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JOSEPHUS AND THE MACCABEAN REVOLT:
THE REPRESENTATION OF THE EARLY MACCABEES
IN THE WRITINGS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

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ABSTRACT

Title: Josephus and the Maccabean Revolt: the Representation of the Early Maccabees in the Writings of Flavius Josephus.

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The aim of this thesis is to analyse Josephus' presentation of the early Hasmonean leaders in his two narratives of the Maccabean Revolt (*War* i. 31-53; *Ant.* xii. 237-xiii. 216), namely Mattathias, Judas Maccabaeus, Jonathan, and the early years of Simon. By a detailed 'context-critical' examination this thesis highlights features that are unique to Josephus' rendition of the period, as well as themes and literary motifs that play a central role throughout his literary enterprise. Both narratives provide ample opportunity for research due to their important historical functions and, in the case of the *Antiquities of the Jews*, because Josephus' source survives allowing for direct scholarly comparison. I will argue that in both Josephus' accounts of this event, he constructs the individuals of his narrative to reflect biblical and Hellenistic models, while the revolt itself is built in contradistinction to the later First Jewish Revolt – he achieves this by stressing themes of justice and tyranny. This thesis represents the first detailed analysis of Josephus' presentation of the Maccabean Revolt.

Part 1 of this thesis is concerned with Flavius Josephus as an author. It tackles commonly debated questions surrounding the authenticity of his work, as well as summarising scholarly approaches to using his work. The main outcome of this introductory part is the definition of an appropriate methodology, which I then apply to the two case studies in parts 2 and 3.

In Part 2, the account of the Maccabean Revolt in the *Jewish War* of Flavius Josephus is examined. I identify the significance of this introductory narrative to the wider framework of *War*. This part offers a detailed study of Josephus' motives and audience, with the aim of establishing a suitable historical and literary context for the subsequent examination of the *War*. I apply the 'context-critical' method to identify the key themes and designs of the narrative, and focus on the virtues of the Maccabees as leaders of the Jewish resistance.

Part 3 represents a concentrated study of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and, in particular, his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. Methodological questions relating to the *Antiquities* are discussed, in particular those relating to audience and genre. Previous studies of Josephus and 1 Maccabees have revealed his care and competence in the treatment of sources. This part contains a focused enquiry into the key features of *Antiquities* and suggests an alternative literary genre of 'ethnic discourse'. I survey Josephus' narrative identifying the main functions of his thorough rewriting process. In this examination I have found several previously unnoticed aspects of the text, which come to light as a result of the 'context-critical' methodology.

Appendices contain an annotated map of the Maccabean uprising in the light of the Josephan evidence, and a list of significant additions or omissions in Josephus' paraphrase of 1 Maccabees.

To my wife, Beth, with gratitude and affection.

In memory of Mr. David Grant, an educator in the noblest sense of the word, who died too young.

כִּי יֵשׁ לְעֵץ הַקִּנּוּהָ אִם-גִּבְרַת וְעוֹד יִחַלֶּיף וְיִנְקָהוּ לֹא תִחַדֵּל

Job xiv. 7

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus' <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>Apion</i>	Josephus' <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>b.</i>	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	J. -B. Frey, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CPJ</i>	V. Tcherikover <i>et al</i> (eds.), <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>ET</i>	English Translation
<i>Gafni</i>	I. M. Gafni, 'Josephus and 1 Maccabees', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), <i>Josephus, the Bible, and History</i> (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), pp. 116-131.
<i>GLAJJ</i>	M. Stern (ed.), <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>Life</i>	Josephus' <i>Autobiography/Vita</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott & H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>LXX</i>	<i>Septuagint</i>
<i>m.</i>	<i>Mishnah</i>
<i>Marcus</i>	R. Marcus (trans.), <i>Josephus: Antiquities XII-XIV</i> , vol. VII (LCL: Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1961).
<i>NS</i>	New Series
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.</i>
<i>War</i>	Josephus' <i>Jewish War</i>

Abbreviations of titles of tractates in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmuds follow H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 806.

Abbreviations of titles of books in the Hebrew Scriptures, New Testament, and Apocrypha follow W. R. F. Browning, *Oxford Dictionary of the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xi.

1.1 General Introduction

At the time appointed he shall return and come into the south, but this time it shall not be as it was before. For ships of Kittim shall come against him, and he shall lose heart and withdraw. He shall be enraged and take action against the holy covenant. He shall turn back and pay heed to those who forsake the holy covenant. Forces sent by him shall occupy and profane the temple and fortress. They shall abolish the regular burnt offering and set up the abomination that makes desolate.

Daniel xi. 29-31

From them came forth a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus; he had been a hostage in Rome. He began to reign in the one hundred thirty-seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

In those days certain renegades came out from Israel and misled many, saying, "Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles around us, for since we separated from them many disasters have come upon us." This proposal pleased them, and some of the people eagerly went to the king, who authorized them to observe the ordinances of the Gentiles.

1 Maccabees x. 10-13

That the raid of Antiochus on the temple was iniquitous, that it was impecuniosity which drove him to invade it, when he was not an open enemy, that he attacked us, his allies and friends, and that he found nothing there of ridicule; these facts are attested by many sober historians. Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronicler, and Apollodorus all assert that it was impecuniosity which induced Antiochus, in violation of the treaties with the Jews, to plunder the temple with its store of gold and silver.

Apion ii. 83-84

Now this Mattathias lamented over the state of things, the plundering of the temple, and the misfortunes of the people, and said it was better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so in gloriously.

Antiquities xii. 267

The reign of Antiochus Epiphanes marks a significant turning point in Jewish history. During this period the Jews engaged in the Hellenistic melting-pot of cultures and philosophies, and there was widespread adoption of Greek. Josephus reports that for over a century the Jews had lived peaceably under Ptolemaic and then Seleucid rule, recording their many treaties and privileges.¹ Much Jewish literature from this period demonstrates a desire to locate the Jews within a larger world and define their position vis-à-vis the Hellenes.² Indeed, it is the literature of the Maccabean age that first explicitly relates a sense of tension between Judaism and Hellenism. 2 Maccabees coins the word ‘hellenism’ as a means of describing the cultural package introduced by Jason, to which the writer’s community expresses such strong opposition (2 Macc. iv. 13).³ The religious injunctions of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the resulting uprising led by Mattathias father of Judas Maccabaeus, represent the central event that defines this meeting of Judaism and Hellenism.⁴ The primary sources for this period are 1 and 2 Maccabees and the cryptic references of Daniel. These works have been thoroughly examined for their evidence of Antiochus’ irreligious decrees, yet Josephus’ testimony is rarely consulted. Indeed, where Josephus’ account has been addressed, it is usually in relation to his source 1 Maccabees. Yet, Josephus shows a particular interest in the Maccabean Revolt and the related questions of identify and Jewish interaction with the Hellenic world pervades his writings. I will complete a close reading of Josephus’ evidence relating to the early Maccabees, with the aim of furthering our understanding of this important author.

The significance of the Maccabean Revolt in both Jewish and Christian history is immense.⁵ The festival of Hanukkah marks the rededication of the Temple under

¹ The Letter of Antiochus III to his governor Ptolemy demonstrates the ‘normalised’ relations between the Jews and their rulers (Seleucid or Ptolemaic), *Ant.* xii. 138-144. For discussion on this treaty, see below, 3.4.1. See also E. J. Bickerman, ‘La charte Seleucide de Jerusalem’, *REJ* 100 (1935), pp. 4-35.

² Particular concerns with the issues of faithfulness to the ancestral law and interaction with non-Jews, are features of much of the Jewish Hellenistic writings. See J. M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan 323 BCE - 117 CE* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996).

³ As, for example, E. S. Gruen, ‘Hellenism and Persecution. Antiochus IV and the Jews’, in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (California: University of California, 1993), pp. 238-274.

⁴ Although that is not to suggest that the Jews had not experienced varying forms of Hellenisation since the time of Alexander the Great. On the impact of Hellenism in Palestine, see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974).

⁵ For introductions to the Maccabean Revolt, see the following useful surveys. L. Grabbe, *Judaism From Cyrus to Hadrian* (London: SCM, 1994). J. A. Goldstein, ‘The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty’, in W. D. Davies & L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp. 292-352. E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the*

Judas Maccabaeus, and the Maccabees are evoked as symbols of Jewish nationalism and independence.⁶ The Christians took over the martyrdom narratives of the Maccabees and made them their own. Origen, for example, believed the Maccabees provided the 'most beautiful examples of heroic martyrdom' (*Exhort, ad Martyr* 23), and the Catholic Church celebrates the martyrs with a feast day on the first of August. Later, in Christian tradition, Handel's oratorio introduced the concerns of the Maccabean age into English society and (then) popular culture. Over a long period of time, scholars emerging from different religious and historical perspectives, preferring one source to another, and utilising the evidence in a variety of methods, have quite naturally arrived at very different conclusions regarding the fundamental historical aspects of the Maccabean Revolt.

One example of the influence of religious agendas on research into the Maccabean period is illustrated in the discussions about the role and nature of the Hasidim, a group related by many to a presence within Jewish society of the period.⁷ Many scholars have believed that the Hasidim were the direct precursors to the rabbis and modern Judaism.⁸ As a consequence, they have attempted to diminish the political role of the Hasidim, and present only their religious outlook, as they have sought to present the Hasidim as loyal and pious citizens. Derenbourg, for example,⁹ claims that the Hasidim withdrew their support for armed conflict as soon as the battle to retain religious privileges was won, albeit before the Maccabees had achieved their political aims. This theory was supported by claims that since the Pharisees were

Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt (trans.; Leiden: Brill, 1979). V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation and the Jews* (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: JPSA, 1959).

⁶ See, for instance, the Freeman Center's online magazine, entitled *The Maccabean Online*. This Internet journal introduces itself thus: '*The Maccabean Online* is the Freeman Center's monthly journal and contains about 2 dozen of the best Zionist Nationalist articles and essays every month. Published since 1995, it is an excellent resource for information on current and past events related to Israel and the Jewish world':

<<http://www.freeman.org/online.htm>> Accessed August 2001.

For the importance of the example of the Maccabees as freedom fighters, see Franz Oppenheimer's views expressed in his *Memoriam, Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institut* 10 (1965), pp. 137-149, esp. p. 139 - available online at:

<<http://www.opp.uni-wuppertal.de/oppenheimer/al64a.htm>> Accessed August 2001.

⁷ For a full discussion of the historical debate on the Hasidim, see the excellent introductory chapter in J. Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), pp.1-32, from which this work has greatly benefited.

⁸ On the connection between the Hasidim and the later Pharisaic party (based on their perceived adherence to the Law) see, for example, R. T. Herford, *The Pharisees* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924).

⁹ J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la geographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1867), in J. Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 7.

indifferent to political ambition (as they were only concerned with matters of piety), so too were the Hasidim. Derenbourg's desire to distance *his* religion from the militancy of the Maccabees led to historical conclusions which suffer from his assumptions. Efron concludes that 'the Jewish sages of the Hasmonean period were thus cleansed of any stain of aggressive fanaticism or narrow nationalism and entitled to join the salon of the friends of refined liberalism in the West'.¹⁰

In addition to this kind of difficulty in interpreting the revolt, some historians have tended to concentrate on the causes of the revolt, to the detriment of questions concerning other key aspects of the conflict. Whether driven by the desire to explain the modern phenomenon of anti-Semitism or other concerns, it has proved important for some to understand the reasons behind the anti-Jewish policies of Antiochus, rather than to explore the history of the revolt itself. As a result, many questions remain unanswered.

This thesis examines the work of one of the major sources for this period, Flavius Josephus, with the aim of reevaluating his account of the Maccabean Revolt, and in particular his representation of the key figures involved. Josephus wrote two separate versions, the first, shorter account can be found in the opening book of the *Jewish War*. A second, lengthier narrative is recorded in Josephus' *magnum opus*, the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and is particularly significant since it is a close paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. This thesis will investigate both accounts of this key period in Jewish history and memory, and offers for the first time a close reading of Josephus' interpretation of the Maccabean Revolt.

