pg; 231. subsidia] subsidii Vat; 241. muros] interminis uel inter muros; miserabiliter] mirabiliter (-Nv); 245. modestiam] modestia; suadentium] suadentum (-Nv); 246. ciuitate] ciuitatem Adm; 250. exercitum] exercitus; 253. eum] omitted; eo] eum Vat; 255. ac Garizin] et argarizim; 260. et Diodorus] et liodorus; 261. Zora] Dora; 273. collegit] colligens; 276. adiutorem Antiochum] Antiochum adiutorem; 284.

agebant] degebant; 285. et] ordinavit et; 289. deo et uobis] uobis et deo; 291. uis] uelis; depone] deponere (al depone); 299. annis] annos; 300. praedicabat] praedicebat; sentiamus] sciamus; 312. iam] omitted ve; dubitare] dubitari Aus; 314. possedit] possidebat; quod] quem Ml; 318. Filellin] Filelnin; 320. et] omitted; 395. Rinocorura] Rinocoron; 396. Gaulanitidem] Gauladitidem

Group H

245. conuersationem] conuersationemque hr; 248. deposuisset] deposuit; 259. ipsos] eos; 268. tentus] tentusque

Group J

230. in Hiericho] omit; 231. quantum] cum (vl omits); 243. duxerunt] adduxerunt; 248. deposuisset] deposuit et Bo; 250. eum] omitted; 260. hoc] omitted Iudaeorum] omitted; 269. Gryppi] Erippi Pa h; 271. erat] fuerat; Graspi] Gaspi (vl Iaspi); 273. ipse] omitted; Zebennei] Zabinnei (-vl); 282. vocem] omitted; 285. templum] omitted (vl templum); sacrarii] omitted; 289. nimis] minus pg; 290. me] omitted; 297] traditae] traditae non (vl traditae); 299. triginta uno] uiginti et uno; 311. et Iudam] omitted; 312. uero stadiis] uero Stratonis; 317. interemptis] interempti; 319. pudoris] prudentis; 320. ligatos] omitted; 322] apparuisset ei] ei apparuisset; 395. Rafiam] Rafia; 396. (H)itaburium] T(h)abirium; 397. Hanc etiam destruxit cum non promisissent habitantes in ea patrios Iudaeorum se mores suscipere. Alias quoque Syriae ciduitates euerterunt] omitted

Group L

228. misit] misit ut; occidi] apprehenderet; 233. uero] ergo L.1; 234. obsidendi] obsidionis; 239. si uero] si L.2; praesensisse]; praesentes esse L.1; 240. ut] sed L.2; 241. animam] animas Ml; 242. autem] itaque L.1; 243. in] omitted; exercitum] exercitui; 245. capi] capere; dissonantem] dissolutis L.2; 250. testis est] est testis L.1; 251. haec quidem] quidem haec; 252. institit] instabat; uel (2nd)] omitted L.2; 255. Medaba] Medabam; ac Garizin] Garizim; 257. Abora cum] Aboracum Mn; 262. cassentur] censeantur L.1; 263. ut] omit L.1; recipientur] recipient; 265. festinabitur] festinabit L.1; 266. et] ex L.1; consultum] consultu L.1; 273. Antiochi mortem] mortem Antiochi L.1; 275. Sebastia] Sebasta L.2; Marisenos] Marissenos L.1 pg; 277. secundo necessitatis] secundo necessitate coacti L.1; 279. circumuentus] circumuentos; 281. quisquam illic fuisse] fuisse illic quisquam L.1; 283. constat euenisse] constanter euenit; 286. Cappadox] Capadocus pg; 287. eo] eis; 288. male] mala L.1; pati ualebant] ualebant pati; 290. ornarum] ornatum esse; 291. tunc] tum; 294. quae potuisset] omit L.1 cf Ba; modesti]

molesti L.1; 295. putabat] omitted L.1; 301. Babylonia] Babylonica Ml; 302. de] pro L.1; omitted L.2; 303. ammittens] admittente; 308. cum] omitted Ml; contraria] contra L.1 L; frater] quia frater; 312. est mihi] est mihi inquit; distabat sexcentis] sexcentis distabat L.1; uaticinatio] uaticinatione; regni] regni sui L.1; 318. Iudaicas] Mosaicas Ba r; 321. dicitur fuisse] fuisse dicitur L.1 r; 395. Rinocorura L.2 (Pd Rinocoruram; PragXXIII.D.121 Rinocoruca); 397. destruxit] destruxerunt

Group M

232. aestimans] extimans; 245. eis conuersationem] conuersationem eis; 256. Sanabalath] Sannabalath pg; 262. ut etiam] et ut etiam al; 263] reuerterentur] reuertentur (-Aus); 271. hic] hoc; 276. ergo] uero; 277. Samaritae] compulsu Samarite; 281] iudicaret] indicaret; 288. eum pati] pati eum; 316. consumerer] consumeret (-Aus); 396] (H)itaburium] Thabiricum (Aus Bithabericum)

Group N

234. protractus] protactis; 234. obsidendi] obsidenti Ba G; 235. ptolemeus] tholomeus (-No); 241. muros] interminos; 255. ac Garizin] agarizin Ba G; 260. Lucii] Luci Ba pg; 265. expendendas] expetendas; 269. tandem] tanto; 283. constat euenisse] constanter euenisset; 286. istis] is (ve eis; No his); 286. Cappadox] Capadorum Ba G; 293. omnibus] in omnibus (-No); 300. praescientiam] praesentiam (-No) hr; 305. sublimis] in sublimis Ba w hr; 312. transierat] transiebat (-No); 319. Timagenis] Omagenis hr (Homagenis); 396. Gaulanitidem] Gaulantidem Ba G

Group P (selections from 190 unique readings)

229. sensisset] sentiens audisset; euasit] fugiens euasit; de populo propter] benivolentiam populi ob; 30. accipiens] sumens; 247. talenta] auri talenta; 254. pugnatoribus] a bellatoribus; 255. ac Garizin] et Garizim pg; 268. interiit] ueneno interiit; 269. accipiens et] adeptus; 274. igitur] itaque Hyrcanus; 277. currens] fugiens mortis; 278. terrae] patriae; 289. pasceret] aleret; 290. peccantem] deuiantem; 305. dilatabant] detrahebant; 308. eorum facturum] decorem eorum; 309. tenebroso] obscure; 314. possedit] inuasit; 320. ordinauit] consuit

Appendix 3: AJ 13.228–322: Text of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 11 1179 (St; Group G) with Variants from Naples, Biblioteca nazionale di Napoli, VF 34 (B; Group C.1), and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque de la ville 40 (El; Group H)¹

Murder of Simon by His Son-in-Law Ptolemy and Pursuit of Hyrcanus

[228] XIV. Igitur annis octo principatum sacerdotii Iudaeorum regens,² moritur in conuiuio per insidias Ptolomei generi. Et³ uxorem eius cum duobus filiis capiens et uinctos habens, misit tertium Iohannem, qui et Hyrcanus uocabatur, occidi. [229] Quod cum sensisset iuuenis, euasit periculum et ad ciuitatem festinauit, confidens de populo propter patris sui⁴ beneficia Ptolomeique odium. Properantem uero per aliam portam Ptolomeum intrare populus expulit; nam iam Hyrcanum receperat. [230] Hinc Ptolomeus ad aliquod castellum nomine Dagon⁵ in Hiericho discessit.

Hyrcanus Becomes High Priest and Attacks Ptolemy Who Kills His Mother and Brothers

xv. Accipiens autem paternum principatum, Hyrcanus Deum hostiis placauit et ita contra Ptolomei militiam produxit exercitum. Et cum ad locum peruenisset, in aliis omnibus hostem circumueniens, praeualebat. Vincebatur tamen matris et fratrum amore, [231] quos super murum Ptolomeus trahens in prospectu eius torquebat⁶ et praecipitare minabatur si non ab obsidione discederet. Hyrcanus autem quantum

1 The text presented here is intended to provide an aid to the reader by making available the complete text of three manuscripts that illustrate a wide range of readings. Mss St (grG) and B (grC) with few exceptions provide the earliest text for their specific groups. Manuscript El (grH) is a representative of the earliest form of the most widespread secondary tradition. The text and lemmata are transcriptions of St aside from the punctuation, capitalization, and regularization of the orthography. A transcription of the entire *LAJ* text of Bamberg 78 (Ba) can be found at the Latin Josephus Project website, edited by R.M. Pollard, J. Timmermann, J. di Gregorio, M. Laprade, and J.-F. Aubé-Pronce (<https://www.latinjosephus.org>). The range of variants found in St, B, El, and Ba represent a high percentage of readings to be considered in the reconstruction of the earliest recoverable text. The addition of readings from one manuscript representing each Levenson-Martin group would raise this percentage even more (see p. 290 for suggestions). For evaluation of unique readings in St and B and their relationship to the earliest recoverable text, see the data and analysis for Groups C and G readings in sections 2.3–8. One obvious emendation, not found in any of the manuscripts collated for this project, is recorded in the apparatus here at 13.243 (*pauit*).

2 regens] gerens B

3 et] qui et El

4 sui] om B

5 Dagon] nandagon B

6 torquebat] torquebatur B; torquebat El (s.l.)

remitteret⁷ de obsidionis industria, tantum carissimis putabat offerre subsidia, ne, dum male paterentur, eius crudelitati reputaretur. [232] Mater autem protendens manus petebat ne propter eos differret, sed multo magis impetu castellum inuaderet, inimicoque suae potestati subacto, pro carissimorum tormentis redderet retributionem, sibi quoque aestimans hoc esse utilissimum,⁸ si per suam mortem hostes atrocius deperirent. [233] Hyrcanum uero petitionibus matris incensum castellum capiendi furor tenebat, rursusque cum uidisset matrem caedi uel dissipari, soluebatur et pro ingestis matri tormentis impetum deponebat obsidionis. [234] Taliq[ue] necessitate obsidendi⁹ protractus annum expleuit in quo Iudaei semper¹⁰ uacant; nam per septem hunc obseruant sicut in septimis diebus. [235] Qua propter Ptolomeus a bello solutus occidit matrem et fratres Hyrcani et fugit ad Zenonem,¹¹ qui Cotylas appellabatur, in Philadelphia tyrannidem¹² exercentem.

Antiochus Sidetes Invades Iudaea and Lays Siege to Jerusalem

[236] XVI. Antiochus autem, infestus Symoni de interitu sui¹³ exercitus, contra Iudaeam accessit quarto anno¹⁴ sui imperii, primo uero principatus¹⁵ Hyrcani, Olympiade centesima sexagesima¹⁶ secunda. [237] Cumque deuastasset prouinciam, Hyrcanum in ciuitatem¹⁷ conclusit,¹⁸ quam¹⁹ septem aciebus circumdedit. Nihil tamen penitus proficiebat propter murorum munimina²⁰ et propter obsessorum uirtutem nec non et aquarum inopiam,²¹ qua²² propter²³ siccitate domabatur. [238] In parte uero planissima turres statuit celsiores, numero centum, tria²⁴ tecta unaquaque habente,²⁵ super quas militares ordines disposuit; [239] multosque cottidie laboris²⁶ congressus

-
- 7 remitteret] remittere B
 8 utilissimum] El
 9 obsidendi] obsedendi B
 10 Iudaei semper] semper Iudaei B El
 11 Zenonem] Cenonem B
 12 tyrannidem] tirnidem B (or tiruidem?)
 13 sui] suo B
 14 anno] om. B
 15 principatus] om. El
 16 sexagesima] om. El
 17 ciuitatem] ciuitate B El
 18 conclusit] inclusit El
 19 quam] quem B
 20 munimina] munima B (only B)
 21 inopiam] inopia B
 22 qua] quam B
 23 propter] pro B
 24 tria] tres El
 25 unaquaque habente] unamquamque habentem El
 26 cotidie laboris] cotidie labores B; labores cotidie El

inferebat fossamque altam et latissimam²⁷ construens, muros ciuitatis deposuit. Iudaei uero multas incursiones²⁸ contra moliebantur²⁹ et, si quidem incautos aduersarios inuenissent, pessime eos conterebant. Si uero praesensisse eos cognoscerent, innocui redibant. [240] Vt uero noxiam multitudinem intra ciuitatem Hyrcanus attendit, consumendis citius necessariis, nihilque populum prodesse conspexit, inutilem partem eius³⁰ secernens foras ciuitatem emisit. Quae³¹ uero³² bellicosa et fortis erat, hanc tantum tenuit. [241] Antiochus autem proiectos egredi uetabat. Qui dum inter muros errarent, saeuissimis tormentis miserabiliter animam³³ exhalabant. Cum uero festi dies tabernaculorum uenissent, miserati eos, intra ciuitatem denuo receperunt. [242] Hyrcanus autem ad Antiochum legatos direxit, petens indutias septem dierum³⁴ propter festiuitatem Deique supplicationem. Qui cum audisset, respondit legatis: "Immolate." Nec non etiam sacrificium³⁵ magnificentissimum destinauit, taurum cornibus inauratis, et pocula plena omnibus aromatibus aurea uel argentea. [243] Quod sacrificium adductum susceperunt qui ante portas stabant et ad templum duxerunt. Antiochus autem iste in exercitum³⁶ melius Antiocho Epiphane claruit.³⁷ Nam ille, capiens ciuitatem, porcos super aram immolauerat et ius carniū per totum templum³⁸ sparserat etiam leges Iudaeorum paternamque religionem confuderat, propter quae³⁹ gens rebellauit et minime reconciliari passa est. [244] Hunc uero Antiochum propter pietatem religionis omnes pium uocauerunt. [245] Laudatque⁴⁰ modestiam eius Hyrcanus, et, animaduertens⁴¹ studium ipsius erga Deum, petiuit eum ut patriam eis conuersionem⁴² restitueret. Qui cum refutasset pessimum consilium suadentium gentem capi legibus dissonantem, [246] ad omnem pietatem flexus, legatis respondit, si traderent arma partemque tributorum Ioppen⁴³ aliarumque ciuitatum⁴⁴

27 altam et latissimam] latam et altissimam El

28 incursiones] cursiones B

29 moliebantur] moliebatur B

30 eius] ei El

31 emisit. Quae] emisitque B (corr. to emisit quae)

32 uero] om. B

33 animam] om. El

34 dierum] diebus El

35 sacrificium] ad sacrificium B

36 exercitum] exercitu El

37 claruit] St B El; earliest reading pauit (cf. ἐστ(α) not in any collated mss; claruit grG grC grH grL.1 grM hr; paruī grE grJ grP grN (-L Bo) grL.2 Ba w; apparuit L Bo pg

38 templum] St (s.l.)

39 propter quae] propterque B El

40 laudatque] B (corr. to laudantque); laudansque El

41 et animaduertens] etiam aduertens B

42 conuersionem] conuersionemque El (corr. to conuersionem)

43 Ioppen] Ioppe B El

44 ciuitatum] ciuitatium B

circa Iudaeam existentium soluerent et custodiam⁴⁵ in ciuitate suscipere, confirmans pactum finiret bellum. [247] Iudaei uero omnia perferre praeter custodiam consentiebant, quam non propter aliud nisi pro dissimili conuersatione recusabant. Pro custodia tamen obsides dare profitebantur et talenta argenti quinquaginta,⁴⁶ ex quibus statim trecenta cum obsidibus optulerunt, inter quos erat et frater Hyrcani. [248] Quae cum suscepisset rex Antiochus et coronam ciuitatis deposuisset,⁴⁷ obsidionem soluens discessit. [249] Hyrcanus uero sepulchrum Dauid aperiens, qui multo ditior quondam regibus fuit, tria milia talenta pecuniarum exinde protulit, ex quibus primus Iudaeorum coepit peregrinos alere. [250] Composuit etiam cum Antiocho amicitias,⁴⁸ suscipiensque eum intra ciuitatem, munificenter abundeque militibus omnia necessaria ministrabat. Cumque exercitum Antiochus contra Parthos duceret, cum eo Hyrcanus egressus est.⁴⁹ De his testis est⁵⁰ nobis Nicolaus Damascenus, sic in historia docens:⁵¹ [251] “Tropheum autem sistens Antiochus iuxta fluuium Lycum ubi uicerat Indatim Parthorum ducem, ibi⁵² duobus diebus remoratus est, petente Hyrcano Iudaeo propter aliquam⁵³ patriam Iudaeorum celebrationem, in qua non erat legitimum eos proficisci.” Et haec quidem non est mentitus. [252] Nam quinquagesima⁵⁴ festiuitas post sabbatum instituit, in qua minime licet nobis uel in sabbatis uel in festo die uiam conficere. [253] Tunc et enim Antiochus cum Arsace Parthorum rege confligens et multum perdens exercitum interiit. In regno autem Syriae frater eius Demetrius succedit, Arsace eum a captiuitate soluente eo tempore quo Anthiochus Parthorum terram ingressus est, sicut prius demonstratum est.

Hyrcanus and the Samaritans and Idumeans

[254] xvii Hyrcanus uero Antiochi morte cognita statim ad Syriae ciuitates expeditionem parauit, arbitratus imparatas eas⁵⁵ et desertas pugnatoribus defensoribusque inuenire. Quod etiam euenit. [255] Nam Medaba,⁵⁶ cum multum exercitus eius laborasset sexto mense⁵⁷ capit, post etiam Samogan⁵⁸ uel illas quae uicinae fuerunt,

45 custodiam] custodia B (macron erased?); custodias El
 46 quinquaginta] St (corr. to quingenta); quingenta grG (-St^{a.c}) B El (quinquaginta s.l.)
 47 deposuisset] deposuit El
 48 amicitias] amicitiam B
 49 est] om. B
 50 testis est] testis B
 51 docens] dicens El
 52 ibi] ubi El
 53 aliquam] aliam El
 54 quinquagesima] quinquagesimae El
 55 eas] St (s.l.); om. B
 56 Medaba] Minadabam B; Midaba El
 57 sexto mense] intra (s.l.) septem menses B
 58 Samogan] Samogam El

nec non etiam Sychimam ac Garizin gentemque⁵⁹ Cutheorum, [256] quae templum aedificatum ad similitudinem Hierosolimitani⁶⁰ possidebat, quod Alexandri mandato Sanabalath dux condidit propter Manassen suum generum fratrem Iaddi⁶¹ principis sacerdotum, sicut superius intimauius. Contigit uero templum hoc dirui post annos ducentos.⁶² [257] Hyrcanus uero ciuitates Idumeae, Abora cum Marisso cunctosque cum domuisset Idumeos, permisit eis prouinciam habitare si circumciderentur legibusque Iudaicis uterentur. [258] Qui desiderio patriae terrae circumcisionem et aliam conuersionem Iudaeorum pertulerunt ideoque ex illo tempore coeperunt esse Iudaei.

Hyrcanus and the Romans

[259] Quo⁶³ facto Hyrcanus princeps sacerdotum, societatem Romanorum renouare cupiens, legationem ad ipsos⁶⁴ direxit. Cumque senatus scripta eius suscepisset, composuit amicitias hoc modo: [260] "Fannius Marci filius consul omnem senatum⁶⁵ octauo Idus Februarias⁶⁶ in campo⁶⁷ iussit conuenire, praesente Lucio Manlio⁶⁸ Lucii⁶⁹ Mentini filio et Gaio Sempronio Falernae filio, propter hoc quod legati Iudaeorum petiuerunt,⁷⁰ Symon filius Dosithei et Apollonius Alexandri et Diodorus Iasonis, uiri optimi a populo Iudaeorum destinati [261] de societate uel auxiliis exhibendis, quam cum Romanis de publicis rebus habuerunt, ut Ioppe et portus et Zora uel⁷¹ fontes et ciuitates insuper et uillae,⁷² quas Antiochus pugnans contra senatus consultum tenuit, restituantur, [262] quatinus⁷³ nec regii milites per terram eorum, cum subiecti sint, transeant,⁷⁴ ut etiam illa,⁷⁵ quae per Antiochum gesta sunt contra senatus consultum, cassentur,⁷⁶ [263] ut et⁷⁷ legatos mittant, quatinus recipiantur

-
- 59 ac Garizin gentemque] nargariz ingentemque B; ac Garizim gentemque El
 60 Hierosolimitani] Hierosolimitanae B
 61 Iaddi] St (corr. to Ihaddi); Iaddo grC
 62 ducentos] ducenti B
 63 quo] cum quo B
 64 ipsos] eos El
 65 omnem senatum] senatum omnem B El
 66 Februarias Feb El
 67 campo] campum B El
 68 Manlio] Mallio B
 69 Lucii] om. B
 70 petiuerant] St (corr. to petiuerunt) grG; petiuerunt B El
 71 Zora uel] Zorobabel B
 72 insuper et uillae] insuper et uillas B
 73 quatinus] et quatenus El
 74 transeant] transeat B (corr. to transeant)
 75 illa] om. B
 76 cassentur] cessent El
 77 ut et] et ut El

quae ab Antiocho sunt ablata,⁷⁸ ut et⁷⁹ prouinciam aestiment uastatam, utque eis ad reges et populos liberos litterae darentur, quatinus ad propriam domum illes reuerterentur. [264] Placuit igitur amicitias et auxilia cum hominibus bonis et⁸⁰ a bono populo uel amico transmissis esse renouandas.” [265] De rebus autem ablatiis responderunt consulares. “Cum a suis negotiis senatus uacuum habuerit,⁸¹ festinabitur in posterum nullam in eos iniquitatem ab aliquo fieri;” decernentes uero⁸² dare consulem Fannium publicas iusserunt⁸³ pecunias expendendas, dum ad patriam remearent. [266] Et Fannius quidem legatos Iudaeorum remittit, pecunias eis publicas praestans et senatus consultum, per quod debuissent cum tutela ad suam redire patriam.

Demetrius, Ptolemy Physcon, Alexander Zebinas

[267] In his quidem princeps sacerdotum Hyrcanus erat. Interea rex Demetrius cum exercitum aduersus Hyrcanum colligeret, nec⁸⁴ tempus ei nec occasio data est, cum milites et Syri malitiam eius abhorrentes,⁸⁵ per legationem peterent Ptholomeum Physconem cognominatum, quatinus de genere Seleuci⁸⁶ transmitteret eis qui deberet⁸⁷ accipere principatum. [268] Ptolomeus autem cum Alexandro Zebenna exercitum mittens,⁸⁸ pugnaque commissa, Demetrius superatur. Qui dum fugeret ad Cleopatram suam uxorem in Ptolomaide, ab ea non susceptus, Tyrum recedens tentus⁸⁹ multaque passus ab inimicis, interiit. XVIII. [269] Alexander autem, regnum accipiens et amicitiam cum Hyrcano principe sacerdotum componens, interiecto tandem⁹⁰ tempore, expugnatus ab Antiocho filio Demetrii Gryppi⁹¹ nomine, occiditur.

Antiochus Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and the Rise of Hyrcanus

[270] Cumque Antiochus imperium Syriae tenuisset, contra Iudaeam exercitum destinare timuit. Audiens uero germanum suum et ipsum nomine Antiochum ex

78 sunt ablata] ablata sunt El

79 ut et] et El

80 et] om. El

81 uacuum habuerit] St^{a-c.} (uacauerit s.l.) grG; uacuauerit B; uacauerit El

82 uero] om. B El

83 iusserunt] om. B El

84 nec] B (s.l.)

85 abhorrentes] abhorrent et El

86 Seleuci] Seleucii B

87 deberet] deberent B

88 mittens] misit El

89 tentus] temptus B (orth. variant); tentusque El

90 tandem] tamen El

91 Gryppi] B (corr. to Agrippa [grC]); Crippi El

eadem matre progenitum multas uires contra se a Cizico⁹² congregasse, [271] eum intra prouinciam statuit expectare, quatinus obuius⁹³ incursionibus fratris Antiochi, resisteret, qui Cizicenus dicebatur quod in illa ciuitate nutritus esset. Filius autem fuerat Antiochi qui Sother nuncupatur,⁹⁴ et uitam bello Parthico terminarat. Hic etiam frater erat Demetrii Graspī⁹⁵ patris. Contigit uero ambos fratres unam uxorem Cleopatram duxisse, quemadmodum et alibi retulimus. XVIII. [272] Cizicenus autem Antiochus ad Syriam perueniens, diu cum fratre bella commisit. Interim Hyrcanus omni tempore illo pace fruebatur. [273] Nam et ipse post Antiochi mortem a Macedonibus destitit, dum neque ut amicus uel subiectus aliquid eis praebuisset. Cuius res abunde creuerunt temporibus Alexandri Zebennei et magis tunc quando hi fratres contra se pugnabant. Nam dum bello occupati fuissent,⁹⁶ Hyrcanus Iudaeam cum licentia possidebat multamque pecuniarum summam collegit [274] ambosque inter se dimicantes contemnens,

Hyrcanus and Samaria

[275] expeditionem contra ciuitatem Samariam ualde munitam produxit, de qua suo loco referam, qualiter ab Herode sit condita et Sebastia nominata. Accedens igitur ad eam studiose obsidebat, memor malorum quae Samaritae contra Marisenos colonos et auxiliares Iudaeorum commiserunt oboedientes Syrorum regibus. [276] Cum ergo moenia undique circumdedisset duplici muro cincta stadiis octoginta, filios suos obsidioni praeposuit Antigonom et Aristobolum. Quibus imminentibus in tantam necessitatem famis Samaritae inciderunt, ut etiam illicita tangerent et uocarent adiutorem Antiochum Cizicenum. [277] Qui statim ueniens ad defensionem uincitur ab Aristobolo fugatusque a fratribus, usque ad Scytopolim⁹⁷ currens, euasit periculum. Hi rursus ad Samaritas reuersi concludunt eos intra murum, ut secundo necessitatis Samaritae adiutorem uocarent Antiochum. [278] Qui cum⁹⁸ a Ptolomeo Latyro sex milia uiros petisset quos Ptolomeus⁹⁹ inuita matre direxit (nam necdum a principatu¹⁰⁰ eum expulerat), primum praedatorio modo inuadit Hyrcani prouinciam cum Aegyptiis, non audens aperte pugnam committere (nam uires suas sciebat impares), sed sperans

92 a Cizico] azicico B
 93 obuius] ouius B (corr. to obuius)
 94 nuncupatur] nuncupabatur B
 95 Graspī] Grasbi B
 96 fuisset] El (corr. to fuissent)
 97 Scytopolim] Cytopolim B
 98 cui cum] qui dum El
 99 quos Ptolemeus] eos (over erasure) B
 100 principatu] principatum B

populatione¹⁰¹ terrae cogere¹⁰² Hyrcanum a¹⁰³ Samariae obsidione recedere.¹⁰⁴ [279] Cumque multos milites perderet insidiis circumuentus, discessit ad Tripolim, Callimandro et Epicrati bellum Iudaicum committens. [280] Callimander ergo,¹⁰⁵ aduersariis fugam simulantibus et post reuersis, statim consumitur. Epichrates autem manifeste pecuniis seductus Scytopolim cum uicinis locis prodidit Iudaeis. Samariae uero obsidionem soluere non potuit. [281] Igitur Hyrcanus, sub anni conclusione capiens ciuitatem, non hoc¹⁰⁶ solo contentus¹⁰⁷ est, sed totam deleuit Samariam. Nam sic eam euertit ut uallum magis quam ciuitatem quisquam illic fuisse iudicaret.¹⁰⁸

God Speaks to Hyrcanus in the Temple

[282] Mirabile tamen aliquid de principe sacerdotum Hyrcano dicitur, quemadmodum¹⁰⁹ ei Deus locutus est. Nam referunt illo die quo filii eius cum Ciziceno conflixerant, dum ipse in templo solus sacerdos adoleret thura, audisse uocem, quod filii eius uincerent Antiochum. [283] Qui cum a templo processisset, hoc omni populo manifestum fecit. Quod ita constat euenisse. Hyrcanus quidem in his degebat.

Cleopatra and the Jews

[284] Per idem uero tempus non solum Hierosolimorum Iudaei, sed et prouinciales et Alexandriam habitantes et Aegyptum et Cyprum feliciter agebant. [285] Nam Cleopatra regina, contra filium Ptolomeum Latyrum seditionem mouens, ordinauit duces Celchiam¹¹⁰ et Ananiam¹¹¹ filios Oniae, quem superius retulimus templum aedificasse in terra Heliopolitana¹¹² ad similitudinem sacrarii Hierosolimorum. [286] Cleopatra tamen, cum tradidisset istis¹¹³ exercitum, sine sententia eorum nihil tractabat, sicut testatur et¹¹⁴ Strabon Cappadox¹¹⁵ ita dicens: [287] “Nam plures, et qui cum eo descenderunt et quos postea Cleopatra mittebat in Cypro,¹¹⁶ statim ad

101 populatione] copulatione B
 102 cogere] B (corr. to cogere cepit [grC]); cogente El
 103 a] B (corr. to ut a [grC])
 104 recedere] B (corr. to recederet [grC])
 105 ergo] uero El
 106 hoc] oc B (corr. to loco)
 107 contentus] contemptus B (orth. variant)
 108 quisquam illic fuisse iudicaret] fuisse illi iudicarent El
 109 quemadmodum] quemamodum B (corr. to quemadmodum)
 110 Celchiam] Chelchiam El
 111 Ananiam] Annaniam El
 112 Heliopolitana] Hieropolitana B
 113 istis] his El
 114 testatur et] testatus est El
 115 Cappadox] El (s.l.)
 116 Cypro] Cyprum B

Ptolomeum transibant.¹¹⁷ Soli uero Iudaei, qui Oniae dicebantur, apud Cleopatram permansere reginam propter Celchiam¹¹⁸ et Ananiam.¹¹⁹ Haec Strabon disseruit.

Hyrcanus and the Pharisees

[288] Hyrcano autem inuidiam mouit apud Iudaeos felicitas, magis autem Pharisei; nam male¹²⁰ eum pati uolebant. Qui tantum apud populum ualebant, ut, si quid contra regem uel¹²¹ principem sacerdotum dixissent, facile crederetur. [289] Discipulus tamen eorum et Hyrcanus fuerat et nimis ab eis diligebatur. Sed cum eos ad conuiuuium uocaret et amicabiliter pasceret nimisque delectari uidisset, dicere coepit: "Scitis me uelle¹²² iuste uiuere omniaque¹²³ agere per quae Deo et uobis placeam. [290] Rogo autem si quid me peccantem uideritis et a recta uia deuiantem, reuocate atque corrigite." Qui dum ei testimonium praeberent omni uirtute ornatum, laetatus est. [291] Tunc unus ex accumbentibus,¹²⁴ Eleazarus nomine, maliuolus et seditionibus gaudens, "Quoniam iustum," inquit, "dixisti te uiuere¹²⁵ uelle et¹²⁶ ueritatem cognoscere uis, iustum est;¹²⁷ depone principatum sacerdotii et tantum sufficiat tibi populi regere magistratum."¹²⁸ [292] Hyrcano uero causam consulente qua propter deponeret principatum, "Quoniam," inquit, "audiuimus a senioribus captiuam fuisse matrem tuam sub Anthiocho Epiphane;" quod falsum fuerat. Contra quem¹²⁹ irritatus est¹³⁰ Hyrcanus, omnesque Pharisei ualde indignabantur. [293] Tunc Ionathas quidam¹³¹ de Sadduceorum heresi, quae¹³² contraria Pharisaeis existit, ualde¹³³ Hyrcano amicus, dicebat, scientibus omnibus Pharisaeis, Eleazarum blasphemiam fecisse,¹³⁴ et hoc manifestum illi posse fieri, si requireret illos qua¹³⁵ dignus esset poena pro uerborum qualitate multari.¹³⁶

117 transibant] transiebat B (corr. to transiebant [grC])

118 Celchiam] Chelciam B; Chelchiam El

119 Ananiam] Annaniam El

120 male] mali B

121 uel] et El

122 uelle] uel B

123 uiuere omniaque] omnia El

124 accumbentibus] accubentibus B

125 te uiuere] te El; om. B

126 uelle et] St; uelle El; et uelle B

127 est] esse B El

128 magistratum] principatum B

129 contra quem] contraque B

130 irritatus est] St; iratus B; irritatus El

131 quidam] quidem El

132 quae] que B

133 ualde] om. El

134 fecisse] fecisset B

135 qua] quia B

136 multari] multati B

[294] Cumque Hyrcanus Pharisaeos interrogasset qua iudicarent eum poena meritum (“Non enim credo,” inquit, “cum uestra sententia factam iniuriam”), tunc illi, cum eum honorare uellent, dicebant ad mensuram poenae plagas et uincula sufficere; nam non uidebatur digna contumelia quae¹³⁷ potuisset morte multari, et quia modesti sunt naturaliter ad tormenta Pharisei. [295] Valde contristabatur¹³⁸ unde putabat illorum sententia¹³⁹ maledictiones Eleazarum¹⁴⁰ sibi fecisse. Incitator¹⁴¹ uero irae¹⁴² eius Ionathas flexit eum, [296] relictis Phariseis, ad Sadduceorum partem transire, ut et leges ab eis populo dispositas solueret custodesque earum¹⁴³ puniret. Vnde summum ei uel filiis odium a multitudine concitatum est. [297] Sed de his quidem iterum disseremus.¹⁴⁴ Nunc autem uolo demonstrare quas leges populo patrum successione tradidissent Pharisei, quae non sunt inter¹⁴⁵ Moysaicas¹⁴⁶ leges conscriptae. Ideoque Sadducaeorum gens has¹⁴⁷ expulit, dicens illas debere leges tenere¹⁴⁸ quae conscriptae sunt, illas uero quae a patribus traditae fuissent minime custodiri. [298] Et de his¹⁴⁹ multa questio uel altercationes maximae fiebant, et Sadducaeos copiosi uel diuites sequebantur. Populares uero non eis obsequebantur, sed Phariseos unanimiter adiuuabant. De his¹⁵⁰ tamen duabus heresibus atque Essenorum in secundo uolumine Iudaicae historiae disseruimus.

Death and Eulogy of Hyrcanus

[299] Hyrcanus autem post seditionem sedatam feliciter uixit et principatum optime rexit annis triginta uno¹⁵¹ defunctusque reliquit filios quinque. Qui maximis¹⁵² his tribus rebus dignus a Deo iudicatus est : magistratu populi, principatu sacerdotii, et praedicatione prophetiae. [300] Nam Deus cum eo erat, et futurorum praesentiam ei donauit. Ita enim cognoscebat et praedicabat, ut etiam de duobus filiis praediceret

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- 137 quae] qua B El
 138 contristabatur] B (corr. to contristabantur [grC])
 139 sententia] sententiam B
 140 Eleazarum] Eleazarum B (B only)
 141 incitator] St (r s.l.); incitata B
 142 irae] ira B
 143 earum] eorum B El
 144 disseremus] disserimus B
 145 inter] St (s.l.)
 146 Moysaicas] Mosaicas B El
 147 has] om. B
 148 leges tenere] tenere leges El
 149 et de his] et de is B
 150 De his] deis B (corr. to de his)
 151 uno] et uno B
 152 maximis] maximus El

quod rerum domini¹⁵³ non diutius permanerent. Quorum interitum¹⁵⁴ operae pretium est narrare quatinus sentiamus quantum indigni felicitate patris fuissent.

Aristobulus Becomes King and Turns against Antigonus

[301] xx. Defuncto enim patre maior Aristobolus magistratum ad regiam dignitatem transferre decreuit, primusque sibi diadema imposuit post quadringentos octoginta et unum annos et tres menses, ex quo de captiuitate Babylonia populus liberatus ad propria remeauit. [302] Amans autem fratrem suum secundum Antigonum, simili dignitate eum ornauit.¹⁵⁵ Alios uero uinculis tenebat astrictos. Inclusit etiam et matrem de magistratu altercantem; nam illam Hyrcanus dominam esse reliquerat. Qui ad tantam crudelitatem perductus est, ut uinculis eam puniret atque¹⁵⁶ consumeret.

Murder of Antigonus

[303] Insuper addidit matri etiam Antigonum, quem amare¹⁵⁷ uidebatur et communis regni habere consortem, accusationibus alienatus ab eo. Quibus primum quidem non credebat, aliqua amore non¹⁵⁸ ammittens, aliqua uero per inuidiam arbitratus dicta. [304] Sed Antigonus cum¹⁵⁹ clarus ab expeditione redisset tempore quo festiuitatem tabernaculorum Deo celebrant,¹⁶⁰ contigit Aristobolum quidem morbo teneri. Tum Antigonus agens dies festos ad templum ascendit ualde splendidissime ornatus cum suis armatis et multum pro salute fratris orauit. [305] Maluoli uero cupientes eorum separare concordiam, occasionem se cepisse pompam Antigoni putauerunt, et uictoriam eius coram rege pompamque maluole dilatabant, quomodo in celebratione tabernaculorum sublimis apparuit, [306] ut non haec a priuato fieri uiderentur, sed regiae munificentiae ostentatio crederetur, eumque cum multitudine militum uenturum ad fratris interitum¹⁶¹ nuntiabant. [307] Aristobolus autem cum his accusationibus inuitus credidisset, timens ne in fratris suspicionem incideret simulque suam custodiam curans, disponit custodes sui corporis in subterraneo uel tenebroso loco. Iacebat autem ipse in turri, quae Antoniana¹⁶² dicebatur, et praecepit ut inermem occiderent¹⁶³ nullum, fratrem autem Antigonum,¹⁶⁴ si armatus intraret,

153 domini] domino B

154 interitum] om. B

155 ornauit] ordinauit El

156 puniret atque] penuriaque El

157 amare] amari B

158 non] om. B

159 Antigonus cum] cum Antigonus B El

160 celebrant] celebrarent El

161 fratris interitum] fratrem B

162 Antoniana] Antonia B

163 occiderent] B (corr. to non occiderent [grC])

164 Antigonum] Antigonus B

interficerent. [308] Mandauitque Antigono¹⁶⁵ ut sine armis ueniret. Regina uero cum insidiatoribus Antigoni persuasit mandata portanti contraria dicere. “Frater,”¹⁶⁶ inquit, “tuus,¹⁶⁷ audiens construxisse te arma ornatumque bellicum, petit ut ingrediaris cum armis¹⁶⁸ quatinus uideat eorum facturam.” [309] Quo nuntio Antigonus nihil arbitratus dolosum, sed confidens de fratris affectu, sicut erat armatus ad Aristobolum ingreditur, ut ei armorum¹⁶⁹ demonstraret ornatum. Cumque ad turrin quae Stratonis dicitur peruenisset, ab eis, qui in tenebroso loco¹⁷⁰ fuerant collocati, prosternitur. [310] Cuius mors ostendit nihil inuidia, nihil accusatione ualidius, neque magis aliud¹⁷¹ secernit fidem seu naturalem familiaritatem quam istae passiones.

Prophecy of Judas the Essene

[311] Ammirari potest quilibet et Iudam, Esseum genere, qui nunquam in his quae¹⁷² praedixit mentitus est. Nam hic cum uidisset Antigonom per templum transire, clamauit sociis suis et notis, qui gratia praedicendi¹⁷³ futura doctrinae eius obseruabant: [312] “Melius est mihi mori quam si mortem fuero mentitus Antigoni, quem hodie uideo periturum in Turre Stratonis.” Locus uero stadiis¹⁷⁴ distabat sexcentis¹⁷⁵ ubi eum praedixit interfici, dieique iam¹⁷⁶ plurima pars transierat, ut etiam dubitare uaticinatio uideretur. [313] Cumque haec dixisset tristisque esset, nuntiatum ei Antigonom esse defunctum in subterraneo. Nam et ipsa Turris Stratonis dicebatur eodem nomine quo Maritima Caesarea nuncupatur. Igitur uatem¹⁷⁷ hoc perturbauit.

Aristobolus’ Remorse, Illness, and Death

[314] Aristobolum autem¹⁷⁸ fraternalis caedis¹⁷⁹ paenitentia fletusque possedit nec non etiam aegritudo mentem eius sceleris¹⁸⁰ dolore peruasit et intolerabilem passionem corruptis uisceribus sustinebat. Copiam quoque sanguinis euomebat. Quod dum

165 Antigono] Antigonus B

166 frater] cui frater B

167 inquit tuus] tuus inquit B

168 armis] armatis B

169 ei armorum] armorum El

170 loco] lo B (corr. To loco)

171 magis aliud] aliud magis El

172 his quae] hisque B (corr. To his quae)

173 praedicandi] praecinendi B

174 uero stadiis] stadiis uero B

175 stadiis distabat sexcentis] distabat stadiis sexcentis El

176 deique iam] B (erasure btw words)

177 uatem] autem B

178 autem] et eum B

179 caedis] necis El

180 sceleris] celeris El

puer aliquis portaret, lapsus est in loco in quo maculae sanguinis¹⁸¹ adhuc Antigoni¹⁸² permanebant, arbitrator¹⁸³ Dei prouidentia disponente. [315] Quo facto clamor uidentium fusum sanguinem eleuatus est, dum existimarent hoc puerum sponte fecisse.¹⁸⁴ Clamorem uero cum Aristobolus audisset causamque requisisset, tacentibus amplius minabatur,¹⁸⁵ discere uolens clamoris causam. Homines enim suspicantur in his quae tacentur et semper esse peiora¹⁸⁶ putant. [316] Vt uero cogenti et interminanti ueritatem aperuerunt, confunditur eius mens, percussa conscientia sua, gemensque cum lacrimis ex alto pectore dixit: “Numquid latere Deum potui in tam impiis et crudelibus factis ut non scelere fraternae caedis¹⁸⁷ ueloci poena consumerer?¹⁸⁸ [317] Vsque quo, improbum corpus, prohibes animam ad umbras fratris et matris accedere? Cur non eam celeriter reddis, sed paulatim meum¹⁸⁹ libo sanguinem interemptis?”

Eulogy of Aristobulus

[318] Quae cum dixisset, moritur regni primo anno. Qui etiam dictus est Phylellin, id est amator Graecorum. Multum uero patriae profuit. Nam subegit Ituraeos plurimamque eorum prouinciam Iudaeis adiecit et compulit habitantes in ea ut, si uellent in prouincia permanere, circumciderentur secundum leges Iudaicas. [319] Erat autem naturae ualde modestae¹⁹⁰ uel pudoris ingenui,¹⁹¹ sicut testimonium praestat Strabon, nomine Timagenis,¹⁹² ita dicens: “Modestus fuerat hic uir et nimium Iudaeis utilis. Nam prouinciam eis adquisiuit et partem gentis Ituraeorum sibi circumcisionis uinculo coniunxit.”

181 Sanguinis] sanguis corr. to sanguinis B

182 Antigoni] Antigonus B

183 arbitrator] ut arbitrator B El

184 clamor uidentium fusum sanguinem eleuatus est dum existimarent hoc puerum sponte fecisse] ululatus continuo sublatus est qui puerum tamquam de industria sanguinem libasse conspexerant (= BJ 1.82b) B

185 minabatur] conabatur B

186 esse peiora] peiora esse El [lacuna in B]

187 caedis] necis El [lacuna in B]

188 consumerer] consumeret El [lacuna in B]

189 meum] om. El [lacuna in B]

190 modestae] moderatae El (modestae s.l.) [lacuna in B]

191 ingenui] ingenii El [lacuna in B]

192 Timagenis] Timagenes El grG (- St) [lacuna in B]

Alexander Jannaeus Becomes King

[320] XXI. Defuncto tamen Aristobolo Salomi¹⁹³ uxor eius, quae apud Graecos Alexandra nominatur, soluens fratres eius,¹⁹⁴ quos ligatos Aristobolus tenebat, ut praedictum est, Iamneum, qui et Alexander dicebatur, regem ordinavit aetate maiorem fratribus et humiliorem multum.^{195, 196} [321] Qui cum mox genitus fuisset, odio patris despectus erat et usque ad mortem¹⁹⁷ numquam ad faciem patris uenit. Causa uero huius odii talis dicitur fuisse.

God Appears to Hyrcanus in His Sleep

[322] Cum diligeret priores suos filios¹⁹⁸ Hyrcanus Antigonom¹⁹⁹ et Aristobolum, et apparuisset ei Deus in somnis, et interrogasset eum quis filiorum successor eius existeret, Deo demonstrante uultum istius, contristatus quod omnium bonorum suorum hic heres existeret, genitum in Galilea nutriri dimisit.²⁰⁰ Deus uero nequaquam mentitus est Hyrcano;²⁰¹ [323] namque regnum post Aristoboli finem iste suscepit.

193 Salomi] Salome El [lacuna in B]

194 eius] eos El [lacuna in B]

195 fratribus et humiliorem multum] om. B (lacuna) El [lacuna in B]

196 homines (13.315c)... multum] om. B [major lacuna] which substitutes the following from the parallel in B_J for the missing material: Atque ille cum lacrimis opplesset oculos et quantum poterat ingemisisset, haec locutus est. Sperandum certe non erat, ut maximum Dei lumen facta mea nefaria laterent; nam cito me ultrix cognatae caedis iustitia persequitur (= B_J 1.83b–84a).

197 cum mox genitus fuisset odio patris despectus erat, et usque ad mortem] om. El

198 suos filios] filios suos El

199 Antigonom] Antiochum B

200 dimisit] permisit B

201 Hycano] Hyrcani B

**Appendix 4: AJ 13:395–397: Text of Manuscript St (Brussels II 1179)
with Variants from 92 Manuscripts¹**

[395] Per idem tempus iam² Syrorum³ et Idumeorum et Phoenicum ciuitates Iudaei⁴ possidebant: iuxta mare⁵ quidem⁶ Stratonis Turrim,⁷ Apolloniam,⁸ Ioppem,⁹ Iamnam,¹⁰ Azotum,¹¹ Gazam. Antidonem,¹² Rafiam,¹³ Rinocora;¹⁴ [396] in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam,¹⁵ Aboram,¹⁶ Marissam,¹⁷ omnemque Idumeam; Samariam,¹⁸ Carmelum¹⁹ montem,²⁰ et Ithaburium²¹ montem,²² Scytopolim,

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- 1 The punctuation in St is modernized, but the division between city names is maintained.
- 2 **Per idem tempus iam**] Nam per felicitatem eius Iudei Pd PragXXIII.D121 (- eius)
- 3 **Syrorum**] Syriorum (corr. to Syrorum) Cp
- 4 **Iudaei**] omit Pd PragXXIII.D121
- 5 **mare**] mare galilee Mad10270
- 6 **quidem**] omit Pd PragXXIII.D121
- 7 **Turrim**] grG grP Sa w Cp; Turrem all other mss
- 8 **Ap(p)ol(l)oniam**] Ap(p)ol(l)onium C.3 C.4a; Antoniam C.4b
- 9 **Ioppem/Ioppen**] Iopen hr
- 10 **Iamnam**] Laniam hr
- 11 **Azotum**] Azoton C.1 C.3; C.4a (- pat M l Ne^{a.c.?}) Ptr; Azotan M l; Azaton pat; Azotam rg
- 12 **Antidonem**] Ant(h)edonem grP
- 13 **Rafiam**] Rafia grJ (Ly Mk U; Rafiam)
- 14 **Rinocora**] grG (- Werd Best7010 GKS1571) grC.1–4a (- M l Vt) grL.1 pg Ly; Rinocoram C.4 (-Cr Sr par pat) hr GKS1571; Rinocoro grH (Br Rinocero) grJ (- Ly) grN grP (Prs: arynocoro) Ba G Werd Best7010 Aus Cp Pr; Rinocoron grE; Rincoro grM (- Aus); Rinocorura grL.2 (Pd: Rinocoruram; PragXXIII.D121 Rinocoruca) (cf. Ῥινωκόρουρα, the rdg in almost all Grk mss); Ronocoruram w (transposed to after Cilicum); omit pat; Rinocoruram Niese (citing also Rinocora in Naples V F 34);
- 15 **in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam**] omit grE grL.2 grN grP Ba G w (mg: in mediterraneis uero per Idumeam)
- 16 **Aboram**] Abora C.2; Aboran Ly Mk U; omit w
- 17 **Marissam**] Marissimam C.1 C.3 C.4a; Marissima C.2; Marisam C.4b; Maresam grP; Marissa Alb; Marissan Ly Mk U; Marissiam Aus; Maritimam pg
Aboram. Marissa] aboram marissimam (or aboramarissimam) grC (-C.4b)
- 18 **Samariam**] et Samariam grP Pd PrgD121; omit Cor hr
Marissam omnemque Idumeam Samariam] transposed to before Aulonem w
- 19 **Carmelum**] Carmerum Du vl; et Carmelum Pd PrgD121; omit hr
- 20 **montem**] omit Pd PragXXIII.D121
- 21 **(H)itaburium**] grG ve; (H)it(h)abirum grC (par: Tabirum); (H)it(h)abirum grE grH grN (-ve) G w Sa pg n d Pr; Ithabirum grL (- Sa) grP (p : Bitabrium) Ba (erasure btw b and r); T(h)abirum grJ (- n d); Thabiricum grM (Aus: Bithabericum); omit hr
- 22 **Samariam, Carmelum montem, et Itaburium montem**] omit hr

Gadaram,²³ Gaulanitidem,²⁴ Seleuciam, Gabala,²⁵ [397] Moabitidem,²⁶ Sebon,²⁷ Medaba,²⁸ Lembaoronem,²⁹ Mega,³⁰ et Onzora,³¹ Cilicum,³² Aulonem,³³ Pellente.³⁴ Hanc etiam destruxit.³⁵ cum non³⁶ promisissent³⁷ habitantes³⁸ in ea³⁹ patrios⁴⁰ Iudaeorum se mores⁴¹ suscipere. Alias quoque⁴² Syriae ciuitates⁴³ euerterunt.⁴⁴

- 23 **Gadaram**] Gazaram Aus Crem1
 24 **Gaulanitidem**] Gaulantidem **grN** Ba G (corr. to Gaulanitidem); Gauladitidem **grE**; Gaudantidem vl; Gaulanitiden Ly Mk U PragXXIII.D121; Gaulanindem hr; Gaulantidem GKS1571
 25 **Gabala**] Gabela Aus
 26 **Moabitidem**] Moabiten Ly Mk U
 27 **Sebon**] sebon c; transposed after Maga PragXXIII.D121; (Grk ἐσ(σ)εβών/ ἡσεβών)
 28 **Medaba**] **grG** pg; Midabalam G (corr. to Midabalem) re; Midabilem Pr; Midabalem all other manuscripts
 29 **Lembaoronem**] **grG** (Ml Lembada.Oronem); Lembedonee pg; Baoro C.1 C.2 (- Pt); Baora C.3-4 (V: Boara; Ptr O: Bocora) Pt; Baoronee **grL** (Pd PragXXIII.D121; Bagronee) **grN grP** Ba; Baorenee **grE grH** (Br orenee) **grJ** (- Ly Mk U) **grM** (Aus Baoreuce) G Pr; Baorene Ly Mk U; Borane hr; Barronee w;
 30 **Mega**] **grG**; mag(etonzora) pg; Nemega **grC**; Maga **grH grJ grL grM grP** Ba G w Pr; Magnam **grE grN**; Magam hr;
 31 **et Onzora**] ecozora M l; Azoram PragXXIII.D121
 32 **Onzora Cilicum**] Onzoracilium Pr
 33 **Aulonem**] Oculonem [Beneventan "a" read as "oc"] **grC** (Ml aulonem; B: prob Ocolonem, but could be Aulonem); oculonem hr
 34 **Pellente**] **grG** (- Lau Ml) **grC.4a grN** (-ve No) St Tr Bo L Pal u; pellentem Lau Ml hr ve; pellante C.2 **grH grJ grM grP** B No Ba G Pr; pellantem C.3 C.4b **grE grL** Vi w pg
 35 **destruxit**] destruxerunt **grL**
 36 **non**] omit **grC** St (non above line) pg; uero rg
 37 **promisissent**] **grG** (- St^{a.c.}) **grE grL** (- Sa Sch Pd PragXXIII.D121) **grN grP** pg hr Ba Aus; promississet **grC** St^{a.c.} (n above line); permisissent **grH** Vat Pr Sa Sch G ; permisisset **grM** (- Vat Aus). Niese incorrectly reports the reading in B as promissent
 38 **habitantes**] in eam se habitantes C.4b (Ne: in eam se over erasure after which habi is added in margin and tantes in patria beginning next line over erasure)
 39 **ea**] eo M; eorum Cr; omit C.4b
 40 **patrios**] patria C.4b; patrias Cr
 41 **se mores**] **grG grE** pg t (ἔθῆ); seniores all other mss
 42 **Alias quoque**] aliosque (corr. to aliasque) Crem1; aliasque Pr
 43 **Syriae ciuitates**] ciuitates Syriae Crem1 GKS1571 pg
 44 **euerunt**] euertit C.4b (Ne is a correction, prob of euertunt); destruxere Pr; **Hanc etiam destruxit. cum non promisissent habitantes in ea patrios Iudaeorum se mores suscipere. Alias quoque Syriae ciuitates euerunt**] omit **grJ** Ly Mk; has omnes ciuitates Alexander pugnando Iudeis subiecit Pd PragXXIII.D121

Appendix 5: Textual Evidence for *Sefer Yosippon's* DEH Source

It is remarkable that David Flusser, working with such limited resources, was able to provide convincing textual evidence to confirm a key component of his hypothesis about the manuscript tradition to which *Sefer Yosippon's* LAJ and DEH source belonged. Using only two printed editions and selections from the same passages in two manuscripts, he was able to identify two textual variants that clearly indicated *Sefer Yosippon* had access to at least one manuscript tradition related to both the *Antiquities* and DEH texts of Naples V F 34 (B) and Plut. 66.1 (La).

For the Latin *Antiquities* Flusser identified a correspondence between the reading מליאוס in *Yosippon*, 29,15, with the variant *Mallio* (ablative of *Mallius*) in the text of LAJ 13.260 in both B and La that differs from the reading *Manlio* in the 1524 Basel edition of the Latin *Antiquities*. Flusser's results can now be confirmed by the evidence from more than fifty manuscripts, as *Mallio* is found in 20 manuscripts collated from Group C to which B and La belong and nowhere else in the manuscript tradition, which has *Manlio* in almost all manuscripts not included in Group C (see above p. 267).

The Reading cythara in the Cassinese Group and Sefer Yosippon

For the *De excidio*, Flusser identified the reading *cythara* in both B and La which corresponds to the text in *Yosippon* as opposed to the reading *cera*, which, with a few exceptions, appears in the rest of the DEH manuscript tradition. The argument is not as straightforward here, but equally convincing.

In a lengthy speech, composed by the author of the *De excidio*, which has no counterpart in the *War*, Matthias, facing the prospect of watching his sons executed before his own execution, excoriates himself for bringing Simon bar Giora into the city to oppose John of Gischala:

Therefore let us behold what we have done: the wax (*cera*) [image] of John frightened us (*Iohannis nos cera terruit*), the plunders of Simon delighted us. Let the parade be quickened by funeral processions, let the executioner come, let him slaughter sons before the face of their father and father over the corpses of his sons.

DEH 5.22.1 [Ussani, 349, 12–16]; trans. Bay, *Biblical Heroes*, 160¹

1 For the purpose of understanding Flusser's argument, I have changed "[wax] image" to "wax [image]." See Bay, *Biblical Heroes*, 157–171, for a comprehensive analysis of the speech emphasizing its presentation of Matthias' self-proclaimed guilt and merited punishment as a tool to contrast Matthias' suffering with the suffering of heroic martyrs.

The reference to *cera* (wax), printed by Ussani and found in the vast majority of manuscripts, is obscure.² Flusser suggests that wax refers to the cosmetics, which the *DEH* (based on Josephus) reports that John and his men used to make themselves up like women, while they engaged in forbidden sexual acts while at the same time committing murder (*DEH* 4.25.2 [cf. *BJ* 4.562]). But whatever the meaning, Flusser astutely observed that *Yosippon's DEH* source must have read the hardly less obscure variant *cythara*, the reading in both B and La, for which *Yosippon* supplies a narrative context.

For this reason, we abhorred John because he destroyed old men and did not respect old age, and now behold, you kill old men and destroy young ones. John, while killing the elders of the city, used to play his music with lyre and harp (ויוזחנן בהורגו את זקני העיר היה מנגן בנגינותיו בנבל וכינור), and you, while murdering old men with young and fathers with sons, trumpet the loud blast of the shofar.

SY 81, 52–54; trans. Bowman, 353

Because Ussani's critical edition only cites ten manuscripts, it is not possible to tell how widespread the reading *cythara* might have been. It is only mentioned in his apparatus as a later correction over an erasure in the 5th/6th CE section of M (Ambrosian Library C 105 inf).³ For Flusser the important point is that *cythara* is the distinctive variant found in B and La, the manuscript tradition with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, to which he believed *Yosippon's DEH* source belonged.

As in the case of the reading Mallio at *LAJ* 13.260, the data collected for this chapter confirm Flusser's suggestion. Manuscripts Pi and V, with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, also have *cythara*.⁴ However, this variant not only appears in B, La, Pi, and V, but in three of the other four manuscripts that are found in a well-defined manuscript group which Vincenzo Ussani identified in the context of his research on Compact. VIII, an 11th century manuscript from Monte Cassino that contains a substantial fragment (70 folio pages) of the *De excidio*.⁵ In addition to Compact. VIII, Ussani included in the group B, La, V, Plut. 89sup.15, Plut 67.17, and Vat. lat. 1987. On the basis of Blatt's catalogue description of Pisa 20 (Pi), which reported it had the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*,

2 Other variants cited in the apparatus include *(nos)cere*, *(nos)cerat*, and *scelere*.

3 Flusser suggests the correction might be based on a manuscript from the same groups as B and La (2.126 n.385).

4 Of the two other manuscripts that have *DEH* together with *LAJ*, neither has *cythara*. In spite of having *LAJ* 16 1–16 and *DEH*, hr has *cera*, and the *DEH* variants in that manuscript in a short passage collated for this project are quite different from those in La and B. Sa has *cetera*, which in context would mean “the other things” of John, but could possibly be derived from either *cythara* or *cera*. Its variants also do not agree with those in La and B or with those in hr.

5 “Un ignoto codice cassinese,” 610–616. I have not been able to locate this passage in the images of Compact. VIII to which I have had access.

Flusser correctly assumed that manuscript should also be part of the group,⁶ something our research has clearly established on the basis of its reading *cythara* and, more significantly, on the presence of a large lacuna in *DEH* 1 and the transposition of Agrippa's speech from *DEH* 2 to *DEH* 5, the two most salient characteristics of Ussani's "Cassinese" group.

Unfortunately, Flusser only had the opportunity to read Ussani's groundbreaking article identifying this group at a late stage in his work on *Sefer Yosippon*.⁷ When he finally read it, he expressed disappointment that the information about the manuscripts was "inexact" and that Ussani had not noted the connection of the group with the format AJ 1–16 + *DEH* found in B, La, V, and Pi (Flusser, 2.125n380).

However, Flusser did not appreciate how much a careful reading of Ussani would have contributed to the understanding of *Yosippon's* source and, in fact, have supported his hypothesis. Ussani lists a number of specific features characterizing his Cassinese group.⁸ As already mentioned, the two most obvious are (1) the lacuna at *DEH* 1.41.6 [end] (Ussani, 97)—*DEH* 1.41.9 [end] (Ussani, 99) and (2) the transposition of Agrippa's speech in *DEH* 2.8.2–2.9.2 [mid] (Ussani, 144–157) to Eleazar's speech at Masada in 5.53.1 (Ussani, 412).⁹ The first feature definitely and the second possibly establish a link between Ussani's Cassinese group and *Yosippon*.

The Lacuna in the Cassinese Group and Sefer Yosippon

The lacuna in the Cassinese group in *DEH* 1.41 explains why *Yosippon*, which has been following *DEH* closely, goes directly from Eurycles receiving 50 talents of gold to Herod travelling from Tyre to Caesarea. Here *Yosippon*, like the manuscripts with the lacuna, omits the dramatic account of Herod's imprisonment of his sons and their eventual trial at Beirut where they are condemned to death:

DEH Cassinese Manuscripts: 1.41.5–1.41.9 (cf. BJ 1.530–543)

[Ussani, 96, 22–23] Eurycles, having been rewarded with fifty talents, was considered to be the agent of his (Herod's) salvation and life. [LACUNA: Ussani 97, 8–99,

6 Flusser, 2.125n380.

7 In "Der lateinische Josephus and der hebräische Josippon," he states that he only knew the summary of the article in Mras' preface to the second volume of Ussani's critical edition (Ussani, 2.xx–xxi).

8 Ussani, Un ignoto codice," 609–611.

9 In addition to the lacuna in *DEH* 1 and the transposition of Agrippa's speech from *DEH* 2 to *DEH* 5, La also omits 2.18.1 through the end of *DEH* 3, transposes the text of *DEH* 4.1.1–4.15.1 to the end of *DEH* 5.24, and has several other pages out of order. Neither manuscript hr nor Sa has the lacuna or the transposition of Agrippa's speech. In addition, based on the evidence from a short passage collated for this project (*DEH* 1.1.8–1.1.9), their textual variants agree neither with B, La, Pi, and V nor with each other.

20] [Ussani, 99, 20] And so, in the manner of those who celebrate triumphs, he dragged his sons through various places and sought the famous city Tyre, from where he traveled by boat to Caesarea.

Sefer Yosippon 52, 26–29 (*Flusser, 1.244*)

He gave Euryclaus fifty talents of gold, and he [Euryclaus] went his way. In those days, Herod went to Tyre by the sea; from there he came unto Caesarea, and to every place that he went, he dragged his sons with him bound in chains.

Trans. Bowman, 224

Transposition of Agrippa's Speech from *DEH* 2.8.2–2.9.2 to 5.53.1 and *Sefer Yosippon*

While Agrippa's speech is found in its original place in *Yosippon* (SY 60), there is a reference to it in Eleazar's speech at Masada, which is neither in *DEH* nor in *LBJ*, at about the same point at which Agrippa's entire speech is inserted in the Cassinese group manuscripts (Ussani 412, 6):

If you had craved life, you should have listened to King Agrippa when he said that we cannot rebel against the Roman king or raise a hand—but you did not heed. Now that you have raised your hand and killed Florus...

SY 89, 81; trans. Bowman, 390

The introduction of Agrippa at this point and of Florus, who appears at the very end of the inserted material, are possible indications that *Yosippon* might have been familiar with a *De excidio* manuscript that mentioned Agrippa (and perhaps included his speech) within Eleazar's speech. This also raises the possibility that *Yosippon* consulted more than one *DEH* manuscript. It is interesting to note that Plut. 67.17 has the material from Agrippa's speech both in its original place and in *DEH* 5.53, indicating, in this admittedly late manuscript (15th CE), influence from at least two manuscripts.

A connection of *Yosippon* with not only the manuscripts with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH* but also with the entire Cassinese group is clear from the evidence of the variant *cythara* and the correspondence between *Yosippon's* story of Eurycles and Herod's sons and the version of the story in the Cassinese manuscripts, where a lacuna is responsible for the omission of some key narrative elements. The fact that *Yosippon's* story has only a hint of the transposition of Agrippa's speech might mean that he is familiar both with an earlier stage of the tradition before the transposition had occurred and a later stage of the tradition. It is also possible that it preserves a

transitional version of the *DEH* Cassinese text in which a reference to Agrippa's speech is first introduced into Eleazar's speech before the entire speech is moved to that point in the narrative in later manuscripts.

The discovery of at least one additional connection between *Yosippon's* text and the text in the Cassinese group should lead to a more comprehensive comparison of this *DEH* tradition with the Hebrew text of *Yosippon*. This has the potential of identifying a form of the Cassinese textual tradition as it might have appeared before our earliest extant representatives of the tradition were produced.¹⁰ As Flusser suggested, it also has important implications for the study of the *LAJ* manuscript tradition. This is especially true for understanding the pre-history of the textual tradition that appears in Naples VF 34, the manuscript closest to the grC archetype. Clearly this study should not be limited to the manuscripts with the format *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*, as Flusser tried to do, but should also include the *LAJ* manuscripts comprising *LAJ* 1–20 (Vi, C, Pt, and V¹) and all the *DEH* manuscripts from the Cassinese group (including V²).

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10 A poem copied in Vat. lat. 1987 provides evidence for the existence of an exemplar of this manuscript tradition in 991 CE, when Abbot Manso of Monte Cassino commissioned a copy to be made (Ussani, "Un ignoto codice," 606).

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PART 3

**Sefer Yosippon: *Traditions, Intertexts,
and (Re-)Interpretations***

∴

The Beginning of the End: *Yosippon's 'Aeneid'* and Adso's Apocalypse

Ruth Nisse

Several years ago, I was asked to comment on a possible connection between one of the opening texts in the early tenth-century *Sefer Yosippon*, a very short, inventive and fundamentally midrashic adaptation of the *Aeneid*, and Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist* (ca. 950), an apocalypse featuring a specifically Frankish "Last World Emperor."¹ This unexpected question was in essence about how the two texts reflect Roman authority in the post-Carolingian era. *Yosippon* rewrites the great imperial myth in Hebrew, and Adso presents a Western imperial eschatology, reworked in part from a Byzantine model; both exemplify a cultural transfer that circulated widely and became highly influential. Beyond the Roman Empire, however, there would seem to be few common themes between the larger Jewish account of the fall of Jerusalem and the Christian scenario of the Antichrist's oppressions and return of Christ. Adso's *Letter*, written a few decades later, is nevertheless a useful text with which to think through *Yosippon's* two most radical additions to its main sources, Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and the Christian Latin version of his *Bellum Judaicum*, Ps-Hegesippus' *De excidio Hierosolymitano*: the 145-line epitome of the *Aeneid* followed by a list of Roman rulers; and the final bloody battle between Roman soldiers and righteous Jewish warriors.² *Yosippon's* narrative circle from Virgil's Italy to Josephus'

1 Professor Cecilia Gaposchkin from the Department of History, Dartmouth University, posed this productive and provocative question in a discussion at the Dartmouth Medieval Colloquium in 2015. Verhelst, "Adso of Montier-en-Der" provides an excellent account of the *Letter* and its context.

2 All references to *Sefer Yosippon* are to David Flusser's edition, cited simply as Flusser 1 and 2 for volumes 1 and 2 of his edition, increasingly recognized as problematic for its eclectic character and redaction from texts beyond his base manuscripts of Recension A. The sections that this chapter focuses on are Flusser's chapters 1–2 and 89. Saskia Dönitz's work on the earliest version of *SY* in the Cairo Genizah fragments shows that these two sections (the beginning and the end) are included, but survive in fragments from different codices: the 2 opening chapters are in the Codex Orientalis 1 (Cambridge, University Library, T-S 10 K 16 No. 4–5 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d. 64, fol. 118v–119v), and the long version of the final prayers (found in Recensions B and C) in the Codex Italicus (T-S 10 K 16 No. 12). My argument, therefore, is

Masada reveals an imperial messianism that derives from the author's translated Roman imagination as much as his final prayers for redemption. My answer to the question of *Yosippon* and Adso's *Letter* is that the connections lie in a shared history that can be recovered from the Hebrew anthology. In very different ways, both are concerned with the past glory and eschatological role of the fourth empire—Rome following Media, Persia and Greece in most schemes—and both end with a type of messianic fifth empire.³ With *Yosippon*, there may be one Jerusalem past and future, but there are several Romes in play. Vespasian and Titus' invincible army is distinct from the fantastic-literary and liturgical-exegetical versions of Rome that bookend the imperial triumph.

Adso's letter was derived from, among other sources, an early Latin translation by "Peter the Monk" of the Greek version of the Syriac *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius*, a text dating to the seventh-century Arab conquest of the Middle East.⁴ The major elements of a Last Roman Emperor or Last World Emperor in these wildly popular Christian apocalyptic narratives are essentially the same. The Latin version of Ps-Methodius from early eighth-century Gaul foresees the time when the "Promised Land" and everything around it has been conquered by the "sons of Ishmael." A "King of the Greeks, that is Romans," the fourth and final empire, will arise to defeat them. After many other tribulations, the King of the Romans will come to Jerusalem and remove his crown and place it on the cross at Golgotha, delivering the kingdom of the Christians to God when the crown and cross ascend to heaven. The King will then die, and the Antichrist from the tribe of Dan will appear and reign from Jerusalem until Enoch and Elijah appear to oppose him; after he kills them, Jesus will return in glory.⁵ Adso's later version, written for the weak Carolingian court of the "Frankish" Louis IV but also in the orbit of the soon-to-be-imperial Ottonians, begins with an Antichrist "born from the Jewish people," reigning in

necessarily based on a hypothetical version of SY taken from Flusser's text and Dönitz's new reconstructions. Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 39–46 and personal communication. See also Dönitz's chapter in this volume, 'The Hebrew Manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon*.'

- 3 There is an enormous amount of scholarship on the four-empire scheme, based on Dan 7:3–7. See de Lange, "Jewish Attitudes," 271 and n. 28 with rabbinic sources; Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 512–514.
- 4 *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. On the Syriac version and its transmission, see Paul Alexander's classic article, "The Medieval Legend of the Last World Emperor." Reinik, in "Pseudo-Methodius's Concept of History," disputes Alexander's argument for a Jewish origin for the idea of a Last World Emperor in favor of the Alexander Romance and idealized Byzantine emperors. On Peter the Monk's Latin version and its great popularity, see Palmer, *The Apocalypse*, 119–129. Given his Greek-Latin bilingualism, it is likely that the author was from Italy.
- 5 *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 125–139.

Jerusalem from a rebuilt Temple and converting kings and princes away from the Roman Empire. Adso's argument is that even though the Roman Empire, "which had all the kingdoms of the earth under its power," no longer exists, "the greatest and last of all kings" will still arise from the Franks, govern a universal realm, and surrender his crown and scepter on the Mount of Olives.⁶ This is the Last World Emperor, reigning over a new Carolingian fifth empire. In this notably anti-Judaic apocalypse, the Antichrist will circumcise himself, and diaspora Jews will accept him as their messiah. The rest is much the same as Ps-Methodius' plot until Jesus returns.

Yosippon opens with the "Sons of Japhet," an extensive account of European nations and geography that gives pride of place to the "Frankos" who live in Francia on the Seine. After tenth-century West Francia, the map encompasses the real and imagined extent of the Roman empire in Europe and beyond, in its fragmented condition.⁷ Like Adso, *Yosippon* understands the empire as the remnants of Charlemagne's realm, but he at the same time recalls the former glory of Rome. The historical Romans, who are the Kittim, live on the Tiber and once had power over all these lands. The text also includes the current battles over Tarsus between the Byzantine rulers and the Emir of Aleppo. In this map of decline, the Carolingians, even with their empire dissolved are still the true heirs to Rome rather than the diminished Byzantine empire. Even though *Yosippon's* redactor is working in multilingual Southern Italy, in the Byzantine cultural sphere, he looks to Western Europe in terms of language and historiography, including the available sources of the Latin Josephus, Ps-Hegesippus, Orosius, and Virgil. The Aeneid midrash (= Yos.Aeneid) similarly fragments empire at its core.⁸ The tale begins with the "sons of Esau" disrupting the burial of Israel/Jacob in Hebron; and Joseph defeats them, capturing Zefo son of Elifaaz, the son of Esau. Zefo then escapes from Egypt after the death of his cousin Joseph. He arrives in Carthage to meet, not Queen Dido as in Virgil's epic, but rather "Agneus" the "King of Africa" and subsequently becomes the leader of his army. King Agneus, his brother "Lukas" (Evander) and his nephew Pallas from Sardinia, go off with his army to fight with Turnus for the hand of the beautiful and wise Yania (Lavinia) who has inherited the land of the Kittim (Italy/Latium) from her father Uzi. Pallas is killed in battle. Having killed Turnus, Agneus returns to Carthage with Yania. After many more non-Virgilian adventures, Zefo changes sides and becomes Janus-Saturnus, the god of beginnings. Double-faced Carthaginian and Roman, he eventually

6 Adso, *Letter* (trans. McGinn, 93–96).

7 See Flusser, 2.98–108 on the Franks and sy's geography.

8 For the purposes of this chapter I will refer to this text as Yos.Aeneid.

rules over all of Italy. His grandson Latinus, the codifier of the Latin language and alphabet, attacks and defeats Agneus' son Ashdrual in order to win his beautiful daughter Especiosa. A list of Latinus' descendants follows, continuing Yos.Aeneid. The city only becomes Rome when Romulus builds the highest possible wall around it out of fear of King David, with whom he makes a treaty.⁹ These two opponents resonate with a messianic future as much as a Jewish memory of military dominance. Alexei Sivertsev has argued that Jews "positioned themselves as the Byzantine imperial narrative's sole legitimate heirs" in seventh and eighth-century texts, including apocalypses; he characterizes these Hebrew productions as "counter-histories" and "counter geographies" in dialogue with Byzantine Rome.¹⁰ Among the numerous things to say about *Yosippon's* unique counter-history or counter-epic is that the author, by translating his narrative from Latin and highlighting the figure of Latinus, links himself with the greatest Latin poet of empire. This ambition in itself signals his cultural engagement, through the route of Lombard and Carolingian Italy, with a Western imperial narrative and a broader European literary scene.

While this abbreviated epic, oddly drained of desire and rage, announces *Yosippon's* connection to the Virgilian poets of Charlemagne's and his descendants' courts, it has usually also been understood as the sequel to an emotion-filled Talmudic story in *b. Sotah* 13a.¹¹ Esau interrupts Jacob's funeral with a claim to his own place in the Cave of Machpelah. Rather than waiting for a deed to check, Hushim the son of Dan clubs Esau to death, and Jacob revives briefly to laugh. "And that is what is written: *the righteous shall rejoice when he sees the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked* (Ps 58:11)." Since Joseph was in charge of this event, the interpretation linking the story to Yos.Aeneid is that he could have captured his cousin Zefo and brought him to Egypt at this point.¹² Taken as a midrashic unit, the narrative presents an ongoing twinning of Israel and Rome, from Esau and Jacob to an enforced separation between Romulus and the more powerful King David. Gerson D. Cohen has assessed the Jewish identification of Rome with Esau and Edom in terms of their similar ambitions: "as the Jews spoke of an eternal covenant between Israel and God, the Roman could quote the promise of Jove to Rome, "Imperium sine fine dedi" (*Aeneid* I, 279).¹³ *Yosippon's* emphasis on the relationship between Joseph, Zefo, and Rome problematizes Vergil's central

9 Flusser, 1.10–18. Berthelot, "The Rabbis Write Back!" See also Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, 51–61.

10 Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 5–44.

11 Flusser, 2.24.

12 Flusser, 1.10–11. See Cohen, "Esau as Symbol," 256–257.

13 Cohen, "Esau as Symbol," 247.

theme without entirely dismissing it, since what follows in the book as a whole is the inevitable rise of the Roman empire, only punctuated by Jewish expectations of its end. This explains why, perhaps counterintuitively, *Yosippon's* redactor did not move from the implied midrash about the twins' burial drama to any number of other rabbinical texts about Esau ha-Rasha and Rome from the Talmuds or works of early medieval midrash. Among the possibilities, looking ahead to the Jewish war, would be the rule of Rome as God's punishment of the Jews for the sins that led to the destruction of the temple; the punishment of Jacob for distrusting God's promise that in the series of four empires Rome would eventually fall and his own descendants rise (*LevR* 29.2); or the Roman empire's eventual fall from power with the arrival of the Messiah: "the son of David will not come until the pettiest kingdom [Rome] will cease to have power over Israel (*b. Sanh.* 98a)."¹⁴ Zefo does not represent the "blood of the wicked" in *Yos.Aeneid*, just the Rome that mirrors the Jews' self-image, as well as the Romans whom Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus portray with a certain sympathy. As with *Yosippon's* more obvious erasure of the rabbinic versions of the fall of Jerusalem and the story of Yoḥanan ben Zakkai in favor of the Latin Josephus and patristic Ps.-Hegesippus, *Yos.Aeneid* here too abandons the rabbinic imagination and turns instead to translate the Roman epic in the distinctly Carolingian idiom of rewriting Virgil to create new identities. The crucial lines of the *Aeneid* in this tradition come when Aeneas beholds Augustus Caesar, who will extend his empire "to a land which lies beyond our stars, beyond the path of year and sun."¹⁵

Einhard's *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, written soon after Charlemagne's coronation, is considered the most influential "epic" poem of the ninth-century *renovatio* or cultural renewal. In this panegyric, with its many intricate allusions to the *Aeneid*, the emperor is both a Frankish new Aeneas and a new Augustus, a "hero and emperor" building a peerless "second Rome" in Aachen. His Christian Roman empire surpasses the first in power and piety, with Einhard further comparing Charlemagne to David as an ideal king. Each of these titles counters the claims of the Byzantine emperor and the status of Constantinople as the new Rome.¹⁶ The long afterlife of Charlemagne has come into sharper focus recently, as a group of scholars have examined the

14 Shaye J.D. Cohen, "The Destruction," 25–28 on this interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem in *Midrash Lamentations Rabbati*; Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 388; Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 39; Feldman, "Decline and Fall," 284–288. See Berthelot, "The Rabbis Write Back!," 181–182 on the tensions inherent in *SY*.

15 *Aeneid* 6.791–796.

16 Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, 23–24, 197–207; Lozovsky, "Roman Geography," 351–353.

emergence of imperial fantasies in the late ninth and tenth centuries, the period of *Yosippon*, when the Carolingians were in steep decline. In their sense of rivalry with the Byzantine empire, a series of nostalgic writers, often imitating Virgil's poetry both in ideology and style, revived Einhard's images and established a fictionalized Charlemagne as a Frankish world-emperor. In Anne Latowsky's words about the tenth-century Italian writer Benedict of Mount Soracte, "the author states openly that the emperor returned home having subjugated many foreign nations. Charlemagne thus unites east and West through symbolic defeat."¹⁷ By the eleventh century, Charlemagne's universal imaginary realm included the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem or the entire Holy Land, conferred by the caliph Harun al-Rashid.¹⁸ Notker of St. Gall begins his fictional biography of the emperor *De Carolo Magno* (ca. 886) with "He who ordains the fate of kingdoms ... having destroyed one extraordinary image, that of the Romans, which had, it was true, feet of iron, or even feet of clay, then raised up, among the Franks, the golden head of a second image, equally remarkable, in the person of the illustrious Charlemagne." For Notker, he is a type of the eschatological "last ruler of the fourth empire" who has surpassed the Persians and Greeks, but also the first, pagan Roman empire. In elaborate later versions, this legendary Charlemagne is a victor without war: Byzantine and Muslim rulers alike recognize his superiority, and in Europe he governs as the uncontested Christian emperor of a universal Frankish Rome.¹⁹

Yos.Aeneid could be seen as a contemporary Jewish version of this kind of late-Carolingian imperial fantasy, a midrash about Rome and Aeneas—or two Aeneas figures: the Jewish-adjacent Zefo and the pagan Agneus. In this counter-fantasy, however, the Romans ultimately descend from Esau as in rabbinic tradition, as well as the Kittim, but the imperial plot is dislocated and difficult to align with the somewhat-real European geography—beginning with the Franks—that precedes it. The list of the "sons of Japhet" manages to capture, even in its ruins, some of the Carolingian fiction of a universal Western-centered empire, with every kingdom under its rule: even the terrified Vikings could not escape this nostalgic version of Roman power.²⁰ In this construction of Europe, the author opens his text with a triumph of West over East, inscribing into *Yosippon* the Virgilian names used to glorify the once-heroic Franks, rather than recalling the Byzantines locked in warfare with Muslim powers. By contrast, he situates his translation itself as a victory

17 Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, 15.

18 Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, 1–18, 59–78; Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, 13–44.

19 Notker, *De Carolo Magno*, 93.

20 Flusser, 1.7–8; Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, 53–54.

of diaspora Hebrew over both languages of weakened Christian empire. With these layers of emulation and revision, *Yos.Aeneid*'s author stakes out a dual identity, late-imperial and Jewish, as the way to frame Josephus' material.

The strangeness of *Yos.Aeneid* is that it represents a completely different sort of Latin-to-Hebrew translation than "the words of Joseph ben Gurion." In contrast to Yosippon's version of Josephus' *Antiquities* and Ps-Hegesippus, *Yos.Aeneid* is a tale that prizes fictional transformation over historical eyewitness.²¹ This authorial idea appears in *Yosippon*'s description of "a single scroll" containing the unquestionably true words of Joseph ben Gurion, "the most important writer" outside of scripture and the sages together with some un-named "other authors who wrote about our ancestors."²² The collection includes versions of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, the books of the Maccabees, and other apocryphal texts about Jews, but evidently the *Aeneid* can also by definition be about "our ancestors," Esau and his family as they gradually, through many geographical and linguistic twists and turns, became Romans. As a short but crucial part of the "scroll," *Yos.Aeneid* writes the Jews into the Roman imperial myth, and in this way likens them to the Franks themselves in terms of fluid identities and cultural claims. While distinct in the sense of an anthological assembly, both narratives ground what Steven Bowman has called "the author's grand theme in his history," Rome and Jerusalem bound together inextricably.²³

Yos.Aeneid stands in a sharply dialogic relation to the Josephus-Hegesippus texts. In the early tenth century, Virgil's poem towered as the founding text of the Western Roman Empire, but here it is drastically fragmented by some Rabbinic Hebrew and Arabic sources and filtered through the shifting cultural context of Southern Italy.²⁴ The body of *Yosippon* is intended as the "authentic" Hebrew account of the destruction of the second Temple both internally by the rebels and externally at the hands of the Romans; these, as Flusser has argued, are implicitly the emperors who precede the Byzantine rulers of the author's day.²⁵ Both are about the destinies of Rome and Jerusalem: *Yos.Aeneid* inserts Esau into the narrative as the origin of Rome and Joseph takes the structural place of the Greeks after the Fall of Troy as he defeats Esau's grandson Zefo ben Elifaaz, who—like the Trojan Aeneas—escapes to become the

21 Bowman, "Sefer Yosippon: History and Midrash," 282–285 especially. See also David B. Levenson's chapter in this volume, 'Beyond Flusser: The Text of Latin *Antiquities* 13 and *Sefer Yosippon*'.