¹⁰ J. Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 7.

1.2 Outline of the Project

Josephus' versions of the Maccabean Revolt have received some attention in previous scholarship, although this normally concerns their relation to 1 Maccabees. My study argues that to use this method alone for investigating Josephus' work has proved flawed, since it diminishes the role of the *War* narrative, and interprets *Antiquities* within the framework and agendas of 1 Maccabees. In other words, Josephus is not primarily read in his own right. The methodology adopted throughout this study examines first the evidence of Josephus in isolation, before any process of literary and historical contextualisation is attempted. Josephus' accounts of the Maccabean period are important within their own narrative settings, and yet scholars have marginalised his evidence in favour of 1 and 2 Maccabees. The following examination of the Maccabean Revolt as portrayed in the writings of Josephus breaks new ground in its methodology and approach. This thesis aims to shed light not only on the history of the Maccabean Revolt and the presentation of the early Maccabees, but also on the characteristics and tendencies of Josephus as an author.

Part Two concentrates on the account of the Maccabean Revolt as recorded in Josephus' earliest work, the *Jewish War* (*War* i. 31-53). Whilst the study of this particular narrative is marginalised in modern scholarship, I will argue that it deserves more attention in its own right. The account in *War* not only represents Josephus' first attempt to summarise the Maccabean uprising, but it also acts as the starting-point of Josephus' historical summary of Jewish history, in relation to the later Jewish revolt against Rome. It is an important narrative that introduces various themes (*stasis*, valour, glory, piety, relations with non-Jews, warfare, etc) into the narrative, themes that play vital roles within Josephus' wider discussion of the Jewish war with the Romans.

Part Three examines the evidence of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* covering the period from the high-priestly strife under Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon (*Ant.* xii. 237 - xiii. 227). This narrative will be divided into appropriate sections that adhere to the textual divisions employed by Josephus, with the aim that the text itself will dictate the direction of study. The account of the Maccabean Revolt in *Antiquities* consists largely of Josephus' representation of 1 Maccabees. He closely follows his source in all but the last three and a half chapters (the paraphrase covers 1

Macc. i. 14 – xiii. 42). In addition to this paraphrase, Josephus inserts three otherwise unknown incidents: a petition by the Samaritans to Antiochus Epiphanes, and the king's response (*Ant.* xii. 257-264); a short notice about the fate of Demetrius, the Oniad temple in Leontopolis, and the Jews of Alexandria (*Ant.* xiii. 59-79), and a passage concerning Ptolemy Philometor and Alexander Balas (*Ant.* xiii. 103-122). Part Three will examine how Josephus presented the early Maccabees, before turning to the question of how he used his primary source, 1 Maccabees. The study of Josephus' use of sources allows considerable insight into his motivation, agenda, and literary technique. While many of his major sources do not survive - as is the case with the important Herodian histories of Nicolaus of Damascus - historians are fortunate that 1 Maccabees is extant,¹¹ although the question of which text of this work Josephus used is still debated.¹²

¹¹ Similar studies can be made of Josephus' version of biblical history - as L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.) *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) - or the *Letter of Aristeeas* - as A. Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée. Une réaction atticisme contra la koiné* (Études et Commentaires 45; Paris: Klincksieck, 1962).

¹² For a discussion of the key areas of debate surrounding Josephus' paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, see below, 3.3. Zeitlin argues that Josephus had a Greek and Hebrew text before him when he paraphrased 1 Maccabees. Thackeray, writing some years prior to Zeitlin, argues that Josephus' paraphrase is consistent with using a Greek text only, whilst Bar-Kokhva points to various factors, including Josephus' literary tendency to rewrite his sources to be more comprehensible to his Greek-reading audience, to show that having a Greek text only was perfectly plausible. A full discussion on the text(s) of 1 Maccabees which form the basis for *Antiquities* will follow in the appropriate chapter (3.3.). See S. Zeitlin & S. Tedesche (eds.), *The First Book of the Maccabees* (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 57-58, H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus: the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929), pp. 61f., and B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 193.

1.3 Prior interpretations of the revolt

Historians of the Maccabean Revolt find little to agree upon. The main area of debate exists over the reasons for the religious persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes.¹³ This area of research has attracted interest as the Seleucid religious injunctions have been compared with modern day anti-Jewish persecution. Further, the efforts of a group of Jews to resist ‘hellenisation’ have drawn parallels with contemporary concerns about assimilation and accommodation. Whilst most scholars concentrate on the religious reforms themselves, I will argue that the succeeding events under Mattathias and his sons also play a key role in our understanding of this period. Several important theories have emerged which I now review briefly.

Ancient witnesses claim that Antiochus’ personality had a great deal of influence on his policies. Whilst few historians attribute the religious persecutions to Antiochus’ hatred of the Jewish customs, many note one or more of the following points. Thus, ancient reports state that Antiochus was in some sense unstable.¹⁴ The outlook adopted by Josephus in his two versions of the Maccabean Revolt suggests little motive behind Antiochus’ injunctions, other than his greed (*War* i. 32; *Ant.* xii. 247), while 1 Maccabees suggests the injunctions were due to Antiochus’ greed and arrogance (1 Macc. i. 21f.). This contrasts with 2 Maccabees which claims that the religious injunctions were a result of the sins of Israel. In this version of history Antiochus is the tool of God’s wrath, used to punish the Jews for their neglect of the Temple and the murder of Onias III (2 Macc. v. 17f.; vi. 12-16). Tacitus reports that Antiochus ‘made an effort to get rid of their primitive cult and Hellenise them’ (*Hist.* v. 8), although this reflects the usually pejorative and polemical nature of Tacitus’ account of the Jewish people.¹⁵

¹³ 2 Maccabees records the nature of the religious policies: the Temple was renamed after Zeus Olympius; observance of Sabbath and Circumcision were prohibited, and; the Jews were made to celebrate the king’s birthday and attend a festival of Dionysus (2 Macc. vi. 1). 1 Maccabees adds Antiochus’ order that foreign altars be erected throughout Judea, and decreed that swine should be sacrificed (1 Macc. i. 14).

¹⁴ Epiphanes was mocked in ancient literature by pejorative interpretations of his name. Rather than *Epiphanes* (the ‘God-manifest’), he was labelled *Epimanes* (mad). Cf. Polybius XXVI. 10; XXXI. 3-4; Livy XLI. 19-20; and Diod. XXIX. 32 – see also Tcherikover’s comment in, *Hellenistic Civilisation and the Jews* (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: JPSA, 1959), p. 177, n. 2.

¹⁵ On Tacitus, see K. Wellesley (trans.), *Tacitus – The Histories* (London: Penguin, 1964). See also *GLAJJ* ii. No. 281.

During the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Antiochus' 'hellenising policy' was identified as being behind the religious discrimination.¹⁶ Yet there exists no evidence that Antiochus actually promoted Hellenism to the detriment of indigenous religions, or that he had any ideological zeal in that direction.¹⁷ Whilst it is true that Antiochus founded a number of Greek *poleis*, this does not by itself prove that he was prone to anti-religious policies, as Antiochus' predecessors had founded Greek *poleis* without any attempt to rid their lands of native customs. Further, Jerusalem was a *polis* from 175 BCE, and no anti-Judaic policies were installed there for at least seven years. This suggests that Antiochus felt no urgent need to disrupt local religions. A policy to restrict native religious practice could potentially cause civil disorder, and Antiochus was not secure enough in his kingdom to disregard this. It is clear that Antiochus did have a preference for the cult of Zeus Olympius,¹⁸ yet the fact that the pagan god worshipped in Jerusalem was not the Greek Zeus but a Syrian god supports Mørkholm's negative conclusions regarding Antiochus' hellenising project:

Antiochus IV was not a zealous helleniser, nor a religious innovator who tried to identify himself with Zeus Olympius. His persecution of the Jews had no religious basis, but must be regarded as purely political.¹⁹

Bickerman's important study goes some way to rehabilitate the figure of Antiochus, by placing the blame for the religious injunctions on the Jewish 'hellenists', namely Menelaus and the Tobiads.²⁰ According to his theory, these Jews were attempting to create a Judaism that would more easily integrate with a wider hellenised society. Jewish practices of circumcision, food taboos, prohibition of inter-marriage, and

¹⁶ Tcherikover identifies this trend in, amongst others, E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (1902). In Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 471, n. 4.

¹⁷ Nor does any evidence exist that the anti-Jewish policies affected the Jews of the Diaspora – it appears they were purely aimed at Judean Jews – so it was not a wholesale policy against Judaism, but, rather, a policy against the residents of Judaea. The letter of Antiochus to Nicanor, on the subject of the Samaritans, suggests that the king persecuted the Jews not because of their religion and customs per se, but as a result of the failure of the Jews to adopt the Greek ways – however this account is only recorded in Josephus, and could have been invented to serve obvious ends (*Ant.* xii. 263).

¹⁸ This has been argued on the basis of images that could refer to Zeus Olympius appearing on Antiochus' coinage. As Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, pp. 181-182.

¹⁹ O. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1966), p. 186.

²⁰ E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (English Trans. Leiden: Brill, 1979).

purity regulations prevented social integration – a fact noticed by non-Jews.²¹ Bickerman's theory was based on comments in the early sources about the desire of some Jerusalem Jews to embrace Hellenism.²² Josephus, for instance, notes that Menelaus 'compelled the nation to violate their own laws' (*Ant.* xii. 385). This situation is also found in 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. xiii. 3-8). The motivation for the acts of the Hellenising Jews lay in their interest in Greek philosophical ideals, yet Bickerman notes elsewhere that Antiochus would not persecute native religious practices because of his Epicurean outlook.²³ Hengel supports Bickerman's theory, claiming that only Jews would have had sufficient interest and knowledge to reform the Jewish religion, while Antiochus would have used the 'usual means of sheer force'.²⁴ Bickerman's thesis has been attacked on several fronts, most notably by Tcherikover,²⁵ who claims that Antiochus cannot be completely vindicated for the persecutions, as all surviving sources lay the blame for the injunctions at his feet, rather than at the feet of the Jewish 'hellenists'.

Tcherikover's thesis identifies friction within Jerusalem, concerning the opposition of the Hasidim to foreign troops worshipping in the Temple. When Antiochus identified religious influences behind the insurgents, he issued decrees to restrict the practice of Judaism. Thus, the revolt was not the response to, but rather the cause of, the religious persecution. According to Tcherikover, Bickerman's theory fails to answer satisfactorily why the 'hellenising' Jews would impose a Syrian, rather than Greek, religion. He argues that it is more plausible that the founders of the Syrian practices within the Temple were the Syrian army garrisoned in Jerusalem. The Hasidim were further incensed by a perceived threat to their social status, as Jason's abolition of the 'ancestral laws' made their positions superfluous,

²¹ See, for example, Tacitus, *Histories* v. 5: 'the rest of the world they [the Jews] confront with hatred reserved for enemies'.

²² Daniel calls them those who 'forsake the covenant' (11. 30, cf. 1 Macc. i. 11).

²³ Since the epicurians were more concerned with the question of pleasure, and specifically intellectual pleasure, and they had no belief in an afterlife or in the role of god(s) in human affairs, Bickerman finds it unlikely that Epicureanism provides enough of an incentive to impose religious injunctions. E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (English Trans. Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 77f. Compare Antiochus' religious tolerance (as a result of his Greek ideology – p. 78), with Bickerman's later claim that the hellenising Jews desired an end to aspects of Judaism *because* of their Greek ideology (p. 85).

²⁴ M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 Vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), vol. 1, p. 287

²⁵ V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, pp. 186-203.

and these pious Jews cried for a return to strict religious obedience. Tcherikover understands Antiochus' policies as a move against the Hasidim and their principles.