22 Flusser, 1.143–144.

23 Steven Bowman, "Sefer Yosippon: History and Midrash," 287.

24 Flusser, 2.87–91

25 Flusser, 2.89–91.

original founder of all European nations and the various iterations of a New Rome. These introductory texts, however, never mention Jerusalem. Instead, they take Europe and Africa—Italy, Carthage and West Francia—as their stage, sites of current Jewish diaspora as well as a memory of imperial history. With Jerusalem absent in the initial narrative, and only an implicit map of a scattered Jewish world within both the Carolingian and Byzantine kingdoms, the redactor's engagement with Latin culture is the beginning of the end of *Yosippon*. The trajectory from the transformation of Rome, through language and literature, into *Yosippon's* own time and space, Jewish and exilic, culminates in the final exile after the end of the Jewish city. Likewise, the ambivalent hero shifts from Zefo–Janus–Saturnus to Joseph ben Gurion.

The much more gruesome Josephus-texts about Jerusalem—where *Yosippon* usually follows original sources and particularly the authority of Joseph ben Gurion's speeches—emphasize the ascendancy of Rome, the universalizing logic of empire itself, praise for Vespasian and Titus, and the doomed revolt led by John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora, the “bnei belial” (“scoundrels” as in Deut 13:14). In one recension, a very brief messianic passage appears in the author's own voice in Chapter 50, a prayer for the rebuilding of the Temple “soon in our days” (בית יי אשר יבנה עוד במהרה בימינו) following his account of the construction and celebration of Herod's temple.²⁶ This is echoed in the last words of the text, a final prayer for God's mercy on his people and his city and his temple “soon in our days.”²⁷ These are urgent but muted words that express a messianism similar to the Amidah prayer, “And to Jerusalem, Your city, return in mercy, and dwell in it as You have spoken; rebuild it forever soon, in our days, and speedily establish in it the throne of David,” which appears prior to the prayer for the “sprout of David.”²⁸ However passive the passages are, Flusser and others have observed that they nonetheless inevitably look ahead from the tenth century to the destruction of Rome implied in the restoration of the Temple. In a different recension, the

26 Flusser, 1.234.

27 יהי רצון מלפני אלהי השמים שיחמול עלינו ועל עמו ועל עירו ועל ביתו ועל חיבלו ועל מקדשו ועל נחלתו במהרה בימינו. As discussed above in n. 2, Flusser's classifications and descriptions of *Yosippon's* manuscripts and editions have now been superseded by the work of Saskia Dönitz. For her extensive re-conception of the A, B, and C recensions of SY, see *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 35–102. This reference is to Flusser's Recension A and quotes his earliest manuscript, Jerusalem oct. 41280. In Yerachmeel ben Shelomo's version of *Yosippon* in MS Oxford Heb. DU, the 12th-century anthologist inserts the word חסד into the prayer after רצון to form an acrostic of his name. See Neubauer, “Yerachmeel ben Shelomoh,” 366.

28 Kimelman, “The Messiah of the Amidah,” 315. See also Kimelman, “The Daily ‘Amidah,’ and Alexander, “The Rabbis and Messianism,” 228–229.

final prayer is much more robust and more explicitly messianic.²⁹ In several ways for each aspect, it asks God to remember his oath to our ancestors, to rebuild our city and our temple, gather our scattered exiles, speed the coming of our Messiah (יְהוָה מְשִׁיחֵנוּ וְיִמְהַר לְגַאֲלוֹנוּ), take revenge and strike down all our enemies, and fulfill what is written in scripture. Five biblical passages follow to finish the text of *Yosippon*. The first, Ezek 25:14, reveals God's plan for Rome: "I will wreak My vengeance on Edom through My people Israel and they shall take action against Edom in accordance with My blazing anger; and they shall know my vengeance." In this vision of the end, the opposition between Rome and Jerusalem is as stark as possible, looking ahead to the Jews' final revenge for all that has come before. The other four passages address God's return of the remaining exiles to Jerusalem, including Zeph 3:30: "At that time I will gather you, And at [that] time I will bring you [home]; For I will make you renowned and famous among all the peoples on earth, When I restore your fortunes Before their very eyes." Both of these liturgical-biblical endings look to the future and a messianic temporality, which is necessary in any case to refute the Christian teleology of Ps-Hegesippus, which forecloses any future with the words "this is the final destruction after which the Temple cannot be restored."³⁰ Christian Rome, on the contrary, will have to rewrite the end of its own history. The messianic prayers clearly do not seamlessly follow the Latin sources that largely blame the Jews for their own exile. They are, in a sense, an interpretation of *Yosippon's* famous alteration of Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus in the final sequence of events at Masada and a recuperation of the Josephan text as a whole for future readers (SY 89). The Jews' sacrificial killing of their wives and children as burnt offerings is followed not by their collective murder-suicide but rather a fierce battle where the righteous warriors kill an immense number of Roman soldiers before being killed themselves.

In this final scene, *Yosippon* intersects with some of Adso's elements. Taken in its anthological sense, both *Yosippon's* Virgilian beginning and overall messianic potential fit into the larger themes of the Carolingian legends with their distinct spatial and temporal schemes. For Adso, the end of days depends on the Last Emperor's final actions in Jerusalem; his identity as a Roman, a new Charlemagne, is essential to the vision. Adso's *Letter's* main idea of how Christian Rome and Jerusalem conceptually depend upon each other long predates it in the apocalyptic tradition. It seems worth considering, even as speculation, whether the Last Roman Emperor, as he appears in triumph in

29 Flusser, 1.430–431. For the variations in the prayers in the manuscripts of Recension A, see Flusser, 2.358–359.

30 DEH 5.32 (ed. Ussani, *Hegesippi*, 373).

Ps-Methodius' apocalypse or defeated in its Jewish counterparts, is lurking somewhere beneath the surface of *Yosippon's* "single scroll" that closes with the ashes of Jerusalem, a battle between Jews and Romans, and divine vengeance on Rome.

Several recent studies have shown that early Byzantine narratives of a Last Roman Emperor, despite—or because of—their invective against Jews and Muslims, actually lent themselves to appropriation.³¹ The landscape of a fractured Rome and a lost, spectral Jerusalem could easily be adapted by Jews. At least one of the Jewish apocalypses from Byzantine Palestine, the *Signs of Shimon bar Yochai*, includes a Last Emperor-figure as the seventh sign of ten, after a series of portents aimed at scaring and converting the gentiles and a group of three false messiahs who will lead eighty thousand false Israelites astray. The "King of Edom" will enter Jerusalem, defeat an army of "Ishmaelites" led by a king named Hoter or Mantzur, and then "will enter the sanctuary, take the golden crown off his head, and place it on the foundation stone." He will then say "Master of the Universe, I have now returned what my ancestors removed."³² This is followed by the actions of the common figures of Jewish apocalyptic texts, the best-known of which is the earlier *Sefer Zerubbabel*.³³ The Messiah son of Joseph, named Nehemiah ben Hushiel, will appear, kill the king of Edom in battle and put on the crown from the Temple. Next Armilos, the Jewish version of the Antichrist, will celebrate idolatry, burn thirty Israelites with a Torah scroll and kill the Messiah ben Joseph; finally, God will send the Messiah ben David to end Armilos' rule and restore Jerusalem. The direct inversions of Ps-Methodius are clear: the foundation stone replaces Golgotha, Armilos (another name for Romulus) represents Rome as opposed to the Jewish Antichrist, and the Messiah ben David is not Jesus. The messianic figures recall the opposition that *Yosippon* earlier sets up between Romulus and King David as rival rulers before Rome became the universal power. Above all, the King of Edom—the Byzantine emperor—is a debased figure whose role is to give back what the Romans once stole from the Jews when they destroyed the city: the sacred implements of the Temple and by extension the site of the Holy of Holies itself.³⁴ The foundation stone is the center of a Temple that will

31 Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 45–58; see also Boustán, "The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple."

32 Translation in Reeves, *Trajectories*, 111–116. Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Geula*, 311–314.

33 The most comprehensive treatment of this mysterious text is Himmelfarb, *Jewish Messiahs*. See also Reeves, *Trajectories*, 40–66.

34 On the Byzantine context of the Last World Emperor in Jewish messianism, See Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 52–82 and Greisiger, *Messias—Endkaiser—Antichrist*, 159–172. See also Boustán, "The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple," on the sacred vessels in Jewish apocalyptic texts.

be rebuilt. Sivertsev has argued convincingly that the Messiah ben Joseph in this scenario becomes “the ruler of the last universal kingdom on earth, the messianic kingdom of Israel, which inherits and grows out of the universal empire of Rome.”³⁵ After he kills the King of Edom, he becomes the Last-Last World Emperor, wearing the imperial crown. Vespasian and Titus’ destruction of the city is reversed, their “empire without end” ended. Even the founding of this final “fifth empire” is, of course, temporally and spatially bound to the model and history of Rome.

In a related text, *Otot ha-Mashiah*, the apocalyptic battles with “wicked Edom” are bloodier. The Messiah ben Joseph, together with the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, and some of Gad, “kills great heaps (תילי תילים)” of Romans before finishing off a Last World Emperor figure. Then he “will devastate the province of Rome [and] will recover some of the Temple vessels that had been deposited in the palace of Julianos Caesar and come to Jerusalem.”³⁶ In a further escalation, the Messiah ben Joseph’s army of Israelites will fight Armilos’ massive forces of “the nations of the world” and kill “great heaps” of them before the messiah himself is killed.³⁷ After oppression and exile, Michael will blow the shofar and the Messiah ben David and Elijah the prophet will be revealed to the “righteous ones of Israel.” The messiah will take his seat in the ruined Temple, and God will destroy Armilos and “the wicked Edom who destroyed the Temple ... and exiled us from our land.” After further vengeance and the absolute obliteration of the nations, the text ends with prayers similar to *Yosippon*’s for redemption and a rebuilt Temple.

The final events at the fortress of Masada cannot really be characterized as apocalyptic. However, Eliezer ben Anani and his followers’ sacred violence, the most consequential revision of *Yosippon*’s sources, in some ways echoes the trajectory of early medieval apocalyptic texts. Given their wide circulation, it is likely that the author was familiar with some version of them.³⁸ Even as *Yosippon*, like Josephus before, blames the “benei belial” for the destruction of the Temple, the Romans transform into the nation of Esau seen at the beginning of the anthology as the fictional descendants of Zefo, Janus, and Romulus.

35 Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 47–52.

36 Translation in Reeves, *Trajectories*, 121–129; Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Geula*, 319–323. Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology*, 52–58.

37 On this evocative expression and its derivation from Cant 5:6, see Reeves, 124.

38 No fewer than five “Signs of the End” texts, including “Signs of the Messiah (442–443),” as well as *Sefer Zerubbabel* (427–435), and, of course, *Sefer Yosippon*, are included in Eliezer ben Asher Ha-Levi’s great compilation, the *Sefer Ha-Zikhronot* (early 14th century). One of these texts, “15 Signs Before the Day of Judgment,” (447–448), is taken from the twelfth-century anthology of Yerachmeel ben Shelomo. See Yassif’s Introduction to *Sefer Ha-Zikhronot*, 23–31. On *Yosippon* in these anthologies, see Dönitz’s chapter in this volume, “The Hebrew Manuscripts.”

By the end of the narrative, the Romans of imperial myth and romance have hardened into the universal enemy they would remain. Eleazer ben Anani Ha-Kohen is a confusing character in *Yosippon*, identified with both heroes and villains.³⁹ In the end, however, realizing that the evil Simon bar Giora has “destroyed the tzaddikim and hasidim who were in the city and that there is no other hope” for Jerusalem, he escapes to and guards Masada.⁴⁰ He is by this point far from Ps-Hegesippus’ tyrannical if eloquent leader Eleazar or Josephus’ vicious Eleazer ben Jair, leader of the sicarii. *Yosippon* later describes the large group of Jewish refugees who have gathered with him. While the author never explicitly refers to these survivors as the remaining few “tzaddikim and hasidim,” the sense of their righteousness and piety emerge from their leader’s exhortations to martyrdom and the new meaning of their actions as the full completion of the “single scroll”: they die “for God and his temple.”⁴¹ When Titus sends Silva to besiege the fortress, the Romans take on the new valence of Edom and Esau Ha-Rasha, the Rome of the prophets and the rabbis—and eventually the apocalypses.⁴² Following Ps-Hegesippus with many changes, *Yosippon* has Eleazar begin and end his speech by telling his followers to shape a heroic narrative, imitating the previous generations. Once they have offered

39 As Flusser explains, *SY*’s author evidently confuses Eleazer ben Anani with almost all of the other figures named “Eleazer” in Josephus and Ps.-Hegesippus. To further confound matters, many of the passages where he mentions the name are authorial interpolations into Ps.-Hegesippus. Since he typically calls Eleazar ben Anani by his entire name, it is possible to trace his “career” in *SY*, although it may well be the result of scribal errors. He begins as the character he is in Josephus’ *BJ*, a brave and violent young man who is an implacable foe of the Romans, in particular the tyrannical procurator Florus (277). He later evolves into one of the leaders of the מרצבים, as *SY* calls the rebels (Ezek 7:22), and they take power. His group is responsible for burning down Agrippa’s and Berenice’s houses and all of the king’s documents (288). He forbids foreigners to offer sacrifices in the Temple and leads another army into battle against the Romans. He is next seen, in the author’s invention, as one of three military commanders, together with his father and Joseph ben Gurion (299–300). Although *SY* appears not to confuse him with the Zealot leader Eleazar ben Simon (whom the author calls by one name only in a triumvirate with John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora) he is present by name when the rebel factions splinter after John’s slaughter of worshipers in the Temple at Passover (347). His next appearance is when he flees to Masada (385). While some of these references are obviously out of place, there is a consistency between Eleazar’s final “positive” role and his uncompromising opposition to the Romans, insistence on the purity of Temple sacrifices, and military leadership. See Flusser, 2.172.

40 Flusser, 1.385.

41 Flusser, 1.430.

42 Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 439–523; De Lange, “Jewish Attitudes;” Noam, “Will This One Never Be Brought Down?”

their wives and children as sacrifices to God, saving them from slavery to idolators, they will go out to fight the enemy and die. The improbable question remains in the end as to who can claim the *Aeneid* as part of their heroic past.

In the context of the development of Christian-Latin imperial legends like Charlemagne's world rule and Ps-Methodius' and Adso's apocalypses, but also of Jewish counter-narratives like the *Signs of the Messiah*, *Yosippon's* beginning and end distill a larger, multifaceted narrative of empire. Like their Carolingian counterparts, *Yosippon's* collection of stories relies on ideas of transfer. Charlemagne's actual battles turn into grand triumphs over a multilingual East, and *Yosippon* constructs a new cultural force through the recovery of Hebrew texts from Latin manuscripts preserved by the resources of Byzantine and Carolingian imperial culture. While Charlemagne's Virgilian court poets celebrate his Roman authority, *Yosippon* begins by reimagining Virgil's celebration of Rome as a midrashic epic with Jewish origins, and ends with prophecies of an eventual return of Jerusalem to the Jews by means of a final brutal combat with the Romans. When Eleazar and the Jews fight Silva's army, they kill "innumerable" Roman soldiers, a detail similar in meaning to the "great heaps" of Romans whom the Messiah ben Joseph kills in battle with the last emperor of Edom before Armilos kills him. The Romans by the end of *Yosippon* are an eschatological enemy; when Silva defeats Eleazar and his heroes, he advances not toward Titus' eternal victory but Ezekiel's assurance of vengeance.

The final battle at Masada can certainly be seen as a desperate heroic act, more Roman than the Romans and as Virgilian as Turnus' defeat at the end of the *Aeneid*. Yet it could also be another beginning—a war in which the small number of Jews who have fled from the evil men ruling Jerusalem, having become new "hasidim and tzaddikim" through sacrifice, take part in the first of a violent sequence of events. The intervening temporal period between their death and the redemption will finally result in a defeated fourth empire, the return of all exiles, and a rebuilt Temple. *Yosippon* makes no mention of what that period holds, but the Ezekiel verses confirm a time of more violence with Rome. In *Yosippon*, this projection into the future approximates one aspect of the eschatological narratives that to some degree inform this material: a Jewish-imperial fantasy of renewal, a future fifth empire bound to a necessary messianism.

The only emperor, either first or last, who actually appears in these opening and closing sections of *Yosippon* is Titus, the tragically ambivalent but definitive destroyer of Jerusalem. The extremely popular early apocalypse *Sefer Zerubbabel* casts Titus in the eschatological role of the "tenth" of ten Roman kings (Dan 7:24), who will "hand [the Jews] over to destruction, despoiling,

and panic," after which the messianic battles begin.⁴³ In *Yosippon*, by contrast, Titus' final appearance is purely historical, when he delegates the last battle to Silva. The Last Roman Emperor, then, is present through absence: he is not the counter-narrative king of the Jewish apocalypses, but instead an abstraction of Rome that completes the text's imaginative reworking of both Virgil and Josephus. The *Aeneid* in any form always recalls the praise of Augustus Caesar, and, in *Yosippon's* context, the many literary Charlemagnes of the ninth and tenth centuries. This is the Rome of imperial power but also the beauty of its poetry, the gift of Latinus. In the conclusion, the actions of the leader Eleazer ben Anani and his followers turn the suicidal offering as it plays out in Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus into a redemption through pure sacred violence, a killing radically different from the litany of the rebels' atrocities or the Romans' brutal military operations. Even in this beginning of a messianic end, Virgil's epic lends its imperial authority to *Yosippon*, however ambiguous the terms of reception and translation. The Jews kill innumerable Roman soldiers, the embodiment of Edom. They are still defeated, but in their astonishing near-Roman epic force, *Yosippon* offers a glimpse of their potential future role in a new hybrid Roman-like Jewish empire.

In a terrible coda to this tenth-century textual blend of Jerusalem and Rome, *Sefer Yosippon* and Adso's *Letter on the Antichrist* unquestionably collide in the Rhineland persecutions of 1096. Adso's imperial fantasy evoked *Yosippon's* vocabularies of martyrdom. Influenced directly by Adso's book, with its Jewish Antichrist and his disciples, Emicho of Flonheim, the leader of the most violent faction of crusaders, declared himself to be the Last World Emperor.⁴⁴ In the words of the *Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson*: "Count Emicho, the oppressor of all the Jews ... arrived outside [Mainz] with a mighty horde of errant ones and peasants ... He was made leader of the hordes and concocted a tale that an apostle of the crucified one had come to him and made a sign on his flesh to inform him that when he arrived in [Byzantium], he [Jesus] himself would appear and place the kingly crown upon his head and he would vanquish his foes."⁴⁵ Solomon is familiar enough with the idea of a Last World Emperor,

43 Reeves, *Trajectories*, 56.

44 Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, 47–48; Chazan, "Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape," especially 305–307. Both authors offer interpretations of the Christian sources that mention Emicho, whose crusading army was eventually destroyed in Wieselburg. Stow, who also offers a close examination of the Christian sources, reads *The Chronicle of Solomon ben Simson's* account of Emicho as a reflection of this defeat: "Emicho of Flonheim," 916.

45 *Hebräische Berichte*, 309; Translated by Eidelberg in *The Jews and the Crusaders*, 28. "Byzantium" is Chazan's translation of Solomon's "Italy of Greece"—which makes sense

evidently from Christian sources like the Latin Ps-Methodius or even Adso's *Letter*, that he is able to make sense of Emicho's grandiose self-image and his apocalyptic motives. Solomon touches on the novel detail that the German Emicho possibly imagined his coronation taking place in Constantinople before his journey to Jerusalem to destroy the Muslims; in this "concoction," he would be both the final Byzantine and Western Roman emperor, like Charlemagne uniting East and West. The *Chronicle* describes in turn how the Rhineland Jews drew on Eleazer ben Anani's speeches at Masada—among many other texts and traditions about martyrdom—as they carried out their sacrificial murder-suicides.⁴⁶ The *Chronicle* also recalls how a small group of Jews hopelessly fought against Emicho and his soldiers, an echo of the warriors' stand against Rome at the end of *Yosippon*. Trapped in Bishop Ruthard's courtyard, "When the people of the Holy Covenant, the saints, the Fearers of the Most High, saw the great multitude ... they clung to their Creator. They donned their armor and weapons of war (כלי מלחמתם) with Rabbi Kalonymos son of Rabbi Meshullam the Parnass at their head. But as a result of their sufferings and fasts, they did not have the strength to withstand the onslaught of the foe."⁴⁷ This is one incident in a text that recounts many forms of triumph over "Wicked Edom" through death. Armed like the last warriors in *Yosippon*, these ḥasidim and tzaddikim are agents of a revived apocalyptic consciousness, a challenge to the rule of the Last World Emperor.

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given the multivalent aspect of "Rome" inherent in both the ubiquitous designation of "Edom" for the crusaders and the figure of the Last World/Roman Emperor.

46 Shepkaru traces the path from *SY* to the chronicles of the 1096 martyrs in *Jewish Martyrs*, 107–210. See Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 249–253, for a close examination of the Jewish crusade chronicles' adaptations of *SY*. See also Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, 34–48 on the later influence of these representations.

47 *Hebräische Berichte*, 317; Translated by Eidelberg in *The Jews and the Crusaders*, 30.

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The Maccabean Mother and Her Seven Sons in *Sefer Yosippon* 15: Interconnections with Previous Versions of the Martyrdom and Important Motifs

Jan Willem van Henten

1 Introduction

There is a rich reception history of the so-called Maccabean martyrs in Jewish and Christian literature. Within Christianity the martyrs' reception also concerns material culture, including a gilded reliquary in Cologne in which the martyrs' bones are supposed to be kept.¹ The Maccabean mother and her seven sons were popular saints in late Medieval Cologne. Their bones were allegedly brought to Cologne by Archbishop Reinhardt von Dassel.² The early Jewish reception of the martyrdoms starts with the Book of 4 Maccabees, which includes a re-interpretation of the martyrdoms of the old scribe Eleazar and the Mother and her seven sons as narrated in 2 Macc 6:18–7:42. In the rabbinic tradition Eleazar's martyrdom seems to have been forgotten. *Sefer Yosippon*, however, transmits both martyrdoms and also re-situates them in the context of the persecution by the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE).³ Moreover, because *Yosippon* was such an influential work, it probably has given a boost to the reception of the martyrdom of the mother and her sons.⁴ The martyrdom is commemorated in several *piyyutim* that are part of the liturgy of the Sabbath of Hanukkah and of the Ninth of Av, when the destruction of the Temple is commemorated.⁵ Saskia Dönitz suggests that the redactor of *Yosippon* “felt the necessity to reintegrate these sources into the

1 I warmly thank Dr. Saskia Dönitz (Frankfurt/Berlin), Dr. Nadia Zeldes (Be'er-Sheva), and Robert Braskamp (Amsterdam) for their most helpful comments on an earlier version of this contribution.

2 Walvoort and van Henten, “Re-Interpretation of the Maccabean Mother.”

3 Cohen, “מַעֲשֵׂה חַנּוּהּ,” 118; Cohen, “Hannah;” Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 215.

4 Baumgarten and Kushelevsky, “From ‘The Mother and her Sons;’” Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories*; Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, “The Mother and Seven Sons.”

5 Cohen, “מַעֲשֵׂה חַנּוּהּ,” 120–122; Cohen, “Hannah;” Dönitz, “Sefer Yosippon;” Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, “The Mother and Seven Sons,” 127n3.

Jewish textual tradition in Hebrew,” which would be in line with a trend that can also be observed in other medieval Jewish writings.⁶

The martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons in *Sefer Yosippon* (SY 15) is the focus of this contribution, but when relevant I will also take the martyrdom of Eleazar into account (SY 14). I will start with a brief discussion of the composition and then move on with a comparative analysis of *Yosippon* 15 and previous versions of the martyrdom, first and foremost 2 Maccabees, which is clearly the author’s main source, as Gerson Cohen and David Flusser already observed.⁷ *Yosippon* renders 2 Maccabees mostly rather freely and creatively. Nevertheless, I will briefly discuss the textual version of 2 Maccabees on which *Yosippon* 15 may be based. For the text of *Yosippon* I will use the shorter version as given in Flusser’s edition, in which the mother still remains anonymous.⁸ I will also discuss other possible sources apart from 2 Maccabees, including the Hebrew Bible, 4 Maccabees and the rabbinic versions of the martyrdom. In my final section I will attempt to highlight some of the particularities of the story in *Yosippon*.

2 Composition of *Sefer Yosippon* 15

The Maccabean martyrdoms are part of a cluster of stories in *Sefer Yosippon* 11–35, which are set in the Seleucid period and focus on Hasmonean history.⁹ These stories are followed by another cluster of events in which the Romans have taken over the rule from the Greeks (cf. SY 11: “In these days [בימים ההם] was Seleucus King over the nation of Macedon;” SY 36: “In these days [בימים ההם] Pompey the Great, the commander of the Roman army, departed with a heavy-armed army ...; cf. SY 21). The cycle of stories in *Yosippon* 11–35 is based on sections from 1 and 2 Maccabees as well as Josephus. The martyrdoms in *Yosippon* 14–15 are clearly an integral part of the entire work of *Yosippon*, since there are two cross-references to them in other parts of *Yosippon*.

6 Dönitz, “Historiography,” 961.

7 Cohen, “מעשה חנה;” Cohen, “Hannah;” Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 1.68–75.

8 Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*. For related versions of the story in Medieval Hebrew writings including the one in Abraham Ibn Daud’s *Dorot ‘Olam* (ca. 1160 CE) and other versions of *Sefer Josippon* in Hebrew and vernacular languages, see Vehlow, *Abraham ibn Daud’s Dorot ‘olam*, 146–149; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*, 3–4, 23–28, 33–35, 123–127. Zeldes (27) argues that Ibn Daud’s version derives from *Sefer Yosippon*, because the martyrdom is set in the rule of Antiochus IV and the mother is named Hannah (about the mother’s name, see n. 20). Although SY is a main source of the *Dorot ‘olam* (Vehlow, *Abraham ibn Daud’s Dorot ‘olam*, 29–30), the content of this brief version nevertheless differs greatly from SY 15.

9 Cf. Dönitz, “Historiography,” 956, who argues for SY 11–26 as coherent unit.

Yosippon 12 refers to Eleazar being tested and killed in the days of Antiochus, and in *Yosippon* 81 the high priest Amithai refers to the death of the mother and her seven sons by way of a contrast.¹⁰ The martyrdoms are situated in the persecution ordered by Antiochus IV, which is partly executed by the Phrygian Philip on Antiochus' behalf. The king's commands imply that an image of him had to be venerated, that a piece of pork had to be consumed, and that both the Sabbath observance and the performance of circumcision were forbidden. As a result, many of the pious ones (החסידים) were killed and some fled to the woods (SY 13). A passage that is reminiscent of 2 Macc 6:10 about the horrendous killing of two women who had circumcised their boys in spite of Antiochus' decree forms the transition to Eleazar's martyrdom. After the martyrdoms the narrative continues with Mattathias' refusal to sacrifice, which is the go-ahead for the Maccabean revolt (SY 16; 1 Macc 2). The two martyrdoms are loosely connected to the previous context and to each other by a brief introductory formula "At that time was/were arrested ..." (אז נתפסו; אז נתפס; SY 14 line 1; SY 15 line 1). The command to eat a piece of pork and the reference to the commandments of the king (המצוות המלך, SY 14 lines 3–4; SY 15 line 15) also connect the martyrdoms to the previous chapter.

The composition of *Sefer Yosippon* 15 roughly follows the structure of the martyrdom of its main source, 2 Maccabees 7, but a comparison with this chapter shows besides obvious correspondences also significant differences. As a matter of fact, *Sefer Yosippon* 15 is an artful narrative of its own, composed in a specific style with many echoes of biblical language and particular literary devices including alliteration and dramatization. The structure of the narrative is indicated by forms of בוא "bring" (in the *hif'il* or *hof'al*; lines 4, 15, 24, 29, 32, 36, 50, 53)¹¹ and concluding formulae with וימת "and [he] died," which introduce and conclude the seven sections about the individual brothers. The author of *Yosippon* 15 focuses in comparison to 2 Maccabees 7 more on what is said than on what is done. The tortures of the first and second brothers are described in detail, similar to what is found in 2 Macc 7:1–9, but the author nevertheless leaves out some of the information given in 2 Maccabees. There are no tortures mentioned for the fourth, fifth and sixth brother and from the third brother onward the narrator moves over almost immediately to the statements of the martyr. The sevenfold structure of the narrative is expanded at the point when the sixth brother has died, similarly to 2 Maccabees 7, but the expansions partly differ from their main source. They provide more space to the mother, with whom the story ends (cf. 2 Macc 7:24–42 with SY 15 lines 41–91).

10 Cohen, "מעשה חנה," 119–121; see Carson Bay's chapter in this volume.

11 I refer to the text according to the lines given in Flusser's edition (see n. 8).

In fact, more than half of the narrative space in *Sefer Yosippon* 15 is devoted to the mother and her youngest son. The speeches of the mother (lines 43–49; 58; 59–67; 88–90) and the youngest son (lines 68–85) are more elaborate than those in 2 Maccabees 7 and there is a contest going on between the mother and the king. The story ends in a dramatic way with the mother (lines 88–91). 2 Maccabees 7 briefly reports in a neutral way that the mother died after her sons (7:41). Next, the narrative of both martyrdoms in 2 Maccabees ends with a concluding sentence (7:42), which is missing in *Yosippon* 15. Instead, the author of *Yosippon* highlights the dramatic moment when all seven sons had been tortured to death by focusing on the mother who is standing beside the corpses of her sons (line 88; similarly lines 42–43).¹² This passage visualizes and dramatizes the loss of the mother (cf. 4 Macc 17:7–10). The author of *Yosippon* characterizes her again as “their/the holy mother” (אמם הקדושה), as he did before in line 41 (האם הקדושה), which ties in with other qualifications of the martyrs in *Yosippon* 14–15 as “holy ones” (see the final section, below). The mother’s final words (lines 89–90) are introduced with a reference to a biblical gesture (line 88): she stretches out her hands to heaven (ותפרוש כפיה השמימה).¹³ Next, introduced by ותאמר (line 88), she addresses God in direct speech with two formulae (line 89), “Exalted God, Eternal God” (אלהי הנשגב ואלהי עולם), of which the second one is biblical (Isa 40:28).¹⁴ Then she makes her final statement with a humble self-characterization (“I, your maidservant,” אני אמתך) and expresses the expectation that she would go with her sons to the place that God had prepared for them (line 89–90). This place is only mentioned in abstract terms, but other passages in *Yosippon* 15 mention the vindication of the martyrs more elaborately. The last clause (lines 90–91) is a narrative conclusion, which indicates with three different phrases that the mother died after she had made her statement and with one other phrase that she went indeed with her sons. The cluster of phrases that points here to the mother’s death is different from the short formula that indicates the death of her sons (and [he] died,” above): “she finished breathing” (שילמה נפשה),¹⁵ her soul left her (ותצא רוחה), she fell on the corpses of her sons (ותפול על פגרי בניה) and she went with them (ותלך עמהם), lines 90–91.” This cumulation of phrases may indicate that the mother has a higher status than her sons in *Yosippon* 15. These phrases also differ from the brief vocabulary that describes the mother’s death in 2 Macc 7:41 in the Greek and Latin versions.

12 Cf. 4 Macc 14:2–17:1

13 Cf. 1 Kgs 8:22; 2 Chr 6:12–13; cf. Exod 9:33; Ps 44:21(20); 68:31; Ezra 9:5.

14 KBL³ 3.755 s.v. עולם; Börner-Klein and Buber, *Josippon*, 176 translate “Gott der Welt.”

15 These words recall a phrase that indicates the death of Eleazar in sY 14 line 27: ושלם נפשו.

3 *Sefer Yosippon's* Use of 2 Maccabees as Main Source

Several scholars have pointed out that the author of *Sefer Yosippon* 14–15 used 2 Macc 6:18–7:42 as main source for the martyrdoms in *Yosippon* 14–15.¹⁶ A detailed comparison supports this observation. Two questions are relevant here: How did the author of *Yosippon* use this source and which textual version of 2 Maccabees did he use?

I will start with the first question. Gerson Cohen contends in his seminal article on the story of Hannah and her seven sons in Hebrew literature that the author of *Sefer Yosippon* based himself on the Latin version and that he copied his source apart from one major addition almost verbatim: “and the story appears in his book as it does in its foreign source virtually word for word” (והמעשה בא בספרו כמו שהוא במקורו הלוועזי כמעט מלה במלה).¹⁷ The comments that David Flusser offers on the text in his edition also point to many similarities between *Yosippon* 15 and the Latin version of 2 Maccabees 7, but they also imply that the author of *Yosippon* 15 sometimes adapted his source.¹⁸ A comparative survey of the introduction and the martyrdom of the first brother should demonstrate whether Cohen and Flusser are right and may also shed some light on the textual version of 2 Maccabees that may have been used by the author of *Yosippon*.¹⁹

The introduction of the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons partly corresponds to what 2 Maccabees 7:1 tells us. Like 2 Maccabees *Sefer Yosippon* mentions the arrest of the mother and her seven sons, but it introduces the narrative with a formula that reminds one of rabbinic martyrdoms: “At that time were arrested (seven brothers and their mother) ...” (אז נתפסו) (*sY* 15 line 1; cf. *sY* 14 line 1, above). Several rabbinic martyrdoms start with this formula, including one rabbinic version of the martyrdom of the mother and the seven sons, who is called Miriam bat Tanchum instead of Hannah in this version (*LamR* 1.16).²⁰ *Yosippon* 15 continues with an addition to 2 Maccabees, which

16 References in footnotes 17 and 18.

17 Cohen, “מעשה חנה,” 118; similarly: Cohen, “Hannah,” 51; cf. Dönitz, “Sefer Yosippon,” 228.

18 Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 1.68–75.

19 Cf. Dönitz, “Sefer Yosippon,” 223n2, who is more cautious about the textual version of the non-canonical books used in *sY*. I consistently use the word “author” for the person who was responsible for the composition of the version of *sY* on which Flusser’s edition is based.

20 See also *SifDev* 307; *bAZ* 17b–18a; cf. *PesR* 43. About the names of the mother, see Cohen, “מעשה חנה,” 118–121; Cohen, “Hannah,” 51–54; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History*, 25–26, 35 with n. 78, 111, 123, 126, who points out that the name Hannah occurs already in Ibn Daud’s version of the martyrdom. About the rabbinic versions, see Avemarie, Furstenberg and van Henten, *Jewish Martyrdom*, 240–249.

explains that the king is present during the martyrdom: he had left Jerusalem, but was still close to the city. This may show an awareness of the problem in 2 Maccabees that the king had left for Antioch (2 Macc 5:21) but nevertheless was present during the martyrdoms, which are obviously situated in Jerusalem.²¹ In 2 Macc 7:1, the martyrs are forced to eat a piece of pork during a kind of ritual meal. They are tortured beforehand with scourges and cords made out of sinew (Vg: *flagris et taureis cruciatis*). This remarkable detail may be explained as a display of power by the king.²² In *Yosippon* 15 the martyrs are sent to the king and next they are cruelly scourged and their flesh is cut to pieces with a chain or cord (שוספו באכזריות ובשורר בשרם הוות), lines 2–3) *because they refused to eat a piece of pork* (cf. 2 Macc 7:2). The author adds here in comparison to 2 Macc 7:1 that eating pork is a sinful and abominable act.

In 2 Maccabees 7:2 one of the brothers responds to the preliminary torture on behalf of the others by explaining that further questions were useless, because he and his brothers were ready to die for the ancestral laws. In *Sefer Yosippon* 15 line 4 the first brother is brought before the king in line with the composition of the story (ויובא האחד לפני המלך, see the previous section), which is an addition to 2 Maccabees 7 that is reminiscent of Eleazar's martyrdom in *Yosippon* 14 (line 2) and the beginning of the martyrdoms in 4 Macc 5:1–4, where Eleazar is brought to Antiochus, who is sitting on a platform with his men.²³ The continuation in *Yosippon* 15 lines 4–5 is close to the first words of the statement of the brother who acts as spokesperson in 2 Macc 7:2: "In what way is it useful for you to abound in words and instruct us?" (מה לך להרבות דברים או ללמד אותנו; 2 Macc 7:2 LXX Τί μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μαρτυρᾶν ἡμῶν; Vg *quid quaeris et quid vis discere a nobis*). The correspondences between these three versions of the martyr's question are close, but *Yosippon* 15 is still different from the two versions of 2 Maccabees 7 (להרבות דברים; אותנו is object) and it is hard to tell whether it is dependent on the Greek or the Latin version. The continuation of the statement differs significantly from 2 Maccabees 7 (lines 5–6): "We have already learned from our ancestors. Behold, we have prepared ourselves to receive the death for Adonay and his Torah!" (לקבל המות על יי ועל תורתו). Instead of the motivation of a death for the ancestral laws, the son highlights the instruction by the ancestors, which goes through his mother, as we learn later on, and not through his father as 4 Maccabees has it (below). The preparedness to die corresponds to 2 Macc 7:2 (אנחנו ערכנו אותנו; 2 Macc ἔτοιμοι ... ἐσμέν; Vg *parati*

21 Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 96.

22 Van Henten, "Martyrdom, Jesus' Passion."

23 This beginning in 4 Macc 5:1–4 is reminiscent of the setting of Christian martyrdoms, van Henten, "Martyrdom and Persecution," 66–69.

sumus), but the death for God and the Torah are two motivations which are added by the author of *Yosippon*.

The continuation of the story in *Sefer Yosippon* 15 in lines 6ff first matches its source, by highlighting the anger of the king about the martyr's statement and reporting his order to bring in a brass frying pan (מחבת נחושת), while 2 Macc 7:3 mentions both a frying pan and a cooking pot (4 Macc 8:12–13 is different). Later on, *Yosippon* 15 mentions a large brass cooking pot, but what happens with and in the pan and the pot is different from 2 Maccabees. The tongue of this son is cut off and the skin of his head is taken off as in 2 Macc 7:4, but a plus to 2 Maccabees implies that his hands and feet are also cut off, as illustrations of the scene show.²⁴ The limbs go in the frying pan on the fire, before the eyes of his brothers. This is different from 2 Maccabees 7, which notes that the other brothers and the mother were looking at the torture of the first martyr (7:4). The rest of his body was thrown in the cooking pot (line 9), which is partly different from 2 Maccabees 7. In lines 10–11 the king orders to take the cooking pot from the fire, so that this first brother would die slowly, which is another addition to 2 Maccabees 7 that dramatizes the scene and is plausibly intended to intimidate the others.

My brief discussion of the first nine lines of *Sefer Yosippon* 15 in comparison to 2 Macc 7:1–4, which roughly concerns 10% of the story in both cases, shows that the author of *Yosippon* clearly bases himself on his source from 2 Maccabees, which is apparent from the similarity in content and the verbal analogies. These analogies do not seem to be close enough to determine which textual version of his source he used. At the same time, it will be clear that the author uses his source creatively, by leaving out or changing information and by adding information or comments. I have made a comparative analysis of the entire story, but the results for the rest of the story are not very different from what we have seen so far, apart from several longer expansions of the story in *Yosippon*, to which I will turn later.

Before concluding this section, I will briefly return to my second question: which version of the text of 2 Maccabees may the author of *Sefer Yosippon* have used? My main point here is that the author renders 2 Maccabees 7 mostly rather freely, which does not allow us to make a claim about the version of 2 Maccabees used. In a few cases, however, the wording of *Yosippon* is specific enough to make a comparison. The first one concerns the response of the youngest son to the words of persuasion by the mother, who concludes with the statement that “I will go with you to that place and I will rejoice together with you (ואשמחה עמכם) as on the day of your wedding (כביום חתונתכם). And

²⁴ E.g. Cohen, “מעשה חנה,” 123.

with you I will have a share in your righteousness” (SY 15 lines 65–67, see also below). The author highlights that “while she was still speaking, the boy responded and said ...” (ועוד היא מדברת ויען הנער ויאמר), line 68). The Latin of the Vulgate reads in the parallel passage of 2 Macc 7:30: *cum haec illa adhuc diceret ait adulescens* “while she was still speaking, the young man said ...”²⁵ The Greek is slightly different, and there is a text-critical issue involved: in the transmitted text the clause starts with ἔτι (“still”),²⁶ but most scholars follow the emendation ἄρτι (“as soon as” as in the phrase ἄρτι δὲ ταύτης καταληγούσης in 9:5) proposed by Kappler: ἔτι/ἄρτι δὲ ταύτης καταληγούσης ὁ νεανίας εἶπεν “While she was still finishing (speaking)/As soon as she finished, the young man said.”²⁷ *Yosippon* 15 is closer to the text in some of the Latin versions, especially the one transmitted in Old Latin MS B (but cf. *matre*/היא), but it seems to support the ἔτι (“still”) transmitted in the Greek manuscripts. Somewhat further on in the complex statement of the young man addressed to the king, which is much more elaborate than the one in 2 Maccabees 7 (SY lines 68–85; cf. 2 Macc 7:30–38), he scoffs the king in many ways and reproaches him: “you have schemed wickedly to act in this way by stretching out your hand against his [i.e., God’s] servants” (ולשלוח יד בעבדיו), line 73). The Vulgate reads in the parallel phrase (7:34) *extolli ... in servos eius* “turn against his servants,”²⁸ while the Greek text reads ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανίους παιῶδας ἐπαιρόμενος χεῖρα “(do not think that you can be so insolent to have the idle hope of) raising (your) hand against the children of heaven.” MS P seems to remain closest to the Greek text and refers as the only Latin witness to Antiochus raising his hand: *noli incassum extolli mente, superbiens spe incerta ad servos dei, sed manu levata*.²⁹ The text of *Yosippon* shows similarities with the Greek and Latin versions of 2 Macc 7:34 (SY + Vg + Lat^{LV}: his servants; SY + LXX + Lat^P stretching out your hand/raising your hand). If we take into account that both passages are part of a larger and complex statement in *Yosippon*, which includes similarities in content with 2 Maccabees 7 but also shows significant differences from this source, and that the vocabulary in other passages is not specific enough to argue for a specific version of 2 Maccabees, we should conclude in my opinion that the evidence

25 Similarly: Old Latin MS V; “*adhuc*” (“still” is missing in Old Latin MSS L and X; MS B reads: *et adhuc matre dicente haec, adolescens respondit dicens*; De Bruyne, *Anciennes traductions*, 160–161).

26 Keil, *Commentar*, 353; Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 1.1117.

27 Kappler, *De memoria alterius*, 64; also Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 378; Hanhart, *Macca-baeorum liber II*, 76; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 313, Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 147.

28 Similarly Old Latin MSS L and V; MS X *extolli ... in servos illius*; MS B: *extolli ... adversus servos dei*; MS M: *extollere ... adversus servos dei*.

29 De Bruyne, *Anciennes traductions*, 160–161.

is inconclusive for this chapter that *Yosippon* is based on either the Vulgate or the Old Latin version of 2 Maccabees 7.

4 Possible Use of Other Sources: 4 Maccabees

Is there any evidence that the author of *Sefer Yosippon* used additional sources for his re-creation of the story of the mother and her seven sons? Deviations from 2 Maccabees 7 and additional information provided in the pluses to 2 Maccabees 7 may offer a clue for answering this question. We already noted that the introductory formula **וְיִוְבֵא הָאֶחָד לְפָנַי הַמֶּלֶךְ** (line 4) is a plus in comparison to 2 Macc 7:1, which is reminiscent of the setting of the martyrdoms in 4 Macc 5:1–4 in which the martyrs appear before Antiochus IV (above). Several other passages show correspondences with the version of the martyrdom in 4 Maccabees. In his response to the men of Antiochus to obey the commandments of the king, the second brother responds: “Speed up with the sword and speed up with the fire ...” (**מַהֲרֵהוּ וּמַהֲרֵהוּ הָאֵשׁ**) (line 16), which is a plus compared to 2 Macc 7:8, where this son only says “no” in his ancestral language, which is absent in *Yosippon*. This plus may be inspired by a statement of the first brother in 4 Macc 9:17, who suggests, among other horrible tortures, to the king’s men to cut off his limbs and burn his flesh (**τέμνετε μου τὰ μέλη καὶ πυροῦτε μου τὰς σάρκας**). That this concerns the first and not the second brother may not be a problem, because by adapting and elaborating his source the author of *Yosippon* demonstrates that the second brother underwent exactly the same tortures as the first one.³⁰ The statement “take off nothing from what you have done to my brother and do it to me as well, because I will not be inferior to my brother in piety and awe for my God (**בְּהַחֲסִידוֹת וּיְרֵאתָ אֱלֹהֵי**) (lines 16–18)” is another plus in *Yosippon* 15 and emphasizes the solidarity among the brothers, which is an important motif in 4 Maccabees and only hinted at in 2 Maccabees 7.³¹ Moreover, the piety highlighted at the end of the statement (**חֲסִידוֹת**) is a motif that is reminiscent of **εὐσέβεια/pietas** “piety,” “proper attitude to God” as a key term in 4 Maccabees, which is the most important virtue in 4 Maccabees and also forms the foundation of the philosophy articulated in 4 Maccabees.³² In the section about the third brother (*SY* 15 lines 24–28; cf. 2 Macc 7:10–12), several details are different from 2 Maccabees, and this martyr

30 Flusser, **יוסיפון**, 1.71.

31 4 Macc 9:23–24; 11:22–23; 13:16; 16:14; cf. 13:23–25; 14:7–8; van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 284–287.

32 E.g. 4 Macc 1:4, 6; 2:6, 23; 5:23–24; 13:24; 15:10; van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 278–284.

begins his statement by making the point that it was useless for the king to terrify him and his brothers, because their sufferings were coming from Heaven, which is why they took them upon them out of love for Heaven (lines 25–26). The reference to Heaven (i.e., God) echoes 2 Macc 7:10, but the statement is very different from this verse, which concerns the posthumous revival of the brothers. In the first part of this statement in *Yosippon*, the brother also scoffs the king, he calls him a foe and an enemy (צַר וְאֹיֵב, line 25). This is another plus in *Yosippon*, which may build on 4 Macc 10:10, where the statement of the third brother includes the exclamation “o most abominable tyrant” (ὦ μαρῳάτατε τύραννε) and also starts with an explanation of the suffering of the brothers: “we are suffering because of our godly training and virtue.”

The king’s attempt to persuade the seventh and youngest brother to eat a piece of pork is described in two parts (lines 50–53 and 53–58). The first part explains the king’s motivation for doing this. He feels very ashamed because the mother defeated him and he states that he does not want the mother to brag about him and defeat him. This is different from 2 Macc 7:24, where the king thinks he is held in contempt. The defeat of the king is highlighted by two verbal forms of the root נצח (נצחו line 50 and נצחתי line 52). This motif is absent in 2 Maccabees 7, but 4 Maccabees highlights that the king was defeated by the martyrs (e.g. 1:11; 17:11–16).³³ In her extensive statement of encouragement of her youngest son (lines 60–67), the mother presents herself as an instructor concerning awe for God (גַּם יִרְאֵת אֱלֹהִים לְמַדְתִּיד, line 62). This is another plus in comparison to 2 Maccabees 7, which may be inspired by 4 Maccabees, which recalls in a flashback the instruction of the sons by their father. The father instructed them in the law and the prophets (4 Macc 18:10), which is illustrated by a cluster of quotations from Scripture which help to interpret the performance and vindication of the sons (4 Macc 18:11–19). It is significant that in *Sefer Yosippon* the mother takes over this role as instructor from the father, who is not even mentioned. Thus, although there are no elaborate verbal correspondences between *Yosippon* 15 and 4 Maccabees, my findings seem to support that several of the plusses in the story in comparison to 2 Maccabees can plausibly be explained by the assumption that the author incorporated content and important motifs from 4 Maccabees. If this assumption is justified, we may conclude that the author of *Yosippon* 15 was also familiar with the story about the mother and her sons as it is transmitted in 4 Maccabees.

33 Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 119–122, 236–237, 262–263.

5 Possible Use of Other Sources: Rabbinic Versions of the Martyrdom

What about the rabbinic versions of the story concerning the mother and her seven sons, which are transmitted in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Gittin* 57b), in Midrash *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.16 (18b), in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 43, in *Seder Eliahu Rabbah* 28/30 (*SEF*; ed. Friedmann 151 line 24–153 line 15)³⁴ and still other versions (*Yalqut Shimoni Ki Tavo, EkhZ* 1)?³⁵ As is well-known, the historical setting of the martyrdom in these versions is adapted to the Roman period in “the days of persecution” (בימי השמר) as *PesR* 43 states (in *SEF* the emperor is identified as Hadrian). The martyrs are forced to venerate an idol, which is similar to the story in *Sefer Yosippon* 15 but significantly different from 2 Maccabees 7. The narrative of the rabbinic texts is more schematic than the stories in 2 Maccabees 7 and *Yosippon* 15. The version in tractate *b. Gittin* 57b takes off with the order to commit idolatry by venerating the stars (פלה לעבודת כוכבים; cf. *LamR* 1.16: השתחוה לצלם) and the seven brothers motivate their refusal on the basis of quotations from Scripture. After the execution of her sons, the mother kills herself by throwing herself from a roof.³⁶ The mother is called Miriam bat Tanchum in *PesR* 43 and *SEF* 28/30³⁷ and Miriam bat Nahtum in *LamR* 1.16. Nevertheless, there are a few correspondences between these rabbinic passages and the story in *Yosippon* 15. The rabbinic martyrdoms share one element of the composition with *Yosippon* 15: the brothers are all brought before the ruler (explicitly in *b. Gittin* 57b: “they brought the first one before the emperor” אחיהו קמא לקמיה דקיסר), which is indicated with forms of the verbs בוא (*SEF* 28/30), בוא and יצא (*LamR* 1.16) or אתא (*b. Git* 57b). The concluding formula that structures the narrative in *Yosippon* 15 (“and [he] died”) is, however, missing in the rabbinic versions. *LamR* 1.16, *b. Git* 57b and *SEF* 28/30 have different concluding formulae which indicate the death of each of the brothers. *PesR* 43 briefly reports that the first brother was fried in a frying pan (טיגן; cf. *SY* 15 line 8), without giving further details. In *b. Gittin* 57b, the mother asks Caesar’s men to allow her to give her youngest son a little kiss (ואינשקיה פורתא; cf. *SY* 15 line 59), which enables her to encourage him briefly with a statement which is absent in *SY* 15: “My son, go and say to your father Abraham, you bound one son to the altar, but I bound seven altars” (cf. *SEF* 28/30). *LamR* 1.16 notes that the seventh

34 See Cordoni, *Seder Eliyahu*, 262–272.

35 Further discussion in Doran, “The Martyr;” Himmelfarb, “The Mother of the Seven Sons;” Avemarie, Furstenberg and van Henten, *Jewish Martyrdom*, 240–249.

36 *b. Gittin* 57b; *LamR* 1.16; *PesR* 43 is different; cf. 4 Macc 17:1.

37 The name Miriam is added in an interlinear gloss in MS Vaticanus, ed. Friedmann l.c.

son is the youngest of all of them (cf. *SY* 15 lines 41 and 51).³⁸ In *Lamentations Rabbah*, the mother asks the emperor to embrace and kiss her son (cf. *SY* 15 line 59) and in a dramatic way she bares her breasts and breastfeeds him, after which she starts a dialogue with the emperor because she wants to be killed first (this scene is expanded in *SER* 28/30). This is in vain, because while she is still embracing and kissing her son, he is cruelly killed while she is holding him in her arms. In the mother's final words of encouragement of her youngest son in *Yosippon* 15 quoted above (lines 65–67), we find the motif that the mother anticipates the future joy of celebrating together as if she would participate in the wedding celebrations of her sons. Flusser suggests that the author of *Yosippon* compares *qiddush ha-Shem* with a wedding here and he refers to late Midrashic parallels concerning the *Aqedat Jitzhaq*, but the joy may also point to the posthumous vindication of the martyrs in the world to come.³⁹ This is suggested by the conclusion of the story in the rabbinic versions, where the deceased mother is called “a joyful mother of children” with the words of Ps 113:9 (אם הבנים שמחה). The conclusion in *b. Gittin* 57b reads after the report of the death of the mother: “A Bat Qol emerged and said: “a joyful mother of children” (similarly *SER* 28/30). *LamR* 1.16 ends likewise, but expands this ending: “And the Holy Spirit cried out: ‘for these things I weep.’” *PesR* 43 makes the same connection with Ps 113:9, but it ends differently: “The Holy One, blessed be He, said, ‘In the time to come, I will cause her to rejoice (אני משמח אותה) the more in her children, a joyful mother of children” (trans. Doran).⁴⁰ This forms an inclusion with the beginning of this version:

Another comment: “The Lord our God ... causes to dwell barren in her house.” The Holy One, blessed be He, said, “I make Miriam the daughter of Tanchum become childless like a barren woman in order to make her rejoice (לשמח אותה) the more in her children in the time-to-come ...”

Trans. Doran

These parallels between *Sefer Yosippon* 15 and the rabbinic versions of the story may imply that the author of the *Yosippon* was familiar with one or more of these versions, but it will be obvious that he did not use them systematically as a source for his own re-creation of the story.

38 *LamR* 1.16 and *SER* 28/30 give his age according to the sages: 2 years, 6 months and 6.5/7.5 hours.

39 Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 1.74; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 254.

40 Doran, “The Martyr.”

It should be noted in passing that the association of martyrdom with a wedding feast is also a motif in Christian martyrdoms. The attitude of the Christian martyr Blandina at the moment when she is facing the beasts is compared to the joy of someone who is going to a wedding party:

And last of all the blessed Blandina, just like a noble mother who has encouraged her children and sent them ahead in victory to the king, undergoing herself through all the contests of her children, hastened to them, rejoicing and exulting in her departure, as if she were summoned to a wedding feast (ὡς εἰς νυμφικὸν δεῖπνον κεκλημένη) and not thrown to the beasts.⁴¹

MLugd 55, trans. Rebillard

The motif is also found in a homily on the Maccabean martyrs by Gregory of Nazianze about the mother, who, in line with the report in 4 Macc 17:1, does not wait for her executioners and walks herself to the pyre as if it was to the bridechamber (ὡς ἐπὶ νυμφῶνα) so that her holy body would not be touched by them.⁴²

6 The Use of the Hebrew Bible

Although *Sefer Yosippon* 15 does not abound in scriptural quotations as some of the rabbinic versions of the story do, the author seems to present the story also from a biblical perspective, or rather, he gives it a finishing touch by incorporating biblical vocabulary and integrating biblical motifs, which may invite the readers to interpret the story also in biblical terms.⁴³

The author consistently uses biblical phrases and formulae in his narrative. One example can be found in line 51, where the king expresses the hope that the youngest son could be persuaded “to act according to our desire [or: will]”: לעשות רצונו (cf. line 57: לעשות רצונו; line 86: כי לא עשה רצונו). A parallel phrase of this vocabulary in line 57 is absent in 2 Maccabees, and the potential speech of the mother that follows upon it (lines 52–53), given in direct speech, from the perspective of the king, is missing as well. Combinations of the verb עשה + the noun רצון occur in the Hebrew Bible, note especially Ezra 10:11: ועשו רצונו

⁴¹ Cf. *MLugd* 48.

⁴² Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Mach.* (PG 35:929); cf. 932 lines 42–44.

⁴³ With Börner-Klein and B. Zuber, *Josippion*, 11.

(“and do his [i.e., God’s] will”).⁴⁴ The exclamation of woe addressed to the king by the youngest son, *אוי לך אויב אוי לך*, “Woe to you, o enemy, woe to you” in line 71 echoes similar biblical exclamations, which are, however, not repeated as this one (Num 21:29 and Jer 48:46: *אוי לך מואב* “woe to you, o Moab”).⁴⁵ In line 79, the youngest son announces the king’s death with the statement *תמות בנגעים גדולים* (“you will die through great plagues”), and this is reminiscent of the description of the death of Antiochus IV in 2 Maccabees 9:1–8, who is struck by God, but the phrase *נגעים גדולים* occurs already in the Bible in Gen 12:17 concerning God’s punishment of Pharaoh.

Several motifs in the story also recall biblical passages. In the king’s attempt to persuade the youngest brother, he promises the boy to make him deputy-king, which would enable him to rule over his entire kingdom (*ולעשותו מלכותו*, line 55, another plus in comparison to 2 Macc 7). This reminds one of the position held by Joseph in Egypt (Gen 41:38–46; cf. Mark 6:23). The instruction by the mother, discussed above, concerns the awe for God (*יראת אלהים*; line 62; cf. line 18: *ויראת אלהי*; also *SY* 14 line 26). This is not only a biblical phrase but also an important expected attitude of the Israelites.⁴⁶ In line 25, the king is characterized as *צר ואויב* “foe and enemy,” which reminds one of Haman’s characterization in the Esther story as *איש צר ואויב המן הרע הזה* (“a foe and enemy, this wicked Haman,” Esth 7:6.⁴⁷ Line 38 includes the phrase *מלאך לבך לעשות האלה* (“you, who have fully set your heart on doing such things,” which includes the biblical phrase *מלא לב* (Eccl 8:11). It especially echoes another phrase referring to Haman: *אשר מלאו לבו לעשות כן* (Esth 7:5 “[who is he] who has set his heart on doing so”). Another plus, in the statement of the fourth brother, culminates in the characterization of the king as *איש הבליעל* (“a useless [or ill-natured] man;” lines 29–30; similarly lines 72 and 82).⁴⁸ This is also a biblical phrase, which occurs in Prov 16:27; 1 Sam 25:25; 2 Sam 16:7 (cf. 1 Kings 21:13). The statement of the sixth brother includes a confession of guilt, which indicates that the sufferings of the martyrs are justified. He states: *ידענו רשעינו כי חטאנו ליי* (“we know we have committed wicked deeds because we have sinned before the Lord,” line 36). This statement recalls biblical confessions of guilt in Solomon’s prayer before the dedication of the

44 See also Ps 40:9; 103:21; 143:10 and with the preposition *כ* Est 1:8; 9:5; Neh 9:24 and Dan 8:4; 11:3, 16, 36.

45 See also Jer 13:27; Ez 16:23.

46 Gen 20:11; 2 Sam 23:3; common parallel phrase *יראת* *י*, Isa 33:6; Ps 19:10; 34:12; 110:10; Prov 1:7; 2:5 etc.

47 See also Lam 4:12: *כי יבא צר ואויב*.

48 For similar phrases in *SY*, see Carson Bay’s chapter in this volume.

Temple in 1 Kings 8 and Daniel's prayer in Daniel 9.⁴⁹ A related phrase is found in line 84 (ואנחנו הרשענו) "we have acted wickedly"), which also literally recalls a biblical passage (Neh 9:33; cf. Ps 106:6).

A more complex use of the Hebrew Bible concerns the biblical quotation in the mutual words of encouragement when the first brother is about to die for God and his Torah (*SY* 15 lines 11–14). The other martyrs refer explicitly to Moses' Song in Deuteronomy 32 as in 2 Macc 7:6, but the reference to this song is shorter and different in *Sefer Yosippon*: ובעבדיו: ובשירו: יי בשירו: "Behold, this is what Moses, the servant of God, has said in his song: 'He will have compassion on his servants'" lines 12–13). The quotation itself is close to a phrase which occurs in Deut 32:36 as well as in Ps 135:14 (ועל עבדיו יתנחם). The quotation remains unexplained in 2 Maccabees, but *Yosippon* adds the following explanation, which is an adaptation of an important line of thinking in 2 Maccabees that God was angry with the Jews because of the wickedness of a group of Jewish leaders and brought Antiochus IV upon them as an instrument of temporary punishment, although in the end God would not forsake his people (2 Macc 6:12–16). In *Yosippon* 15 lines 13–14 we read: יי עד עתה יתנחם יי בנו על כל הרעה אשר דבר לעשות לעמו וירחם עליהם ("Until now has God shown his compassion with us. In spite of all evil which he has said he would do to his people he has been merciful to them").⁵⁰

7 Important Motifs in the Story in *Sefer Yosippon* 15

My comparative analysis results in several preliminary findings that may point to particularities of the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons as narrated in *Sefer Yosippon*. These findings need to be corroborated by further research into their connection with the larger context of the story, including the retelling of the Masada story with which *Yosippon* concludes (*SY* 89). The motifs of the beneficial death of the martyrs and their vindication are clearly articulated differently from 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees. The motivations for preferring death to obeying the commandment of the king and the formulae which indicate that are also different. And the author of *Yosippon*

49 1 Kgs 8:47: ורשענו והעוינו ורשענו; 2 Chr 6:37: ורשענו ורשענו; and Daniel's prayer in Dan 9:15: ורשענו; cf. Dan 9:5.

50 For still other interconnections with biblical passages, see the direct speech of the mother after the death of her sixth son in lines 44–49 (see the next section) and the detailed description of Sheol in lines 79–81; cf. Deut 32:22; Ps 107:10, 14; Job 3:5; 10:21–22; Isa 30:6; Prov 1:27; Gen 19:24; Ezek 38:22; Ps 11:6.

characterizes the brothers and their mother in a new way, which is most obvious in the case of the mother. I will start with the last point.

The mother is clearly a strong woman and a saint. The author characterizes her in line 41 as “the holy mother” (האם הקדושה), which is repeated in line 88 (“their holy mother;” אמם הקדושה). The youngest son calls his brothers “his holy brothers” (אחיי הקדושים, line 69). The old Eleazar demonstrates his great dignity and his glorious holiness (יקר גדולתו ואת קדושת תפארתו) when he responds to the offer to pretend to eat a piece of pork (SY 14 line 9; cf. line 13). This qualification implies a special status for the martyrs within their community, which is supported by a few other occurrences of the phrase הקדושה or הקדוים in *Sefer Yosippon*, which concerns in at least one other case a very brave and admirable woman: the mother of John Hyrcanus, who was taken captive and tortured heavily and then murdered (SY 27).⁵¹ The epithet “holy” is paralleled and probably inspired by the commemoration of Christian saints who were allegedly tortured to death or brutally executed and called “sanctus” or “sancta,” including the Maccabean martyrs themselves in the Christian reception. Their status as “holy” is apparent from titles of works about them, such as the *Passio sanctorum Machabaeorum*, the Passion of the Holy Maccabees, which is a Latin paraphrase of the martyrdom.⁵²

The author of *Sefer Yosippon* reports in line with 2 Maccabees 7:20 that the mother saw how her seven sons were executed on a single day, but he describes her response differently. He highlights the drama of the scene (see above), but her response is not emotional and different from 2 Maccabees: the mother does not show any fear in her heart or anxiety in her mind (לא פחד ליבה ולא רגזה) נפשה (line 42–43). She stands beside the corpses of her sons “with strength” (והעמוד בכח, lines 42–43).⁵³ The strength of the mother is also emphasized by the way she dies in the story (lines 87–91, above). Another detail in the section after the death of the sixth son may also reflect the interest of the author or redactor. The speech of the mother in response to the death of six of her sons shows a particular focus on the body of her sons (SY 15 lines 41–49).⁵⁴ The text shows correspondences with the mother’s two brief speeches in 2 Maccabees in which the mother argues for an analogy between both God’s creation of the universe and the creation of her sons on the one hand and God’s re-creation of the sons after their death (2 Macc 7:22–23, 27–29). *Sefer Yosippon* partly

51 Cf. SY 34 concerning Salome Alexandra and SY 78 concerning Joseph/Josephus’ mother.

52 Dörrie, *Passio ss. Machabaeorum*.

53 Cf. line 88 and above and SY 14 lines 18 and 26–27 concerning Eleazar.

54 I thank Saskia Dönitz for pointing this out to me.

echoes the language of the mother's words in 2 Maccabees,⁵⁵ but the vocabulary about the creation and birth of her sons is different and describes the bodies involved in realistic terms, which caused David Flusser even to think that the author or redactor was a medical doctor:⁵⁶ "Also, I did not deliver you from my womb ... and he [God] has built your bones and he has woven your tendons, covered them with skin on top of them and made hair grow on it ... (lines 45–47)."⁵⁷ The references to the birth of her sons and their creation, which are both explicitly attributed to God (line 46: נתנה), are more articulate than in 2 Maccabees and at the same time reflect biblical language deriving from Gen 2:7 and Ezekiel 37 about the revival of the dry bones.⁵⁸

A significant detail in 2 Maccabees concerns the motif of pity: the mother calls upon her youngest son to have mercy with her in 2 Maccabees 7:27. This motif is left out in *Sefer Yosippon*,⁵⁹ which makes sense in the light of the focus on her strength in *Yosippon*. The author of *Yosippon* 15 also points out that the mother alone defeated the king, which is different from 4 Maccabees, where the king is defeated by all martyrs (above). And finally, the mother's role as instructor of her sons as discussed above, puts her at least on the same level as Eleazar, whose role as model for the young Jews is emphasized several times in *Yosippon* 14.

In 2 Maccabees, three motivations for preferring death instead of giving in to the king stand out: the faithfulness to God, or more explicitly to God's laws, the observance of the ancestral laws and customs of the Jewish people, and the exemplary role of the martyrs, in particular Eleazar's ambition to set an example for the young Jews.⁶⁰ These motivations re-appear in the statements of the Maccabean martyrs in *Sefer Yosippon* 14–15, but with different articulations. The brothers point out that they are ready to die for God and his Torah, as the first one expresses in lines 5–6: "we are prepared to accept death for the Lord and his Torah" (אנחנו ערכנו אותנו לקבל המות על יי ועל תורתו). The same double motivation is expressed with a so-called dying-for-formula in line 12: כי מת אחיהם על יי ועל תורתו ("[while they were seeing] that their brother died for the

55 Cf. especially *SY* 15 lines 45–46 with 2 Macc 7:22, 27, 29.

56 Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 2.86.

57 *SY* 15 lines 45–47: וכל ... ולא גידלתי ולא רוממתי אתכם ... ועצמותיכם הוא בנה. וארג את הגידים וכיסה עור מלמעלה והצמיח שערות.

58 Cf. lines 47–48 חיים with Gen 2:7 (ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים) and line 46–47 עור מלמעלה (עליהם עור מלמעלה), Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 1.73.

59 As noted by Flusser, *ספר יוסיפון*, 1.74; the second use of the motif in 2 Macc 7:30 is also left out.

60 Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 125–269.

Lord and his Torah”), which is also used for the single motivation “מֹת עַל יְיָ or מֹת עַל אֱלֹהֵינוּ (גְּמוּת עַל יְיָ, line 30, מֹת עַל יְיָ, line 64, לְמוֹת עַל אֱלֹהֵינוּ, line 53).⁶¹ What is striking in comparison to the motivations of the martyrs in 2 Maccabees 7 is that the patriotic dimension is totally absent in the motivations as transmitted in *Yosippon*: the references to the ancestral laws and customs as well as to the ancestral language in 2 Macc 7:2, 8, 21, 24, 27, 37 have been left out.

Finally, the motif of the beneficial effect of the death of the mother and her sons (cf. 2 Macc 7:33, 37–38; 4 Macc 6:28–29; 9:24; 12:17; 17:20–22) is less prominent in *Sefer Yosippon* and the vindication of the martyrs is interpreted differently. The sixth son refers once briefly to the atoning effect of the death of his family in lines 35–38 in one of the plusses in comparison to 2 Maccabees. He starts this statement with a confession of guilt (line 36: יִדְעוּ רָשָׁעֵינוּ כִּי חָטָאנוּ לַיְיָ, above) and it remains unclear whether the transgressions referred to were committed by the brothers themselves or by other Jews or by the entire Jewish people. The previous brother dismisses already the idea that God has forsaken his people and he indicates that God has brought the glory of the violent death of his family members upon them out of love for them (כִּי מֵאֲהַבְתוּ אוֹתָנוּ הַבִּיאָנוּ) ועַתָּה אֲנַחְנוּ אֲשֶׁר נִתְּנָנוּ אֶת נַפְשׁוֹתֵינוּ לְמוֹת בְּעַד כְּפָרַת עַמָּנוּ (“And now we surrender our souls in order to die for the sake of the atonement of our people ...,” lines 37–38). The vocabulary that hints at the atonement of the people might link up with a biblical notion of atonement, but it is unique within *Yosippon* and there are no parallels with biblical passages. The youngest son expresses the expectation that God will be merciful for his people (וְאֱלֹהֵינוּ יִרְחַם עָלֵינוּ, line 82; cf. Isa 49:13), which might imply that the death of his family forms a turning point in the history of the people. A few lines further, he repeats that God “will turn and be merciful to us and will revive us by giving us eternal life” (וְהוּא יָשׁוּב וְיִרְחַמְנוּ וְיַחְיֵינוּ חַיֵּי עוֹלָם), lines 84–85), which seems to focus on his family only.

The posthumous vindication of the mother and her seven sons is a much more prominent motif than the beneficial effect of their death in *Sefer Yosippon* 15. It is sometimes indicated in rather general terms in the statements addressed to the king, but some passages are articulate and indicate that the martyrs are neither resurrected nor revived through a recreation of their bodies by God immediately after their death, as 2 Maccabees seems to imply.⁶² The entire family is revived or made new (lines 22; 30; 48; 72; 76; 84) and re-united

61 Cf. the surrender formula in line 37 נִפְשׁוֹתֵינוּ לְמוֹת אֶת נַפְשׁוֹתֵינוּ לְמוֹת, see below and Grundmann, “Ist nicht an einem solchen Tag,” 73; the dying-for formula does not occur in rabbinic martyrdoms, Avemarie, Furstenberg and van Henten, *Jewish Martyrdom*, 50–69.

62 Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 172–182.

after death so that they will be with God until the resurrection at the end of days (lines 21–23). This place where they can be with God is also called the light that is with God (הנה המה הולכים אל האלהים אשר נתנם: האור אשר עם יי, line 21) ואל האור אשר עם יי. ועוד נחיה חיים ארוכים אשר אין בה סוף וקץ בהקיצו את מתי עמו ואת הרוגי עבדיי “Behold, they [our souls, הנפשותינו] go to God, who has given them, and to the light that is with God. We will live a long life without end or limit when he will rise the dead of his people and those of his servants who were killed.” The youngest son uses slightly different vocabulary, he refers to the eternal life and the eternal light (לחיי עולם ולאור עולמים), where no darkness is found (lines 76–77). Saskia Dönitz points out that the great light is already the reward for those who suffer in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 9:1; 53:11). It is a prominent motif in *Yosippon* in connection with the vindication of those who die because they are faithful to God and his Torah, or die for the sake of the covenant or the people.⁶³ This shared fate for Jewish heroes who die violently indicates that the story of the mother and her seven sons is well integrated in *Sefer Yosippon*’s presentation of Jewish history.

8 Conclusion

The composition of *Sefer Yosippon* 15 stands out by its biblical vocabulary and literary style in comparison to previous versions of the martyrdom of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons. The author focuses more on the statements of the martyrs than on their deeds and devotes more than half of the narrative space to the mother and her youngest son (lines 41–91). A detailed comparison implies that 2 Maccabees 7 is the author’s main source. It shows at the same time that *Yosippon* 15 is a rather free re-creation of this source with many adaptations and expansions.⁶⁴ It is difficult to assess on which textual version of 2 Maccabees *Yosippon* 15 is based. It may concern the Vulgate, as scholars have argued, but some passages seem to be closer to Greek or Old Latin versions of 2 Maccabees 7. There also significant correspondences in content and motifs with the martyrdom as told in 4 Maccabees, which render it probable that the author of *Yosippon* also built on that version of the martyrdom. There are some correspondences between the rabbinic versions

63 SY 65 line 26; 67 lines 28 and 35; 89 lines 23, 26, 30, 66; cf. 79 lines 41–44; Dönitz, “Sefer Yosippon,” 228; Dönitz, “Historiography,” 959 with n. 34; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 250–253.

64 For another case study of the re-interpretation of Maccabean heroes in SY, see Bay, “Reinventing the Hammer.”

of the martyrdom and *Yosippon* 15, including verbal ones, but there is not enough evidence to conclude that the author used them as a source. The author frequently incorporates biblical vocabulary and biblical motifs, which may imply that he aimed to invite his readers to interpret the story also along biblical lines.

The final section of my analysis highlights important motifs of the story in *Sefer Yosippon* in comparison with other versions of the martyrdom. The most significant observation in this respect is that the role of the mother is expanded. She is clearly the central figure in *Yosippon* 15 and is called “the holy mother” (lines 41 and 88). It may be worthwhile to compare this with the reception of other female characters in the narrative of *Yosippon*, for example the Roman lady Paulina who was deceived by Mundus (SY 57) and Miriam who killed and cooked her own son during the siege of Jerusalem in 66–70 CE (SY 86),⁶⁵ all the more so because Saskia Dönitz observes that these female figures become even more important in later versions of *Yosippon*.⁶⁶ The mother is characterised as a strong woman by not showing any emotion or anxiety when she is confronted with the tortures of her sons (lines 42–43) and by the way she goes to her death (lines 87–91). In line with this characterisation the motif of pity for her sons is left out (cf. 2 Macc 7:27). Her speech after the death of six of her sons reflects a particular focus on the bodies involved (lines 41–49). It is striking that in *Yosippon* 15 the mother alone defeats King Antiochus. And finally, the mother is also presented as the instructor of her sons.

The motivations of the martyrs for choosing death are mainly religious: they are ready to die for God or for God and his Torah (lines 5–6, 12, 30, 53, 64). A patriotic motivation is absent. The posthumous vindication of the mother and her seven sons is a much more prominent motif than the beneficial effect of their death, but it is indicated in rather general terms. *Sefer Yosippon* presupposes that the martyrs will be with God or the light that is with God until the resurrection at the end of times (lines 21–23; cf. lines 76–77).

All martyrs are presented as saints, they are called holy (SY 14 line 9; SY 15 lines 41, 69, 88). This epithet may be inspired by the commemoration of Christian martyrs as saints including the Maccabean martyrs. Another detail may also be explained by the assumption that the author was also familiar with Christian martyrdom traditions: the anticipation of the posthumous vindication of martyrdom with the imagery of a wedding feast (SY 15 lines 65–67). Both details may suggest that one of the aims of the author may have been to

65 For a detailed analysis of the various versions of the Miriam-Mary story from Josephus, BJ 6.201–213 up to SY 86, see Bay, “Maria Story.”

66 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 50–61.

respond to Christian martyrdoms, to reclaim the Maccabean martyrs for the Jews and show with a fresh rendering of their martyrdoms that the Jews had their own highly admirable saintly figures.

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Killing Matthias: *De excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (כח)

Carson Bay

Sefer Yosippon's most important source was the text we call *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*),¹ or 'Pseudo-Hegesippus.'² *Yosippon* used *De excidio* as its primary source for the latter half of its storyline (Chapters 51–89).³ It was on the basis of *De excidio* that *Yosippon* scripted its most important narrative moments from the later Second Temple Period and the Roman-Jewish War: examples include the Battle of Jotapata and Josephus' famous speech there (*DEH* 3.8–18 ≈ *SY* 66–67), Josephus' speech to the Jews on behalf of Titus before the walls of Jerusalem (*DEH* 5.15–16 ≈ *SY* 78), the terrible *teknophagia* episode where the beleaguered Maria eats her infant son (*DEH* 5.40 ≈ *SY* 86),⁴ and the final showdown on Mount Masada (*DEH* 5.53 ≈ *SY* 89). *De excidio* is a Latin and overtly Christian text. For a Hebrew-writing historian in the early Medieval period to use this enthusiastically anti-Jewish iteration of first-century Jewish history as its primary source is striking. More than a few scholars have wondered at this, usually concluding that *Yosippon* used *De excidio* because its author had no other choice: he must not have had access to another account of these events, for example the Latin translation of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* (widely accessible at the time of *Yosippon*'s

1 All Latin of *De excidio* herein is taken from Ussani, *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri v*, and all translations thereof are my own. The Hebrew text of *Yosippon* is borrowed from Börner-Klein & Zuber, *Josippon*, which reformats but largely reprints the standard critical text of Flusser, *The Josippon*. My sincere thanks to Dagmar Börner-Klein for providing me with a more user-friendly version of her Hebrew text. It should be noted in all this, however, that even Flusser's standard Hebrew text is not without need of emendation—the Hebrew text of *Yosippon*'s earliest version (as far as we know), i.e. Flusser's 'Rescension A,' is in need of real re-examination in light of many Cairo Genizah fragments antedating the earliest manuscripts; see Dönitz, "Josephus Torn to Pieces."

2 The foundational study is still Flusser, "Der Lateinische Josephus und der hebräische Josippon."

3 See Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 6, and Dönitz "Historiography Among Byzantine Jews," 956.

4 See Bay, "The 'Maria Story' in Greek, Latin, & Hebrew."

writing).⁵ Perhaps this is so. Perhaps not. In any case, what I will show here is that *Yosippon's* use of *De excidio* is complex, nuanced, and highly significant for understanding *Yosippon* as a literary and rhetorical work.⁶

Both *Sefer Yosippon* and Pseudo-Hegesippus are wildly understudied.⁷ This is just beginning to change. But even within this change, it must be said that very little work has been done by way of close comparison between the Hebrew text of *Yosippon* and the Latin of *De excidio*.⁸ In other words, there exists in the scholarship very little knowledge about how exactly *Yosippon* made use of its

5 Flusser, "Der Lateinische Josephus," 127 states that "Ob der Verfasser des Josippon das 'Bellum Judaicum' gelesen hat, ist ungewiß; er hat in diesem Buch höchstens geblättert. (...) Der Verfasser des Josippon hat also das Bellum Judaicum wohl kaum gelesen und die letzten vier Bücher der Antiquitates nicht gekannt." Rather, Flusser concludes that *Yosippon's* author apprehended the Latin *Antiquities* and *De excidio* together in a single manuscript ("Daß der Josephus unserem Verfasser in einem Kodex vorlag, konnten wir schon sehen"), as confirmed by the contents of *Yosippon* itself ("Aus Josippon kann man ersehen, daß dieser Kodex sechzehn von den zwanzig Büchern der Antiquitates und auch den Hegesippus enthalten hat"). Later, further musing appears in Flusser, "*Josippon*, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus," 392: "It seems that [*Yosippon's* author] also knew Josephus' *Jewish War* (in Latin translation), but this is by no means completely certain. If, indeed, he really read the original *Jewish War*, he only occasionally referred to it. He certainly did not use it as his main source, because he wrongly believed that the *Hegesippus* was also written by Josephus, and, thus, he was sure that he did not need Josephus' other book that dealt with the same subject. It is sure that he did not know the last four books of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*." Scholarship has progressed little beyond Flusser's cursory remarks. More recently, Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon (*Josippon*)," 384, states that "there is no definite evidence that the tenth-century author of *Sefer Yosippon* knew the other, more literal translation of *Jewish War* by Rufinus or even the Greek original. Parts of *Jewish War* that do not appear in *De excidio* are also missing from *Sefer Yosippon*" (384; N.b.—Rufinus did not produce the Latin translation proper of the *BJ*, though it was at times ascribed to him, as it was to Jerome and Ambrose according to Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning* 1.17.1). It should be noted that one can find small hints here and there that *SY* might well have known the Latin *BJ*.

6 As such, this essay contributes to a small but growing collection of scholarship that broaches this issue, although very rarely is *DEH* in particular the object of inquiry vis-à-vis *SY*. See, however, Bay, "The Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Identity Between Pseudo-Hegesippus & *Sefer Yosippon*."

7 They are still in that stage, that is familiar to scholars, in which virtually every essay on either or both works begins with some iteration of the statement: 'this text (these texts) have been largely ignored and is (are) significantly misunderstood. This needs to change; hence the present study ...'

8 See Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon," 387–388, whose epilogue on the history of scholarship on *SY* includes nothing on this subject. Some work has been done, sporadically. Flusser's critical edition and various essays, which constitute probably the most quantitatively significant efforts in this direction, tend to be cursory. For a partial bibliography of Flusser's output, see Lowe, "Bibliography of the Writings of David Flusser." A good overview of the older scholarship on *SY* (pre-1980) is Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, 57–74.

Latin Christian source-text and what this can tell us about *Yosippon* and what it does within the broader Josephan historiographical tradition.⁹ The present chapter is part of a larger study which seeks to map out this terrain comprehensively and in detail. Here I will use one chapter—*De excidio* 5.22 and its parallel in *Yosippon* 81—to illustrate the kinds of things that *Yosippon* does with *De excidio* and what this means for our understanding of *Yosippon* as a work which inserts itself into a contested milieu of late Second Temple history (when I speak of *Yosippon* in this paper, I am referring to Flusser’s ‘Recension A,’ i.e. his Hebrew text, the closest published text we have to the earliest version of the work; I do not refer to Flusser’s Recensions B and C). But this enterprise will not be purely descriptive. I have an argument. And, like *Yosippon*, in making my argument I seek to insert myself into a larger conversation.

In her 8-page introduction to *Sefer Yosippon* in the 2016 Wiley-Blackwell *Companion to Josephus*—the best introduction on the work to date—Saskia Dönitz makes this statement: “The Christian orientation of *De excidio* certainly posed a problem for the author of *Sefer Yosippon* and therefore he reworked his source.”¹⁰ I would put this another way. Rather than a problem, I suggest that *De excidio*’s Christian orientation provided *Yosippon*’s author with an **opportunity**, an opportunity not just to base his history in sources but to make a splash, to write a history that was original, unique, even controversial and edgy. *Yosippon*’s author was a Jew, writing in Hebrew and therefore apparently *for Jews*, and as such he was more or less taking Josephus back for *Jewish* cultural heritage and discourse for the first time in almost a millennium. Yet in so doing *Yosippon* infringes upon Christian territory: Josephus had been the purview of *Christian* historiography and literature up to that point. Thus,

9 Studies between *SY* and its sources have tended to concentrate, ironically, on areas other than a comparison between *SY* and its two primary sources, the Latin *AJ* and *DEH*. This must be due mostly to the fact that both of these Latin traditions are very rarely studied, and it is not easy to approach them. Early comparative studies include Reiner, “The Jewish War: Variations in the Historical Narratives in the Texts of Josephus and the *Yosippon*,” which, as its title suggests, compares *SY* to **Josephus’ Jewish War** (!). A similar endeavor, likewise usefully ambitious but methodologically problematic, is Sorscher, “A Comparison of Three Texts: The Wars, the *Hegesippus*, and the *Yosippon*,” which among other things uses William Whiston’s translation as its basis for *BJ*. While the Josephan tradition is *SY*’s largest source ‘data-bank,’ it does help to remember that “Das *Sefer Yosippon* bietet jedoch weniger eine hebräische Übersetzung des Josephus, als vielmehr eine Kompilation seiner ins Lateinische übersetzten Schriften mit Auszügen aus der Vulgata und anderen nichtjüdischen Quellen,” Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 5.