More recently, Bringmann has developed a critique of the work of Bickerman and Tcherikover.²⁶ Agreeing with Bickerman, Bringmann claims that Antiochus was not a religious fanatic but was, instead, motivated by purely political concerns. Jason's religious reforms increased Antiochus' wealth; he proceeded to extract as much money from the Temple as possible. This makes the best sense of Menelaus' sale of Temple vessels, and also concurs with the verdict of the sources that Antiochus was too generous with his gifts, and frequently incapable of supporting his troops (as, suggested by, amongst others, Josephus, *Apion* ii. 83-84). The Jews who rebelled in Jerusalem did so because they were offended by non-Jews using their Temple, and not because of any dedication to Zeus or Baal. Antiochus saw the persecution of Judaism as a method to quell the conflicts between the Jews in Jerusalem, while at the same time increasing his coffers.²⁷

The final major theory to be considered here is by Erich Gruen.²⁸ Gruen recognises the internal factionalism of the Jews during Seleucus' reign, and concludes that their points of division were not related to the adoption of Hellenism but, rather, the desire for power and influence. The adoption of Greek institutions was designed to win favour and the political privileges of citizenship of a *polis*. Menelaus had no interest in adopting Hellenism at the expense of Judaism, nor did he have any real influence over Antiochus' decision-making process – here Gruen cites the letter of Antiochus IV to the Jewish council as evidence of Menelaus' continued adherence to his ancestral customs (2 Macc. i. 27-33). The Jews were not responsible for the religious reforms, and even those Jewish leaders whom scholars have identified as the instigators of reform, the so-called 'Hellenizers', were themselves persecuted by Antiochus (2 Macc. iv. 15-16).

It was the events of the year 168 which transformed Antiochus Epiphanes into a 'rampaging monster';²⁹ in particular, Rome's intervention in Antiochus' campaign

²⁶ K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionverfolgung in Judäa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), esp. pp. 120-140.

²⁷ This is also the position argued by Hyldahl, 'The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of Hellenization', in P. Bilde et al (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), pp. 188-203.

²⁸ E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution. Antiochus IV and the Jews', in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (California: University of California, 1993), pp. 238-274.

²⁹ E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution', p. 261

in Egypt.³⁰ Antiochus' resulting rage, on which ancient sources comment, can hardly have been directed against Rome, and thus, with its small-scale rivalry and sedition in Jerusalem, the king found Judaea the perfect location to express his anger at Eleusis. Gruen concludes, 'The persecution did not grow out of factional quarrels, ideological divisions or financial needs, it served the ends of the king as a display of might, a sign that he had suffered no setback, and indeed had emerged with greater strength'.³¹

The four positions outlined demonstrate the main lines of the current debate. All of the theories agree on the following points: 1) the Jews were already hellenised to some extent by this time, and this had not led to violent uprising – indeed, some Jews welcomed Jason's hellenising reforms. 2) Antiochus was a political leader, who was motivated by the security of his reign and not by religious fanaticism. 3) Menelaus took Jason's reforms a step further, causing far greater opposition from the Jews. Yet even these points are open to interpretation. Which Jews welcomed the hellenising policies of Jason? What aspects of pagan religion were installed in Jerusalem? What part did Antiochus play in the religious reforms? What caused the conflict between the Tobiads and Oniads? What was Josephus' view of the rival temple at Leontopolis? What led Antiochus to enforce the religious injunctions? How did a small group of Jews gain religious and later political independence? What were the motives of the Maccabees?

The main focus of this study is to examine Josephus' literary technique and the way in which he rewrites his source material. In addition, it is hoped that this thesis will play a small part in the larger reconstruction of the Maccabean Revolt and arrive at answers to some of the much debated issues.

³⁰ For the ancient sources see E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution', p. 262, n. 82.

³¹ E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution', p. 264.

1.4 Scholarship on Josephus and the Maccabean Revolt

Studies on Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt have tended to centre primarily on the relationship between the Jewish work 1 Maccabees and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* - that is, they have mostly followed redaction-critical techniques. Scholars have been preoccupied in particular with several background questions: what was the nature of the text of 1 Maccabees that Josephus used? was it Greek or Hebrew? which other sources does Josephus utilise in his history? and where does he agree with or vary from 1 Maccabees?³²

In recent years, Feldman has brought the study of Josephus and the Maccabean period back to one of content analysis. In his study 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', Feldman argues that a comparison of Josephus' portrayal(s) of the Hasmoneans with the aim of identifying his literary motifs is a more fruitful approach than simply to compare Josephus' texts with other sources.³³ This follows the method in Feldman's analysis of Josephus' portraits of biblical figures, which has provided scholarship with an invaluable insight into Josephus' representational skill and tendency. I will discuss the presentation of individual characters in Josephus' narrative throughout, and compare characteristics with the other key figures of his text – I will also propose that one of Josephus' main literary goals in his version of the revolt was the promotion of his leading characters as examples of biblical and Hellenistic virtue. Hence, by dissecting Josephus' presentation of the Maccabees, I hope to identify some of the concerns and intentions of author.

Previous scholars have largely ignored the independent value of Josephus' history of the Maccabees. Nevertheless, Feldman claims that its significance should be noted:

³² For these examples, see L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with I Maccabees', in F. Parente, & J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68, esp. 41-42.

³³ That Josephus followed the peripatetic tradition of reporting the role of great men in his history is well attested by Feldman, amongst others. That Josephus intended to present his leading characters as examples of virtue (or vice), is made clear with his statement that 'Our own famous men, who are entitled to rank with the highest, are familiar to readers of my *Antiquities*' (*Apion* ii. 136).

While it is true that the author of 1 Maccabees was closest to the events and perhaps even participated in some of them, Josephus was a descendant of the Hasmoneans and undoubtedly had oral traditions about the earlier family tradition; moreover, as a non-participant, he was more objective.³⁴

Yet, in spite of his aim to assert the importance of Josephus' narrative, Feldman continues to examine *Antiquities* within the confines of the earlier 1 Maccabees, at each stage situating Josephus within the literary framework and agenda of the previous work.

General studies of the Maccabean Revolt rarely use Josephus for anything more substantial than filling in the gaps left by 1 and 2 Maccabees. Bickerman's *God of the Maccabees* proves an exception to the rule. By dividing the extant sources according to either Jewish or Seleucid origin, Bickerman attempts to redress the balance by considering the arguments from the Jewish evidence, and then comparing the Seleucid evidence. Bickerman classifies Josephus' *War* as a pagan writing and *Antiquities* as largely Jewish. This identification is based on the nature of Josephus' sources, which to a large extent marginalises the position of Josephus' testimony in its own right.³⁵ Bickerman writes:

Since Josephus here, as in other places, closely follows his source, and one of the sources, 1 Maccabees, is still available, we are able to dissolve the contamination which this confusion has caused, and to isolate Josephus' other Greek source.

Bickerman appreciates Josephus because his accounts can be mined for otherwise lost-Seleucid sources, and not because of Josephus' agendas and authorial concerns.

No survey of Josephus' version of Maccabean history would be complete without reference to the extreme source-critical theory of Goldstein. According to Goldstein, Josephus had at his disposal the Greek text of 1 Maccabees (and the

³⁴ L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with I Maccabees', p. 42. It might be worth stating too that Josephus does not make this claim to familial association during either of his works on the Maccabean Revolt. There is a vague reference to Hasmonean descent in his *Antiquities* xvi. 187 (which gives no specifics) and one more definite acknowledgement in his autobiographical *Life* 2. Considering the length of his writings, Josephus hardly plays-up his Hasmonean lineage.

³⁵ E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees*, pp. 107-109.

Hebrew³⁶), which formed the backbone of his account in *Antiquities*. In addition to this source Josephus had access to the apocryphal 2 Maccabees and its source-text by Jason of Cyrene, as well as Daniel and the *Testament of Moses*.³⁷ Finally, Goldstein claims that ‘a careful analysis of Josephus’ account can prove that he probably drew on a propagandistic history written by Onias IV’.³⁸ This last work is nowhere attested in the ancient literature, and Goldstein’s argument for its existence is far from convincing. Not only does Goldstein claim Josephus used a source written by Onias IV, but he also goes on to describe in detail the contents and outlook of the Oniad text.³⁹ Goldstein’s invention of a source is the result of his inability to accept Josephus’ personal input into his own writings. It is clear that Josephus freely paraphrased, embellished, and invented when it suited his literary agenda, and while it is possible that Josephus had texts other than 1 Maccabees before him when he wrote *Antiquities*, Goldstein’s library of texts cannot be taken seriously.

Goldstein’s verdict on Josephus’ *War* is even more telling.⁴⁰ Whilst Goldstein proclaims that the work was obviously inaccurate, and therefore Josephus must have been without his usual source library, it does not occur to him that Josephus may have invented elements of the narrative, building the story on memories of sources *and* his political agenda. Goldstein argues that Josephus must simply have confused his memories of accounts that he did not have to hand.

³⁶ A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), p. 14. There is very little evidence of a Semitic influence on Josephus’ account in *Antiquities*, hence most scholars deny that Josephus possessed a Hebrew version of 1 Maccabees, or at best remain silent about the possibility. Goldstein speculates, however, that Josephus probably had both texts, but used only the Greek excerpt, unless the Hebrew was more illuminating. This argument is proposed by Goldstein to explain the rare incidence of ‘Hebraisms’ within Josephus.

³⁷ Goldstein identifies the *Testament of Moses* behind a single vague reference that Josephus makes to crucifixion (*Ant.* xii. 255). It is clear that Goldstein denies Josephus the ability to amplify his accounts, or in any way dramatise or enhance. As a result of this preconception, *every* point where Josephus departs from *I Maccabees* indicates another source. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 568.

³⁸ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 55-61.

³⁹ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 58. He goes on to state ‘Josephus was quick to see that Onias’ work was a source of Jason of Cyrene’s glorification of Onias III’, building an argument on the basis of a text for whose existence there is no evidence!

⁴⁰ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 60-61.

1.5 A Review of Method in the Study of Josephus

A brief outline of modern interpretations and uses of the writings of Flavius Josephus will suggest the need for a new methodology, at least as regards the particular issues addressed here. As few historians have explored Josephus with specific interest in his version of Maccabean history, this subchapter will look primarily at the major recent works on Josephus, and their approaches to utilising his evidence. The aim of this section is to answer the question: how have historians attempted to gain reliable information from Josephus?

It is often lamented that scholars have only partial records of the works of ancient authors, and only rarely do details of the lives and deeds of these authors survive. Hence research into the literature and history of the ancient world is greatly hampered by a lack of knowledge of even the most basic of ‘facts’: if the situation and environment in which a work was composed is unknown, it is difficult to decipher the intent and bias of the author, with any reasonable degree of certainty. Yet in the case of the ancient Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, scholars are fortunate to have an autobiographical account of the life and situation of the author. Regardless of the important role played by Josephus’ histories, no consensus has been reached regarding the process by which scholars interrogate their source. The statement by Moehring rings all too true:

The writings of Flavius Josephus have at times achieved semi-canonical status, but there exists no orthodox line of interpretation, at least apart from... the unscrupulousness with which everybody exploits his writings for whatever purpose may at the moment be in mind.⁴¹

Moehring concludes that historians have all too often plundered Josephus for information to support whatever arguments they are championing, without actually reading the work or attempting to understand his writings within their appropriate context. His criticism is in some cases justified, but not always. Amongst those scholars who do attempt to understand Josephus, a variety of methods are used to assess the plausibility of historical events, themes and ‘facts’. The following section

⁴¹ H. Moehring, ‘The *Acta pro Judaeis* in the *Antiquitates* of Flavius Josephus’, in J. Neusner (ed.), *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 124-158, p. 124.

looks at the work of several of the most influential Josephus-scholars to identify their methodologies for evaluating and interrogating the evidence.

Shaye Cohen (*Laqueur*):

Cohen, in his seminal work *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*,⁴² builds on the earlier work of Laqueur to interpret the evidence of Josephus within the context of his own time and literary world. In cases where Josephus either reports the same incident twice (as in the parallel versions of *War* and *Antiquities*), or where his account differs from other contemporaneous reports, traditional source critics assume the incongruities to be due to multiple sources. In reaction to this movement, Laqueur advanced the theory that different narratives of the same event represent Josephus' changing outlook and circumstances.⁴³ Laqueur took this one step further by constructing a five-stage biography of Josephus from the divergent accounts of his life in *War* and *Life*. This theory attributed an earlier date to *Life* than is commonly argued. Indeed, Laqueur all but discarded *War* as a historical account of Josephus' life, since he identified it purely as a revision of *Life* to serve Josephus' agenda.