10 Dönitz, “*Sefer Yosippon*,” 385. I think Dönitz would agree; what she means by “problem” is that *SY*’s author had to change Christian aspects of *DEH* to render it palatable for his own purposes.

I argue that *Yosippon* was not just an extension of, but an improvement upon and a response to, its most important source. This argument in itself is nothing new—far from it.¹¹ Yet this argument is most often painted in broad strokes, whereas here I seek to demonstrate its validity through fine-grained comparative textual analysis. This essay does not just say but shows, not in general but in detail, how it is that vis-à-vis *De excidio*, *Yosippon* may be considered as something between counter-history and alternative history.¹² I make this illustration by comparing two versions of a story told in both *Sefer Yosippon* and *De excidio*. Next I introduce that story.

1 Simon bar Giora, Scourge of Jerusalem in Josephus, *De excidio*, and *Sefer Yosippon*

In Book 4 of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* one reads of civil war in Judea and Rome respectively. The infamous 'Year of the Four Emperors' in Rome more or less parallels devolutions to the East as the Judean rebel John moves from his hometown of Gischala to Jerusalem, there to wreak havoc and tyrannize the populace. As Steve Mason explains in his excellent introductory essay, while John "dominates the first half of Book 4 as key 'tyrant,'"

The latter half belongs to tough-guy Simon bar Giora, whom the surviving notables welcome [into Jerusalem] as the only conceivable antidote to John's poison—inadvertently creating a more intractable problem.¹³

11 A good recent discussion of this point appears in Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, who recognizes sY's attempt to "reclaim Josephus as a Jewish historian" (13–14) and who speaks broadly of sY's use of *DEH* as a kind of response in line with my argument here (21–22), positing that "*Yosippon* ... engages Hegesippus polemically and transforms this belligerent yet elegiac Christian narrative about the figure of Josephus and the fate of Jerusalem into its own diasporic account of Jewish self-destruction and heroic sacrifice within the temporal frame of the Roman Empire."

12 Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, defines counter-history thus: "Counterhistories form a specific genre of history written since antiquity; it is curious that they have not been identified as such in treatises on historiography sooner. Their function is polemical. Their method consists in the systematic exploitation of the adversary's most trusted sources against their grain—'die Geschichte gegen den Strich kämmer'" (36). This is a fair way to describe how *Yosippon* uses its Classical and/or Christian sources. Interestingly, Funkenstein gives *Yosippon* short shrift and dismisses it as a late, alien, and derivative contribution to Jewish historiography (15).

13 Mason, "Josephus's *Judean War*," 19.

“Intractable problem” is right and, if anything, an understatement. Said ‘tough guy’—Simon in *De excidio*, Simeon in *Sefer Yosippon*—whom Josephus says was invited into Jerusalem as its savior, became its worst enemy, slaughtering a number of fellow Jews, including a certain Matthias (Amitai in *Yosippon*), who had been delegated to invite him into Jerusalem in the first place. Josephus summarizes Simon’s reign of terror as an unjust and murderous takeover, and the tragedy of this turn of events is epitomized in the slaughter of an innocent supporter of Simon (!) along with three of his four sons.¹⁴ This short account becomes much longer in *De excidio* and, by proxy, in *Sefer Yosippon*. Ps-Hegesippus puts a long speech into Matthias’ mouth before his death—one of two speeches original to *De excidio*¹⁵—decriing Simon’s injustice and musing over a host of issues which effectively embody the Jewish plight. *Yosippon* ‘records’ the same speech. But it is *not* the same.

By tracking some key differences between this speech in *De excidio* and *Sefer Yosippon* respectively, we gain a representative glimpse into how *Yosippon* used, changed, and thereby replaced Ps-Hegesippus’ version of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Roman-Jewish War. In particular, (1) I will show how *Yosippon* infuses his version of this story with a kind of scriptural poetics corresponding to the Hebrew Bible which renders the episode, and the larger saga to which it belongs, a kind of sequel to (or moment within) the broader Jewish scriptural tradition; (2) I will show how *Yosippon* theologizes Matthias’ speech via the use of the divine name and otherwise, thereby creating a more sacred and ‘religious’ framework for the episode and recasting its Jewish actors as a covenant people beholden to their agreement with God; and (3) I will show how Matthias (arguably a proxy for the Jews) comes off looking less guilty and more righteous in *Yosippon* than in *De excidio*, an ethical shift in the narrative that signals *Yosippon*’s Jewish transvaluation of its Christian source narrative. But do not mistake this case study for an incidental, one-off occurrence in *Yosippon*. The ways in which *Yosippon* changes its source here are paradigmatic of some of the changes it makes to *De excidio*’s version of events across its narrative.

2 A Poetics of the Hebrew Bible in *Sefer Yosippon* 81

After arranging for Simon’s entry into Jerusalem, Matthias, accused of treachery, ends up the victim of Simon’s savagery. Nor is he allowed to defend himself.

14 See Josephus *BJ* 4.527–532; cf. 4.574–576, a recap, and a note in 6.114.

15 Along with *DEH* 5.2, which does have a very short precedent in *BJ* 5.19–20. See Bell, “Historiographical Analysis,” 134, and also 33, 139, 153, 219.

But where did the accusation come from? Ps-Hegesippus provides no information here: he uses passive verbs to say that Matthias was “accused of betrayal” and “suspected of conspiracy” and thus that “an accusation arose against him.”¹⁶ But this is how *Sefer Yosippon* 81 begins: “At that time *the sons of Belial* came and reported to Simeon, saying, ‘Behold, Amitai the high priest, who brought you into this city, is seeking to defect to the Roman camp.’” Not only does this create a better story—putting actors together with actions—but it frames the entire episode in the unmistakable quasi-technical jargon of the Jewish Scriptures: the phrase *בני הבליעל* describes violent, evil, sacrilegious people throughout the Hebrew Bible,¹⁷ perhaps with under- or other-worldly connotations at times.¹⁸ By using it *Yosippon* baptizes this episode *ab initio* into a distinctively biblical parlance.¹⁹

- 16 DEH 5.22.1: “[Matthias] was convicted of no crime before him but rather was accused of betrayal and suspected of conspiracy (*insimulatum prodicionis et suspectum consilii*), which, in his custom of being concerned for the common welfare and free of guile, he was believed to have suggested to a close friend. ... Thus when an accusation arose against him (*insimulatum apud se*) that he had intentionally come to an accord with and sided with the Romans, it was commanded that he be seized along with his sons.” PH basically follows Josephus here, though Thackeray’s translation thereof is misleading in implying that Simon is the subject of numerous active verbs, which in the Greek he is not: see BJ 5.30 (trans. Thackeray, LCL): “And now he had him brought up, accused him of siding with the Romans, and, without even granting him an opportunity of defence, condemned him to death” (ἀχθέντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ κατηγορούμενον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν κατακρίνει μὲν θανάτῳ). Simon is the subject of exactly one verb (κατακρίνει), directed at the brought forward (ἀχθέντα) and accused (κατηγορούμενον) Matthias.
- 17 The meaning of the term is, and has for some time now, been rather opaque; see Hogg, “Belial’ in the Old Testament.” The term is by no means restricted to the Jewish Bible, but appears in later literature like the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, often “as a name of Satan.” In the Hebrew Bible, however, Hogg suggested that the term should “in no case ... be treated as a proper name or merely transliterated” inasmuch as its “various interpretations” (as laid out in BDB) are “all based on its etymological meaning of ‘worthlessness’” (58). See further the standard study of Thomas, “*b^ellyaa’al* in the Old Testament.” Perhaps most helpful is the conclusion of Emerton, “Sheol and the Sons of Belial,” 100: “*b^ellyaa’al* does not mean ‘hell.’ While the view that it is a word for Sheol is not impossible, it is more probable that it means ‘destructiveness’ or the like.”
- 18 Otero, “Some Philological Notes on the Sons of Belial and the Septuagint.”
- 19 The phrase *בני הבליעל* is common in *Yosippon*, appearing also in 16, 65 (×2), 69 (no less than 10 ten times, remarkably, in reference to John of Gischala’s followers), 71; the basically congruent phrase *איש (ה)בליעל* (pl. *אנשי [ה]בליעל*) is also frequent: see *Yosippon* 4, 11, 15 (×3), 24, 30, 31, 41 (*איש רע ובליעל*), 42, 60, 65, 67, 69 (×7—interestingly, the brigands in this passage are at first referred to as *בני הבליעל* [ten times], and only thereafter as *אנשי הבליעל*; that is, there is no overlap in the terminology in this passage, by far the densest collection of this phrasing in all of *Yosippon*), 71. Cf. Deut 13:13, the first appearance of *בליעל* in the Hebrew Bible, which speaks of both “men” and “sons,” though only the latter is modified: “Some men, sons of Belial, came forth” (*יצאו אנשים בני-בליעל*). The concurrence of *איש/אנשים*, *בני*, and *בליעל* in the Hebrew Bible is actually relatively common:

And the theme continues. Again near the beginning of the chapter one reads of Matthias' pathetic plea to be put to death before witnessing the deaths of his sons. Simon does not acquiesce. *De excidio* puts this rejection in characteristically stylized Latin: "But he [Matthias] did not obtain what piety itself would have demanded even if he had not asked."²⁰ *Sefer Yosippon*, in turn, renders this in biblicalized Hebrew: "But Simeon's heart was hardened and he did not listen to his [Amitai's] plea."²¹ Even the casual reader of the Bible may recall the 'hardening of the heart' (יחזק לב, and sometimes את־לב) as the quintessential faux pas of Pharaoh in the Exodus narrative: "Pharaoh hardened his heart" or "the heart of Pharaoh was hardened" against God's command through Moses, as one reads throughout the early chapters of the Book of Exodus. In fact, several passages in Exodus, for example 7:22 and 8:19,²² describe Pharaoh's actions in language strikingly similar to what one finds describing Simeon here in *Yosippon*. By its language, *Yosippon* is transforming this episode into a Bible story.

Many, many linguistic biblicalisms of this kind appear in *Sefer Yosippon* 81.²³ To mention just a few more notable examples, a few lines later Amitai bemoans

Judg 19:22; 20:13; 2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kgs 21:10; 21:13; 2 Chr 13:7 (cf. Prov 6:12; 16:27) That *Yosippon's* author understands "Belial" (בליעל) as a pure adjective rather than a substantive is hinted at by the non-use of the construct ה- in many instances of the construction איש (ה)בליעל and is confirmed by his parallel use of בליעל and רע ("evil") in referring to "an evil and violent man" (איש רע ובליעל) in 41 (language from 1 Sam 30:22). Cf. the reference to "evil counselors and violent men" (יועצי הרשע ואנשי בליעל) in 53. "Evil people" (רעים) and אנשי בליעל are also paralleled in 60. Interestingly, John of Gischala, described as איש הבליעל, stands alongside Simon bar Giora, described as אִישׁ דָּמִים וְבוֹן בְּלִיעֵל in 71 (language peculiar to 2 Sam 16:7). Simeon alone is identified in the singular as בן בליעל in all of *Yosippon*. Our passage, *Yosippon* 81, is the last in the work to use the term בליעל.

20 DEH 5.22.1: *Non impetravit quod ipsa pietas exigebat, etiamsi non rogaret.*

21 ויחזק לב שמעון ולא הקשיב תחינתו. For the form הקשיב cf. Ps 66:19; Jer 23:18.

22 Exod 7:22 (NASB): "But the magicians of Egypt did the same with their secret arts; and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he did not listen to them (ויחזק לב־פרעה ולא־שמע), as the LORD had said." Exod 8:19: "Then the magicians said to Pharaoh, 'This is the finger of God.' But Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he did not listen to them (ויחזק לב־פרעה ולא־שמע אלהם), as the LORD has said."

23 Notable occurrences of biblical language also include a phrase in Amitai's prayer about Simeon that the LORD would "Let him fall into the hands of those seeking his life;" the phrase "those seeking his life" (מבקשי נפשו) picks up the particular argot of the Psalms (35:4; 38:12; 40:14; 63:9; 70:2) and Jeremiah (19:7; 21:7; 22:5; 34:20–21; 44:30; 46:26; [49:37]). See also 1 Sam 25:29. This passage also draws on some rare terminology of the Hebrew Bible: when Amitai discusses how the king of Babylon caused Zedekiah to continue living after the death of his sons, he states that he did so "that he might weep while enraged in his heart, for he was enraged on account of his sons." The phrase "enraged in his heart" (חום לבבו) can also be rendered "was hot in his heart," and repeats a rare construction

his letting Simeon into Jerusalem, complaining that whereas he was hoped to be a help, he became “a stumbling block and snare.”²⁴ This line, nowhere in *De excidio*, picks up the language of Isa 8:14, language famous not only from Jewish but also from Christian Scripture (Rom 9:33 and 1 Pet 2:8).²⁵ Amitai then proclaims himself worthy of being “stoned with stones,” a reference to a biblical, communally-based form of capital punishment also unmentioned by Ps-Hegesippus.²⁶ Finally, contemplating his fate, at one point Amitai tells Simeon that “by your hand I descend in grief to Sheol,”²⁷ שְׂאוֹל being a famously mysterious concept of the afterlife particular to the Hebrew Bible;²⁸ Matthias’ particular phrasing comes from a statement of the patriarch Jacob in Gen 42:38.²⁹

found in Deut 19:6. Also, when Amitai says that by being slain with the same sword as his sons their blood will mingle, which will be “a medication and a soothing balm” (לְתְרוּפָה וְלִמְרַח מְנוּחָה) to him, he uses a term from Ezek 47:12, תְּרוּפָה, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible, alongside the much more common “balm” or “consolation” (מְנוּחָה), though in this case with the rare and etymologically unclear מֵרַח (“to spread [balm], to apply [cream], to oil”); Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 738–739 (and 737).

- 24 Amitai, speaking about Simeon, in SY 81: “For I said, ‘perhaps he will be of assistance to this city,’ but he became a stumbling block and a snare (לְמַכְשׁוֹל וְלְמוֹקֵשׁ) to us and to this entire city.” Compare this to Isa 8:14 (adapted from NASB), where the prophet is speaking of the LORD: “Then He shall become a sanctuary; / But to both the houses of Israel, a stone to strike and a rock for stumbling (וְלִצְוֹר מַכְשׁוֹל), / And a trap and a snare (לְמוֹקֵשׁ) for the inhabitants of Jerusalem.”
- 25 Rom 9:33 (NASB): “Just as it is written, ‘Behold, I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense (λίθον προσκόμματος και πέτραν σκανδάλου / *lapidem offensionis et petram scandali*), and he who believes in him will not be disappointed.” Cf. 1 Pet 2:7–8 (NASB): “This precious value, then, is for you who believe; but for those who disbelieve, ‘The stone which the builders rejected, this became the very corner stone,’ and ‘a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense’ (λίθος προσκόμματος και πέτρα σκανδάλου / *lapis offensionis et petra scandali*); for they stumble because they are disobedient to the word, and to this they were also appointed.”
- 26 משפט היה לי להסקל באבנים. See, e.g., Deut 13:11; 17:5; 22:24; see Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 901.
- 27 “And now, behold, the vengeance of the LORD has fallen upon my gray hair, for by your hand I descend into the gloom of Sheol (ועתה הנה נקמת יי תחול על שיבתי כי מידך ארדה) (ביגון שאולה).”
- 28 See Bar, “Grave Matters.”
- 29 Also with a form of the verb ירד (“descend”) and in reference to “my gray hair (or old age)” (שיבתי), when Jacob is addressing his remaining sons about the potential loss of Benjamin. Gen 42:38 (NASB): “But Jacob said, ‘my son shall not go down with you; for your brother is dead, and he alone is left. If harm should befall him on the journey you are taking, then you will bring my gray hair down to Sheol in sorrow’ (והורדתם את שיבתי ביגון) (שאולה).

All in all, the language of *Yosippon's* iteration of this episode is biblical at its baseline. This is an important point for my argument, to which I will return in my conclusion.

3 Theologization: Yahweh, Temple, and Covenant in *Sefer Yosippon* 81

By my count, God (*Deus*) is mentioned explicitly exactly four times in *De excidio* 5.22.1: thrice in the genitive (twice modifying *populus*—the “people of God”—once *altaria*), and once in the vocative, as Matthias prays: “o Highest God” (*Summe deus*). Four mentions. In addition, *dominus* is used once to refer to God.³⁰ In *De excidio*, this is not a divinity-saturated passage. Conversely, God is named no fewer than twenty-one times in *Sefer Yosippon* 81,³¹ seventeen of which reference the author’s pietized version of the divine name, the double-yod (י״).³²

At a basic semantic and lexical level, God is far more present in *Yosippon's* version of this story.

But this is not the full story. A closer look at how the mention of God functions in *Sefer Yosippon* shows that this divinification actually changes the passage. God, or Yahweh, rarely appears as an actor here. Most frequently, the moniker י״ appears as a modifier specifying some aspect of Jerusalem’s Temple and/or religious rites/status as “of the LORD.” Thus we find reference to the י״ היכל (the “Temple of the LORD”) four times, and the י״ חג (“holy day of the LORD”), י״ כהני (“priests of the LORD”), and י״ עם (“people of the LORD”) twice

TABLE 1 Divine mentions in *Sefer Yosippon* 81 and *De excidio* 5.22.1

	<i>Sefer Yosippon</i> 81	<i>De excidio</i> 5.22.1
God (אלהים / <i>Deus</i>)	4	4
Lord (אדוני / <i>Dominus</i>)	0	1
Yahweh (י״ / -)	17	0
Total divine mentions	21	5

30 In the genitive, modifying *sacerdotes*: “the priests of the Lord.”

31 God is mentioned as אלהים thrice, twice in the construct, and once as the shorter אל.

32 To be fair, *DEH* would generally use the Latin *Dominus* as the correlate to the Hebrew יהוה or י״, but I add אדוני to the list here to convey all the terms that *SY's* author could have used. Note that the divine name fluctuates between manuscripts throughout the *SY* text tradition. Thanks to Saskia Dönitz for reminding me of this.

each. Likewise, of course, Jerusalem is “the city of the LORD” (עיר יי). Divinity appears as personality only a few times in this passage: namely at its end, when Amitai “cries out to the LORD” (ויצעק אמיחיי אל יי) and addresses him as “o LORD my God, exalted and awesome” (יי אלהי הנשגב והנורא) and, in a similar vein, “o LORD my God, the Exalted One who dwells on high” (יי אלהי הנשגב שוכן מרום) (These are biblical forms of address, and liturgical formulae, by the way).³³ It is not, therefore, that God is overtly active across this passage, but rather that the loaded language of ‘Godness,’ if you will, landscapes the episode’s narrative terrain: city, Temple, people, and time are all linked explicitly to the Jewish God, a linguistic and conceptual novelty within *Yosippon* which finds no correlate in *De excidio*, its source. Compared to *De excidio* 5.22.1, the language of divinity in *Yosippon* 81 restructures and reframes the entire narrative episode.

The most important upshot of this semantic divinization has to do with how it frames the Jews mentioned in the narrative, past and present. When comparing his own plight to that of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons, famous from 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees (see Jan Willem van Henten’s

33 The first combines the *niphal* of שגב (נשגב = “to be exalted”) known from Ps 148:13 and Isa 12:4 and 33:5 with the *niphal* of ירא (נורא = “to be fearful, dreadful”), familiar from Gen 28:17 onwards as a common term denoting God’s dreadfulness. The latter address is a partial quote from Isa 33:5: “The LORD is exalted, for he dwells on high; he has filled Zion with justice and righteousness” (נשגב יהוה כי שכן מרום מלא ציון משפט וצדקה). Not incidentally, Amitai is here asking God to “judge (שפוט) and rebuke.” One should note that, in general, a substantial percentage of *SY*’s language simply happens to be that of the Hebrew Bible, and thus tracing ‘biblical’ language in *SY* can open itself to the charge of pedantry. (Nb—Peter Lehnhardt should be consulted in all studies of *SY*’s language.) Still, it is imperative for readers of *SY* to pay attention to the text’s biblical language and thematic allusions, as these can tell us a great deal about how a particular passage was reworked, or designed to be read, by its author. Is it significant, for example, that *SY* speaks of the “violence (חמס) of Simeon” in explaining his slaughtering of a number of high priests along with Amitai toward the end of our passage? The term חמס, after all, has a biblical ring of ‘original violence’ to it, it being a major problem precipitating the flood in Gen 6, where “the earth was filled with violence” (ותמלא הארץ חמס; 6:11) and thus God says the same thing to Noah in explaining his plan to destroy the world by flood: “The end of all flesh has come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them” (כי־מלאה הארץ חמס; 6:13). Is it over-interpretation to read the primordial connotations of this term in the Hebrew Bible as informing Simeon’s description in *SY* 81, perhaps as the kind of quint-essentially violent individual whose actions resonate with actions which literally led to the world’s destruction in the ancient past according to scriptural tradition? Perhaps. At the very least, I think we must pay close attention to the scriptural resonances in *SY*’s language, and in this I follow the lead of Steven Bowman, whose research initially inspired me to this inclination. See, e.g., Bowman, “Jewish Responses to Byzantine Polemics,” 107–108; Bowman, “Mock Aqedah or Mashiah?” Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon: History and Midrash;” and most recently see Bowman, “*Sefer Yosippon*: Reevaluations,” 60–64.

chapter in the present volume), Amitai notes how these paradigmatic Jewish martyrs “died for the LORD and for his covenant” (ימותו על יי ועל בריתו).³⁴ On the contrary, speaking of himself, Amitai bemoans that “the vengeance of the LORD has fallen upon my gray head” (נקמת יי תחול על שיבתי).³⁵ In this way the narrative intimates to the reader that the Maccabean mother and Amitai, while both slain by wicked overlords alongside and after their sons, are not cut from the same cloth. The Maccabees were killed as martyrs, Amitai murdered for his mistake. The former died *for* the LORD, Amitai implicitly dies *because of* the LORD. As I have shown elsewhere, *De excidio* makes this juxtaposition painfully clear, showing over and over again in 5.22 that while the Maccabean mother and her sons were martyrs—this is the only place in all of *De excidio* where the term *martyres* appears—Matthias is simply another first-century Jew reaping what he has sown.³⁶ However, *Sefer Yosippon* complicates this binary, and these two uses of the divine name help illustrate precisely how.

By describing both the deaths of the Maccabean martyrs and that of Amitai in terms of relationship to Yahweh—something *De excidio* does not do—*Sefer Yosippon* implicitly classes all these victims of murder within the same demographic continuum. In *Yosippon* 81, the slain are framed in relation to the LORD, and thus the entire scene takes on the hues of theodicy. This coloring shines forth all the more brightly when compared to *De excidio*'s account, where it is the Roman argot of patriotism and nationalism that shades the scene, Matthias over and over again lamenting the offense he had done *to his country* (*patria*), and to his fellow citizens (*ciuibus*), by way of betrayal (*proditio*). It is as

34 Several manuscripts contain the variant “and they died for the LORD and for his Torah” (תורתו)—namely ק,ד,י. Not coincidentally, perhaps, this phrasing—death “for the LORD and for his Torah” (על יי ועל תורתו)—is used to describe these same people twice toward the beginning of *SY* 15 (טו)—see van Henten’s essay in this volume (chapter 10). (*SY* 15 also twice mentions the death of these martyrs as simply “for the LORD” [על יי].) Such martyrological formulae are fundamental for *SY*'s basic vision of historical Jewish identity, demonstrated nowhere more clearly than near the very end of the work (that is, what Flusser calls “Recension A”) where the Jewish rebel holdouts atop Mount Masada—who die not in mass suicide but in battle against the Romans in *SY* (89)!—are described thus in their final line: “And they died for the LORD and for his sanctuary” (על יי ועל ימותו על יי ועל). This is effectively the final line of the narrative. See here Grundmann, “Ist nicht an einem solchen Tag der Tod besser als das Leben?,” who nevertheless does not deal with *SY*'s source for the Masada passage, namely *DEH* 5.53.

35 The phrase “vengeance of the LORD” (נקמת יהוה) is a construction from the Book of Jeremiah, particularly Chapters 50 and 51 (50:15, 28; 51:11)—several lexical idiosyncrasies of this chapter of *SY* resonate with Jeremiah’s language—but see also Num 31:3. The phrase יי ועל נקמת appears only here in all of *SY*, though נקמה (“vengeance”) is itself not a rare word therein.

36 Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 157–194.

though this scene has been filtered through two different voices in *De excidio* and *Yosippon* respectively, the former the voice of Roman political discourse and the latter the voice of the Jewish Bible and its covenantal vernacular. This embodies a defining difference between *Yosippon* and its major source, here crystallized in a key scene of the narrative. Inasmuch as this scene has to do with the presentation of Matthias'/Amitai's guilt and fate, it leads us to our last point.

4 From Matthias to Amitai: Redeeming *De excidio* 5.22 in *Sefer Yosippon* 81

One of the most obvious conclusions to which the reader of *De excidio* 5.22 must inexorably come is that Matthias, for all his lamenting, is in some sense a guilty party. Over and over again Ps-Hegesippus has Matthias confess his crime and proclaim himself deserving of punishment.³⁷ Comparing this motif to Amitai's self-presentation in *Sefer Yosippon* is tricky. At first glance, Amitai's speech in *Yosippon* appears to present the same story: he begins by saying that he should be considered a murderer just like Simeon (נחשבתי גם אני לרוצח) because he had brought the tyrant into the city, and that his fate and that of his sons had come from his very own hand (מידִי).³⁸ As in *De excidio*, so

37 Consider the following statements that pepper Matthias' speech in *DEH* 5.22.1: "I deserve this, I confess, and I do not exonerate myself of guilt (*Merui, fateor, nec culpam excuso*) ... We who sought a defender are culpable before our country (*rei sumus patriae*) ... Rightly do we suffer the punishment for imprudence (*recte quidem soluimus poenam imprudentiae*) ... there is nothing I could have done worse (*nihil grauius facere potui*) than what I have done in placing you upon our necks ... in this I was a traitor to my homeland (*in eo patriae reus fuerim*) ... I owe a death sentence to the people (*debuerim ego ciuibus mortem*) ... I owe the punishment of betrayal to the country (*debuerim patriae poenam proditionis*) ... I multiply my own crimes (*coaceruo crimina mea*): I welcomed gangs into our native city, I armed your fury, I prepared this widespread destruction because of some folly of old age. I recognize the imprudence of [this] mindless stage of life ... We must ameliorate our shame with confession, since we are not able to dismiss our sin by denying it (*Confessione leuemus pudorem, quoniam negando peccatum exuere non possumus*) ... Therefore I pay to you, o country, the punishments that I owe (*Pendo igitur tibi, patria, debitas poenas*) ... I deserve it, I confess (*Merui, fateor*), I who was unable to see that John was deceptive and who elected for you to be armed. O, rash old age!"

38 Consider the following statements that Amitai (= Matthias) makes in his speech in *SY* 81: "My sons, I myself brought this murderer into this city, for which reason I am to be considered a murderer just like him (נחשבתי גם אני לרוצח כמוהו). ... For this has come to me and to you from mine own hand (מידִי). ... For I have sinned against God and against His people and against the holy city (אנכי חטאתי לאלהים ולעמו ולעיר הקודש) ... But all of this is accounted to me, as if I had done it (והכל נחשב לי כמו אני עשיתי), on account of

here: Amitai is culpable. But he is not culpable in the same way. A closer comparison between *De excidio* 5.22 and *Yosippon* 81 reveals that the latter's Amitai represents something of a redemption of the former's Matthias.

In *Sefer Yosippon* 81, from the moment Amitai begins speaking until he makes his final utterance (just before he dies) comprises by my count 1,284 Hebrew words. The same portion of text in *De excidio* contains 1,427 Latin terms.³⁹ Even allowing for variance in word-count attendant to the respective grammatical and syntactical necessities of Hebrew and Latin,⁴⁰ *De excidio*'s version of Matthias' speech is a bit longer. Yet it is not the absolute size of each discourse that matters here, but their relative arrangements. In *Yosippon* 81, Amitai makes a critical statement very early on in his speech. He quickly follows up the admission of his culpability with the statement: "But indeed, I did not bring him into this city from my own love for him, but rather *all the priests and the people sent me to bring him hither*."⁴¹ This statement begins with the sixty-sixth word of out Amitai's mouth, less than six percent (5.6%) of the way through the passage containing his speech. In *Yosippon*, in other words, Amitai's guilt is mitigated right away with the supplemental information that he did not bring Simeon into the city on his own volition, but at the behest of "all the priests and the people" (כל הכהנים והעם). Amitai may have made a mistake, but he was not alone.

Things are a little different in *De excidio* 5.22. There, Matthias does not make this claim at the beginning of his speech. He does briefly pass from the first-person singular to the first-person plural, perhaps implicitly implicating others along with him for bringing Simon into Jerusalem.⁴² At the

the fact that I brought you into this city. ... And now, behold, the vengeance of the LORD has fallen upon my gray head (יִתְחַוֵּל עָלַי שֵׂיבִי) ..."

39 Counting the full sentences that, in each work, introduce Matthias'/Amitai's first and final words respectively.

40 This is complicated by Latin's lack of a definite article, Hebrew's aggressive prefixing and suffixing, and a great many other obvious but important differences between the languages.

41 וגם אני לא הביאותיו אל העיר הזאת מאהבתי אותו כי כל הכהנים והעם שלחוני להביאו הנה.

42 In what can be counted as the first paragraph or section of his speech, Simon moves from "I" to "we/us" and back again to "I." This section runs: "*I have summoned (arcessiui) one who is worse. Simon was sought for help and, having been turned to the killing of his own country, he has brought diligent advisors up on charges. We who sought a defender are culpable before our country (Rei sumus patriae qui defensorem quaesiuius).* Rightly do *we suffer (soluimus)* the punishment for imprudence, though not for perfidy. Simon himself absolves *us* by killing *us*, *he who claims that it was not granted him by me but was sought by the will of the country* that he should be an aid against the savagery of John as soon as he arrived and led in the Idumeans. *We believed (Putabamus)* that in putting the two of them together the common people would be free. Who would believe that *I did not*

same time, *Simon* implies that it was not Matthias alone who invited him into Jerusalem—rather, Simon “claims that he was sought by the will of the country” (*qui pronuntiat non sibi a me donatam sed patriae contuitu petitem*). But this is not the same as the straightforward statement made by Amitai in *Yosippon*. In *De excidio*, this statement does appear—but much later. There, right before discussing the Maccabean martyrs, Matthias addresses his sons as they prepare to enter into the afterlife:

Nevertheless, because you are innocent, for this reason better lodging-places will be selected for you than if I *myself*, who summoned *Simon*, should precede you. That embassy weighs me down, even though *it was commanded by the citizens, accepted by a striving populace*. Go on ahead, therefore, sons, treading that celestial path with a purer footprint.⁴³

For our purposes, what is important is that in *De excidio* 5.22 this statement comes 689 words into the speech—nearly halfway through (48.3% of the way, to be specific). Let us put this in perspective: in both *De excidio* 5.22 and *Yosippon* 81, Matthias/Amitai makes a long speech just before the rebel leader Sim(e)on unjustly executes him and his sons. In *Yosippon*'s version, one of the first things Amitai says is that he was sent by the priests and the people to bring Simeon into Jerusalem; his was not a lone act. In *De excidio*'s version, this information—the only information that helps mitigate Matthias' self-proclaimed guilt—is not forthcoming until the speech is half over. What are we to make of this difference?

Here is my argument: this difference points to a discrepancy in the ways in which *Sefer Yosippon* and *De excidio* evaluate and present Amitai/Matthias on the spectrum from guilt to innocence. That is, *Yosippon* redeems to some extent the Matthias constructed in *De excidio*. *Yosippon*'s Amitai is by no means completely innocent: by allowing Simeon into Jerusalem, he has effectively damned the local populace, God's people, along with God's city and Temple. However, this Amitai is not as thoroughly and intensively culpable as Ps-Hegesippus' Matthias. One could even make the argument that, implicitly, he is not all that guilty on *Yosippon*'s telling at all: if not only the people, but

bring (non ... me ... detulisse) this to you out of fondness but reckoning it to be the more tolerable of evils, lest you should kill? But why should I speak (loquor) as if I am making excuses (excusem) for a crime?"

43 *Tamen quod innoxii estis, eo meliora vobis hospitia deferentur, quam si ipse accersitor Simonis praeuenirem. Grauat me illa legatio licet a ciuibus mandata, petente populo suscepta. Praecedite ergo, filii, mundiore supernum iter carpentes uestigio.*

the people *and the priests* bid you do something on behalf of the whole, what else are you going to do?

In case this argument seems tenuous at this point—we are after all talking about long, complicated speeches in two languages, which are not identical—let me introduce some supporting evidence. One of the more interesting features of Amitai's/Matthias' speech is his mention of the Maccabean martyrs ("Hasmoneans" in *Yosippon*).⁴⁴ When Matthias introduces these ancestral *exempla* in *De excidio*, this is what he says:

So also the Maccabees went before their mother, but they [went] to reward, we to punishment.

Et Macchabaei matrem praeuenerunt, sed illi ad praemium, nos ad supplicium.

According to Ps-Hegesippus, the outlook for Matthias and his sons is bleak—they can expect a very different experience in the hereafter from what the Maccabees found.⁴⁵ However one wants to read *supplicium* as a description of their post-mortem lot, the prognosis is not good. In *Yosippon*, however, this juxtaposition is notably softened. There we read:

For it was done like this long ago, in the days of the Hasmoneans—the woman who sent seven sons before her. And they went and prepared a resting place for themselves and for their mother. ... They were slain by the cruelties of Antiochus, but we by the cruelties of Simeon. And would that we also could be with them in one resting place! But if we should not be able to come into their resting place, might we yet be their neighbors. For they died in their righteousness, but we die in our naivete.

כי נעשתה כזאת מלפנים בימי החשמונים האשה אשר שלחה שבעה בנים לפני. וילכו ויכינו מלון להם ולאמם.... המה נהרגו באכזריות אנטיוכוס ואנחנו באכזריות שמעון. ומי יתן והיינו גם אנחנו עמהם במלון אחד! ואם לא נוכל לבוא אל מלונם נהיה להם לשכנים. כי המה מתו בצדקתם ואנחנו נמות בתומנו.

44 On the Maccabean tradition, including the Maccabean martyrs, in *Yosippon* see Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon' and the Greek Bible," and now also Bay, "Reinventing the Hammer."

45 Rightly does Somenzi, *Egesippo—Ambrogio*, 172 note that "il sommo sacerdote Mattia, conxannato a morte con i suoi figli da Simeone, introducendo nel suo discorso l'exemplum del martirio dei Sette Maccabei, esprime la consapevolezza di una profonda e sostanziale distanza da esso, pur nella somiglianza di certe condizioni esteriori."

In *Yosippon*'s comparison, Amitai and sons come off looking not so bad. In fact, one can read their portrayal here as downright positive. Just like the Hasmoneans were killed by the cruelty of a tyrant, so also are Amitai and his sons to be. Moreover, the juxtaposition between the Hasmoneans having died בצדקתם ("in their righteousness") and Amitai and sons dying בתומנו (which I have translated here "in our naivete") depicts the latter in better light than *De excidio* on even the most ungenerous reading. The Hebrew noun תם can mean "naivete, simplicity, innocence," but even more often in the Jewish Scriptures it refers to "completeness, fullness" or even "integrity." When Prov 19:1 states "Better is the poor man who walks in his integrity than he that is perverse in speech and is a fool," the term for "integrity" is תם (in the same construct we find in *Yosippon*: בתמו). This is not to say that *Yosippon* is having Amitai praise himself here, but it is to say that, compared to the Hasmoneans, *Yosippon*'s Amitai seems to be not nearly as condemnable as the Matthias of *De excidio* appears.

One could add further examples, but suffice it to say that in *Yosippon* 81 the condemnation and blame which Amitai is made to heap upon himself is considerably ameliorated from what we find in *De excidio* 5.22. What does this mean?

It is well known that Josephus walks a line in the *Bellum Judaicum* between condemning and blaming the various Jewish rebel groups and leaders for Judea's troubles and Jerusalem's destruction and depicting a noble, ancient, fundamentally peaceable Jewish people easily amenable to life under Roman *imperium*.⁴⁶ Such a narrative set-up made it all too easy for Ps-Hegesippus, the most influential paraphraser of Josephus, to nudge condemnation of Jewish *rebels* into a more sweeping condemnation of a rebellious Jewish *people*, damned not only for fomenting revolt against Rome but, even more so, for rejecting and killing God's would-be salvation for them, Jesus Christ.⁴⁷ *Sefer Yosippon*, however, takes more than a step back from this anti-Jewish bent. He fundamentally rewrites *De excidio*'s version of things to construct anew the nobility and consequent salvageability of the Jewish people writ large, therein returning to Josephus' initial impulse to condemn Jewish rebels for Jerusalem's and the Temple's fall while absolving the Jewish collective. Inasmuch as Matthias-turned-Amitai stands in for the non-rebel Jews in *De excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81, to that extent his portrayal illustrates this ideological difference between Ps-Hegesippus and the author of *Yosippon*. In *De excidio*, more

46 Discussed, e.g., throughout Klawans, *Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism*.

47 This is widely recognized, but see now Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History."

so than in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, the Jews are guilty, they deserve what they get; in *Yosippon*, this notion is noticeably mollified.

5 Conclusion

The three points I have made here concerning *Sefer Yosippon* 81 vis-à-vis *De excidio* 5.22 point to a comprehensible, overarching conceptual and rhetorical proclivity that characterizes *Yosippon's* use and rescripting of *De excidio's* narrative in general. There are a number of ways to frame this penchant. In conclusion, allow me to articulate two.

One way of reading *Sefer Yosippon's* reworking of *De excidio* (via the case-study of 81 versus 5.22 or otherwise) is as a transformation comprised of *underwriting* Hellenistic Judaism and *overwriting* the Classical-Christian Latinate tradition. By 'underwriting' I mean validating and affirming or endorsing, by 'overwriting' I mean rejecting and replacing. The Hellenistic-Jewish author Josephus presented a narrative of the later Second Temple period wherein the Jews were generally among the good guys, and the race possessed an innate virtue which the rebel leaders and fomenters of rebellion betrayed.⁴⁸ In this Josephus agrees with the Maccabean tradition. *Yosippon* 'underwrites' this tradition by restoring to his narrative a clearer distinction between the 'bad' rebel leaders and the fundamentally 'good' Jews-in-general—in *Yosippon* 81, Amitai's less-intensive self-blame and clearer (and quicker) semi-exoneration compared to *De excidio* 5.22 bears this out. So does the fact that the Jews are identified there as "the people of the LORD." That *De excidio* 5.22 is *Yosippon's* major, probably only source at this point in the narrative speaks to an 'overwriting' of the Romano-Christian take on the events of 70 CE. Matthias, the Jews, are not as culpable as that tradition made him/them out to be.

Another way of casting *Yosippon's* rewriting of *De excidio* in these chapters is as something between counter-history and alternative history. By "counter-history" I mean historiography that flies in the face of its source by directly contradicting important points therein. *Yosippon's* most stark move in this vein is in his rewriting of the Masada narrative in Book 89, but even *Yosippon* 81 betrays hints of counter-narrative upon close examination: were the Jews who died in 70 CE Jerusalem part of "the people of the LORD," as per *Yosippon*, or were they already explicitly *not* that people, as Ps-Hegesippus

48 But even they communicated at times the noble Jewish fear of death in their reckless abandon in battle and refusal to submit to what was perceived as illegitimate authority.

makes clear at several junctures in his narrative?⁴⁹ Perhaps a better way to view *Yosippon* (81) vis-à-vis *De excidio* (5.22), though, is as alternative history, a different version of the same events that communicates different things, implicitly and explicitly. It is responsive, as opposed to reactionary. Even where *Yosippon's* rewriting of *De excidio* seems slight and subtle, it is no less radical. Consider what we have just examined. First, we noted that *Yosippon* transforms the Latin vernacular of Ps-Hegesippus' Roman-Christian narrative into the unmistakable parlance of biblical Hebrew. This affects not only word choice but involves a selection of clauses, phrases, and allusions that restructure the passage such that it self-identifies as part of a Bible story, as it were: Jewish law, the Jewish covenant, and Jewish history combine to transform the episode into a kind of continuation of the Jews' sacred history. Second, and along the same lines, we marked that *Yosippon* imbues this chapter with overt God language, only a fraction of which is represented in its Latin source. By way of frequent reference to Yahweh, and a few times to "God" (אלהים), *Yosippon* resituates the ontology of the imagined scenario in first-century Jerusalem: unlike in *De excidio*, in *Yosippon* the scene is one in which God is in charge, in which setting, storyline, and characters all relate to this God, in which the dominant metaphor is therefore not patriotism and civil strife as it is in *De excidio*, but rather theodicy. God is unmistakably present in *Yosippon* 81 in a way that is not even close to true for *De excidio* 5.22.

Third, we saw that Amitai is simply a less culpable character in *Yosippon* than in *De excidio*. If Matthias is damned in *De excidio* as a kind of stand-in for the Jews-in-general, then *Yosippon* lifts and shifts this blame, even as he emphasizes the Jews' status as "the people of the LORD." Note that in none of this does *Yosippon* effect some extreme erasure of *De excidio* in which the Hebrew narrative becomes unrecognizable next to its Latin inspiration. Reading *Yosippon* 81 with *De excidio* 5.22 makes it obvious that the latter constitutes the source for the former, and it is fair to say that in one sense both texts relate the same basic story. But in another sense, these chapters represent very different histories.

Yosippon's treatment of Amitai's death points to larger realities concerning the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon* and its relationship to its Latin Christian sources, particularly *De excidio Hierosolymitano*. These are realities that scholarship has yet to codify and appreciate fully. Here I have tried to show in one case study exactly what this relationship looks like—i.e. how *Yosippon* adapts, changes, even contradicts *De excidio*—and how this relationship might be understood in broader relief. At the very least we may say that *Yosippon's* use of *De excidio* is not disinterested. If the author of *Yosippon* was, as I have suggested, interested

49 See *De excidio* Prologue; 2.12; 5.2; 5.31–32; *et alibi*; Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History."

in, if not overtly contradicting, at least replacing *De excidio* as ‘the’ history of the later Second Temple period and the war of the Jews against Rome, then we might expect *Yosippon* to depart in telling ways from its source(s).⁵⁰ And this is precisely what we find in places like *Yosippon* 81. In recreating Second Temple history for a medieval Jewish readership, *Yosippon* wrests narrative and narrative authority from his Latin Christian forebear and, as with the story of Amitai so with his history on the whole, proffers a new version of how and why things happened between Rome and Judea in the later first-century CE. In killing Matthias (Amitai), the author of *Yosippon* resurrects a vision of Jewish history in the critical year of 70 CE that rescripts the Jews as less and/or differently culpable and more closely associated with God. In so doing, *Yosippon* reinvents a historiographically-grounded Jewish identity and respectability for his (undoubtedly) Jewish medieval readership, providing, perhaps, an apologetic tool for self-understanding and projection within the Christian-majority culture of the 10th-century (?) Southern Italy in which *Yosippon* was initially penned.

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⁵⁰ It also might be expected that, with that intention, *SY*’s author might have chosen *DEH* as a source on purpose as a way of rewriting history rather than writing history anew, as it were.

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Yosippon as an Innovative and Creative Genius

Steven Bowman

The author of *Sefer Yosippon* (*SY*), to whom I will refer in this chapter as “Yosippon,”¹ is possibly the only true mediaeval historian to have written on par with the best of modern historiography, at least according to his modern editor David Flusser.²

From the aspect of Hebrew and world literature, Josippon is a classical work, both in its content and in its literary achievements; and there can hardly be found in contemporary European literature a historical book with such outstanding qualities. One of the exceptional qualities of the author of Josippon is his critical approach to the sources, which is based upon a realistic understanding of the forces operating in human history ... His realistic world view makes the author of Josippon an excellent historian ... As has already been noted, he is a gifted historian, who is aware of his responsibilities and endowed with excellent historical insight.³

Not only does Yosippon examine a number of sources which were available to him but he creates—or recreates—a “sublimely” readable history of the Second Temple period. His main sources are the Hebrew and Latin Bibles, 1 and 2 Maccabees, *De excidio Hierosolymitano* (*DEH*), i.e. Pseudo-Hegesippus, and the Latin version of Flavius Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae*, as well as a sprinkling of midrashic texts and Roman rhetoricians and historians. Since his major source (*DEH*) is a decidedly anti-Jewish critique of the period,⁴ the author of *SY* reworks his source from a hostile disparagement into a positive nationalistic praise of the Jews who were swept up first in a civil war and then into a fight to a death-struggle with the Romans. Yosippon’s style is biblical and his text is peppered with apt citations that establish the text as clearly modeled on a biblical and midrashic style.

1 Thanks to Robert Braskamp for the formatting revisions he made to this chapter.

2 Flusser, “The Author of Sefer Yosippon.”

3 Flusser, “Medieval Hebrew Version.”

4 See Bell, “Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus.”

In writing history, the historian becomes part of a continuing history, something separate from received history (though connected to it). As Isaac Asimov put it, “the observer influences the events he observes by the mere act of observing them or by being there to observe them.”⁵ The author of *Sefer Yosippon*, or whatever the author called his work,⁶ composed a history that he made his own and in turn has become his own name in history.

So much for the obvious. Yosippon had mastered two language traditions, which he used creatively in composing his history of the Second Temple period—namely Hebrew and Latin, a rare combination among the surviving remnants of the first millennium CE.⁷ He had learned both languages in his youth. The Tanakh he will have memorized, since that was the format of his education. He apparently did not study Talmud, since the little evidence that is suggested could well have come from his environment. But who taught him Latin? And when?

Perhaps Yosippon learned Latin in his youth, maybe as preparation for a career as a physician, as David Flusser argued. In any case, Yosippon was sufficiently talented in the late imperial Latin of the later 4th-century authors he uses: Pseudo-Hegesippus, Jerome, Orosius, and others. My argument for his history being an innovative and creative masterpiece rests on style rather than on source analysis, however; namely, his use and expansion of received *topoi*.

Yosippon's first chapter is an extended description of 10th century geography and its ethnic inhabitants created, it seems, by the author himself, as Flusser argued; or, as Shulamit Sela and others have countered, this was at least the work of the *redactor* of the 10th century contribution.⁸ As I have suggested elsewhere, he had access to written as well as oral material for his descriptions of the newly appearing peoples whom he wove into a commentary on the family of nations he found in the Bible (Genesis 10) and Josephus (SY 1 [8]). Nor was he the first, or the last, to contemporize this ancient geographic tradition (note, e.g., Joseph ha-Cohen in the 16th century).⁹ Despite the arguments that Yosippon is not the author of the first chapter's ethnic geography, the question remains open. Assuming he did write it, he used source materials of variegated media. Talmudists such as Saul Lieberman treated *Yosippon* as a children's book and not worthy of study, a theme continued by Yosef Hayyim Yerushalmi in his work on history and memory.¹⁰ Ben Zion Wacholder

5 Asimov, *Foundation's Edge*, 98; Bowman, “Josephus in Byzantium,” 377n82.

6 The original might have been called “The History of the Second Temple.”

7 See, however, Heil, “Patrologia Judaica?”

8 Flusser, “Author.”

9 Joseph ha-Cohen, *Divre ha-Yamim*; Bowman, “Reevaluations,” 60.

10 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*.

related to me that he first read *Yosippon* at age six and continued from that point to pursue an understanding of history that perplexed him as a talmudist confronting *bereshit*,¹¹ a concept that perplexed mediaeval kabbalists such as Ramban.¹² Others, beginning with Rabbenu Gershom Me'or HaGolah and Rashi, recognized and utilized *sy* for its history in their schools. Scholars like Azariah de Rossi criticized *Yosippon*, while others since Yehudah ibn Mosqoni and Joseph ha-Cohen revered its lessons. If one were enterprising and had the time, one could assemble two parallel lists of well-known scholars throughout the past millennium, which would illuminate those who were pro and those con vis-à-vis *Yosippon*.

To return to *bereshit*, Flusser argued that a date in an internal colophon of the fifteenth-century manuscript attributed to Rabbenu Gershom established 953 as the date of *sy*'s composition.¹³ Reuben Bonfil already challenged this date in his seminal review of Flusser's edition.¹⁴ While Flusser responded in strong defense of his dating, scholars still challenge it as a later redactor's contribution. I have argued that the use of the verb *he'etakti* in the colophon in the middle of the text (Ch. 47) has more meanings than one. At that moment in history, it could mean "I copied" and "I wrote" and even "I translated." In fact, all three meanings appear as translations of this polysemic usage in a medieval Hebrew translation of an Arabic version of Alexander's *res gestae* recently published by Wout van Bekkum!¹⁵ Indeed, the root meaning of the word is 'I copied.' On the other hand, the reference in *sy* may have been the comment of a mid-10th century copyist—several such copyists are known to us, e.g., Samuel, the envoy of some Hasdai to Italy to copy *sy* and Zakaria, the Yemenite translator of *sy*.¹⁶ This colophon could be from an Ashkenazi or a Sephardi scribe who edited an older Romaniote text of *Yosippon*. As noted, scholarly consensus now opts for an early 10th-century *Vorlage*.¹⁷

Moving on to the text: my first example of *Yosippon*'s creativity is his treatment of Genesis 10. He follows his update of this chapter with the genealogy of Roman Jews. This includes a retelling of the rape of the Sabine women, which also recalls the rape of the Shilo women by the remnant of the tribe of

11 Oral conversation.

12 Rabbi Moses ben Nahman's commentary on Genesis begins with multiple interpretations of *Bereshit*.

13 See Flusser's "Author," note 24. Flusser, *The Josippon*. See my "Dates in Sefer Josippon," and Flusser, "The Author of Sefer Yosippon."

14 Bonfil, "Sefer Yosippon."

15 Bowman, "Review of Van Bekkum."

16 Mann, *Texts and Studies*.

17 Binyam, "Studies in Sefer Yosippon."

Benjamin (which he will have known as a child before he found the parallel story in Livy). Livy places the story at the foundation of Rome dated to 753 BCE while the Book of Judges was edited shortly after the capture of Samaria by the Assyrians in 722.¹⁸ Is Yosippon suggesting that the mixture of tribal blood in Judges resonates with the union of Roman criminals and Sabine chastity? In both cases, the next generations produced warrior nations: Romans and the wild Banu Yamina (= Benjamin) of later Midrash. The point is that he traces one origin of Roman culture to the Israelites, albeit to Esau and an ancestral animosity that destroyed Jerusalem and its Temple. While Flusser suggests that Yosippon's sources are no longer extant; we might surmise that he rewrote his ancient sources accordingly to his own thesis.

His treatment of women parallels and exceeds contemporary and later medieval interest. Five women emerge as role models in *Yosippon*, two of whom are midrash-style expansions based on biblical verses, the Maccabean mother of 7 sons (cf. 1 Samuel 2) and the mother who fêted her son (Deut 28:56–57). The latter's satiric discourse to the rebel leaders—"whereas you sacked my house I was forced to fête this feast"—is a demonstration of the author's sardonic alliterative style.¹⁹ The others include Tamara queen of the Scythians, whose blood-curdling revenge against Cyrus is possibly metaphoric [Cyrus was identified as a messiah by Isaiah, see below], and Maryami (or Marimi), whose demise reminds me of Mary queen of Scots, both eulogized as beheaded martyrs, and Queen Alexandra, wife of Alexander Yannai, a model of leadership in the author's encomium "for she did not covet additional territory (היא לא חמדה ארץ אחרת)," contrary to Cleopatra, who coveted Herod's kingdom and appears as the powerful and seductive ruler of the Ptolemaic kingdom. While the Bible has its roster of female role models, no previous or subsequent Jewish scholar (aside from Josephus), so emphasizes heroic and tragic women, Judith and Shoshanah notwithstanding. And even as Yosippon restores exemplary women to his readers, contemporary Byzantines too had their own exceptional women, e.g., the empresses Irene, Zoe, and Kassia the poet, not to mention Mary, mother of Jesus.²⁰

And what of Herod the paranoid messiah? Falsely (?) accused of killing male toddlers à la Pharaoh in Exodus (1:16), his portrait is a conflation of David and Solomon, the conqueror and the builder, yet also that of a false messiah like that of Yosippon's contemporary oppressors' *Christos*. I admit to a curiosity that has perplexed me since I discovered the sources for the tradition that

18 Cf. Judg 18:30.

19 Cf. Deutsch, "Illustration;" Bay, "The 'Maria Story'."

20 See Skylitzes, *Synopsis of Byzantine History*.

Herod was considered a messiah. It is no more than a sentence in Greek by Epiphanius and another in tandem by Jerome.²¹ Clearly the tradition was still alive in late antique Palestine, where the latter studied and translated. Such a discovery led me to reinterpret a strange passage in *SY*.²²

We have the biographies of David in the Books of Samuel and Chronicles in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles. These are unique in the biblical record and recall the mythological style of the Mycenaean traditions of the early Greek heroic families. This approach suggests a relationship between Greek and Hebrew parallel origins.²³ Greek versions of Samuel were available in Jerusalem, Qumran, and Herod's library in Masada. The biography, indeed panegyric, written by Nicholas of Damascus, Herod's secretary and confidant, has been preserved, partly rewritten in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* with parallels in his *Antiquitates Judaicae*.²⁴

The question is to test whether Nicholas of Damascus constructed his sycophantic panegyric of Herod using the model of David in the biblical texts available to him. We know Nicholas was a competent biographer. His portrait of Augustus was read in later Byzantine times and we have his Herod in Josephus. So, what are the parallels to David? There are perhaps five at least that we should note as a basis for our argument. First: David and Herod both died at 70, a coincidence to be sure disregarding the disease that destroyed Herod. Second: both had extraordinary difficulties within their large families, both over the question of inheritance of the title of king and the murder of rivals by would-be successors, whether worthy or not. Third: both created empires that went beyond the traditional borders of Israelite settlement. Fourth: the Temple. David prepared all the resources for the Temple that Solomon built. Herod, however, succeeded in creating the eighth wonder of the ancient world, at least as the rabbis later praised it. Both temples, of course, paralleled their contemporary architecture. Five: both were considered messiahs in tradition. And perhaps the rhetorical development of the loss of a loved one: David's Absalom and Herod's Mariamme, a parallel that stretches the imagination in terms of gender and Greek psychology, but which could be compelling nonetheless.

Yosippon also, in Chapter 57 (12) on Paulina, satirizes the birth traditions of the latter messiah through his rewriting of *DEH*'s hint at her scandalous seduction in his allusion to Miriam's (Mary's) reputation worthy of a Molière

21 Epiphanius, *Panarion* 53.

22 Bowman, "Mock Aqedah or Mashiah?"

23 Cf. Gordon, *The Common Background*.

24 See Wacholder, *Nicholaus of Damascus*; Bowman, "Josephus," 367ff.

touch.²⁵ Herod, we know, was considered a messiah, albeit crowned by Rome and not by God, and recognized by the Herodian party and no doubt other sycophants. He failed miserably in that role, and died at 70 like David, after trying to commit a sacrificial suicide—a mock Aqedah (see SY 43 [גג]). He attempted to use an Abrahamic *ma'akhelet* from a priestly allusion לטרה, but this attempted sacrifice was snatched away by a servant rather than by an angel. Yosippon wrote of the vicissitudes of Herod and his failures, most of all his sin against Jerusalem and its holiness despite his admirable Greek Temple complex (the site still worshipped today by Jews and Arabs). A question to consider is whether Yosippon had any notion of Nicholas of Damascus' massive history, still available at *Yosippon's* time of writing in Constantinople and cited in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' encyclopedia. We know that some Jewish scholars had access to the great royal library in the Blachernai palace in Constantinople.²⁶

It is in the author's rhetoric that he shows his mastery of biblical style and his innovation. This is how Yosippon, a conservative sympathizer of the Maccabean Revolt, praises in his pithy style the influence of Matityahu, the priestly leader of the Israelites of Modi'in and a faithful representative of the Temple in Jerusalem, the House of God's Name, now polluted by the revolutionary Hellenists who had bought the priestly tiara from Antiochus IV. "Enough of words, there is naught else than prayer and fighting. Let us strengthen ourselves and die fighting, and we shall not die as sheep led to slaughter!" This phrase, unique to the author, has a long and influential history during the following millennium. It is the author's own creation and is a conflation of two biblical verses (Isa 53:7 and Ps 44:23), a biblical literary technique also practiced by contemporary Greek scholars of Yosippon's time. It will take nearly a millennium before this call to arms would be pointedly appropriated by Rabbi Haim Berlin of Moscow: in the wake of the 1882 pogroms in Russia, he openly made the distinction between the prayer for martyrs '*tzon letivḥah*' and Yosippon's '*tzon latevah yuval*'!²⁷ The latter phrase, with which Rabbi Berlin was no doubt familiar from Yosippon's rendition of the Hanukkah story, was adjusted by Abba Kovner during WWII to a clarion call to resist the Nazi slaughter of Jews. More likely Kovner got it directly from the popular SY; yet it was well known to Zionists since the early part of the twentieth century. After the Holocaust it became an insulting slur that continues today as a negative phrase

25 Using the reference in Luke (1:28) to Song of Songs 6, and the story in *DEH* 2.3.2 rewritten from *AJ* 18.66–80. See MacRae, "Ludubrium Paulinae."

26 Bonfil, "Hazon Daniel."

27 See Feldman, "Not as Sheep to the Slaughter," 150.

in Israel, a rebuke to the slaughtered Jews of the diaspora and a polemic against the Diaspora.²⁸

Yosippon continued to draw phrases from the Bible to enhance his style, as in Matityahu's directive to his son Yehudah to stir up the Israelites to fight, citing 1 Kgs 12:16 and 2 Chr 10:16. Flusser carefully cites the biblical sources throughout his notes in the critical edition for readers. Strangely, he does not comment on the "sheep to slaughter" exhortation of Matityahu, especially odd given the phrase's prominence in Israeli discourse in the wake of the Shoah.²⁹ Rather, Flusser notes without comment wherever the author generates his own new phrases.

There is one more phrase that Flusser credits to the author but does not discuss. It appears in *SY* 42 (מב), where Marc Antony writes to Hyrcanus a victory letter after the battle of Philippi, in which the assassins of Julius Caesar had been defeated and killed. He recalls Roman alliances and friendships with the Jewish kingdom and sends an offering to Jerusalem announcing his order to release all Jewish slaves wherever found in areas under his control, "from the sea beyond India to the sea beyond Britain." What follows is a phrase which was to become a national Jewish blessing in some quarters and in translation is widely recognized as a Galactic salutation. One finds the 6 words throughout Yiddish literature and among Yiddish speakers in partial form: תחיה ותצליח אתם וכל אנשי שלומינו ("Live and prosper, you and all men of our pax (*romana*);" *SY* 42 [מב]). Flusser merely notes that this is the author's addition.³⁰ There is no precedent to the phrase in Anthony's letter to Hyrcanus in Josephus, nor any hint as to the phrase's origin in the Bible, save for a brief mention of אנשי שלומך, made by Jeremiah in another context. The whole sentiment belongs purely to the author of *SY*. Since Flusser most likely never watched *Star Trek*, he never witnessed Leonard Nimoy in his uniquely defined character of Spock the Vulcan uttering the phrase he coined—"Live long and prosper"—accompanied by the special hand sign of the Cohen. Yosippon would have been thrilled to note how the two Jewish stars of the program sent his blessing throughout the galaxy (reminiscent of Cleopatra's two Zaddokite generals mentioned in *SY*!).

Elsewhere, an interesting innovation is Yosippon's treatment of the Ḥasidim, the fierce fighters who formed the backbone of the Maccabean army and are mentioned in connection with Herod. He traces their origin to the period of Alexander the Great, a claim for which no other source provides support; but then, not much history has survived (see *SY* 10 [י]).

28 Feldman, "Not as Sheep to the Slaughter," 142ff.

29 Feldman, "Not as Sheep to the Slaughter," 155.

30 Flusser, *The Josippon*, 1.52m182.

Yosippon also critically expanded the stories of Queens Tamara and Mariamme with his literary skills, as well as the tragic story of the woman who ate her son during the famine that consumed much of the population during Titus' siege of Jerusalem.³¹ The latter story, pictured in many manuscripts of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, without doubt fueled the canard of Jewish cannibalism and even the blood libel accusation that still exists today.³² Several examples should suffice here. First is his appropriation of Roman history.

Virgil, as we know, poetically Latinized Homer's epic of the fall of Troy and panegyricized the family of his Princeps Augustus through Rome's eponymous founder Aeneas. Yosippon cleverly invented the parallel to Aeneas in the epic of Zepho (צִפּוֹ), grandson of Esau the arch rival of Israel, who came to represent Rome, later the scourge of Israel.³³ He also Judaized in Zepho the hero of Greek and Roman society Hercules, a major icon in Carolingian society, already a long continuing tradition in Roman art and literature.

Hercules was well represented in Carolingian and Visigothic literature, and the author of Yosippon likely read some of the literature circulating in the Italian peninsula, e.g., Hincmar of Reims, Teodulf's *Contra Iudices*, and reports of the Hercules ivories on the throne of Charles the Bald.³⁴ How apt for the Jewish historian to adapt Virgil's tale of Hercules' killing of Cacus into the epic success of Zepho, ultimately to become the hero of Rome and also the god Janus.³⁵ Thus Esau/Edom and his descendant became the origin of Israel's first protector and the ultimate destroyer of Israel.

In his appropriation of Roman history, Yosippon showed himself to belong to the tradition of ancient historiography, as an author following the lead of Flavius Josephus (aka *De excidio*), his main source and inspiration. At the very beginning of his account of the Jewish War against the Romans Josephus had critiqued the fallacies of Greek historians and philosophers, many of whom long term antisemites, some ethnic, others rhetorical:

Of these, however, some having taken no part in the action, have collected from hearsay casual and contradictory stories which they have then edited in rhetorical style; while others, who witnessed the events, have, either from flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the Jews,

31 Bay, "The 'Maria Story'."

32 See Yuval, *Two Nations*.

33 See Nahmanides on Gen 50:9, cited in Dönitz, *Überlieferung*, 162–163.

34 See Nees, *A Tainted Mantle*.

35 See Small, *Cacus*.

misrepresented the facts, their writings exhibiting alternately invective and encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy.³⁶

Josephus no doubt was aware of Thucydides' comments on truth and accuracy, however much scholars have commented on the former's apologetic and tendentious arguments. Yosippon, as student and tradent of Josephus, belonged to this same tradition.

Yosippon lived in an age of Christian animosity toward Jews, especially rampant in his major source Pseudo-Hegesippus, and he responded to this reality. Throughout his history Yosippon rewrote *De excidio*, reversing his polemic into an apology for Israel. A fine illustration of this comes in Carson Bay's paper on ס' 81 (פא) in the present volume. Earlier in his work, he raises the question of truth in his attack on pagan idolatry in the scene of the three riddles concerning the question what is the strongest power (ס' 6 [1]). The account begins with the rise of Zerubabel quickly challenging the power of the autocrat, the king himself. The answers to the three riddles follow: first, the absolute power of the king; second, the king succumbs to wine; finally, the king is defeated by a woman, his concubine who sits on his lap and takes his crown for her head, albeit playfully, while no one else would do so for fear of losing his own. Lastly all three solutions are superseded by Truth, which overcomes everything since that is the essence of the Creator of everything (Pantokrator), or as the Hebrew daily service cleverly conflates: the Lord our God is Truth: אדוני אלוהינו אמת. Yosippon was both innovative and polemical.

Another major innovation of Yosippon is his variant epitome on Masada, which appears first in the shorter of two published endings of the book. It raises the final scene to the level of noble death so characteristic of Greek and Roman memory. Rather than the mutual slaughter of the grieving men, as in Josephus' "noble death" scene at Jotapata, they first sacrifice their wives and children, then attack the Romans and die fighting, (a parallel to Japanese suicide attacks).³⁷ Josephus' ending parallels the tradition of 'noble death' common among barbarians in the writing of ancient Roman and Greek historians. Yosippon, on the other hand, advocates another tradition of military heroic death as reported in his classical sources.³⁸

Here I make a final tribute to a learned intellectual, steeped in his people's cultural tradition based on the Hebrew Scriptures, who set out to reclaim his people's honor through his tale of the Second Temple period. Yosippon was

36 BJ 1.1, trans. Thackeray LCL, although I prefer Whiston's version.

37 See Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*, among other examples.

38 See Burkhardt, *The Greeks and Greek Civilization*, 117.

clearly aware of the anti-Jewish polemic of his major sources and alludes to this frequently by his apt use of his biblical references (compare the rhetorical device of *ekphrasis* and the poetic Hebrew *shibutz*), which restores his source to a Jewish theme. No longer a saga of a disgraced deicidal people, the story reshaped by Yosippon has become more a plaint for the suffering of Israel in the depths of a civil war and a powerful external enemy.

We know that Yosippon successfully Judaized his sources, which were openly anti-Jewish. This fact was pointed out by Baer and other scholars.³⁹ And indeed, *SY*'s popularity throughout the last millennium attests to the author's success. But the question is: how did he do it? He did it done by means of the traditional method he learned from the Scriptures, midrash, and piyyut tradition, namely the use of phrases that resonated for the Hebrew reader of the Scriptures, and that illuminated sacrifice and suffering. And this was the goal of the author: to obviate anti-Jewish themes and deicidal implications and thus create a model of Jewish suffering based on biblical typologies.

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1948–1949 was an important period in the reestablishment of a Jewish state that fought for its survival against its Arab enemies. Such a struggle was reminiscent of Herod's victories over Edom and the Nabataeans. Yet, at the end of Herod's story, Jerusalem was lost to Rome (Edom), the city burnt, its Temple destroyed, its people slaughtered and the survivors enslaved and exiled. How to restore dignity to the victims, against whom Christian authors had for a millennium polemicized, mocking the Jews for their alleged role in the murder of God's son and pronouncing them sentenced to eternal punishment?

In 1949 Yitzhak Baer, a major historian at the Hebrew University, engaged in a comprehensive comparison of the two major sources for studying *SY*: Abraham Conat and Yehudah ibn Mosqoni (the last major editions before Flusser's return to the manuscripts).⁴⁰ Mosqoni's tome was a massive compilation of sources that had become the standard history of the Second Temple period for Jews for nearly half a millennium.⁴¹ Baer brought into his study a broad array of Latin Stoic sources from Cicero, Macrobius, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius.⁴² He emphasized *DEH*'s anti-Jewish tropes and its relationship to centuries of Christian propaganda. He showed this by Yosippon's

39 See Baer, "Sefer Yosippon Ha-Ivri."

40 See Reiner, "Jerahmeel."

41 See Hominer, *Josiphon*.

42 Baer, "Sefer Yosippon Ha-Ivri."

sage use of rabbinic commentary, using carefully selected quotes from his biblical reservoir to parse out the broader Jewish story in Josephus and *DEH*. Each phrase pointed to a broader tale in Scripture that reminded the reader that his was a Jewish story of Israel's glory and tragedy, a constant stimulus to Yosippon's biblically-educated audience. (While *Yosippon's* counter to the Christian polemic of *DEH* became better known in the latter part of the twentieth century, it has been recently the subject of more recent and more explicit research, such as Carson Bay's detailed analysis of *DEH's* Maria chapter in *SY*.)⁴³ This traditional style of Jewish scholarship, developed over millennia by Jewish scholars (and paralleled by Greek and Roman scholars, rhetoricians, and poets),⁴⁴ in *Yosippon* issues in a successful rewrite of the Second Temple period as a biblically structured eulogy to and history of the vicissitudes of Israel's past, and contemporary life, as God's people engaged in a (sometimes internecine) fight for survival.

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43 Bay, "The 'Maria Story'."

44 Rabinowitz, *Honeycomb's Flow*; Lesley, "Review of Bonfil," 108: "a demonstration that the Hebrew Bible includes and surpasses classical rhetoric."

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Sefer Yosippon as a Source for Hasmonean History: The Mysterious Story of John Hyrcanus and the Parthians

Kenneth Atkinson

The work known as *Sefer Yosippon* is a remarkable example of Hebrew historiography that largely paraphrases Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*. Likely written during the tenth century CE in southern Italy, possibly the Naples region, it is unique for its incorporation of materials from pagan, Jewish, and Christian writings. The composition appears to have emanated from a climate where Jews, Christians, and Muslims interacted with one another, likely during the tenth century CE Saracen invasions of southern Italy.¹ It was during this tumultuous era that *Yosippon's* author managed to access and integrate many non-Jewish texts into his narrative of Jewish history to offer new insights concerning some significant events of the past. The present study examines a unique section of *Yosippon* that likely came from an unknown work that contained new information about the Hasmonean high priest and ruler John Hyrcanus and his foray into lands later claimed as part of the Islamic world. Its contents may shed some additional light on the possible sources available to *Yosippon's* author and later redactors, as well as contribute to our understanding of the relationship between Jewish and Byzantine Christian scholarship in Italy.

1 Josephus' Account of John Hyrcanus in Parthia

The strange story of the Hasmonean high priest and ruler John Hyrcanus' participation in the 131 BCE Parthian invasion of Antiochus VII Sidetes shows that

1 For the date of SY, the author's likely social location, and the work's genre, see further the discussions and extensive literature cited in Bowman, "*Sefer Yosippon: Revelations*," 57–64; Bowman, "'Yosippon' and Jewish Nationalism," 23–51; Dönitz, "*Sefer Yosippon (Josippon)*," 382–389; Dönitz, "*Sefer Yosippon and the Greek Bible*," 223–234; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 1–34; Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, 62–66; Grossman, "The Cultural and Social Background," 73–86; Veltri, *Gegenwart der Tradition*, 122–132; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 154–165.

Sefer Yosippon, despite its late date of composition and redaction, should be considered a primary source for Hyrcanus' reign. To understand the importance of *Yosippon*'s account of this expedition, we must begin with a brief look at Josephus' perplexing story of how Hyrcanus and the Jews alone survived this disastrous campaign.

The reign of Antiochus VII Sidetes has been called the "swan song of the Seleucid Empire" because he was the last Syrian ruler to have made a concerted effort to halt Syria's political decline.² This was especially true of his effort to regain lands lost by his predecessor to the Parthians. According to our extant sources, he undertook an effort to subdue the Parthians after Hyrcanus succeeded his father, Simon. Only a few incomplete sources record Sidetes' invasion of Parthia.³ *Sefer Yosippon* and Josephus alone document Hyrcanus' participation in this campaign.⁴ The outcome of the invasion was a disaster for the Seleucid Empire: Sidetes died in battle fighting the Parthians; much of his army was killed and many of his soldiers were taken captive. Only Hyrcanus and his forces survived. Josephus was apparently so troubled that his readers would doubt the veracity of his account of how Hyrcanus and the Jews managed to return home that he took the unusual step of introducing his narrative with a reference to his sources: "We have the testimony of these things, also of Nicolaus of Damascus" (μάρτυς δέ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐστὶν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός). The position of the word καὶ is significant and should be translated as "also," suggesting that Josephus consulted other unnamed sources that documented the participation of Hyrcanus in this war.⁵ Unfortunately, Josephus' account provides little detail. He merely quotes from an unspecified source to show that Hyrcanus was not with Sidetes during the final battle. To show his readers, presumably pagans, that Hyrcanus had not betrayed Sidetes, he appends a comment explaining a Jewish holiday to show that his account is factual.

2 Quotation from Bar-Kochva, *Image of the Jews*, 427. See further Ehling, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 178–216; Fischer, *Untersuchungen zum Partherkrieg*, 29–48; Schwartz, "On Antiochus VII Sidetes' Parthian Expedition," 83–102.

3 The following offer short references to the war: Diodorus, 34/35.17.2; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 10.34; Appian, *Syriaca* 59; 68; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 11.68; Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.255–256; Ioannes Antiochenus, "Excerpta de insidiis," *FHG*, 4:561; Livy, *Periochae* 59.13; Orosius 5.190.310.

4 *AJ* 13.249; *SY* 29 (טז), ed. Flusser, *The Josippon*, 1.115–116. In the parallel passage in *BJ* 1.62, Josephus merely states that Sidetes fought the Medes and provides no information about the campaign. Josephus obtained much of his materials about the Parthians from the writings of Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus. See further, Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue*, 278–280; Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten*, 5–9.

5 *AJ* 13.250. For this observation, see Pucci, "Jewish-Parthian," 16.

“After defeating Indates, the Parthian general, and setting up a victory monument at the Lycus River, Antiochus remained there two days at the request of the Jew Hyrcanus because of a festival of his ancestors during which Jews are forbidden to travel.” He does not speak falsely in saying this; the Festival of Pentecost had come round, after the Sabbath, and we are not permitted to travel on the Sabbath or a festival.⁶

Josephus then mentions in passing that the Parthians killed Sidetes and much of the Seleucid Empire’s army in battle. His terse account provides no details. Rather, Josephus mentions that he does not provide them because the full story “has already been related elsewhere.⁷ This formula is presumably from Josephus’ unnamed source since he does not record any additional information about Sidetes’ invasion of Parthia in his books.

Josephus likely took his quotation about Hyrcanus in Parthia from a pagan work since it identifies him as a Jew. Although this expedition was important, this cryptic passage is all that Josephus preferred to record about it. However, he had a purpose in including a citation from this unknown account: he wanted to show that Sidetes died at least two days after he had left Hyrcanus. This was apparently important to Josephus, who wanted to emphasize that Hyrcanus had not betrayed Sidetes. His narrative implies that Sidetes was responsible for his death since he did not wait for the Jewish legions to arrive before he attacked the Parthians.

The historian Pompeius Trogus supplements Josephus’ succinct account by providing some background regarding Sidetes’ recklessness. He emphasizes the hubris of Sidetes, claiming that he was so overconfident of victory that he set out with an excessive number of noncombatants with him to Parthia that greatly slowed his march.⁸ According to Trogus, he nevertheless won three battles and forced the Parthians to flee towards Iran. Sidetes’ men, certain of victory, began to call him “the Great.”⁹ Confident that he would quickly capture Parthia, Sidetes refused to meet the envoys the Parthian monarch, Phraates II (= Arsaces VIII, 132–27 BCE = Ashraq in *Sefer Yosippon*), sent to negotiate.

None of the extant accounts record the circumstances of Sidetes’ death. Diodorus merely states that Phraates II killed three hundred thousand of

6 *AJ* 13.250–252.

7 *AJ* 13.253.

8 For Sidetes’ hubris, see further, Pompeius Trogus, *Philippic Histories* 38.10.1–4. The writing of the first-century BCE historian Pompeius Trogus is extant in an epitome by Justin that has been dated as early as 144 CE to as late as 395 CE. See Borgna, *Ripensare la storia universale*, 107–30; Seel, *Eine römische Weltgeschichte*, 346–347.

9 Trogus, *Philippic Histories* 38.10.6.

Sidetes' men in battle.¹⁰ Trogus mentions that the Parthians also captured some Seleucid soldiers and forced them to serve as conscripts to fight the Scythians.¹¹ Josephus' insistence that the improbable story of Hyrcanus' survival was true and documented in pagan sources leaves many questions unanswered. Most important of these is why the Parthians did not attack Hyrcanus and his troops on their way home? *Sefer Yosippon* provides a unique account of Hyrcanus' participation in Sidetes' invasion of Parthia that likely came from an ancient source about the Hasmoneans, which suggests that Josephus possibly excluded considerable information about this expedition and Hyrcanus' activities there.

2 Yosippon's Account of John Hyrcanus in Parthia

Sefer Yosippon provides two different explanations of how Hyrcanus survived Sidetes' Parthian campaign. One version agrees with the *Antiquitates Judaicae* in stating that Hyrcanus accompanied the Seleucid army to Parthia and that the army of Phraates II killed Sidetes in battle.¹² However, the third recension ("C") of *Yosippon* contains an intriguing addition not found in any other source that explains how Hyrcanus survived Sidetes' campaign with his army intact.¹³ According to this version, the Parthian monarch Ashraq (אשרק) sent a secret message to "king Hyrcanus" (המלך הרקנוס) reminding him that the Persians had built the Jewish temple. Reminding him of the Parthians' past support of the Jews, Ashraq asked Hyrcanus why he was helping the Greeks since they had recently defiled the Jerusalem sanctuary. Ashraq's dispatch urged Hyrcanus to betray Sidetes by holding back his forces and allow the Parthians

10 Diodorus, 37.17.1. For the likely events surrounding Sidetes' death, see further Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State*, 64–68.

11 Trogus, *Philippic Histories* 42.4–5.

12 *SY* 29 (ט), ed. Flusser, *The Josippon*, 1.115–116.

13 The third recension (Recension C) text is from the 1544 Venice edition (pages 46–47, chapter 28 in Hominer, *Josiphon*). For other stories about Hyrcanus in *SY*, which more closely parallel Josephus' *AJ*, see *SY* 27–28 (בז–בח), ed. Flusser, *The Josippon*, 1.110–115. For the recensions of *SY* and their possible dates of compositions, see further Bowman, "Dates in *Sefer Yosippon*," 349–359; Flusser, *The Josippon*, 1.3–53; Dönitz, "Historiography," 963–967; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 91–102; Dönitz, "*Sefer Yosippon* (Josippon)," 382–389. Dönitz provides sufficient evidence to show that the Byzantine scholar Rabbi Yehuda Mosconi compiled the third recension. For Yehuda Mosconi's use of classical Greek and Latin literature and his role in producing recension C, and his possible linguistic proficiency, see further Dönitz, "Historiography," 964–965.

to destroy the Seleucid army. Afterwards, Ashraq promised to make an alliance with Hyrcanus.

The remainder of *Sefer Yosippon's* account of Hyrcanus in Parthia is somewhat reminiscent of Josephus as both agree that the Jewish legion remained behind while Sidetes continued his march, confronted the Parthians, and perished along with much of the Seleucid Empire's forces. According to *Yosippon*, after Ashraq had contacted him, Hyrcanus marched for two days with Sidetes. On the third day, Hyrcanus proposed a stratagem. He urged Sidetes to allow him and the Jews to stay behind while the Seleucid forces attacked Ashraq's army. Then, during the battle, Hyrcanus would appear with his soldiers and take the Parthians by surprise, presumably by outflanking them and attacking from the rear. Sidetes agreed to Hyrcanus' plan and let Hyrcanus' Jewish unit remain behind. Sidetes consented to this strategy because he was overconfident. *Yosippon's* account merely mentions that Ashraq defeated Sidetes, killed him, and destroyed the Seleucid army. Ashraq then concluded a pact with Hyrcanus that brought peace between their nations.

Although *Sefer Yosippon's* account undoubtedly contains some apocryphal elements, particularly its portrayal of Greeks as adversaries of the Jews, it makes three important claims. First, like Josephus, the author of the third recension of *Yosippon* states that Hyrcanus was absent on the battlefield when the Parthians killed Sidetes. Second, *Yosippon* insists that Hyrcanus and the Parthian king were secretly in contact with one another. Third, unlike Josephus, *Yosippon* states that the Jews and the Parthians signed a peace treaty that allowed Hyrcanus to return home. This is in keeping with *Yosippon's* penchant for highlighting, expanding, and inventing treaties, especially between the Jews and Romans, particularly beginning with the Maccabean revolt.¹⁴ Although Josephus goes to great lengths to explain why Hyrcanus did not fight the Parthians, he glosses over the subsequent details of how the Jews managed to traverse Parthian territory in peace to reach Jerusalem. Instead, he simply states that the Parthians released Sidetes' brother, Demetrius II, from captivity and that he was reinstated as king upon his arrival in Syria. However, Josephus does not describe the details of this event, merely stating that this "has already been related elsewhere." He presumably means that this information can be found in the writings of other historians.¹⁵ Yet, a close reading of Josephus' subsequent account suggest that he has exaggerated Hyrcanus' strength while obscuring his and his successors' possible Parthian connections.

14 See further Börner-Klein, "Jews and Romans," 228–238.

15 *AJ* 13.253.

Josephus claims that after Sidetes' death, Hyrcanus II conquered lands in the Seleucid Empire and Idumaea. This is unsupported by the archaeological record, which shows that he did not undertake any military action until fifteen years after he returned from Parthia.¹⁶ Although much of our history of the Parthian Empire for Sidetes' reign and for the decades after his death is lost, the extant writings show that subsequent Parthian kings retook the lands he had captured during his expedition with Hyrcanus. This includes the important city of Babylon that had once been part of the Seleucid Empire, which Sidetes occupied during his campaign.¹⁷ Upon his return to Jerusalem, it appears that Hyrcanus wisely avoided interfering in the Seleucid Empire at a time when it was still at war with the Parthians. Yet, despite frequent fighting between Sidetes' successors and the Parthians, the latter never attacked the Hasmonean State. Although *Sefer Yosippon* may not appear to be the best witness for a peace treaty between the Hasmoneans and the Parthians, indirect evidence suggests that its account of Hyrcanus' relations with Phraates II is plausible.

Miriam Pucci proposes that the third recension of *Sefer Yosippon* used a Byzantine chronicle that had been translated into Hebrew, which preserves material from a lost ancient pagan source that included an account of Hyrcanus' participation in Sidetes' invasion of Parthia.¹⁸ There is some historical evidence to support the existence of such a treaty between the Jews and the Parthians that *Yosippon's* redactor may have copied from this lost source. The Talmud recounts the visit of a Parthian delegation to Jerusalem seeking an alliance with the Jews against the Armenian monarch Tigranes II. This took place in approximately 85 BCE, during the reign of Hyrcanus' son, the High Priest and Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus. This embassy, if historical, may provide evidence of a treaty between the Hasmoneans and the Parthians that possibly predates Jannaeus.¹⁹ A note in an astronomical diary from Babylon, dated to 83 BCE, mentions a person named "Alexander," who appears to be Jannaeus.²⁰ Given the date of this text, it may record his pact with the Parthians. These brief references appear to presuppose friendly relations between the Jews and the Parthians not recorded in Josephus.

16 *AJ* 13.254–258; *BJ* 1.62–66. For this evidence, see further Atkinson, *A History*, 67–69.

17 See further, Atkinson, *The Hasmoneans and their Neighbors*, 40.

18 Pucci, "An Unknown Source," 331–38; Pucci, "Jewish-Parthian," 13–25.

19 *y. Naz.* 5.3 (iv.G); *y. Ber.* 7.2 (iii.F–G). For discussions in favor of the historicity of the Talmudic evidence that an alliance also existed between Phraates II and Hyrcanus, see Neusner, *A History*, 25–26; Pucci, "An Unknown Source," 331–338; Pucci, "Jewish-Parthian," 13–25; Sievers, *The Hasmoneans*, 140–141; Zollschan, *Rome and Judaea*, 259–264.

20 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical*, No. 476–477 no. 82A. For this identification, see Assar, "A Revised Parthian," 73–74.

If we are to propose a possible scenario for a Hasmonean-Parthian alliance, Hyrcanus' reign would fit. Numismatics suggest that this was not the first time he travelled to Parthia. His previous unrecorded journey there may also explain his mysterious Greek sobriquet "Hyrcanus" as well as *Sefer Yosippon's* account of Hyrcanus' contact with the Parthian king.

3 The Possible Historical Background to Sefer Yosippon's Account of John Hyrcanus in Parthia

Like Josephus, *Sefer Yosippon* prefers to call the Hasmonean high priest and ruler, John, by the Greek sobriquet Hyrcanus. This name is unprecedented for a Jewish leader or high priest. In his *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Josephus introduces him as John, who was also called Hyrcanus (Ἰωάννην, ὃς καὶ Ἵρκανός).²¹ Throughout his works, Josephus refers to him as Hyrcanus instead of his Hebrew name Yehohanan (יהוחנן).²² Because the name Hyrcanus etymologically means "one from Hyrcania," it is difficult to explain how John acquired it and why Josephus and *Yosippon* refer to him as Hyrcanus. Although several Christian writers believed he received the name Hyrcanus because of his conquest of Hyrcania, modern scholarship has discounted this explanation since there is no evidence he was ever there.²³ Nevertheless, *Yosippon's* account, when read in light of numismatic evidence and a close reading of Josephus' writings, suggest that Hyrcanus likely fought in Hyrcania during a previous campaign there with the Seleucid Empire's army.

Although our extant historical sources only record a single invasion of Parthia by Sidetes in which Hyrcanus participated, a Seleucid gold victory stater, dated to year 179 of the Seleucid era (=134/133 BCE), commemorates his previously unknown victory over the Parthians.²⁴ Because in 135 BCE Sidetes besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, this coin cannot commemorate this attack

21 *AJ.* 13.228; *BJ* 1.54.

22 It is sometimes translated as Jonathan, but most frequently as John. The Hebrew name "John" (יהוחנן) is found on coins that Hyrcanus minted in Judea. See Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins*, 30–31; 44–45; 257–258. Hyrcanus (יהוחנן) is also mentioned in *4QpapHistorical Text C* (4Q331 1 i 7). See Atkinson, *The Hasmoneans and their Neighbors*, 47–48.

23 See Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.130–131; Syncellus, *Chronicle* 1:548; Jerome, *Chron.* 2.131; Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicle* 26.2.

24 Houghton, "A Victory Coin," 65 and plate 6. See further Atkinson, *The Hasmoneans and their Neighbors*, 45; Ehling, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 237–238.

since it clearly depicts the conquered nation as the Parthians.²⁵ Josephus' account makes it clear that after the termination of the siege, Sidetes forced him to become his unwilling ally in his planned invasion of Parthia. The date of this coin shows that it was minted to commemorate a defeat of the Parthians that occurred prior to Sidetes' siege of Hyrcanus in Jerusalem.²⁶ The Iranian historian Gholamreza F. Assar writes that the design on this coin leaves little doubt it was struck to celebrate an otherwise unattested victory of Sidetes, which he suggests took place before the end of the reign of the Parthian monarch Mithridates I (= Arsaces VI; 165–132 BCE). Assar proposes that Sidetes during this campaign briefly penetrated as far as Seleucia on the Tigris. This, he suggests, explains why Phraates II, upon taking the throne, failed to issue an inaugural tetradrachm: he was busy fighting Sidetes and unable to mint the customary coins to mark the beginning of his reign.²⁷ It is plausible that Hyrcanus served in this earlier campaign to liberate Seleucia on the Tigris, Babylon, and possibly Hyrcania from the Parthians.²⁸ A close reading of *Sefer Yosippon* in light of the numismatic evidence provides indirect evidence for Sidetes' earlier activities in the east in which Hyrcanus likely participated.

No text or inscription states that Sidetes reached the kingdom of Cappadocia. Yet, Trogus implies that the Cappadocian ruler was among the eastern monarchs who joined him when he set out to invade Parthia with Hyrcanus.²⁹ These rulers joined the expedition because they wanted Sidetes to free their lands from Parthian rule. Coins from the region suggest that Sidetes was successful in liberating these territories from Parthian control. The Cappadocian king Ariarathes VII Philometor (116–99 BCE) and his successors minted coins bearing the posthumous portrait of Sidetes.³⁰ There is no reason to commemorate Sidetes several decades after his death unless he had done something favorable for the Cappadocians. Phraates II's father, Mithridates I, had conquered the kingdom. After the Cappadocians revolted and broke free of Parthian rule, Mithridates I fought again to capture it. After nearly losing the territory again, Mithridates I's ally, Tigranes, helped him retain Cappadocia

25 This is evident by the coin's Parthian iconography, namely its depiction of the biga used by Mithridates I. See further Houghton, "A Victory Coin," 65 and plate 6.

26 For the dating of the siege sometime after the beginning of the Sabbatical year of October 135 BCE, see further Atkinson, *A History*, 55–56.

27 Assar, "Genealogy and Coinage," 46.

28 Mithridates I captured these regions in 141 BCE and used them as a base to expand his realm to the neighboring regions. See further, Bivar, "The Political History of Iran," 32–38.

29 Trogus, *Philippic Histories* 38.10.

30 Atkinson, *A History*, 66; Krengel and Lorber, "Early Cappadocian Tetradrachms," 51–104 and plates 9–18.

and its wealth as part of their anti-Roman alliance.³¹ These coins may indicate that Sidetes liberated Cappadocia from the Parthians and made a treaty with its rulers. It provides strong evidence for some prior military assistance between the Seleucid Empire and the Cappadocian kings not recorded in any of our extant records. Sidetes' appearance on these coins indicates that he was responsible for this apparent pact, and that he had campaigned in the region during an unrecorded expedition.

This numismatic evidence suggests it is plausible that Sidetes sent a force to Parthia earlier than the expedition recorded by Josephus and *Sefer Yosippon* in which Hyrcanus participated. During this prior campaign, Sidetes liberated Cappadocia from Parthian rule. The Jews may have participated in the expedition. It is also plausible that the Seleucid Empire's army reached and fought in the Parthian territory of Hyrcania. Hyrcanus may have distinguished himself in a military victory there, earning the sobriquet Hyrcanus. A close reading of Josephus' accounts suggest that he used a source whose author possibly documented this campaign, which could provide the background for *Yosippon's* account of Hyrcanus' interactions with Parthia's king.

In approximately 138 BCE, Simon's envoys returned from Rome with letters from the Senate ordering none of the local monarchs to harm the Hasmoneans.³² It was at this time that Sidetes attacked Tryphon in Dor. The accounts preserved in 1 Macc 15 and Josephus disagree whether Simon aided Sidetes or whether the Seleucid monarch rejected his offer of help and was hostile to the Jews. According to 1 Macc 15:26–31, Sidetes rebuffed Simon's offer of military assistance to fight Tryphon at Dor. However, in *Bellum Judaicum* 1.50, Josephus states that Simon made a military alliance with Sidetes and helped him fight Tryphon at Dor. He then writes: "Subsequently, he [= Simon] was an auxiliary to Antiochus [= Sidetes] against Tryphon, whom he besieged in Dor, before he went on his expedition against the Medes" (αὐθις δὲ γίνεται καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τρύφωνος, ὃν ἐν Δώροις πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατείας ἐπολιόρκει). Here, Josephus may allude to an earlier and unrecorded expedition against the Parthians by Sidetes that took place about the time Sidetes fought Tryphon. If, as Josephus suggests, Sidetes was also preparing a campaign against the Parthians (=Medes), this would explain why he needed Simon's help at Dor. The Parthians during this era took advantage of the civil wars in the Seleucid Empire to attack it and seize land. Consequently, Sidetes had to deal with potential conflicts both within and on the border of his kingdom. The Hasmoneans posed another threat to his empire: he needed them on his

31 Trogus, *Philippic Histories* 38.1–3.

32 1 Macc 15:2–10. See further, Sievers, *The Hasmoneans*, 128–129.

side to serve in his armed forces. The previously cited numismatic evidence suggesting that Sidetes was in Parthian territory earlier than Josephus recorded suggests that this campaign likely took place at the same time he was fighting to take sole possession of the Seleucid Empire against his rivals.

It is possible that Sidetes sent some of his forces to attack the Parthians while he and Simon besieged Tryphon at Dor in 138 BCE, or perhaps earlier. Because Simon had stationed Hyrcanus at Gazara (=Gezer) in command of a military unit, it is feasible that he took part in this expedition as part of the Hasmonean contingent Simon loaned him. If so, then Hyrcanus likely had been to the region of Parthia, which could explain why, according to *Sefer Yosippon*, the Parthian monarch apparently knew him and had no trouble convincing him to betray Sidetes. *Yosippon* does not mention that Hyrcanus had been in Parthia on a prior campaign. However, the text states that “Ashraq, king of Persia, dispatched a clandestine message to king Hyrcanus” (ישלח אשרק מלך) (פרס כתב בהחבא אל הורקנוס המלך). Here, *Yosippon* implies that Ashraq knew how to communicate with Hyrcanus in secret and expect a response to his message, which may allude to some prior contact between the two. Likewise, the narrative assumes that Hyrcanus knew how to respond to Ashraq without Sidetes learning of their correspondence. It is possible that the two knew of one another from Hyrcanus’ earlier foray into Parthian territory.

The Parthians were undoubtedly aware that Hyrcanus was not a willing ally on Sidetes’ campaign. Rather, he was forced to become a Seleucid vassal to preserve his kingdom after Sidetes had besieged him in Jerusalem at the start of his reign. Although the extant accounts imply that Sidetes became the ruler of the Seleucid Empire at the time he besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, the extant evidence suggest that he governed substantial portions of his kingdom before the Parthians captured his brother, Demetrius II.

According to the traditional reconstruction of the history of the Seleucid Empire for this period, Sidetes left Rhodes, where he was residing, after he was informed the Parthians had captured his brother, king Demetrius II, and taken him to Parthia as a hostage. 1 Macc 15:10 dates Sidetes’ arrival in Syria to the Seleucid year 174 (= October 15, 139 BCE to October 4, 138 BCE), shortly after the Parthians had captured Demetrius II in 140 BCE.³³ However, the dates provided by the Babylonian records and the numismatic evidence suggest that Josephus, Posidonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian used biased and inaccurate sources that likely were written by supporters of Sidetes. Although these authors emphasize that Sidetes traveled to Syria to become king after his

33 See further Atkinson, *A History*, 63–67.

brother's capture and asserted his family's right to the throne against the illegitimate ruler Tryphon, the Babylonian records and the numismatic evidence suggest he was a usurper.³⁴

The extent of the territories under the control of Sidetes, based on the dates of the coins he minted, suggest that he arrived in Syria much earlier than indicated in any of our extant sources.³⁵ Sidetes appears to have taken advantage of the Seleucid Empire's conflicts with the Parthians to stage a coup before Demetrius II invaded the Parthian Empire and was imprisoned there. This would explain the puzzling decision of the Parthians to release Demetrius II after Sidetes had attacked their kingdom. The sources indicate that they did so because they were convinced Demetrius II would wage a war against his sibling that would destabilize the Seleucid Empire. The best explanation for the behavior of the Parthians is that Sidetes was a usurper, who successfully took advantage of the fighting between the Seleucid and the Parthian Empires to take at least substantial portions of his brother's kingdom.

Both Josephus and 1 Maccabees indicate that Simon was eager to make an alliance with Sidetes. Given the previously discussed evidence that Sidetes arrived in Syria much earlier than the sources indicate, it is probable that Simon supported his plan to seize the throne from his brother. The Hasmoneans likely played a major and unrecognized role in the history of the Seleucid Empire by helping to bring Sidetes to power. His reign led to decades of civil war in Syria that destabilized the country, which later allowed Hyrcanus to expand the Hasmonean state with no opposition from his neighbors. *Sefer Yosippon* may bear witness to the existence of lost sources known to its author and several Christian writers that documented Hyrcanus' military activities in Parthia. This is especially true concerning how Hyrcanus survived Sidetes' invasion of Parthia. Whereas Josephus attributes it to Hyrcanus' piety to observe a religious holiday, *Yosippon* portrays Hyrcanus as a clever leader who skillfully betrayed Sidetes. His version not only supplements the rather obscure story in the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, but it may shed some new light concerning how Josephus shaped his accounts of Second Temple history by omitting significant events.

34 For additional evidence in support of thesis, see Passehl "Demetrius."

35 See further Houghton, "The Revolt of Tryphon," 138.

4 Additional Evidence in Support of *Sefer Yosippon's* Account of John Hyrcanus in Parthia

It is impossible to prove the historicity of *Sefer Yosippon's* account of Hyrcanus' betrayal of Sidetes. However, the surviving evidence hints at extensive, unrecorded, Jewish contacts with the Parthians, making it probable that *Yosippon*, and its redactor(s), used ancient sources that document Hyrcanus and his successors' alliances with the Parthians.

In his narrative of Pompey's 63 BCE conquest of Jerusalem and his termination of the Hasmonean state, Josephus states that the Hasmonean high priest and king Aristobulus II was prepared to surrender the city to Romans.³⁶ Yet, Pompey treated him harshly, taking him and his family to Rome where he forced them to march as prisoners in his triumph.³⁷ In contrast, *Sefer Yosippon* claims that Pompey had good reason to treat Aristobulus II harshly. According to *Yosippon*, Pompey took him captive since he had rebelled against the Romans after the death of his father, relying on Mithridates, King of Pontus.³⁸ Flusser proposes that this material came from a Byzantine chronicle that added this information to material found in Eusebius' work, which served as *Yosippon's* principal source for this story.³⁹ *Yosippon's* apparent source also suggests that Aristobulus II was acting contrary to Roman interests. Trogus' account of this time contains information lacking in Josephus that may support *Sefer Yosippon's* portrayal of Aristobulus II. During his reign, the Roman Republic feared a possible Hasmonean-Parthian alliance. Trogus, like *Yosippon*, alludes to a more specific reason, or at least, circumstance for Pompey's 63 BCE conquest of Judea and his termination of the Hasmonean state. His work contains evidence that the Jews were involved in piracy of the type the Republic had commissioned Pompey to eradicate.⁴⁰

36 *BJ* 1.139–40.

37 Pompey also took two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and two daughters of Aristobulus II to Rome. Absalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus II, was among the captives. *AJ* 14.71, 79; *BJ* 1.154–158; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 39.2; 45.4; Appian, *Mithridates* 116–17. For Pompey's triumph, which was held September 21, 61 BCE, see Velleius Paterculus 2.40.3; Pliny, *Nat.* 7.97–98.

38 This passage is from the text known as "An Alexander Geste" preserved in the De Rossi manuscript from Parma, no. 1087, and printed as an appendix to the critical edition of Hominer, *Josiphon*, 11.43–45 (p. 488).

39 Flusser, "An 'Alexander Geste,'" 180–91. See also Pucci "An Unknown Source," 335–336; Pucci, "Jewish-Parthian," 17–18.

40 Trogus, *Philippic Histories (Prologue)* 39. 40.2.4; cf. Strabo 16.2.40. See further, Atkinson, "Judean Piracy," 127–145.

Josephus may refer to an earlier Hasmonean offense against the Republic when he states that Hyrcanus II had accused Aristobulus II of raiding neighboring territories and committing acts of piracy at sea.⁴¹ Zollschan also finds earlier hints in the extant literature that the Jews engaged in piracy during the reign of Hyrcanus II's son, Alexander Jannaeus. According to Josephus, Jannaeus was the first Hasmonean ruler to employ mercenaries from Cilicia.⁴² She notes that Josephus describes these men as auxiliaries, namely soldiers, in the Hasmonean army. This was problematic because Cilician pirates hired themselves out as soldiers to such an extent that the name "Cilician" became synonymous in the minds of Romans with pirates.⁴³ Strabo even writes that the principal Hasmonean port of Joppa served as a base of operations for pirates.⁴⁴ This blatant defiance of Rome's directive against pirates, coupled with Roman perceptions that the Hasmoneans had a long relationship with the Parthians, made the Romans suspicious of the Jews.⁴⁵ Consequently, when Pompey arrived in the region, he was angry that the Jews had failed to comply with Rome's earlier law and had allowed pirates to plunder its trade routes to the detriment of the Roman Republic.

Trogus wrote his book when the Romans increasingly began to worry about a possible Jewish and Parthian alliance against the Republic. The Republic sought to counter this relationship by circulating a letter to various Middle Eastern nations, including the Parthians, which mentioned Rome's friendship with the Jews.⁴⁶ Yet, many Jews resided in Parthia. Tigranes II also had deported many Jews to Armenia adjacent to Parthian territory.⁴⁷ This undoubtedly made the Roman Republic suspicious of the Jews. After the death of Crassus in Parthia, many Jews revolted against his general, Cassius, when he and the survivors of his failed Roman invasion of the Parthian Empire reached the Galilee.⁴⁸ Although Josephus does not explicitly connect these events, this Jewish revolt against the Romans broke out at the same time the Parthians were crossing into Judea. The Jews reinforced the Parthian legions to help them conquer the Galilee. In 40 BCE, the Jewish-Parthian alliance became

41 *AJ* 14.43.

42 *BJ* 1.88; *AJ* 13.374.

43 Zollschan, *Rome and Judaea*, 267–268.

44 16.2.28.

45 For additional evidence, see Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue*, 273–297.

46 1 Macc 15:16–24; *AJ* 14.145–147. For a dating of the passages in 1 Maccabees to the 140s BCE, see Goldstein *1 Maccabees*, 493–494.

47 Moses of Khoren, *History of Armenia* 2.14; Neusner, *A History*, 26.

48 For the Roman Republic's wars with the Parthians and Jewish involvement with the Parthians, see further Bivar, "The Political History of Iran," 24–66.

clear to all. In that year, the Parthians made the Hasmonean prince Antigonus king, which forced Marc Antony to seek support in the Senate to install Herod as Judea's monarch to halt their advance. The Republic was forced to send the Roman general Gaius Sosius with Roman troops to Judea to help Herod fight in Jerusalem to take power.⁴⁹

In light of these events and the stories of supposed Jewish contacts with the Parthians, we can better understand Trogus' brief allusions to Jewish activities that the Roman Republic would have viewed as dangerous because they opposed its political and commercial interests and its expansion in the Middle East. The evidence of Jewish relations with Rome's enemies, the Parthian Empire, and pirates, made Pompey determined to annex the Hasmonean state. By taking control of Jewish territory, Pompey also hoped to prevent Parthian expansion in Judea, which would have given the Parthians unhindered access to the Mediterranean. Based on the evidence for a long history of favorable relations between the Hasmoneans and the Parthians, it is plausible that *Sefer Yosippon* accurately records Hasmonean alliances with the Parthians and Hyrcanus' probable betrayal of Phraates II. References to Hyrcanus' earlier campaign in Hyrcania recorded by Christian writers may shed some possible light on *Sefer Yosippon's* sources for this information.

5 *Sefer Yosippon's* Historical Sources for Hasmonean History

Although *Sefer Yosippon* likely dates to the tenth century CE, its incorporation of ancient texts suggests that its author, and those who added to the work, had access to an extensive collection(s) of Greek, Latin, and other ancient writings. These include such diverse works as Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and his commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Sallust's *De Catilinae Conturatiōe*, Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputations*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Livy, as well as other ancient Greek and Latin works. Despite its incorporation of classical writings, *Yosippon* is a unique Jewish composition that combines materials from Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* with a variety of Jewish and Christian texts, such as the Vulgate, *De excidio Hierosolymitano*, Orosius, as well as ancient materials that likely came from a Byzantine chronicle translated into Hebrew.⁵⁰ *Yosippon* was also redacted several times with the incorporation of materials from such texts

49 See further, Atkinson, *A History*, 160–165. Several authors comment that many of the residents of Syria and the neighboring lands favored the Parthians. See Cassius Dio 49.19; Horace, *Odes* 3.6; Tacitus, *Germania* 37.

50 See further, Dönitz, "Historiography," 963–965; Flusser, "An 'Alexander Geste,'" 165–184.

as the Hebrew *Alexander Romance*, passages from the Septuagint, and additions to the book of Daniel.⁵¹

Scholars have proposed many places throughout Italy, such as Napoli, Bari, and monasteries including Bobbio in Piacenza, where copies of many texts were dispersed to other monastic and papal libraries, as the origin for many of the Greek and Latin works cited in *Sefer Yosippon*. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to show that such as *Yosippon's* author or redactors could have gained entry to such monastic collections.⁵² Yet *Yosippon's* contents show that these proposed locales in Italy likely contained ancient manuscripts of unknown Second Temple Period texts, copies of them, and/or now—lost books that cited from unknown Jewish and pagan writings. This should not be seen as remarkable since the ninth century CE Byzantine Christian writer Syncellus incorporated ancient and previously unknown information about the Hasmoneans from unknown sources. He documents an unattested siege of Tyre by Hyrcanus' son, Jannaeus, and records a list of cities he conquered that is independent of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*. The latter is preferable to Josephus' account while the former incident is supported by the historical record.⁵³ Although Syncellus' late date would appear to make his work an unlikely source for new information about the Second Temple Period, he, like *Sefer Yosippon*, clearly had access to ancient and unknown writings from that time. The existence of such ancient texts should not be surprising, for a study of surviving scrolls from fifty literary collections and libraries from the second century BCE to the third century CE found that many of these manuscripts were 150–500 years of age, with an average lifespan between 200–300 years. Because of their ages, and the mention by the famed physician and philosopher Galen that the libraries on the Palatine hill in his day were between 200 and 450 years old at the time of the fire of 192 CE, it is feasible that the authors and redactors of *Yosippon* had access to texts containing ancient sources from the Second Temple Period.⁵⁴ Italy, with its vast literary collections, would have been ideal local for *Yosippon's* author and redactors to find new sources of information about Jewish history not recorded in Josephus' writings.

51 Dönitz, "Historiography," 953–970.

52 For these and other observations on the difficulties in locating the sources used throughout *SY*, see further Bowman, "Sefer Yosippon: Revelations," 59–60.

53 See further, Atkinson, *A History*, 16–17, 130–132.

54 See Houston, "Papyrological," 233–267; Galen, *On the Avoidance of Grief*, 13.

6 Conclusion

Sefer Yosippon is a unique Hebrew composition produced in an era of great Jewish intellectual activity in southern Italy when works such as *piyyutim*, chronicles, mystical writings, and translations of historical and secular works, flourished.⁵⁵ Steven Bowman places *Sefer Yosippon* within the Byzantine inspired revival when major works such as the encyclopedic project of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which stimulated historical studies in numerous languages, were produced.⁵⁶ *Yosippon* reflects a period of great learning, yet also reflects the time of this author(s). *Yosippon's* account of Yosef ben Gorion's offer of absolution from sins to those who joined him in martyrdom, for example, appears to reflect Christian views of noble death at a time when Muslim soldiers were fighting a "jihad" during the tenth century CE Saracen invasions of Southern Italy.⁵⁷ If Dönitz's identification of the author of the third recension (C) as the Byzantine Rabbi Yehuda Mosconi is correct, then *Yosippon's* content suggest that he had access to texts that included ancient documents containing materials about the Hasmonean period.⁵⁸ The references to Hyrcanus' conquest of Hyrcania in Christian sources suggest that such works were extant in at least several major intellectual centers. Consequently, *Yosippon* should be included among the sources of ancient Jewish history alongside Josephus and other Second Temple Period Jewish authors. His incorporation of such materials not only supplements our knowledge of this era, but it also provides a window into some of the sources and information Josephus apparently chose to omit in his writings, namely Jewish contacts with the Parthians. Like *Yosippon's* author, whose portrayals of Jewish history reflect the tumultuous political events of his day, Josephus' accounts of the Hasmoneans are as much literary compositions as historical narratives since he too was influenced by the political landscape of his time when many Romans feared that the Jews were in still in league with their Parthian adversaries. For Josephus, the less said about such contacts the better for himself and the Jews of his day.

Sefer Yosippon should be regarded as a text that supplements Josephus' historical writings that also preserves unique materials about the Second Temple Period. Although it is not surprising that such sources were available

55 See further, Bowman, "Dates in *Sepher Yosippon*," 353

56 Bowman, "Yosippon' and Jewish Nationalism," 28–29.

57 See further Grossman, "The Cultural and Social Background," 73–86; Dönitz, "Historiography," 959–960.

58 See further Dönitz, "Historiography," 964–965.

at the time of *Yosippon's* composition and redactions, the mystery is how its author and redactors gained access to the vast amounts of classical sources cited throughout the work. Because *Yosippon* shows no acquaintance with the Babylonian Talmud, but was written at a time when Jews, Christians, and Muslims were in contact with one another, it may attest to some unknown relationship between Jews and Christians, or perhaps a Jew and a Christian, when such resources were shared.⁵⁹ This tumultuous time when Saracen invasions plagued both communities could have brought Jews and Christian communities together. It is possible that this climate led to intellectual exchanges among some Jews and Christians. If so, then *Yosippon* may also bear witness to a previously unknown time of Jewish-Christian cultural exchange in southern Italy of which we know little. *Yosippon's* knowledge of and interest in classical writings makes its author and redactors unique figures in Jewish history. *Yosippon* also is our only extant witness to some of the lost writings of the Hasmonean era that documented Jewish history. Consequently, *Yosippon* should be considered a valuable witness to the Second Temple Period and read alongside the *Bellum Judaicum* and the *Antiquitates Judaicae* for the light it sheds on the Hasmonean period and for what it tells us about Josephus' historical methods, particularly what he excluded from his books.

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59 Those who note the absence of Talmudic references or allusions in the text include, Bonfil, "Between Eretz Israel," 20–30; Bowman, "Sefer Yosippon: Revelations," 58–59; Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon (Josippon)," 388.

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Sefer Yosippon and *Sefer Masa'ot*: A Reconsideration

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1 Introduction: A Tale of Two Texts

It is a commonplace in the modern reception of Benjamin of Tudela's *Sefer Masa'ot* that *Sefer Yosippon* served as one of its major sources.¹ Numerous scholars over the course of the past two centuries have turned to this early medieval chronicle of Jewish history in seeking to account for some of the twelfth-century travel narrative's more puzzling statements. Most recently, Giancarlo Lacerenza has described *Yosippon* as "the direct source of the Tudelan itinerary in various passages" and, indeed, as the "Hebrew source most used"² by the presumed redactor of the *Book of Travels*.³ To date, however, I am aware of no sustained examination of either the textual relationship between these two classics of medieval Jewish literature or of the scholarly context in which the claims of this relationship emerged. In what follows, I aim to address these two significant lacunae.

After first briefly reviewing the passages in *Sefer Masa'ot* that have been ascribed to, or linked with, Benjamin's Italian predecessor, I shall assess the legitimacy of these claims, arguing that while in some instances the attributions may well be correct, in certain other, more critical cases they are downright erroneous or have been greatly exaggerated. Where they do appear to be

1 My thanks to the organizers, and now editors, of *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond* for creating the opportunity and incentive for me to undertake this investigation, and to Saskia Dönitz for her assistance with questions pertaining to the reception of *Sefer Yosippon* (*SY*). All biblical translations are taken from the Jewish Publication Society *Tanakh*. All other translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

2 Lacerenza, "Memorie e luoghi," 68 ("Fonte diretta dell'itinerario tudelense in svariati luoghi"); Lacerenza, "Descrizioni ed echi," 171 ("[la] fonte ebraica più utilizzata dal redattore del *Sefer massa'ot*" [*sic*]). See also *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, where Minervini writes that "si può però sicuramente identificare almeno un'opera da cui [Benjamin] trae talvolta fantasiose informazioni," namely *SY*. On *SY*, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption* and, most recently, *Sefer Yosippon: A Tenth-Century History of Ancient Israel*, trans. Bowman.

3 In this essay, I employ *Sefer Masa'ot*, *Book of Travels*, and *Itinerary* interchangeably as titles for Benjamin of Tudela's travel narrative. I do not address directly here the question of the text's authorship and/or redaction, though see p. 433 below. For a detailed discussion of this matter and further bibliography, see Stein Kokin, "Arch'-Enemy," especially pp. 35–42.

legitimate or at least highly plausible, I shall clarify both how *Sefer Yosippon* was employed and the significance of that use. Thereafter, in order to pinpoint the origin of the over-emphasis on *Yosippon*, I shall turn to the internal Jewish scholarly polemics of the nineteenth century, in particular the vehement critique directed against Isaak Markus Jost by Adolf Asher in his 1840–41 edition and English translation of *Sefer Masa'ot*. I shall show how the latter's commitment to defending the value and reliability of Benjamin's *Book of Travels* led him to inflate its dependence upon *Yosippon*, with important consequences for how the text has been interpreted down to the present. Indeed, through close readings of two relevant sections from the *Itinerary*, I shall demonstrate that by deflecting scholarly attention away from fascinating passages worthy of closer investigation, Asher's strategy has had the ironic consequence of actually undermining the *Itinerary* it sought to enhance.

While the relevance of this topic for a volume devoted in part to the legacy of *Sefer Yosippon* is clear, in revealing how unquestioned traditions of interpretation can unwittingly guide—or rather misguide—analysis across generations, this study should be of interest to all students and scholars concerned with the reception and analysis of foundational texts.

2 The Passages

From the beginning of the text it is five pages to Rome,⁴ where Benjamin refers to the eighty palaces belonging to the eighty emperors who had reigned there, noting in particular that

the palace of Titus is [located] outside of Rome, since the consul and his three hundred senators did not receive him [back in the city]. For in taking three years to conquer Jerusalem, [Titus] did not fulfill their command to do so in two.⁵

In his above-mentioned edition, Asher somewhat cautiously claims that “the traditions respecting the eighty halls [and] the palace of Titus” are “*mostly*

4 For readers not directly familiar with the *Book of Travels*, this section of my essay playfully imitates the structure of that work, in which each allegedly visited locale is described in terms of its distance in days of travel or parasangs from the previously mentioned site. For example, “from [Arles] it is two days' journey to Marseilles.” My “calculations” are based on the classic edition of Marcus Nathan Adler (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler).

5 For the original Hebrew and its textual variants, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1. I discuss this passage in greater detail in my above-mentioned study.

copied from [Yosippon];⁶ by contrast, in his edition, from 1907, Marcus Nathan Adler pithily asserts “this is Yosippon’s story,” referring specifically to the location of Titus’ palace and the explanation presented for it.⁷ Giulio Busi cites Adler in his 1988 edition to make the same point;⁸ one year later, Laura Minervini in general connects the Roman ruins encountered by Benjamin to legends taken from *Sefer Yosippon*;⁹ in his 1998 German rendering, Stefan Schreiner was likewise convinced that “die hier überlieferte Legende hat der Autor dem ... Buch ‘Yosippon,’ ... entnommen;”¹⁰ the 2015 bilingual Spanish-Basque edition of *Sefer Masa’ot* once again refers to Adler in linking this passage to *Yosippon*;¹¹ and—finally—for Lacerenza, writing in 2019, “questa parte della descrizione echeggi in più punti elementi tratti direttamente” from *Yosippon*.¹²

From Rome it is one page to Pozzuoli

which is called Sorrento the Great, built by Zur,¹³ son of Hadadezer, who fled from David the king (may he rest in peace). The sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides, and unto today one can still see the markets and towers which stood in the midst of the city. And a spring there issues forth from the deep and the oil is found there which is called petroleum. People collect it from the surface of the water and use it for various creams and treatments. There are also hot-water springs to the number of about twenty, which issue from beneath the ground and are situated near the sea, and every man who has any sickness can go and bathe in them and get cured. All the afflicted of Lombardy visit it in the summertime for that purpose. From this place a man can travel

6 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.25–26n39 (italics mine).

7 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6n5.

8 *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 19n17.

9 *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 101–102n25. The relevant quotation runs as follows: “Nella descrizione di Roma le impressioni provate dal viaggiatore di fronte alle rovine romane si intrecciano con le informazioni leggendarie di origine locale o di provenienza ebraica (queste ultime tratte soprattutto dal *Sefer Josefón* [sic]).”

10 *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 203, n. to 15. Like Adler, Schreiner is here concerned specifically with the report concerning the palace of Titus.

11 *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 38n48 (“es una leyenda procedente del Josippon”); 127n20 (“Referencia tomada del Sefer Josippón, crónica de la historia judía desde Adán a la época del emperador Tito ... Fue una obra muy leída y respetada por los judíos medievales.”); 228n23.

12 Lacerenza, “Descrizioni ed echi,” 171.

13 Except where quoting others, I present this figure and the city of the same name (i.e. Tyre in English) as Tsur. In his translation of SY, Steven B. Bowman renders the name as Zor, i.e. Tsor. See *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 13. For the alternative city name Tsor and its potential significance, see 444 and 446, below.

fifteen miles along a road under the mountains, a work executed by King Romulus who built the city of Rome. He was prompted to this by fear of King David and Joab his general. He built fortifications both upon the mountains and below the mountains reaching as far as the city of Naples.¹⁴

Asher again insists that “[this whole passage] and all the mistakes which occur therein, are *copied* either by our author *or by a later scribe* from Josephus Gorionides [i.e. *Sefer Yosippon*], who also speaks of the petroleum which is gather’d [*sic*] in the Vicinity [*sic*], and of the causeway under the mountains ‘constructed by Romulus who feared David.’”¹⁵ For Adler, similarly, “Yosippon gives these legends ... when speaking of Zur, whom he associates with Sorrento. Benjamin had few other sources of information.”¹⁶ Likewise, for Lacerenza, in this passage *Yosippon* is “taken up” (“ripreso”) by, or served as the mold or matrix (“la matrice”) for, *Sefer Masa’ot*.¹⁷

From Naples, it is two pages to Patras, described as “the city which Antipater, King of the Greeks, built. He was one of the four successors of King Alexander.”¹⁸ Here, too, many of the usual suspects are in agreement that *Yosippon* lies at the root of this historically incorrect claim.¹⁹

From Patras it is one page to Salonika, described in the *Book of Travels* as having been founded by King Seleucus, “one of the four branches of Greece that arose after Alexander.”²⁰ David Flusser suggested that Benjamin here draws upon *Sefer Yosippon* since a virtually identical Hebrew phrase (“ארבעת שריגי יון”) appears in both texts.²¹ Finally, from Salonika it is eleven

14 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8; translation modified. For the Hebrew original, see יא-ב.

15 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.27n41 (italics mine).

16 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8n2.

17 Lacerenza, “Memorie e luoghi,” 68–69; Lacerenza, “Echi biblici,” 467. See also *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 21n22–n23; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 102n27–n28; *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 204, n. to 17–18; Jacoby, “Benjamin of Tudela and his ‘Book of Travels,’” 151–152; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 39n51; 130n30; *Les voyageurs juifs*, ed. and trans. Harboun, 212n26 (citing Charton, *Voyageurs anciens*); and *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 2.88n264.

18 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 10; ט.

19 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.35–36; *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 10n3; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 103n38; *Jüdische Reisen*, ed. Schreiner, 205, n. to 22; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 132n38. *Itinerario*, trans. Busi does not comment on this passage. In point of fact, Patras is much older than this tradition suggests.

20 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 11.

21 For the passage in *SY* 10 (*), see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.59 and *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 55; in Benjamin, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, ג. For Flusser’s claim concerning Benjamin’s dependence upon *SY*, see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.60n79.

pages to Jerusalem, where—it has been suggested—the anachronistic description of the city as “fortified by three walls” was taken from *Yosippon*.²²

These are the five passages known to me for which *Sefer Yosippon* has been invoked as the source for *Sefer Masa'ot*.²³

Of these, direct dependence upon *Sefer Yosippon* in the cases involving Patras, Salonika, and Jerusalem seems quite likely, though by no means definite. Alternatively, it is not impossible that Benjamin encountered the traditions reported by *Yosippon* via oral intermediaries, including in the locales visited by him. These intermediaries, in turn, could certainly have received their information from *Yosippon*: indeed, in the preface to his fourteenth-century “edition” thereof, Judah ibn Mosconi refers to the “fragments and excerpts [of the work he encountered] in the libraries of Aegean Jews,” i.e. Jews in the region of Patras and Salonika.²⁴ But, by the same token, the independent exposure of these potential intermediaries to the same traditions that had made their way into *Sefer Yosippon* can also not be excluded.

Thus, like Benjamin, *Sefer Yosippon*—or, more precisely, the “Alexander Tale” included in the later recensions of *Yosippon*²⁵—erroneously mentions Antipater as the founder of Patras. Because this statement in *Yosippon* follows directly upon Alexander’s death and introduces—alongside Antipater—Ptolomaeus, Seleucus, and an Alexander “Junior” as his other apparent heirs,²⁶

22 Praver, “Ti'urei masa' ivriyim,” 51 and Praver, *The History of the Jews*, 200. In the second source, Praver refers to “Josephus” as the “inspiration” for “this strange piece of information,” citing in his footnotes both Josephus and SY. See also *Itinerario*, trans. Busi, 9, 36n74; *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 107n67; Schmitz, “Benjamin von Tudela ‘Das Buch der Reisen,’” 301; *Vida y obra*, ed. and trans. Rodríguez Ochoa et al., 147n90. For Jerusalem in *Sefer Masa'ot*, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 22–25.

23 In addition, Juliette Sibon suggests that Benjamin satisfied in SY “among others, his interest in Jewish sects,” while Asher observed that both authors refer to the pope as “hegemon ha-gadol,” implying that the later work may have obtained this designation from the earlier (See Sibon, “Benjamin de Tudèle,” 218 and *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.16). Finally, in *Les voyageurs juifs*, ed. and trans. Harboun (218n135), it is suggested—by way of reference to Joachim Lelewel’s geographical investigation of the *Book of Travels*—that Benjamin’s discussion of the Rechabites is based on that of SY. However, the claim that *Sefer Masa'ot* at all refers to the Rechabites appears to be based on an error in one of the manuscripts. On this point, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 49n4 (cont.). The passage in question appears in the Adler edition on 12. Lelewel’s “examen géographique” appears in the back of Carmoly, *Notice historique*.

24 See Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 281.

25 On the “Alexander Tale” interpolation and its relationship to the text of SY as a whole, see the chapter by Saskia Dönitz in this volume.

26 Ma'aseh 'Aleksandros, chapter 12, in *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.484; “Gesta Alexandros,” Chapter 12, in Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 490. For Flusser, the above-mentioned Byzantine chronicle begins only with chapter 13 (13) of his “Ma'aseh 'Aleksandros.” However, according to Saskia Dönitz (personal communication with the author; Aug. 30, 2021), the

Benjamin's reference to "the Great's" four successors seems to summarize this passage as a whole.

With regard to Salonika, for all the similarity between the two texts, it should be noted that—in contrast to Patras—Flusser's edition of *Sefer Yosippon* makes no mention of the city of Salonika in connection with Seleucus. Thus, while *Sefer Masa'ot's* dependence here upon *Yosippon* appears likely, it seems not to account for his claim concerning the city's name, which perhaps reflects a local tradition encountered on site.²⁷

As for Jerusalem, *Sefer Yosippon* does indeed refer to it as a three-walled city²⁸ and so Benjamin may well have obtained this notion from him.²⁹ Nonetheless, this attribution hardly settles matters, for while the former text mentions these walls as they are felled one after the other by Roman battering rams during the siege of the city,³⁰ the latter evokes them as still standing more than a millennium later. Benjamin's borrowing from *Yosippon*, if such is indeed the case, therefore constitutes abuse as much as use. The walls whose destruction *Yosippon* recounts in detail testify in the *Itinerary*, instead, to Jerusalem's endurance.³¹

chronicle actually commences even earlier in Flusser's text, thus encompassing the passage of interest here.

- 27 In point of fact, the city took its full name, Thessaloniki, from Alexander's half-sister Thessalonike.
- 28 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.353; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 330.
- 29 Josephus also refers to Jerusalem's three walls in *BJ* 5.2.142–155.
- 30 For the entirety of the text's treatment of the fate of these walls, see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.353–358, 369, 373, 376, 389–390 (chapters פב, פ, ט, עה, עז); Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 330–334, 341, 344–345, 348, 360–361 (chapters 77, 78, 79, 80, 82).
- 31 As for Sibon's above-mentioned association between the *Book of Travels* and *SY* with regard to Jewish sects, no specific passages are cited, neither is direct evidence presented. With regard to the phrase "hegemon ha-gadol," Asher's claim is somewhat misleading, since *SY* does not refer to the pope per se, but rather to the pagan Roman high priest, namely the pontifex maximus. It is, however, quite possible that Benjamin took the phrase from this work, in essence conceiving of the pope as the successor to the Roman high priest. Indeed, while historically speaking the Roman emperors appropriated the title of pontifex maximus for themselves, in *SY's* account the "hegemon ha-gadol" constituted a distinct office, since the holder of this title plays an essential role in the imperial coronation of Vespasian. It thus seems clear that *SY* modeled his portrait of the ancient emperor and high priest after the pope and emperor of his own age. For *SY's* use of the term "hegemon ha-gadol," see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.450 ("Ha-nusah ha-ragil," chapter 2; it is rendered as "chief leader" in Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 427); for that of Benjamin, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1, but note that in the British Museum MS, the source of Adler's main text, only "hegemon" appears.

3 Blame It on Yosippon

The other two instances referenced above are both more significant with regard to our overall interpretation of *Sefer Masa'ot* and more complex as concerns their relationship with *Sefer Yosippon*. Benjamin's fascinating account of the region around Naples overlaps to a large degree with that of *Yosippon*, but also features substantial differences and therefore requires careful analysis, shortly to follow. As for Benjamin's description of Roman imperial palaces, and specifically the alleged location external to Rome of that of Titus, I am aware of no such passage in any known edition or manuscript variant of *Yosippon*. The closest parallel in that text known to me refers to Romulus' construction of

a wall encompassing all the buildings of the kings (בניני המלכים) who ruled before him, [in which] he included all the surrounding palaces (ההיכלות) and hills within the wall, and the length of the wall was forty-five miles and he called the name of the city Rome after Romulus.³²

This passage does, to be sure, mention “the buildings of the kings,” i.e. presumably their palaces, but refers solely and explicitly to monarchs who ruled *prior* to Romulus.³³ By contrast, Benjamin makes no mention whatsoever of Romulus anywhere in his description of Rome³⁴ and writes solely of later emperors (i.e. *post*-Romulus) from the “kingship of Tarquinius down to the kingship of Nero and Tiberius ... until the kingdom of Pepin, the father of Charlemagne.”³⁵ Indeed, while Tarquinius is implicitly presented in the *Book of Travels* as the first or at least an early emperor of Rome, according to *Sefer Yosippon* it is Tarquinius' reprehensible behavior in lusting after and seizing a married woman that brought the Romans to swear “that no king will rule over them” there. Instead, they appointed “from among the city's elders a consul and three hundred and twenty senators (lit. advisors.)”³⁶ A consul and three hundred senators are, to be sure, referenced by Benjamin, but from the Titus

32 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18–19; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13.

33 The later reference in this passage to “palaces” is unclear, since the term היכל is employed in *SY* to refer to both human residences and temples for gods, including in this very section. For example, Aventinus is said to have “built a large palace for his dwelling” (“ויבן היכל גדול לשבתו”), while Romulus constructed “a giant temple to Jovis (Jupiter)” (“ויבן היכל עצום ליוביס”). See *Sepher Yosippon*, trans. Bowman, 12–13 and *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18–19. In *Sefer Masa'ot*, the palaces of the emperors are in some manuscripts described as ארמונים, in others as היכלות. See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 1.

34 In the description of Pozzuoli cited above, he does, however, briefly identify him as the man “who built the city of Rome.”

35 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6, translation modified.

36 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.19; Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13–14.

passage cited above it is clear that he conceives of them as coexisting with, rather than replacing, the kings/emperors.³⁷ To summarize, there appears to be no sound basis for regarding *Yosippon's* treatment of Roman imperial palaces as the basis for that of *Sefer Masa'ot*. The common elements between them are restricted to the overarching subject matter and a small number of overlapping terms (e.g. Rome, palaces, Tarquinius, the consul, three hundred or three hundred and twenty advisors or senators).

But if there is no direct antecedent in *Sefer Yosippon* for Benjamin's discussion of the imperial palaces, why then have so many modern scholars been convinced otherwise? The fact that none of the above-cited scholars identify where precisely in *Yosippon* the relevant passage is to be found³⁸ or engage in any detailed discussion of the relationship between that passage and the description in *Sefer Masa'ot* strongly suggests that they have simply relied upon earlier scholarship without double-checking the attribution for themselves. This impression is strengthened by the increasing specificity with which they nonetheless reference *Yosippon* as the Tudelan's source.³⁹ When, then, was the notion of Benjamin's borrowing first raised? So far as I can tell, this occurred in Asher's above-mentioned edition. Confirmation of this assessment can be discerned in the vehemence—unrivaled since—with which Asher advances this claim in the context of his scholarly polemic against Isaak Marcus Jost, the pioneering nineteenth-century German-Jewish historian.⁴⁰

In his *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabaer*, Jost had compiled a list of Benjamin's errors, prefaced by the suggestion of his general unreliability and of his text's status as a mere compilation.⁴¹ This approach perfectly

37 Benjamin does not distinguish between the Roman kings and emperors, in fact referring to "kings ... called emperors." See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6; 1. According to *Sefer Yosippon*, Julius Caesar exiled the consul and Senate, at which point they disappear from his narrative. See *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.167; Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 158. Bowman, translating literally from the Hebrew, renders the consul and senators as "the Elder" and his "counselors," respectively.

38 Some scholars do, to be sure, offer general indications, but these reference the above-mentioned overlapping themes, not a specific source. For more on this front, see the next footnote.

39 While Asher offers no precise indication at all, Adler explicitly states only that "*Yosippon*, Book I, Chap, iv, speaks of 320 senators" (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 6n5), as if this clinches the case. Schreiner, in contrast (*Jüdische Reisen*, 203, n. to 15), refers directly to Bk. 1, Ch. 4 of *SY* as Benjamin's source without any qualification. Consider also the excerpts from their respective editions quoted above.

40 On Jost, the first Jew—since Josephus, that is—to compose a multi-volume history of the Jews that continued down to his own times, see Michael, *Avi ha-historiografiah*; Brenner, *Prophets of the Past*; Schorsch, "From Wolfenbüttel to Wissenschaft," 109–128; Pyka, "In the Shadow of Napoleon," 185–217; and Paolin, "Lottocento e le nuove prospettive," 35–56.

41 Jost here indicates his sympathy for the view that *Sefer Masa'ot* is but "the concoction of an ignoramus ... who never traveled ... It seems that he compiled [his notes] poorly,

suiting Jost's combative stance vis-à-vis Jewish tradition, the irreverent style of his writing, and his commitment to deploying historical research in the service of emancipatory politics.⁴² Asher and his collaborators, who included such *Wissenschaft des Judentums* luminaries as Leopold Zunz and Salomon Munk, were by contrast eager to defend Benjamin from these charges. For Asher, in particular, preparation of a modern edition of *Sefer Masa'ot* constituted a central plank of his scholarly endeavor to enhance knowledge of medieval geography.⁴³ Given his interest in enhancing the value and dependability of the *Itinerary*—at one point he even calls upon the great Gibbon of *Decline and Fall* fame in Benjamin's defense⁴⁴—it is not surprising that Asher frequently takes delight in undermining the reliability of contemporary scholars and their critiques of *Sefer Masa'ot*.⁴⁵ Since Jost's brief discussion had been one of the most recent and prominent such examples, it was subjected to particular ire on the part of Asher and at least part of his team.⁴⁶

Thus, for example, in one passage Asher expresses his "astonishment" at Jost, concluding that a historian "guilty of such mistakes ... ought not to be taken bona fide."⁴⁷ Elsewhere, Asher accuses him of "expressions, rather strange in an historian,"⁴⁸ and, on a third occasion, while acknowledging Benjamin's occasional errors, nevertheless insists "that the learned Dr. Jost ... should have abstained from making these mistakes a point of accusation against the author, who, we contend, is comparatively more exempt from mistakes than his reviewer."⁴⁹ Indeed, a key element of Asher's strategy for defending Benjamin's reliability involved ascribing his occasional lapses to texts such as

assuming that the whole wasn't simply composed later." See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 376 ("das Nachwerk eines Unkundigen ... der nie gereist ist ... Es scheint, er habe schlecht compilirt, wofern nicht das Ganze später verfaßt ist").

42 On these tendencies, see Paolin, "L'ottocento," 45–46.

43 In the "Introduction" to his edition, he complains that while it is easy to learn about ancient and modern geography, "comparatively nothing has been done to throw light on that portion of geography, which comprises the ages, called the dark." *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.v.

44 See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.24–25, where his comments begin as follows: "The following remarks of Gibbon will be found to plead very forcibly in excuse of our authors [*sic*] mistakes, in reference to his historical notices of the monuments he saw at Rome." Asher's aspirations to *Wissenschaft* are also on clear display in the dedication that opens his edition of the *Itinerary*: "To his excellency Baron Alexander von Humboldt this work with his kind permission is most respectfully inscribed" (*The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 1.5).

45 See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 1.10, 15–16, 17–20, 24.

46 For instances of critique leveled at Jost by Asher, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.18, 26, 31, 39; for criticism by the rabbi and scholar Solomon Judah Loeb Rapaport, see *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.24, 30, 38.

47 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.18.

48 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.39.

49 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Asher, 2.26.

Sefer Yosippon.⁵⁰ This had the benefit of attesting to both Benjamin and Asher's wide learning, while at the same time undermining the likes of Jost for failing to have detected his sources.⁵¹ But it also led Asher to exaggerate the *Book of Travels*' dependence upon *Yosippon* in passages that, for a nineteenth-century historian, risked casting the author of the *Book of Travels* in an especially unfavorable light. Subsequent scholars, unaware of the context that had conditioned Asher's linkage between the two books, uncritically repeated—and indeed intensified—his conclusions, such that *Yosippon* today can be described as an “open text,” not only in terms of what was actually added to its folios, but also with regard to what was believed (or at least alleged) to be found therein.⁵²

Of course, if the report concerning Titus and his palace is simply “Yosippon's story,” then there is little need or inducement for scholars to examine it in detail; indeed, I am aware of no careful analysis thereof prior to a recent study of mine.⁵³ But if, as appears virtually certain, this is not at all the case, then the claim that Titus was punished upon his return to Rome for having conquered Jerusalem too slowly becomes quite interesting, especially as this notion—to the best of my knowledge—is not found in any other known source.

In my study, I argued that this passage reflects a unique Roman-Jewish response to the increasing challenge posed by the Arch of Titus. For this monument that celebrated Titus's defeat of the Jewish revolt and destruction of

50 Alternatively, as seen above, he blamed them on a later copyist of the *Book of Travels*. For his part, here is Zunz's apologetic approach to defending Benjamin: “As we find ... the historical and geographical data [in *Sefer Masa'ot*] to be fully authenticated, and as the fables must be charged, not to [Benjamin's] own account, but to that of his time, a sound critique has rejected with justice all those suspicions and attempts at derogation, which have been directed against this, our [the Jewish people's] first traveler.” See Zunz, “An Essay,” 252, cited in Jacobs, “A Day's Journey,” 204 (the bracketed additions to the text are from Jacobs). Thus we see how central the defense of Benjamin's account was for both Zunz and Asher's scholarly project and their pursuit of Jewish honor. It is worth noting that precisely in this same decade, European nations financed archaeological expeditions in the Near East “as opportunities to enhance national prestige.” See Tugendhaft, *The Idols*, 41.

51 To be sure, Jost is hardly above criticism, even by nineteenth century standards. For example, he woefully misreads Benjamin's brief excursus on the palace of Titus, summarizing it as follows: “Titus was condemned by the Senate to live two years outside of Rome, because he conquered Jerusalem too slowly.” See Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 376 (“Titus sei vom Senat verurtheilt worden, zwei Jahre außerhalb Roms zu wohnen, weil er Jerusalem so langsam erobert habe.”). Just prior to this he had complained that Benjamin describes a R. Jehiel as a confidant of the pope without specifying the pontiff's name. But Benjamin does in fact identify him as Pope Alexander. See *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 5.

52 On the notion of the “open text,” see Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 284 and, more generally, Ta-Shma, “The ‘Open’ Book,” 17–24.

53 Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy.”

Jerusalem on behalf of *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (“the Senate and people of Rome,” as its famous inscription proclaims) assumed unprecedented textual and liturgical prominence in the life of twelfth-century Rome.⁵⁴ In thus instead highlighting a Titus who was not welcomed back to the Eternal City, this source presents a Jewish counter-history to a central plank of medieval Roman-Christian identity. Along the same lines, it is noteworthy that the arch itself goes unmentioned in Benjamin’s otherwise detailed description of sites of Jewish interest in Rome.

In addition, in the placement of Titus’ palace outside of the city, I detect an echo of the tensions that prevailed in Rome at the time between the papacy and commune (which refounded the Senate), as a result of which numerous popes were in fact obliged to reside for substantial periods of time beyond its walls. In short, this tradition inscribes the turmoil of twelfth-century Rome onto the ancient story of Titus, its political and spatial specificity testifying, in my estimation, to its emergence in a Roman environment.

If my argument concerning this tradition holds, then the false ascription to *Sefer Yosippon* originating with Asher has actually had quite ironic implications. Far from enhancing the value and dependability of the *Itinerary*, Asher here undermined it, providing unwitting support for those contemporary scholars who wish to de-emphasize the extent or significance of what Benjamin actually encountered en route and instead present his *Book of Travels* as substantially a redacted compilation from other sources—in essence what Jost had argued and the dominant approach today in scholarship on this text.⁵⁵ Thus, the uncritical acceptance of long-standing scholarly claims concerning the *Itinerary’s* sources has paradoxically fed skepticism as to its overarching uniqueness and reliability as a window into its time.⁵⁶ By contrast, I claim that by liberating *Sefer Masa’ot* from its alleged dependence upon *Yosippon*, we are better positioned to tap into its riches, including rare and invaluable insight into the perspective of mid twelfth-century Roman Jews.

54 After centuries of silence, the arch was mentioned in numerous writings in this period and from ca. 1140, at the latest, passage directly through the arch was a feature of the papal *adventus*, which marked the coronation of a new pope or his return to Rome after a period of absence, as well as of similar processions held on special occasions such as Easter Monday. On this, see Marie-Thérèse Champagne, “Pagan Rome,” 67; *Mirabilia*, ed. Nichols, 165–171, esp. 171; and Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” where extensive further bibliography is provided.

55 See Lacerenza, “Struttura letteraria;” Lacerenza, “Descrizioni ed echi;” Sibon, “Benjamin de Tudèle;” and Jacobs, “A Day’s Journey;” for prominent recent examples.

56 To be clear, although I do not regard the *Itinerary* as simply a straightforward, positivistic account of actual events or circumstances, I do believe it offers invaluable testimony concerning various legends and traditions, some of which are not known from any other source.

4 The Submersion of Sorrento

If the passage concerning Titus' palace presents us with a rather clear instance of erroneous ascription to *Sefer Yosippon*, that involving Benjamin's report regarding the region around Naples is far more ambiguous and complex. While there is no doubt, as has long been known,⁵⁷ that *Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* overlap to a substantial degree on this front, it is insufficient simply to allege, as has typically been the case, that the latter source is merely dependent upon the former. Instead, I shall argue both that Benjamin arrived at his account largely, if not entirely, independently of *Yosippon*, and that appreciation of this fact better positions to appreciate the author of *Yosippon's* literary artistry. What follows is admittedly speculative; if my readers are left unpersuaded, I at least hope that they find the discussion engaging and suggestive.

Let us begin by comparing the two sources' respective reports.

Romulus reigned ... thirty-eight years. In his days, David smote Aram and Edom, and Hadarezer and his sons fled and came to the land of the Kittim [i.e. Italy]. Romulus gave them a place on the sea and a place in the mountains, and they built there a city and called its name Tsorrento [i.e. Sorrento], after the name of the man who escaped from David, namely Tsur, from the family of Hadarezer. They built for themselves the city of ancient Albano and they have resided there unto today. But in the midst of the city of Sorrento a spring of oil emerged and over the course of many years the city sank beneath it and the sea has covered the city, now between Naples and New Sorrento. Nonetheless, the spring has not ceased [its flow], for until now oil flows forth and rises atop the sea water, and the residents of Naples continually collect it. Romulus greatly feared David and built a wall encompassing all the buildings of the kings who ruled before him, and he included all the surrounding palaces and hills within the wall, and the length of the wall was forty-five miles, and he called the name of the city Rome after Romulus. They were greatly afraid all the days of David. [Romulus] magnified the name of the sons of Kittim and they were called Romans after the name of the city until today ... Romulus carried out many wars and there was a treaty between him and David.⁵⁸

Sefer Yosippon

57 This was, to the best of my knowledge, first noted in Toaff, "Sorrento e Pozzuoli," 313–317.

58 *SY 2* (2); see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 118–19; and Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 13 (to which the translation offered here is greatly indebted).

From [Capua] one goes to Pozzuoli which is called Sorrento the Great, built by Zur,⁵⁹ son of Hadadezer, who fled from David the king (may he rest in peace). The sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides, and unto today one can still see the markets and towers that stood in the midst of the city. And a spring there issues forth from the deep and the oil is found there which is called petroleum. People collect it from the surface of the water and use it for various creams and treatments. There are also hot-water baths to the number of about twenty, which issue from beneath the ground and are situated near the sea, and every man who has any sickness can go and bathe in them and get cured. All the afflicted of Lombardy visit it in the summertime for that purpose. From this place a man can travel fifteen miles along a road under the mountains, a work executed by King Romulus who built the city of Rome. He was prompted to this by fear of King David and Joab his general. He built fortifications both upon the mountains and below the mountains reaching as far as the city of Naples.⁶⁰

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, *Sefer Masa'ot*

The similarities between these accounts are of course obvious and striking. The two passages share a common geographical focus on the Italian city of Sorrento, located near Naples, and agree in associating the name of this city with a certain Tsur (or some variant thereof) from the family of Hadadezer, who fled in fear of King David.⁶¹ Both texts report a strange, if not downright miraculous, oil well that emerged in the midst of the city—and that city's ultimate fate of ending up at least in part submerged by the sea. They also feature Romulus, identify him as the founder or builder of Rome, and likewise link an important building project of his to fear of David. Here it is perhaps worth briefly observing, in light of our earlier discussion, that Jost was particularly disturbed by Benjamin's notion of the founder of "Rome in flight from the Israelite king: "Romulus feared David!" he exclaims in utter disbelief, adding

59 That is, צור (Tsur). To be sure, two of the three manuscripts read ציר, with the Epstein ms, followed by the Asher edition, featuring צניצן or צניצן—a likely scribal corruption of ציר בן (i.e. Tsur, son of ...). However, given the clear linkage between this figure and Sorrento, including their similar initial sibilants (צורִיִּנטו), Tsur (צור) seems almost certainly to have been the original name and Adler, for his part, uses it in his translation. It is further noteworthy in this regard that some editions of *SY* also feature ציר instead of צור, a likely indication of the ease with which vav (ו) was confused for yod (י) in the course of the copying of manuscripts. For ציר in *SY*, see Toaff, "Sorrento e Pozzuoli," 313. In his translation, Bowman renders Sorrento as Zorrento (Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, 13).

60 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8; translation modified.

61 On whom and concerning the Hadadezer/Hadarezer contrast, see below.

that “a man (i.e. Benjamin) who claims to have undertaken such a journey, cannot write such nonsense, alone owing to the geography.”⁶²

Notwithstanding these similarities, the differences between *Sefer Yosippon* and Benjamin are also not insubstantial:

1. While each text mentions Sorrento, the precise terminology used with regard to the city varies. Benjamin refers to “Sorrento the Great,” which he also identifies as Pozzuoli, whereas *Yosippon* distinguishes between Sorrento and what it calls “New Sorrento.”

2. Hadadezer and Tsur appear in both works, but whereas Benjamin seems to present only the latter as having fled to Italy and identifies him clearly as the son of Hadadezer,⁶³ according to *Yosippon* Hadadezer and his sons all came to

62 Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 6,377 (“Romulus hat den David gefürchtet! Ein Mensch, der eine solche Reise gemacht haben will, kann, schon der geographischen Lage wegen, solchen Unsinn nicht schreiben.”). In his rejection of this claim, Jost was in fact in good company: the distinguished Dutch theologian and orientalist Constantine L’Empereur (1591–1648) similarly ridiculed the notion of Romulus cowering before David: “Who is not astounded by such stupidity? [Benjamin] makes David and Romulus contemporaries, although the latter began his reign some three hundred years after David—a fact that cannot be called into doubt, but is rather evident from diverse historians and was repeatedly observed by chroniclers, whose words amid such clarity there is no need to repeat. Parallel to this is when he imagines that Romulus betook himself like moles underground and into extremely long caves or writes that he had hollowed these out from fear of David, who had died centuries before. Who would not be irritated by [nonsense] of this sort? Had we gone so astray, how arrogantly would the Jews have insulted us. Matters of this sort are to be collected by readers and thrown right back at the Jews—when they boast of their teachers—in the face.” (*Quis ad tantum stuporem non obstupescat? Coaetaneos facit Davidem et Romulum, quum Romulus trecentis circiter annis post Davidem regnare coeperit, quod in dubium vocari non potest: sed ex diversis historicis constat, et passim a Chronologicis observatum, quorum verba repetere necesse non est in tanta luce. Huic parallelum est, quum Romulum talparum more in terram ac longissimas specus se recepisse fingit, sive eas metu Davidis, qui ante aliquot secula mortem obierat, excavasse scribit. Quis ad huiusmodi non stomachetur? Si nos ita aberraremus, quam superbe nobis Iudaei insultarent. Huiusmodi a lectoribus colligenda, et Iudaeis, quum suos magistros crepant, in os regeenda.*) See Constantine L’Empereur, “Notae in Beniaminam,” xxxii–xxiii. Constantine’s objection was, as the close of the above passage attests, rooted firmly in the larger context of traditional Christian-Jewish polemic, a prime motivator for his studies of Hebrew and Rabbinics. On this, see van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies*. By contrast, the motive for Jost’s outrage was a scholarly mindset eager to rid Jewish culture of spurious traditions and erroneous beliefs. His extreme rhetoric notwithstanding, Constantine did have a point: there is no way that David and Romulus, if they at all existed, could have lived at the same time: the former’s conquest of Jerusalem would surely have preceded the latter’s founding of Rome by at least two hundred years.

63 Admittedly, there is some ambiguity in the *Book of Travels* as to whether it was Tsur or Hadadezer, “who fled from David the king,” though Benjamin appears to be specifically interested only in Tsur.

the peninsula, and the exact familial relationship of Tsur to Hadadezer is left ambiguous.

3. Romulus is depicted quite differently in the two texts. According to Benjamin, in addition to fortifications above and below mountains, Romulus constructed a fifteen-mile-long subterranean road near *Naples*. By contrast, *Yosippon* focuses on Romulus as the founder of *Rome* through the construction of a vast wall encompassing the palaces of his predecessors. In addition, whereas for Benjamin the report concerning Romulus is parallel to—and juxtaposed with—that involving Tsur, in *Yosippon* the tale of Hadarezer and his sons is located within—and thus subordinate to—the overarching Romulus narrative. Finally, while *Yosippon* explains Romulus' actions by recourse to his fear of David—which ultimately led him to enter into a treaty with the Israelite monarch, Benjamin references his fear of both David and “Joab his general,” and does not mention any such accord between the Roman and Israelite kings.⁶⁴

4. When subjected to careful examination, the accounts of Sorrento's submersion beneath oil and water also reveal striking differences. In the case of *Yosippon*, oil represents the primary element: the well (or spring) emerged in the midst of the city and was initially responsible for covering it, followed thereafter by the sea. For *Sefer Masa'ot*, instead, it was the sea that on its own covered up the city, of which remnants remain visible in his time (*Yosippon*, for its part, makes no explicit mention of the enduring visibility of the submerged city). Here the well, supplemented by hot baths, bears no clear relation to the fate of the city. And while, according to *Yosippon*, the residents of Naples continually collect the oil for an unspecified purpose, in Benjamin's account undisclosed individuals employ it on medicinal grounds; in addition, people come from as far away as Lombardy to enjoy the benefits of the baths.

The cumulative weight of all these contrasts is to raise serious questions as to what degree, if at all, Benjamin drew from or depended upon *Sefer Yosippon* in his description of Sorrento and environs. Alone the mention of Joab and reference to Romulus' tunnel near Naples as opposed to his wall surrounding Rome demonstrate the insufficiency of *Yosippon* on its own to account for this section of the *Book of Travels*. And the various other differences in detail and emphasis render it entirely plausible that Benjamin independently encountered the same general set of traditions. The addition of Pozzuoli as the equivalent of Sorrento is particularly significant, as it strongly suggests an actual visit

64 For another instance in which Benjamin forbears mention of an alleged ancient Roman-Jewish alliance, see “Appendix 7: Musings on Missing Maccabees” in Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” 99–104.

to the site by Benjamin or his source.⁶⁵ For nearby to this town are both the fumaroles and mud pools of the now dormant volcano Solfatara (which last erupted in 1198) and Bagnoli,⁶⁶ site of numerous hot springs, not to mention structures that are at times (or now always) underwater, owing to the phenomenon known as bradyseism, namely “the gradual uplift (positive bradyseism) or descent (negative bradyseism) of part of the Earth’s surface caused by the filling or emptying of an underground magma chamber.”⁶⁷ Indeed, the lower half of adjacent Baiae—where entire Roman villas have been discovered underwater—“[sank] beneath the sea between the third and sixteenth centuries.”⁶⁸

Furthermore, from an examination and comparison of our sources it appears that two independent, albeit related, traditions lie at the root of these accounts: one concerning how the family of Hadadezer, or some portion thereof, fled from King David in the Levant region to Italy in the West, and attempted to reconstitute itself through the founding of one or more new cities; the other involving Romulus and reporting how his fear of David led him to engage in the construction of defensive fortifications. In *Sefer Yosippon*, these two legends are woven rather elegantly into a single narrative strand, which both opens and closes with, and is therefore dominated by, Romulus.⁶⁹ Note how the author provides his Middle Eastern refugees with a “location on the sea and a location in the mountains” and how Romulus’ fear of David directly follows and is thus implicitly motivated by the demise of [Old] Sorrento. In the *Itinerary*, by contrast, though juxtaposed to one another and similar in theme, the two stories retain their fundamental independence.⁷⁰ And thus a

65 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 2.88n264.

66 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8n2; Toaff, “Sorrento e Pozzuoli,” 316; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solfatara_\(volcano\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solfatara_(volcano)); [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagnoli_\(Napoli\)](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagnoli_(Napoli)) (accessed March 3, 2022).

67 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bradyseism> (accessed March 3, 2022). This entry actually features Pozzuoli as a prime example of the phenomenon.

68 On these villas, see Nathan Falde, “Stunning Roman Villas.” For more on the unique underwater archaeology of this region, see Cassani and Sapio, *Naples and Campi Flegrei*, 79–82, 86 and *I Campi Flegrei*, ed. Zevi et al. Fascinating discoveries continue here down to the present. Just as I was completing this piece in the spring of 2023, news emerged of the discovery of an underwater Nabatean temple just off the coast of Pozzuoli. On this, see n96 below.

69 In other words, the Hadadezer narrative in *SY* is framed by Romulus’s reign and founding of Rome. On the “critical care” with which the author of *SY* engaged his sources and his literary skill, see Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon,” 288.

70 To be sure, it is not impossible to understand the tunnel and mountain fortifications reported in *Sefer Masa’ot* as Romulus’ response to the flooding of Sorrento. But both the fact that Romulus had not been previously introduced in the account and the substantial

final difference between the *Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* accounts concerns the overarching shape of their respective narrations of this episode, whether as one or two stories.

My suggestion of two originally “independent” traditions and my description of *Sefer Yosippon*'s crafting of them into one as only “rather elegant” are of a piece. For the notion that it was Romulus who offered Hadarezer land to build Sorrento strikes me as somewhat forced, especially considering that, according to this narrative, Rome itself had yet to be founded! And I also deem it significant that the *Book of Travels* account bears no trace of the united narrative. It thus appears far more likely that (1) there were initially two strands that *Yosippon* wove into one, rather than one strand that Benjamin separated into two and (2) that *Yosippon* and Benjamin encountered these strands independently rather than that Benjamin is here dependent upon *Yosippon*. Had the *Itinerary* account really been based on that of *Yosippon*, one would have expected to encounter some lingering trace of the latter's interweaving of the two strands.⁷¹

But how likely is it, the reader may now wish to interject, that such local legends persisted for hundreds of years—*Sefer Yosippon* dating to the late ninth or early tenth centuries,⁷² *Sefer Masa'ot* to the twelfth? While I possess no independent evidence proving that they did, I am able to demonstrate from three distinct sources the endurance of a Roman-Jewish legend across a substantially longer time span, in this case from at least the twelfth through nineteenth centuries. For in the course of his description of Rome, Benjamin

excursus as to the oil and hot springs militate against this. There is thus geographical propinquity but no clear causal relationship binding the two narratives.

71 Minervini offers an alternative explanation, suggesting that when faced with contradictions between *SY*'s account and his own empirical observations, Benjamin simply juxtaposed the two pieces of information, with the gloss of Pozzuoli as Sorrento the Great as his prime (and also sole) piece of evidence for this *modus operandi*. See *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 24 (“In genere Benjamin vi [*SY*—*DSK*] attinge notizie storiche che non è in grado di verificare, ma quando queste risultano in contraddizione con quel che l'esperienza gli mostra, non osando smentire la sua prestigiosa *auctoritas* ma non volendole sacrificare le sue personali osservazioni, si risolve per giustapporre le due informazioni: così durante la visita al litorale flegreo, resosi conto che la città chiamata Sorrento nel *Sefer Josefson* [*sic*] sembra corrispondere invece a Pozzuoli, affianca i due toponimi e fonde la sua descrizione del luogo con il racconto storico-leggendario della sua fonte”). In response, I would argue that in glossing Pozzuoli as “Sorrento the Great” (“*ha-gedolah*”), Benjamin departs from his predecessor's report, such that one cannot truly speak here of juxtaposition. Furthermore, what of the other aspects of *SY*'s account that simply go unmentioned in Benjamin?

72 Concerning *SY*'s date of composition, see Dönitz, “Historiography among Byzantine Jews,” 954–955; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 9–11; and Bowman, *Sepher Yosippon*, xxi.

writes of “a cave in a hill on one bank of the River Tiber where the ten righteous men killed by the Empire are buried.”⁷³ While some scholars have questioned whether by this report we are meant to understand *the* famous ten martyrs of rabbinic legend, I see no reason whatsoever to doubt that they are in fact intended here.⁷⁴ Indeed, in his early sixteenth-century *Meshare' qitrin*, the Kabbalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi rejects as nonsense “what the sages of the Great Rome that is in Italy say ... [namely that] this [here] is the cave of the Ten Martyrs,” and proceeds to insist that they “are buried in the Land of Israel.”⁷⁵ In addition, a nineteenth-century handwritten list of special practices from the Roman-Jewish rite included a prayer recited at the conclusion of the Friday Ma'ariv service “beseeching rest for all ‘the pious and just’ buried in this city,” further commenting that this formula refers to the “ten Hebrew martyrs killed during the Roman Empire.”⁷⁶ If the legend concerning the burial cave of the ten martyrs of Rome endured from the twelfth across the sixteenth and down to the nineteenth century, it seems not unreasonable that that of Tsur, founder of Sorrento, survived between the ninth or tenth, and twelfth. This is especially the case in light of the presence of submerged, but visible structures that cried out for explanation.

Also relevant for our examination of the respective accounts of *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* is the fact that there is clearly more to the legend of Sorrento than either text explicitly reveals. As noted, both indicate that the city founded by—or at least named after—Tsur ended up submerged under oil and sea; hence *Yosippon's* reference to New Sorrento, in implicit contrast with its “Old” counterpart, and Benjamin’s identification of Sorrento with Pozzuoli. The linkage between these two cities is particularly striking, for when one considers their respective locations on a map, one observes something quite interesting, namely that they are located directly opposite from one another in the Gulf of Naples, approximately twenty miles or twenty-six kilometers as the crow flies.

In thus directly associating Pozzuoli with Sorrento, is Benjamin implying that the original Sorrento occupied the entirety of the land between the two (still) extant locales? This would nicely explain the otherwise strange

73 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 7.

74 For a comprehensive discussion of the legend of the burial of the ten martyrs in Rome, both in the *Book of Travels* and the other sources mentioned in this section, see “Appendix 5: Will the *Real* Ten Martyrs Please Stay Buried?” in Stein Kokin, “Arch'-Enemy,” 94–96.

75 Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi, *Meshare' qitrin*, 32.

76 This list was inserted into a maḥzor used by the rite’s cantors. Della Rocca, “Tradizioni liturgiche e folkloristiche particolari,” 8.

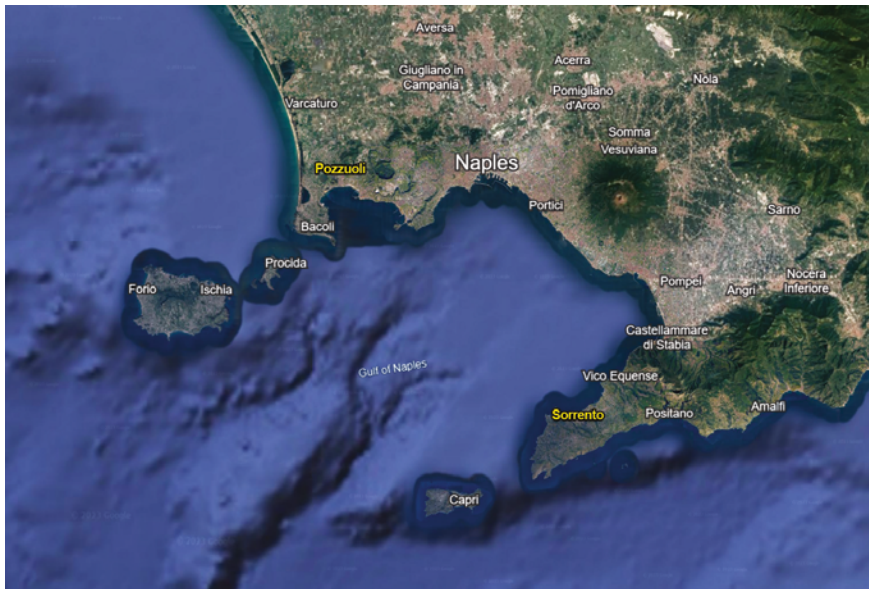


FIGURE 14.1 The Gulf of Naples
IMAGE: GOOGLE EARTH

designation “Great Sorrento” (“סוריינטו הגדולה”) and perhaps also the suggestion that “the sea has risen and covered the city from its two sides” (“ויצא הים וכסה אותה בשני חלקים מן העיר”).⁷⁷ It seems likely that this is also the conception of *Sefer Yosippon* from its statement that “the sea has covered the city, here between Naples and New Sorrento” (הנה בין נאפולי) “ויכס עליה הים, הנה בין נאפולי” (ובין צוריינטו החדשה).⁷⁸ Indeed, when one looks at a map of the region as a whole, it appears as if a huge chunk of land has been removed, and this can be discerned at ground level as well, as one gazes across the gulf. So it appears that both of our texts, in attempting to explain the unusual shape of the coastline, present what we might style a “geographical midrash.” The implication is that a tremendous destruction of land, and presumably also life, took place there, perhaps not dissimilar in extent to that meted out upon the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah.⁷⁹ But why? Apart from the suggestiveness of the region’s geography, how might we explain the genesis and significance of such a tradition?

⁷⁷ *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 8, ט.

⁷⁸ *SY* 2 (ב); see *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18; and Bowman, *Sefer Yosippon*, 13.

⁷⁹ It is striking that such a dramatic incident is said to have transpired in such close proximity to the famed and destructive Mount Vesuvius. The well and water of the Gulf of

5 From Sorrento to Tyre (and Tanakh) and Back

In seeking to answer this question, it behooves us first to examine an additional passage from *Sefer Masa'ot* that bears striking similarities to this one. For ten pages from Pozzuoli one reaches

New Tyre ... which is a very fine city, with a harbor in its midst. At night-time those that levy dues throw iron chains from tower to tower, so that no man can go forth by boat or in any other way to rob the ships by night. There is no harbor like this in the whole world. Tyre is a beautiful city. It contains about 500 Jews, some of them scholars of the Talmud, at their head being R. Ephraim of Tyre, the Dayan; R. Meir from Carcassonne; and R. Abraham, head of the congregation. The Jews own sea-going vessels, and there are glassmakers amongst them who make that fine Tyrian glass-ware which is prized in all countries. In the vicinity is found sugar of a high class, for men plant it here, and people come from all lands to buy it. A man can ascend the walls of New Tyre and see Ancient Tyre, which the sea has now covered, lying at a stone's throw from the new city. And should one care to go forth by boat, one can see the towers, markets, streets, and palaces in the bed of the sea. New Tyre is a busy place of commerce, to which merchants flock from all quarters.⁸⁰

Of particular interest in this passage is the contrast drawn between New Tyre and Ancient Tyre, especially the fact that the latter has been covered by the sea and that its remains are allegedly still visible in Benjamin's day. Sound familiar? Indeed, the description of Tyre is quite similar to, and in some respects more expansive than, that of ancient Sorrento,⁸¹ involving not just towers and markets, but also streets and palaces. And, of course, the Hebrew name of Tyre, Tsur, is identical with—or at least, as in some manuscripts, quite similar to—that of the alleged founder or namesake of Sorrento.⁸² Finally, also of note

Naples thus appears as a kind of aquatic counterpart to the adjacent volcano. As for Sodom and Gomorrah, in his commentary on Ezek 26:20 (“בחרבות מעולם”), Rashi compares the destruction of Tyre promised there to that of “Sodom and her fellow cities” (“כסדום וחברותיה”). In the next section, I explore indications that such prophecies concerning Tyre were understood as extending to Sorrento as well.

80 *The Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler, 18–19; translation modified.

81 For a very different explanation of the similarities between the descriptions of Tyre and Pozzuoli in the *Book of Travels* than what follows here, see Lacerenza, “Echi biblici,” 466–470.

82 See n. 58 above.

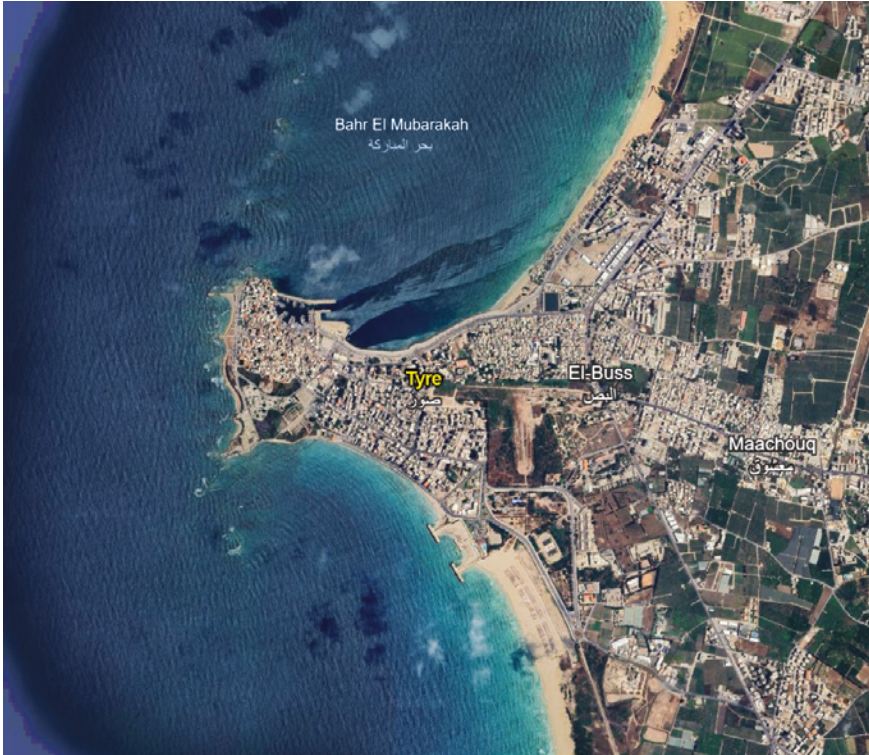


FIGURE 14.2 Tyre
IMAGE: GOOGLE EARTH

is the geography of Tyre, the historic core of which sticks out like a hitchhiker's thumb into the Mediterranean Sea.