Laqueur's theory is criticised on various levels by Cohen, whose principal charge is that Laqueur did not go far enough to reconcile and investigate problematic passages in Josephus. Cohen's study takes up this criticism and attempts to correct the balance by specifically investigating differences between Josephus' works (primarily *War* and *Life*), while asserting the individuality of the texts. Indeed, it is characteristic of Cohen's approach that he studies each of Josephus' works separately from each other.⁴⁴

Cohen attempts to gain an understanding of Josephus' method through following three broad lines of enquiry. It is first necessary, Cohen advises, to read what Josephus had to say about his own procedure of writing history. At various stages of his work Josephus comments on past and contemporary historical practice, and compares this with his own method. The most famous example of this self-

⁴² S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: his Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

⁴³ R. Laqueur, *Der Jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus* (Giessen: Munchow, 1920). For a thorough discussion of Laqueur's groundbreaking study, see Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, p. 16f.

⁴⁴ See S. J. D. Cohen, 'The Modern Study of Ancient Judaism,' in S. J. D. Cohen and Edward L. Greenstein, *The State of Jewish Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), pp. 55-73.

proclaimed methodology is Josephus' much-commented upon claim in *Ant.* i. 17: 'The narrative, as it progresses, will indicate in the proper place the precise details of what is in the scriptures. I have promised to follow this principle throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything.'⁴⁵ Cohen interprets Josephus' declaration that he will not change his source within the context of Greek historiographical practice, finding that the promise of *Ant.* i. 17 is a commonplace in contemporary literature.⁴⁶

It is in Josephus' use of names and numbers, Cohen argues, that his accuracy as a historian is most doubtful. The final major approach taken by Cohen is source criticism. By identifying and studying the sources on which Josephus relied, Cohen argues that a great deal can be learned about Josephus' intention and motivation.⁴⁷ Cohen finds Josephus' paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas* to be accurate and the biblical accounts of the first half of *Antiquities* are largely faithful to the source, even when Josephus has rearranged stories to serve his agenda.

Moehring:

Cohen's work has received criticism from some quarters. Moehring's⁴⁸ review of Cohen's monograph stands out as a particularly strong attack, focusing on the theory that all writing is by its very nature biased in one way or another, and thus Cohen's attempts to recover 'historical facts' are pointless. According to Moehring,

Cohen seems to believe that it is actually possible to separate 'fact' from 'fiction'. He fails to realise that every single sentence of Josephus is determined and coloured by his aims and tendencies. The raw historical data that can be isolated are usually without much interest.⁴⁹

Moehring expands his approach to Josephus and he retreats slightly on the question of bias in his treatment elsewhere.⁵⁰ Thus, in his fuller discussion of 1984, he argues that everything in Josephus has a purpose, and thus Josephus' purpose and motivation

⁴⁵ For comment and discussion see S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, p. 24f.

⁴⁶ S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, pp. 24-33.

⁴⁷ S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, p. 34f.

⁴⁸ H. R. Moehring's review of Cohen, *JJS* 31 (1980), pp. 240-242.

⁴⁹ Moehring's review of Cohen, p. 241.

⁵⁰ H. R. Moehring, 'Joseph ben Matthias and Flavius Josephus: the Jewish Prophet and Roman Historian', *ANRW* II (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1984), 21. 2, pp. 864-944.

need to be understood (compare this with his previous lament that nothing could reasonably be proved as everything was biased). Moehring clarified his position thus: whatever Josephus wrote had either deliberate underlying agendas, or was due to ‘carelessness: slips of memory and, more frequently, uncritical copying of sources’. The major fault of scholarship, Moehring claims, was ‘Apologetic Historiography.’ Moehring claims that this school of historians, as exemplified by A. Schalit,⁵¹ attempt to bring Josephus up-to-date, by understanding him in twentieth-century terms and through the experience of the modern State of Israel.

Rajak:

The same emphasis on interpreting Josephus according to his own evidence appears in Rajak’s monograph *Josephus the Historian and His Society*, although her approach is far more positive in nature than that of Moehring’s.⁵² In particular, Rajak places a great deal of emphasis on interpreting Josephus in the context of his contemporaries and their attitudes. This principle she shares with Cohen – albeit with some disapproval of Cohen’s scepticism.⁵³ The major drawback to this historical contextualisation (as Rajak herself admits) is that the evidence about Josephus and his contemporaries comes significantly from the pen of Josephus himself – and thus the approach runs the danger of being perceived as somewhat circular.

Rajak attempts to identify Josephus’ various motives and agendas, in order to gain insight into his historical presentations. For example, with regard to *Life*, she stresses a possible motive of self-justification, ‘but [she writes] if we bear in mind the kind of work that we are reading, there should be no difficulty in interpreting what we read’.⁵⁴ Rajak’s positivist approach is evident throughout. Some scholars have been particularly critical over her comments regarding Josephus’ claimed ancestry:

⁵¹ Schalit, A., *Die Erhebung Vespasians nach Flavius Josephus, Talmud und Midrasch. Zur Geschichte einer messianischen Prophetie*, ARNW II.2 (1975), pp. 208-327.

⁵² T. Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and his Society* (London: Duckworth, 1983).

⁵³ Rajak describes Cohen’s comment that Josephus as a historical source should be dismissed entirely, or accepted with some reservations, and points out that despite his negativity Cohen manages to extract much information. Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 106, n. 3.

⁵⁴ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 14.

While there are some features which are improbable, there are none which are impossible and, as long as what Josephus tells us is *possible*, we have no right to correct it.⁵⁵

This comment does not adequately explain Rajak's critical approach to Josephus, as the following examples will indicate. She acknowledges that 'the narratives about the procuratorial period in Palestine, one in the *War* and a second, not dissimilar, in the *Antiquities*, are the products of hindsight'.⁵⁶ Furthermore, she permits that neither Josephus, nor the scholar studying Josephus' writings, are without bias:

Josephus is not an objective writer; but the Palestinian prejudices described in previous chapters have a deeper effect on his writing than the Roman bias which tends to be automatically ascribed to him. It has been taken for granted that the *Jewish War* is to be explained as a wholly Flavian history; but that too is perhaps little more than a prejudice, harboured in this case by the historian of modern times.⁵⁷

By comparing the revolt account in Josephus, with a non-Josephan revolt narrative, Rajak assesses the plausibility of Josephus' account within a wider thematic context.⁵⁸ Taking the French Revolution as a case study, and comparing key aspects of it with the First Jewish Revolt, Rajak finds that the similarity between facets of both uprisings gives the Josephan account greater plausibility. This method has various problems attached to its use, as Rajak admits.⁵⁹ The obvious chronological and spatial disparity between the two events makes such a study historically questionable. It does, nevertheless, illuminate aspects of the narrative.

Goodman:

⁵⁵ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 16. The context of this statement implies it is linked with the specific detail of Josephus' heritage and family. Yet, this attitude is expressed in similar ways elsewhere: 'if we find no internal grounds for impugning the historian's story, then, in the absence of evidence from outside, it must have a *prima facie* claim on our belief' (p. 127).

⁵⁶ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 65.

⁵⁷ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 185.

⁵⁸ For criticism of this approach, see J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judaea in the First Century CE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 189.

⁵⁹ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 127.

Goodman's study of the First Jewish Revolt, *The Ruling Class*⁶⁰ agrees in many ways with the conclusions of Rajak's monograph, although Goodman does not advocate as positive an acceptance of Josephus. In his introduction, Goodman stresses the need to 'break away from the straitjacket of Josephus's point of view',⁶¹ a process he attempts through a contextualisation of Josephus' version of the war against Rome. In a similar way to Rajak, Goodman uses non-Josephan case studies as points of comparison. For instance, the suppression of the Druids of Gaul and Britain by the Romans is used to strengthen Goodman's claim that the provincial administrative infrastructure of Rome was failing.⁶² Goodman's comparison of the two rebel groups also lends texture to his interpretation of Josephus' account of the Jewish Revolt against Rome. Goodman adopts a case study that is close to the object of his work (both chronologically and politically), and takes issue with scholars whose points of comparison are not so similar. He criticises Rajak's French Revolution comparison, amongst others, because models 'based on other societies and periods of history are so liable to misleading anachronism that, when this is possible, they should only be used to provide a check on results achieved first from the ancient evidence[...] it is not desirable to use them as the basic framework into which the evidence is to be fitted'.⁶³

Goodman deconstructs various passages in Josephus, with particular attention given to passages of text that contradict Josephus' overall argument or tendency, since, in these statements, Josephus is more likely to relay unbiased material. In contrast, where there are 'summary passages' in his narrative (as, for example, there is in *War* vii. 254-74), Goodman believes that Josephus is at his least trustworthy, since Josephus has intentionally 'thematized' his story. However, when Josephus is in the midst of his account, and he exclaims over some dire calamity, he is likely to be at his most reliable. Fundamentally, Goodman finds Josephus to be truthful, and points out that if Josephus had had a serious agenda to promote, he clearly made little attempt to iron out the numerous, infamous inconsistencies. Further, when Josephus is compared to other extant evidence, he is often found to be accurate – and in cases such as the dimensions of the fortress of Masada, exact.

⁶⁰ M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judea: the Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome A. D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁶¹ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, p. 5.

⁶² Goodman, *Ruling Class*, throughout, especially chapter 10.

⁶³ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, p. 25.

Bilde:

Bilde's study is based upon a 'detailed analysis of the author's [Josephus'] tendencies and historical reliability'. Bilde situates his investigation into Josephus' agendas within a historical survey of previous scholarship, identifying three distinct movements in Josephus studies.⁶⁴ The first period, from the time of Josephus to the end of the Middle Ages, was characterised by an uncritical Christian transmission of Josephus. The second phase, which saw the beginning of questions about Josephus' fallibility, and was in many ways a reaction to the earlier uncritical approach, is titled by Bilde as the 'classical conception', and is characterised by serious doubts about the historical reliability of Josephus' evidence.

In Bilde's view the turn of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a third phase of modern critical research into Josephus, which he identifies as a middle way between the previous two phases. The animosity towards Josephus that peaked in the nineteenth century largely died away in the twentieth, as a result of the realisation that the degree of pro-Roman propaganda had previously been overstated. Scholarship returned to the view that Josephus was responsible for the work ascribed to him, and where he did utilise sources, he rarely copied them blindly.

After creating this framework of historical research, Bilde classifies his own work as following the 'modern conception', an approach that is both critical, and yet, generally accepting of Josephus. The presupposition that all of Josephus' works have a uniform and vaguely coherent nature is used by Bilde to situate Josephus within the context of his political, historiographical and theological environment. This is achieved by examining Josephus within the wider context of his *corpus*, and then comparing this to external evidence.

While a comparison of Josephus with external evidence is desirable, Bilde acknowledges the relative lack of non-Josephan evidence. Thus, scholars are left with Josephus' text as the main source on which to construct his context. In order to counter this circularity, Bilde uses several criteria to gain as much information as possible from Josephus. Tests of internal consistency, general historical plausibility, and coherence, are all used to create what Bilde titles a 'holistic methodology'.

⁶⁴ P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: his life, his works and their importance* (JSPSup, 2; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988).

Seth Schwartz:⁶⁵

Seth Schwartz emphasises Josephus' apologetic interests, following the common approach of detecting Josephus' aims and agendas and then discounting information that is likely to be inspired by intentions other than historical interest. In this way, Schwartz adopts the character of Cohen's earlier study. Rather than reading Josephus' literature as a corpus of evidence that reflects a unified outlook and tendency (as Bilde, amongst others, would recommend), Schwartz compares inconsistencies within the work and attributes the changing aims of the author as sufficient grounds to view each work independently. This apologetic interpretation is not without difficulties; it is unrealistic to assume that one can simply ascertain the motive of the source, and then discount it, to leave only the truth. There is also a great danger in disregarding apologetic evidence, as it could lead to an overly negative viewpoint. In Schwartz's defence, he is one of the few scholars whose study of the First Jewish Revolt continues beyond 73 CE in an acceptance that this period too would have influenced Josephus, and the belief that the issues of the years post-bellum reveal much about pre-bellum conditions (Goodman also studies the Roman reaction post-73 CE).