How to make sense of this unexpected correspondence between the city of Tsur and the city founded by, or in memory of, Tsur? Compounding the difficulty is the fact that whereas Pozzuoli, as noted, does actually feature submerged structures, such is not at all the case with regard to Tyre. Indeed, as Lacerenza has emphasized, aside from the *Book of Travels*, no medieval description of Tyre refers to an ancient counterpart visible under the sea.⁸³ Lacerenza has therefore argued that Benjamin's description of Tyre is based directly upon that of "Sorrento" and was first formulated during the redaction of the work, prompted by the "easy confusion" ("facile confusione") between the two locales' respective names.⁸⁴ While I do agree that the *Itinerary's* account of

83 Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 465.

84 Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 467.

Tyre was influenced by that of Sorrento, I am not convinced by Lacerenza's explanation for why this transpired, as it presumes that a high degree of carelessness characterized the creation of *Sefer Masa'ot*.

More helpful, I argue, is to consider the likely significance, from the perspective of Benjamin and his readership, of a submerged, ancient Tyre. As it happens, numerous passages from the biblical prophets anticipate or call for the city's destruction. Amos (1:9–10) reports God's intention not to revoke punishment for the three or four transgressions of Tyre, threatening "fire upon the wall of [the city]," whereas Jeremiah (47:1–5) warns of "waters... rising from the north" that "shall flood the land and its creatures," including, it seems, Tyre. But most vocal and vivid concerning the fate of Tsur or Tsor (the Bible refers to the city in both manners) are the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel. Isaiah 23 features "The Tyre Pronouncement" ("מַסַּע צָר") and is concerned in its entirety with the coming destruction of both Tyre and neighboring Sidon. Sidon (Isa 23:12), in particular, is advised to "cross over to Kittim" though "even there you shall have no rest." Of Tyre it is predicted (Isa 23:15, 17–18) that following its destruction and a lapse of seventy years, she shall enjoy a revival, only that henceforth "her profits ... shall be consecrated to the Lord. They shall not be treasured or sorted; rather shall her profits go to those who abide before the Lord." For his part, Ezekiel refers to Tyre broken and in ruins (26:2), quoting God's intention to (26:19) "bring the deep over you, and [let] its mighty waters cover you" ("בְּהֵעֱלוֹת עֲלֶיךָ אֶת־תְּהוֹמוֹ וּבְסוּךְ הַמַּיִם הַרְבִּיִּים"). Likewise, the prophet anticipates Tyre's downfall via the metaphor of a fully-laden ship that sinks (Ezek 27:27) "into the depths of the sea" and imagines others lamenting in the future (Ezek 27:32): "Who was like Tyre when she was silenced in the midst of the sea?"⁸⁵

My argument, therefore, is that for all its fantasy, the *Itinerary's* description of "Ancient Tyre" intentionally represents, or at least evokes, the fulfillment of these biblical prophecies.⁸⁶ Along the same lines, in Benjamin's rather glowing

85 Along similar lines, there is the suggestive, albeit murky passage pronounced by the prophet Joel (4:4–8): "What is this you are doing to Me, O Tyre, Sidon, and all the districts of Philistia? ... Quick as a flash, I will pay you back; for you have taken My gold and My silver, and have carried off My precious treasures to your palaces; and you have sold the people of Judah and the people of Jerusalem to the Ionians, so that you have removed them far away from their homeland. Behold, I will rouse them to leave the place you have sold them to, and I will pay you back. I will deliver your sons and daughters into the hands of the people of Judah, and they will sell them into captivity to a distant nation—for the Lord has spoken." Finally, see also Psalm 83, which reports an anti-Israel alliance of Tyre and the other Levantine peoples against which God is called upon to act.

86 To be sure, Lacerenza does refer to a number of these passages, but only to suggest that the notion of Tyre's ancient destruction would not have been foreign to the redactor of *Sefer Masa'ot*. See Lacerenza, "Echi biblici," 468–469.

depiction of the new city, especially of the prominent role played by Jews in its trade as both owners of ships and makers of glass,⁸⁷ I see a reflection of Isaiah's anticipation of a revived and now redeemed Tyre.

Furthermore, I assert that the biblical prophecies concerning Tsur or Tsor came to be applied to Sorrento (or Surrentum, in Latin),⁸⁸ as reflected in both *Sefer Yosippon* and the *Book of Travels*. The similarity in name between the two locales, in conjunction with the actual presence of submerged structures in the latter, would have suggested the transfer, and subsequently led Benjamin (or perhaps a later redactor) to model his account of Tyre after that of Pozzuoli/Sorrento. After all, if the biblical prophecy had been fulfilled in the *Italian* Tsur, then that should presumably have also been the case in the original locale. Thus, against Lacerenza's recourse to "easy confusion" between two similar-sounding locations, I submit that the dependency of the description of Tyre upon that of Sorrento reflects a conscious strategy to maximize prophetic plausibility.

Along the same lines, I see in the quasi-biblical figure of Tsur an implicit metaphor for the passage of the notion of a punished, submerged city from the eastern Mediterranean to Italy, and consider that he may even have been invented for precisely this purpose. Reference to the submersion of both Sorrento and Tyre's towers in *Sefer Masa'ot* recalls Ezekiel's anticipation of the destruction of those of the latter (26:4, "מגדליה"); and the respective accounts in *Yosippon* and the *Itinerary* of the collection of oil from the site once occupied by Sorrento may further evoke his prediction (26:5) that Tyre shall become spoil for the nations. It is perhaps not surprising that these Levantine and Italian ports would come to be associated with one another in this manner, as both Tyre and Rome were powers that while once allied with Israel, thereafter became her enemy.

Pushing even further, I argue that Tyre implicitly functions for Benjamin as a foil for Jerusalem, with the former's destruction and subsequent revival a sign that the latter's restoration will yet transpire. Indeed, there are indications that, for the prophet Isaiah, Tyre served as a kind of stand-in for its holy counterpart;⁸⁹ in addition, these two cities are alone in Scripture described

87 Minervini's description of Tyre in Benjamin's day is entirely to the point: "centro commerciale di primo piano degli stati latini, sede di una delle comunità ebraiche più importanti del Medio Oriente." See *Libro di viaggi*, ed. Minervini, 106.

88 *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.18n110. It is noteworthy that the very same syllabic variability (i.e. u, o) found in the Hebrew renderings of Tyre is echoed in the contrasting Latin and Italian names for Surrentum/Sorrento.

89 Sommer, "Isaiah," 827–828, comments on Isa 23:1–18 ("Isaiah may have viewed Tyre as parallel to inviolable Zion and Tyre's experience as especially instructive to the Judeans") and 15–18 ("After a period of subjugation, Tyre will be both religiously purified and politically

as “perfect in beauty” (“כלילת יפי” or “כליל יפי”).⁹⁰ An alternative possibility attested in rabbinic literature is of Tyre as a stand-in for the Eternal City, with the midrashic compilations *Genesis Rabbah* and *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* both ascribing to R. Eliezer the teaching that wherever in Tanakh Tyre “is written without all of its letters [and so appears identical to the word for enemy, צר, as opposed to צור], the reference of Scripture is to Rome.”⁹¹ While it is impossible to determine to what degree Benjamin or a later redactor might have been familiar with this tradition, it is worth noting that with the exception of *Ezekiel 27*—in which both spellings of Tyre are employed—all the other biblical sources cited above only use the two-letter variant.⁹² The *Itinerary’s* similar descriptions of both Tyre and Sorrento may thus reflect the imagined fulfillment of biblical prophecies directed against both the Levantine city and (a portion of) Rome. At the very least, we see that the rabbinic tradition definitely applied the biblical prophecies directed against Tyre to Rome.⁹³

Given his prominence in the accounts of *Yosippon* and Benjamin, close attention to Hadadezer as he appears in the Bible also assists us in making sense of the story of Sorrento.⁹⁴ Both 2 Sam 8 and 10 and 1 Chr 18–19 recount

restored ... God treats the Phoenicians precisely as God treats the Israelites: They are severely punished, then saved”).

90 Tyre: *Ezek* 27:3; 28:11; Jerusalem: *Lam* 2:15.

91 Midrash *Genesis Rabbah* 61.7; *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* 7.11. Both are cited from Neusner, *Persia and Rome*, 41, 63–64. Neusner glosses R. Eliezer here as follows: “So the sense of the verse is that Rome will receive its appropriate reward.” The bracketed passage in the above quotation is also Neusner’s supplement.

92 This includes *Joel* 4:4–8, but not *Ps* 83.

93 Though a comprehensive examination of post-biblical Jewish lore concerning Tyre lies beyond the purview of the present discussion, a few additional instances can be presented here. Consider, for example, Abraham Ibn Ezra’s interpretation of *Amos* 1:9, where Tyre is presented as an accomplice to Edom in the latter’s enmity against Israel. According to the Tudela-born twelfth-century commentator and philosopher, when the metaphorical brother Tyre saw Israel’s treatment at the hands of his literal brother Edom, he forgot the covenant of brotherhood that had been sealed between them and handed Israel over to him. On *Isa* 23:18 (“But her profits and hire shall be consecrated to the Lord”), Rashi comments that “The righteous are destined to plunder [Tyre] when the king Messiah comes” (“עתידים צדיקים לבזו אותה כשיבא מלך המשיח”), an indication of the eschatological import that was ascribed to this Mediterranean port city. See also Radak (the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century exegete R. David Kimḥi), who similarly applies this verse to the messianic era. These examples from Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Radak demonstrate that speculation as to Tyre’s role in the eschatological economy was widespread in the era in which *Sefer Masa’ot* was composed.

94 Technically “Hadarezer” in Flusser’s edition of *SY*, but one can well understand how the second *dalet* in the name could have been misread or miscopied as a *resh*. Indeed, some biblical manuscripts of both 2 Sam 10 and of 1 Chr 18 read “Hadarezer” as well. See Berlin

the decisive defeat of Hadadezer, son of Reḥov, the king of the Aramean Zobah, at the hands of David and Joab. In 2 Sam 8 (repeated in 1 Chr 18), David captures and neutralizes many of his troops and weapons; then, in chapter 10 (and again in 1 Chr 19), Israel routs a united force of Arameans under Hadadezer's command. Since at the close of 10 (19) we learn of the death of his army commander Shobakh as well as of the submission to Israel of all of his erstwhile vassal kings, but of what befell Hadadezer there is nary a word, the notion of his flight to Italy appears likely to have emerged midrashically to fill this lacuna. This outcome seems especially apropos in light of the reference in both 2 Sam 7:23 and 1 Chr 17:21 to God's driving out of nations before Israel.⁹⁵

Seen against the backdrop of biblical literature, there is also great irony in cities named Tsur, or after Tsur, succumbing to water and oil. The Hebrew term *tsur* means "large rock,"⁹⁶ the kind upon which one should typically be able to depend, hence the frequent associations of the term with refuge, salvation, and—indeed—God Himself.⁹⁷ In addition, in Tanakh it is frequently at or by striking the *tsur* that one encounters water in otherwise barren regions.⁹⁸ Also present is the notion that oil can be obtained from the *tsur*.⁹⁹ So it is a striking inversion to find the "large rock" of Sorrento the site of—or associated with—divinely ordained undoing, submerged under or amid water and/or oil instead of releasing it.¹⁰⁰

and Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Study Bible*, 636, n. b. and Even-Shoshan, *Konkordantsiah*, 280, ad loc. In any event, there can be no doubt that the biblical Hadadezer is intended by this figure.

- 95 While the notion of the Syrian Hadadezer taking refuge in Italy might appear far-fetched, the above-mentioned discovery of a Nabatean temple sunken off the coast of Pozzuoli confirms the existence of a community of the Arab Nabatean people, and thus a Middle Eastern presence, in this region in Roman times. See Nathan Falde, "Submerged Secrets" and *Jerusalem Post*, "Ancient underwater temple."
- 96 It is hardly surprising that the city of Tsur acquired this name, as it was originally constructed on a rocky formation located one half-mile off the coast. In the course of his ultimately successful siege of Tyre in 332 BCE, Alexander the Great constructed a causeway, thus uniting island to mainland. Since that time, Tyre has been a peninsula.
- 97 For some examples, see Deut 32:15; Ps 62:3, 8; 89:27—stated, according to the text, by David himself—as well as 94:22 and 95:1.
- 98 Examples include Exod 17:6, Deut 8:15, Isa 48:21, Ps 78:20, and Ps 105:41. Ps 114:8 is especially apropos in its reference to God "who turned the *tsur* into a pool of water." The discussion here casts this verse in quite a dramatic new light. Ps 114 is included in its entirety in the collection of Psalms traditionally recited on select joyous occasions and referred to collectively as Hallel ("Praise").
- 99 See Deut 32:13.
- 100 Seen against this backdrop, the continuous, medicinally-beneficial flow of this "petroleum" testifies to the continuation, however modest, of God's miraculous intervention in the world.

To be sure, in proposing this reconstruction of the Tyre/Sorrento legend upon which the descriptions of both *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* draw, I fully acknowledge that both texts only hint at it obliquely. Why that might be the case is difficult to determine. Did their authors presume that their audiences were already familiar with its general contours? Or did they rather refrain from overtly emphasizing what is truly a far-fetched tale? (Both works tend to reduce the sphere of the fantastic or miraculous to a minimum.) Whatever the reason, the two texts evoke the legend just enough to serve their overarching purposes, namely to salve Jewish insecurities, enhance Jewish honor, and buttress Jewish hopes of ultimate redemption.

Specifically concerning Sorrento, we are witness to a striking instance of Jewish counter-geography, physical as well as symbolic: the Gulf of Naples is revealed as water that had previously been land and Italy—responsible through Rome for Judea's conquest and the Temple's destruction—recast as both fearful of Israel's strength and testimony to God's punishing power. As for Tyre, it is interesting to observe that the chronicler William of Tyre (*ca.* 1130–1186) opens his account of the crusader conquest of the city with a panegyric that highlights Isaiah and Ezekiel's celebratory statements about the city; by contrast, their prophecies of its destruction are elided.¹⁰¹ Might Benjamin's nearly contemporary description reflect a subtle Jewish counter-history to the triumphalist crusader narrative, alluding for this reason both to its past destruction and prominent contemporary Jewish presence? Certainly, the successful reconstruction of the punished ancient city would have anticipated the ultimate rebuilding of a site far more resonant for Benjamin and his readership, namely Jerusalem.¹⁰²

6 Conclusion: Texts in Tandem

In this reconsideration of *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot*, I have presented, for the first time so far as I am aware, a sustained discussion of the textual relationship between these two texts. While not disputing that the author and/or redactor of Benjamin of Tudela's *Book of Travels* may well at times have drawn upon or consulted *Yosippon*, I have shown that it is insufficient merely to argue in general terms for the *Itinerary's* reliance upon *Yosippon*; rather, the

101 See William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History* 13:1, 2–3.

102 In this regard, it is particularly interesting that both Tyre and Jerusalem are threatened in the Hebrew Bible with seventy years of punishment. Regarding Tyre, as anticipated above, see Isa 23:14–17; concerning Jerusalem, see Jer 25:12; Zech 1:12; Dan 9:2; 2 Chr 36:21.

precise relationship between the texts requires clarification in each individual episode. And I have furthermore indicated that in each such case, of ultimate significance is not merely the use of *Yosippon*—if such there was—but the nature and significance of that use. In particular, I have demonstrated with regard to two especially interesting and insufficiently studied passages that *Sefer Yosippon* played only a minimal role (if that at all) in the composition of the *Book of Travels*.¹⁰³

Concerning *Sefer Masa'ot's* description of the imperial palaces of Rome—including that of Titus located outside the city—I have shown that generations of previous scholars erred in ascribing this passage to *Sefer Yosippon*, offering an explanation as to the origin of this misconception—a classic instance of the unwitting propagation of falsehood—rooted in nineteenth-century intra-Jewish scholarly polemic. I have further suggested that this error contributed to neglect on the part of researchers of a particularly fascinating aspect of Benjamin's text, one that I claim reflects an authentic twelfth century Roman-Jewish tradition. By thus clarifying the Benjamin-*Yosippon* relationship in the negative, I was able to open a new perspective on *Sefer Masa'ot*, one that resists recent scholarly denigrations of its originality in favor of renewed emphasis on its value as source of local lore.

In addition, in the case of Pozzuoli/Sorrento, I have tried to show that the significant differences between *Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot* point to each work's likely independent engagement with the same pair of legends. In then trying to determine how and why the tradition of a submerged Sorrento might have arisen, I noted the striking parallels between Benjamin's descriptions of Sorrento and Tyre. This led me to the extensive biblical prophecies concerning the destruction of the latter and, in turn, to the suggestion that they had inspired similar expectations with regard to the former; these then needed to have been realized in Tyre as they seemingly had been in Sorrento. Finally, given that only in *Sefer Masa'ot* are both Sorrento and Tyre described as having been submerged under water, I have suggested that far from *Yosippon* having influenced the *Book of Travels*, careful attention to the latter rather proves essential in clarifying an otherwise murky passage in the former. Thus, engagement with each text in the light of the other contributes to our understanding and appreciation of two of the most important—and at times, puzzling—medieval Jewish texts.

103 While my minimization of *Yosippon's* influence on Benjamin of Tudela departs from previous scholarship, it should not *prima facie* be surprising: the eleventh-century, southern Italian *Scroll of Ahimaaz* nowhere mentions the work.

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PART 4

*Beyond Josephus and Yosippon:
Reception, Afterlives, and Legacy*



English Versions of Josephus in the Nineteenth Century: Omissions and Additions

Martin Goodman

The origins of this paper lie in research related to the discovery of a Sequel to Josephus' history,¹ composed in English and published in a large and dense volume in London in the middle of the nineteenth century.² No publisher or date is given on the title page of this volume, but I have argued in a study of the Sequel that its contents and presentation make it almost certain that the volume was published by the printing firm of J. & F. Tallis in early 1848.³ In my concern in this initial study to establish the authors of the Sequel and to explain its idiosyncratic approach to Jewish history, I failed to appreciate that the text of William Whiston's translation of Josephus printed in the 1848 volume, which purports from the title page to contain "the complete works," has in fact been drastically abridged. The present study investigates and tries to explain this phenomenon.

The abridgement of the Josephus text in the 1848 volume was extensive. It included the excision of Whiston's translation of some of the most celebrated passages from the *Bellum Judaicum*, including the prologue (*BJ* 1.1–30); the description of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (2.117–166); Josephus as interpreter of dreams who is told by God that Vespasian will become emperor (3.351–353); Josephus' speech against suicide to his companions at Jotapata (3.362–383); the generals at Titus' Council of War (6.236–243); the prophecy

1 I owe my initiation into the complex history of the Whiston editions entirely to Sally Shuttleworth, who in 2015 tracked down a reprint of the 1848 edition, with its inclusion of a Sequel to Josephus, during her research into 19th-century notions of the uncanny and the origins of an apparent reference by Josephus to teraphim as children's heads. I am immensely grateful to Sally for drawing my attention to this edition and its peculiarities, and for her support and encouragement as I became intrigued about the origins of the Sequel and the reasons for its publication in this form.

2 *The Complete works of the learned and authentic Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus: comprising the Antiquities of the Jews, a History of the Jewish Wars, three dissertations concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, etc., and the Life of Josephus, written by himself. Translated by William Whiston, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. With a Sequel to the History of the Jews: continued to the present time* (repr. Attic Books, 2008).

3 Goodman, "Disraeli family."

of Jesus son of Ananias (6.300–309); the sabbatical river (7.96–99); and the speech of Eleazar b. Yair at Masada (7.375–406).⁴

Other material excised from the text included the interesting episode in the *Vita* about John of Gischala and the supply of kosher olive oil (*Vita* 74–76) and numerous passages from the *Bellum Judaicum*, such as the long speech of Agrippa II in Jerusalem before the outbreak of the war (*BJ* 2.345–401); geographical descriptions of Galilee and other regions (*BJ* 3.34–58); prophecies and portents, including the application of the messianic oracle to Vespasian (*BJ* 6.285–315); the speech of Titus to defenders of Jerusalem (*BJ* 6.328–350); and the description of the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus in Rome (*BJ* 7.123–162). The redaction of *Contra Apionem* included the removal of the reference to the spread of the Jewish customs of fasts, lighting of lamps, and food taboos to the non-Jewish world (*CA* 2.282–284).⁵

It seems probable that this cutting of the Josephus text began only after the text of Whiston's translation of *Antiquitates Judaicae* had been typeset, since the *Antiquitates Judaicae* (pp. 1–475) seem to be transmitted in full—the volume includes, for instance, on pp. 443–457, the detailed account, with speeches, of the assassination of Gaius Caligula in book 19, despite the irrelevance of this material to Jewish history. It may be significant that the *Vita*, which is placed at the start of the volume, was assigned Roman numerals (pp. v–xxiii) for its page numbers, a practice I have not noted in other printings of the Whiston translation; it is a reasonable hypothesis that it was typeset and inserted into the volume at a late stage. It may also be significant that plates by the Tallis brothers are included at relevant places in the text of the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, whereas there are none in the *Vita* and only four (irrelevant) plates to illustrate the whole text of “The Wars of the Jews:” Job before Book 1 (p. 476); Jonah before Book 2 (p. 506); Judith and Holofernes before Book 3 (p. 521); the Widow's Mite before Book 6 (p. 558).

The most probable explanation of the decision by the publisher to omit so much material from Whiston's translation of Josephus is that the prime aim of the publication was less to provide readers with the history written by Josephus than to use the lure of Whiston's Josephus to market the substantial Sequel of Jewish history “to the present time,” which I argued in my original article was composed by the polymath Isaac D'Israeli in his old age and completed at speed by his children (Sarah and Benjamin, the future Prime Minister) after his

4 Goodman, *Josephus's The Jewish War*, 141–159, on “Passages with a Life of Their Own.”

5 Note that Josephus' reference in *CA* 2.282–284 to the spread of the Sabbath to the wider world was retained (p. 627).

death in January 1848, primarily because Benjamin hoped that it might bring in some money.⁶

In my original article I assumed that the decision to publish Isaac's *Sequel* in this fashion had been made by Sarah and Benjamin after their father had died. There are certainly many signs of haste in the 1848 volume, with numerous typographical errors, but the discovery of such extensive editing of the Whiston translation requires some re-evaluation of the process of publication. That the Josephus text was so thoroughly abridged suggests that the project was well underway before Isaac's death, since the volume was probably too large to have been typeset from scratch in the few months between his death and its printing (which must have taken place before the middle of May). If, as now seems likely, the publication plan was already well advanced by the time that Isaac died, it is probable that Isaac was also responsible for the abridgement, which would account for some of the selection of texts for excision: the removal of 'superstitious' material fits the approach to Jewish history which characterizes the account of Jewish history in the *Sequel*, and both the *Sequel* and Isaac's other writings show his facility in paraphrasing and excerpting the texts that he cites.⁷

Why should Isaac D'Israeli have selected the Whiston translation of Josephus rather than any other Josephus translation for this purpose? There had been many other renderings of Josephus into English before the middle of the nineteenth century, starting (in the seventeenth century) with the version published by Lodge in 1609, an anonymous revision of Lodge from the French of d'Andilly published in 1677, and the popular translation by L'Estrange, first issued in 1692. There was again a rash of new translations in the eighteenth century: Jackson in 1732, Court in 1733, Wilson in 1740, Thompson and Price in 1777, Clarke in 1785, and Maynard in 1789. But by the early nineteenth century the translation by William Whiston was by far the most popular, and Isaac, who was keenly aware of the vicissitudes of the book trade, will have known that presenting his work in the context of a new edition of Whiston was by far the most viable financial proposition.⁸

Whiston, a maverick scholar who had been the successor of Isaac Newton as Professor of Mathematics in Cambridge earlier in his career but lost his post because of his heretical Unitarian views about the Trinity, published his

6 Goodman, "Disraeli family," 159–160.

7 Ogden, *Isaac D'Israeli*.

8 On these other English translations of Josephus, see Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie*, 188–196 (on "englische und walisische Uebersetzungen"), but note that Schreckenberg did not include Wilson (1740) in his catalogue.

translation in 1737, towards the end of his life.⁹ Whiston's income since his dismissal from Cambridge had depended on his writings and fees for lectures, and the motivation for producing a new translation of Josephus was in part financial, not least because his son John, who was only just establishing himself as a publisher, was appointed sole distributor.¹⁰ But Whiston was also keen to promulgate his distinctive theological preoccupations, using public fascination with Josephus as a means to disseminate eight Dissertations, and for this purpose it made sense for him to promote Josephus' own value, insisting that the Jewish historian had been "a person of the finest Genius and Abilities, Honour and Integrity."¹¹

Whiston's translation was composed in instalments and at great speed (in 25 months), with publication dependent upon subscriptions. It was intended to compete in particular with the popular version published by L'Estrange in 1692, which was reissued in fourteen editions, in whole or in part, between 1702 and 1785. His was not the first attempt to supplant L'Estrange: the translation by Jackson in 1732 was specifically presented as "compared with the translation of Sir R. L'Estrange," and the translation by Court, which first appeared in 1733, was reprinted in 1754. Whiston seems to have been particularly aware of the rival attractions of Jackson's publication, which boasted that it included "A Compleat Collection of the Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus;" Whiston thus noted specifically (on p. 1177), that his own edition of the genuine works has deliberately omitted the Fourth Book of Maccabees, which "is in the other Editions of Josephus," on the grounds that it was not genuinely written by Josephus.¹²

It is not entirely clear why Whiston's version of Josephus had become by 1848 so much more popular than these rival English translations, but throughout the nineteenth century it was the only version from the previous century to be reprinted, with around 200 dated new printings of Whiston in the nineteenth century and 34 undated printings, and new printings both in the United Kingdom (in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and Halifax)

9 *The genuine works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian: Translated from the Original Greek, according to Havercamp's accurate edition containing Twenty Books of the Jewish Antiquities with the Appendix, or Life of Josephus, written by himself. Seven Books of the Jewish War and Two Books against Apion with plans, maps, notes, indexes, eight dissertations, by William Whiston, M.A., Sometime Professor of the Mathematicks in the University of Cambridge* (London, 1737).

10 Feingold, "Rake's Progress," 16–26.

11 Feingold, "Rake's Progress," 19.

12 Basic publication details of most of these editions can be found in Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie*, 190–193.

and in North America (both in the United States, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Auburn, and Cleveland, and in Canada, in Kingston, U.C.).¹³ The only attempt to supplant the domination of this lucrative market by new editions of Whiston was by the clergyman Robert Traill, who published a new translation of the *Bellum Judaicum* in 1847–1851 (reprinted in Boston in 1858 and in London in 1862 and 1868). But Traill's work failed to make a significant dent in the popularity of the Whiston version, in part because of the existing ubiquity of reprints of Whiston and in part because plans to publish his new translation of the *Antiquitates* ended after his untimely death in the Irish famine.¹⁴

The publishers of the numerous reprints of Whiston's translation resorted to a variety of marketing methods, appealing to the different interests of potential readers on the title pages of their editions. Some emphasized the authority of Josephus as "The Learned and Authentic Jewish Historian."¹⁵ Some referred to Josephus' martial qualities as a "Celebrated Warrior"—an odd attribute in light of his evident failings as a general in Galilee, but possibly reflecting references to the martial virtues of Joseph ben Gurion on the title pages of early printed English translations of *Sefer Yosippon*.¹⁶ The authority of Whiston himself was sometimes emphasized, with references to his academic prestige in Cambridge, derived from his expertise in mathematics; no later edition seems to have made use of Whiston's own accurate reference to himself in the original printing of his work in 1737, where he was described as "Sometime Professor" in Cambridge, perhaps because the description "sometime professor" might raise awkward questions about how Whiston had come to vacate his university post.¹⁷ Some new editions advertised themselves as "accurate" or "improved" (without indicating in what respect they were "improved") or (in North America) as "from the last London edition."¹⁸ Christian readers were

13 Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie*, 191–193.

14 *The Jewish War of Flavius Josephus: A new translation by R. Traill. Edited with notes by I. Taylor*, 2 vols, London, 1847–1851.

15 For example, the printings by H.G. Bohn (London, 1845; 1852); J.H. Beardsley (Auburn and Buffalo, 1857); The Arundel Print (New York, 1880).

16 For example, Lackington, Allen & Co. (London, 1806; 1811; 1820); Baynes (London and Edinburgh, 1825); T. Tegg (London, Dublin and Glasgow, 1822; 1825); J. Grigg (Philadelphia, 1825).

17 For example, T. Nelson (London and Edinburgh, 1854) described Whiston as "Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge" as if he were still in post; Lippincott, Grambo & Co. (Philadelphia, 1850) called him "the late William Whiston, A.M.," Simms & McIntyre (London, 1847) printed simply "William Whiston, A.M."

18 "Accurate edition" (Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1850); "improved edition" (T. Nelson, Edinburgh, 1854); "from the last London Edition" (J. Grigg, Philadelphia, 1825).

sometimes lured by the advertising of Whiston's Dissertations on the title page (usually three, but sometimes seven) or by the advertised addition of new material for spiritual improvement.¹⁹ Whiston's translation of the *Jewish War* was sometime printed in an abridged version for children.²⁰

The different editions of Whiston's translation presented the works of Josephus in various different orders, selected in some cases perhaps simply to demonstrate originality. Whiston's original 1737 edition was published in two volumes, divided into the Preface to *Antiquities*, the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and Justus of Tiberias' *Chronology* (taken from Photius) in the first volume; the second volume contained the eight Dissertations, the Preface to "Of the Jewish War or, his History of the Destruction of Jerusalem," "Of the Jewish War," and "Of the Antiquities of the Jews; Against Apion." In the nineteenth-century editions, which were usually contained within one volume, the Dissertations were generally either omitted or placed near the end of the volume (thus minimizing their importance), but the *Life* was usually placed at the start, placing emphasis on the personal testimony of Josephus as an eyewitness of some of the history about which he wrote.²¹

Among these later editions there exists a distinctive luxury volume, printed with numerous illustrations by the London Printing & Publishing Company in London and New York and including the Sequel to the History of the Jews which had first appeared in the 1848 edition published by the Tallis brothers.²² No date is given on the title page of this edition any more than in the 1848 edition, but the contents of the Sequel make it almost certain that the volume was published ca. 1876 with an eye to the large potential Jewish readership in New

Grigg's printing, dated on the title page to 1825, in fact claimed, implausibly, that it had been taken "from the last London edition of 1827."

- 19 The edition published by Simms and McIntyre (London, 1847) has three dissertations; Virtue and Yorston (New York, ca. 1874) has seven dissertations; an edition with a new preface about the early Church published by Kinnersley (New York, 1821) advertised the volume as "Revised, and illustrated with notes, by the Rev. Samuel Burder, A.M."
- 20 "Jerusalem Destroyed or the History of the Siege of that City by Titus, Abridged from Flavius Josephus, by the Author of 'Lily Douglas'" (Edinburgh, 1826); abridged text for the American Sunday School Union, by the Author of "Pierre and his Family" (Philadelphia, 1828).
- 21 For example, "The Life of Flavius Josephus" was printed at the start of the volumes published by H.G. Bohn (London, 1852) and by T. Nelson (Edinburgh, 1854).
- 22 *The complete Works of Flavius Josephus comprising the History of the Jews, &c, and the Life of Josephus, written by himself: Translated by William Whiston, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. With a Geographical Summary of the Land of Promise, Illustrated with Coloured Maps. And a Sequel to the History of the Jews, continued to the present time* (London and New York: The London Printing and Publishing Company, n.d.).

York.²³ The London Printing & Publishing Company, a successor company to J.&F. Tallis, updated and changed the Sequel, altering the muddled numbering of the books of the Sequel in the earlier edition and correcting the 1848 text where it made no sense.²⁴

Other changes in the 1876 edition included a reordering of Josephus' works: in the 1848 edition (pp. 576–593), Dissertations I–III had been placed between “Wars of the Jews” and “Flavius Josephus Against Apion,” whereas in the 1876 edition (pp. 564–581), Dissertations I–III were placed after *Against Apion*. The insertion throughout the volume (including the Sequel) of many hundreds of images, some of only marginal relevance to the text itself, may be explained by the desire to market the volume as a luxury product and by the ready availability of such images to the publishers, since the Tallis brothers had begun their careers as illustrators. Of more significance was the addition of a substantial “Geographical Summary of the Land of Promise, Illustrated with Coloured Maps” (pp. 812–820).

Christian interests were not altogether ignored in the 1876 edition—the publisher included Whiston's Dissertation on Josephus' references to Jesus, John the Baptist and ‘James the Just’ (pp. 564–581) and the Geographical Summary refers to Palestine as “the Land of Promise of the Jew—the Holy Land of the Christian” (p. 812). But I have argued elsewhere that this volume was the first English edition of Whiston's Josephus (or, indeed, any translation of Josephus) to be produced primarily for a Jewish readership: there was no reference to the Dissertations on the title page, which instead proclaimed “The Land of Promise” as the title of the Geographical Summary. This marked the work's geographical content as suitable for Jews, and the anonymous author of the additions to the Sequel stressed the significance of New York's Jewish community, describing it as “the Mecca of American Judaism” (p. 809).²⁵ It was presumably for the benefit of Jewish readers that the publishers changed the running headings of the text of Josephus' *Antiquities* in Whiston's translation from “Antiquities of the Jews” to “History of the Jews,” emphasising the volume's role as a full consecutive account of Jewish history from the beginning to the work's original present time.

If this new edition was intended to convey knowledge of Josephus, as well as Isaac D'Israeli's Sequel, to a new Jewish readership, it is rather remarkable that the publishers appear to have made no effort whatever to remedy the gaps

23 Pages 808–811 bring the Sequel up-to-date, cf. Goodman, “Josephus, Isaac D'Israeli.”

24 Goodman, “Disraeli family,” 151–152.

25 Goodman, “Josephus, Isaac D'Israeli.”

in Josephus' narrative as they inherited it from the 1848 edition. It would be interesting to know whether any of the Jewish readers of the volume were ever aware that so many passages had been excised or abbreviated, and what they would have thought about this had they known, since by the 1870s Jewish attitudes towards Josephus varied considerably. On the one hand, he had come to be regarded as a prime source for the history of the Jewish nation through the work of historians in the first generations of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. On the other hand, he was seen as an example of Jewish accommodation to the culture and political system of the Roman Empire, to be either celebrated or abhorred, as Jews in many parts of Europe themselves faced the possibility of assimilation and acculturation into the wider society. Thus, some saw Josephus as a reliable historical source: in Germany, when Leopold Stein wished to praise the historian Joachim Jost at his funeral in 1860, he ranked Jost alongside Josephus as a great Jewish historian; in England, a writer in the *Jewish Chronicle* noted in 1855 that "the writings of both Moses and Josephus are in the hands of everyone." In France, a plaque erected in the Temple Buffault in Paris in 1877 by Daniel Iffla (Osiris), a dedicated French nationalist, celebrated Joseph FLAVIUS as one of the "illustres enfants d'Israel." Much more ambivalent was the attitude of Heinrich Graetz, who used Josephus' writings extensively as the primary source for his history in the first editions of volumes 3 and 4 of his *History* in the 1850s but attacked him for his politics in a new footnote in the third edition of volume 3 published in 1878.²⁶

It is tempting, but difficult, to link the excisions in this edition of Josephus' writings to Jewish ambivalence about Josephus as a historian and as a man or to ambivalence about the Christian theology of William Whiston, whose translation the publishers had chosen to use. Yet I suspect that it was purely an accident, arising from the specific requirement of Isaac D'Israeli in the 1840s edition to make space for his extensive *Sequel*, that the first publication of Josephus' histories specifically designed to popularise his writings among English-speaking Jews happened to be missing so much of Josephus' text. I likewise imagine that it was incidental that neither the publishers in 1876 nor their readers were aware that Josephus' writings had been so considerably abridged.

26 Goodman, *Josephus's The Jewish War*, 71–81.

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Josephus on the School Bench

Meir Ben Shahar

“Opinions are divided about the conduct of Yosef ben Matityahu in the Galilee front of the Great Revolt. Conduct a trial of his deeds, his leadership, and the manner of his management of the war.”¹ This is a proposal for summarizing the teaching content of a mid-twentieth century history textbook’s unit about the Great Revolt. I assume there is no historian other than Yosef ben Matityahu—Josephus—whom students are asked to put on trial. In this article, I attempt to sketch the complex and changing attitudes toward the personality, actions, and writings of Josephus in the history textbooks written in Hebrew and used in Israel from its pre-state days in the nineteenth century through the present. During this period, dramatic changes unfolded in both the Jewish presence in the Land of Israel, including the founding of the State of Israel, and in pedagogical approaches to history. The historiography of the Israeli educational system in general and of its history education in particular attributes great importance to political changes as a powerful incentive for the teaching of history.² Have these changes also been expressed in the evaluation of Josephus’ character and writings?

1 Methodology

For 21st-century professional historians, there is no longer an ‘agreed-upon history’ or an ‘authoritative description of the past.’ Nevertheless, “what appears in school textbooks is legitimately sanctioned knowledge that has been allocated an official stamp of ‘truth,’ but what textbooks offer are not truths but claims to truth.”³ The pretension to ‘truth’ stems from the status of history education as a tier in establishing a stable national identity, which demonstrates confidence in the righteousness of the nation’s path. Since the 19th century,

1 Avivi and Perski, *Sixth Grade*, 128.

2 Podeh, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*; Kizel, *Subservient History*. For a more nuanced attitude see Conforti, *Past Tense*, 214–289. Anyway, Conforti also argues that the political and historical changes influenced and shaped history textbooks, see also Conforti, “Alternative Voices.”

3 Foster and Crawford, “History Textbook Research,” 8; see also, Alayan and Podeh, “Introduction,” 3–4.

history education has played a central role in shaping and achieving a shared national identity by instilling the collective memory.⁴ “The history curriculum is traditionally regarded as the vehicle through which nations seek to store, transmit and disseminate narratives that define conceptions of nationhood and national culture; as such they are crucial sites for investigation.”⁵

History textbooks are the main application of the curriculum.⁶ Therefore they play an essential role in creating collective national memory and constructing Israel’s national identity.⁷ However, just as the curriculum is subject to public debate by groups representing different values and perceptions of identity, the application of the curriculum, even after its approval, is accompanied by different interpretations reflected in the textbooks.⁸ Even though there may have been some devaluation in the status of the textbook in recent years due to the use of the internet, it is still the primary source of information for school students, especially regarding antiquity.⁹

Methodologically, it is possible to point out three contexts in regard to which the textbooks should be examined: (1) *The context of influence*: the textbook is an application of the curriculum. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the political, social, ideological, and economic factors that influence the design of the curriculum. (2) *The context of textbook production*: how the curriculum is reflected in the textbook. In this context, the dominant method is content analysis of the of history textbooks, aimed at identifying the historical narrative, for the most part, the national historical narrative and its ways of empowering it. (3) *The context of practice*: whether and how textbooks are taught in class.¹⁰

In this article, I will deal mainly with the first two contexts by way of a content analysis of the textbooks. The choice of this method stems from the fact

4 The academic literature on the subject is very extensive. Some argue that history education in the United States is in fact an acquaintance and internalization of American collective national memory; see VanSledright, “Narratives.” On history education and collective memory see most recently, Bullock and Bullock, “Re-imagining History.” History education and nationality have been constantly discussed in many different contexts; see the bibliography cited in the articles mentioned above n. 3. This affinity will probably also continue in the coming years, as argued by Grever and Tina van der Vlies, “Why National Narratives.” This article also has an extensive review of research on history education and nationalism in recent years.

5 Foster and Crawford, “History Textbook Research,” 5.

6 Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, “New Trends,” 156.

7 Alayna and Podeh, “Introduction,” 3; VanSledright, “Narratives,” 113–119.

8 Foster and Crawford, “History Textbook Research,” 5.

9 Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, “New Trends,” 156; Alayna and Podeh, “Introduction,” 2.

10 Foster and Crawford, “History Textbook Research,” 11–14.

that a significant proportion of the books to be examined are continuous texts that make little use of images or other graphic aids. The main questions I will address are:

1. *Josephus' personality*: whether and how Josephus was judged, particularly the evaluation of his deeds at Yodfat (Jotapata). In this context, it must be examined whether and how groups (Zealots, Sicarii) and other persons (Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, Yohanan of Gush Halav [John of Giscala]) acted during the revolt have been evaluated.
2. *Josephus as a historical source*: are Josephus' writings perceived as a reliable source? What is the relationship between the assessment of Josephus as an actor and attitude toward his books?

I will examine the Hebrew textbooks written for both elementary and high schools and studied in the Land of Israel from the end of the 19th century until today. I will only deal with books written for the Zionist (general and religious) education system, and therefore history books with an ultra-Orthodox orientation will not be discussed in this framework. However, it is a broad corpus containing over forty books.¹¹ It is impossible to present a detailed content analysis of each of the books, mainly since some have been published in several editions with interesting changes.¹² Accordingly, I will deal mainly with widely circulated books. I will also examine in more detail books that clearly illustrate changes that have taken place in the evaluation of Josephus' character over time.

2 The Return of the Historian: Josephus in Hebrew Textbooks up to World War I

The rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century in Europe breathed new life into the past. According to politicians, teachers, and professional historians the events of the past created the nation and bestowed meaning and purpose upon it.¹³ A 1914 German guide for teaching history wrote: "In the first place,

11 There is not yet a neat list of all the ancient history textbooks written during this period. The list at the end of Ruth Firer's dissertation can be a starting point. It includes all the textbooks written from the end of the 19th century to the 1970s; it also refers to the Middle Ages and the Modern Era; see Firer, *Formation and Information*, 345–352. A list of history textbooks written for the State Religious Education system is found in Weintraub, *The Development*, 394–408.

12 See for example below, p. 476.

13 The scholarly literature is very vast; Marsden, *The School Textbook*, 148–166, is a good introduction for the subject; see also Marsden, "Poisoned History;" Wilschut, "History at the Mercy."

history education should strive for a real, decidedly German spirit. If this is not achieved, it has failed its most splendid goal.¹⁴ These trends are also very evident in the first history textbooks written in Hebrew.¹⁵ Ze'ev Yavetz, the first to publish a history textbook in Hebrew in 1890, opened his book with the following declaration: "But I will clearly state that not only for its own purpose did I write it, but also to serve as a faithful means of fostering attachment in the Jewish nation toward its heritage and sacred traditions: to present it with the greats of the nation in all their splendor and glory, that they may serve as exemplary role models for the Jewish nation in all their ways."¹⁶ Yavetz managed to recount the entire span of all Jewish history up to his time in only 150 pages. Nonetheless, he devoted several sentences to Josephus. He notes both Josephus' role as the commander of the Revolt in the Galilee and his writings, commenting that Vespasian was kind to him "because he saw in him that his spirit was loyal to the Romans, and that his soul was more precious to him than his people."¹⁷ With just a few words, Yavetz set the stage for the widespread description and evaluation of Josephus in the textbooks that followed.

The primary emphasis in history teaching was placed on the periods when Jews lived and were active in the Land of Israel, from biblical times through the Bar Kokhba Revolt.¹⁸ In this context, of course, great importance was placed on the loss of national independence during the Second Temple Period. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858–1922), who revived and modernized the Hebrew language, also dedicated himself to imparting Jewish history. In 1892, he published a history textbook for elementary school. In the first lines of the book, he explains that the book's purpose is "to imbue in our children ... the concept, found in the chronicles of the Jewish people, that it is a **national** people, that experienced days when it lived a **complete life**, loved its **national freedom**, and would risk its life for this freedom"¹⁹ (emphasis in the original). With his total commitment to nationalism, specifically in the form of political independence for the Land of Israel,²⁰ Ben-Yehuda did not spare Josephus from his sharp pen, missing not miss a derisive word with which to attack Josephus. Moreover, Ben-Yehuda accused Josephus of significantly changing the story of the Great Revolt to fit his ideological goals. According to Ben-Yehuda, the genuine leader of the Galilee rebels was John of Giscala; even before Yosef ben Matityahu

14 Cited by Wilschut, "History at the Mercy," 695.

15 For the history of Hebrew education in late Ottoman Palestine, see Elboim-Dror, *Hebrew Education*. David Shahar, *Know*, 199–205 focused on history education during this period.

16 Yavetz, *The Book of Chronicles*, III–IV.

17 Yavetz, *The Book of Chronicles*, 40.

18 Furas, *Educating Palestine*, 187–188.

19 Ben-Yehudah, *History*, 3.

20 For this motif in Ben-Yehudah's historiographical writing, see Porat, "The Nation," 70–74.

reached the Galilee, John had already built fighting battalions. Ben-Yehuda had no doubt that if John had been the commander of the Galilee, then “they could have stood as an iron wall before Rome’s legions without allowing them to enter into the land.”²¹ Ben-Yehuda describes Josephus as follows: “Cowardly, hypocritical, of low soul, seeking only his own benefit, a loyal lover of the Romans and a traitor to his people.”²² Summarizing the Roman conquest of the Galilee, Ben-Yehuda writes: “Yosef ben Matityahu handed the Land into the enemy’s hand.”²³ Interestingly, Ben-Yehuda mentions Josephus more than he does Titus and Vespasian together! Josephus is Titus’ advisor during the siege of Jerusalem and attempts to weaken the morale of the rebels through his speeches. According to Ben-Yehuda, Josephus’ *Bellum Judaicum* is a work written by a traitor seeking to justify his own actions and to slander the loyal zealots. Yet Ben-Yehuda vows as follows: “Yet the memory of these heroes shall not be forgotten among the people of Israel for all time.”²⁴

A different appraisal of Josephus can be found in another widely-used textbook at the time, written by the Jewish-Russian historian Simon Dubnow. Along with his work as a professional historian, Dubnow also published a history textbook translated from Russian into Hebrew by Aharon Libushitzky. Although Dubnow did not give Josephus’ character much attention, his analysis of Josephus is nevertheless more complex than that of Ben-Yehuda. Dubnow describes Josephus as someone who, from a young age, had had a high opinion of the Romans’ military and diplomatic capabilities, and thus did not believe in the possibility of victory against them. Dubnow does not use derisive language toward Josephus. He describes the Siege of Yodfat neutrally and concludes his discussion with the observation that “the Jews of Jerusalem blamed Yosef for the city’s fall and decried him as one of the traitors for falling to the enemy.”²⁵ Dubnow does not explicitly reveal his opinion on the matter, but his silence should not be interpreted as approval of Josephus’ course of actions. Actually, Dubnow describes the zealots and John of Giscala very sympathetically.²⁶ Although with slight differences, mostly in tone and rhetoric, all history textbooks of the pre-World War I period praised the zealots

21 Ben-Yehudah, *History*, 166.

22 Ben-Yehudah, *History*, 166.

23 Ben-Yehudah, *History*, 166.

24 Ben-Yehudah, *History*, 172.

25 Dubnow, *The History*, 75.

26 The close assessments of Josephus by Ben-Yehudah and Dubnow support Dimitry Shumsky’s conclusion that Dubnow’s ideas and historical thought were part of the legitimate Zionist discourse of his time, see Shumsky, “Zionism.”

and condemned Josephus.²⁷ But what about the schoolchildren themselves? Memoires of those who were schoolchildren during that time can give us a hint about how they imagined the Great Revolt. Haim Keller, as a child, who studied at a school in Rosh Pina in the early twentieth century, retells his experiences as follows:

We lived the lives of the protectors and fighters of the Galilee, we breathed in the longing for freedom and the yearning for liberation. Afterwards, on the same mountains and hills surrounding Meron and Gush Halav, we walked with reverence and said: 'Here, here, walked the heroes of the Galilee, Yohanan and Eleazar! We shall walk in their path until the redemption, this is how Wilkomitz taught us.'²⁸

3 The Second Period: The British Mandate (1920–1948)—Continuity and Reassessment

After World War I, the Jewish population in Mandatory Palestine grew significantly. The growing influx of immigrants with differing political and cultural views led to the creation of different educational streams. Although almost all the streams shared the Zionist vision, they differed in many cultural and ideological respects. Most of the children in the urban and semi-urban settlements studied in the general stream, which followed the curricula of the World Zionist Organization's (WZO) education department. Religious students who did not study in yeshivot, preferring instead a modern education, studied in the religious education stream of the Mizrahi movement. Children of the kibbutzim, and from the urban population identifying with socialist values, studied in the socialist-leaning Workers stream. Each stream created its own curriculum and sometimes even textbooks were written to reflect the values of a particular educational stream.²⁹ As we shall see below, changes were not limited to the structure of the education system. During this period, the writing of history textbooks was mainly done by trained historians. As a result, there were significant changes in the evaluation of Josephus and his deeds, which

27 Shahar, *Know*, 199–205.

28 Riklis, *The Teacher*, 75. Simhah Wilkomitz (1871–1918) was one of the prominent teachers at the beginning of the 20th century in Palestine, and his influence on students and teachers is well attested; see Dror, "The New Rural."

29 On the importance of history education for each stream see Furas, *Educating Palestine*, 187–189.

influenced the textbooks written in the next two generations. Considering this, I will discuss more intensively the textbooks written during this period.

In the WZO's first history curriculum (1923), it was determined that history should be taught in a way that "would awaken among the students a sense of participation in our nation's fate."³⁰ With the introduction of the new curriculum, new textbooks were written both for lower schools (Grades 1–8) and high schools. The first to be published were history textbooks written by Yaakov Naftali Simhoni (1884–1926) in the 1920s, which were meant for high school students and teaching students. Simhoni was a young and promising scholar. One of his most important literary works was a translation of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* from Greek into Hebrew, and thus he certainly had a great interest in the character of Josephus.³¹ Simhoni's Josephus was a young man with many talents, but one who should not have been sent to the Galilee because he lacked military experience. Simhoni accepts that the revolt in the Galilee failed because of Josephus' lack of faith in the possibility of victory, but in contrast to the textbooks of the previous generation, he does not accuse Josephus of treason. It is possible that the desire to "launder" Josephus caused Simhoni to almost skip over Josephus' actions after the fall of Yodfat. Simhoni merely notes in short that he fell prisoner to the Romans.³²

Simhoni also adopts the main elements of Josephus' hostile position toward John of Giscala. According to Simhoni, John "ruled with extreme tyranny, maltreated the wealthy residents, and turned many over to killers. The cruelty of his rule engendered much hate against him."³³ In line with Josephus, Simhoni describes at length how the zealots' wars harmed Jerusalem and how the Temple was burnt against Titus' wishes. Moreover, Josephus receives Simhoni's praise for faithfully describing the last moments of Masada with admiration, notwithstanding his hatred for the zealots. Simhoni discusses Josephus' books in detail, using this as an opportunity to praise the "glorious defense" that Josephus provided the Jewish people before the nations, and how Josephus described the "virtue of the people Israel above all the peoples of the land."³⁴ He even hints that Josephus may have been in contact with some rabbinic leaders while in Rome.³⁵ In this manner, Josephus is por-

30 The Educational Department, *Curriculum*, 41.

31 Simhoni died at the age of only 42. His death was a severe loss for the advancement of science and the national aspirations involved in the study of Jewish history. For his life and literary work see Shmueli, "Portrait."

32 Simhoni, *The History*, 1B:175–177.

33 Simhoni, *The History*, 1B:178.

34 Simhoni, *The History*, 2:34.

35 Simhoni, *The History*, 2:35.

trayed as not a traitor, and even becomes as an active participant in Simhoni's national project.

Simhoni's positive attitude towards Josephus cannot be separated from Simhoni's close familiarity with Josephus' writings. In his introduction to the translation, Simhoni goes to the trouble of justifying Josephus and his writings. He is empathetic with Josephus' difficult situation in Rome and claims that Josephus almost certainly wrote with historical precision and should not be described as or considered a traitor.³⁶ Scholars argued that Simhoni's approach was not accepted by Jewish historians until the last quarter of 20th century.³⁷ However, it turns out that his positions have permeated public understanding. Since Simhoni, newer textbooks have taken a more moderate approach towards Josephus.

Divrei yemei 'amenu (The Chronicles of Our People), written by Chaim A. Zuta and Isaac Spivak, was the most common history textbook for elementary school students during the Mandate period.³⁸ The book dedicates to Yosef ben Matityahu a rather long section dealing with his activities in Galilee. According to the book, Josephus boasted of his religious identity as a Pharisee but "in politics and culture gave Rome above little Judea."³⁹ Another problem Josephus had was his lack of knowledge in military matters. Nevertheless, the book highlights the active role of Josephus during the siege of Yodfat and his attempts to defend the city. Admittedly, the book attributes Josephus' survival to his cunning. However, the book completely avoids slamming Josephus with derogatory nicknames, as the writers of the previous generation had. Nor does the book show much sympathy for the zealots and John of Giscala, who are accused of civil war and murder.⁴⁰ Yitzhak Conforti, who thoroughly studied the history textbooks during the Mandate period, described Zuta and Spivak's book as having a "moderate" nationalist tendency.⁴¹

A similar tone can also be found in *Toldot 'amenu (History of Our People)*, a history textbook for elementary school written by two prominent educators, Baruch Avivi and Natan Perski.⁴² At the beginning of the chapter on "The Great War of Independence and the Destruction of Judah," the abysmal

36 Simhoni, *History of the Jewish War*, vii–xxviii.

37 Schwartz, "From Masada to Jotapata."

38 Zuta and Spivak, *Chronicles*. On Zuta and Spivak, see Furas, *Educating Palestine*, 124–127. On the wide circulation of their book see Conforti, *Past Tense*, 256m15.

39 Zuta and Spivak, *Chronicles*, 1B:174

40 Zuta and Spivak, *Chronicles*, 1B:176–178.

41 Conforti, *Past Tense*, 256–258.

42 Avivi and Perski, *History*.

contrast between “a mighty people of faith” and “a mighty power”⁴³ is described. Although the Romans are militarily strong, the Jews have supreme heroism and devotion. Avivi and Perski’s commitment to the rebels is unquestionable. This approach is in line with what Conforti called the “activist Zionist approach” and which he contrasted with the “moderate” approach of Zuta and Spivak.⁴⁴ Considering this, it is surprising that Yosef ben Matityahu is portrayed in a complex and moderate way. According to Avivi and Perski, Josephus “expressed a deep affection for the glory of the Roman Empire because of its strict rule and good order,” and he did not believe in the revolt’s success. However, he “was swept away by the current of enthusiasm ... and also joined the War of Independence.”⁴⁵ The book’s authors also praise Josephus for preparing the fighting forces in Galilee and fortifying Galilee’s cities. Moreover, the book adopts almost verbatim Josephus’ account of the dialogue between him and the warriors in the cave after the fall of Yodfat. The authors conclude this episode neutrally: “by chance or in cunning only Joseph remains alive.”⁴⁶ Thus, the book “clears” Josephus of the accusation of treason. The destruction’s narrative ends with the experiences of Josephus in Rome. The authors note the importance of the *Jewish War* as the only historical source for the Great Revolt. Josephus’ book is positively appreciated, precisely from a Jewish point of view: “it [= the book] excels in artistic art and a strong emotional expression of the heroic plots in the war of the Jews for their freedom.”⁴⁷

The Mizrahi Religious Zionist educational stream created a unique curriculum that reflects the national dimension and the demand that the teaching of history create in the child “a brave connection to the people of Israel and the Land of Israel, our nation’s homeland and the soil of the teachings of the prophets and sages.”⁴⁸ The next step was to write original textbooks suitable for the religious Zionist stream and its curriculum. The task was placed on the shoulders of the young and promising historian Jacob Katz, who later became a renowned historian. Katz describes at length Josephus’ character and deeds. He declares that on the one hand, Josephus was impressed by Rome’s power and therefore understood that the revolt had no chance of succeeding, but

43 Avivi and Perski, *History*, 2:116.

44 Conforti, *Past Tense*, 267.

45 Avivi and Perski, *History*, 2:119.

46 Avivi and Perski, *History*, 2:125.

47 Avivi and Perski, *History*, 2:148. It turns out that the changing evaluation of Josephus did not remain within the school’s walls. In 1938, Natan Bistrizky’s play “Jerusalem and Rome” was staged, centered on the character of Josephus, who is sympathetically designed; see Feldman, “Flavius’ on Trial.”

48 The Supervisors, *The Curriculum*, 20.

that after the rebels' initial successes, "his lust for honor pushed him to seek greatness," leading him to seek and receive the appointment as commander of the Galilee.⁴⁹ According to Katz, it was Josephus' selfish personality and pursuit of honor and luxury that drove the rest of his actions. His conduct in the cave at Yodfat after the city's fall is explained by his wanting "to remain alive no matter what."⁵⁰ Still, although Katz condemns Josephus, he has no admiration at all for the rebels, viewing them as a bunch of violent people who harmed everything sacred and precious.⁵¹ As befitting someone faithful and committed to the rabbinic tradition, Katz's ideal figure is, of course, Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, to whom Katz dedicates a long paragraph. He explains that Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai understood that the revolt was bound to fail and thus left besieged Jerusalem to establish a Torah center in Yavneh.⁵² Although Josephus and Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai were apparently in the same political camp, Katz clearly distinguishes between the "cowardly" military leader concerned for his own welfare who joined the Roman camp and the religious leader concerned for the Jewish people's spiritual future.

Katz concludes the depiction of Jerusalem's second destruction with Josephus' activity in Rome. He adopts Simhoni's notion that, through his literary work, Josephus "wanted to show the greatness of the people Israel in the past to the nations" and that Josephus' preoccupation with the Torah was intended "to raise up the faith of his people above all [other] peoples' religions."⁵³ Katz concludes that "in so doing, Yosef ben Matityahu atoned, through the words he wrote, for his sins as a warrior."⁵⁴ This explains why Katz adopts almost without reservation Josephus' historical narrative, despite the fact that he was certainly familiar with Gedaliah Alon's critical studies. There were scholars who were very impressed by Katz's willingness not to "adopt the Zionist activist heroic pantheon;"⁵⁵ however, as we have seen, Katz's assessment of Josephus and his writings was shared by other writers.

Compared to Simhoni, Zuta and Spivak, and even Avivi and Persky, Katz's book is a setback. Katz criticizes and even condemns Josephus' personality and sees it as the reason for his actions, while other history textbooks mainly mentioned his political considerations and lack of military experience. Although Katz's final verdict against Josephus is not as severe as Ben Yehuda's,

49 Katz, *Israel*, 129.

50 Katz, *Israel*, 131.

51 Katz, *Israel*, 133–134.

52 Katz, *Israel*, 135.

53 Katz, *Israel*, 143.

54 Katz, *Israel*, 143.

55 Conforti, "Jacob Katz," 175–176.

Katz's distinctive judgmental tone is unusual compared to other contemporary textbooks.⁵⁶

As portrayed in his history textbook, Katz's character is markedly different from the considered and especially critical figure more familiar from his academic writings. Dan Porat is well aware of Katz's dual nature and the contradiction between Katz as a professional historian and Katz as a history educator.⁵⁷ Porat explains that according to Katz, the role of history teaching is not to know the craft of the historian and how historical narratives are created but to associate the student with the national and cultural values of his society; as Katz put it: "The role of the study of national history is to raise the national affinity to the heart of one's consciousness."⁵⁸ The following episode illustrates this well.

Katz recalls that after his textbook was published, Mordechai Raziell, one of the senior teachers at the Tachkemoni religious school in Tel Aviv, approached him. Raziell, who had strong national views, argued that it was impossible for Josephus' writing to atone for his actions, as there is no atonement for betrayal. Katz was sensitive to this criticism, and in later editions changed the text to "in so doing, Yosef ben Matityahu **thought** to atone, through the words he wrote, for his sins as a warrior" (emphasis added).⁵⁹

The writing about Josephus during the Mandate period reveals greater complexity than has been described in the scholarly literature. The assertion that history teaching was uniformly recruited to national goals in order to inculcate uncritical admiration of the nation's past does not stand the test of the evidence, at least regarding Josephus and the description of the Great Revolt. All history textbooks discussed here saw themselves as committed to national values, yet nevertheless described the complex character of Josephus, examined

56 Katz's judicial approach is also reflected in his assessment of the zealots. Katz not only accepts Josephus' critique but adds to it. Katz claims that the cessation of the emperor's sacrifice was against the law and seeks to prove this from the Bible. Then he states emphatically: "From the hatred of the young people their foreign approaches in their hearts are laws that are not according to the Torah" (Katz, *Israel*, 124). This harsh criticism does not arise even in Josephus. Considering this, Conforti's claim that Katz, unlike other authors of history textbooks, did not favor a particular ideological position but "assumed the role of the teacher that does not impose ideological concepts on the student" (Conforti, "Jacob Katz," 181), should be reconsidered.

57 Porat, "One Historian."

58 Katz, "On History," 241.

59 Katz, *With My Own Eyes*, 131–132. Katz later regretted this amendment, and completely changed the closing sentence: "As a warrior, Joseph did not add honor to himself, but as a defender of Israel he will be remembered for good" (Katz and Bachrach, *Israel*, 166). Indeed, the judgmental tone towards Josephus remained the same.

his actions according to scholarly criteria, and produced a complex narrative not committed to promoting national values at the cost of trampling “historical truth.”

4 The Third Period: Building a State, Rewriting History?

The foundation of the state of Israel and the creation of a state educational system offered an opportunity to unify the streams of education and write a unitary curriculum. Indeed, the state religious stream maintained some autonomy, which enabled it to make special adaptations to the curriculum and to use its own textbooks. In 1954, a curriculum for elementary schools (grades 1–8) was introduced. It was based on the recognition that education had a central role to play in transforming the various ethnicities and groups in the young state into “a free people in its land, which knows how to live in freedom and liberty and to protect it in strength and wisdom, to be worthy of the name ‘Israel’ ... a people which ... in our days has been given the lofty and challenging task of being ‘ready for tomorrow’s redemption.’”⁶⁰ This national sentiment was expressed by the Education Minister and prominent historian Ben-Zion Dinur. The national importance of education in building Israeli society has been emphasized and made salient in many diverse ways and has been widely discussed in the last decades.⁶¹

According to Dinur, the goal of history education is to “provide students the recognition that the founding of the State of Israel is the fruit of generations of loyalty and yearning ... and to plant in them the love for the State of Israel and the desire to act on its behalf and protect its existence.”⁶² Such a curriculum included an honorable place was given to the Great Revolt, including “Yosef Flavius[!]” and “the failure of the defense of the Galilee and its causes.”⁶³ The clear national sentiment of Dinur’s agenda would lead one to assume that Josephus would not be one of the admired figures in this curriculum. However, the textbooks and the state curriculum were not always in accord. In the State Religious Education system, it was not considered necessary to change the textbooks. Katz’s book, with its moderate and complex narrative and its

60 Ministry of Education, *Curriculum*, 14.

61 Rein, “Ben Zion Dinur;” Conforti, *Past Tense*, 237–244; Porat, “Between Nation;” Porat, “One Historian,” 62–64.

62 Ministry of Education, *Curriculum*, 18.

63 Ministry of Education, *Curriculum*, 82.

slightly empathetic attitude to Josephus, remained the main textbook through the late 1980s; even the author of this chapter used it as a student.

Over time, new textbooks began to be written. The history textbook written by Binyamin Ahiya and Moshe Harpaz for sixth graders according to the new curriculum was the most used for several decades in the General State Education. While previous textbooks dwelled on the origin, character, conduct, and writings of Josephus, in this textbook all these matters were compressed into several relatively short lines. However, the ambivalence toward Josephus remained. On the one hand, he is described as a “wise and clever man,” on the other hand “his heart was not whole with the role placed on him and with the revolt in general.”⁶⁴ The reason for this, according to the book, is, of course, the high esteem in which Josephus held Rome’s strength. The authors’ criticism is leveled primarily at his military tactics: they argue that instead of fortifying his troops in Yodfat, Josephus should have used guerilla tactics. The *Bellum Judaicum* is mentioned as the primary source for the period without any reservation.

Two years after the publication of the curriculum for elementary schools, an updated curriculum was written for high schools by Michael Ziv, one of the most prominent figures in the young education system. According to Ziv, the goal of history education is “[t]o develop in the student social activism, out of a sense of responsibility to the future. We do not intend to raise historians, but rather, citizens, participants in the creation and formation of history.”⁶⁵ Ziv distinguishes between the scientific aspects of the study of history and the goals of teaching. Students are not supposed to be junior historians, but rather citizens loyal to their state. The goal of history classes is “to plant in the heart of the youth the Jewish national recognition ... to instill in the student’s heart the recognition of the State of Israel’s importance for ensuring the corporeal and continued historical existence of the people of Israel.”⁶⁶

Ziv then began writing history textbooks for high school that would suit the new curriculum. Despite Ziv’s national declarations, for him, Yosef ben Matityahu was neither a traitor nor a scoundrel. Rather, Ziv presents Josephus as a complex person, who, while greatly impressed by Rome’s strength, excelled in “his strong faith in the redemption of Israel ... and his being a descendant of the Hasmoneans and his expertise in Roman affairs were of great benefit.”⁶⁷ Ziv’s textbook refrains from criticizing Josephus’ activities in the Galilee and

64 Ahiyah and Harpaz, *History of Israel*, 209.

65 Ziv, *Teaching History*, 14.

66 The Ministry of Education, *Curriculum for Secondary School*, 35.

67 Ziv, Kirschenbaum, and Abramsky, *History*, 176–177.

mentions that Justus of Tiberias testified to Josephus' commitment to the revolt and the war against Rome. Criticism of Josephus is levied only through the words of John of Giscala. Although the book states that Josephus deceived the warriors in the Yodfat cave, immediately afterwards it offers Josephus' explanation that God had given him a prophetic role. So, the book not only does not reject this argument, but even gives it a rational interpretation, according to which Josephus had intended his destiny to be one of chronicling and passing on the history of the war to future generations. In general, the book accepts Josephus' version of the Great Revolt, except for the account of the burning of the Temple. The story of the destruction concludes, as in other textbooks, with praises to Josephus' literary endeavor. His literary corpus is described as a set of books meant to defend the Jewish people's honor and faith. In this context, *Against Apion* receives especially high praise, and Ziv declares that "this book secured its author a place of honor in Jewish history."⁶⁸

In scholarly literature, it is accepted that in the first two decades of the State of Israel, history teaching was enlisted in the service of stimulating national needs, building the nation, and emphasizing faith in the rectitude of the Zionist enterprise.⁶⁹ Yet, analyzing how the figure of Josephus was shaped in history textbooks indicates that even during this time, Josephus continued to be presented as a complex person, and the textbooks refrained from hurling derisive epithets at him, such as "traitor" and "coward." It is almost certain that the descriptions of Josephus were influenced by progress in research and the academic advice provided to the textbooks' authors, yet the fact that up-to-date academic research served as a shield to the explicit national trends of the state curriculum is highly significant.

5 The Fourth Period: From National History to Scientific History

In the 1960s, history education in the Western world underwent a major upheaval. Up to that time, history education had been seen as part of a means of establishing national identity. Critical voices, primarily critical of its consequences for the rise of militant nationalism, had little if any impact on the curricula in the West.⁷⁰ A turning point came in the 1960s. The American edu-

68 Ziv, Kirschenbaum, and Abramsky, *History*, 202.

69 See above, n. 61, and especially Mathias, "Nationalizing Education;" Mathias, "Curriculum," 49–50. For particular case studies see, e.g., Podeh, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*; Kizel, *Subservient History*, 57–79

70 Marsden, "Poisoned History."

cational psychologist Benjamin Bloom emphasized that the goal of school learning should not be familiarity with knowledge but, rather, gaining learning skills, which would assist the student in any field the student should choose later in life.⁷¹ Similarly, Jerome Bruner, the American cognitive psychologist, argued that when dealing with the various fields of knowledge (literature, history, science, etc.), the goal is not familiarity with the particular content of these fields, but rather understanding the “structure of knowledge” of each one of them.⁷² Put differently, historical studies should not transform the student into a loyal member of the community, but rather into a junior historian. A sense of belonging and identity as pedagogical goals were replaced by the ability to ask questions and read critically.⁷³

The Israeli education system adopted these approaches, and over the course of the 1970s curricula and textbooks were rewritten in all subjects taught in schools, including history.⁷⁴ The middle school (Grades 7–9) history curriculum starts with setting five goals in the field of cognition. Only the first goal involves acquiring knowledge of historical events, while the rest deal with the skills needed for historical research, including being able to utilize sources of information fully, to make comparisons between historical phenomena, to search for causes and consequences, and the like. The next three goals are defined as goals in the field of values. The first pertains to judging historical events in accordance with moral standards; the second deals with “fostering understanding and tolerance towards ... other people and nations.” Only the last deals with identity and belonging: “cultivating a feeling of identification with the nation and the state.”⁷⁵ Toward the end of the 1970s, a new curriculum was also written for high school. In this curriculum, also, national values were pushed aside in favor of historical skills and cognitive abilities.⁷⁶

71 Bloom and Krathwohl, *Taxonomy*.

72 Bruner, *The Process*.

73 For a review of the ‘curriculum revolution’ in the Western world, see Lévesque and Clark, “Historical Thinking,” for its historical background and implications see Colby, “The Emergence.” Although she deals with the UK, the processes described took place in other Western countries. Indeed, leaders and supporters of the scientifically oriented curriculum have from time to time argued that they do not intend to raise young historians. That, they sought to instill in school students the use of investigative methods routine in the historical discipline, see the critique of Herbst, “Review,” 327.

74 On the curriculum reform in Israel see Ben-Peretz and Zajdman, “Three Generations.” On the history curriculum reform see Conforti, *Past Tense*, 247–250; Mathias, “Curriculum,” 47–65. On the debates about the history curriculum see Porat, “One Historian,” 65–69.

75 Ministry of Education, *The History Curriculum* (1975), 9.

76 Ministry of Education, *The History Curriculum* (1977), 4.

Were these changes also reflected in the textbooks that followed them? Dan Porat dealt with how the Second Temple period and notably the Great Revolt were described in history textbooks from 1948 to the 1990s. According to Porat, the curricular revolution of the 1970s did not lead to a fundamental change in the textbooks written, and only in the 1990s following political and social changes can a real change be noticed.⁷⁷ However, reading the textbooks' assessment of Josephus shows that the curricular changes began to make a real mark already much earlier.

During the 1970s, a textbook was published for students of state elementary education written in the Ministry of Education in the Curriculum Division.⁷⁸ Indeed, one can find in this book a nationalist tone, as Porat noted;⁷⁹ nevertheless, it is different from its predecessors in many ways. Appreciation and glory are reserved exclusively for Masada's fighters.⁸⁰ The zealots who fought in Jerusalem are described in a rather negative way. Their violent acts and murder are described in detail, and to some extent the city's fall is imputed to their duty.⁸¹ On the other hand, the chapter opens with a rather long reference to Josephus as a historical source.⁸² In this context, there is no mention of Yodfat's story or Josephus' 'betrayal.' Instead, his books are described as a primary source of information. Many passages from Josephus and other sources are quoted following the new curriculum, which emphasizes historical skills. Students are asked to analyze the sources and extract information from them. Concerning Elazar Ben Yair's speech, the degree of credibility of Josephus is also examined.⁸³ However, concerning Josephus, the military commander, the book does not criticize him, and his actions in Yodfat are hardly mentioned.⁸⁴

A fundamental change can also be seen in the State Religious Education system. A textbook written by Akiva Doron within the Curriculum Division takes a judgmental tone when discussing Josephus, but it is much more moderate.⁸⁵ The book describes Josephus' preparatory actions in the Galilee in

77 Porat, "Reconstructing."

78 The Curriculum Division, *History Lessons*.

79 Porat, "Reconstructing," 203.

80 The Curriculum Division, *History Lessons*, 103. Cf. Porat, "Reconstructing," 202–204, who takes the Masada episode as a representation of the book's national tone.

81 The Curriculum Division, *History Lessons*, 96–101.

82 The Curriculum Division, *History Lessons*, 55.

83 The Curriculum Division, *History Lessons*, 104–110.

84 This was already noticed by Porat, "Reconstructing," 202, but he didn't see it as an important change.

85 Doron, *From Generation-to-Generation*. The book was written over the 1970's and 1980's. The 1991 edition is the latest edition. The book was the most circulated in the State Religious Education system until 2020.

a neutral manner and adds the hypothesis that Josephus didn't have "the vigor and enthusiasm for battle, which characterized the zealots of the Galilee."⁸⁶ The claim that Josephus already thought to defect to the Roman side is attributed to John of Giscala but is not presented as the book's position. However, Josephus' surrender is explained by saying that he "wanted to save his skin."⁸⁷ As a rule, the book accepts Josephus' narrative without reservation. The culprits in the destruction are the zealots.⁸⁸ Indeed, there is a suggestion in the book to discuss whether Josephus was a traitor or not, but the book does not provide enough information to address the question. More importantly, there is an impression that the book is trying to avoid charged questions. The descriptions of the Civil War in Jerusalem are short and laconic, and the Masada affair is not mentioned at all.

These changes, which permeated the new textbooks, are clearly reflected in *Jewish Society in Second Temple Times: Developments and Struggles in the Period between the Return to Zion and the Bar Kokhba Revolt*.⁸⁹ This book was written for the secondary school with the assistance of four academic advisors and it reflects a completely different didactic approach. Previous history textbooks would present the student with an organized account of the historical narrative, in which passages from sources and discussions are presented in a separate and distinct context. Yet in this book, long passages from historical sources and from the work of modern scholars are integrated into the narrative historical lecture. While reading, the student is prompted, by way of leading questions, to delve into the ancient historians' passages and modern scholarly discourse in order to reconstruct the historical realities.⁹⁰

The book gives primary attention to evaluating Josephus' credibility and motivations. For example, after presenting the "fourth philosophy," the students are asked: "How does Yosef ben Matityahu describe the people of the 'fourth philosophy'? What, in your opinion, did he want to achieve in presenting their opinions as a transformation of the fathers' ways? What do you learn about Yosef ben Matityahu's attitude to the people of the 'fourth philosophy'?"⁹¹ As a whole, the book includes many comments about Josephus' writing and its reliability. One of the clear examples of this relates to the episode of the burning of the Temple. Students are introduced to Josephus' account, according to

86 Doron, *From Generation-to-Generation*, 350.

87 Doron, *From Generation-to-Generation*, 353.

88 Doron, *From Generation-to-Generation*, 364.

89 Qisos-Edalman, *Jewish Society*.

90 These methods were adopted in other history textbooks; see Mathias, "Curriculum," 54-55.

91 Qisos-Edalman, *Jewish Society*, 237.

which the Temple was burnt against Titus' wishes, and in opposition, the statement of Sulpicius Severus is provided, according to which Titus was directly responsible for the burning of the Temple. Students are then asked to explain their position on this contradiction.⁹²

However, the critique of Josephus as a primary source in this book does not stem from rejection of or alienation toward the "traitor to his people." Instead, the book almost reluctantly describes the conflict between John of Giscala and Yosef ben Matityahu. The Yodfat episode is recounted in short, without hinting that Josephus survived due to an act of deception.⁹³ In general, the book completely avoids making clear ethical judgments of Josephus and his actions. In fact, while the author proposes that the teacher should conduct a public trial of Josephus among the students, it suggests that the teacher should notice that "the intent for such a discussion is not to reach extreme conclusions of complete rejection or approval. It is important that students understand the person's complexity and the problem with relating to his book, and get used to seeing that there is a lot of gray in the world, not only black or white."⁹⁴

The presentation of Josephus' character exposes two processes that transpired in Israeli society and its education system. The scientific aspect of the textbook, which engages with source criticism and reveals the disagreements among scholars, is an outstanding example of the curricula written in the previous decade, inspired by the curriculum revolution in the English-speaking world. Yet the last sentence from the pedagogical guidebook for teachers indicates that this revolution was a part of a deep change Israeli society was undergoing at the same time. The textbooks written in the 1950s and 1960s were written out of a strong and naïve faith in the righteousness of Zionism and the State of Israel. These faiths were undermined after the Yom Kippur War, the public dispute on the settlement in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, and the unending war in Lebanon. The recognition "that there is a lot of gray in the world, not only black or white," expresses the appeal and rupture processes that Israeli society experienced.⁹⁵ Interestingly, the combination of both processes, the educational and the social, enabled a sort of transformation of Josephus' status in history textbooks. Until this point, we have seen that all history textbooks evaluated Josephus' personality and deeds against moral

92 Qisos-Edalman, *Jewish Society*, 302–303.

93 Qisos-Edalman, *Jewish Society*, 288.

94 Brody (Edalman), *Jewish Society*, 121.

95 These processes were discussed intensively by many scholars. The most thorough research is Almog, *Farewell*. For a partial summary of his conclusions in English see Almog "Shifting." For another assessment of these social and cultural changes, see Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, 213–308. I thank Dr. Yossi Londin for his assistance here.

and national values, but Josephus the historian was accepted almost without change, and even was praised. Now, the tables had turned. Adoption of the scientific-critical approach facilitated a precise analysis of Josephus' writings and awareness of his biases. At the same time, the recognition that "there is no black and white in life," enabled a more tolerant and comprehensive evaluation of the man and an understanding of his ideological leanings. Doron's book represents the other side of the conflicts and rifts in Israeli society. The book avoided, apparently intentionally, discussing explosive issues, such as the Civil War in Jerusalem and the suicide on Masada, instead offering a rather pale picture of the events.

6 Josephus in the 21st Century: Continuity and Dialogue

During the past forty years, two additional curricula have been drawn up. Although the new history textbooks retreat from the in-depth scientific approach, the character of Josephus remains quite complex.

The most common textbook currently used in elementary state education is *Journey to the Past: Greece, Rome, and Jerusalem*.⁹⁶ Reading the chapter on the great revolt, the most striking thing about it is the absence of adjectives. The zealots and the Masada fighters do not receive praise, while the moderates or opponents of the revolt are not indecent in any way. Previous books had suggested directly or implicitly that Josephus' problematic personality led to the failure of the defense of the Galilee. Now this failure is attributed to the mere lack of military education of Josephus.⁹⁷ The book avoids any judicial evaluation of Josephus' actions. Instead, it devotes extensive space to questioning his degree of objectivity as having taken part in the war.⁹⁸ Although neutral in tone, reading between the lines one can detect the change in values that has taken place in Israeli society. The book sums up the great revolt in these words: "In the fall of Masada in 73 the great revolt ended, the revolt took a hefty toll on the Jewish people living in Judea. The temple ... was destroyed. Jerusalem was ruined, and the Jews lost hope of gaining independence. In this war of destruction many Jews were killed, many others died of starvation and plagues."⁹⁹ For the first time in a history textbook, there is an emphasis on the casualties, rather than the loss of the temple. More than that, the rebels and their families

96 Rhein, *Journey*.

97 Rhein, *Journey*, 177.

98 Rhein, *Journey*, 189.

99 Rhein, *Journey*, 187–188.

were not killed in the “Great Revolt” but as part of the “Destruction War.” The sensitivity of Israeli society to loss of life in war is manifested not only in present battles, but also in past wars.

These trends are also evident in the book *From a Temple State to the People of the Book: A History of the Second Temple*, intended for high school students.¹⁰⁰ Like its predecessor, the various groups and personalities of the period are described neutrally. The judicial assessment of Josephus’ actions is replaced by a scholarly discussion of the credibility of Josephus as a historical source.¹⁰¹ However, the book goes one step further. Not only are the Masada fighters and zealots not praised, but the book also devotes ample space to the ‘Masada myth’ that has developed in recent generations. The book concludes the discussion of Masada’s status in Zionist-Israeli culture as follows:

In the Masada myth, emphasis was placed on the heroism of the Masada warriors, their courage, and their last chance in the war for the freedom of the Jews. For the most part, those involved in the myth ignored the tragic end of its protagonists and their mass suicide. Only details from the story that helped educate the youth for courage, sacrifice, and love for the country were emphasized in the myth, while the details that did not serve these values were omitted.¹⁰²

These concluding remarks are almost a negative reflection of Ben-Yehuda’s enthusiastic remarks about the heroism of the zealots. They teach about the long route which history education in Israel has taken, from an instrument used by Zionist educators for instilling a national ethos and collective memory to a field of knowledge that criticizes the fundamental beliefs of the national narrative.¹⁰³ Critical thinking, however, and the distance with which the books report on the history of the nation, provoked a heated public debate. The turn of the 21st century was accompanied by lively public interest in the status of history education and its ideological implications for Israeli students.¹⁰⁴ In

100 Cohen, *From a Temple State*. There are a few books for secondary school: Avieli-Tabibian, *Journeys*; Schwartz, *From a Temple State*; for the State Religious Education system, see Ilany, *And These are the Histories*. All these books give only a shortened version of the period. They omit treatment of Josephus almost completely.

101 Cohen, *From a Temple State*, 129–130.

102 Cohen, *From a Temple State*, 150.

103 The critical trend is also reflected in other issues in current history textbooks, see Teff-Seker, “Attitudes.”

104 See for example Naveh, *Past in Turmoil*. Israel is no exception. At the turn of the 21st-century, national identity and globalization issues have led to disputes over history education in many countries; see Popp, “National Textbook.”

the first decade of the twenty-first century, public criticism even led to the withdrawal of a textbook because some sectors in Israeli society felt it had a leftwing bias.¹⁰⁵

Over the last decades, there has also been an increasing split within the education system between the General State Education system and the State Religious Education system. This split has been made possible thanks to the dramatic political changes of the late 1970s. The first curriculum in history for the elementary State Religious Education system was written only at the beginning of the new millennium.¹⁰⁶ However, the significant change was not within the Ministry of Education but with the rise of ideological groups outside of the Ministry of Education that strive to express their ideological perceptions in schools.¹⁰⁷

The criticism of the leftist tendency of the history curriculum and textbooks stimulated to the religious right's growing interest in history studies, which culminated in the founding of a publishing house, the Har Bracha Institute, aimed at writing and distributing textbooks for the State Religious schools.¹⁰⁸ The Har Bracha Institute is an arm of the Har Bracha Yeshiva, located in the Har Bracha settlement south of Nablus. Since its early years, the yeshiva has had much interest in history. It was founded by students of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda HaKohen Kook, who, like his father, Rabbi Abraham Isaac HaKohen Kook, saw history as an arena of divine revelation. Rabbi Ze'ev Sultanovich, who is part of the yeshiva's faculty and who serves as a consultant and advisor for the textbooks' authors, dedicates his time to discerning the theological meaning behind upheavals in world events, especially within Jewish history.¹⁰⁹

Over the past decade, the Har Bracha Institute has published history textbooks that aim "to show the hand of God in historical processes and the world's

105 Raz-Krakotzkin, "History Textbooks;" Goldberg and Gerwin, "Israeli History."

106 The differences between the general school system and the religious one goes back to the first curriculum of 1954. However, differences grew over the years and especially after the religious school system began writing its own curricula, see Hofman, "The Politics." The State Religious Education system new curriculum is discussed by Weintraub, "The Bible."

107 On the awakening of the interest in history and history teaching among the right-wing intellectuals, see Shapira, "The Strategies;" Goldberg and Gerwin, "Israeli History," 114–115. On the reactions in the religious-right-wing-settlers sector, see Weintraub, "The Bible."

108 Weintraub, "The Bible," 52; Weintraub and Naveh, "Faith-Based History," 53.

109 Sultanovich's historiosophical conception is articulated in his book *Intelligence at Times*. For scholarly discussion of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kook and Rabbi Zvi Yehudah Kook, and their historiosophy, see Garb, "Rabbi Kook." On the imparting of these ideas and historical thinking in the yeshivot among Rabbi Kook's followers, see Fuchs, "The Construction." There are some political and ideological differences between Har Hamor yeshiva and Har Bracha yeshiva, but the historiosophical approach is quite similar.

progress toward the Redemption."¹¹⁰ The location of the yeshiva in Judea and Samaria hints that this redemption is characterized by a radical national approach. Recently, the institute published a textbook for sixth graders in the State Religious Education system.¹¹¹ In accordance with the institute's religious and national tendencies, it is natural that it attributes great significance to the events surrounding the destruction of the Second Temple. The chapter titled "Revolt and Destruction" opens as follows:

In contrast to other nations, most of whom were integrated into the great Roman Empire and indulged in its delights, the Jewish nation launched an out-and-out war for its freedom and its national identity. This desperate war was commemorated throughout the Roman Empire as no other battle ever was.

The revolt took a heavy toll on the Jewish people. The temple was destroyed, and tens of thousands of people were killed. However, today about two thousand years after the Great Revolt, most nations continue to one degree or another the Greco-Roman culture to which they are accustomed. The Jewish people still live and create within the independent cultural space whose existence it was fighting for.¹¹²

Against this background, the words of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda sound remarkably restrained. Considering this, it is surprising to discover in this same book the assessment that "the decision to revolt against the Romans was not a considered decision taken by the Jewish leadership but was forced on the nation by the radicals."¹¹³ The book condemns the Sicarii and the Zealots because they did not agree to accept the moderate leadership of the revolt. And what about Josephus? The book notes without any reservations that he led the fighting in the Galilee, and only "when the situation seemed hopeless he tried to convince the rebels to submit."¹¹⁴ As for the Yodfat episode, the book's author writes only that "he persuaded his companions that instead of killing each other they should give themselves up to the Romans."¹¹⁵ It is true that students are asked directly, "*Do you think Josephus is considered a traitor to his people?*", but given the negative image of the Zealots and the reasonable way Josephus

110 Har Bracha Yeshiva website, retrieved 19 May 2023, http://yhb.org.il/?page_id=5 [Hebrew]. Quoted and translated in Weintraub and Naveh, "Faith-Based History," 45.

111 Hertz, *The Struggle*.

112 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 107.

113 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 114.

114 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 117.

115 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 117.

is presented in this book, they have no reason to judge him as such. The book goes on to describe the wars of the Zealots at length and, in fact, blames them for the destruction. On the other hand, the book refrains from saying anything negative about Vespasian and Titus.

Paradoxically, the Har Bracha book accepts Josephus' narrative. Why? Weintraub and Naveh, who studied the Har Bracha textbooks for secondary schools, introduce two models of faith-based history books.¹¹⁶ The national-religious model holds that national identity is linked to religious identity. It is belief in and adherence to religious customs that have shaped the nation's identity and enabled its existence. Such a model characterizes the books of the previous generation (including Katz's book). The other model is the divine model, according to which the purpose of the study of history is to show how God leads and conducts the world.

Although Weintraub and Naveh emphasize several times that Har Bracha is a settlement on the outskirts of Nablus, they ignore the national dimension and catalog Har Bracha books within the divine model. According to Weintraub and Naveh, the national aspect is woven into the redemption process led by God. Nevertheless, the Har Bracha Institute, as a Religious Zionist institute, is strongly committed to religious and national values. This dual commitment may sometimes create internal contradictions, both in everyday life and on the ideological level.

Indeed, the tension between the national aspect expressed in hatred of Rome and an understanding of the rebels' motivation versus condemnation of the rebels and acceptance of rabbinic reservations and criticism is reflected in Rabbi Sultanovich's book. According to Rabbi Sultanovich, the rabbinic leadership found itself in an "impossible" situation: "It was impossible not to support the revolt,"¹¹⁷ but on the other hand, the rabbis knew that the Jewish people suffered from spiritual and religious defects. Finally, Rabbi Sultanovich argues that "the leaders of the revolt were not rabbis but ordinary people," and they are condemned in rabbinic literature because they "did not accept the rabbinic directions."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Weintraub and Naveh, "Faith-Based History," 48–51.

¹¹⁷ Sultanovich, *Intelligence at Times*, 1.303.

¹¹⁸ Sultanovich, *Intelligence at Times*, 1.304. It should be noted that the need to present a historical picture that supports this historiosophical interpretation undermines the complexity of the past. According to Josephus, Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel (*BJ* 4.159), one of the senior members of the Pharisee leadership, was one of the revolt's leaders. This fact is not mentioned in Rabbi Sultanovich's book, and only secondarily mentioned in the history textbook.

This approach is reflected in the textbook. The national declaration made at the chapter's opening clearly expresses the author's nationalistic worldview. One might therefore have expected a rejection of Josephus and his books. Yet the same chapter expresses commitment to Jewish tradition, particularly rabbinic literature. Along with Josephus' writings, the book quotes and discusses several rabbinic traditions. The two most prominent are the rabbinic saying that the Second Temple was destroyed because of baseless hatred, and the story of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's escape from Jerusalem. The first tradition blames the destruction not on the Romans but rather, according to the author's interpretation, on the conflict among the zealot groups. This position leads to a view that Josephus' description is supported by and provides clear historical weight to rabbinic tradition. Blaming the zealots, however, of course reduces the blame on the Romans.

The tradition of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's flight sheds positive light on a person who, like Josephus, fled to the Roman side. The author's historiographic approach provides an additional dimension to Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's story: Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai fled to Yavneh not only because he believed the revolt had no chance, but because he knew how to interpret the will of God. The revolt against Rome was against God's wishes, while standing alongside Rome accorded with the divinely planned path of history. For this reason, Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai not only fled Jerusalem but also blessed Vespasian and prophesied his reign. The textbook's author understood well that she could not condemn Josephus, who had acted just like Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai.

The author's dual, contradictory commitment is also expressed in her treatment of the Masada episode, which is given a considerable space in the book. At the beginning of the episode the book declares, "Masada has become a symbol of fighting to the end for independence, liberty, and the freedom to choose."¹¹⁹ This declaration is similar to the position of the 1940s and 1950s textbooks, in which Masada was given a central place in the national ethos. Yet the approach is then immediately changed. The book continues with lengthy passages from the speech given by Eleazar ben Yair (as recorded by Josephus), followed by an explanation and evaluation of the speech, concluding with the question, "Was this really a sense of the victory of the spirit, or of painful fall and loss of life?" The book poses three additional questions. The first pertains to Josephus: "Why, in your opinion, did Josephus describe the last moments on Masada in such an impressive manner? (Think also about a certain event

119 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 118.

Josephus thought about while writing the passage).¹²⁰ Students are asked to compare Josephus' positive judgment of the Masada rebels to his own actions in Yodfat. In this way, a positive aspect is added to Josephus' character, at least from a national perspective. This question is followed by two questions that undermine the positive description of the rebels. Students are asked to think of some of the justifications expressed by the women who refused to die along with the other zealots and their families. Subsequently, students are asked to put themselves in the place of the fighters and explain "Which side would you have chosen—to surrender to Rome or to continue the war to the end?"¹²¹

Regarding the Masada episode, too, there is a contradiction between the ideological declaration at the chapter's opening describing Masada as a heroic national symbol and the discussion that obliges the students to note the problematic evaluation of the rebels' mass suicide. The equivocal judgment of the Masada zealots also reflects on Josephus' character, of course. Perhaps Josephus acted correctly in Yodfat, and his actions can be justified, just like the students have now justified and understood the flight of the women from death on the mountaintop.

Again, the ambiguity, and perhaps even contradiction, regarding Masada appears to be connected to the author's dual commitment. A textbook committed to national values must give a prominent place to Masada, which is a powerful part of the Zionist ethos. Indeed, the book is very aware of this: "Masada is one of the most popular sites in Israel."¹²² The book even acknowledges the experience of visiting Masada, addressing students as follows: "In visiting the site, attempt to feel those moments before the glorious landscape."¹²³ In order to provide students in the classroom the experience of visiting Masada, the book includes two color pages of the landscape and archaeological findings of the site. Masada's presence in the book is connected to the site's status in the Zionist-Israeli ethos, but Masada is not part of the rabbinic collective memory. As mentioned, from the point of view of the rabbis, to whom the book's author is committed, the correct choice was that of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, who preferred to accept Roman rule rather than committing a suicide or fight. Thus, the book is obliged to raise questions about the actions of the Masada rebels and to prepare students to recognize that the right path at the time was that of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai.

120 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 119.

121 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 119.

122 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 119.

123 Hertz, *The Struggle*, 119.

In conclusion, Rabbi Kook's national-religious theology seems to intertwine and empower nationality and religion alike. History seems to be a sweeping and precise movement led by God. In practice, the dual commitment to the nation and religion creates gaps and contradictions in deciphering history and appreciating its meaning. Thus, paradoxically, a textbook written in the far right-wing condemns the rebels, raises a question mark concerning the Masada warriors, and is in no hurry to judge Josephus.

7 Conclusion

History textbooks throughout the world and in Israel have been perceived as a given state's agents for imparting the national ethos. Indeed, Israeli history textbooks published until World War I express a well-formed national position, expressed *inter alia* in insults and condemnation of Josephus' actions and deeds. However, following the war, there was a major shift. Although the construction of the Jewish national home continued in great force, and many of the textbook authors saw themselves as committed to consolidating Jewish Zionist nationalism, the attitude towards Josephus changed. Textbooks began to recognize and even praise his literary contribution to the Jewish people. The derogatory name-calling ceased and a clearer understanding of his motives begins to appear. The reason for this is likely the commitment of the textbooks' authors both to academic research and to the scientific values of the curricula. In contrast to the widespread view in the scholarly literature that textbooks are greatly influenced by changes regarding nationalism and the nation's status, it appears that, regarding Josephus at least, the commitments of the textbooks' authors to Jewish nationalism, to the scholarly literature, to curricula, and even to the religious world and rabbinic literature led them by various paths to present Josephus to students as a complex character.

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‘Josephus Proudly Presents’: Figurations of Josephus Presenting His Work in High Medieval Latin Manuscripts (12th and 13th Centuries)

Katharina Heyden

Josephus has always been a multivalent figure for both Jews and Christians.¹ Chronicler of the destruction of Jerusalem during the “Jewish War,” recorder and explicator of the “Jewish Antiquities” for the Romans, defender of the chronological priority and honors of the Jews “Against Apion,” and a Jew providing his “Flavian Testimony” (which may or may not be a Christian interpolation) about Jesus as a sage man (if a man at all)—and “the Christ” (!)—“who performed surprising deeds and was a teacher of all people that accept the truth gladly.”² Josephus has many faces.³

For Jewish audiences, Josephus’ writings were attractive not so much in their original Greek as in the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon*, a 10th-century Jewish revision of the Christianized version of the *Bellum Iudaicum* known as *De excidio Hierosolymitano*, produced in Southern Italy and widespread in ensuing the centuries.⁴ As for Christians, Josephus was widely known, used,

1 Thanks to all members of the SNSF Sinergia-project “Lege Josephum! Reading Josephus in the Latin Middle Ages” at the University of Bern, especially to Carson Bay, René Bloch and Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, for their helpful comments on the draft manuscript. Thanks also to Beate Fricke and Sara Lipton for their art-historical advice.

2 Josephus, *AJ* 18.63–64: Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ εἶγε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἠδονῆ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων. The vast majority of modern scholars tend to see the *Testimonium Flavianum* as a Christian interpolation: Feldman, “Authenticity;” Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus* and Whealey, “The *Testimonium Flavianum*,” Niemand, “Das *Testimonium Flavianum*,” Horn, “Das *Testimonium Flavianum*.” Only few scholars, such as Victor, “Das *Testimonium Flavianum*,” argue for its authenticity. Others see the *Testimonium* as a Christian revision of a note originally made by Josephus about Jesus or as Josephus’ revision of a Christian source; see Goldberg, “Josephus’s Paraphrase Style.” For an overview of the older research controversy see Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus*.

3 For a general introduction on Josephus in his historical context see Chapman and Rodgers, *Companion; Goodman, Josephus’ The Jewish War*; Mason, “*Of Audience and Meaning*,” Mason, “Josephus as a Roman Historian.”

4 On *SY* see Dönitz, “Historiography;” Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*; and Dönitz, “Josephus im jiddischen Gewand;” Mason, *Translation*; Bowman, “Sefer Yosippon;” Cohen

commented on, and transformed within the medieval West on the basis of translations and interpretations of his works provided by late antique authors such as Eusebius, Jerome, Rufinus, Pseudo-Hegesippus, Isidore of Seville, and Bede.⁵ It seems that the reason Josephus was so attractive for Christians is to be found precisely in his supposedly ambiguous Jewish identity and the role he played within Judaism. He was a Jew, even a priest, but he also surrendered to the Romans and cooperated closely with the emperors—and not to his personal disadvantage. In order to explain the disastrous fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Herodian temple in 70 CE in a comprehensive way, he even pointed to internal discord among the Jews and reactivated the motif that lost wars are God's punishment of his people for their sins, a prominent interpretive pattern in the Bible. This narrative became the starting point for Christian sacred history and supersessionism. Thus, Josephus, through the lenses of Christian reception, evolved from a collaborator with the Romans to a supporter of Christianity.

One could say that, in a certain respect, Josephus thus represented in a particularly prominent way the peculiar function that Christian theologians since Ps-Hegesippus⁶ and Augustine had assigned to the Jews in the development of their theological interpretation of history.

Within the framework of this kind of theological reasoning, the “service of the Jews” (to apply the term of medievalist Anna Abulafia)⁷ to Christianity consisted, paradoxically, precisely in remaining Jews. Only as Jews they would fulfill the New Testament prophecies according to which Jews would not turn to Christ until the end of time and the Parousia of Christ (cf. Rom 11:25–27). Meanwhile, however, they could serve the Christians precisely by remaining Jews: as both preservers of the Scripture and as a visible sign—or “living letters of the law,” to use Jeremy Cohen’s language⁸—of unbelief in the world, they seemed to testify to the social consequences of a stubborn opposition to truth.

The exemplary and ambivalent role given to Josephus, as a Jew, within the Christian tradition is very clearly attested in literary sources and comprehen-

and Schwartz, *Studies in Josephus*; Bay, “Jerusalem Temple.” For the importance of Josephus in modern Jewish culture, see Schatz, *Josephus*.

5 For a comprehensive overview of the Latin Josephus, see Levenson and Martin, “Ancient Latin Translations.” On late antique and medieval Christian reception, see Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*; Schreckenberg, *Untersuchungen*; Schreckenberg and Schubert, *Jewish Historiography*; Kletter, “Christian Reception;” Kletter and Hilliard, *Josephus*.

6 See Bay, “Writing the Jews out of History.”

7 Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations*; Abulafia, “The Service of Jews;” Abulafia, “Moyses in Service.”

8 Cohen, *Living Letters*.

sively documented thanks to the enormous efforts of Heinz Schreckenberg.⁹ Is it also reflected in Christian pictorial representations of Josephus?

Again, it was Heinz Schreckenberg who, in his overview article “Josephus in Medieval Christian Art,” collected and briefly described 44 illuminated medieval Josephus manuscripts.¹⁰ Most of them are author portraits or illustrations of Josephus’ work, and five have Josephus gesturing to his work, presenting it to readers. At the end of this survey, the author concludes that the iconographic evidence “confirms and supplements in every case the Christian assessment of Judaism within the literary Josephus tradition.”¹¹ Clearly presuming that literature precedes visual art, both in general and in this specific case, Schreckenberg states that Josephus “remained in some respects the alien” for Christians in order to support the truth of Christianity.¹²

In the following reassessment of some of the illuminations studied by Schreckenberg, I do not aim to prove this conclusion entirely wrong. But I would like to nuance these conclusions by arguing that illuminations in manuscripts do not simply illustrate texts, but are sources with their own value which are to be interpreted as joint productions of clients, artists, theological consultants and scribes on the one hand, and as an interaction between text and image on the other.¹³ Even if the illuminations in medieval manuscripts were usually made after the text, the pictorial motifs may well reflect ideas that are not found directly in the text—and thus can enrich our understanding of how Christians viewed and read Josephus.

When surveying the representations of Josephus, what first catches the eye (if that is not exactly the wrong metaphor in this case) is that he is often not clearly marked as a Jew. The visual representation of Josephus did not follow or illustrate only one Christian theological paradigm—the “alien Jew” clearly distinguished from other figures by certain markers such as a hat or a beard—but

9 Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*; Schreckenberg, *Untersuchungen*; Schreckenberg, “Medieval Christian Art.”

10 It is probably worth noting/adding that manuscript illumination is the only genre of Christian art in which Josephus appears. That he is not figured in sacred art, e.g. in church sculpture, stained glass, or frescoes, is convincingly explained by Schreckenberg as “an ongoing consciousness of Josephus’ Jewishness despite his being regarded almost as a Church father.” (*Medieval Christian Art*, 130). In a more detailed way, Ulrike Liebl has described 33 illuminated manuscripts in her book, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*; for the Renaissance period see Deutsch, *Iconographie*.

11 Schreckenberg, “Medieval Christian Art,” 129ff.

12 Schreckenberg, “Medieval Christian Art,” 130.

13 On the interplay between text and image in Medieval manuscript illumination and the methodology of interpretation, see Hamburger, *Text—Image—Context*; Moster and Hagemann, *Reading Images*; O’Reilly and Farr, *Early Medieval*; Schellewald and Krause, *Bild und Text*.

rather reflects various ways to receive and appropriate Josephus in Christianity throughout the high Middle Ages (12th and 13th centuries). With regard to the literary evidence, Karen Kletter has rightly pointed out how different and sometimes even contradictory Christian ways of receiving Josephus actually were.¹⁴ The same applies also to visual representations. And so we have to raise the following questions: Was Josephus perceived and presented as a Jew to medieval Christian audiences? If so, by what means and for what purposes? And, if not, what was he representing instead?

To approach the question of what Josephus meant to the Christian contractors, manufacturers, and consumers of high medieval manuscripts, I will focus on those illuminations that show Josephus presenting his own work to others, i.e. dedication scenes in a wider sense. Of the 44 Josephus illuminations listed by Schreckenberg, five fall into this category, and I will discuss them in chronological order. Throughout this chronological survey, various transformations of the figure of Josephus will emerge that illustrate the diversity of Christian approaches to and appropriations of Josephus in the high middle ages.

One could object that to speak of Josephus “proudly” presenting his works (as I do in the title of this present essay) goes beyond the methodological limits of art-historical analysis. How would one recognize a ‘proud’ person in medieval book illumination? In fact, medieval art enables the expression not of single sentiments but rather of social status, not of personal feelings but of political features (and it is in this sense that the adverb “proudly” in the title of this paper is meant to be understood). Means of marking differences, i.e. of “othering” in medieval art, include size, color, physical features like hair and beard and not least the clothing of figures.¹⁵ Visual ways of presenting figures involve posture, gesture, and gaze. The questions to be asked will therefore be: What exactly is Josephus presenting? To whom is he presenting? How is he himself presented? And what does all this teach us about the function and Josephus had for the customers, copyists, illuminators, and readers of a respective manuscript? In what follows, I will therefore look for different markers of otherness in the images and try to interpret their meaning. Such examination should not be limited to the images, but has to take into consideration also their interrelation with texts—both paratexts that relate directly to the image and the Josephan text contained in the pertinent manuscript—and, whenever achievable, the historical contexts of the manuscripts. As far as I am aware, such an integrative approach to medieval representations of Josephus has not been taken before.

14 Kletter, “Christian Reception.”

15 See Strickland, *Saracens*; Faü, *L'image*; Lindquist, “Introduction;” Bücheler, *Ornament as Argument*.

1 Josephus the Prophet Presenting His Work to the Emperors

Parisinus latinus 5058, XI saec., Toulouse



FIGURE 17.1 Paris, BN ms. Latin 5058, fol. 2v and 3r, from *La France romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152)*: *Catalogue de l'exposition présentée au musée du Louvre du 10 mars au 6 juin 2005*, Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, No. 225, p. 291 (Text: Marianne Besseyre). Image rights free for academic use.

IMAGE: MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

This elaborate illumination on a frontispiece of a parchment codex that was produced in southern France around 1100, probably in the Abbey Saint-Pierre de Moissac near Toulouse,¹⁶ appears before the Latin text of the *Bellum Judaicum*. It is a unique work of art, as Cahn states, which “appears to have no parallels or antecedents in either the Greek or Latin families of manuscripts of the work.”¹⁷

16 Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 41ff and Besseyre, *France romane*, 291 suppose Saint-Pierre at Moissac to be the place of origin; Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 219 argues for Saint-Sernin of Toulouse. See also Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 237–239 (nr. 24).

17 Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 11 42. Previous scholars, such as Jean Porcher, *L'enluminure française* (1959), gives a different judgement of its artistic value: “Tout cela vit, remue, en dépit de la maladresse de l'artiste qui, par exemple, a privé Joseph de son bras gauche” (19). The missing left arm, however, is probably due to a perspective decision rather than the artist's inability. Murano and Saggese, *La miniature*, 83 points to the influence of Byzantine

The scene covers two opposite pages. A young, tall, eye-catching man with curly hair and costly clothing appears on the right (fol. 3r), walking towards the two crowned rulers sitting on the left (fol. 2v) and presenting with a huge book to them with his veiled hands.

This image most obviously illustrates Josephus' report in *Contra Apionem* 1.47–52 and *Vita* 361 about his presenting of his *Bellum Judaicum* to the imperial commanders Titus and Vespasian after he had been taken prisoner by the Romans: “And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian, and Titus, as witnesses for me. For to them I presented those books first of all; and after them to many of the Romans, who had been in the war.”¹⁸ It is remarkable that in this miniature Josephus occupies as much space as the two emperors combined. Josephus' size marks his importance. He is walking on a stone-paved road, which recalls the importance that the description of the walls has in books 4 and 5 of the *Bellum*. Behind him, on the right margin, a crowd of ten people is depicted but not colored in the same way as the other three figures are. These ten figures are much smaller than the two emperors and Josephus, and the foremost one seems to mirror the striding Josephus in posture and dress. There is nothing to indicate that this is a later addition,¹⁹ but it remains unclear whether the crowd stands for Jews or Romans or the (Christian) readers of the codex.

While this question cannot be answered conclusively, it is crucial to determine who is who on the side of the emperors (fol. 2v). The two crowns do not indicate relative status or any hierarchy between the two rulers.²⁰ The emperor in the middle seems to mediate between the other two figures through his hand movements and the direction of his gaze.²¹ Since the *titulus* identifies the two enthroned figures as Titus and his father (“Decorated with a crown, Titus shines out with the father”),²² the one in the middle must be identified

style in this type of representation, whereas Marianne Besseyre, *France romane*, 291 sees stylistic analogies with a group of manuscripts from 11th century Northern France.

18 Josephus, *CA* 1.9: τοσοῦτον δέ μοι περιήν θάρσος τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥστε πρώτους πάντων τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους Οὐεσπασιανὸν καὶ Τίτον ἠξίωσα λαβεῖν μάρτυρας.

19 My thanks to Beate Fricke for help with the assessment of that manuscript.

20 I also owe this insight to Beate Fricke.

21 Besseyre, *France romane*, 291 identifies the figure in the middle with Titus, who passes the globe to his father in order to receive the book from Josephus. But this interpretation matches neither literary nor visual evidence. As for the latter, the middle figure is clearly marked as elder (i.e. Vespasian) by his longer beard, and it was Vespasian to whom Josephus dedicated the work, on his own report.

22 STEMATE VESTITUS PREFULGET / CUM PATRE TITUS.

as Vespasian who hands Titus the *sphaira*, the symbol of global imperial power. He already holds the ruler's staff in his right hand. Both image and *titulus* emphasize the greater importance of Titus over Vespasian. The latter is not mentioned by name in the hexameter, he is placed on the smaller throne, and is depicted as an intermediary between Titus and Josephus. This artistic emphasis on Titus can be seen as a reflection of Josephus' literary emphasis on Titus.²³

With regard to the audience of that codex, the *titulus* on folio 3 is of special interest. It runs: "Because the prophet did not consider the war to be a (mere) duel, he published (his work) also for you who want to study it in great numbers. Named here is Josephus, pictured in person, as he presents his book."²⁴

The clue to the understanding of these verses lies in the answers to two questions: Why is Josephus called a prophet (*vates*)? And who is meant to be the "you, who want to see" the book? Or, to put the two questions together: What did Josephus prophesy in his book that makes him so interesting to the "you?"

There are two alternative paths of interpretation: A more historical one would understand this image as a mere illustration of Josephus presenting his *Bellum* to the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus. Per a more typological approach, the historical scene would be linked to Christian salvation history and theology. In fact, to call Josephus a *vates* can either point to the prophecy Josephus claims to have given about Vespasian's accession to the throne at his surrender,²⁵ or to the fact that Josephus was read and used as a prophet announcing the victory of Christianity over the Jews by Christian authors beginning with Eusebius in the early 4th century.²⁶ This latter reading is favoured by Heinz Schreckenberg, against the background of a Christian tradition that made Titus and Vespasian as attackers of Jerusalem and the Jews predecessors of Western Christian rulers and their treatment of Jews. According to him, "perhaps Titus represents Christianity or the Christian Rulers of the West."²⁷ The problem, though, is that nothing of this is visualized in the image. Josephus is neither marked by any "Jewish" symbol (as Schreckenberg himself

23 Compare Paul, "Presentation of Titus;" and McLaren, "Josephus on Titus."

24 QUOD VATES BELLUM CREVIT NON ESSE DUELLUM / EDIDIT & MULTIS VOBIS QUI CERNERE VULTIS / EST IOSEPHUS DICTUS FERT LIBRUM CORPORE PICTUS.

25 See Josephus, *BJ* 3.399–408, but also Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 5.25; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.10.3; 2.78; 5.13.iff; Cassius Dio 64.9.1; 65.1.1–2.4; 66.1.

26 See Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source*; Hata, "Abuse and Misuse."

27 Schreckenberg, "Medieval Christian Art," 105.

notes)²⁸ nor are the Roman emperors marked as the “typological” (predecessors of the) Christian rulers by any attribute. Therefore, I propose to take a step back and let the image and its accompanying tituli speak for themselves.

It is important to emphasize that neither the picture nor the text of the tituli mark Josephus clearly as a Jew. All three figures are dressed nobly and elaborately and appear to be equals, except for the crown, which Josephus lacks for obvious reasons. In contrast, the crowd drawn at the right side of the picture differs markedly from the central trio. This is already clear from the size of the single figures. But, more importantly, the crowd reveals clear elements of “otherness:”²⁹ Some of the ten people there have prominent noses or beards, while others wear hats. These features set them apart from the three larger figures, representing them as strangers not only with respect to the two Roman rulers, but also to Josephus. As a result, Josephus is associated with the Roman rulers rather than the crowd behind him. The “you” in the *titulus* could either refer, within the inner logic of the image, to the crowd (of Jews?) depicted in the margin or, stepping out the image, it could address the (Christian) readership of that codex.

But there is even more to say about Josephus: due to his bigger size and his more elaborate clothing, Josephus outstrips even the two emperors, although his bent-kneed position and covered hands indicate reverence of and subordination to the rulers.

Josephus’ importance as a prophet (*vates*) is emphasized in the hexameter above him and is underscored in the image by the transition of the imperial power. But what exactly is he prophesying in this image? The verse “the *vates* did not understand the war merely as a duel” could be interpreted as an appreciation of the fact that the *Bellum Iudaicum* is not a mere report of battles but a comprehensive and highly involved account of political events and contexts, including exhaustive descriptions of the sufferings of the Jewish people.³⁰ Such a reading would signal the typological interpretation of the entire scene. Or it could be read as an allusion to the prophecy that Josephus himself, in the *Bellum* as well as in the *Vita*, and other (nota bene: not Christian!) historiographers, such as Suetonius and Cassius Dio, claim that he delivered to Vespasian after his capture by the Romans, predicting the future emperor’s accession to the throne.³¹ The advantage of this interpretation is that it draws upon the text

28 “Josephus’ Jewishness is here not yet recognizable by means of a group symbol” (Schreckenberg, “Medieval Christian Art,” 103).

29 Cf. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*.

30 This was emphasized by Baltrusch, *Kein Stein*.

31 See *BJ* 3:351–54; 3:399–408 and *Vita* 15, 48, 83, 138, 208ff, 301, 425. For Josephus’ self-representation as a prophet, see Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood;” Feldman,

in the codex alone and does not have to presuppose other interpretations of Josephus. However, Josephus' prophecy announced the accession of Vespasian, whereas the image shows Vespasian passing the symbol of imperial dignity to his son, Titus. In other words, the image seems to continue the prophecy Josephus stands for by showing the prophesied imperial power passed on to the next generation.

What if that were precisely the point of this illumination? What if there was no strong anti-Jewish Christian theology behind this illumination, as Schreckenberg supposed, but rather an artistic symbol of Josephus' predictive accuracy?

To evaluate this assumption, a look at the codex as a whole and at its environment might be helpful. The codex appears in a catalogue of the monastery Saint-Pierre at Moissac near Toulouse.³² This monastery was founded in the 7th century but experienced its golden age only during its affiliation with Cluny, in the years between 1048 and 1135. In accordance with the ideals of the Gregorian reform movement, during these years the attachment to Rome was intensified, and the monastery was also involved in the crusades against Spain.³³ In the catalogue of the monastery's scriptorium 26 manuscripts are listed, among them four historical works: Orosius, Cassiodorus, Rufinus, and Josephus.³⁴ In the Josephus codex, a most interesting hint as to the interest of clients and/or scribes is found immediately before the illumination, on fol. 1r: a list with names of Roman Emperors beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with Frederic II. As Frederic was enthroned king of the Roman-German kingdom in 1212 and emperor in 1220 and the illumination on fol. 2–3 is dated to the 11th century for stylistic reasons,³⁵ the illumination must be older than this list of emperors. But precisely for this reason, the list may help us to understand how the illumination was interpreted by customers of the codex.³⁶

"Prophets and Prophecy;" Kelley, "Cosmopolitan Expression;" Sharon, "Josephus as Jeremiah." The view that Josephus is presenting himself as a prophet in continuation with biblical prophecy is strongly questioned by Glas, "Reading Josephus."

32 Paris, BM ms. Latin 4871 (86), f. 160v has a list of *libri conditi in teca librorum cenobii Moissiacensis*.

33 Dufour, *La Bibliothèque*, 9: "Moissac fut une centre actif de propagande pour la croisade vers l'Ouest en forgeant vers 1075–1080."

34 Dufour, *La Bibliothèque*, 13–34. On classical authors in monastic libraries in 12th century France, see Lemaitre, *Les classiques*, 187–218.

35 Murano and Saggese, *La miniature*, 83, has it in the chapter about 11th century France; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 41ff, dates the codex to about 1100.

36 We do not know, however, when exactly the combination of list and miniature in the binding was made, and we can therefore not really contextualize it.

The list testifies to an interest in presenting the German emperors—*isti fuerunt ex Alammania*—as successors to the Romans. At the beginning of the list, there are three entries linking the imperial history to the birth, baptism, and crucifixion of Christ. But further on there is nothing in the list to suggest that religious history would be of any interest. There is no mention of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem under Vespasian and Titus, nor is Constantine identified as the first Christian emperor, nor Julian as an apostate. None of these narratives, so significant in the theological interpretation of the Jews and their service to the Christians, appears. It is solely about the unbroken, continuous line of succession of imperial power. In the absence of explicit hints to religious issues, the list of emperors seconds the presentation of Josephus, Titus, and Vespasian. I conclude from this observation that the commissioners, scribes, and owners of that codex were more interested in the succession of imperial power than in the supersession of Christianity over the Jews.

What does this mean for the interpretation of the dedication scene on fol. 2/3? Josephus is presented here as a member of the Roman upper class dedicating his historical account to the enthroned kings and prophetically proclaiming imperial power to them on the basis of his historical narrative. In fact, art historian Kurt Weitzmann has argued that the presentation of Titus and Vespasian reflects a pictorial archetype in which two rulers were separately represented on facing pages, as in the portraits of Constantius II and Gallus Caesar in the Calendar of 354.³⁷ The accompanying *titulus* addresses the target (Christian) audience of the codex: “he published (his work) also for you who want to study it in great numbers.” This is an invitation to take the *Bellum* as more than an account of the war between Romans and Jews. But it is not necessarily an invitation to a Christian interpretation of this book as one written by a Jewish author. Rather, Josephus’ figurative representation here corresponds fairly closely to his self-portrayal and his approach to history in his works. The fundament of power was laid in the Jewish war by Vespasian, and he can now pass this power on to his son in order to establish a dynasty. If this interpretation is not mistaken, then knowledge of Josephus’ work would be more important than intimacy with Christian theology about the “service” of Judaism—both for the medieval owners and audiences of that codex and for its modern interpreters. Josephus, in this view, is a prophetic historian (*vates*) not so much because he explains the deeper theological meaning of the destruction of the Jewish temple, but because he provides a historical fundament for imperial power.

37 Weitzmann, *Studies*, 117f.

Of course, all of this is not to say that Josephus was never portrayed as a prophet of the Christian truth. It only means that he was not *always* presented as such, that his “service” for Christians could go beyond supersessionist theological interests.

2 Josephus the Sage Presenting His *Testimonium* to a Monk Scribe

Cambridge, St. John's College A.8 (Christ Church Canterbury, first quarter 12th cent.)

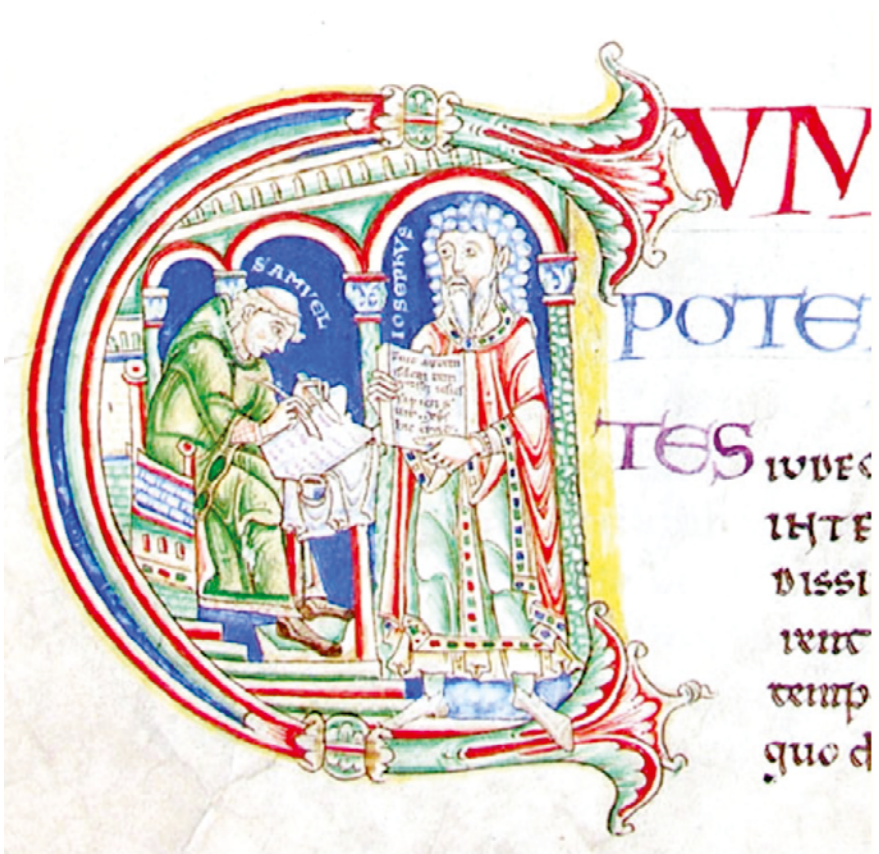


FIGURE 17.2 Cambridge Codex St. John's College A.8, fol. 103v, first quarter of 12th cent.
IMAGE: PUBLIC DOMAIN

This beautiful colored C-initial, from an early 12th century codex, was created in the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury. The original medieval codex (which today is divided into two: Cambridge University Library Ms. Dd I.4 and St. John's College Ms. A.8) contained the *Antiquitates* and the *Bellum*, including prologues and *Capitula* and followed by an Index to Josephus' works.³⁸ This codex with its elaborately and imaginatively designed figural initials testifies to the Anglo-Saxon revival of manuscript production after the Norman invasion.³⁹ Here too Josephus is represented as a prophet, although this time not verbally, but visually. A standing nobleman is presenting an open book to a Christian scribe and monk. Both are identified by name: the white-haired, bearded, and nobly dressed figure is Josephus, and the sitting, bearded, and tonsured monk is Samuel, probably the scribe of this codex.⁴⁰ As in the Codex from Toulouse, Josephus is depicted as larger than the person to whom he presents his work. And, to an even greater degree, he is distinguished by the preciousness of his draperies, his carefully presented hair, and his white beard.⁴¹ The scribe-monk lacks all these features and is reduced to the passive role of receiving and delivering the wisdom of the prophet Josephus.

As the rich architecture indicates, they are situated in a scriptorium. Josephus is clearly the protagonist, whereas the monk Samuel acts as a mere vessel (like prophets and evangelists in author portraits). The text presented by Josephus contains the first words of the aforementioned so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*, which may or may not be a Christian interpolation, at *Antiquitates* XVIII, 63: *Fuit autem isdem temporibus iesus sapiens uir. Christus hic erat* ("There was a wise man in these days, Jesus. He was the Christ").

It is striking, though, that these words appear with the beginning of the first book of the *Bellum* and not with the *Antiquitates*, within which they originally appeared. This is all the more surprising since the text of the *Testimonium* can be actually found previously in the same codex on fol. 61r. Here, the initial F is decorated with a grotesque climbing figure of the sort which appears elsewhere in the codex. The link between the *Testimonium Flavianum* and the *Bellum* established by the illumination on fol. 103 cannot but be interpreted as a theological statement. It is the same author, the same Josephus, who wrote about Christ as a wise man *and* the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem.

38 See Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 184–188.

39 See Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 321–324. On the Canterbury school of manuscript illumination see Dodwell, *Canterbury School*; Webber, "Script and Manuscript."

40 See Logan, "Ms Bodley," 73ff; Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, 32.

41 Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 346 sees Italo-Byzantine influences in this.

Christ Church was the place of activity of Anselm of Canterbury, and this codex must have been written during the lifetime of or only shortly after the death of this most influential bishop and theologian in 1109, as the scribe monk Samuel was also involved in the production of Anselmian manuscripts.⁴² Anselm is one of the pioneers and main protagonists of what Anna Abulafia has so convincingly described as the Christian theology of the “Service of the Jews” to the Christians.⁴³ His pupil Gilbert Crispin wrote a *Disputatio Iudaei et Christiani* and dedicated it to Anselm.⁴⁴ So Christ Church seems to have been a place where Jewish and Christian scholarship met in the early 12th century.⁴⁵ The representation of Josephus in this codex as an oriental sage presenting his testimony about Christ to the Christian scribal monk shows respect for, and at the same time indicates the appropriation of, Jewish scholarship, which seems to be characteristic of this historical context.

3 Josephus the Jew Presenting His *Bellum* to Emperors

Chantilly Ms 775, fol. 95v, Saint-Trond Belgium (12th Century)

A few decades later, around 1170, and a few kilometers to the south, in the monastery of Sint Truiden (Saint-Trond) in Belgium, a splendid parchment codex was produced containing the *Antiquitates* and the *Bellum* in Latin, two papal bulls, and some episcopal documents in favor of the abbey.⁴⁶ Today, it is available in two separated volumes in the library of Chantilly, Ms 774, with 128 folios containing the *Antiquitates* 1–13, and Ms 775, with 222 folios containing books 19–20 of the *Antiquitates* (fol. 1–94v) and the *Bellum* (fol. 95v–220v). The manuscript was most probably commissioned by the abbot of the monastery of Saint-Trond, Wéric de Stapel.⁴⁷

At the beginning of the prologues to both works, Josephus is presented to the reader in two different situations: Within the H-initial of the prologue to his *Antiquitates*, he is depicted as a scribe sitting at his writing desk (fig 17.3a); the Q-initial of the prologue to the *Bellum* shows him as presenting his work to two enthroned rulers (fig. 17.3b). In both illuminations Josephus is wearing

42 See Logan, “Ms Bodley.”

43 Abulafia, *St. Anselm*.

44 See Abulafia and Evans, *Gilbert Crispin*; Asiedu, “Anselm and the Unbelievers;” Lissek, *Kontroversdialoge*.

45 See Lissek, *Kontroversdialoge*; Novikoff, “Anselm;” Novikoff, *Culture of Disputation*; Pederson, “Review of Novikoff.”

46 See Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 189–193.

47 Mariéthoz, “théologie augustinienne,” 269.

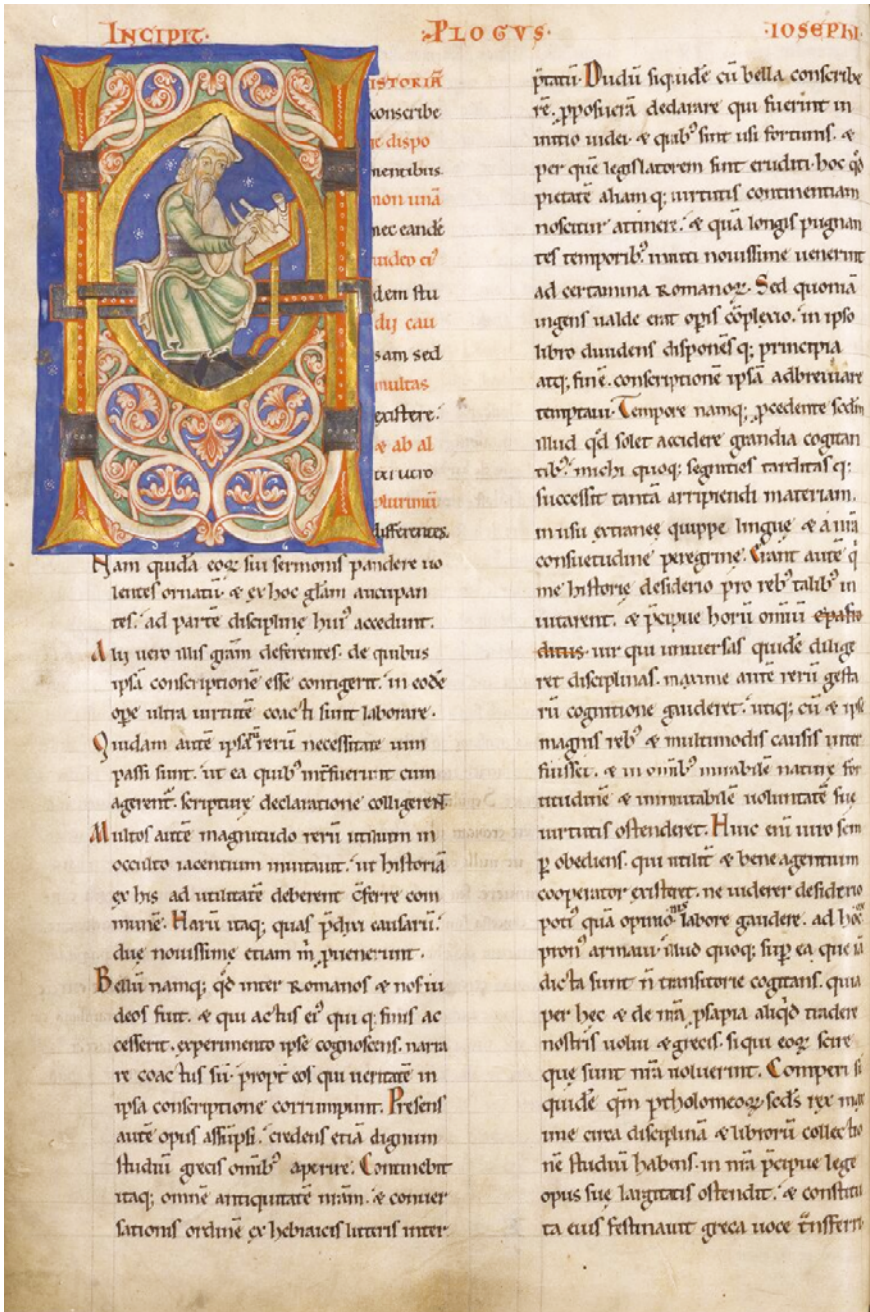


FIGURE 17.3A Codex Chantilly 774, fol. iv

IMAGE: CREATIVE COMMONS

PROLOG

**INCIPIIT PROLOGVS FLAVII
IOSEPHI IN LIBRO BELLI
IYDAICI**



VONIAM
 BELLVM EQVO OCVM
 POPVLO ROMANO
 GESSERE IYDAEI OMNI
 um maximū que nostra etas vidit qj
 audiu pcepimus: cunctas cū cunctis
 gentes ne commississe cū gentib' quidam
 non quod rebus inter fuerint: sed uana
 & incongrua narratiū sermone aurib'
 colligentes oratorū more pseribunt: q'
 ueris p̄fido fuerunt: aut romanorū obse
 quo: aut odio iudcorū contra fidem re
 rū falsa confirmant: scriptis autē eorū
 parti accusatio parti laudatio comme
 tur: nisi quā uī exacta fideliter reperit histo
 ric: securo statim que recto barbaris an
 tea nisi patria lingua digesta: circa
 nunc his qui romano impio reguntur

erponere Iosephus Machabeus filius he
 breus genere: sacerdos ex iherosolimis: qui
 & iurao cū romanis bello conflixit: post
 ea q; gestis quia necessitas coegit interfu
 it: cū hic ut dicitur moris grauisim' carer'
 est: romanorū quidē populū domestic'
 moribus habebat: iudcorū autē q; carer'
 ualidi & ingenio turbulenti erant: ma
 nu simul ac pecunia ugentes adeo tem
 porib' insolenter abusi sunt: ut pro tu
 multis magnitudine hos possidendarū
 spes: illos amittendarū partū orientis
 metus inuaderet: Quā iudex quidē cane
 ros etiā qui transeuphratem essent gentes
 suos secū rebellaturos esse crediderant: ro
 manos autē & finitimi Galatib' intrabant:
 nec manus extra quiescebat: discussiōnū
 q; plena erant omnia post hęc: & mul
 tos quidē reges tempus adhortabat: lu
 cri autē cupidine pars militaris muta
 tionē p̄sentū desiderabat: Itaq; indignū
 esse dixi errantē in tantis rebus dissimu
 lan ueritatē: & partios quidē ac babylon
 uos arabūq; remotissimos: & ultra casia
 ten gentes nre incolat: neq; ad tabenos
 mea diligentia uere cognoscere unde q;
 p̄sset bellū: quamuisq; claudib' consistis
 set: quo ue modo desisset: grecos uero
 romanorū aliquos qui militā secum n̄
 essent figmentis siue adulationib' capros
 ista nescire: atq; historis audent tamē
 bere: Qui p̄p̄ hoc ut michi quidē uide
 tur qd̄ michi sanū referant: etiā de pro
 posito decidunt: Nam cū romanos uo
 lunt magnos ostendere iudcorū reser
 uant: & in humilitate decunt: Non
 autē intelligo quonā pacto magnū cē
 uideant: qui parua superauerunt: &
 neq; longi temporis eos pudet quo bel

FIGURE 17.3B Codex Chantilly 775, fol. 94v
 IMAGE: CREATIVE COMMONS

a pointed hat, which appeared for the first time just in those decades as an attribute of Jews in Christian art.

As for the illumination that accompanies the *Bellum*, the scene depicted is the same as in the Toulouse codex: Josephus, with a splendid codex in his hands, approaches two enthroned rulers. The fact that the image adorns the Q-initial of the beginning of the prologue of the *Bellum* (*Quoniam bellum ...*) suggests the dedication of the work to Vespasian and Titus.⁴⁸ Since the two rulers are not identified by name, though, it is not entirely clear whether they are meant to be Vespasian and Titus. French research tends to identify them as a king and his wife,⁴⁹ but the iconography (short dress, sitting posture) would be very atypical for a woman.

Even less is clear here than in the first manuscript we examined: The approaching figure has white hair and a long beard and is thereby marked either as an Oriental wise man, or as a Jew, or as both given his corned hat. But his posture and clothing are much less distinguished compared to the two previous images. With bent knees, hat drawn, and covered hands, which is to say in a rather humble attitude, he presents the elderly ruler with a golden codex.

The “Phrygian cap” was a means of identifying foreigners, demarcating barbarians in Ancient Greek iconography, Oriental sages in Hellenistic Jewish art (as in the synagogue of Dura-Europos), emancipated slaves in Roman art; and in Christian art, too, it became a means of marking foreign origin.⁵⁰ It was not until the 12th century, however, that the pointed hat gained a pejorative connotation. In the preceding centuries, it was an attribute of the biblical Magi venerating Christ, and still in the 1015 *Second Gospel Book* of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, the pointed hat was an elegant garment bespeaking Eastern wealth and not the stigma of the Jew.⁵¹ Sara Lipton, in her *Dark Mirror* has shown that the iconography of Hebrew prophets with scroll, beard, and pointed hat as identifying markers was developed in late 11th-century North-Western Europe and became a means of distinguishing Jews in the German speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire from the 12th to the 17th centuries.⁵² According to Lipton, art in this case does not reflect the real dress customs of the time. It is the other way around: when the Fourth Lateran Council of the Catholic Church decreed in Canon 68 that Jews (as well as Saracens) must distinguish

48 Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 192, identifies the two figures as Vespasian and Titus without discussing other possibilities.

49 See Vergne and Salet, *Bibliothèque du Prince*, 282, and also the online catalogue: “celle (Q) placée en tête du prologue de la Guerre des Juifs, représentant l’auteur offrant son volume à un empereur accompagné de sa femme.”

50 See Lubrich, “Wandering Hat,” 203–244; Lubrich, “From Judenhut to Zauberhut.”

51 Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 20ff.

52 Lipton, “Unfeigned Witness;” Lipton, *Dark Mirror*.

themselves in dress from Christians,⁵³ the “Jewish hat” was already established in art. In the 12th century the *pileus cornutus* was more likely an artistic attribute to mark Jewish figures than a garment of real Jews.

What is the implication of Josephus’ pointed hat in this codex, created at the very time that the Jewish hat was becoming established in European art? Naomi Lubrich has described the 12th century as a time of “a change in cultural orientation. Early medieval Orientophilia gave way to late medieval Orientophobia after the First Crusade set out in 1096 to open a route to Muslim-ruled Jerusalem and massacred Jewish communities in Speyer, Mayence, and Worms on their way. At this point, the conical hat became a key element of anti-Jewish slander.”⁵⁴ It is difficult, if not impossible to determine the place of this codex within this cultural change: Does the representation of Josephus testify to traditional Orientophilia (as the one from Christ Church obviously does), or does it turn in the direction of a defamatory representation? Perhaps we are dealing with a combination of both: In the author’s portrait (fig. 17.3a) Josephus is depicted like an evangelist or a church father, though clearly distinguished by the pointed hat; but in the dedication scene (fig. 17.3b) of the *Bellum Judaicum*, he is presented as a devoted subject, in other words, in service of the (Roman or Christian) rulers.⁵⁵

4 Josephus the Cooperating Author Presented to Saint Martin by an Abbot

Fulda Codex C 1 Kloster Weingarten, 1181–1188

This precious and complex illumination opens a parchment codex crafted in the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Martin in Weingarten in the 1180s, which contains *Antiquitates* 1–13, including the prologue and the Capitula.⁵⁶

53 Canon 68, iv Lateranum: “In some provinces a difference in dress distinguishes the Jews or Saracens from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. Thus it happens at times that through error Christians have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, that they may not, under pretext of error of this sort, excuse themselves in the future for the excesses of such prohibited intercourse, we decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress.”

54 Lubrich, “Wandering Hat,” 224.

55 Mariéthoz, “théologie augustinienne.”

56 For a more detailed description of the codex, see Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 199–201.



FIGURE 17.4 Codex Fulda C 1 (Weingarten), 1181–1188, fol. 1 v
IMAGE: HOCHSCHULE FULDA

It is divided into two registers, framed by garlands, and accompanied by two hexameters written in the frame above the two scenes (fig. 17.4).

The upper register combines an author portrait with a dedication scene as it integrates elements of a more narrative genre. On the right, emperor Vespasian, enthroned and accompanied by two soldiers, is presented in speech gesture as if he were commissioning Josephus to write the *Antiquitates*. Josephus, with white long hair and beard, is sitting at a writing desk, holding a still-blank scroll and a stylus in his hands. In contrast to what we have seen in the three previous manuscripts, Josephus here holds a scroll and not a codex. This assimilates him to biblical prophets, thereby assigning him to the Old Law. Both Josephus and Vespasian are depicted sitting, in the same size and with ornate clothes. The only marked difference between the two in terms of their status is the headwear. While the emperor is crowned, Josephus is wearing the *corneus pileatus*. So are the other five men behind him, who are dressed less elaborately and are facing each other, as if in discussion. The hexameter comments upon this scene as follows: TEMPORA SECLORUM NOTAT HIC PRO LAUDE SUORUM (“The course of the times he describes here in praise of his own”). It is not entirely clear from these words whether the “suorum” refers to TEMPORA SECLORUM or to Josephus’ Jewish fellows who appear only in the picture. Probably the visual impact of the picture would strengthen the latter assumption. The group of Jews is marked by their hats, but apart from that, nothing indicates a lower status. We can assume, however, that the pointed hat in this case does not mark an individual figure as an Oriental sage but the social status of a group. In this picture the *corneus pileatus* is a Jew’s hat.

The lower register allows us to determine the exact date of the codex (or at least the illumination) to the abbacy of Werner of Markdorf (Wernherus in the *titulus*) from the monastery of Weingarten, between 1181 and 1188. But it also raises the question of how this dedication scene is related to the writing scene above.

Saint Martin, on the right, is visually paralleled with the emperor Vespasian, and the Abbot Werner (commissioner of the codex) and the monk behind him are paralleled with the image of Josephus above them. The accompanying hexameter runs: SANCTE QUOD OFFERIMUS AMBORUM SUSCIPE MUNUS (“Holy One, take the service of the two that we are offering you”). The Saint must be Saint Martin. But who are the two people referred to by “both” (*amborum*)? Is it the monk and the abbot presenting the new codex to the patron of their monastery—or is it rather the work of the author (Josephus) and the copyist (the unnamed monk) which is offered by the abbot Werner to Saint Martin?

Even if first appearances may suggest otherwise, I think the latter is also a valuable interpretation, possibly even the more appropriate one, for three reasons. First, the structural composition of the two registers creates a visual connection between the two scenes and suggests an interlinked interpretation. Second, two figures are identified through lettering: Josephus above and Werner below. Therefore, it is most plausible to think of those two named figures as the “amborum.” All the more so as, third, the monk in the lower register is presented in closest relation with the abbot through his gestures. With his right hand, he is touching the codex as though indicating that he copied it, whereas his left hand is raised in a pointing gesture, as if he wanted to point out the Abbot, the commissioner of his work. Thus, the anonymous scribe monk and his abbot Werner appear basically as a unit, unanimously offering the precious codex to the saint patron of his monastery. In this way, the *Antiquitates* appear as the common work shared by Josephus the author and the two monks who made the text, commissioner and copyist of the codex respectively. What does this offering tell us about the importance Josephus had for Christian monastic education and piety?

To approach this question, it might be helpful to include another late 12th-century manuscript of the Latin Josephus, this time a copy of the *Bellum Iudaicum*, Yale University Beinecke Library Codex MS 282 (fig. 17.5a). What interests us here, however, is neither the text of Josephus proper nor an illumination of Josephus, but rather a poem of eight lines added by a scribe after having finished copying and correcting the entire work of Josephus (fig. 17.5b). This is how the poem runs:

Solus ego iosephum scripsi totumque peregi,
 Non socius mecum scriba uel alter homo.
 Ergo domus felixque penus cui alia condo;
 Nunc mihi redde uicem multiplicando precem:
 Liber ut a neuo siam iamiam proximus euo,
 Ut superis iungar, hostis ab ore trahar,
 Spiritus astra petat, gaudens in pace quiescat. Amen.
 Anima Waltheri scribe requiescat in pace. Orate fratres. Amen.

In the translation of Babcock:

All alone, I myself, copied Josephus, and I corrected the whole thing.
 There was no fellow scribe with me, nor any other person.

So, the house is blessed, as is the sanctuary for which I constructed such monuments.

Now give me my due, multiplying your prayer:

That I be free from blemish, now already on the verge of eternity;

That I be joined with those above; that I be dragged from the enemy's mouth;

That my spirit seek the stars; that it joyfully rest in peace. Amen.

That the soul of Walther the scribe rest in peace. Pray brothers. Amen.

Robert Babcock, in his very detailed and subtle analysis of this poem,⁵⁷ has observed visual signals in its very layout that are similar to the visual signals I noted in the two-registered image in the Weingarten Codex. The “Josephum” and the “Ego” (i.e. Waltherius), Babcock emphasizes, are placed side-by-side, “as close to one another as possible, stressing the intimacy Waltherius feels for the author of the work he so laboriously copied” (95). This is quite similar to the Weingarten Codex, where Josephus and the re- and co-producer(s) of his text are placed one above the other.

Moreover, the poem itself shows to what extent the scribe monk Waltherius identified himself with his author. The hard labor of copying Josephus appears to contribute to the salvation of the scribe Waltherius. The poem is therefore to be seen, according to Babcock, as “a self-composed epitaph, attached to a monument that he produced, that will memorialize Waltherius within the community of readers of the book” (98). We could say that Waltherius was luckier than the unnamed, tonsured figure depicted in the Weingarten Codex. For, thanks to his short but self-confident poem—*solus ego iosephum scripsi totumque peregi, non socius mecum scriba uel alter homo!*—the name of Waltherius was preserved and probably indeed remembered by the audience of his codex, probably a monastic community. In contrast, his fellow monk in the Weingarten Codex has disappeared, an unnamed person behind his abbot and principal Werner. But apart from these personal fates, both the poem and the picture can tell us something about the impact and importance Josephus could have for Christian education and piety in the 12th century.

Any direct relation between the two codices is very unlikely. It is also true that both may date to the same decade. But the Yale Codex was crafted in Northern France or the Lower Countries, whereas Weingarten comes from near Lake Constance. It is true that Waltherius seem to have copied not only the *Bellum Judaicum*, but also the *Antiquitates*. But paleographic comparison has shown that the Fulda codex was almost certainly not written by the same

57 Babcock, “Scribal Verses,” 87–107.

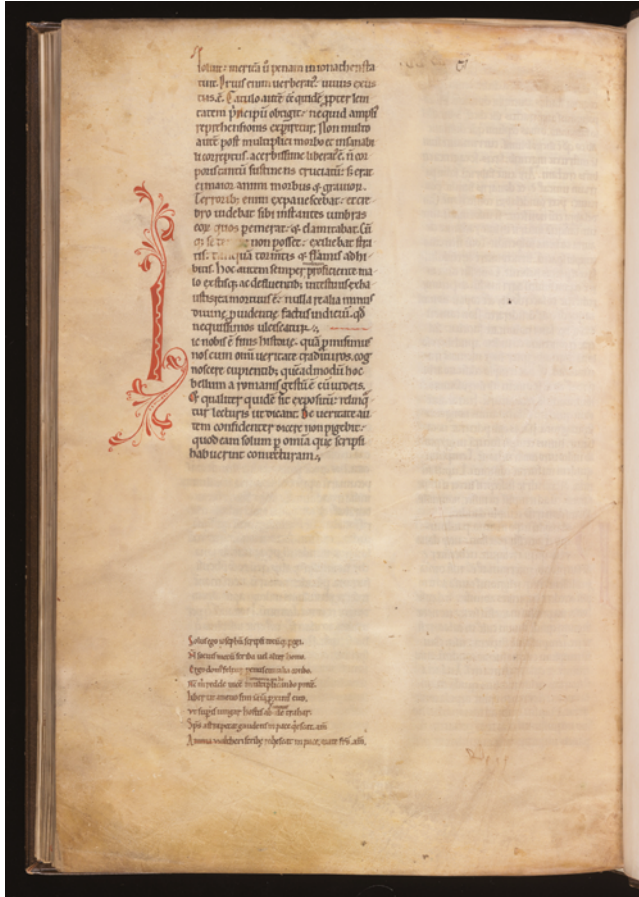


FIGURE 17.5A
Yale University
Beinecke Library
Codex MS 282,
fol. 109v

IMAGE: YALE
UNIVERSITY, NEW
HAVEN; PUBLIC
DOMAIN

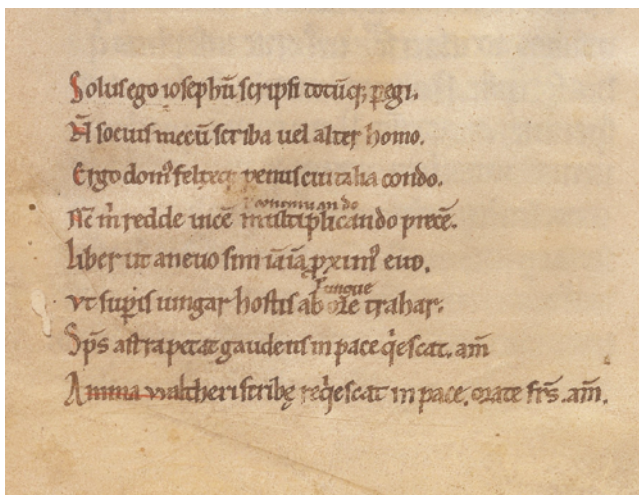


FIGURE 17.5B
Detail 17.5a

hand as the one from Yale. (Otherwise, we could have given the unknown scribe-monk back his name, after almost 800 years!).⁵⁸

Both poem and picture testify, though, to the great appreciation and importance of Josephus at that time in Europe among Christians. Both works involve extremely precious codices that are carefully written, revised and corrected, and decorated with noble initials. At least the Weingarten Codex shows clear awareness of Josephus being a Jew writing in favor of the Jews by marking the figures with the “Jewish hat.” But still, in both codices, we find represented the idea that copying Josephus can be regarded as a contribution to salvation for Christians, just like copying biblical books or patristic authors. And this works, *nota bene*, without Josephus being explicitly pressed into service for Christianity, as was the case with the *Testimonium Flavianum* in the Cambridge codex, and will be the case with Josephus pointing to Christ Pantocrator in the next and last manuscript to be examined.

5 Josephus the Non-Jewish Jew Pointing to the Spiritual Sense of Creation

Paris, BN ms. Latin 5047, saex. XIII, Northern France

Here we find, again, an elaborate and precious codex made of parchment, Paris. lat. 5047, that was crafted in Northern France in the late 12th or early 13th century, that is, in the context of the Fourth Lateran Council. The volume covers *Antiquitates* 1–20 (fols. 1v–139r), the *Capitula* (fol. 130v), Jerome’s entry on Josephus in *De viris illustribus* 12 (fol. 130v), and the entire *Bellum Iudaicum* (fols. 130v–189r).⁵⁹ The *Testimonium Flavianum* is particularly emphasized with red colored letters, as is the case in many manuscripts of the *Antiquitates*. The illumination on the first page is divided into two parts (fig. 17.6). Both together form the initials of IN P(rincipio).

At the top of the right column there is a curved initial of the letter P(rincipio): A man with a pointed white beard and a pointed, oversized black hat forms with his body the shaft of the P, and with his left hand he unfolds the bow of the letter P as a scroll. On the scroll the words IOSEPHUS ANTIQUITATUM are written. Again, Josephus is clearly identified as a Jew through his hat and beard. With his right hand he points downward to the decorated IN, which occupies almost an entire half of the left column.

58 My thanks to Judith Mania for her expertise in comparing the two manuscripts.

59 For a detailed description see Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 230–232.

In the center, Christ is depicted in full stature, stretched between heaven and earth, and in the *typus* of Christ Pantocrator, blessing with the right hand. In his left, in which the Christ Pantocrator usually holds a book, there is a medallion containing an *orans*, representing most probably the *sapientia*, pre-existent wisdom, which according to Prov 8:22 and Sir 1:4 assists the Logos in creating the world. On the sidebars of the letter N, the six days of creation are arranged, presented by young men and corresponding attributes for every work of creation. The composition as a whole indicates that Christ is the rational force, the Logos of creation, a motif referred to in Christian theology as Christ's mediatorship in creation ("Schöpfungsmittlerschaft") as expressed at the beginning of the Gospel of John.⁶⁰ The strong emphasis of the I formed by Christ Pantocrator is unique among the *Creatio mundi*-representations in IN initials, which in any case appear only for a short period in northern European manuscripts.⁶¹ The illumination seems to resonate what Hugo von St. Victor writes in his *Eruditionis Didascalicae* VIII 16: *per sapientiam suam Pater manifestatur, non solum quando sapientiam suam in carnem misit, sed tunc quoque quando per sapientiam suam mundum creavit* ("through his wisdom the Father revealed himself, not only when he sent his wisdom into the flesh, but also when he created the world through his wisdom"). Creation and incarnation are brought very closely together here, *sapientia* being the link between the two.

A comparable image appears in the already mentioned Chantilly manuscript created in Saint-Trond around 1170 (fig. 17.7).⁶² Also in this case, the IN of the "In principio" at the very beginning of the *Antiquitates* is decorated with six medallions on the creation. The Pantocrator is depicted twice, on the shaft and on the top of the letter I, but here in the traditional manner seated with blessing right hand and book in the left.

But there are also significant differences. The composition of Chantilly is more complex in its structure and statement. It combines the creation medallions with other biblical representations, such as Noah tasting fruits of his vineyard, the sacrifice of Isaac, the crucifixion of Christ and the anastasis. Also integrated are representations of two rulers—probably the same as those in the dedication scene with Josephus (fig. 17.3b)—and a personified Ecclesia.

60 On depictions of the creation in medieval manuscripts, see Hellemans, *Bible moralisée*. The doctrine of preexisting *sapientia* assisting in the creation of the world is to be found in Augustine, *De civitate* 11.4; *De Genesi ad litteram* 1.1.17; *Confessiones* 12.15.20.

61 Zahlten, *Creatio mundi*, 54–57 lists eight examples and locates the origin of that *typus* in the Belgian Meuse region. Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 64–90 counts 14 Josephus-manuscripts.

62 See Liebl, *Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, 69–74.



FIGURE 17.6 Paris, Lat. 5047, fol. 2r

IMAGE: GALlica/BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE



FIGURE 17.7 Codex Chantilly 774, fol. 3r
IMAGE: CREATIVE COMMONS

Geneviève Mariéthoz has interpreted the pictorial program as a visual implementation of Augustinian supersessionist theology.⁶³

The composition in the Parisian codex 5047 (fig. 17.6), created a little later in Northern France—and perhaps with knowledge of the manuscript of Saint-Trond—is less complex theologically, but no less subtle with regard to Josephus. Note how the two scenes are connected. By his twofold hand gesture, Josephus is presenting the text of his *Antiquitates* and at the same time is pointing to the image that presents the spiritual sense of that very work: Christ incarnate as mediator of the creation (“Schöpfungsmittler”).

Thus, the representations of the author and of the creation of the world through the Logos incarnate come close to each other on one page and enter into a meaningful relationship: Josephus the Jew points to the spiritual sense

63 Mariéthoz, “théologie augustinienne,” 269: “le monogramme réalisé pour le monastère de Saint-Trond s’affirme comme illustration de le fûte de Pâques, proclamant ainsi—de façon quelque peu provocatrice—la supériorité de la foi chrétienne sur celle de peuple juif, dont le destin est conté dans l’ouvrage de Josèphe que le frontispice multicolore préface.”

of the creation. This goes far beyond even the *Testimonium Flavianum* and is a clear appropriation of Josephus by—and in service of—Christian theology. With regard to the perception and presentation of Josephus, it is striking that Josephus is so clearly identified as a Jew but does the exact opposite of what Jews were expected and supposed to do by Christians of that time. Instead of being focused only on material and carnal aspects, and his being blind to the “higher” spiritual sense of Scripture (which was one crucial aspect of the ‘remnant of the Jews’ in the service of Christians according to Christian-Augustinian theology), he points to the spiritual sense of the Scripture (a sense, indeed, that was emphasized by the same Augustine and his medieval followers like Hugo). Josephus is represented here, we could say, as a ‘non-Jewish Jew,’ a Jew that has overcome the blindness and failure Christian theology had attributed to the Jews for centuries. In other words: Josephus is represented as a converted Jew.

6 Conclusions: The Multifaceted Service of Josephus

This last miniature (fig. 17.6) presents Josephus in a manner very much consistent with the way Christian theologians have defined and presented the service of converted Jews to Christianity in their literary works. Jews had to bear witness to Christian truth—and in order to do so they had to be clearly recognizable as Jews, even if they had converted. The miniature from Christ Church in which Josephus presents his *Testimonium* to the monk-scribe Samuel (fig. 17.2) has a similar tendency. Note how deeply ambivalent these representations are, as they honor the Jewish historian precisely by subjecting him to Christian theological purposes. The entire ambivalence of the Christian supersessionist appropriation of Judaism is reflected in such miniatures.

However, the other illuminations examined in this short survey show that Josephus was not always or exclusively presented in the vein of supersessionist theology. In his interaction with Roman emperors and their medieval successors (figs. 17.1, 17.3b, 17.4), as well as with Christian monks, abbots and saints (fig. 17.4), and—if we take into account also reception-aesthetic aspects—with the readers of the manuscripts, Josephus could also be brought into service in quite different ways: as a prophet of dynastic rule (in Toulouse, fig. 17.1) or as an advocate of the Jews (in Weingarten, fig. 17.4).

The examination of this very small corpus of 12th and 13th century miniatures that present Josephus presenting his work to Christian audiences has shown that the theological appropriation of Josephus did not entirely determine the representation and perception of the Jewish historian in Christian book illuminations. Patrons and painters of the miniatures were able to highlight

other emphases, and did so especially in the 12th century. These depictions of Josephus probably reflect not only various iterations of the Christian reception of Josephus, but also changes in the reality of life of educated Jews in Western European Christian societies during the 12th and 13th centuries: While in the earlier 12th century, educated Jews could, at least in some places, serve at court, contributing to education and sometimes even advocating on behalf of Jewish communities before rulers—as it is depicted in the codices of Toulouse and Weingarten—from the 13th century onward, starting with the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Jews were clearly assigned the role of witnessing the truth of Christianity as converts.⁶⁴

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64 See Abulafia, “The Fourth Lateran Council.”

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Between Josephus and *Yosippon*: Lamdan's *Masada*

Yael S. Feldman

Who are you that come, stepping heavy in silence?
—The remnant.
Alone I remained on the day of great slaughter.
Alone, of father and mother, sisters and brothers.
Saved in an empty cask hid in a courtyard corner.
Huddled, a child in the womb of an anxious mother.
I survived.
Days upon days in fate's embrace I cried and begged
for mercy:
Thy deed it is, O God, that I remain.
Then answer, Why?
If to bear the shame of man and the world,
To blazon it forever—
Release me! The world unshamed will flaunt this shame
As honor and spotless virtue!
And if to find atonement I survive
Then Answer: Where?
So importuning a silent voice replied:
“In Masada!”
I obeyed that voice and so I came.
Silent my steps will raise me to the wall,
Silent as all the steps filled with the dread
Of what will come.
Tall, tall is the wall of Masada.
Deep, deep is the pit at its feet.
And if the silent voice deceived me,
From the high wall to the deep pit
I will fling me.
And let there be no sign remaining,
And let no remnant survive.

Y. LAMDAN, *Masada*, 1926

Against the hostile Fate of generations,
 A stubborn breast is there bared with a roar:
 'Enough! You or I! Here the battle will decide the final judgment!'

Y. LAMDAN, *Masada*, 1926

Masada echoes ... the fateful plight readers share with myriads of brethren who have escaped the imposed *aqedah* of old only to find refuge in the self-willed *aqedah* of this generation.

A.D. FRIEDMAN, 1927

[Hebrew authors] balanced the universal and the specifically Jewish horrors of the Great War and the Russian Civil Wars with the help of the Zionist solution. Epic poems such as Lamdan's *Masada* ... were stamped by this mark.

DAN MIRON, 1992

After these things, the men left the city and challenged the Romans to fight, killing too many of them to count. The Jews thus had fought until they all expired in the battle, dying for God and His Temple.

Sefer Yosippon 89 (יבט), late-9th/early-10th century

• • •

Hebrew literature written in Palestine during the 1920s–1930s testifies to an intriguing shift from a variety of martyrological figures popular in the discourses of previous generations to a singular figure—the *self-sacrificial* Isaac. Apparently, the poets of that generation, the so-called “Third *Aliya*” [= immigration to Palestine], tapped a potential that only the *midrashic* renditions of Genesis 22 could offer: a *familial* story—a personal “family romance” if you will—an intimate tale involving son and father (and even mother at times). The mythical “holy family” of Christianity may have served as a transitional object in this process, a bridge from the collective images which that generation had typically inherited from Jewish tradition (the “Ten Martyrs,” for instance) to the more personal and familial images of the nearly sacrificed Isaac.

Given the chain of armed conflicts that took place in the Palestine of the 1920s and 1930s, the intensification of the martyrological mode in local Hebrew discourse is not surprising. Yet this historical trigger does not necessarily explain the *choice of trope*, namely, the literary shift from images of

collective martyrdom (e.g. the “Ten Martyrs,” situated in the 2nd century)¹ to *personal* ones. The particularly rampant use of *Aqedat-Yitzhak* as a trope in the martyrological imaginary of the time might have answered the cravings of a generation weaned on modernist individuality and psychologism for a myth revolving around *an individual* rather than the collective—even more so an ancestral trope that involved a *father-son* relationship and which therefore could be infused with contemporary psychological, perhaps Freudian interpretations of family dynamics. Indeed, it might have been the dark underside of this potential—Freud’s morbid emphasis on the aggression animating human psychology and family dynamics—that had haunted the rewritten “Isaac” of that generation, as it has continued to do throughout the 20th century and beyond.²

The poet Yitzhak Lamdan (1899–1954) was a major representative of that generation.³ His poetry was perceived as dominated by the “motif of the *aqedah*” early on, as attested by his contemporary A.D. Friedman (see his 1927 observation quoted above). Though this assessment may be somewhat overstated, it is certainly true that Lamdan’s poetry offered a distinctive inroad into the coalescence of a Hebrew culture that may have conceptually turned the Land of Israel into the “Land of Isaac.”

Yet Lamdan differed from his peers both biographically and artistically. Unlike other poets of the time, he arrived in Palestine in 1920 as an *orphaned* survivor of the atrocities of World War I and the antisemitic pogroms that followed.⁴ Barely escaping the violence himself, he lost both parents and his older brother in the Ukraine, his birthplace—a wound from which he would never fully recover, as the dark tone of his oeuvre and diaries attests. His poetry is deeply personal and expressive, yet it lacks the daring experimentalism and modernism characteristic of his peers, the poets U.Z. Greenberg and Avraham Shlonsky. Stylistically, he largely followed in the footsteps of the venerated “national poet” of the Hebrew Revival, Haim Nachman Bialik. Not unlike Shlonsky, however, the Russian cultural background is quite palpable

1 See Furstenberg, “The Changing Worlds of the Ten Rabbinic Martyrs.”

2 For more on this background, see Feldman, *Glory and Agony*.

3 For a biographic portrait and historical background in English, see Yudkin, *Isaac Lamdan*, Ch. 1. In Hebrew, see Lipsker, *Igrot*, and Barzel, *Expressionism Nevu’i*.

4 The horrors of these atrocities were documented in real time by the great Yiddish folklorist and author S. Ansky, whose work *The Enemy at His Pleasure* became available in English almost a century later. Famed Israeli translator and writer Hillel Halkin tellingly dubbed his review of this book “The Prelude” [to the Holocaust ...]. For a current view of these events—written in the shadow of the February 2022 Ukrainian crisis—see Jeffrey Veidlinger’s recent article (Veidlinger, “History”): “Massacres of over 100,000 Jews between 1918–1921 paved the way for the Nazi Holocaust-by-bullets.” Cf. his new book, Veidlinger, *In the Midst of Civilized Europe*.

in his poetry. Yet, in the absence of the revolutionary energy of the former, Lamdan frequently invoked images of *passive victimage* and lachrymose gloom rather than heroic *self-sacrifice*. His poems are in fact suffused with allusions to the *victims* of the Revolution and the Russian Civil War (rather than to the famous “dozen” [heroes] of the Russian poet Aleksandr Blok, as did Shlonsky, for example). Moreover, Lamdan cast these victims in the garb of traditional Jewish *martyrology*, reminiscent of the poetry of H.N. Bialik, his adored master.

Crucial to this imagery was the traditional *aqedah*, used now as a metaphor for the *contemporary* “trials” of his generation. In a poem ostensibly celebrating “The Night of the Shofar Blast,” the poetic voice mournfully describes the “days of the New Year” as “led to the *aqedah*—before me—.” (!) Referring to himself, the poet shockingly asks: “Who will bring comfort and reward/ to the fate of a young *bound lamb*?”⁵ Similarly, in the poem blatantly named “*Aqud*” (“*Bound*”), the poet directly identifies with his namesake despite his awareness of the differences between the biblical *aqedah* and his own. Waking from a drunken stupor and noticing a picture of *Aqedat Yitzhak* on his table, he desperately inquires:

What do you intimate, an empty, open-mouthed bottle:
‘That there is rescue ... as echoed in this picture’—?
But this is *not me*, a different *Isaac was there*
Different was the binder, and different the binding.⁶

So what precisely was this difference? The answer is telling:

I did know where I was being led to
Nor was it God who commanded my going for a test.
I myself so loved the journey
*That I did not even inquire about the lamb.*⁷

Like some of his contemporaries, Lamdan identified *not with the biblical aqedah* but rather with the Jewish *post-biblical* portrayals of his namesake. Volunteering for his own immolation, this Isaac was ready for the possibility that the biblical

5 Lamdan, *Baritma Hameshuleshet* [*In the Triple Harness*] (part of the sequence “To Father,” 7–27), emphasis added. The poems in this collection were written mostly during 1924–1928. Unless otherwise stated, translations from the Hebrew are mine.

6 Lamdan, *Baritma Hameshuleshet*, 30–31.

7 Lamdan, *Baritma Hameshuleshet*, 30–31 (emphasis added).

“rescue” was not applicable in the here and now. Such Midrashic intertext fully materializes in the poem “On the Altar”:

Here we are all bound, bringing the wood with our own hands,
 Without inquiring whether our burnt offering [*qorban olah*] is accepted!
 Not a stone gave birth to us, brother,
 Therefore, there is surely a father, who desires our offering,
 Surely, there is a mother who will not forget us—
 Let us then *silently stretch our neck on the altar*.⁸

Clearly, Lamdan’s *aqedah* did not partake in the Freudian “family romance” woven at the same time by his contemporary Avraham Shlonsky, for example. Although the image of his deceased father was dominant in his early poetry, it did not appear in the rewriting of the biblical drama. Lamdan’s murdered father could be only a distant object of love and yearning, not an active character in the self-sacrificial story of his generation. At most, Lamdan was liable to compare *himself* to “a cruel Abraham.” As the closure of this book suggests, he himself had to sacrifice his private, personal yearnings to be a poet (!) on the altar (or pyre, *moqed*) of the fate of his people:

Ah, forgive me, my beheaded brethren,
 Not my hand—a different, stronger hand
 Had cut you off and sent me here
 Building an altar and demanding an offering!⁹

In the main, Lamdan’s rewritten *aqedah* is either the personal story of an orphaned Isaac, or—and here lies his main contribution—a *collective* emblem of the tragic fate of the Jewish people “bound on eternal gallows.” Indeed, it was this ‘national *aqedah*’ that entered the bloodstream of Hebrew culture through Lamdan’s idiosyncratic yet highly influential rendition of the story of *Masada* (1923).

This book-length epic-dramatic poem, which catapulted its author to fame and reputation that lasted for several decades, charted the hopes and fears of the “new *Yishuv*” in its struggle to take root in the arid and hostile land of the

8 “*Al hamizbe’ah*” (“*On the Altar*”): Lamdan, *Baritma Hameshuleshet*, 80. Cf. the Aramaic Targum (translation) of Gen 22. This poem flies in the face of H.N. Bialik’s influential, post-pogrom Kishinev poem, “*Im tirtzu lada’at*” [“*If You Wish to Know*”] (1908), which took to task historical Jewish martyrdom, challenging the Jewish tradition of “going joyfully to their death, stretching out their necks/to every honed blade, to every raised axe.”