Mason:

Mason's *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: a Composition-Critical Study*, explicitly outlines a new methodological approach,⁶⁶ in which he attempts to recover Josephus' perspective by a process of considering the concerns of each piece of text, then their immediate context, and the key terminology used. Thus, Mason attempts to discern the meaning of Josephus' use of language and theme, reflecting, as Mason admits, to being greatly influenced by the historiographical work of Collingwood.⁶⁷

Mason applies four main principles to his study. Thus, the first task of the historian, is to select the available evidence, on the grounds of admissibility, with the aim of providing a common base for discussion. Second, the outlook of the sources

⁶⁵ S. Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

⁶⁶ S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition Critical Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1991).

⁶⁷ Especially Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948).

should be examined: their apparent motivation, genre, and language. Third, historians should compare all of the available evidence on the object of study, and accept that no consensus opinion can be gleaned from the sources (since they represent an individual's perspectives and agendas). Thus, comparing sources to find a common story is not as useful as many scholars who use this method would like to believe.⁶⁸ Fourth, and finally, Mason advocates a clear separation of different passages, judging them by their own environment, purpose, and standards. Using this four-part model, he applies and tests various hypotheses in a 'best-fit' manner, and by this methodology he seeks to ascertain the most plausible historical reconstruction from the available evidence.

The drawback to Mason's approach is his overly-isolating view. For example, in the context of a discussion on the Pharisees, Mason evaluates their importance only in passages where they are explicitly referred to but does not look at absences in the text. Consequently, the Pharisees in Mason's interpretation are a significant political and religious body. Yet, Josephus does not comment on this Jewish group during large sections of his text - noticeably from the reign of Shelamzion to the outbreak of the war,⁶⁹ a fact that does not dent Mason's verdict of their continued significance within Judean society.⁷⁰

McLaren:

The most recent study reviewed in this survey of approaches to Josephus is James McLaren's *Turbulent Times*.⁷¹ This ambitious work sets out to achieve complete conceptual independence from Josephus, and, taking the case study of Judaea in the first century, McLaren seeks to use Josephus without being tied to his two-point 'framework': the first is that the situation in Judaea was declining, in particular the deterioration of relations between Jews and Romans, and the second that the revolt

⁶⁸ Mason criticises, in particular, the approach adopted by Rivkin. Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ A fact noticed also by R. Gray in her 'Review of Mason', who also criticises Mason's failure to deal with the issue of Josephus' sources, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xl, pt. 2, (1989), pp.216-220, esp. p. 219. Albeit this review is not based on Mason's *Pharisees*, the criticisms are still well placed.

⁷⁰ Mason argues that Josephus 'represents the Pharisees as the dominant religious group among the Jews [...] their key role is evident at every point of Jewish history that Josephus deals with'. *Josephus on the Pharisees*, p. 372.

⁷¹ J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judaea in the First Century CE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

was inevitable. While McLaren does not explicitly argue against either ‘pillar’, he certainly gives the impression that they should be regarded with suspicion – despite the evidence from Josephus, and externally from authors such as Tacitus, which indicates the opposite.⁷²

Whilst the basic theory has merit – that scholars should distinguish between content and presentation, and recognise issues of inherent bias – his case study approach is not without problems, particularly regarding his opposition to contextualisation. Sievers, for example, questions the logic of assessing the plausibility of a statement within Josephus’ work, without first identifying some form of context.⁷³ Moreover, completely removing Josephus from his historiographical background raises significant problems, since he is so thoroughly infused with biblical and Hellenistic models of historiography and thought, that removing him from this context makes him unintelligible from a historical point of view.

Summary of Previous Methodologies:

This brief review of approaches to the interpretation of Josephus shows the diversity of techniques and methodologies used to understand Josephus better. They range from ‘positive’, trusting readings of the source, to ‘negative’ and quite dismissive criticisms. The method that I will adopt takes elements from several of the approaches outlined above, and seeks to identify the function of Josephus’ narrative, as well as to retrieve relevant data. Rather than ignore Josephus’ framework (as proposed by McLaren), however, this study will initially work towards an ‘unimpassioned’ reading of the text, before actively examining elements which are blatantly programmatic, apologetic, or rhetorical, with the aim of moving closer to understanding Josephus on his own terms. The aim of this enterprise is not to take Josephus as the primary source for the Maccabean Revolt – since he is later than 1 Maccabees and clearly depends on him – rather, it is taken as the case study to investigate Josephus.

⁷² It is worth stating too that McLaren’s approach would be greatly enhanced by inclusion of the non-Josephan witnesses to the first century, mainly the New Testament and Philo – for instance, this information could corroborate Josephus, or help to fill gaps in the Josephan evidence.

⁷³ J. Sievers, review of J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judaea in the First Century C.E.* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), in *Review of Biblical Literature*, URL: <http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/425_435.pdf>

1.6 The Context-Critical Method

Several questions and concepts that need to be considered at the outset of this study. First, the issue of bias, of both the modern historian and the source that they study, cannot be neglected. What are the researcher's motives in examining a particular person or period? On what basis are the sources selected? Are some sources preferred to others? It is important to recognise that scholars are influenced to varying degrees by popular trends, politico-religious outlook, or language. The most obvious example of an inherited agenda that influences the work of modern scholars, is that of hindsight. It is easy to view an event that occurred during the Maccabean period through the knowledge of what Josephus tells us will happen thereafter. Although an examination of the function and location of a statement within the work will give a glimpse of Josephus' immediate framework, initial studies should focus on the micro-level.

Josephus provides a framework for Hasmonaean history, which he uses to construct his account of the Maccabean Period. According to this, Mattathias stood firm against the evil injunctions of Antiochus, while his son Judas continued the struggle against the Syrians. The Maccabee brothers all die fighting against the impious Syrians. The early Maccabees were noble and heroic, they justly fought against the impious Antiochus Epiphanes, and their deaths were glorious (*War* i. 34-37, *Ant.* xii. 248ff). The virtue of the early Maccabees peaked during the excellent rule of John Hyrcanus. Josephus relates that John Hyrcanus prophesied that his dynasty would disintegrate, for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future; so, for example, he foretold of his two elder sons that they would not remain masters of the state (*Antiquities* xiii. 300; cf. *War* i. 69).

This 'vision' acts as the turning-point of Josephus' framework for Hasmonaean history. He presents subsequent monarchs as declining into inhumanity, injustice and impiety: Aristobulus murders his own brother (*War* i. 72); Jannaeus is depicted as being like a 'Cossack' in his barbarity (*War* i. 92f.); Shelamzion naively allows the Pharisees to gain influence and power (*Ant.* xiii. 408); while the sibling rivalry between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II leads to a weakened state and the eventual loss of Hasmonaean authority to Pompey and Rome. I argue for a methodology where scholars should attempt to read and reconstruct the history of the Maccabees without placing it wholly in the context of the impending failure of the independent Jewish

State. That is not to say that a particular monarch should be studied out of context, rather, that the passage or pericope concerning the monarch should first be read in isolation – this methodology attempts to avoid teleological pitfalls, by putting aside the interpretation which views these events in terms of final disaster.

Ancient authors present their histories through the interpretative filter of their purpose, agendas, and knowledge. An identification of these biases is essential to understand their interpretation, although dismissal of ‘obviously slanted’ or apologetic passages should be avoided. These passages are present in Josephus because this was what he intended; in this respect they serve an important historical purpose, whether or not they accurately reflect an incident in time. After all, the limited amount of evidence that we have about the ancient world precludes any serious attempt at wholesale reconstruction or gauging normative practices. The evidence that we do possess, namely Josephus’ writings, represents the views of one particular man, writing at various points in his life, and thus it should in no way be read as demonstrative of a wider ‘Jewish view’. The sheer variety of belief and practice existing in ancient Jewish society, in any event, rules out the possibility of any one source being representative of ‘Judaism’.⁷⁴ An appropriate methodology for the historical study of Josephus must contend with all of these factors.

I propose a four-part methodology, which I shall call a ‘context-critical’ approach.

⁷⁴ For the multifaceted nature of Judaism in antiquity, see, for example, G. Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

1.6.1 The Authenticity of Josephus

According to this proposed ‘context-critical’ methodology, the first area that needs to be examined is that of the authenticity of the writings attributed to Josephus: did Josephus write all the works attributed to his hand? To answer this question several further points of examination are required: how much input, if any, did his ‘scribal assistants’ have? What is the likelihood of redaction, primarily by Christian scribes who copied and preserved the works? And finally, are Josephus’ writings merely repositories of other sources, or do they constitute ‘original’ evidence?

i. The Scribal Assistants:

Did Josephus write his own books, or were his assistants responsible? Thackeray’s seminal work of 1929 brings the discussion of scribal assistants into the realm of modern historical debate:

The *Jewish War* possesses extraordinary merits. The style is an excellent specimen of the Atticistic Greek of the first century, modelled on, if not quite on a level with, that of the great masters of the age of Pericles. A choice vocabulary, well knit sentences and paragraphs, niceties in the use of particles and the order of words, a uniformly classical style without slavish imitation of classical models – these and other excellences combine to give the work high rank in Greek literature.⁷⁵

This classical style would be particularly impressive if it were not for the brief comment in a later work that Josephus employs ‘collaborators for the sake of the Greek’ (*Apion* i. 50). Following this acknowledgement that literary aides had been used, Thackeray sets out to identify specific sections of the text which appeared ‘incompatible’ with the surrounding text – it is through this process that various assistants were authenticated. Rajak takes issue with Thackeray’s methodology on various fronts, not least the fact that Josephus admits assistance only in the composition of *War*, while Thackeray identified his assistants in *Antiquities*⁷⁶ and not

⁷⁵ H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929), pp. 104f.

⁷⁶ Thackeray identifies *Antiquities* xv-xvi as the work of the Sophoclean aide, while *Antiquities* xvii-xix was the ‘Thucydidean hack’. Neither of these sections relate to the period of this study.

the earlier work. Further, Rajak asserts that stylistic differences in Josephus do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that dissimilar sections were composed by different hands, as a work written over a period of several years could represent Josephus' evolving literary ability in Greek.⁷⁷

In reply to Thackeray, it is worth noting that Thucydides, the classical historian *par excellence*, served as a model for much Hellenistic historiography, so that 'Thucydideanisms' pervade Josephus' work throughout, and not just in the allegedly assisted section of *Antiquities*. It is also illogical for Thackeray to assume that his assistants are most easily identifiable in the later sections of Josephus' work, especially as he cannot find them in the earlier *War* – surely a literary man such as Josephus, having spent several decades immersed in a Greek-reading environment (*Ant.* xx. 263), would have required less scribal assistance than at the beginning of his task. Whilst some assistance is likely in *War*, Josephus' later works – unless there is direct and compelling evidence to the contrary – are the sole responsibility of Josephus' hand. Ultimately there is no evidence that Greek assistants wrote large sections of Josephus' work, and Williams' stylometric examinations reveal little statistical support for the assistant theory.⁷⁸ The fact that Josephus originated from a well-to-do Jerusalem priestly family and was sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome suggests that he spoke Greek even prior to his capture and immersion in a Greek-speaking world. It is difficult, therefore, to sustain the argument that literary assistants influenced the text to any significant degree, although we cannot preclude the possibility that due to the sheer volume of the material Josephus had some assistance.

ii. Christian Redaction:

Josephus survives to the present day due to the scribal work of the Christian church: the rabbinic commentaries do not mention Josephus or his history anywhere and there is no evidence that Josephus was circulated or read in rabbinic circles. It is thus clear that we owe his survival to the early church. Christians found Josephus' text valuable

⁷⁷ Rajak, *Josephus*, p. 233f.

⁷⁸ D. S. Williams, *Stylometric Authorship – Studies in Flavius Josephus and Related Literature* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1992).

because, among many other things, he provides near-contemporary evidence of the politics and religious life of Jesus' day, and, in one particularly contested section in the *Antiquities*, he bears independent witness to the life of Jesus Christ (*Ant.* xviii. 63). The debate over the extent to which the *Testimonium* has been altered by Christian redactors is ongoing, but most scholars believe that part, if not all of it, is edited by later Christian hands.⁷⁹ After all, if Josephus had believed that Jesus was a messiah, as the present form of the text claims, he would surely devote far more attention to him. To bring the question of Christian influence in line with the aims of the current project: how likely is it that Christian redaction would have occurred in the passages relating to the Maccabean Revolt and early Hasmonean period? The answer is, not very likely at all. There is no hint of the characteristic concerns of the early church in this text – no messianic undertone, no references to the Christian writings or characters of the New Testament are mentioned, and the martyrdom aspects of the text do not betray close similarities with the martyrdom texts of the church. Indeed, as a judgement of the importance of the Maccabean Revolt to the early church, we need only look at the silence regarding this event in the New Testament.

iii. Josephus' Use of Sources:

It cannot be denied that Josephus had various sources on which he depended for his two versions of Maccabean history. The parallel between the account in *Antiquities* and the Jewish Hellenistic writing 1 Maccabees is well known. The following questions present themselves. Are the accounts of the Maccabean Revolt and of the following period written in Josephus' words, or those of his source? And should we regard whole sections of Josephus' narrative as being fundamentally non-Josephan, and discount them? Various factors lend weight to the claim that Josephus used a variety of sources to suit his argument and agenda. His claim at the outset of *Antiquities* (*Ant.* i. 17) that he would accurately copy biblical literature, without 'adding or omitting', has been repeatedly shown to be a half-truth – although Josephus rarely invented new material, he was prone to omitting potentially controversial passages, and playing up Hellenistic and biblical virtues to appeal to his

⁷⁹ On the *Testimonium* see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and trans. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-1987), vol. 1, pp. 428-441.

intended audience. In short, Josephus arranges and adapts the evidence to suit his needs, some of these are, for example, to make it comprehensible to a wider Greek-educated audience, to limit the possibility of generating anti-Jewish slander (as in his omission of the golden calf episode), or as a simple stylistic necessity (as in his Atticising tastes⁸⁰). It is also apparent that in episodes where Josephus was a direct witness to events, he was more than capable of relaying this information in narrative form. Thus we should not doubt his ability to construct historical prose from whatever source he had to hand. Finally, consistent trends and motifs pervade both *War* and *Antiquities* that indicate a clearly defined belief and agenda: no such theme would exist if Josephus had copied his sources directly and uncritically.

We may suggest with some confidence that Josephus was responsible for the works attributed to him. The three most common reasons for supposed non-Josephan authority are the possibilities of Christian redaction, complete source-dependence, and his use of Greek assistants. Although none of these factors can be totally disregarded, in the case of Josephus' Maccabean Revolt narratives it is clear that Christian interference appears unlikely as does any significant dependence on scribal assistants. The *War* does not acknowledge any source dependence, nor is its version of the Maccabean Revolt close to any surviving testimony – this makes any serious effort to judge Josephus' source-reliance difficult. The later and amplified account in *Antiquities* is based closely on 1 Maccabees, and it is clear that even here Josephus does not slavishly copy the source but, rather, frames the evidence to fit his literary aim. The two Maccabean Revolt narratives in *War* and *Antiquities* are Josephan products.

⁸⁰ As noted by A. Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée. Une réaction atticisante contra la koiné* (Études et Commentaires 45; Paris: Klincksieck, 1962).

1.6.2 An Isolated Reading

This study attempts to read Josephus on his own terms – to read what he has to say, and his method of saying it – prior to examining the larger literary and historical contexts. This pre-reading is an attempt to decipher individual stories in isolation from the whole – and hence ‘isolated reading’. The aim is to identify the nuts and bolts of the text, neither through Josephus’ interpretative framework and narrative structure, nor through what modern historians perceive to be his agenda, but rather as a stand-alone, ‘isolated’ source. The purpose in this close reading is to investigate the key elements/ ‘basic meaning’ of Josephus’ account: what happened, when, where, with whom, and why? The answers to these fundamental questions will then be used as the basis for further investigation.

Only after the ‘isolated’ reading has been made should some contextualisation be attempted, with the aim of distinguishing points of ambiguity, and identifying literary genres – e.g. particular statements that are not coherent should be examined within a wider context of Josephus’ literary techniques to assess the likelihood of his use of satire, irony, or exaggeration. That said, however, the examination of the basic meaning of the text should be conducted separately from its context within the body of literature attributed to Josephus, or the wider scope of the Hellenistic literature of the first century CE. There are several drawbacks to conducting an isolated reading of a text, not least the fact that it creates a stilted, mechanical analysis – and is prone to repetition.

1.6.3 Literary Contextualisation

After the ‘isolated’ reading of a text to discern its ‘basic meaning’, it is necessary to assume a more interpretative rendering. This process requires three stages. The first seeks to identify an underlying theme or trend, the second method is to recognise the potential reasons why a particular statement was made, and the third approach seeks to understand how a particular passage might have been understood by his ‘real’ or ‘intended’ audience (as far as such a thing is possible). The most popular form of interpretation is the first kind, where the historian identifies a main theme or trend in the work, and in this way summarises the text. It is important not to place too much

significance on these summary readings, as they can marginalise huge swathes of the work, in favour of one or two points. Thus, once a summary has been put forward, it should be tested against the body of the text itself, to assess its significance and plausibility. We must ask, is it truly representative of Josephus' work?

The second approach is to identify the reason why Josephus makes claims about an event, person, or period. If the reason behind a statement can be discerned, (e.g. as a response to criticism, a criticism of others, a flippant statement, a joke, or a simple description whether accurate or idealised), this allows the historian a secondary layer of insight into the meaning of the source. The final approach is to ascertain how the 'real' audience would have received and understood the text. This is obviously not without problems, since, on a basic level, Josephus' audience is not agreed upon in modern scholarship and we have no evidence of contemporary reception.⁸¹

In addition, it is necessary to hypothesise concerning the purpose of the text. This stage is clearly built upon the finding of the 'isolated' and 'interpretative' readings (what did the statement say, why was it made, how was it received, etc), but it should be noted that, whilst it is often tempting to read secondary and intentional meaning behind every word and turn of phrase, it is unlikely that Josephus would/could have intentionally woven together thirty entire books worth of opinion and history.

The 'interpretative' reading can be achieved through various techniques. One of the most common practices used in recent scholarship is an examination of the key words used by Josephus to understand their rhetorical function. This involves both a discussion of the words themselves and their significance and purpose in both intra- and extra-Josephan evidence – the key question here is to assess the intended impact of Josephus' rhetoric. Another method is to test the passage for consistency: is the passage internally consistent, and if not, what reasons could best explain the inconsistencies? Where parallel accounts exist (as they do for the Maccabean Revolt), they should be compared and their differences evaluated. It is not enough to synthesise the versions to get a blended version of common events, or to support the one that fits best one's own hypothesis, but, rather, where accounts differ, the reasons behind their divergence needs to be examined. In some instances this will lead to

⁸¹ For a discussion on the audiences of *War* and *Antiquities*, see chapters 2.2 and 3.1.3-4, below.

questions surrounding Josephus' sources. How does he use them, are they extant, and can comparisons be made?

The importance of the adoption of rhetorical practices by Josephus is increasingly recognised by scholars; Mason argues that 'although Josephus claims to favour truth over rhetoric... his works are imbued with the rhetorical spirit'.⁸² Whilst a thorough review of ancient rhetorical practice is not necessary within the scope of this thesis.⁸³ It is, however, worth outlining the following points about Josephus' method of persuading his audience.⁸⁴ The purpose of imposing a rhetorical filter is to convince the audience of your point of view, and Josephus is well adept at using rhetorical techniques to gain support for the plight of the Jewish people. Indeed Josephus appears to be aware of his own embellishments and framing of the text, which works to instil sympathy in the reader to Josephus' position. A similar viewpoint is clear from two of Josephus' literary influences, Thucydides and Polybius, in whose footsteps Josephus carefully treads.⁸⁵ This thesis will highlight aspects of the narrative that have clear 'rhetorical impact'. This will include Josephus' use of speeches, insertion of documents, his digressions and authorial comments, and his characterisations and portraits (and in particular his obituaries). The characterisation of historical figures is all important to Josephus - who endeavours to paint his portraits in ways that would be understood by someone familiar with Graeco-Roman ideals – and this forms one of the central points of examination within this thesis.⁸⁶

⁸² S. Mason, *Life of Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. xxxviii.

⁸³ For discussion and bibliography on the subject of ancient rhetoric, see G. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); T. O. Sloane (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ See, on Josephus and rhetoric, J. Barclay, 'The Empire Writes Back: Josephan Rhetoric in Flavian Rome', in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). That Josephus is aware of the potential of rhetoric is clear from his comments in the proem to *War* 1. 2, 16, as well as his statements about Justus' use of rhetoric to win over the citizens of Tiberias (*Life* 40-42), although his criticism of the technique certainly does not prevent him from using it. For similar criticisms of rhetoric by ancient authors who, nevertheless, enjoyed the full benefits of the literary tools of persuasion, see Mason, *Life of Josephus*, p. xxxviii.

⁸⁵ E.g. Thucydides 1. 22. 1-4; Polybius 2. 56.

⁸⁶ For instance, Cicero promotes the following characteristics as worthy of endorsement: temperance, fortitude, patience, justice, filial piety, loyalty, religion, as well as breeding and education (Cicero, *On the Classification of Rhetoric*, 75-80. For discussion, see Mason, *Life of Josephus*, p. xxxix.).

1.6.4 Historical Contextualisation.

Once a thorough examination of the text has been conducted (from an ‘isolated’ reading of the passage, to an ‘interpretative’ evaluation of its context and purpose within a work), it is necessary to apply external context criticism. A process of selection of appropriate external sources is the first step: what sources need to be included and why? In the case of the Maccabean Revolt various external sources are relevant, although all are problematic. The primary accounts remain the Books of the Maccabees, which were composed shortly after the revolt. It is usually argued that 1 Maccabees is a more ‘historical’ work, and it is preferred to 2 Maccabees which uses miracles and anecdotes.⁸⁷ In addition to these texts, the book of Daniel has been positively identified by scholarship as reflecting upon the events of the persecution and early revolt, albeit in cryptic tones. Several Pseudepigraphic works, including the *Psalms of Solomon*, appear to pass comment on this period, although few do so in an explicit manner. Various Greco-Roman authors comment explicitly on the revolt (such as Tacitus and Polybius). The Mishnah and Talmud also contain scattered remarks on the revolt – such as praise for the rededication of the Temple (*m. Midd.* i. 6). Here it is important not to dismiss the rabbinic literature as ‘unhistorical’; whilst the sages did not intend to write ‘history’ in the post-enlightenment sense, it is clear that some of their tradition dates from the pre-70 traditions and folklore. While the later writings of the rabbis cannot have directly influenced Josephus, it is very likely that they could have shared sources in common.⁸⁸

In addition to the identification of appropriate evidence, the process of collating these sources must be considered. It is not enough to amass a version of history by harmonising all of the available sources, nor is it advisable to give one source authority and use this to discount any conflicting accounts in other sources (as is so often the case with the version of the revolt as presented by 1 Maccabees in

⁸⁷ Gruen, in the earlier survey of interpretations of Antiochus’ persecution of the Jews, relies significantly on the evidence of 2 Maccabees, to the near exclusion of the other sources. E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

⁸⁸ According to Bockmuehl, ‘[Basser] vividly illustrates the remarkable extent to which Christian and Jewish authors, for all their deep differences, drank of the same halakhic and midrashic wells and responded to each other’s challenges and criticisms, whether explicitly or implicitly, far more than is often realized’, M. Bockmuehl, review of H. W. Basser, *Studies in Exegesis: Christian Critiques of Jewish Law and Rabbinic Responses 70-300 CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), *JJS* (forthcoming).

preference to the Josephan account). The purpose of multiple sources is to provide a different account from a different perspective. Differences and similarities between sources should be probed, and hypotheses as to the reasons for the differences should be tested for plausibility – but sources should not be discarded unless their account is proven to be wholly fictitious. Even then, it still contains an integral historical value as evidence of what the author believed, or wished others to believe.