9 Lamdan, *Baritma Hameshuleshet*, 176 (closing poem, “Nameless Days”).

ancestors. It gave profound expression to the anguished sense that this was their last chance of survival, and that no other way was viable. Indeed, the poem was immediately embraced as a household icon, both in Palestine and in the Zionist youth movements in Europe.

We have thus come round to a critical question: How did Lamdan manage to so successfully fuse the theme of *ritual sacrifice* with the last Jewish *military stand* against the Romans in 73 CE, as reported—ostensibly with historical precision—by Josephus Flavius? The scholarly consensus has naturally pointed to an obvious contemporary source of inspiration—the historian Dr. Y. N. Simhoni's 1923 Hebrew translation (from the Greek) of Josephus' *Jewish War*. Indeed, in the introduction to his book, Simhoni singled out “the sublime dramatic scene of the defenders of Masada” as “the pinnacle of Josephus's *writing style*.”¹⁰ Given the proximity of their publication dates, later historiography has coupled Simhoni's and Lamdan's texts as major contributors to the creation of the Israeli “Masada myth,” more often than not assuming that Simhoni's Hebrew Josephus inspired Lamdan's epic poem.¹¹

I beg to differ. First, Lamdan had been working on his poem *prior* to the appearance of the new Josephus translation, publishing segments of it as early as 1923. More importantly, by naming this book-length poem “*Masada*” rather than “*Metzada*” (a variant of the Hebrew *metzada*—fortress or stronghold), as established by Simhoni's translation, Lamdan may have divulged a different source: the “modern” Russian translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*, published in 1900 (!) by the tenacious pioneer Yaakov L. Chertok (1860–1913).¹² Most importantly, I would suggest that by extricating Lamdan's *Masada* from the clutches of Simhoni/Josephus' “historical” *Metzada*, we might undo a long-attested confusion about the poem's multifocal take on the knotty issue of national martyrdom.

Masada's ostensibly paradoxical vision had been noted and analyzed in detail in several studies.¹³ The general agreement is that the poem is torn between two contradictory moods or ideologies: desperate pessimism and optimistic

10 Emphasis mine. This “stylistic” comment is followed, however, by a very different observation about the work's “admirable closure:” Elazar ben-Yair's venerable speech about the preferred death of heroes of a war for liberation. One might ask if Simhoni's admiration was indeed aroused by Josephus' writing excellence or by the “preferred death” of his heroes.

11 This comment applies to most secondary sources dealing with Lamdan's *Masada*.

12 An ardent pioneer who immigrated to Palestine twice, with both first and second waves of immigration, Chertok was the father of Moshe Sharett, later the first Israeli Foreign Affairs Minister.

13 See Blauschild, “Rise and Fall,” chapters 5 and 11; Ben-Yehuda, *Masada Myth*.

activism. On the side of despondency, we may count its detailed imagery of arid rocks and merciless sun, of doubt and fear, of tears, bereavement, gallows, and despair unto death. Especially memorable are the references to listless suicidal “desperados,” as well as to their martyred and murdered brethren in the diaspora. Significantly, *no* glory is attached here to the taking of one’s life, nor is it carried out *en masse* and in the light of day. Indeed, the images of agonizing *individual* suicides must have conjured for Lamdan’s contemporaries not so much the mass-murder/suicide of Josephus’ “Masada,” as much as one of the tragic symptoms of their own time—the suicides among the young pioneers, then freshly recorded in the volume *Qehilyatenu* [*Our Commune*] (1922).¹⁴ Yet *Masada* was mostly remembered and admired—especially in Warsaw ghetto and its environs during the 1940s—for the bravado of its opening canto:

Against the hostile Fate of generations,
A stubborn breast is there bared with a roar:
Enough!
You or I!
Here will the battle decide the final judgment!¹⁵

This challenge is reinforced by the sonorous cadences and trance-like rhythms of nightly dancing around the bonfires, straddling Hassidic and secular horas perfected by the pioneers, and the fervent invocation qua pledge, “Arise, the chain of dance / Never shall Masada fall again!” not to mention the poetic revival of revered heroes, past and present (from the Second-Temple Rabbis Avtalion and Elazar to the contemporary revered author Y.H. Brenner and the no-less admired Galilean hero Yosef Trumpeldor). Add to this the confident closure, echoing the traditional blessing pronounced at the closing of the annual Torah reading—“Be strong, be strong, and we shall be strengthened!”—and it is not difficult to imagine the uplifting effect of the poem through the trials and tribulations of the 1930s and 1940s, in both Palestine and Europe.

That this self-boosting had little to do with the story as told by Josephus seemed to concern nobody. Nor was anyone troubled by the *blatant sacrificial imagery* of the poem that is not present in Josephus. I therefore suggest that the long-accepted yoking together of Lamdan’s *Masada* and Simhoni’s

14 This collectively authored book was dedicated to the memory of members of the Hashomer Hatza’ir youth movement who “fell and died in the Land or on the way to it,” of the 16 mourned, two committed suicide.

15 Lamdan, quoted in Yudkin, *Isaac Lamdan*, 199.

translation of Josephus' *Jewish War* is misleading and has not contributed to a proper understanding of the poem.

To clear up this confusion, I propose *Sefer Yosippon* as Lamdan's major source of inspiration. This anonymous version of Josephus' history, rewritten in Hebrew in large part from the late-antique Latin *De excidio Hierosolymitano*,¹⁶ may indeed be the source that taught Lamdan to fuse the imagery of burnt offering (qua martyrdom) with the Greco-Roman military noble death—a conflation fashioned with great dexterity by the author of *Yosippon* that perfectly suited Lamdan's ambivalent yet sympathetic vision.

Indeed, in some sense, the author of *Yosippon* seems to have anticipated those contemporary readers who find the collective suicide described in Josephus' *Jewish War* hard to accept.¹⁷ So, instead of having *the Jews* of *Metzada* (not the *Sicarii* of "Masada," as in Josephus) fall on their swords (or worse, kill each other), he had Eleazar send them off "to fight the enemy and die like heroes."¹⁸ They do so, and the closing statement neatly summarizes the idea of "the last stand" or "fighting to the last man" associated in the Israeli mind with "Metzada":

After these things, the men left the city and challenged the Romans to fight, killing too many of them to count. The Jews thus had fought until they all expired in the battle, dying for God and His Temple.

Sefer Yosippon 89 (טט)¹⁹

A second, apparently later version according to Flusser, intensifies the description of the heroic death, while erasing the religious overtones.²⁰

16 *DEH* (*On the Destruction of Jerusalem*) is a Christian theological treatise based on *BJ*. The author of *SY* de-Christianized and re-Hebraized this primary Latin source (and the many others he used); see Bell, "Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus," and Bay, "Temple Ekphrasis;" Bay, "The 'Maria Story' in Greek Latin and Hebrew;" and Bay's paper on the literary relationship between *DEH* 5.2 and *SY* 73 presented at the Bern workshop *Seeking Sefer Yosippon* on May 12, 2022. I am greatly indebted to my partner Steven Bowman for introducing me to the Hebrew *SY* as well as to its modern editor, the late Professor David Flusser.

17 Trude Weiss-Rosmarin had suggested as much in her columns in *The Jewish Spectator* in the 1960s; on the ensuing controversy, see Blauschild, "The Rise and Fall," 25–26; Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, Ch. 11; Ben-Yehuda, *The Masada Myth*.

18 The author of *SY* identified the dwellers of Masada (Hebraized by him as *Metzada* = a fortress, about a millennium before Simhoni repeated the same gesture) as "Jews," and not as the murderous *Sicarii* (who do appear earlier in his story). Is this another expression of sympathy for them?

19 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.430.

20 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.431.

Yael Zerubavel has already observed that Yosippon's version of Masada "fits the activist conception of heroism in secular national Hebrew culture much better than Josephus's original version." She further suggested that it is "most curious" that, while the commemorative narrative "derived its legitimation from Josephus's historical account," Yosippon's version "had been largely ignored in the modern commemoration of Masada."²¹ I could not agree more. Yet this "curious" act of omission was not limited to the Israeli commemoration of Masada. The ascendancy of Josephus' history at the expense of *Yosippon* may attest to biases, conscious or not, running deep in Modern Hebrew and Jewish historiography. While these processes are beyond the scope of this article, I would like to clarify here how *Yosippon's* depiction of Metzada "curiously" persisted in the Israeli mind despite the almost unanimous "suppression" of the book itself in twentieth-century scholarship.

I propose that the unacknowledged source responsible for this feat of memory was precisely Lamdan's poetic creation, *Masada*. Could not his celebrated line—"Here will the battle decide the final judgment!"—have been inspired by the Jewish "beautiful death" in a "final battle" invented by the author of *Yosippon* for his Metzada heroes? Certainly much more than Masada à la Josephus!²²

Yet there is more. Notice the opening phrase of the closure of the scene of Metzada: "After these things." Although not unique in the Hebrew Bible, this phrase could summon up the opening of Genesis 22, the biblical version of the story of the *aqedah*. Is this a "quote" and, if so, what is it doing here? By referring with this phrase to the events of the day before, the author cleverly links the slaying of the families with the offering (*olah*) demanded by the God of Abraham "after these things." This is indeed Yosippon's second innovation in this dramatic episode. Eleazar has to negotiate with his men the dreadful act of putting their loved ones to death so that they would not suffer at the hands of the Romans. To do so, he not only presents this deed—as did Eleazar in Josephus' version—as an act of compassion (*hemla*); he also promises the men that through this mercy killing, their slain families—women, children and elders—"will be considered as a sacrificial burnt offering that will please God, because they will not be sullied by gentile impurity" (*qorban olah leratzon*

21 Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 208.

22 The language Lamdan uses betrays a contemporary intertext as well, "the final battle" of the hymn of the Socialist Internationale (translated from the Russian by Shlonsky in 1924): "ze yihye qrav aharon lemilhemet olam," namely, "This will be the final battle in the world war."



FIGURE 18.1 1929 ad for a theatrical performance of Lamdan's "Masada" by Hashomer Hatza'ir youth movement in "The Palace", a major venue of Jerusalem at the time. This attests to the popular impact of the poem in real time
HASHOMER HATZA'IR ARCHIVE, YAD YA'ARI, USED WITH PERMISSION

la'adonay, velo tithallel betum'at hagoyim).²³ This addition turns the objects of murder into a "burnt offering" and hence sanctified martyrs—an idea perhaps covertly hinted at in Josephus' choice of language, but certainly not overtly elaborated by him or by *Yosippon's* Latin source, Pseudo-Hegesippus. *Yosippon's* phrasing follows logically, however, the opening of Eleazar's speech, where a list of historical precedence begins with: "Do remember your Father Abraham who took his only son to offer him to God ...?"

Almost a millennium later, Lamdan borrowed this rhetorical move to great effect. See for instance the canto named "A Tender Offering" ("*Olah rakkah*," *Masada*, 28), where an "only son" ascends Masada "joyously, his head full of dew drops," confident that his gift, his tender offering (of life? of death?) "will be pleasing [accepted]" (*teratzeh*, derived from the same root and meaning as the word used by *Yosippon*, *leratzon*). Lamdan comes even closer to the language of the medieval text when he describes the despair of being abandoned by an absent God as the lack of any divine authority that would approve or

23 Flusser, *Sefer Yosippon*, 1.429–430.

accept as pleasing (*yeratzeh*) “the offering of our life and the sacrifice of our youth and love” (“Weeping,” *Masada*, 63).²⁴

Indeed, as the poetry of an ostensibly *secular* pioneer, Lamdan’s images of “national sacrifice” are deeply rooted—much more than his peers’ images—in the language of *sacral ritual*. One expression of this proclivity is the heavy figurative use of “first-fruit offering” (*bikkurim*), unprecedented in Hebrew portrayals of the pioneering project. In a section named “A First-Fruit Caravan,” for instance (“*Orḥat bikkurim*,” 32), the pioneers climbing up the unyielding rock of Masada are startlingly imagined as substituting in their *body and soul* the firstfruits that in antiquity would be brought to the Temple on the pilgrimage festival of *Shavu’ot*. The first-person speakers of this canto carry the “grain of our lives” and “our joyous blood” as a sacred offering (*minḥah veqodesh*) for the impending “final battle;”²⁵ they offer a selfless donation of “the springs of our youth” and the “first fruit of our lives;”²⁶ not to mention “handful of hearts,” “golden dreams,” and “baskets of love.”

There is no doubt then that the ritual-sacral nationalism of Lamdan’s *Masada* is much closer to the mood of Yosippon’s *Metzada* than to the Masada scene in *the Bellum Judaicum*. Like the former, it melds “national and sacral elements;”²⁷ thus setting the tone and perhaps the norm for the national martyrologies that were to follow.

24 Was Lamdan familiar with *sy*? It is difficult to establish any direct link, but the circumstantial evidence is quite strong. The widespread pre-modern circulation of *sy* is well documented; see e.g. Baer, “The Hebrew Book of Yosippon,” in Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 2.63–73. In modern times, *sy* figured as an ideal in M.Y. Berdyczewski’s 1898 Hebrew story, “*Bederekh rehokah*” (“On a Distant Journey”), on which see Bowman, “Yosippon.” Within a decade, the call for revolt that Yosippon’s anonymous author had put into the mouth of Mattathias the Hasmonean began to circulate among members of the Second Aliya (see Feldman and Bowman, “Let Us not die,” and Feldman, “Not as Sheep”). Yosippon is referred to in passing in memoirs of the Second and Third *aliyot* (e.g., Berl Katznelson, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, Pinhas Govrin), not to mention S.Y. Agnon’s classic novel about that generation, *Only Yesterday* (1945), where Yosippon is recommended for Shabbat reading. It is therefore quite feasible that Lamdan, who received a traditional Hebrew education at home as a child, would be familiar with Yosippon as well.

25 The expression “the final battle” may betray a contemporary intertext as well, the hymn of the Socialist Internationale, which was translated from the Russian by the poet Avraham Shlonsky in 1924: “*ze yihye qrav aḥaron bemilhemet ’olam*,” namely: “This will be the final battle in the world’s war.”

26 Interestingly, this particular image will re-emerge in the twenty-first century in David Grossman’s 2008 novel, *Isha Boraḥat Mibesora* [translated as *To the End of the Land*]; see my *Glory and Agony* (“Afterword”) and “Josephus or Yosippon?”

27 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 2.180.

According to Flusser, *Sefer Yosippon's* special national-sacral amalgam may have been inspired by the zeitgeist of tenth-century Italy. Moving from tenth-century southern Italy back to twentieth-century Palestine, I would risk a conjecture of my own. Given its date of publication—November 1926—could not *Masada*, a distinctly sacral-national masterpiece of the time, have contributed to the alarm of the young Gershom Scholem, then a recent newcomer in Palestine who just realized to his horror that the revival of Hebrew meant the recovery of its sacral “names,” both powerful and dangerous? Could Lamdan’s *Masada* have given him the final push, triggering his “Confession about Our Language,” sent in December of that very year as a birthday gift to his ailing intimate friend Franz Rosenzweig?²⁸ Could Scholem have sensed already then that the “burnt offering” peppering the “final battle” of *Masada* was not “just” a figure of speech? That all this highly metaphoric language had a potential to cancel its own figurativeness, to realize its own metaphoricity? Was it too real to him for comfort? Did he anticipate that Lamdan’s *gift-bearing caravan* was in danger of morphing into an arms-bearing “convoy”²⁹ (both *shayara* in modern Hebrew, a word used often in Lamdan’s *Masada*), of transforming from “giving of the self” to “giving up the self?”

This is only a speculation, of course. Scholem was quite circumspect about the “new” Hebrew poetry written in Palestine. His passion, both dotting and critical, was invested in the oeuvre of the great icon of his generation, H.N. Bialik. Yet if we take seriously his harsh critique of Bialik’s elegiac poems (*shirei haqinah*),³⁰ we may extend a similar critique to the work of Isaac Lamdan, Bialik’s ardent disciple.

28 This letter accumulated a vast literature since it was discovered in the 1980s. Most relevant to my argument are William Cutter “Ghostly Hebrew;” Robert Alter’s cogent treatment in *Necessary Angels*; Jacques Derrida, “The Eyes of Language;” and Stéphane Mosès, “Language and Secularization.” While Cutter suggested that Hebrew literature could have triggered Scholem’s alarm, he did not consider the ‘young’ literature written by the pioneers in Palestine in those very years, as I suggest here. Alter, by contrast, pondered “whether Scholem would have regarded the stirring of apocalyptic currents in contemporary Zionism [the right-wing Gush Emunim movement, for example] as a predictable unleashing of dangerous potentials implicit in the very revival of Hebrew” (37). My findings seem to suggest, however, that Hebrew literature could have given Scholem enough cause for alarm even half a century before the emergence of Gush Emunim (and this beyond his abiding interest in the philosophy of language, as pointed out by Derrida, Stéphane Mosès, and Galili Shahar).

29 As in S. Yizhar’s watershed Israeli War-of-Independence [1948] novella, *Shayara shel Hatzot* [Midnight Convoy].

30 See G. Scholem, *Briefe*, 232–234.

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Schalit's Modern Hebrew Translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*: A Reassessment

Michael Avioz

This chapter deals with the Hebrew translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* (*Qadmoniyot ha-Yehudim*) published by Abraham Schalit in 1944.¹ Comparing this with other translations, it also discusses the problems attendant upon translating Josephus into modern languages. Finally, it provides an outline and some critical notes.

Earlier reviews of Schalit are very brief, only covering specific aspects of the translation.² A thorough and comprehensive analysis of the whole work lying beyond the scope of this chapter, I shall discuss a number of select examples.

According to Yochanan Glucker,³ good translations of Greek and Roman texts into Hebrew demand that:

- The translator be a master of Hebrew and ancient Greek and Latin grammar and vocabulary;
- Be aware of the diverse aspects of culture, history, religion, philosophy, and society;
- Contextualize the ancient source in its cultural and literary setting;
- Be able to identify allusions to earlier authors;
- Recognize and characterize ancient genres, etc.;
- Be accurate;
- Offer an introduction and interpretation containing information that may assist modern readers.

Glucker argues that Schalit meets all these requirements.

With respect to Josephus in particular, the translator also has to be in full command of Second Temple writings—the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran scrolls, rabbinic literature, and other Jewish-Hellenistic works—and the vast secondary literature written on these sources. He or she must be

1 Schalit, *Yosef ben Matityahu*. For the Hebrew name of the book, see Schwartz, “Judaean’ or ‘Jew?’”

2 Wallach, “A. Shalit: Introduction;” Bin-Gorion, “Mishné Mikra;” Lewy, “New Paths;” Marcus, “A Review.”

3 Glucker, “Aryeh Kasher’s Translation and Commentary on *Contra Apion*.”

capable of finding the most appropriate equivalent term in the target language, “experienced in textual criticism and [with] a grasp of the problems manuscripts and their potential corruption can cause.”⁴

Finally, Hebrew translators of ancient works written in foreign language all face the questions of which Hebrew to use—Modern, Biblical, or Mishnaic—and whether the translation should be colloquial or formal.⁵ Schalit appears to have preferred Biblical Hebrew—a theme to which I shall return later.

Before dealing with Schalit’s translation, let us review the most recent Hebrew translations of Josephus’ other works:

1. The *Bellum Judaicum* was translated in 2010 by Lisa Ullman of the Hebrew University.⁶ This edition has brief footnotes, a comprehensive introduction by Jonathan Price, and appendices on the Roman army by Israel Shatzman. Accompanied by color photographs, maps, genealogies, illustrations, chronological tables, and bibliography, it has been well received by scholars and laypeople alike.⁷
2. *Contra Apion* was translated by Aryeh Kasher in 1997.⁸ This two-volume work includes an introduction, translation, (often lengthy) notes, and bibliography.⁹
3. Daniel Schwartz translated the *Vita* in 2007.¹⁰ This tome includes translation, notes and appendices, color photos, maps, chronological tables, and a bibliography.
4. Alexander Schorr published a partial translation of the *Antiquities* in 1940.¹¹

• • •

A Professor at the Hebrew University, Abraham Schalit’s (1898–1979) interest in Josephus was complemented by more general research into *Roman Rule*

4 Vagelpohl, *Aristotle’s “Rhetoric” in the East*, 7.

5 Zipor, *The Septuagint Translation to Genesis*.

6 Ullman, *Yosef Ben Matityahu*.

7 Gera, “Joseph’s Coat of Many Colors.” The very early translations of Simchoni and Haggai are rarely cited by modern scholars: see Simchoni, *Yossef ben Matityahu*; Haggai, *Josephus, Bellum Judaicum*. See also Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, 34–36. For other Hebrew translations of Josephus, see Schatz, *Josephus in Modern Jewish Culture*.

8 Kasher, *Flavius Josephus: Against Apion*.

9 For a review, see Gucker, “Aryeh Kasher’s Translation and Commentary on *Contra Apion*”—who severely criticizes both the translation and the notes.

10 Schwartz, *Flavius Josephus, Vita*.

11 Schorr, *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

in *the Land of Israel* (1937), his scholarly biography of Herod being translated in expanded form into German as *Koenig Herodes* (1969). Schalit addressed various aspects of Josephus' methodology and sources in numerous articles, translating his introduction to the *Antiquities* (Books 1–10 in 1944 and 11–20 in 1963) into Hebrew and editing a concordance of all the names appearing in Josephus' works (1968).¹²

Schalit was responsible for the entries relating to the Second Temple period in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, also editing some of the volumes in *The World History of the Jewish People* series. For many years he devoted himself to an exhaustive German commentary on *Antiquities* 11–20, this being followed by a greatly expanded German version of his Hebrew commentary on the first half.¹³ His translation is thus the result of much hard work. The labor of love culminated in three volumes, an introduction preceding the first ten books and notes concluding volume 2. The third volume covers books 11–20 and focuses on the Second Temple period. Schalit unfortunately dying before completing it, this contains the translation without any introduction or notes.¹⁴

In contrast to the Brill Josephus Project, Schalit worked alone—an admirable feat.¹⁵ While he made use of Thackeray and other translations, the only Hebrew translation at his disposal was Alexander Schorr's partial attempt.¹⁶ A French translation was also made by Théodore Reinach.¹⁷

According to Bezalel Bar-Kochva (Tel Aviv University), “in general, Schalit's translation of the *Antiquities of the Jews* ... is the best translation of the writings of Josephus into Hebrew published so far, perhaps surpassing all the translations into modern European languages.”¹⁸ It immediately became a standard reference book for scholars writing in Hebrew.

Schalit added the references to the biblical text in *Antiquities* 1–11 (Genesis to Esther). While these are included in the LCL edition and Brill Josephus Project, they must all be double checked. I have addressed this issue with respect to Josephus' rewriting of the pentateuchal laws.

12 Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*.

13 Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, 34.

14 Schwartz (“Hellenism, Judaism, and Apologetic,” 5) reports that there remained a “233-page German typescript by Schalit, comprising a commentary to the first 108 paragraphs of *Antiquities* 11.”

15 Mason, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*; Feldman, *Judean Antiquities, Books 1–4*; Begg, *Judean Antiquities, Books 5–7*; Begg and Spilisbury, *Judean Antiquities, Books 8–10*.

16 Thackeray et al., *Josephus*. Schalit cites Thackeray and Marcus more than a hundred times in the notes.

17 Reinach, *Oeuvres Complètes de Flavius Josephépe*.

18 Bar-Kochva, “The Conquest of Samaria,” 30.

1 The Introduction

Schalit's introduction is masterful. Covering 82 pages, it provides an important framework for the translation. Its subdivision is less helpful, however, making it difficult to follow; nor is the table of contents of any help in this regard. Schalit could have taken a leaf out of Louis Feldman's *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*.¹⁹ In the following, I present the topics with which both volumes deal:

1. Josephus' historiographical predecessors
2. The schools of Isocrates and Aristotle
3. Josephus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus
4. Historiography in the *Bellum* vs. the *Antiquities*
5. Josephus' biblical text
6. Knowledge of a Hebrew text
7. Use of a Greek text
8. Use of an Aramaic Targum
9. Josephus' biblical texts for the various biblical books
10. Josephus' assurance that he will not modify the Scriptures
11. Josephus' audience
12. Josephus' sources
13. The prophet and the historian
14. Josephus and rabbinic tradition
15. Josephus as apologist to non-Jews and Jews
16. Hellenizations
17. Dramatic language and motifs
18. Romantic motifs
19. Appeal to philosophic interests
20. Psychologizing²⁰

Schalit's influence on Feldman is not surprising in light of the fact that the latter considers him the "foremost Josephus scholar of the past generation."²¹

19 Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*.

20 The topics that Feldman alone covers are: Josephus' priestly bias; answers to the charges made by anti-Jewish writers; establishment of the historicity of the biblical events; the rehabilitation of non-Jewish leaders; the problems of assimilation and intermarriage; appeal to political interests; Josephus and nationalism; a response to proselytism; stylistic and other changes; resolution of difficulties and contradictions in the text; appeal to social interests; Josephus' attitude to women; de-theologizing; Josephus as rewriter of the Bible/rewriting model.

21 Feldman, "Flavius Josephus Revisited," 767.

2 Bibliography and Indices

A cumulative bibliography would have been very helpful to the reader. The same holds true with respect to Schalit's work on Herod, only the German translation containing a bibliography. In the *Antiquitates*, the reader must garner the bibliographic references by trolling the footnotes. The information is very important, subsequent scholars adducing the same works as Schalit—Helscher, Siegfried, Bloch, Mez, Rahlfs, Schürer, et al.²² Schalit's volume also lacks any indices of ancient texts/persons/place and modern authors. This further compounds the difficulties of finding anything therein.

3 The Page Structure

Schalit's follows the following format:

1. Translation of Josephus' Greek text into Hebrew
2. Chapters and sub-chapters and numerical division
3. Notes at the end of volume 2
4. Annotations regarding Josephus' biblical text

The paragraphs are numbered in both Arabic numerals and Hebrew characters. While scholars traditionally referred to either of these, today the custom is to cite the book and section number—*Qad.7:2*, for example. The same numbering is thus employed in Schalit, Thackeray, and Brill.

Rather strangely, Schalit does not start a new paragraph on a new line. The notes also appear at the end of the second volume *contra* the footnote system followed by both LCL and Brill. The notes being too sporadic to provide a specific *ad hoc* commentary, the reader must rely on them and the Introduction to reconstruct Josephus' general rewriting principles. Ideally, each book of the *Antiquitates* should be prefaced by an analysis of its structure and general observations regarding characterization, omissions, additions, and modifications, and an excursus.

22 Siegfried, "Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Josephus;" Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. In addition to Feldman, see also Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew*; Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*; et al.

4 The Greek Text

None of the Hebrew translations of Josephus, including Schalit's, print the Greek text, presumably due to technical and practical constraints. The Brill Josephus Project ("Flavius Josephus Online"), which employs the newer translation of Josephus' works, and the PACE website are the only places where this is available.²³

Strangely, Niese, upon whose edition Schalit based his translation, is only cited once in passing in the Introduction—in Hebrew characters and without full bibliographical information.²⁴ The Brill Josephus Project also uses Niese's edition as its basis, supplemented by the Loeb Greek text and the Münster and Étienne Nodet's enterprises.²⁵

5 The Notes

The more than three thousand notes collected at the end of volume 2, which include a collation of the various manuscripts of Josephus' writings, are invaluable. Schalit regularly compares Josephus with the LXX and MT, on occasion explaining his choice of certain words or phrases. He also compares Josephus with rabbinic literature, both halakhic and aggadic. While basing himself upon Rappaport and Ginzberg's monumental work on the *Legends of the Jews*, he adds references to the Aramaic Targumim, Philo, and Hellenistic and Roman authors.²⁶ The notes also take issue with earlier scholars and translators.

Schalit's translation of the *Antiquitates* being published some years before the findings at Qumran, much has changed since then. In the textual fields, some Qumran scrolls support Josephus' readings, others do not. Some scholars thus suggest that Josephus' employed a particular Greek version of the Bible whose *Vorlage* was closely related to 4QSamuel.²⁷

23 <https://brill.com/view/db/fjo>; <http://pace.hypervisions.it/york/york/texts.htm>

24 Niese), *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vols. 1- (=editio maior); Niese Flavii Iosephi opera (= editio minor). See also Naber, *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia*.

25 See Mason's comments in the preface that opens each volume of the Brill Josephus Project.

26 Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese*; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*. See also S. Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaeae Politics*, 47–57; Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*, 3–20. For Josephus and rabbinic literature, see Ilan and Noam, *Josephus and the Rabbis*.

27 See Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*; Ulrich, "Josephus' Biblical Text;" Driesbach, *4QSamuel^a and the Text of Samuel*.

6 The Nature of Schalit's Translation

As is well known, Josephus' Greek syntax and grammar is complex.²⁸ This fact is compounded by the debate over whether a translation should cleave to the source or flow in the target language. In the preface, Schalit observes:

The aim was to give the translation the character of the Hebrew language of the time of Josephus without forfeiting even earlier forms of speech of Hebrew ... Another difficulty ... was the translation from Greek to Hebrew—two languages that are completely different in structure and character. The Hebrew language does not like long chains of clauses while the Greek does. It was necessary to break up and divide the long and complicated sentences of the Greek original without transgressing two important principles to which every translator must adhere: fidelity and accuracy.²⁹

Like Schalit, the Brill Josephus Project follows the same procedure. Two examples will suffice:

Antiquitates Judaicae 1.59

τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίοις ἀλώμενος περιπέσῃ
 δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόλῃται τὸν
 τρόπον, ἐκέλευε μὴδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι
 σκυθρωπὸν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας,
 ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴδὲν αὐτῶ ἐκ θηρίων
 γενέσθαι δεινὸν διὰ πάσης ἀδεῶς χωρεῖν
 γῆς: καὶ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλὼν, ᾧ γνῶριμος
 ἂν εἴη, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

Schalit's translation

וכשפחד הלה, שמא יפגעו בו בנדודיו חיות
 רעות וימיתוהו, אמר לו אלהים, שאין לו
 לחשוש לכל פורענות מסיבה מעין זה,
 אלא יכול הוא להתהלך לבטח בכל הארץ
 וכל חיה רעה לא תפגע בו. ושם לו אות, בו
 יכירוהו, ופקד עליו להסתלק.

This passage has multiple subordinate clauses which Schalit makes more comprehensible by using punctuation and breaking it up into two sentences.³⁰

28 See the preface to the individual volumes in Mason, *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary*. The most comprehensive study of Josephus' syntax is Schmidt, "De Flavii Josephi Elocutione Observationes Criticae." See more recently, Ladouceur, "Studies in the Language and Historiography of Flavius Josephus;" Ladouceur, "The Language of Josephus;" Forte, "Translating Book 1." Mason notes the "problematic language and syntax of [A.J.] books 17–19" (*Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*, 281).

29 Schalit, *Qadmoniyot*, ix (my translation).

30 As Ullman notes in her preface to the *Bellum*, however: "In my translations I have tried to preserve something of the complexity of Josephus' language. I did not find it appropriate to completely eliminate the difficulties of the original, and only occasionally split sentences that were too long" (Ullman, *Yosef Ben Matityahu*, 10–11).

Antiquitates Judaicae 10.93

Schalit's translation

τούτοις καταπραῦναντες τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς
 λόγοις ἐρρύσαντο τῆς κατεψηφισμένης
 αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὃς
 ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς προφητείας
 συγγραψάμενος νηστεύοντος τοῦ
 δήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ
 ἱερῷ μῆνι ἐνάτῳ τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους
 τῆς Ἰωακείμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω
 τὴν βίβλον, ἣν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
 συμβήσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ
 τοῖς ὄχλοις ἦν συντεταχώς. τούτοις
 καταπραῦναντες τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς λόγοις
 ἐρρύσαντο τῆς κατεψηφισμένης αὐτοῦ
 κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὃς ἀπάσας
 αὐτοῦ τὰς προφητείας συγγραψάμενος
 νηστεύοντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ
 ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μῆνι ἐνάτῳ
 τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακείμου
 βασιλείας ἀνέγνω τὴν βίβλον, ἣν
 περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι τῇ
 πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἦν
 συντεταχώς.

בדיבורים אלה הרגיעו את העם והצילו את
 ירמיהו מן העונש שנתחייב. והנביא כתב
 את כל דברי נבואותיו וקרא את הספר,
 שחיבר על מה שעתידי לקרות את העיר
 ואת בית המקדש ואת העם, ביום תענית
 ציבור, בשעת אספה פומבית במקדש,
 בחודש התשיעי בשנה החמישית למלכות
 יהויקים.

The Greek text of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 10.93 comprises one long, complicated sentence, which Schalit again breaks into short sentences.

7 Consistency

One of the criteria for evaluating translations is consistency—“the question when a varied use of words is preferable to a consistent use of words.”³¹ Each volume of the Brill Josephus Project states that the goal was

to render individual Greek words with as much consistency as the context will allow, to preserve the parts of speech, letting adjectives be adjectives and participles be participles, to preserve phrases and clauses intact, and

31 Bittner, *Evaluating the Evaluator*, 117.

replacing the original with one that is partially or completely unrelated to it.³⁴ The Brill Josephus Project adopts the second, transliterating *Habramos* in Latin letters. Schalit prefers cleaving to the MT, and does not make efforts to conform his transliteration to that of Josephus. This is a problematic move: readers not being familiar with Hellenized versions of biblical proper names, they find it difficult compare the translation with the Septuagint. While Schalit undertakes this task in the notes, these are gathered in a separate volume. This method also impinges on the assessment of Josephus' consistency with regard to personal name: he refers to the biblical מִיכָל as Mel-cha, Michalé, and Melchalé, for example.³⁵

10 Adherence to Biblical Hebrew

One of the hallmarks of Schalit's translation is his adherence to Biblical Hebrew.³⁶ This can be illustrated by several examples.

1. The MT explains the name Naphtali: וַתֹּאמֶר רַחֵל נַפְתָּלִי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתַּלְתִּי עִם יְבִלְתִּי וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ נַפְתָּלִי (Gen 30:8). Josephus links the name and its explanation: καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Νεφθάλεις, μηχανητὸς οἶον, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεχνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 1.305). Schalit translates: מפני שנפתלה עם אחותה בגלל פוריותה, ואחריו נפתלי מעין איש הנפתולים "after him Naphtali, a sort of wrestler because he wrestled with his sister over her fertility." He thus fabricates an artificial etymology in imitation of Josephus' Greek craftsmanship. The meaning of the root לפ"ת is abstruse in Hebrew, however, its use thus leaving the modern reader perplexed. The LXX is even less clear—Josephus evidently not following it. If the meaning is "contrived," as Brill suggests, then Josephus should probably be translated תחבולה, as per Schorr.³⁷

2. Schalit also seeks to connect פנואל and פני אל (Gen 32:31) despite Josephus' own avoidance of this move (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 1.334): Φανουῆλος and ὁ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον, "which signifies the face of God."³⁸

34 Vermes, "Proper Names in Translation."

35 See Avioz, "Josephus' Portrait of Michal."

36 Cf. "We have tried to ensure, certainly not with complete success, a language close to the language of biblical historiography (especially of the books of early prophets)" (Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 3). The choice is reasonable in light of the close relationship between Maccabees and the Hebrew Bible: see Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*.

37 Schorr, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 54. For the verse, see Tur-Sinai, *The Language and the Book*, 140–147; Warmuth, "Pātal."

38 Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, 121n944.

3. In Josephus' rewriting of Num 16 (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 4.15) Schalit leaves the biblical term עדה untranslated.³⁹ The Greek is τὸ πλῆθος, which Feldman translate "multitude." This being debated among commentators, its non-translation does not help the reader understand Josephus' exegesis. One would expect something like המון.

4. Schalit translates Josephus' Ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα⁴⁰ in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 6.52, for מַתְּחֵל הַשָּׁחַר as הַבּוֹקֵר אֹר, "At morning light" (cf. Gen 44:3). Not only do translators customarily endeavor not to replace one biblical phrase with another but here the reader is left wondering whether the morning was light or it had dawned; was this the first light of the morning? Is it a verb or a noun? A simpler translation is that offered by Begg: יום חדש עליה, "and it was day."

5. According to 2 Sam 13:22, Tamar remained שוממה. The NRSV translates: desolate woman, the NJPS: forlorn. Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 7.172) explains the noun as ἀγαμέμνη "unmarried" (literally: with no husband). This conclusion is remarkable in light of the fact that the other incidences of the root ש"מ in this meaning occur in Isa 54:1 and Lam 1:6; 3:1—neither of which are heavily represented in the *Antiquitates*. Irrespective of this issue, Schalit's decision to leave the original does not help the Hebrew reader, who only discovers that Josephus explains it as "unmarried" by returning to the Greek translation.

Schalit may have wished to point out the similarities between the MT and Josephus. This is unlikely, however, as in the Introduction he cites cases where Josephus differs from the MT. A more probable explanation is that his desire to imitate the biblical style dictated leaving it verbatim, modern Hebrew only allowing him an alternative such as אינה נשואה. This is the price he pays for making Josephus' Hebrew translation biblical.

6. In *Antiquitates Judaicae* 7.130, Josephus describes Bathsheba as "bathing in cool water in her own house ... of beautiful appearance and superior to all others." Schalit translates מים חיים "living water." ψυχρὸν means "cool," however. Here, Schalit appears to have been influenced by Lev 14:20, misleading the reader into thinking that Josephus is claiming that bathing after menstruation must take place in a mikveh-like body of water.

7. Schalit translates the *hapax legomenon* ילקוט in MT 1 Sam 17:40 as ילקוט. Here again, the reader is left not knowing precisely how Josephus understands ילקוט as πῆρα "pouch." A more intelligible rendering would have been חגור. Brill here correctly translates: "shepherd's bag."

39 HALOT explains it as "national, legal and cultic communities." Cf. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology."

40 This appears in several Greek sources, differing from LXX.

8. Rewriting the laws of Sukkot (Lev 23:33–44) in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.244–247, he renders פרי עץ הדר (later known as אתרוג): τοῦ μήλου τοῦ τῆς περσεάς (*tou melon tou tes perseas*). Thackeray translates: “the fruit of the Persea,” Schalit elaborating this as “the fruit of the peach.” Josephus refers to the citron, however. Schalit’s translation is thus erroneous, the Greek for peach being *melon tou tes persikon*.⁴¹ While *persea* may refer to the Persea-tree, here it derives from Perses (acc.: Persen or Persea) “Persian.” It should thus be translated: “The Persian apple/fruit.”

9. In *Antiquitates Judaicae* 10.75, Schalit renders כרוז as ἀγγεῖον. Brill has “herald,” which is simpler. While כרוז occurs in Dan 3:4 and over a hundred times in rabbinic literature, the modern reader would expect a more familiar word, such as מבשר.⁴² Schalit may have espoused the view that כרוז and ἀγγεῖον are linked.⁴³ He also employs כרוז for πρέσβεσιον in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.365 (Brill: “herald”) and 8.416 (Greek: στρατοαγγεῖον; Brill: “herald”). In *Antiquitates Judaicae* 10.236, he uses כרוז while Brill translates ἀγγεῖον “announcement.”

10. Another case of Schalit’s “biblicising” of Josephus is his translation of *Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.325: “And from that time to the present we observe this festival, which we call the festival of Lights.”⁴⁴ Schalit translates φῶτα as חג האורים, probably echoing Isa 24:15: חג האורות.⁴⁵ חג האורות is more appropriate in this context, however.

11. According to Gen 21:2, “Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age, at the time of which God had spoken to him.” Josephus rewrites this verse in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 1.214 as: τίταται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῷ ὑστάτῳ ἔτει. In the Brill edition, Feldman translates: “The child was born in the latest year for both.” Schalit translates: בצאת השנה. This expression appears in Exod 23:16 in relation to the Festival of Tabernacles. Schalit’s adherence to the biblical style thus obfuscates the meaning. The expression בצאת השנה appears in Exod 23:16, commentators discussing whether it signifies the beginning or end of the year. The Hebrew reader is therefore misled into thinking that Josephus forms part of this debate—which he is certainly not.⁴⁶ Josephus merely wishes

41 *Melon tou tes persikos* (or: medikos) was the original Greek term for the citron: see Rubenstein, *A History of Sukkot*, 75n13.

42 <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>.

43 Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 2511. HALOT attributes it to Persian, however; see also Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 157.

44 Marcus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books XII–XIV.

45 Cf. also Rabinowitz: ובן מתתיהו העיד שנקרא חג האורים (*Ha-mahanaim*, 312). Was Schalit inspired by Rabinowitz? Bar-Kochva (“The Festival of Purim,” 49) renders *fota* as חג האורות. See also Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 78; Schwartz, *The Second Book of Maccabees*, 83.

46 Stendebach, “שנה.”

to say that the child was born after a year—in line with the biblical phrase כֶּעֶת חַיָּה (Gen 18:10).

11 Conclusion

Schalit's translation remains the most authoritative Hebrew translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates*, also contributing greatly to the newly-emerging positive evaluation of Josephus.⁴⁷ Even students untrained in modern Hebrew can benefit from his notes—although scholars around the world perhaps cite him less frequently than might be expected. Almost seventy years after its first publication, however, it is time for a new translation into modern Hebrew. This should:

1. Insert the Greek source alongside the Hebrew translation, either in print or digitally;
2. Abjure adherence to Biblical Hebrew in order to be comprehensible to modern Hebrew readers;
3. Employ footnotes rather than endnotes. The size of the printed volume could be the same as that of the Brill Josephus Project;
4. Write new introductions taking the many studies written, Qumran material discovered, and all other relevant material now available into consideration;
5. Add a glossary, indices, maps, and color photos.

Old Testament commentaries such as the Anchor Bible might serve as a good model, each biblical book including a translation with translational and text-critical notes, outline of major themes and topics, verse-by-verse commentary, historical background, and photographs, illustrations, and maps of artifacts and places associated with biblical figures and sites. Although this makes for lengthy tomes, in a day when books are distributed electronically, size becomes immaterial. Analyzing the unit as a whole, “grammatical and syntactical help, literary appreciation, and historical criticism” can then be ensured.⁴⁸ Rather than working alone, the new Hebrew translation of the *Antiquitates* should be the work of a team of translators and scholars.

47 See Schwartz, “From Masada to Jotapata;” Goodman, *Josephus's The Jewish War*, 106–107.

48 Language borrowed from Harrison, “Review of Flower and Marincola,” 98.

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Zena Ayhud (The History of the Jews): The Text and Context of the Ethiopic Version of Sefer Yosippon

Yonatan Binyam

This chapter presents an introduction to the reception of *Sefer Yosippon* among Coptic and Ethiopian Christians in the medieval period. Early versions of the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon* were translated into Arabic sometime in the eleventh or early twelfth century, appearing in both Judeo-Arabic and Arabic scripts. The translation into Arabic script was later expanded through Christianized interpolations before an Ethiopic translation of this Copto-Arabic text was produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Although it is sometimes referred to in the manuscript traditions as *Maṣāḥafa Yōsēf Wāldä Kōryōn* (or “The Book of Yosef ben Gorion”), this Ethiopic translation is more commonly known today as *Zena Ayhud* (or *The History of the Jews*). Medieval Coptic and Ethiopian scribes believed the author of *Sefer Yosippon* to be a certain Yosef ben Gorion, to whom they also ascribe the authorship of the books of Maccabees. The Greek books of Maccabees are largely absent from the Arabic and Ethiopic manuscript traditions of the medieval period. As a result, *Sefer Yossipon* fills a crucial literary gap in these northeast-African ecclesiastical history traditions. Beyond its utility as a historiographical source, moreover, the text serves as a source for rhetorical attacks against heretics and Jews in medieval Ethiopia. While the Ethiopic *Zena Ayhud* is a quite literal translation of its Arabic *Vorlage*, it would have been read in a very different socio-cultural context than its predecessor. This paper thus outlines the relevant social, historical, and cultural factors in medieval Ethiopia that shed light on how the *Zena Ayhud* would have been received by medieval Ethiopian readers given the distinct history of Jews and Judaism in the Ethiopian highlands.

1 Introduction

Like any Greek historian of skill, Josephus is adept at flourishing his histories with rhetorically ornamented speeches. He sets out in the *Bellum Judaicum* to persuade the reader that the war fought by the Jews against the Romans was

“not only the greatest war of our time but could well be one of the greatest collisions between states or nations” (*BJ* 1.1).¹ He proceeds to buttress this argument by inserting into the mouths of several of his *dramatis personae* gut wrenching speeches about the depth of the suffering and the scope of the destruction caused by the Judean revolt of 66 CE. Perhaps no other speech is more shocking to the senses than the short monologue that Maria—the infanticidal and cannibalistic mother—gives right before the destruction of the Temple, the tragic denouement of the siege of Jerusalem.

In the few short sentences that constitute this speech, Josephus weaves motifs from Greek tragedy and the Hebrew Bible to create a uniquely affective episode.² Prior to killing and consuming her infant son, Maria demands of him the following: “Come, become food for me, for the rebels an avenging spirit, and for the world a story (ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφή καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος)” (*BJ* 6.207).

I bring up this passage to pose the following question: what nations would Josephus have had in mind when he mentions “the world?” His *Antiquitates Judaicae* makes it clear that he is aware of the ancient Ethiopian (read: Nubian) kingdom with its capital at Meroe (*AJ* 2.238–253). And no doubt his picture of the inhabited world, the oikumene, would have included the nebulously defined territories of *Aethiopia*, which approximated the territories in what is modern day Sudan, not Eritrea or Ethiopia.³

Despite all of this, there is no evidence that Josephus was aware of Aksum, or the Gəʿəz language utilized there. The Aksumite kingdom, with its influential port city of Adulis on the coast of the Red Sea, was reaching its apex

1 Unless indicated otherwise, all translations of Josephus’ *BJ* follow the translation in Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. Martin Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). In some instances, translations from Book 6 follow a literal translation supplied to the author by David B. Levenson and Thomas R. Martin. All translations from Arabic, Gəʿəz, and Amharic sources are my own.

2 Several works have analyzed the rhetorical strategies and the narrative function of this story in the *War*. For a discussion of motifs from Greek tragedy that Josephus employs in portraying Maria and her gruesome deed, see Chapman, “Josephus and the Cannibalism of Mary (*BJ* 6.199–219),” 397–403. For a detailed comparative analysis of the Maria Story within Latin and Hebrew receptions of Josephus, see Bay, “The ‘Maria Story’ in Greek, Latin, & Hebrew,” 1–105.

3 See David Goldenberg’s discuss of ancient uses of the terms *Ethiopia* and *Kush* in Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, 17–25. Generally speaking, Aethiopia/Kush encompassed the territories south of the southern border of Egypt, usually marked by the first cataract of the Nile. The Egyptians, and later the Greeks and Romans, employed these terms specifically in reference to the Nubian kingdoms and city states that populated the Nile Valley. But they also more broadly employed the term to describe all lands south of Egypt and the Sahara inhabited by black people. Furthermore, the term was often interchangeable with India.

as Josephus was putting ink to parchment on the *Bellum Judaicum*.⁴ His ignorance of the region and language notwithstanding, however, Josephus' histories eventually do make their way into the Ethiopic literary tradition, although not until more than a millennium after his death, and not before undergoing several cycles of aggressive rebranding.

I will here focus on the Copto-Arabic adaptation of *Yosippon* and its subsequent Ethiopic translation, commonly known as the *Zena Ayhud*, or "the History of the Jews." I begin by providing an overview of the manuscript evidence for the Copto-Arabic text and a short outline of its contents.

After reviewing the Copto-Arabic text, I highlight the manuscript evidence and printed editions of the Gə'əz (or Ethiopic) *Zena Ayhud*. Sometimes referred to as the *Maṣəhafa Yōsēf Wāldä Kōryōn* (or "The Book of Yosef ben Gorion") in the manuscript traditions, the text fills the vacuum left by the absence of the Greek Maccabees in the Ethiopic biblical canon. I discuss the unique Maccabean tradition in the Ethiopic canon, known as the *Mäqabeyan*, which is central to understanding the reception of Josephus in the Ethiopian context. Finally, I conclude by sketching an outline of the ways in which the *Zena Ayhud* would have been read in medieval Ethiopia in light of the socio-political contexts of the period and the distinct treatment of Jews and Judaism in medieval Ethiopic literature.

2 The Arabic Versions of *Sefer Yosippon*

To begin, the popularity of *Yosippon* across communities of different languages and religions is demonstrated by the evidence we have of very early Arabic translations of the text that are made both in Judeo-Arabic and Arabic script and were in use among Jews, Christians, and Muslims.⁵ Although scholars ignored these Judeo-Arabic and Arabic translations through most of the twentieth century, recent scholarship has begun a renewed analysis of them and their relationship to the Hebrew versions of *Yosippon*. The renewed interest in these important works was in part spurred by their discovery among the Cairo Genizah fragments. While a comprehensive analysis of all the known manuscripts and fragments of the Arabic versions of *Yosippon* remains a desideratum, several textual witnesses have been identified and collated by Shulamit

4 For a description of the early Aksumite kingdom, particularly the material evidence, see Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 69–90.

5 For a brief but helpful review of the receptions of *Yosippon* in Arabic literature see Vollandt, "Ancient Jewish Historiography in Arabic Garb," 70–80.

Sela in her posthumously published (in Hebrew) two-volume work, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion* (2011).

Sela provides critical editions of both the Judeo-Arabic and Copto-Arabic (or Christian-Arabic) texts, as well as a translation and introduction in Modern Hebrew.⁶ The manuscripts she consults for her critical edition of the Copto-Arabic text are provided here:⁷

1. MS London Or. 1326
2. MS London Or. 1336
3. MS Oxford Hunt. 238
4. MS Paris BN Sup. Ar. 2067
5. MS Paris BN 1906
6. MS Paris BN Ar. 5255
7. MS Vatican Ar. 693
8. MS London Or. 2598
9. Beirut Printing 1872

While the exact date when *Yosippon* is translated into Arabic cannot be established, the evidence indicates that these translations were made at the earliest stages of development in the Hebrew *Yosippon* traditions. The Judeo-Arabic and Copto-Arabic texts as they appear today lack the interpolations that characterize the later recensions of the Hebrew *Yosippon* traditions.⁸ Out of the two Arabic versions, moreover, the Judeo-Arabic text remains a witness to the earliest layer of the Arabic adaptation of *Yosippon* to have survived, given that it does not contain the Christian interpolations present in the Copto-Arabic text.⁹

6 While there are no complete textual witnesses of the Judeo-Arabic version of *Yosippon*, Sela has edited and compiled approximately two-thirds of the sixty or so known manuscripts of the text (Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.543–544). However, according to Dönitz, there are still other fragments that have not been catalogued and are still in the identification stage (Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 104).

7 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.361.

8 Sela suggests that the two Arabic versions of *SY* represent an earlier stage of the Hebrew *SY* tradition than all of the extant Hebrew textual witnesses. She writes, החקירה המשווה מגלה, כי שני נוסחים ערביים קדומים תורגמו מנוסח עברי קצר וטהור יותר מכל הכתבים העבריים שלפנינו ("The comparative analysis reveals that two earlier Arabic versions were translated from a shorter and purer Hebrew version than all the Hebrew texts before us") (Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 1.4). The oldest complete manuscript of the Arabic version is MS Paris 1906, which is dated to 1342.

9 In her analysis of this issue, Dönitz writes, "Ein genauer Textvergleich der judaeo-arabischen Übersetzung mit dem hebräischen Text an dieser Stelle ergab, dass die Lücke zwischen Kapitel 3 und Kapitel 7 in der judaeo-arabische Übersetzung dieselbe ist wie in den hebräischen Textzeugen der Kairoer Geniza und MS Vatikan Urb. 52. Daraus folgt, dass die judaeo-arabische Übersetzung des *SY* in einem frühen Stadium der Überlieferung des *SY* erstellt wurde, vermutlich von der Fassung, die in den hebräischen Geniza-Fragmenten des

Although this Judeo-Arabic text is quite important to the study of the transmission history of *Yosippon*, here I focus on the Copto-Arabic adaptation, which is sometimes referred to in the manuscript tradition as the *Kitāb akhbār al-yahūd*.¹⁰ Generally speaking, this text maintains the broad outlines of the earliest and shorter version of the Hebrew *Yosippon* in terms of narrative order.¹¹ That said, the Copto-Arabic text does noticeably truncate certain sections of the Hebrew narrative, completely omits others, and at times rearranges the narrative order of some stories.

Within certain manuscripts in the textual tradition, as well as in Sela's critical edition, the text is divided into eight parts. Part One contains five major subsections: (1) The *Diaperismos*, or the division of the earth between Noah's sons;¹² (2) legends of the founding and early history of Rome;¹³ (3) histories of the Persian kings, including the story of Esther and Mordecai;¹⁴ (4) the account of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his subsequent journeys;¹⁵ (5) the reign of Ptolemy in Egypt and the translation of the Septuagint.¹⁶

Part Two opens with the reign of Antiochus IV and the accounts of the martyrs who die under his rule.¹⁷ The story of the Maccabean Revolt¹⁸ and the histories of the Hasmoneans¹⁹ are also covered in Part Two, with Part Three beginning in the middle of the accounts of the Hasmoneans. Part Three also relates stories that take place during the Roman conquest of Judea by Pompey, before covering the assassination of Caesar in Rome.²⁰ Part Four is dedicated to the acts of Herod the Great during his reign over Judea and surrounding

SY erhalten ist" ("A detailed text-comparison of the Judeo-Arabic translation with the Hebrew text at this point shows that the gap between Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 in the Judeo-Arabic translation is the same as in the Hebrew textual witnesses of the Cairo Genizah and MS Vatican Urb. 52. It follows that the Judeo-Arabic translation of the *Yosippon* was created in the early stages of the tradition of the *Yosippon*, probably from the version which is preserved in the Hebrew Genizah-fragments of *Yosippon*") (Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 104).

10 Vollandt, "Ancient Jewish Historiography in Arabic Garb," 73.

11 For a synoptic list of chapter headings, which allows for a comparison of the narrative order in the Hebrew, Copto-Arabic, and Ethiopic versions of *Yosippon*, see Appendix E in Binyam, "Studies in *Sefer Yosippon*," 303–314.

12 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.367–371.

13 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.372–374.

14 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.375–382.

15 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.383–389.

16 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.390–393.

17 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.394–400.

18 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.401–407.

19 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.408–434.

20 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.435–448.

territories.²¹ Part Five is a single chapter without a heading that narrates more stories about Herod the Great.²²

Part Six begins by describing the reigns of the heirs of Herod the Great, from Archelaus to Agrippa II.²³ The rest of Part Six and the beginning of Part Seven relate the beginning of the First Jewish Revolt, focusing primarily on the three leaders of the rebellion—Eleazar son of Ananias, Yohanan the Galilean, and Simon.²⁴ Part Seven also recounts the coming of Titus to Jerusalem and the Roman siege of the city,²⁵ including stories about the great famine that takes place in Jerusalem, such as the account of the unnamed woman who kills and eats her infant son.²⁶

Part Eight covers the end of the war in Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple.²⁷ The text concludes with the death of Eleazar son of Ananias the rebel. Notably, it does not include the Masada episode that is present in the Hebrew *Yosippon*.²⁸ The Ethiopic translation of the Copto-Arabic text follows the order of its *Vorlage* quite closely; thus it features a nearly identical breakdown of sections and chapters, with only a few minor variants.

3 *Zena Ayhud: The Ethiopic Version of Sefer Yosippon*

Although some manuscripts refer to the Ethiopic translation of the Copto-Arabic *Yosippon* as the *Maṣāḥafa Yōsēf Wāldä Kōryōn* (or “The Book of Yosef ben Gorion”), it is more commonly known today as *Zena Ayhud* (or “The History of the Jews”). Mural Kamil collated a critical edition of the text in 1937, relying on the following twelve manuscripts:²⁹

21 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.449–471.

22 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.472–477.

23 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.478–483.

24 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.484–501. Immediately following the chapter on the return of Agrippa II to Rome and the beginning of the rebellion led by Eleazar son of Ananias, the heading of the following chapter reads, “These are the histories of Yosef ben Gorion, the author of the book (هذه اخبار يوسف ابن كرون صاحب الكتاب) (490).

25 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.502–515.

26 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.516–519. The unnamed mother is identified as Maria in *BJ* 6.201 and *DEH* 5.40.1, and as Miryam in *SY* 86.

27 Sela, *The Arabic Book of Yosef Ben Gorion*, 2.520–535.

28 See Steve Bowman’s discussion of the popularity among medieval Jewish societies of the Hebrew *Yosippon*’s account of the Masada episode, which details how the Masada episode in *Yosippon* differs from Josephus’ account of the event: Bowman, “‘Yosippon’ and Jewish Nationalism,” 4.

29 Kamil, *Zena Ayhud*, xii–xiv. The letters in parentheses in front of each manuscript refer to Kamil’s sigla.

1. (A): MS Paris BN Abb. 38 (16th cent.)
2. (P): MS Paris BN Abb. 77 (16th cent.)
3. (R): MS Paris BN Abb. 124 (16th/17th cent.)
4. (D): MS London Or. 822 (17th cent.)
5. (N): MS London Or. 823 (18th cent.)
6. (E): MS London Or. 824 (18th cent.)
7. (O): MS London Or. 825 (18th cent.)
8. (M): MS London Add. 24, 989 (1861)
9. (L): MS Berlin 6 fol. 397 (17th cent.)
10. (B): MS Berlin 62 Peterm., II Nachtr. 57 (17th cent.)
11. (F): MS Frankfurt Ruppellschen No. 2 (18th cent.)
12. (S): MS Strasburg No. 4366 Ethiop. 5 (1841)

More manuscripts of the text have been identified since Kamil's edition, including several that are currently in the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library in Collegetown, MN.³⁰ A comprehensive list of all the manuscripts of the ZA does not yet exist, and the present list is a step in that direction. A copy of Kamil's critical edition, together with an Amharic translation of the Gə'əz text, was published in 2006 by the Mahibere Kidusan Press in Addis Ababa, under the direction of the editorial board of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church.³¹

The introduction to the Amharic translation mentions Josephus, but also misidentifies him (along with most of the broader medieval tradition) as Yosef ben Gorion and the author of *Yosippon*:

የሴፍ ወልደ ኮርዮን /Flavius Josephus/... የነበረ የፖለቲካ፣ የታሪክ ሰው የነበረ ካህን እና በውትድርና ሙያ የተሰማራ ነበር። ተወልዶ ያደገውም በኢየሩሳሌም ሲሆን በዚያ ወቅት አይሁድ ክሮማውያን አገዛዝ ነጻ ለመውጣት ትግል ውስጥ የነበሩበት ዘመን ነበረ። የሴፍም የጦርነቱ ተሳታፊ ነበረ። በትግሉም ውስጥ የነበረው ሚና ምን እንደሚመስል በዚህ መጽሐፍ ተብራርቷል።

Yosef ben Gorion /Flavius Josephus/... was a priest, politician, and historian who was also trained in warfare. He was born and grew up in Jerusalem during the period when the Jews were engaged in a struggle to gain freedom from Roman oppression. And Yosef was also a participant in the war. He has explained in this book how the events of the war unfolded.³²

30 There are at least eight manuscripts of the *Zena Ayhud* in the HMML that I have been able to identify: MS EMLL 21, MS EMLL 258, MS EMLL 4773, MS EMLL 6240, MS EMLL 7404, MS EMLL 7961, MS EMLL 8140, and MS EMLL 8155.

31 Tsehayə, trans., *Zena Ayhud*.

32 Tsehayə, *Zena Ayhud*, 5. The page numbers for the introduction are given according to the order of the first letter of the Amharic syllabary read vertically. For the reader not familiar with the script, I have here rendered ሠ as 5.

While this description gets the broad outline of the life and career of Josephus correct, it follows the confusion found in both the Hebrew and Arabic *Yosippon* traditions and asserts that Josephus wrote the medieval work.³³ The introduction further cites two sources, a certain Abuna (or Patriarch) Gorgios as well as the *Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, as authorities that ascribe authorship of the text to Yosef ben Gorion.³⁴ This author, “the master of the book” (በዐለ ሙጽሐፍ) as he is often called at the opening of passages in the *Zena Ayhud*, effectively becomes a biblical author in the Ethiopic tradition.

The translation of the *Zena Ayhud* can be dated generally to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a period during which a large number of texts are translated from Arabic into Ethiopic.³⁵ This may be framed within the Ethiopic literary tradition as it is conventionally divided into two categories: (1) early translations from Greek, Syriac, and Coptic that take place during the Aksumite period (*ca.* between the fourth and seventh centuries CE); (2) translations from Arabic and the production of indigenous texts that appear in the medieval period (*ca.* between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries). The first stage is characterized by translations of biblical texts, apocryphal texts, patristic writings, homilies, and hagiographies.³⁶

The latter stage is dominated by translations from Arabic sources, but also features the composition of indigenous texts. The Arabic works themselves stem from different provenances, having been translated from Greek, Syriac, or (like in the case of *Yosippon*) Hebrew sources. Works from several genres are translated during this time, including more translations of biblical texts, hagiographies, and several historiographical works, one of which is the *Zena Ayhud*.³⁷

This literary renaissance, influenced so heavily by translations from Arabic, was spurred by political developments taking place both within and outside

33 This confusion stems from SY's reading of *DEH* 3.5.2.

34 Tsehayə, *Zena Ayhud*, 5. I was not able to find a reference to Yosef ben Gorion in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, which does, by contrast, mention the anonymous author of the Hebrew SY (See Myers, “Historiography,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, 351).

35 As early as 1907, Enno Littmann makes the case that the *Zena Ayhud* is translated from the Arabic version of *Yosippon* “in der Periode der Übersetzungsliteratur aus dem Arabischen (1270–ca. 1430)” (Littmann, *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen*, 207).

36 Examples include the Book of Enoch, Jubilees, Baruch, Fourth Ezra, Qērellos (Cyril of Alexandria), Qalmēntos (Clement of Rome). For a more detailed discussion, see Bausi, “Ethiopic Literary Production,” 503–532.

37 For a list of medieval Copto-Arabic historiographical works and their corresponding Ethiopic translations, see my unpublished dissertation: Binyam, “Studies in *Sefer Yosippon*,” 66.

medieval Ethiopia. It follows the revival of close relations between Ethiopian and Coptic monastic and ecclesiastical institutions, which itself was a product of the rise of the so-called Solomonic Dynasty.³⁸ This line of Christian rulers actively propagates Christianity as the religion of the land. They legitimize their sovereignty in part by commissioning the translation and production of religious and historiographical works aimed at contextualizing and glorifying the place of Ethiopia in wider cultural (and even biblical) narratives.

Two rulers in particular have been suggested as the potential patrons of the translation of the *Zena Ayhud*. First, Kamil has suggested that the Ethiopic translation was most likely produced as part of the ecclesiastical reforms that take place during the reign of Yekūnō Amlāk (r. 1270–1285), who commissioned the translation of several works into Gə'əz.³⁹ In 1270, Yekūnō Amlāk put an end to the non-Christian Zagwē kingdom and ushered in the Solomonic Dynasty.⁴⁰ In order to consolidate his newly-gained power, Yekūnō Amlāk allied himself with the Amhara and the Christian communities of the Shāwa region, extending the Christian territories farther south.

Secondly, Manfred Kropp has put forward the reign of Amdā Sīyōn, who took the throne in 1314, as one potential period in which to place the translation of the ZA.⁴¹ Amdā Sīyōn succeeds in conquering the most important Muslim strongholds in Ethiopia, including Īfat, which was considered the center of Muslim political power.⁴² He thus succeeds in not only consolidating the victories of Yekūnō Amlāk, but also in further extending the Christian territories beyond Shāwa and Amhara.⁴³ Kropp suggests that the scribal cultures that flourished during the reign of Amdā Sīyōn (1314–1344) could have served as the starting-point of the *Zena Ayhud*.⁴⁴

38 Bausi, "Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene," 217–224.

39 Kamil, "Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature," 61–63. Witold Witakowski similarly places the translation at around the same time, namely around 1300 CE (Witakowski, "Ethiopic Universal Chronography," 287). For more, see also Ayenachew, "Territorial Expansion and Administrative Evolution under the 'Solomonic' Dynasty," 57–85.

40 According to Tadassee Tamrat, "the origins and early life of Yekūnō Amlāk still remain very obscure. On his father's side tradition makes him a descendant of Dilna'od, who is said to have been the last Aksumite king deposed by the Zagwē. His mother is nevertheless said to have been 'one of the slaves' of a rich Amhara chief in Sägärat ... On the eve of the downfall of the Zagwē dynasty, Yekūnō Amlāk had apparently established a virtually independent kingdom of his own" (Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, 66).

41 Kropp, "Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik," 314–346.

42 Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, 134.

43 See the helpful map of the conquests of Amdā Sīyōn in Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, 133.

44 Kropp, "Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik," 315–316.

Neither Kamil nor Kropp, however, mention a colophon that is present in several manuscripts, which I suggest could be quite relevant to dating the translation of the *Zena Ayhud*. The colophon is a benediction praising God and noting that the text was written by Yosef ben Gorion. In a majority of the manuscripts utilized by Kamil, the colophon concludes as follows: **ወምሕረቱ፡ ይኩኑ፡ ላዕለ፡ ገብሩ፡ ንዋየ፡ ማርያም፡ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን** (“and may his [God’s] mercy be on his servant, Nəwāyā Māryām, forever and ever, amen”).⁴⁵ The reference here is to an Ethiopian ruler who reigned from 1371 to 1380 and adopted the imperial name Nəwāyā Māryām (or “the Vessel of Mary”) upon his succession.⁴⁶ If this benediction is part of the original translation, rather than having been added during a later copying, it would be reasonable to conclude that the *Zena Ayhud* must have been translated either during or shortly after the reign of Nəwāyā Māryām, which would give us a *terminus ante quem* of around 1380 CE for the text’s translation into Ethiopic.

4 Provenance of the *Zena Ayhud*

Identifying the precise location of the translation of the *Zena Ayhud*, moreover, continues to be a difficult task. Part of the reason is that medieval Ethiopian scribal cultures existed in many different parts of the Christian *oikumene*. Ethiopian monks traveled widely during this time and often took their manuscripts with them. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is evidence of both short- and long-term Ethiopian presence in places like Upper and Lower Egypt, the Levant, Cyprus, and Rome.⁴⁷ Both textual and archeological evidence demonstrate the presence of Ethiopian monastics in Coptic monasteries in Egypt as early as the ninth century. The political revolutions of the thirteenth century in Ethiopia, moreover, led to a resurgence of Ethiopian travelers abroad and resulted in the first settled Ethiopian communities around the Mediterranean.⁴⁸

The four main centers of Ethiopian diasporas were located in Jerusalem, Qusqam, Cairo, and the Wadi-al-Natrun.⁴⁹ These largely monastic com-

45 Kamil, *Des Josef Ben Gorion (Josippon) Geschichte Der Juden: Zēnā Aihūd*, 1. Kamil’s earliest manuscript, and the one most important to his critical edition (i.e. MS Paris BN Abb. 38), does not have the reference to Newaya Maryam.

46 Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, 149.

47 Kelly, “Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas,” 426–427.

48 Kelly, “Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas,” 428.

49 Kelly, “Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas,” 428. Additionally, Anthony O’Mahony has highlighted several pieces of documentary evidence of the sustained presence of Ethiopian

munities were oriented around an Ethiopian monastery overseen by a prior and often patronized by Christian rulers from the homeland, as well as local benefactors. There appears to have been frequent contact between the various communities, with some priors even at times overseeing the affairs of a monastery in a different location.⁵⁰ Ethiopian scribes translated many works into Gə'əz in these different linguistic and cultural settings. However, because the monks traveled with relative frequency (after all, Gə'əz is derived from a term meaning “free, wanderer”) and because they took their manuscripts with them, it is difficult to identify surviving manuscripts with their place of origin.⁵¹

In addition, given the large growth of monastic houses in Ethiopia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the possibility of the ZA's translation taking place in Ethiopia is relatively high and so cannot be ruled out. As part of their program to extend territories into non-Christian regions, Christian rulers employ the influence of the royal court on the Ethiopian churches to evangelize non-Christians.⁵² In this effort, the royal patronage of monastic houses becomes an important tool of evangelization and Christian education.

Monasteries such as Dabra Hayq, Dabra Libānōs, and Debre Dāmō become institutions for the production and dissemination of not just monastic rules, but political, social, and ecclesiastical norms as well.⁵³ Their literary outputs are characterized by a concern for three objectives: (1) to legitimize the rule of Christian kings in Ethiopia by inscribing their histories within broader biblical and historical narratives; (2) to inscribe the boundaries of orthodoxy over against heresies within Christianity; (3) to levy invectives against non-Christian religions practiced in the Ethiopian highlands and neighboring regions.

The *Kəbrä nägäšt* is easily the best example of the first objective.⁵⁴ Although indigenously produced in Ethiopia, the work draws from numerous Jewish, Christian, and Islamic sources circulating in Syria, Palestine, the Arabian Peninsula, and Egypt over the course of the late antique and early medieval

in Jerusalem and their contacts with both Coptic and Syriac Christians. The main center of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem was the monastery at the Grotto of David on Mount Zion, which remained under Ethiopian control until 1559 (O'Mahony, “Between Islam and Christendom,” 148–153).

50 Kelly, “Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas,” 433.

51 For the various usages and derivatives of the root **ገዕዝ** (*gə'za*), see Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 172–173.

52 O'Mahony, “Between Islam and Christendom,” 156–157.

53 For brief introductions to Ethiopian monastic life and literature, see Alessandro Bausi, “Monastic Literature,” 993–998, as well as Kaplan, “Monasteries,” 987–993. See also Kaplan, “Monasticism,” 443–447.

54 For an introduction of the text and some relevant secondary sources, see Uhlig, “*Kəbrä Nägäšt*,” 364–368.

periods. It narrates the arrival of Judaism in Ethiopia at the time of King Solomon. In particular, the core of the text outlines the legend of the Queen of Sheba and her son Menelik I, whom she conceives after her union with King Solomon. Menelik’s followers steal the Ark of the Covenant from Israel and bring it with them to Ethiopia. Menelik returns to his motherland as a conquering hero aided by the power of the Ark, becoming the first divinely authorized ruler of Ethiopia. This legend was widely circulated to legitimize the claim that the Christian rulers who followed Yekünō Amlāk all descended from the Solomonic dynasty. The *Kəbrä nāgästä* also highlights Ethiopia’s displacement of Israel as the true nation of God, which occurs on account of the sins and rebellious nature of the *Ayhud* (or “the Jews”).

The Ethiopic Books of the Maccabees, known as the Maqabeyan, are further examples of important works indigenously produced in medieval Ethiopia. There are no modern, critical editions of the Mäqabəyan, but they are extant in more than forty known manuscripts.⁵⁵ The texts are commonly grouped into three books in the manuscript tradition as ፩ መቃብያን (1 Mäqabəyan), ፪ መቃብያን (2 Mäqabəyan), and ፫ መቃብያን (3 Mäqabəyan), although at times 2 Maqabeyan and 3 Maqabeyan are conflated into one book. Despite the absence of a literary dependence on the Greek books of Maccabees, the Mäqabəyan display several interesting parallels with the Greek Maccabean tradition. The three texts heavily emphasize the themes of idolatry and martyrdom for one’s faith in the face of persecutions. They reflect a deep cultural aversion to the magic and “pagan” rituals of indigenous religions in Ethiopia, and the real or imagined threat they presented to the preservation of Christian orthodoxy.

An analysis of how *Yosippon* would have been read in medieval Ethiopia must necessarily take into account the fact that the *Zena Ayhud* is read as a biblical text and as one of the books of Mäqabəyan. This understanding of the place of the *Zena Ayhud* within Ethiopic literature is succinctly summed up in the introduction to the Amharic translation of the Gə’əz text, wherein it is described as follows:

፵፯ቱ የብሉይ ኪዳን መጻሕፍት የሕግ፣ የታሪክ፣ የጥበብና የመዝሙር እንዲሁም የትንቢት መጻሕፍት የሚባሉት ከመጽሐፈ ኢያሱ ወልደ ነዌ እስከመጽሐፈ ሄኖክ ያሉት ፳፪ መጻሕፍት ናቸው። ከእነዚህ የታሪክ መጻሕፍት ውስጥ ከሦስቱ የመቃብያን መጻሕፍት አራተኛ ሆኖ የሚቆጠረው የዮሴፍ ወልደ ኮርዮን ዜና አይሁድ መጽሐፍ ነው።

55 See the list of the earliest known manuscripts in Binyam, “Ethiopic Books of Maccabees (Mäqabəyan).”

The 46 books of the Old Testament are divided into four parts called the Books of the Law, the Books of History, The Books of Wisdom and Psalms, and the Books of Prophecy. There are twenty-two books between the Book of Joshua son of Nun to the Book of Enoch. Within these Books of History, the *Zena Ayhud* of Yosef ben Gorion is counted as the fourth of the three books of Maccabees.⁵⁶

An analysis of the audience reception of the text, furthermore, must also consider several aspects of the distinct history of Jews and Judaism in Ethiopia that would have influenced the reading of the text. First, it is important to note the semantic range of the term *ayhud* (or “Jew”), which in medieval Ethiopic literature carried with it the negative connotations associated with words like *heretic*, *sorcerer*, or *pagan*.⁵⁷ More often than not, the reference to the *ayhud* is purely rhetorical, addressing an imagined group of Jews, or other classes of religious opponents. It is quite often employed as a pejorative and alienating label against Christians considered to be heretical.⁵⁸ No group refers to itself by the label *ayhud*, given the ubiquitous negative associations with the term.⁵⁹ In fact, members of the Beta Israel community never refer to themselves as “Jews” prior to their contact with European Jews in the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Second, it is important to contextualize the interpretation of the *Zena Ayhud* by analyzing usages of the term *ayhud* in other medieval Ethiopic texts. The *ayhud* are negatively portrayed in a range of genres within medieval Ethiopic literature, including theological works such as homilies and biblical commentaries, quasi-historical mytho-legends (like the *Kəbrä nügäšt*), and in hagiographies (perhaps the most popular genre of the period). The conversion of certain Jews to the “true faith” is an often-recurring motif in Ethiopic

56 Tsehayə, trans., *Zena Ayhud*, 1 (or *v*).

57 Dege-Müller, “Between Heretics and Jews,” 257.

58 Steven Kaplan pinpoints the first known usage of *ayhud* as a heresiological term: “In c. 1332, we have the first clear mention of Judaized groups around Lake Tana in the chronicle of the war of Amda Seyod [*sic*], when the king sent out troops to fight the rebels ‘which resemble the crucifiers of Christ, the Jews, who are the inhabitants of Samien, Waggera, Salamt and Wagade” (Kaplan, *The Beta Israel*, 55).

59 Kaplan, *The Beta Israel*, 653: “The Invention of Ethiopian Jews: Three Models.”

60 Cf. Tamrat’s discussion of the origins of the Beta Israel, which reads as follows: “the exact origin of the word *Falasha/Fälasi* or when it is used for the first time to designate the Beta Israel is not known with certainty. The translations of the word can be ‘a landless person, an exile, stranger, monk, or ascetic.’ A decree of unclear date, but allegedly issued by the fifteenth-century King Yehshaq, states: ‘He who is baptized in the Christian religion may inherit the land of his father, otherwise let him be a Falasi” (Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, 201).

hagiographies (e.g. the *Tä'amrā Māryām*, or the *Miracles of Mary*), as are stories of supernatural punishments levied against Jews who refuse to believe in the Christian faith. In one example, the devil promptly makes an appearance and carries away to hell a certain Jew who dared to throw an icon of the Virgin Mary into a latrine.⁶¹ Also, as mentioned above, texts like the *Kəbrä nāgäšt* contain as central narrative threads the claim that God has abandoned the Jews of Israel and has chosen the Christians of Ethiopia as his people.

In conclusion, although the *Zena Ayhud* is a quite literal translation of its Arabic *Vorlage*, it would have been read in a very different socio-cultural context than its predecessor. Its reception as a biblical text is important for explaining the precise and literal manner of the Ethiopic translation, as well as the enduring perception of the work as one of the books of Maccabees. Additionally, the varied meanings of *ayhud*—as a reference to Jews, heretics, sorcerers, pagans, exiles—must all inform the question of audience reception of *Yosippon* in Ethiopia. A fruitful avenue for further research would be comparing the anti-Judaism in medieval Ethiopic literature with the Greco-Roman *Adversus Iudeos* traditions of late antiquity. In this paper, I have shown the broad outlines of the study of the reception of *Yosippon* in Ethiopia, a topic of study that is very much still in its nascent stage.

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61 Dege-Müller, "Between Heretics and Jews," 266.

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The Christian Reception of *Sefer Yosippon* in Western Europe

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Christian reception of *Yosippon* in the Middle Ages and Renaissance rested on three assumptions: that it was authored by Josephus, that it could serve to confirm the historicity of Christianity, and that it could be used as a tool in religious polemics against the Jews. One of the reasons medieval and Renaissance scholars sought out *Yosippon* was their interest in finding an interpolation that mentions Jesus and his followers, a Hebrew version of the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*, a passage found in the eighteenth book of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* that refers to Jesus as "messiah," telling of his crucifixion and resurrection. Until its authenticity was questioned by modern scholars, this passage was considered proof of the truth of the Gospel and the historical existence of Jesus. It is extensively quoted by Christian authors from Late Antiquity up to modern times.¹ Its presence in a Hebrew source deemed authentic by the Jews had particular value since it strengthened the Christian narrative. *Yosippon's* account of the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Second Temple was also of primary importance as a testimony given by an eye witness and thus proof that Christianity had superseded Judaism, demonstrating how divine punishment had been meted out to the Jews for rejecting Jesus. This interpretation of the events appears in Pseudo-Hegesippus' *De excidio Hierosolymitano* and was later adopted by medieval authors, some aware of this source and some not.²

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- 1 Josephus, *AJ* 18.63–66. On the *Testimonium Flavianum*: Feldman, "On the Authenticity of the *Testimonium Flavianum*," 18. For a comprehensive study, see Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus*; Whealey, "The *Testimonium Flavianum*." Other relevant studies include Carleton Paget, "Some Observations on Josephus and Christianity" (see p. 565 on the inclusion of the *Testimonium* in all surviving manuscripts of *AJ*).
 - 2 On Josephus in patristic literature, see Hata, "The Use and Misuse of Josephus;" Inowlocki, "Josephus and Patristic Literature;" for Christian views on the destruction of the Second Temple, see *DEH*; Ps-Heg discusses the rejection of Jesus at *DEH* 2.12.1 (e.g.); see 5.44 on the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple; for the High Middle Ages, see Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 134. On this topic see also Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, 26–29.

Christians were also interested in *Yosippon* for its opening chapter's narrative, loosely based on Virgil's *Aeneid*, depicting the fictitious biblical hero Zepho ben Eliphaz as the founder of Rome. Modern scholarship interprets this narrative as an attempt to create a Jewish historiography of the Roman Empire. Gerson Cohen emphasized the significance of the Edomite genealogy of Esau for portraying the Romans as descendants of the eternal rival of Jacob and shows how the concept is extended to represent the conflict between Judaism and Christianity. Joshua Holo argues that the story of Zepho, grandson of Esau, represents an ethnic conception of Roman history that connects the Edomites and the native Roman people of Kittite (i.e. Greek) stock. In his view, *Yosippon* creates a link between Edom-Rome-Christianity in the passage describing the persecutions of Gaius (Caligula), to be discussed presently. Ruth Nisse calls this reworking of the *Aeneid* "a medieval Jewish fantasy of Rome," where Virgil's imperial poem becomes an "epic" text of the Jewish Diaspora and represents a reversal of power on Edom's terms.³ Christian tradition, however, appropriates the identity of Jacob-Israel while casting the Jews as Edom, interpreting the biblical story of the younger brother superseding and replacing the elder, a cornerstone of Christian belief.⁴ But, as will be shown in following pages, during the later Middle-Ages and the Renaissance, the myth of Zepho loses its original historical intent and serves to create founding myths that fulfil another purpose: confirming and validating Jewish presence in Christian Europe by attributing the founding of cities and lands to biblical figures.⁵

Lastly, Christian interest in *Yosippon* manifested itself in translations of the text into European languages. The early translations represent a selective use of *Yosippon* adapted to suit certain purposes, whether by highlighting its value as historical chivalric literature, or by pointing out weaknesses and anachronisms in the text.

1 The Quest for the *Testimonium*

The earliest reference to *Sefer Yosippon* in a Latin medieval source is found in *De principis instructione liber* (*Book of the Instruction of the Prince*) by Gerald of Wales (ca. 1146–ca. 1223).⁶ Gerald's work reflects the intellectual revival of the

3 Nisse, *Jacob's Shipwreck*, 52–61.

4 Cohen, "Esau as Symbol," esp. 33–35; Holo, "Byzantine-Jewish Ethnography," 924–925.

5 Myth of Zepho: Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.9–14, 2 (א); 2.134–135. On the *Aeneid* as a source for SY, see Toaff, "La storia di Zephò," 41–46; Sela, "The Genealogy of Sefo (Σωφαρ) ben Elifaz;" Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 20–21, 55–69.

6 Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione liber*.

High Middle Ages and the renewed interest in classical works that prompted Christian scholars to seek information regarding the life of Jesus and the beginnings of Christianity in historical narratives written (or thought to have been written) during the lifetime of Jesus and the first apostles.⁷ In this treatise, Gerald of Wales gives an account of the advent of Christianity during the rule of Emperor Tiberius, quoting the passage known as *Testimonium Flavianum*. Gerald adds that “The great malice and obstinate faithlessness of the Jews is made quite clear by the fact that they keep the book of their great historian [i.e. in Hebrew] among themselves and deem it to be authentic, with the sole exception of the testimony about Christ, which they do not accept.”⁸

In his chronicle, Gerald included the story of Robert of Cricklade, Prior of Sr. Frideswide, as proof that the Jews refuse to accept even the truth recorded in their own books. Prior Robert is described as “erudite, well-read in the Scriptures, and a man not ignorant of the Hebrew language.” Prior Robert is probably the correspondent of the Sicilian scholar, Henry Aristippus, the Latin translator of Plato’s *Phaedo*. In a letter dated 1160, Aristippus tells an English friend named Roboratus, identified by modern scholarship as Robert of Cricklade,⁹ about the treasures of Sicilian libraries. If this identification is correct, Prior Robert could have learned about the existence of *Sefer Yosippon* during his sojourn in Italy. In any event, the Prior decided to collect as many manuscripts of *Yosippon* as he could find in England, checking them for the presence of the passage mentioning Jesus and early Christians. In only two manuscripts, per Gerald, “he found this testimony to Christ intact and written in the logical place, but it appeared as though it had been recently erased.”¹⁰ Gerald deemed this finding incontestable proof of the perfidy of the Jews. Ruth Nisse discusses this text and argues that Gerald of Wales’ narrative reveals the contestation between Jews and Christians over the authenticity and cultural significance of ancient post-biblical writings, as well as the Bible itself.¹¹ But beyond the story’s significance in inter-religious polemics, this testimony shows that, in the twelfth century, Christian scholars already knew about the Hebrew *Yosippon*, and that the interpolation about Jesus was already in place

7 For the twelfth century intellectual revival and its impact on Christian-Jewish relations, see Abulafia, “Twelfth-Century Humanism and the Jews;” Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 147–363.

8 Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione liber*, 65–66.

9 For Roboratus identified as Robert of Cricklade, see Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, 90–99n1 (and the bibliography cited there).

10 Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione liber*, 65–66.

11 Nisse, *Jacob’s Shipwreck*, 21–23.

by that time.¹² Some of these interpolations are pejorative. Had they come to Prior Robert's attention, Gerald would have pounced on them as proof of the wickedness of the Jews. What he probably found is something close to the following:

And in those days, there were in Judea controversies and quarrels between the Pharisees and the lawless (*parizim*) of our people who were following Yeshua ben Joseph, who performed great miracles in Israel until he was defeated by the Pharisees and was hanged on a tree.¹³

Gerald (or Prior Robert) claimed that in some manuscripts the Jews erased or censored the story, saying "it had been missing for a long time; it appeared as though it had never been there."¹⁴ But these were clearly texts that had survived without the intervention of the anonymous interpolator.

During the Renaissance, the *Testimonium* was again sought out by Christian scholars. Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) mentions it a letter dated 10 November 1486, written in response to questions addressed to him by an anonymous friend. From the answers, we can infer that this friend asked Pico whether or not *Sefer Yosippon* was reliable. The text of the letter has been recently published in its entirety, along with a translation into Italian, by Giacomo Corazzol.¹⁵ Corazzol identifies the anonymous friend as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), known for his works on Christian theology, particularly his *Vera religio* (*On the True Religion*).¹⁶ Pico's response dismisses *Yosippon* as "not the right Josephus" and clearly refers to the *Testimonium*:

Regarding your question about Josephus, know that the Jews do not have the right Josephus,¹⁷ only a shorter epitome of Josephus, in which there are many inventions, and one can read there about the ten tribes who did

12 Extant sy manuscripts that include the interpolation on Jesus are: Ms. Budapest 355, Ms. Rothschild 24, Ms. Vatican, Borgiana ebr. 1, Ms. Paris, BnF 1280. See also the list and discussion in Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 50–51, 276. The passage is quoted and discussed by Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.438–444; 2.56.

13 Ms. Vatican, Borgiana ebr. 1, fol. 129v and Ms. Paris, BnF, 1280, fol. 123v. On the use of the expression "hanging on a tree," see Gribetz, "Hanged and Crucified," 159–180.

14 Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione liber*, 65–66.

15 Corazzol, "Chiunque tu sia," 429–457 (transcription and translation of Pico's letter on 432–433); Stein Kokin, "Josephan Renaissance," 239–242.

16 On Marsilio Ficino, see Celenza, "Marsilio Ficino." On Ficino's views on religion and Judaism, see Idel, "Prisca Theologia," 137–178; Bartolucci, *Vera religio*.

17 Pico refers to "iustum Iosephum," which Corazzol in his "Chiunque tu Sia" translates as the "complete Josephus," whereas I prefer to translate this literally: the "right Josephus."

not return home after the Babylonian captivity, and these are known spurious stories. ... I know that there is a passage about Christ in the Greek Josephus, and there he is mentioned in a trustworthy honourable [manner], but I cannot ascertain that this [passage] is identical with what can be read in Latin codices without consulting the Greek version.¹⁸

Pico was therefore aware of the existence of the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon* and knew that it was not one of Josephus' works but a shorter compilation. It is interesting to note that Pico's description of the book is strikingly similar to that of the Dominican Raymond Martini in his thirteenth-century polemical work *Pugio fidei* (*Dagger of Faith*), to be discussed presently. For comparison's sake, it should be noted that Martini referred to *Yosippon* as "*Josephon abbreviator Josephi*."¹⁹ But Pico, who knew about the *Testimonium Flavianum* in Josephus' *Antiquitates*, believed that it was not present in *Yosippon*. In his article, Corazzol suggests that his information on *Yosippon* came from the Sicilian convert Flavius Mithridates, who was close to Pico in 1486, when the above-cited letter was written.²⁰ This conjecture corresponds to Daniel Stein Kokin's suggestion that Pico never read the book and relied on other informants, who told him about its contents.²¹ But to return to Pico's response to his friend "regarding your question about Josephus," we can infer that the friend wished to know if the Josephus of the Jews, namely *Yosippon*, also mentioned Jesus. Pico, apparently without having read the book, assured his friend that there was no such passage there. It can, therefore, be argued that Pico, or rather his informant, read a version that lacked the interpolation. But Pico's puzzling claim that *Yosippon* includes stories about the Ten Lost Tribes is obviously spurious and seems to support Stein Kokin's argument for his lack of familiarity with the text.²²

Stein Kokin also translates this portion of Pico's letter in Stein Kokin, "Josephan Renaissance," 239.

18 Original letter: Picus Mirandula, *Opera omnia*, 384–386. English translation by the present author.

19 Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 275. The various renditions of the name "Josephon, Yosefon" are characteristic of medieval inconsistency in the spelling of names.

20 Corazzol, "Chiunque tu Sia," 435.

21 Stein Kokin, "Josephan Renaissance," 205–248.

22 There are several possible explanations for Pico's statement that *SY* included stories on the Ten Tribes, but these are beyond the scope of this paper. On this topic, see Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 81–82.

Pico's correspondent, presumably Marsilio Ficino, also sought the truths revealed in ancient Jewish writings.²³ Ficino's reference to the Hebrew *Yosippon* appears as an annotation in a manuscript containing the Latin version of the New Testament. Ficino copied the passage known as the *Testimonium Flavianum* from Josephus' *Antiquitates* into the manuscript and added his own note: "The Jews affirm [moreover] that in the Hebrew text of Josephus, Christ is accorded praises of great import apart from the resurrection" (*Ebrei affirmat [insuper] testu Iosiphi ebraico esse superiores Christi laudes praeter resurrectionem*).²⁴ If Pico's correspondent is, in fact, Ficino, as identified by Corazzol, his answer becomes clear: "Regarding your question about Josephus, know that the Jews do not have the right Josephus." In other words, what you are looking for—the passage praising Christ—is not found in the Josephus of the Jews.

Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459) was particularly interested in the role played by Judaism in the origins of monotheistic religion and the history of early Christianity. He wrote the well-known works *Apologeticus*²⁵ and *Adversus Judeos et gentes* (*Against the Jews and the Gentiles*).²⁶ In 1444, Manetti commissioned a copy of *Sefer Yosippon* from the Jew Elijah ha-Melamed of Fano, which has survived to this day.²⁷ However, there is no evidence that Manetti ever cited *Yosippon* in his writings. His *Adversus Judeos et gentes* is a historical narrative based on the Bible and the New Testament, complemented by numerous non-biblical sources such as Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*, and Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*, to name a few.²⁸ Manetti could easily have cited *Yosippon* in this work, written between 1456 and 1459, long after he had acquired the manuscript. He does not. Yet Josephus' *Antiquitates* is frequently cited. In a recent article, Stein Kokin notes this omission and concludes that Manetti does not

23 Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico, and Savonarola*, 212–213. On Ficino's attitudes towards Judaism, see Idel, "Prisca Theologia," 137–178.

24 Manuscript: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ric. 426, c. 2r, quoted by Bartolucci, *Vera religio*, 110n2–3; In his "Josephan Renaissance" (225–226), Stein Kokin corrects Bartolucci and adds the missing third word *insuper* ("moreover") in above-quoted passage from Ficino's manuscript: Stein Kokin, "Josephan Renaissance," 225–226.

25 Manetti, *A Translator's Defense*. For Manetti's Hebrew studies, see Garin, "L'umanesimo italiano e la cultura ebraica," 363–365.

26 Manetti, *Against the Jews and the Gentiles*, 48–49, 54–55. For Manetti's anti-Jewish views, see Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, 2.722–734; Fubini, "L'ebraismo nei riflessi della cultura umanistica," 283–324.

27 The copy of *SY* commissioned by Manetti is at the Vatican, BAV, ebr. 408; see Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 2.16.

28 For the sources quoted, see Manetti, *Against the Jews and Gentiles*, notes to the translation, 433–463.

“ever even appear to mention the former text [סר] explicitly.” Stein Kokin also wonders why Manetti never made use of the *Testimonium Flavianum* (see above), or why he did not use the relevant passages on Jesus found in some versions of *Yosippon*.²⁹ If Manetti commissioned the copy of *Yosippon* only because he hoped to find there a passage on Jesus rather than to use it as a historical source, he was probably disappointed when he read the following phrase that depicts Jesus and his followers in a rather pejorative manner: “and then all the lawless [*parizim*] woke up to confound our people [paraphrase of Daniel 11:14] to do as every man pleased [Judges 17:6], and they changed the Torah’s meaning.”³⁰

2 Jewish History and the Fall of Jerusalem

A more sophisticated reception of *Yosippon* is found in Raymond Martini’s polemical work *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Iudaeos* (*Dagger of Faith against the Muslims and the Jews*), completed around 1278. Martini’s use of Jewish sources in Hebrew and Aramaic has been the subject of extensive study, and yet his references to the Hebrew *Yosippon* remain largely unexplored. The *Pugio fidei* survived in several manuscripts but it is best known in Carpzov’s seventeenth-century printed edition,³¹ which is not identical to the medieval manuscripts and is therefore less applicable to the study of *Yosippon*’s reception in the Middle Ages. Recent studies have suggested that the thirteenth-century Saint Geneviève manuscript is an autograph, in which case it represents the most immediate reception of the Hebrew text by Martini.³² In fact, not all medieval manuscripts of *Pugio fidei* have the Hebrew citations; the Toulouse copy, for example, includes citations from *Yosippon* only in Latin translation.³³

29 Stein Kokin, “Josephan Renaissance,” 220–221.

30 See Flusser’s comment on this passage which is found in later interpolations, see: Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.439–440; Manetti’s copy: MS Vatican, ebr. 408, fols. 94v–95r. On the possibility that Manetti was looking for the passage on Jesus, see Corazzol, “Chiunque tu sia,” 436–438.

31 Martinii (Carpzov), *Pugio fidei*.

32 Paris, Sainte Geneviève Library, MS 1405. Autograph: Bobichon, “Le manuscrit Latin de la Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève (Paris),” 39–102. For a list of Hebrew and Aramaic texts used in this manuscript, see Bobichon, “Quotations, Translations, and Uses of Jewish Texts,” 267–293; Merchavia, “*Pugio Fidei*,” 203–234; Merchavia, “The Hebrew Versions of ‘Pugio fidei,’” 283–288.

33 Toulouse manuscript: Manuscrits numérisés de la Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, *Pugio fidei contra judaeos et sarracenos* Martin, Raymond (1230–1284?), fol. 30v–31r. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10560110p/f7.item> (accessed 10 October 2021).

Most citations of *Yosippon* in the Sainte Geneviève manuscript are added in Hebrew characters in the margins of the text, not always accompanied by Latin translation. Martini usually precedes each cited passage with אמר יוספון (Josephon said Joseph ben Gorion said”), an attribution that does not always appear in the original Hebrew manuscripts of *Yosippon* (insofar as I was able to tell in comparing these passages with Flusser’s edition and a number of manuscripts). Assuring his readers of the historicity of the narrative’s events, Martini adds that they were “attested by Josephus who was then present” (*testante Josepho, qui presens fuit*). Even more remarkable is Martini’s effort to eliminate any doubt as to the author’s identity. When quoting from the section on the death of Cyrus, Martini forthrightly identifies Joseph ben Gorion, the presumed author of *Yosippon*, with Josephus:

ויתר דבריו הלא הם כתובים על ספר מלכי מדי ופרס ועל ספר יוסף בן גוריון הוא יוספוס אשר הגלה אותו מירושלים טיטוס בן אספסינוס ועל ספר מלכי רומיים.

The rest is written in the book of the kings of Media and Persia and in the book of Joseph ben Gorion, who is Josephus, who was exiled from Jerusalem by Titus, son of Vespasian, and in the annals of the Roman kings.³⁴

Although Martini identifies *Yosippon* with Josephus, “who was exiled,” he observes that the Hebrew *Yosippon* is a shorter work, a concise version of Josephus’ works, describing the author as “Josephon, the abbreviator of Josephus” (*Josephon abbreviator Josephi*).³⁵ Interestingly, Martini never quotes directly from the Josephan texts, probably because his work sets out to prove the errors of the Jews by using only the texts they themselves read, in Hebrew and in Aramaic.

Numerous citations from *Yosippon* are concerned with the history of the Second Temple Period. Martini put particular emphasis on descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, such as the following:

34 Paris, Sainte Geneviève Library, MS 1405, fol. xxxvi; and compare with Flusser’s text of *SY* 8 (ח): ויתר דבריו הלא הם כתובים על ספר מלכי מדי ופרס ועל ספר יוסף הכהן הוא יוסף בן גוריון אשר הגלה אותו מירושלים בימי בספסינוס וטיטוס בנו ועל ספר מלכי רומיים *Sefer Josippon*, 1.46.

35 Martini (Carpzov), *Pugio fidei*, 275.

אמר יוספון אמר יוסף בן גוריון ויגש טיטוס להלחם בחומות ירושלים וכו' ורבים מן היהודים היו משליכים את המתים אל הבורות ונופלים עמהם שם בעודם חיים.

So said Yosippon, said Joseph son of Gorion, and Titus came and attacked the walls of Jerusalem and many of the Jews were throwing their dead to the pits and falling in with them while still living.³⁶

Martini's choices are derived from his avowed purpose, which is to use texts and arguments from the Jews' own literature in order to refute their beliefs and demonstrate their errors. The detailed descriptions of the Fall of Jerusalem fit in with the Christian tradition that interprets it as divine retribution for the Jews' rejection of Jesus. Other lengthy passages concern the stories of Cyrus, whose figure Martini associates with the question of the messiah's identity. They are added on the margins of the main text as exegesis on the prophecy, "Thus said the Lord to Cyrus, His anointed one" (Isa 45:1).³⁷ Martini used *Yosippon* in order to turn its testimony against the Jews in the same way he used other Jewish writings in the *Pugio fidei*.

In his seminal study, Flusser determined that *Sefer Yosippon* has three main versions, or redactions—A, B, and C—with A the earliest and C the latest and most elaborate. In her study on the reception of *Yosippon* by the Jews, Saskia Dönitz identifies two more sub-variants for version A and offers a detailed description of all redactions.³⁸ A careful examination of *Yosippon* citations in *Pugio fidei* can be used to determine which redaction was used by Martini. Comparing Martini's rendition of the story of King Agrippa II in version A (published by Flusser) with the rendition in version C offers a telling example. The *Yosippon* narrative is a reworking of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and a passage from his *Vita*. The same story appears also in *Bellum Judaicum* and there is a version of it in *De excidio* as well, the latter comprising the source of *Yosippon's* Recension A.³⁹ By conflating two narratives, Martini mistakenly portrays the king as a cruel villain who was finally defeated by Roman forces:

36 Paris, Sainte Geneviève Library, MS 1405, fol. xlix. This passage is faithfully rendered in Martini (Carpzov), *Pugio fidei*, 324.

37 The English translation is according to the JPS Bible, but Martini followed the Vulgate version which can be interpreted as referring to Cyrus as a Messiah (Christ): "haec dicit Dominus christo meo Cyro." The Cyrus stories in the Sainte Geneviève manuscript appear in fol. xxxv–xxxvi.

38 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 2.310, 16–42; Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 37–102, 276.

39 See Josephus, *AJ* 20.137, 161–172, 177–178; *Vita* 13, 37; *BJ* 2.247–270. A version of this story appears in *DEH* 2.6. However, there too the villain is not King Agrippa but the robber "Eleazarus princeps latronum," as in Redaction A (i.e., Flusser's edition) of *SY* 59 (טג).

Paris, St. Geneviève,
fol. xlii verso
(*Pugio fidei*)

Said Yosippon said Joseph son of Gorion. And then Agrippa son of Aristobulus son of Herod the Great king of Judea died, and after him reigned Agrippa his son, and he reigned for twenty years. And also Claudius died, and Nero Caesar reigned after him. And in the times of this Agrippa the Second Temple was demolished and great wars broke out in the entire land of Judea and Agrippa destroyed and ruined it, and he never stopped taking spoils and seizing the booty and killing the people, until Philis⁴⁰ the Roman general came with a great army and defeated his Parizim and put him in chains and took him to Rome.

Jerusalem National
Library, Ms. 8^o 4120
(Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*,
1.275 = SY 59 [כט])

And Agrippa died and his son reigned after him, and he reigned for twenty years, and Claudius too died and Nero Caesar reigned after him. And in the times of Agrippa son of Agrippa great wars broke out in the entire land of Judea and Aram, because Eleazar head of the Parizim ran over the entire land of Aram and destroyed it, and for twenty years never stopped taking spoils and seizing the booty, killing the people ... until Philis the Roman general came with a great army and defeated his Parizim and put him in chains and took him to Rome.

Vatican, Borg. 1, fol. 29

And then King Agrippa died and his son who carried the same name reigned after him and also he ruled Israel for twenty years. At that time Claudius died and Nero became Caesar after him. And the Temple was demolished in the times of this Agrippa because for twenty years Agrippa wrought destruction and ruin, and he never stopped taking spoils and seizing the booty and killing the people until Philis the Roman general came with a great army and defeated his Parizim and put him in chains and took him to Rome.

⁴⁰ Philis is probably Marcus Antonius Felix, procurator of Judea (52?–60). For his mentions in Josephus' works, see note 39 above.

Paris, St. Geneviève,
fol. xlii verso
(*Pugio fidei*)

Jerusalem National
Library, Ms. 8^o 4120
(Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*,
1.275 = SY 59 [טנ])

Vatican, Borg. 1, fol. 29

אמר יוסיפון אמר יוסף	וימת אגריפס וימלוך תחתיו	כי אז מת אגריפס המלך ומלך
בן גוריון וימת אגריפס בן	אגריפס בנו וימלוך עשרים	בנו כשמו וימלוך גם הוא על
אריסתבליס בן אורדוס	שנה, וגם קלאודיוס קיסר	ישראל עשרים שנה כי אז
הגדול מלך יהודה וימלך	מת וימלוך תחתיו נירוס	מת קלאודוס הקיסר וימלוך
תחתיו אגריפס בנו ומלך	קיסר. ובימי אגריפס בן	נארון לקיסר וכי בימי אגריפס
עשרים שנה וגם קלודיאוס	אגריפס התעוררו מלחמות	זה חרב הבית כי עשרים שנה
מת וימלך תחתיו נירו	בכל ארץ יהודה ובכל	לא חדל אגריפס לשלול שלל
קיסר ובימי אגריפס זה	ארץ ארם, כי אלעזר שר	ולבוז בו ולהרוג נפשות ויעל
נחרב בית שני והתעוררו	הפריצים אז נתן מרוצה בכל	עליו פילוס שר צבא רומה ויך
מלחמות גדולות בכל ארץ	ארץ ארם וישחיתה ועשרים	את פריציו ויאסרהו בנחשתים
יהודה וישחיתה ויאבידה	שנה לא חדל לשלול שלל	ויולכהו אל רומה
אגריפס ועשרים שנה לא	ולבוז בו ולהרוג נפשות ...	
חדל לשלול שלל ולבוז בו	עד בוא עליו פיליס שאר	
ולהרוג נפשות עד שעלה	צבא רומא בחיל כבד ויך	
עליו פיליס שר צבא רומה	את פריציו וילכדהו ויאסרהו	
בחיל כבד מאד ויך פריציו	בנחשתים ויוליכהו אל	
וילכדהו ויאסרהו בנחשתים	רומא	
ויוליכהו אל רומה		

Martini may have read *De excidio*, but the version of this story he recycles in *Pugio fidei* is not adapted from that source. In fact, it is almost identical to the *Yosippon* text found in MS Borgiana ebr. 1, which represents redaction C,⁴¹ proof that this redaction or an even earlier version of it was extant in the thirteenth century. Flusser suggested that in this section, the name of Jesus was replaced by the name of Eleazar, who is denoted as the prince of the renegades. This interpretation is more or less accepted by Holo, who also draws attention to a possible substitution of Edom for Aram in this passage.⁴² However, this “replacement” occurs already in *De excidio*, and this was the source of the story’s details, rather than there being there an intentional substitution by

41 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.274–275; Ms Borgiana ebr. 1 (F 11654) fol. 29. For a list of manuscripts according to the different redactions, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 276–277.

42 Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 1.272–274; Holo, “Byzantine-Jewish Ethnography,” 946–947.

Yosippon's author, or a later one dictated by an attempt at censorship. Further examination of the excerpts and a comparison with extant manuscripts will surely shed more light on the version used by Martini, but a fuller study of the *Yosippon* excerpts in *Pugio fidei* merits a larger project.

3 Zepho, Founder of Rome and Other European Cities

Sefer Yosippon appears in a roundabout way in the Dominican Pietro Ranzano's history of Palermo, *Delle origini e vicende di Palermo*, written in 1470.⁴³ Born in Palermo, Pietro Ranzano (1428–1492) joined the Dominican order and later became Provincial of the Dominicans in Sicily. He enjoyed an illustrious career as scholar, diplomat, and historian, ending his life as bishop of Lucera in southern Italy.⁴⁴

In his history, Ranzano tells about his discovery of an ancient "Chaldean" inscription he saw on a tower in Palermo, which included the following statement:

He who commands this tower is Sepha (Zepho) son of Eliphaz, who was the son of Esau brother of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham.⁴⁵

The genuine inscription found on the tower in Palermo was written in Arabic characters and lacked any reference to Zepho or the *Sefer Yosippon*.⁴⁶ But Ranzano's interpretation is clearly based on the myth of Zepho ben Eliphaz, which is found in all complete versions of the *Sefer Yosippon*.⁴⁷ This myth enjoyed wide circulation among Jewish scholars of the Renaissance period, who by turn attributed to Zepho the founding of a European city in addition to Rome (Milan, Genoa, Palermo, Paris).⁴⁸ Here it is used in a Christian narrative, but clearly inspired by Jewish intermediaries who "helped" interpret the mysterious inscription. Although Ranzano does not name *Yosippon* explicitly, he

43 Ranzano, *Delle origini e vicende di Palermo*.

44 On Pietro Ranzano's career, see Coniglione, *La provincia domenicana di Sicilia*, 30–34; Figliuolo, "Ranzano, Pietro."

45 Text of the inscription: Ranzano, *De auctore et primordiis ac progressu felicitis urbis Panormi* in Morso, *Descrizione di Palermo antico*, 48–49. For the vernacular version, see Ranzano, *Origini e vicende di Palermo*, 63. The English translation is mine.

46 Zeldes, "The Last Multi-Cultural Encounter in Medieval Sicily," 159–191; Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 55–63.

47 On the figure of Zepho/Sefo in SY, see Cohen, "Esau as Symbol," 19–48; Sela, "The Genealogy of Sefo," 138–143; Holo, "Byzantine-Jewish Ethnography," 924.

48 Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 63–70.

tells of a very old Hebrew book he was shown by a Jew of Palermo named Isaac Guglielmo. The book was probably *Yosippon*, the main source for the myth of Zepho.

This reading, attributing the founding of Palermo to Zepho, is completely spurious, and further study enabled scholars to reconstruct most of the original text, which was actually in Arabic script. It contained Quranic verses and a date: 331 to the Hegirah (942 CE).⁴⁹ The biblical names of Sepha (i.e., Zepho), Eliphaz, and Esau, however, do not appear in any of the Arabic transcriptions, leading to the inescapable conclusion that the reading offered by Ranzano was a forgery. The importance of Ranzano's story lies mainly in the role played by *Yosippon* in the false interpretation of the inscription. In response to his inquiries, the Jews of Palermo told Ranzano: "There is a very ancient Hebrew book that has survived to the present in which their ancestors described something similar."⁵⁰ At that point, Ranzano recounts his visit to the home of a Jew, where he was shown the ancient book:

A certain Jew, of the Pisan nation and an inhabitant of Palermo, named Isaac Guglielmo, invited me to his home on several occasions and showed me a book in which everything we have talked about had been written; and after having heard the reading of the inscription in Hebrew he [the Jew] translated it into the vernacular.⁵¹

This story indicates that the Jews of Palermo were familiar with the contents of *Yosippon* and, perhaps by playing on Ranzano's ignorance of the Arabic script, they dared offer a false interpretation to the inscription incised on the stones of the old tower. The fact that *Yosippon* contains the myth of Zepho as founder of Rome may explain the work's importance in this context. Even before discussing the inscription in his narrative on the origins of Palermo, Ranzano draws parallels between Palermo and Rome. Just as Rome was called "the city" (*urbs*), said Ranzano, Palermo was named the "happy city" (*urbs felix*), the only other city in the world to bear the designation *urbs*.⁵² The supposed appearance of the biblical figure of Zepho in the inscription allowed Ranzano to calculate

49 A fragmentary copy of the text of the inscription was preserved in a manuscript by the Sicilian Martines, *De situ Siciliae*, Bcp, 3 Qq B 70.120. For the history of the deciphering of the inscription, see the discussion in Morso, *Descrizione di Palermo antico*, 57–67.

50 Ranzano, *Origini e vicende di Palermo*, 65.

51 Ranzano, *Origini e vicende di Palermo*, 65.

52 Ranzano, *Origini e vicende di Palermo*, 76–77.

the age of the settlement of Palermo and prove that it existed for at least 3,350 years, which would place it on par with Rome.⁵³

4 Translations of *Yosippon*

One more facet of *Sefer Yosippon*'s reception by Christians is its translation into European languages. The earliest translations were made into Romance/Old Castilian rather than Latin. A manuscript formerly believed to be an Old Castilian translation of Josephus' *Antiquitates* proved to be a translation of *Yosippon*.⁵⁴ The presence of a passage describing the martyrdom of Anna (Hannah)⁵⁵ and her seven sons allows us to determine that this was indeed a translation of *Yosippon*, probably dating from the fifteenth century. The story, which appears in Chapter 9 of the manuscript, begins as follows:

[E]n estos dias vino el rey Antioco a Jehrusalem por atormentar e aflegir al pueblo de Israel, porque non se inclinavan a su imagen. E mandó prender una mugier, que llamavan Ana, e a siete sus fijos.

And in those days King Antiochus came to Jerusalem to torment and afflict the people of Israel for they were not prostrating themselves in front of his image. And he gave orders to arrest a woman called Ana and her seven sons.⁵⁶

The narrative shows that the Castilian manuscript is indeed a translation of one of the versions of the *Yosippon*. As it gives the mother's name as Hannah, it must belong to either Redaction B or C, or something in between. However, definite identification awaits further study.

53 On the foundation of Rome and the accepted chronology, see Grafton and Swerdlow, "Technical Chronology and Astrological History," 454–465; Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome*.

54 Gutiérrez García, "Estudio lingüístico de un romanceamiento castellano," 259–284; Gutiérrez García, "La reescritura de la historia del segundo templo en la Castilla del siglo xv," 183–200; other observations regarding the identification of the manuscript are the result of a long exchange of personal messages between the author of this article and Santiago Gutiérrez García.

55 The mother's name is given as Hannah (Anna) in redaction C and in an exemplar of redaction B, Ms. Vatican, BAV, ebr. 408 (see note 27 above); in other versions the mother is nameless: Flusser, *Sefer Josippon*, 170.

56 The English translation is mine.

The Romance translation of *Yosippon* seems incomplete because it lacks the opening chapters that list the different nations existing in the author's times and the history of Italy that includes the myth of Zepho as founder of Rome. Could this omission in the Spanish translation indicate that it was based on a very early version of *Yosippon* that lacked these chapters? In her study of the Arabic *Yosippon*, Shulamit Sela questions the existence of Chapters 1 and 2 in the earliest versions of the book. In her view, the Arabic version represents the earliest or even the original version of *Yosippon*, whereas the first two chapters in the Hebrew text are later additions. Dönitz, nevertheless, argues that this conclusion cannot be clearly deduced from Sela's study.⁵⁷ At any rate, the omission of the first chapters cannot be used to prove that the translation was based on such an early version, whether Hebrew or Arabic. Moreover, the translation gives the martyr mother the name Ana (Hannah) and this indicates, in my opinion, that a later version was used.

Now, the reasons for this translation can be gleaned from the translator's prologue that emphasizes the points of interest for his potential audience:

In this book there are descriptions of the battles led by the priests of the Holy Temple (*casa sancta*) and by the Maccabees and afterwards by those who named themselves kings of Judea ... In this book one encounters the battles of the kings of Persia and Media with the house of Judea, and the battles of the house of Judea with other nations, until the coming of Titus, son of Vespasian, who, because of the sins of Israel, destroyed the Holy Temple.⁵⁸

The translator may have intentionally selected only those parts and omitted others. However, forming any theories regarding the original text that served the translator must await further study.

Yosippon was finally translated into Latin by the German Sebastian Münster (1488–1552). Münster's *Iosephus hebraicus diu desideratus et nunc ex Constantinopolitano exemplari iuxta Hebraismum*, printed in Basel in 1541, is the first Latin translation, but again it is an incomplete one. Since Münster was convinced that the first chapters of *Yosippon* were a later addition and could not have been authored by Josephus, he decided to omit them altogether from both the Hebrew text he published and from the Latin translation. Thus, Münster's

57 Sela, *The Arabic Josippon*, 37–46; Sela's arguments are discussed by Saskia Dönitz in Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 111–112.

58 Gutiérrez García, "Estudio lingüístico de un romanceamiento castellan," 188–191 (quote at 190).

edition begins with *Yosippon's* rendition of the book of Daniel and has a different arrangement of chapters than the Constantinople printed edition on which he relied.⁵⁹ Unwittingly, Münster seems to have chosen to produce a version that arguably represented the arrangement found in the earliest versions of SY. This is ironic, given that it is precisely these chapters (4–6) that appear to be missing from the earliest versions of SY, as per Dönitz's 2009 article on *Sefer Yosippon* and the Greek Bible.⁶⁰ At any rate, his preface lists his doubts about the book's authorship:

It is clear, honest reader, from the very beginning of this book that one has to investigate whether or not this book of the Hebrew Joseph was written by the same Josephus Flavius; if the error is in the name, or if there was another [Joseph], if it was composed by the Hebrews in the Hebrew [language], or as it is said in the Latin version—which was translated many times by very learned men—that it was written by him for the Gentiles in the Greek language. And indeed, most scholars agree that Josephus did not write in Hebrew, but in Greek and some even argue that Josephus did not know Hebrew. That he wrote in Greek is attested to in the prologue to *the Jewish War*, and nowadays there are quite a number of books written by him in Greek that Rufinus [of Aquilea]⁶¹ long ago translated into Latin. Many offer arguments for the idea that he did not write in Hebrew.⁶²

Münster was the first Christian scholar who questioned the identification of *Yosippon's* author and the text's authenticity. In the end, however, he upheld the traditional view that Josephus authored the Hebrew *Yosippon*, and chose to explain away the anachronisms and fanciful narratives as later interpolations:

To those that refer to the nations who made their appearance in the world long after Josephus's times, that is the Franks, the Goths, the Lombards,

59 *Sefer ben Gorion*, Constantinople, 1510.

60 Dönitz, "Yosippon and the Greek Bible," 224, 231–232.

61 Rufinus of Aquilea (ca. 345–ca. 411). Rufinus has been wrongly credited with translating the *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *Contra Apionem*, but he did indeed translate large portions of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* as they appeared almost verbatim in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which Rufinus translated into Latin. See Leoni, "The Text of Josephus's Works," 153–156; Leoni, "Text of the Josephan Corpus," 307–321; Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations;" Levenson and Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," 322–344.

62 Münster, *Iosephus hebraicus*, preface. On Münster's translation of SY and his objections, see Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 140–143.

the Bulgars, etc., ... we dare suggest the following, that from the very beginning they were added to that author, and that many [of the stories contained therein] are fictitious (*fabulosa*).⁶³

The Latin translation, albeit an abbreviated version of the original text, allowed Christian scholars to read *Yosippon*, compare versions, and discuss the authenticity of the text. Moreover, Münster's objections came to the attention of later Christian (and Jewish) scholars such as Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), leading them to conclude that *Yosippon* was in fact an original medieval compilation rather than the Hebrew version of Flavius Josephus' works.⁶⁴

5 Conclusion

Christian interest in *Yosippon* was typically motivated by the need to confirm certain basic tenets of belief such as the historicity of Jesus, the historical supersessionism of Judaism by Christianity, and confirmation of the truth found in the Jews' ancient writings, the *Hebraica veritas*, a notion expounded by Renaissance scholars. Even though Christian authors considered *Yosippon* the original version of Josephus' works, they were well aware that it was a shorter compilation. Some of them, like Gerald of Wales, thought that the Jews censored the text, intentionally omitting the passages on Jesus; much later, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola apparently suspected the same and dismissed its importance. And yet, Martini's *Pugio fidei* offers the most sophisticated use of *Yosippon* by a Christian, so far as we know at present. Beyond enriching our understanding of the Christian use of Hebrew sources, further examination of *Yosippon* texts cited or translated by Christian authors may reveal unknown versions or redactions of the text, as shown by the excerpts in the *Pugio fidei* and the Castilian translation. To conclude, the study of Christian reception of *Yosippon* is still in its early stages, and further examination of the works may provide a fuller picture of the uses made of the text, interpretations, censored passages, and more.

63 Münster, *Iosephus hebraicus*, preface.

64 Scaliger, *Elenchus trihaeresii*, 44; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 2.695–696; Grafton and Weinberg, *Isaac Casaubon*, 201–213. Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 147–152.

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Un-writing the End: Histories and Counter-histories in the Early Modern *Yosippon*

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1 Introduction

Among the very first Hebrew books printed in Italy was *Sefer Yosippon*. Abraham Conat, who had studied medicine and copied manuscripts in earlier years, had adopted printing enthusiastically and produced in Mantua, in the mid-1470s, a remarkable small series of books that included—besides halakhic and exegetical literature that formed the main output of the earliest Hebrew presses—a few popular texts of other genres, among them *Sefer Yosippon*.¹ At the end of the book, Conat offered his readers a narrated “table of contents,” listing the subjects they would find attractive in this historical work. He mentions the genealogies of nations after Babel, stories about Daniel, Esther, Alexander the Great, the Maccabeans and Herod the Great, and he concludes with the war against the Romans and the destruction of the Temple, expressing his hope that the Temple will be rebuilt soon. In contrast to Conat’s summary of the book, however, his edition of *Yosippon* does not end with the loss of the Second Temple. The text is based on the manuscript tradition known today as Recension B, where the historical account continues even after the burning of the Temple and the fall of Masada.² The text goes on to describe how

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- 1 Alongside *Sefer Yosippon*, the press issued Jedaiah Bedersi’s ethical treatise *Behinat ha-’olam*, printed by Estellina, Abraham Conat’s wife; Judah Messer Leon’s rhetorical treatise *Nofet tsotim*, the first Hebrew book printed during the life-time of its author; a calendar of the solar months; *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani* about the history and geography of the legendary Ten Tribes and halakhic diversity (see below, p. 615); Gersonides’ Bible commentary, and parts of Jacob ben Asher’s fundamental halakhic work *Arba’ah turim*. Only the first volume of *Arba’ah turim*, *Orah hayyim*, provides a date: printing was completed on 6 June 1476, and it has been argued convincingly that the smaller works must have preceded it. According to the colophon for *Yosippon*, printing ended on the 49th day of the Omer count (5 Sivan), i.e. most likely on 11 May 1475. Cf. Colorni, “Abraham Conat,” and Offenber, “The Chronology of Hebrew Printing at Mantua.”
 - 2 On Recension B, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, and for an edition of the endings: Flusser, *Sefer Yosippon*, 1.430–431. For Conat’s version, in particular, see Saskia Dönitz, “Josephus Torn to Pieces,” and her chapter in this volume.

Jewish captives were brought to Rome and resettled in various parts of the vast empire, among them Sepharad. When Joseph ha-Kohen is asked, finally, where he would like to dwell, he chooses the empire's capital itself: "And Joseph asked for the island in Rome on the southside, which is surrounded on all sides by the River Tiber, and there he built houses for himself and his family as well as a synagogue to pray and a *bet ha-midrash* to study there."³

Thus, Conat's version of *Yosippon* concludes with a twist: the ending is transformed into the story of a new beginning, with the ancient historian, to whom the Mantuan paratexts ascribe *Yosippon*, establishing a small Jewish settlement at the heart of the Roman—and subsequently Christian—empire. There, just next to the imperial centre but separate from it, on a small island, the institutions of Jewish worship and prayer are established that will be key to Jewish communal life as it would continue to unfold over the next centuries.

The issue of rupture and continuation was central, of course, to Christian polemics and Jewish counter-polemics regarding the political implications and religious meanings of the disastrous failure of the First Revolt against the Romans. Did Jewish history end, where Josephus ended his account of the "Jewish War?" Could his work be used to underpin the Christian supersessionist argument that Jews had not only lost their religious and political centre, but had been expelled from history itself, and that this was to be considered God's punishment for their failure to recognize the ascendance of Christianity and the Church? Or did Jewish history continue in exile, as Josephus himself indicated at the end of the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, when he spoke of his desire to write a concise chronological account of the events that "befel us ... to this very day?"⁴

When early modern Jewish authors set out to compose larger historical works, eager to present an affirmative answer to the last question, they were frequently drawn, just like Josephus, to the form of the chronicle that would allow them to write about the continuation of Jewish history through the ages and across the globe up until their own times. Thus, Abraham Zacut's *Sefer Yuhasin*, completed in Tunis in 1504, offered a judicious account of the ongoing transmission of halakhic knowledge, including notes on the rabbinic luminaries of his own times and on the expulsions from Spain and Portugal. The

3 *Sefer Yosippon*, Mantua, [1475], [135r].

4 Josephus, *AJ* 20.267 in William Whiston's literal translation (London: W. Bowyer, 1737, vol. 1, 653), which points to the question raised by many modern Jewish historians: how could events that "befell" Jews be interpreted and transformed into "our history," as Louis H. Feldman's translation (LCL) of the same words suggests? What did history look like from the perspective of those, whose historical agency remained precarious? Cf. Bonfil, "How Golden Was the Age of the Renaissance," 101–102.

chronicle used, among other sources, Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, which, in turn, had added its own version to earlier rabbinic accounts of halakhic transmission from Moses to the Ge'onim.⁵ As a result, the catastrophe of 70 CE did not determine the structure of Zacut's chronicle, which followed rather the gentler internal differentiations between generations of rabbinic scholars, from Tanna'im and Amora'im to the most recent Spanish authorities. This structure reflects a rabbinic perspective that was interested in demonstrating the uninterrupted sequence of generations and the successful transmission of halakhic knowledge as an argument for rabbinic authority against the competing claims of both Karaites and Christians. Drawing on Talmudic and Islamic precedents, this approach could thematize the rupture of the *hurban*, the destruction, while still focusing on a narrative of resilience and reliable continuation.⁶ Not long after *Sefer Yuhasin* had been printed in Constantinople (1566) and Krakow (1580–1581), two further chronicles were published, Gedalyah ibn Yahya's *Shalshet ha-qabbalah* (Venice, 1586) and David Gans' *Tzemaḥ David* (Prague, 1592), that differed vastly from each other in terms of focus, scope and organisation, but had at least one major feature in common with *Sefer Yuhasin*: the history of the *hurban* was integrated into narratives of continuation, and the chronicles end in the author's own days.⁷

Two further works show how their authors found additional ways of distancing themselves from Christian assumptions about the destruction of 70 CE as fatal rupture and definitive end of Jewish history. Joseph ha-Kohen opened his *Divre ha-yamim le-malkhe Tsarfat u-malkhe bet Otoman ha-Togar* (Sabbioneta, 1554) with a prologue lamenting not the end of Jewish history, but rather the end of Jewish historical writing after "Yosippon ha-Kohen" had finished his work.⁸ It is precisely because Jewish history continued to unfold among the nations that the author now declared it desirable to resume historical writing, and since he opted for the open-ended form of the annalistic chronicle, he could continue to update his work in the eventful decades after its first print edition.⁹

5 On antecedents and sources of Ibn Daud's work, see Ibn Daud, *The Book of Tradition*, ed. Cohen, 159–188.

6 Zacut mentions the *hurban* repeatedly, but mainly to clarify chronological issues in the succession of tannaitic teachers; see, in particular, Zacut, *Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. Herschell Filipowski and Aron Freimann, 20–32. On the Talmudic and Islamic contexts of Ibn Daud's history of continuity, see Ibn Daud, *The Book of Tradition*, ed. Cohen, 1–lvii.

7 See, in particular, Ibn Yahya, *Shalshet ha-qabbalah*, 27r; Gans, *Tzemaḥ David*, 38v.

8 Joseph ha-Kohen, *Divre ha-yamim*, ed. Robert Bonfil, 155.

9 For a detailed analysis of the prologue, see Jacobs, *Islamische Geschichte in jüdischen Chroniken*, 92–96. For the manuscript additions, see Ms. British Library Or. 10387 and

While Joseph ha-Kohen's chronicle—with its focus on medieval and contemporary history—had no place for the events of 70 CE, they play a major role in the historical work that was printed more frequently than any other before the mid-eighteenth century, Solomon ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah* (Adrianople, [1554]). As in the other works mentioned here, the destruction of the Second Temple does not structure the historical narrative, since it begins with episodes that precede the First Revolt against the Romans and then leaps forward to the transition from Sassanid to Islamic rule in the seventh century, but it is evoked as an important issue in Ibn Verga's depictions of Jewish-Christian debates. In their context, Josephus is summoned as a witness, but not in support of Jewish arguments. It is the courtier Nicholas of Valencia, who, in his attempt to incite the Spanish king against the Jews, invokes Josephus' speech before the walls of Jerusalem in a version based on *Yosippon*. Ibn Verga skilfully adapts *Yosippon*'s text to reflect Nicholas' Christian expectation that Jewish submission would lead to salvation: "For as long as you delay your submission, you delay your salvation." The Jewish failure to act upon such advice is then presented as a testimony to Jewish obstinacy.¹⁰ Ibn Verga's evocation of Josephus, or rather *Yosippon*, as a witness to Christian theological and historical claims points to the larger Christian contexts of the reception of Josephus, in which the Jewish reception of the ancient historian—and by implication also the reception of *Yosippon*—required work. And an obvious place to begin with was *Yosippon*'s ending.

The book stood out among the early modern chronicles mentioned here, because the chronicles were "open books" with no clear endings and could be updated to reflect the ongoing course of Jewish history, whenever an author or editor considered this necessary and useful. By contrast, *Yosippon* came perilously close to suggesting an end. This was not just the obvious effect of its reliance on Josephus' oeuvre, but also a consequence of its indebtedness to Pseudo-Hegesippus' paraphrase of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, the Latin *De excidio Hierosolymitano*.¹¹ As the title signals and recent research has shown, this historical account, taking its cue from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, was entirely focused on the end of Jewish history.¹² The text is presented as the final volume of a tri-partite work, i.e. "the tail end of a totalizing historical account of the Jews," and the narrative itself emphasizes the ignominious and definitive

Or. 3656, and for their integration in the edited text: Joseph ha-Kohen, *Divre ha-yamim*, ed. Bonfil, vol. 2–3.

10 Ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, [31r] (Ch. 32); cf. sY 78; see also Cohen, *A Historian in Exile*, 166.

11 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 13–14.

12 Kletter, "The Christian Reception of Josephus;" Pollard, "The De Excidio of 'Hegesippus,'" 76–79; Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History," 265–285.

character of the Jewish defeat at the hands of the Romans, who enact God's punishment of the obstinate nation.¹³ *Sefer Yosippon* departed from Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus in its bold transformation of the final acts of the Jewish rebels, who die not at their own hands, but rather in heroic battle with the Romans. But it depicted a harrowing end nonetheless that could easily suggest closure rather than continuation.

How then could Jews engage with a historical work whose structure and narrative could be used in support of Christian perspectives that considered the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple and the defeat at Masada as the end not just of Josephus' historical account, or of Jewish historical writing, but of Jewish history itself? *Sefer Yosippon* carried with it the challenge to distance it from Christian expectations and to un-write the end. In this sense, it was not just Josephus' oeuvre whose early modern and modern reception in Jewish contexts depended on the activities of editors, commentators, translators and other mediators. *Sefer Yosippon*, too, required efforts to extricate it from Christian interpretations and to render it attractive for Jewish audiences, as the work continued to circulate as part of a Josephus tradition in the plural.¹⁴ On the following pages, I will first outline briefly a few early modern Jewish and Christian attempts to un-write and re-write *Yosippon's* endings before turning in the final part of the chapter to Menachem Man Amelander's comprehensive re-framing of *Yosippon* in his Yiddish edition (Amsterdam, 1743), which endeavours in a fresh and captivating manner to un-write the end and to craft a history of continuation after rupture and new beginnings. The complex dynamics of early modern Christian and Jewish receptions of *Yosippon* are presented here in terms of "history" and "counter-history" to underline the argumentative and antagonistic character of the various ways in which early modern writers engaged with endings and beginnings.¹⁵ The terms should not be taken to support a linear account, however, in which Christian "history" would invariably find its response in Jewish "counter-history." From a Christian perspective, writing and re-writing endings to *Yosippon* could be presented as a counter-historical practice, aimed at making Josephus work for Christian rather than Jewish interpretations of history. From a Jewish point of view, un-writing Christian endings could be perceived as a counter-historical attempt at undoing Christian readings of Jewish history and simultaneously as

13 Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History," 269.

14 Cf. Schatz, "Introduction," 6.

15 For the dialogue between David Biale and Amos Funkenstein in which "counter-history" emerged as a multi-layered concept in Jewish historiography, see Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, 32–49 and Biale, "Counter-History."

an effort to establish a compelling new history of continuation. In other words, all attempts to engage with *Yosippon*'s endings were already forms of reception and provoked new and interesting forms of counter-reception, as editors, translators and printers provided their audiences with carefully crafted textual frameworks to guide their interpretations of the book.¹⁶ Menachem Man Amelander's twin set of *Yosippon* and its sequel, published in 1743, plays a pivotal role in these processes. It takes its readers beyond the polemical forms of writing and un-writing endings that dominated the early print history of *Yosippon* and suggests that it might become possible to establish a historical narrative with which Jews and Christians might engage equally and on equal terms.

2 Consolation

As we have seen, the Mantua edition of *Yosippon* follows Recension B that links the catastrophic loss of the Temple to a new beginning in the rabbinic world of synagogues and *batei midrash*, thus prising open the end again and creating a truly "open book" that invites readers to link Josephus' biography and works to the historical continuity of Jewish life and rabbinic transmission in exile.

When *Sefer Yosippon* was printed for the second time, it was in very different circumstances. After the expulsion from Spain, the brothers David and Samuel ibn Naḥmias had established in Constantinople the first printing press of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷ *Sefer Yosippon* was issued in 1510 by David and his son Samuel ibn Naḥmias with the financial backing of Jacob Tam ben David ibn Yahya and Samuel Rikomin.¹⁸ Tam, a leading rabbinical scholar in Constantinople, who had been born in Portugal and moved to Italy in 1493 before reaching the Ottoman Empire, showed further support for the publication by adding an epilogue in praise of the book. Here, he firmly anchors *Yosippon* in contemporary Jewish contexts, describing the pain and confusion caused by the expulsions from Spain and Portugal, and presenting the book as an answer to the suffering of the people: "My heart saw the terrible events and many hardships, calamities and desolation that have befallen my people,

16 For a nuanced and stimulating discussion of "counter-reception" in Jewish contexts, see Rosenzweig, "The Widow of Ephesus." For *SY*, its reception history, and counter-history, see Dönitz, "Historiography Among Byzantine Jews," 958–960; Dönitz, "Josephus im jiddischen Gewand," 57.

17 On the early history of printing in Constantinople, see Offenberg, "The Printing History;" Hacker, "Authors, Readers and Printers," 16–63, and the literature mentioned there.

18 *Sefer Yosippon*, Constantinople, 1510, [155v], colophon.

the exiles of Jerusalem in Sepharad, in the bitter and reckless expulsion ... We, in particular, who are hurled around at all times, need strong support to lean on it, as the troubles are many and frequent, and this book heals the illness to some extent, as it tells of [the events] that befell our ancestors and the miracles that occurred to them ...".¹⁹ Tam's praise for the power of *Yosippon* to heal "to some extent" and to answer questions about Jewish suffering in exile is only intelligible, of course, if the book is not framed as focused on a devastating end. And indeed, the Constantinople edition attempts even more comprehensively than the Mantua edition—and in a very different way—to un-write the end.

The edition was based on the significantly expanded manuscript tradition established by Judah Mosqoni in the fourteenth century, i.e. on Recension C.²⁰ Mosqoni's recension had created a "reception loop," as it were, in the relationship between *Yosippon* and Abraham ibn Daud's historical work. Ibn Daud had supplemented his *Sefer ha-qabbalah* on halakhic transmission with a short survey of Roman history (*Zikhron divre Romi*) and an abbreviated version of *Yosippon* (*Divre malkhe Yisra'el*), followed by a brief précis of Israel's "ten exiles" (*'Eser galuyot*) and a short midrash on the historical and redemptive meanings of Zechariah's prophecies.²¹ Mosqoni, in turn, used Ibn Daud's ending of *Divre malkhe Yisra'el* and the midrash on Zechariah to re-fashion the ending of his version of *Yosippon*.²² Following Ibn Daud, his recension foregrounded the themes of continuation and restoration, and the Constantinople edition disseminated this version in print.

In this new version, the story of Masada ends with a moving lament, a *qinah*, ascribed to Joseph ha-Kohen, who expresses grief over destruction and exile, prays for the downfall of Israel's oppressors, calls for God's vengeance, and concludes with prophecies of the rebuilding of the city and temple and the ingathering of exiles.²³ Mosqoni's recension then re-opens the historical narrative and, switching to Ibn Daud's text, creates a strong link between times of destruction and times of continuation through the figures of Titus and Yohanan ben Zakkai: Titus permitted the "remnant of Israel" to stay in a few places, among them Yavneh, and although the Roman general had intended to kill Rabban Gamliel, he listened to Yohanan ben Zakkai's pleading and

19 *Sefer Yosippon*, Constantinople, 1510, [152v].

20 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 91–102.

21 On *Yosippon* and Ibn Daud, see Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 223–239, and Katja Vehlow's introduction to Ibn Daud, *Dorot 'Olam*, ed. Vehlow, 29–30.

22 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 237.

23 SY in BAV, MS Borg.ebr.1, 190v (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.ebr.1, accessed 28 July 2022).

spared the scholar's life.²⁴ In reproducing Mosqoni's text, the Constantinople edition found a way to address Josephus' omission of the world of rabbinic teaching from his account. The text evokes vividly the precarious situation for the Sages after the *ḥurban*, while simultaneously affirming continuation even more emphatically than the Mantua edition had attempted with its brief mention of the Bet ha-midrash on the Tiber island. The episode involving Titus and Yohanan ben Zakkai leads to an extensive apology for the Roman leader, a "just and honest man" (*tsaddiq ve-yashar*), whose misfortune it was to become entangled in the history of destruction.²⁵ Responsibility for the catastrophe rests with the Jewish people alone, who did not preserve unity among themselves, as the subsequent part, the midrash on Zechariah's prophecies, explains in great detail. The midrash correlates Zechariah's dark prophecies to events of the Second Temple period and singles out Agrippa II and the rebels as those who brought destruction to the land. The Constantinople edition, again following Mosqoni, offers an abbreviated paraphrase of the midrash, reminding its readers repeatedly of the parts of *Sefer Yosippon* where they could find a full account of the events. The narrative culminates in prophecies of consolation taken from Zechariah and Ezekiel.²⁶

In this version, the "un-written end" does not only point to the continuation of rabbinic transmission in exile and future restoration of the sovereignty of the people. It also serves as a two-fold argument against Christian claims. Firstly, Titus cannot be considered a tool of God's plan to punish the Jewish people for resisting Christianity, since it was Jewish internal strife that brought about the catastrophe. And secondly, the promises about the restoration of the Davidic kingdom are still valid, since Zechariah's prophecies apply only to the

24 SY in BAV, MS Borg.ebr.1, 191r; Ibn Daud, *Dorot 'Olam*, ed. Vehlow, 344–345; SY in Constantinople, 1510, [151v]. The episode is also included in *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, and is followed by a summary that links the destruction of the Temple directly to Yohanan ben Zakkai's successful transfer of rabbinic teaching to Yavneh: "After the destruction of the Temple, he went up to Jamnia and judged Israel from there, enacting new laws and making hedges about the Torah, up to the time when he passed away in Jamnia." Cohen's edition inserts a chapter ending after this passage, but in the contexts discussed here, it may be mentioned that in the early print editions the account continues uninterrupted, presenting the generations of the Tanna'im, until a new heading announces the next chapter on the Amora'im.

25 SY in Constantinople, 1510, [151v]. In the subsequent illustrated editions of the Yiddish *Yosippon*, two different perceptions of Titus compete against each other. While *Yosippon's* text emphasises Titus' compassion, it is illustrated, in Ch. 92, with a portrait inscribed *Titus ha-resha'* ("Titus the wicked"), the form in which Titus' name appears in *b. Gittin* 56b and in midrashic literature. (The inscription is missing only in Frankfurt 1707/1708, where a different portrait was chosen.)

26 SY in Constantinople, 1510, [152r], referring to Zech 14:6 and Ezek 39:25–29.

rulers of the Second Temple period, who were not of Davidic descent. In light of this argument, *Yosippon* could be read as a source of reassurance and hope despite its dramatic descriptions of death and devastation.

When Tam ibn Yahya situated *Yosippon* poetically in the contexts of the expulsions from Iberia, he could highlight the “healing” power of the work, because its ending had been transformed thoroughly to reflect continuation and an ongoing promise of restoration.²⁷ In the next edition of the work, such importance was attributed to Tam’s introduction that it was placed at the beginning of the book as a new prologue. The edition was published in Venice in 1544, when Hebrew printing was taken up briefly by the Farri brothers.²⁸ Cornelio Adelkind, who had worked for Daniel Bomberg until the fortunes of the famous printer declined, supervised the edition, which reproduced the Constantinople edition with only few modifications.²⁹ Among them are three polemical lines against Esau and Edom, i.e. Rome, that—in the transition from Islamic to Christian lands—disappeared from Yosef ha-Kohen’s *qinah*: “And may he arise in his great goodness to take vengeance from all nations, as is written in his prophet’s book: ‘I will wreak my vengeance on Edom through my people Israel’ [Ezek 25:14]; and his prophet said also: ‘The House of Jacob shall be fire and the House of Joseph flame, and the House of Esau shall be straw; they shall burn it and devour it’ [Obad 1:1].”³⁰

The Venetian edition formed the basis of all subsequent print editions of *Yosippon*, and one might say that in Mantua, Constantinople and Venice already much of the editorial work was accomplished that made it possible for *Yosippon* to be received in Ashkenazic contexts north of the Alps.

3 Endings in a Christian Key

At the same time, *Sefer Yosippon* had not gone unnoticed among Christian Hebraists. Its reception, however, remained for a long time somewhat messy and incomplete. The combination of theological, philological and historical

27 The second part of Tam’s epilogue was taken from Mosqoni’s introduction to *Yosippon* and ended on a similar note.

28 Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, 199–201.

29 Thus, Ch. 63 ends in the Constantinople edition at an earlier point than in the Venice edition, which may explain partially why Sebastian Münster chose it as the cut-off point for his edition; see below, p. 610.

30 *Sefer Yosippon*, Constantinople, 1510, [151v]; the beginning is included in *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Flusser, 1.431 (SY 89, lines 146–149). Venetian censorship laws were tightened in 1543, but not strictly enforced: Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 76–85.

interests that shaped the engagement of many Christian readers with the work, left its traces also on their treatment of *Yosippon's* endings.³¹ This is obvious already in the various approaches chosen by Sebastian Münster, who was the first to translate and publish parts of the book in Christian contexts. Münster's interrelated interests in Hebraica, chronology, history and geography found an early expression in his *Kalendarium Hebraicum* about Jewish chronology (Basel: Johann Froben, 1527) that includes excerpts from Ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-qabbalah*. The very abbreviated presentation covers Ibn Daud's history from Adam to the Second Revolt against the Romans and may appear, at first glance, rather unremarkable.³² When we come across the story of Titus and Yoḥanan ben Zakkai that Ibn Daud included not just in *Divre malkhe Yisra'el* but also, in slightly extended form, in *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, one may wonder, however, whether Münster did not adapt the text to Christian contexts already in his first brief encounter with Ibn Daud's work. In the Hebrew text, Münster reproduces Ibn Daud's tale of Vespasian who advised his son Titus before leaving for Rome to honour Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, the great Sage. In the Latin translation, however, Yoḥanan ben Zakkai disappears, and Titus is advised "to honour Rabbi Joseph the historiographer" (*ut honoret Rabbi Ioseph historiographum*).³³ Münster then continues with Ibn Daud's text about the date of the destruction of the Temple, but instead of linking Titus to Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and a history of continuation, Münster only mentions the murder of Yishma'el ben Elisha', the High Priest, and of Simon ben Gamliel, the Nasi. The same passage that Ibn Daud had used to create an account of (precarious) continuation has seemingly turned through a few small twists into the history of a quite undeniable end. Münster, however, continues with his excerpts. The final lines mention the Bar Kokhba Revolt, followed by a note on the redaction of the Mishnah and the medical works of Galen and Hippocrates. Here, Münster's scholarly interest in Jewish and pagan religious and cultural productivity clearly consigns theological arguments to the margins.

A couple of years later, Münster returns to Ibn Daud and publishes *Divre malkhe Yisra'el* in Hebrew and Latin, preceded by Maimonides' *Thirteen Principles* (Worms: Schöffler, 1529). With this publication, Münster adds a

31 For a detailed overview on the Latin, German and English reception, see Vehlow, "Fascinated by Josephus," 413–435; Ibn Daud, *Dorot 'Olam*, 63–73.

32 It is no surprise that Münster adds a note of caution to the Talmudic claim, reproduced by Ibn Daud, that Jesus was Yehoshua' ben Perahyah's disciple, and thus lived far earlier than the Gospels claim; Münster, *Kalendarium Hebraicum*, 59.

33 Münster appears to have read the abbreviation ריב"ז as Rabbi Yosef ben Gurion, mistaking the letter *zayin* for *gimel*, a mistake found already earlier in the text: Münster, *Kalendarium Hebraicum*, 59 and 61.

variant to previous approaches that either emphasized the dramatic and drastic end of Yosippon or sought to un-write it and re-open the narrative. Münster faithfully reproduces Ibn Daud's brief introduction to *Divre malkhe Yisra'el*, which formulates explicitly the argument for the ongoing validity of the prophecies about the restoration of the Davidic kingdom that was also folded into the midrash on Zechariah. He now also presents the story of Titus and Yoḥanan ben Zakkai accurately. And yet, he interferes more purposefully than in the earlier publication with the text's endings: he deletes Ibn Daud's references to the ingathering of exiles and the restoration of the Jewish people at the end of *Divre malkhe Yisra'el* and omits the midrash on Zechariah, keeping only the promise of a return of the Davidic kingdom. On the following two pages, he directly addresses the Jewish reader in a Hebrew and Latin postscriptum, proclaiming the fulfilment of the prophecies about the return of the Davidic kingdom, deploring Jewish intransigence and calling on the Jewish reader to convert. Even if this may have been a somewhat perfunctory addendum, aimed at contemporary Christian readers who needed to be reassured of Münster's unwavering commitment to the fundamentals of the Christian faith,³⁴ it was also an effective way to un-write the end differently. According to this conversionist "un-written end," Jews will have a part in the promised future of the Davidic kingdom, but only if they accept the end of their history as a people and join the Christian fold.

Münster's edition of Ibn Daud's work was published as an "elegant compendium of Josephus' histories" (*Compendium elegans historiarum Iosephi*). Ibn Daud's name completely vanished from the work, as it was ascribed, in Münster's Latin preface, to "Iosippus Iudaeus." A difference between Josephus and "Iosippus" was thus established, but *Divre malkhe Yisra'el* rather than *Sefer Yosippon* was attributed to the later author.³⁵ The compendium was almost immediately translated into German by Hans Schwyntzer as *Josippi Judische Historien* (Strasbourg, 1530). Schwyntzer's edition contains none of the framing texts of Münster's work—neither the preface nor the conversionist postscriptum—which renders it remarkably "neutral."³⁶ The same cannot be said, however, for German, English and Latin editions of the work that, after a hiatus of twenty years, enjoyed great popularity in the 1550s and into the seventeenth century. As Katja Vehlou has shown, these renditions either replicated

34 Cf. Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, 77–79 and 81–86; Burnett, "A Dialogue of the Deaf."

35 Münster, *Shelosh 'esreh 'iqqarim*. Accordingly, the running page headers consist of "Yosef" in Hebrew and "Iosippus" in Latin.

36 For contexts of his work, see Vehlou, "Fascinated by Josephus," 417.

Münster's alternative "un-written end," gesturing towards conversion, or they invoked in stark terms the end of the Jewish nation.³⁷

Münster returned to *Sefer Yosippon* with his *Iosephus hebraicus* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1541). This time the title page promises a translation of the work itself, "based on the Constantinople edition." The reader, however, who might have expected Münster to follow the Hebrew text closely, would have found the edition quite perplexing. A few changes certainly appeared sensible to contemporary readers: Münster continued to argue for Josephus' authorship of the work, which required him to dismiss the first pages of *Yosippon* as interpolations, since they clearly refer to medieval history and geography. Thus his edition only began with the Daniel story in Chapter 3.³⁸ This does not explain, however, why the volume is surprisingly slim. It is a small remark on the title page that hints at the reason: the work comprises sacred histories "a captivitate Babylonica usque ad praesidem Pilatum." Consequently, the text breaks off soon after Münster inserted into his Latin commentary the Testimonium Flavianum with its reference to Pilate. The final section includes the beginning of Agrippa II's reign, where the Hebrew text offers a short preview of events. In the Constantinople edition, the passage ends with the date of the destruction of the Second Temple, which brings Chapter 63 to a close. Münster may have found that this offered a convenient caesura: the preview of the end could stand in for the end itself. It remains remarkable, however, that Münster's decision to finish his work at this point left two fifths of the book (as printed in Constantinople) unedited and untranslated.³⁹ The reader, who might have relied on the information offered on the title page, would also discover something else when closely studying the ending: Münster used for the text itself the Mantua edition rather than Constantinople. He could have found the final words of his edition only in Conat's version: "And in Agrippa's days, the Second

37 Vehlow, "Fascinated by Josephus," 417–425. Vehlow's analysis also situates the reception of the work carefully in its respective Protestant and Catholic contexts.

38 Münster, *Iosephus hebraicus*, Praefatio (unpaginated). Azariah de' Rossi was among those who welcomed Münster's critical remarks about presumed interpolations; cf. De' Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, 331.

39 See also below, n. 46. The first complete Latin translations of the work were published by Johannes Gagnier (Oxford, 1706) and Johann Friedrich Breithaupt (Gotha, 1707), and in their criticism of Münster both followed Scaliger, who had sharply criticized Münster's edition for its incompleteness, unreliability and failure to recognize the pseudepigraphic character of the work: Scaliger, *Elenchus trihaeresii Nicolai Serarii*, 41–45; cf. also Grafton and Weinberg, "I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue," 202–207. For a summary of the positions of De' Rossi, Scaliger and Casaubon on the authorship of *Yosippon*, see Zeldes, *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance*, 140–152.

Temple was destroyed, and great wars erupted in the entire land of Judaea and the entire land of Aram."⁴⁰

The Latin part of the edition translates these words and offers a final long comment by Münster that links Agrippa I tentatively to the Apostle Paul (based on Acts 26), and recapitulates Josephus' account of Agrippa's deification and death (*AJ* 19.343–350). After this juxtaposition of the apostle and the king, the comment ends with words that in a rather factual manner re-iterate the Christian emphasis on the devastating end of the "Jewish War": "Atque interim Agrippa iunior praefuit tetrarchiae Philippi Bathanaeae, & Trachonitidi, sub quo & Ierosolyma destructa fuit."⁴¹

It was left to another author to provide readers with a first complete translation of *Sefer Yosippon*—and it would be a translation not into the *lingua franca* of Christian scholarship, but rather into the vernacular of Ashkenazic Jews.

4 Un-writing the End in Two Languages

The first complete edition of *Yosippon* produced north of the Alps was Michael Adam's Yiddish translation, published by Froschauer's press in Zurich in 1546, just two years after the Venice edition, on which it relies. Michael Adam was a convert, who had assisted Konrad Pellikan and Paul Fagius with their Hebrew endeavours.⁴² Before publishing his *Yosippon* translation, he had translated Jonah Gerondi's *Sefer ha-yir'ah*, published by Froschauer in the same year as *Yosippon*, and he had very likely contributed as an editor to the Yiddish Pentateuch translation published by Paulus Fagius in Constance in 1544.⁴³ The translator lived at the seams between Christian and Jewish worlds, and he created a beautiful edition that invited both audiences to engage with it.

The edition was produced with great care. Adam's own Yiddish introduction affirms Josephus as the author of *Yosippon*, situates the book in the wider context of contemporary translations from Hebrew into the vernacular,

40 *Sefer Yosippon*, Mantua, [91v]; the words would also be included in the Venice edition, [92v]. Azariah de' Rossi had already noticed the proximity of Conat's and Münster's editions in their omission of Vespasian's enthronement in Rome: De' Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, 332. Leopold Zunz identified the Mantua edition as Münster's *vorlage*: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 154 note b); cf. also Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke*, 97. Münster himself refers explicitly to Conat's praise of the book and quotes from it in his "Praefatio."

41 Münster, *Iosephus hebraicus*, 178.

42 For the few known biographical details, see Sidorko, "Zürich und der hebräische Buchdruck," 114–115.

43 Shtif, "Mikhael Adams dray yidishe bikher."

outlines some of the content, and speaks proudly of the many illustrations that adorn the book.⁴⁴ These themes would have been of interest to both Jewish and Christian readers. More specifically relevant for Jewish readers was the next part: Adam kept Tam ibn Yahya's Hebrew prologue on the significance of *Yosippon* after the expulsions from Iberia. In the main part, Adam also clearly addressed Jewish readers when adding many explanations of expressions that might have sounded unfamiliar in Yiddish. Another feature, however, was certainly intended mainly for a Christian audience and might have looked odd to Jewish readers: the Hebrew text of the title page and Tam's prologue were vocalized. Adam further included a brief explanation of the transcription of Yiddish vowels—a supplement that both Jewish and Christian readers may have found useful.⁴⁵ But how did Adam approach *Yosippon's* end? Remarkably, the presentation of his translation amplifies the messages of continuation and consolation for the Jewish people on the final pages of the book. Joseph ha-Kohen's *qinah* and the quotes from Zechariah and Ezekiel are presented bilingually, in Hebrew and in Yiddish translation. This renders their self-assertive un-writing of the end visually very prominent. Rather than seeking to un-do the un-writing of the end that he found in his Venetian *vorlage*, as, for instance, Münster had attempted, Adam creates more space for it and faithfully reproduces it. Thus, the edition turns into a quite explicit attempt to communicate to Jews why the book matters to them, and to Christians why the book matters to Jews.⁴⁶

44 Froschauer used woodcuts from the famous *Zurich Bible* and *Stumpf's Chronicle*, some of them based on designs by Hans Holbein the Younger; see Sidorko, "The most beautiful printed book."

45 The text is nearly identical to the explanation appended to the Yiddish translation of *Sefer ha-middot* (*Orhot tzaddiqim*), published anonymously in Isny (1542). For an analysis of the short description, which appears to address primarily Jewish readers, who would not have needed instruction in reading and writing the consonants, see Frakes, *The Cultural Study of Yiddish in Early Modern Europe*, 20–23, 33–34, and for the transcription and translation of both versions: 92–93 and 124–125. Cf. also Max Weinreich, *Shtaplen*, 106–115.

46 In the meantime, Sebastian Münster had remained interested in *Yosippon*, but just when Michael Adam might have hoped that the Christian scholar would acknowledge the merits of his work, he was harshly rejected. Already in 1544, Münster had mentioned in a letter to Andreas Masius that he had heard about the new Venetian edition of the work, whose "first part" he had translated three years ago, and a few weeks later, he reports to Pellikan that Schreckenfuchs had sent him the Venetian print. In 1550, he writes to Pellikan that he is now translating *Yosippon's* description of "the destruction of Jerusalem," and asks whether Pellikan has the Venetian edition so that he might compare a few passages. In the following paragraph, Münster mentions Michael Adam, who had used the Venetian print—indeed probably Pellikan's copy—for his Yiddish translation, but only to say

Over the following 200 years, the further reception of *Yosippon* in Ashkenaz north of the Alps unfolds at a rather hesitant pace. The Krakow edition of 1589 follows in text and layout closely the Venetian version of 1544 with Tam's preface, its table of contents and arrangement of the text in two columns, although it uses semi-cursive rather than square letters, its colophon refers to the typesetters only and does not include words in praise of the book. Overall, the book attests to the uneven printing standards in Krakow after the splendid beginnings of the press, when a Krakow edition could hardly be told apart from a Venetian book, and in contrast to the Zurich edition, the volume shows no specific engagement with *Yosippon*. In 1607, Michael Adam's Yiddish translation was re-printed in Prague, but without Adam's name.⁴⁷ The title page, now in Yiddish, diverges from its predecessors to emphasise Yosef ben Gurion's captivity as an instance of *qiddush ha-shem*, while omitting the reference to the respect the author had enjoyed among the Romans, and it concludes with the hope for the rebuilding of the Temple "that we would like to see." This wish foreshadows the book's ending that remained textually the same, while being visually enhanced: the printer's mark shows the temple, reaffirming the hope for restoration.⁴⁸

When *Yosippon* was re-printed in Yiddish in Amsterdam in 1661, a resolute effort was made to render the work more familiar and attractive for contemporary readers. The Yiddish language of the translation is revised, the editor adds his own short Yiddish preface to Michael Adam's preface, and a new set of woodcuts is included. Adam's emphatic bilingual rendition of biblical prophecies and promises at the end, however, is preserved. An important transformation of the work occurs in terms of the format: in Frankfurt, where the Hebrew *Yosippon* is published again, the work is printed in octavo as a book to carry in one's pocket, or as the printer says, as a book that readers "can carry with them in the streets and marketplaces."⁴⁹ This development continued with

that Adam was in prison and he had refused to bail out "the scoundrel." Münster, *Briefe*, Nr. 23–24 (88–94) and 48 (179–183); Sidorko, "Zürich und der hebräische Buchdruck," 115.

47 The colophon that included Adam's name was omitted. In addition, the known copies of this quarto edition lack—after the title page and table of contents—the second quire, which would have included prefaces. Numeration starts with the third quire, where the main text begins. This is the case for the copy of the Wagenseil Collection and the three copies described in detail in Sixtová, "Hebrew Printing in Prague, 1512–1672," 459–460. As the first quires were sometimes printed at the end, it is possible that the second quire was never produced. (I am grateful to Olga Sixtová for this information.)

48 On the use of Giustiniani's famous Venetian printer's mark in Prague, see Heller, "The Printer's Mark of Marco Antonio Giustiniani."

49 *Sefer Yosippon*, Frankfurt, 1689. A further Yiddish edition was printed in Frankfurt in 1707/1708.

the Amsterdam edition of 1723 which, after the small but quite voluminous Frankfurt edition, was produced as a relatively slim book, but at a price: the type is tiny.

Over this long period, the editions remain faithful to the structure of *Yosippon* as established in Venice, and editors saw no reason to re-engage with the question whether *Yosippon*'s endings reflected sufficiently the continuation of Jewish history to their own days. This changed, however, when Menachem Man Amelander turned to *Yosippon* and prepared a new Yiddish edition. It was published in Amsterdam in 1743, re-printed frequently,⁵⁰ and became the most successful early modern version of the work.

5 Continuation in “the East” and in “the West”

The title page of Amelander's edition does not betray the significance of the new undertaking: it merely highlights that the Yiddish language has been adapted to contemporary usage and that letters and illustrations have been refreshed. The preface explains, however, that *Yosippon* has now acquired a supplement, titled *She'erit Yisra'el*. This chronicle of Jewish life in exile “from the time when Josephus stopped writing to the present moment”⁵¹ linked *Yosippon* to the group of Hebrew chronicles mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Just like them, *She'erit Yisra'el* presented a global and open-ended history of the Jewish people and was shaped by a strong commitment to the continuation of Jewish life “here and now.” Just as the Krakow edition of Zacut's *Sefer Yuhasin* had proclaimed a new centre of Jewish learning in Poland and Gans' *Tsemah David* had emphasised the successful relationship of the Jewish community with the emperor in Prague, Amelander now depicts flourishing Ashkenazic and Sephardic life in Amsterdam. Although Amelander did not interfere with the established Venetian form of *Sefer Yosippon*, he changed its ending in a very expansive and decisive way, twinning the work with a chronicle that re-opened the historical narrative and took it to the times and places of *Yosippon*'s contemporary readers. Connecting *Yosippon* to *She'erit Yisra'el* created an overarching narrative of loss and redemption that gave meaning to exilic history as proof of God's ongoing promise to his people, and justified the lively interest among early modern Jews not just in ancient history, but also in the history of their own times and places. Thus, the chronicle achieved the

50 Six re-prints followed in less than 60 years: Fürth, 1767 and 1771; Amsterdam, 1771; Nowy Dwor, 1785; Dyhernfurth, 1799; Lvov, 1801.

51 Amelander, *She'erit Yisra'el*, title page.

task of dissociating *Yosippon* comprehensively and decisively from Christian supersessionist claims and any attempts to write post-exilic Jews out of world history.⁵²

In his undertaking, Amelander made judicious use of a Christian work that could serve as the basis for his own historical project: he drew on Jean-Jacques Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs* (Den Haag, 1706–1707), conceived as a sequel to Josephus that was soon translated into Dutch, which made the work accessible to Amelander. For Basnage, a Huguenot author who had found refuge in the Netherlands, Jewish history had not ceased to matter after the destruction of the Temple. In the context of renewed lively interest in the Hebrew Republic and in Jewish laws and institutions in the seventeenth century, it was possible for Basnage to count on wide-spread interest in his undertaking, and he made sure to frame his chronicle by ending it with a vision of the eventual conversion of Jews.⁵³

When Amelander set out to re-open the historical narrative again after *Yosippon*, he did so in a two-fold way, turning first to Jews in “the East” and then to “the West.”⁵⁴ In a first step, he takes his readers back to the wars preceding the destruction of the First Temple and to the exile of the ten tribes of Israel. He reproduces the legendary accounts, based on Biblical verses, of vast numbers of Jewish people residing in Persia, Ethiopia, Babylonia and beyond, referring to Josephus, *Yosippon* and *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani*.⁵⁵ In doing so, Amelander also sheds new light on an intriguing aspect of the earliest print history of *Yosippon*. Already in Mantua, *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani* had been printed alongside *Yosippon*,⁵⁶ and in Venice, the small work was issued just a few months after *Yosippon* had left the press.⁵⁷ That it might be possible to perceive a connection between the two books, however, was not made explicit and becomes apparent only in Amelander's first chapter: suggesting a link between *Yosippon* and Eldad ha-Dani with his stories about the Ten Tribes was yet another possibility to un-write the end. The existence of the Tribes demonstrated that, far from marking an end, exile could sustain the continuation of Jewish life:

52 For an analysis of these dynamics and Menasseh ben Israel's earlier attempt to produce a sequel to Josephus' work, see Schatz, “A Tradition in the Plural,” 62–65.

53 On Amelander's relationship to Basnage, see Wallet, *Links in a Chain*, 178–208; Wallet, “Hidden Polemic.”

54 Amelander, *She'erit Yisra'el*, 5r, following Basnage's nomenclature and structure.

55 For a nuanced investigation of the diverse traditions about the Ten Tribes, see Ben-Dor Benite, *The Ten Lost Tribes*.

56 See above, p. 599 n. 1, and Perry, *Eldad's Travels*, 13 and 37–41.

57 The anthology, in which *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani* was included, would be the last Hebrew book published by Adelkind in the press of the Farri brothers: Habermann, *Ha-madpis Cornelio Adelkind*.

the Tribes prospered in their new dwelling places and even had kings, armies and a degree of political sovereignty. Thus, they could offer consolation and reassurance to Amelander's readers, who "should not think that the Holy One Blessed be He has abandoned us entirely, Heaven forbid, as some of the nations say, namely, that they are justified, because they have kings and we don't."⁵⁸ God's promise that the "sceptre will not depart from Judah" (Gen 49:10) was still valid.⁵⁹ Since some readers, however, might have been sceptical of the existence of the Tribes, Amelander reproduces Isaac Akrish's fascinating account of his own disbelief in the stories he heard about the Tribes, when he lived in Constantinople and Egypt, and of his encounter with Samuel Shullam, the famous physician and first editor of Abraham Zacut's *Sefer Yuhasin*, who persuaded him to reconsider the matter in light of reliable testimony to their existence.⁶⁰

Having assured his readers of the continuation of Jewish life in "the East," Amelander re-opens the narrative a second time, turning to "the West," and more specifically to the Jews of Rome. Here, one almost expects to find Josephus on the Tiber island with its synagogue and Bet ha-midrash, as Conat's edition had depicted it. Amelander, however, offers a far more comprehensive account of Jewish self-assertion in Rome. Already Augustus, he informs his readers, "awarded the Jews civil rights (*burger rekht*), so that they should be equal to all the other nations; he also granted them the freedom to worship and to observe their Shabbat and holidays publicly ... They had their own jurisdiction (*mishpat*), and if a serious matter occurred, they sent a letter to the Sanhedrin that resided in Jerusalem. They also had their particular street, where they lived on the other side of the Tiber, until Titus defeated Jerusalem and brought many thousands of Jews as captives to Rome. At that time, the space for Jews became too small, and the Jews who had come with Titus were given—also on account of their great poverty—a different place ... but the Jews who lived near the Tiber continued to reside there."⁶¹

Amelander's striking narrative clearly reflects the language, realities and aspirations of Sephardim and Ashkenazim in early modern Amsterdam far more accurately than the experience of the ancient Jewish community in

58 Amelander, *She'erit Yisra'el*, 2r, alluding to Christian interpretation of Gen 49:10.

59 For the Dutch contexts, nuances and ramifications of this claim, see Albert, *Jewish Politics*, 254–296.

60 Akrish had published his brief work *Qol mevasser* in Constantinople, ca. 1577, and it was reprinted several times; Amelander refers explicitly to the edition published in Offenbach in 1720. Basnage had opened his Seventh Book with reports on the Ten Tribes, and Amelander takes up this theme for his own purposes, crafting a chapter that is largely independent of Basnage.

61 Amelander, *She'erit Yisra'el*, 5v.

Rome. Not even the distinction between long-standing residents and newly arriving exiles, in which his readers might have recognized tensions that affected their own community, is omitted.⁶² Amelander arrived at his lively picture by using Basnage's more detailed and intricate account that often refers to Paul's stay in Rome, while stripping it of all its negative or ambivalent nuances.⁶³ In this sense, Basnage and Amelander remained involved in creating histories and counter-histories, and they continued to disagree about the future of the Jewish people. However, the situatedness of Amelander's Yiddish oeuvre at the interstices between Jewish and Christian worlds—reminiscent of Michael Adam's earlier work—also points to new possibilities. The parallel between Amelander's and Basnage's depiction of Jews with *burger rekht* (in Yiddish) or *Burgerrecht* (in Dutch) suggests that, at least for a moment, the Christian and Jewish historians might have agreed that endeavours to “un-write the end” should form part of a historical opening in the present that would involve the establishment of civil rights for Jews and thus a more equal basis for engaging in debates about endings, beginnings and the continuation of Jewish exilic life.

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62 On the complex relationship between the Polish Jews who had fled to Amsterdam after the persecutions and wars of the 1640s and 1650s and the established Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities, see Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 259–271.

63 Basnage, *Vervolg*, 2.1343.

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Two millennia ago, the Jewish priest-turned-general Flavius Josephus, captured by the emperor Vespasian in the middle of the Roman-Jewish War (66–70 CE), spent the last decades of his life in Rome writing several historiographical works in Greek. Josephus was eagerly read and used by Christian thinkers, but eventually his writings became the basis for the early-10th century Hebrew text called *Sefer Yosippon*, reintegrating Josephus into the Jewish tradition. This volume marks the first edited collection to be dedicated to the study of Josephus, *Yosippon*, and their reception histories. Consisting of critical inquiries into one or both of these texts and their afterlives, this volume paves the way for future research on the Josephan tradition in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and beyond.

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