In addition to sources that refer to the Maccabean Revolt directly, it is important that Josephus' account is placed within the historiographical context of the Second Temple Period. In this way, general characteristics of ancient historiography need to be considered. For instance, what would Josephus have meant by his claims of 'accuracy'; what did historical accuracy mean to historians of the first century; could one be 'truthful' and still invent or embellish narratives? It is important, therefore, to compare Josephus' historical method with that of all his possible sources, and contemporary practice - this will involve particular comparisons with Thucydides and Polybius, whose work Josephus knew, as well as the biblical writings.

1.7 Summary

This section of the thesis has highlighted many of the methodological issues that historians confront in their study of ancient history. The Maccabean Revolt provides a particularly revealing glimpse of Josephus' scholarship, because he made two versions and his primary source for the longer account survives. This unique situation allows the historian great insight into Josephus' literary and rhetorical technique, agenda, and outlook. I have argued that previous scholarship has been hampered by methodologies that are based on the frameworks imposed by Josephus, or, in the case of the *Antiquities*, 1 Maccabees. And whilst to some degree this is unavoidable, I hope that the method outlined above will offer a new and productive way of reading Josephus.

2.1 The Maccabean Revolt in the *Jewish War*¹

Josephus' first work was completed by 79 CE, and is a seven-volume history of the Jewish Revolt against Rome.² The work itself is written in Greek, although Josephus claims to have translated it from an earlier (presumably Aramaic) version, which he wrote 'for the barbarians of the interior' (*War* i. 3). This prior account does not survive, and does not receive attestation outside of the Josephan corpus. Although *War* does not represent the earliest Jewish account of the Maccabean Revolt,³ it does, however, constitute Josephus' first attempt to tell the story of Mattathias and his sons, and their successful fight for independence. As the work was composed shortly after the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, it presented Josephus with a particularly problematic task: how to depict the Maccabean Revolt without associating the Jewish people with rebelliousness and sedition. For these reasons the Maccabean Revolt narrative in *War* is significant.

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret the account of the Maccabean Revolt in Josephus' *War*, through an investigation of the agenda and audience of *War*, with the aim of better understanding both why Josephus wrote what he did, and how it might have been received. It is fortunate, then, that Josephus elaborates on his

¹ The standard English translation is that of H. St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, & L. H. Feldman, *Josephus* (LCL: Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1926-1965). I have also consulted the English translation of G. A. Williamson (trans.), *Josephus: The Jewish War* (rev. E. M. Smallwood; London: Penguin Books, 1981). The Greek text used is that of B. Neise (ed.), *Flavii Josephi Opera* (3 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1887-1904).

² The date of composition of *War* is often put to the latter half of the 70s CE, more precisely, sometime between 75-79 CE. This dating depends upon the mention of the dedication of the Flavian Temple of Peace (*War* vii. 159), which is elsewhere recorded as occurring in 75 CE (Dio, 66: 15, 1), and the death of Vespasian, 79 CE. The later date is given as a *terminus ante* as Josephus claims to have presented Vespasian a copy of the completed *War* text (*Life* 359f; *Apion* i. 50f). This estimation has gained widespread acceptance, with few exceptions: Cohen argues that the later parts of *War* show signs of having been written after Vespasian's death, although the section here under investigation falls outside of his interesting hypothesis. See S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: his Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp 84ff. Josephus claims that *War* was a translation of an earlier Aramaic account of the conflict, so it is likely that the *terminus ad quem* may be somewhat earlier, although without further evidence this cannot be proved.

³ Contrary to Josephus' claims that the historical narrative of *War* starts from where previous histories conclude (*War* i.18), it is clear that the Books of the Maccabees constitute substantial works on the Maccabean Revolt. On the books of the Maccabees, see J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1976) and *II Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1983). To a lesser extent, the book of Daniel also deals with the Maccabean Revolt. On Daniel see P. R. Davies, *Daniel* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic press, 1985).

motivations in the proem to *War* – an area that has been much investigated by previous scholars.⁴

⁴ See, for example, P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: his life, his works and their importance* (JSPSup, 2; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), pp. 72f. T. Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and his Society* (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 175f.

2.2 Josephus' declared motive and audience for *War*

[i. 1] The war of the Jews against the Romans – the greatest not only of the wars of our time, but, so far as accounts have reached us, well nigh of all that ever broke out between cities or nations – has not lacked its historians. 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 a rhetorical style; [i. 2] while others, who witnessed the events, have, either from flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the Jews, misrepresented the facts, their writings exhibiting alternatively invective and encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy.

[i. 3] In these circumstances, I – Josephus, son of Mattathias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest, who at the opening of the war myself fought against the Romans and in the sequel was perforce an onlooker – propose to provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with the narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the account which I previously composed in my vernacular tongue, and sent to the barbarians in the interior.

War i. 1-3.

Thus Josephus introduces his first work. Josephus promotes it as a 'true' account, by himself, a Jewish military eyewitness, which was aimed at presenting an unbiased version of the 'facts' to a Roman audience. The theme of 'historical accuracy' is claimed throughout *War*, and I shall discuss it shortly. The claim that *War* was based upon a prior, now lost, edition has fuelled discussion. It is this brief statement that has 'for many scholars provided the key to the purpose' of the surviving edition.⁵

Thackeray, in his seminal study *Josephus the Man and the Historian*, builds on the earlier provocative thesis of Laqueur to form the influential theory that Josephus wrote *War* as official Roman propaganda to the 'barbarians'⁶ of the East, with the aim

⁵ See S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition Critical Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), p. 57ff.

⁶ Josephus later makes clear whom he refers to by his pejorative sobriquet 'barbarian'. *War* i. 6 refers to them explicitly as 'Parthians and Babylonians and the most remote tribes of Arabia with our countrymen beyond the Euphrates and the inhabitants of Adiabene'. See also the speech that Josephus puts into the mouth of Agrippa (*War* ii. 345f. esp. 388): "What allies then do you expect for this war? Will you recruit them from the uninhabited wilds? For in the habitable world all are Romans – unless, maybe, the hopes of some of you soar beyond the Euphrates and you count on obtaining aid from your kinsmen in Adiabene."

of inclining them not to revolt against Rome.⁷ Thackeray concludes on the basis of this ‘native language version’, and the official Roman element⁸, that ‘Josephus was commissioned by the conquerors to write the official history of the war for propagandistic purposes. It was a manifesto, intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition and to allay the post-war thirst for revenge’.⁹ This hypothesis is further supported by the evidence of Jewish ‘revenge’ in the form of the Trajanic Revolt, and troubled Roman relations with the Parthians.¹⁰

Thackeray’s thesis has received widespread acceptance, regardless of its methodological problems.¹¹ Mason is one of the few scholars who has questioned the dominant ‘propaganda’ interpretation. In his assessment of the evidence, the Parthians were unlikely to revolt in any meaningful way against Rome. Thackeray theorises that the Greek edition of *War* is a loyal translation of the earlier Semitic text, and that they share a common purpose. This is clearly problematic.¹² Without corroborating evidence (such as the Semitic version itself) it is impossible to prove definitively whether the accounts were similar in content or not. Whilst the Greek version emphasised the might of the Romans, it cannot be proved what position the Semitic text adopted – if indeed it existed. Thackeray’s theory fits well the evidence to hand, yet it fails to make a cast-iron case because the conclusive proof does not survive.

⁷ H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929).

⁸ A fact that is no doubt played up by Josephus (although he is hardly likely to have fabricated the Roman interest in the work, as it would have been easily disproved if he was writing in Rome). See, for instance, the assertion in *Life* that Josephus immediately presented his version of the First Jewish Revolt to the Emperors themselves (361f.).

⁹ Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 27.

¹⁰ That the Parthians were indeed ‘a constant menace to Rome’ is attested by Josephus (e.g. *Ant.* xx. 69f.), and Pliny, *Panegyric on Trajan* 14. This theory is also supported by various themes throughout *War*, not least the playing up of the invincibility of Rome (e.g. ii. 360).

¹¹ For bibliography, see Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*, p. 58, n. 10.

¹² Various factors cast doubt over the exact nature of the Aramaic text, and as it has not survived, little can be said about it with any certainty. It is commonly noted that the Greek *War* appears to have little Aramaic influence in language or style, and indeed, discussion of the Greek term for translation that Josephus used in *War* i. 3 (μεταβάλλω) has led scholars to admit it could refer to ‘rewriting’ (i.e. not simply translation, but transformation). Realistically, it seems unlikely that an Aramaic text about the fate of the small country of Judea would have had any impact on, or even be comprehensible to, a non-Jewish, non-Aramaic speaking audience. On the Semitic text, see especially G. Hata, ‘Is the Greek Version of Josephus’ ‘Jewish War’ a translation or a Rewriting of the First Version?’, *JQR* 66 (1975), pp. 89-108, esp. 106f.

Josephus states that he was motivated by the need to educate those Greeks and Romans who were not involved in the battle and whose ignorance was caused by their reliance upon ‘flattering or fictitious narratives’ (*War* i. 6). Josephus’ proclaimed task therefore was to set the record straight. That he was uniquely suited to complete the task is a recurring theme based upon his eyewitness role and his ‘neutral’ outlook (he started on the Jewish side, and ended up on the Roman side and, possibly, living in Rome). Josephus is also keen to stress his accurate methodology (and consequently pour scorn on previous histories), and evidently he recognises the need for impartiality and accuracy in historical writing (*War* i. 7-8). As he emphasises at the close of the introduction, ‘let us at least hold historical truth in honour, since by the Greeks it is disregarded’ (*War* i. 16).

Josephus does not identify which ‘Greeks’ he is referring to in this passage, but it is likely they are the same ‘erudite Greeks’ of *War* i. 13, who appear to have censured Josephus for his lamentations over his country’s misfortune (*War* i. 11).¹³ Thus he proposes a methodology which, whilst retaining accuracy as the highest goal, also allows for ‘reflections’ and personal sympathies. From a modern perspective this may sound contradictory (as the goal for accuracy should not be coloured by the subjectivity of personal reflection) but the precedent for ‘accurate’ history had been set by Thucydides, who, on the one hand, claims complete truth (and admonishes previous ‘poetic’ histories for their shortcomings¹⁴), yet on the other hand admits to fabricating the speeches of his historical players (‘keeping *close to the idea* of what was actually said’ – Thuc. i. 22. 1).

The recurring theme in Josephus’ declared methodology is one of historical truth. Previous historians of the war lacked ἀκριβεία (*War* i. 2); Josephus thought it was ‘monstrous’ to allow the truth (ἀλήθεια) to go astray when he was so accurately (ἀκριβεία) acquainted with the war (*War* i. 6); the Greeks disregarded ‘historical truth’ (*War* i. 16); and Josephus notes that *War* was written for the ‘lovers of truth’

¹³ It is possible, as Lindner argues, that the ‘erudite Greeks’ to whom Josephus makes reference in *War* i. 13, were critics who may have brought a lawsuit [Mason’s translation of the German] against the Jewish historian, and that their inclusion in the text was Josephus’ attempt to marginalise or mock their charges. H. Lindner, ‘Eine offene Frage zur Auslegung des Bellum-Proömiums’, in O. Betz, K. Haacker & M. Hengel, (eds.) *Josephus-Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), pp. 255-258. In Mason, *Josephus on the Pharisees*, p. 70. Ultimately with such minor information on the ‘erudite Greeks’, any identification is somewhat speculative.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Thucydides’ treatment of Homer, i. 9. 3, i. 10. 3.

(*War* i. 17). Like Thucydides, Josephus based his claim of ‘truth’ on his personal experience of the war, including his unique insight into the workings of both the Jewish and Roman camps. Whilst the claim of ‘accuracy’ should not be believed at face value, it does however indicate Josephus’ concern with ‘truth’ and historical ‘accuracy’ as concepts.

It is necessary to consider next the various reasons given by Josephus for the composition of *War*, and to assess their relative plausibility. In an introduction reminiscent of the language and thought of Thucydides¹⁵, Josephus claims that the war was possibly the greatest ever conflict between states and nations, and yet previous histories of the conflict were either problematic or wrong. Thus *War* starts by proclaiming the importance of the revolt, in a parallel fashion to Thucydides who claims that the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians was ‘a great war, and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it’ (Thuc. i. 1. 1). From the outset it appears as though Josephus is attempting to gain prestige and authority by associating his work with the model of Thucydides, whose importance ‘in the Imperial period (and after) is not in dispute’.¹⁶ By adopting established historiographical formulae, Josephus represents his work as a ‘serious’ and accurate history, and discredits all previous histories of the war.

Josephus goes on to claim that he composed *War* as an objective and accurate account of *the* great war (which he witnessed) and the events in which he took part. That this ‘true’ history needed to be written was evident by various assertions that ‘false’ and erroneous histories were already in circulation (e.g. *War* i. 1f.). Yet it is apparent that various other factors motivated Josephus to write his history, not least the fact that he (appears to have) desired to portray himself in a flattering light, presumably as some sort of apologetic response to detractors.¹⁷ It is also clear that the work flatters the Romans and Titus in particular (with regard to his role in quelling the Jewish Revolt). The conclusion that Josephus’ positive portrayal of the Romans is a

¹⁵ Thucydides’ introduction to the *Peloponnesian War* is strikingly similar to the proem of *War*, note especially *War* i. 1 (cf. Thuc. i. 1. 1), and *War* i. 16, 26 (cf. Thuc. i. 22. 2).

¹⁶ On Thucydides’ importance, see S. Hornblower, ‘The Fourth-Century and Hellenistic Reception of Thucydides’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995), pp. 47-68, esp. p. 47.

¹⁷ That Josephus presented himself in idealised terms, such as the ideal general, is well argued by amongst others H. W. Attridge, ‘Josephus and his Works’, in M. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp. 185-232. On negative attitudes to Josephus, see, for example, Josephus’ acknowledgement that his fellow Jews did not universally respect him, *War* iii. 438.

direct consequence of his official Roman sponsor has merits. It is telling that it is in *War* that the most flattering portrayal of the Romans can be found, and it is only *War* that is sponsored by the Roman Emperor himself – the later works being dedicated to one Epaphroditus (*Ant.* i. 8, on this patron see below 3.1.1). Ultimately, any argument concerning the ‘propagandistic purpose’ of *War* must contend with the question of intended audience: is there evidence that the work was written as a warning to a potentially ‘rebellious’ group?

The question of Josephus’ hypothetical audience is one that is central to our understanding of *War*. It is clear that Josephus wishes to promote the work as designed for an educated Roman audience. Josephus opens the work with the ambition that it would ‘provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts’ (*War* i. 3). This appears to concur with later comments that *War* was intended for the Emperors and a Roman audience who had only previously heard malicious reports (*Life* 361f.; *Apion* i. 50f.). There are obvious benefits to associating his history with Rome, and even claiming that it was the official imperial version of events – not least in terms of prestige and authentication of his account. And although it is unlikely that Josephus would have completely fabricated the role of the Romans within his narrative, and, indeed, their role as his intended audience, it would be foolish to deny the likelihood of a Jewish audience. No other group could have had a greater interest in the work, nor would non-Jews appreciate and totally understand the religious aspects of the narrative, in particular the loss of the Temple and the underlying notion of divine judgement. What can be proposed with more certainty though is that, due to the problematic nature of publishing in the ancient world, the readership of *War* would have been Greek-educated and wealthy individuals.¹⁸

¹⁸ On the nature of first-century publishing, see R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).

2.3 The Source behind the *Jewish War* - i. 31-53

It is necessary to briefly examine the issue of Josephus' sources for the *War*. Unlike his later works, Josephus does not give recognition to his sources in *War*. Instead, throughout his work, he claims that his account was based on his eyewitness status (see *War* i. 3), and that it is built on his earlier, Aramaic version. This claim to personal experience is repeated in his later work, where he reports that at times he kept careful notes (*Apion* i. 47f.). Yet the claim to eyewitness testimony has little validity for his discussion of the Maccabean Revolt which occurred two hundred years prior to his birth – he does not openly recognise his sources even for this earlier period. In response to Apion's slur, Josephus claims that his version of events was supported by the *Commentaries* of Vespasian himself, yet he gives no source for the earlier history (*Life* 338f., esp. 358). In addition to these sources, the influence of Nicolas of Damascus can be detected, although as the original source is no longer extant, any meaningful comparison is impossible (indeed, the writings of Nicolas are preserved mainly in Josephus).

In 1916 Hölscher wrote an important article in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*,¹⁹ which dealt primarily with the sources used by Josephus, presupposing that Josephus' input was purely in reproducing the work of others. According to Hölscher, two distinct sources lay behind the first two books of Josephus' *War*, while the majority of the remaining work depends on his eyewitness testimony and contemporary records of the conflict against Rome. The identification of Josephus' sources was conducted on the basis of literary style and terminology, and in the section here under examination (the first book of *War*), Hölscher identifies the writings of Nicolas of Damascus. To further corroborate his thesis, Hölscher notes that the general tone of *War* is pro-Herodian, and that this could support the source-identification of Nicolas of Damascus, since he is known as Herod's friend and official chronicler (*War* i. 629, 637-638). But Hölscher's claim that the first book represents a non-Jewish source (Nicolas), sits uncomfortably with the parallels with the Jewish book of Daniel and the horde of explicitly Jewish terminology. Further it is apparent that Josephus used his terminology quite consistently throughout his

¹⁹ G. Hölscher, 'Josephus', in A. von Pauly & G. Wissowa (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 18 (1916), pp.1934-2000.

writing, which suggests a thorough reworking of all of his sources (a factor incompatible with Hölscher's extreme source-criticism). Finally, Josephus, like most ancient historians, used his sources to fulfil his literary ambition. As demonstrated throughout his version of the Maccabean Revolt (and most noticeably in his adaptation of 1 Maccabees), he was not afraid of inserting speeches or playing up elements for dramatic effect, nor of changing his sources by omission or addition of information.

2.3 The significance of the Maccabean Revolt in *War*

The account of the Maccabean Revolt holds an important position within the narrative structure of Josephus' *Jewish War*. Indeed, the revolt forms the point from which Josephus' historical narrative begins, and it thus sets the first parameter and context for the history of the later Jewish Revolt against Rome – which is the main subject of *War*.²⁰ I will argue that Josephus deliberately placed the Maccabean Revolt in such a prominent position to juxtapose (in the mind of his intended audience), the righteous Hasmonean struggle with the unsuccessful later movement against Rome.

Despite its prominence, little work has been done on Josephus' presentation of the Maccabean Revolt and its purpose within the context of Josephan literature. Recent studies by Feldman and Gafni have focused on the paraphrase of 1 Maccabees in Josephus' *Antiquities*, and have not examined his earlier account in the *War*.²¹ Indeed, the general approach taken by modern scholarship is to ignore the *War* account, dismissing it as 'muddled'.²²

Yet the fact that Josephus' account of the revolt in *War* is not a direct copy of 1 Maccabees should be of great interest to historians: either what Josephus writes is copied from a non-extant source (or sources), or Josephus developed his own version of the Maccabean uprising to fulfil a literary purpose. The importance of this story to the historical narrative of *War* cannot be overlooked. It is a narrative intentionally composed and prefixed to Josephus' account of the revolt against Rome, with the aim of introducing various themes and motifs. Further study into the Maccabean Revolt passage in *War* is important, therefore, not only within a general investigation into Josephus' views on the Maccabean Revolt, but also as a study of his literary technique.

This thesis will examine the brief section from the religious persecution by Epiphanes to the death of Simon, with the aim of ascertaining its 'literal meaning', i.e. what events, people, speeches and actions does Josephus record, and what major

²⁰ As Josephus emphasises both at the start and end of *War* (*War* i. 1, vii. 454).

²¹ L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', in F. Parente & J. Sievers, (eds.) *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Honour of Morton Smith* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68. I. M. Gafni, 'Josephus and 1 Maccabees', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata, (eds.) *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), pp. 116-131.

events (when compared to the non-Josephan literature) are omitted. Additionally, this investigation will focus on Josephus' presentation of the early Maccabees, and how they relate to his version of key Jewish figures throughout the *War*. The method adopted in this investigation is outlined above (1.6), and it will briefly involve an examination of the key Greek terminology and the thematic implications of each verse, prior to literary and historical contextualisation.

The chronological limits of the study will be the period 175 to 135 BCE - since this period corresponds not only to the desolation and rededication of the Jerusalem Temple, but also to the building and destruction of the Seleucid Acra (which is the event that technically marks the end of Seleucid rule over Judea). It is also clear that *War* i. 31-53, as an account of the Maccabean Revolt, is distinct from Josephus' later *Antiquities*, although the two versions correspond from the time of the leadership of Simon onwards (*War* i. 51f. parallels *Ant.* xiii. 225f. – most likely due to their shared source, Nicolas of Damascus).

The narrative under examination falls into the following eight distinct sections:

- 2.4.1 $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ - Onias and the Sons of Tobias (*War* i. 31-33);
- 2.4.2 The Character of Antiochus Epiphanes (*War* i. 32-34);
- 2.4.3 The Impiety of Bacchides (*War* i. 35);
- 2.4.4 Mattathias, son of Asamonaeus (*War* i. 36-37);
- 2.4.5 Judas and Antiochus Epiphanes (*War* i. 38-40);
- 2.4.6 Eleazar and the Elephant (*War* i. 41-45);
- 2.4.7 Judas, Jonathan, and 'young Antiochus' (*War* i. 46-49);
- 2.4.8 Simon's Leadership and the End of the Revolt (*War* i. 50-53).

In each case an interpretation of Josephus' account is offered, which will seek to answer the fundamental questions of what Josephus aimed to achieve in this section of *War* and why he wrote about the revolt in the way that he did. The account of the Maccabean Revolt in *War* will then be briefly compared to Josephus' later version in

²² Tcherikover, for instance, wrote of the *War* account: "it contains nothing that can enrich our knowledge to any considerable degree" – in his *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 395.

his *Jewish Antiquities* (which also encompasses evidence from 1 Maccabees). The aim of this section is not to reconstruct the Maccabean Revolt in a historical sense (to find out what “actually” happened), but rather, to identify how Josephus wished the Revolt to be interpreted and understood in *War*.

In order to justify why the Maccabean Revolt constitutes the beginning of his history of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, Josephus states that a narration of the ‘ancient’ history of the Jews, the origin of their nation, their migration to Egypt, their wanderings, and their land possessions, would be superfluous, as ‘many Jews before me have accurately recorded the history of our ancestors’ (*War* i. 17).²³ Clearly Josephus knew of previous historical accounts of the Maccabees, since his later work was built significantly on one such record.

Not only does Josephus start his history with the Maccabean Revolt (and thus imply that no previous historical accounts of the period exist), but he does not use any named literary source.²⁴ There are various potential motives behind this decision. First, Josephus may not have had access to other accounts of the Maccabean Revolt. He reports that he was held captive and transported back to Rome as a prisoner (*Life* 422f.), and it was there that he began his literary career – it is thus more than likely that the library to which he had access did not include these Jewish histories. In effect, Josephus may have recalled the Maccabean Revolt from memory, which would explain the incongruities with other accounts. Secondly, the previous accounts of the revolt may not have been to Josephus’ liking, as they may have contradicted what he wished to present. While this theory does not adequately explain his subsequent dependence on 1 Maccabees, it is possible that Josephus’ aim in narrating the history of the Maccabees was not purely historical; rather, the narrative served a literary function in its relation to the main account of the First Jewish Revolt. The previous accounts may simply not have fitted in with Josephus’ overall design for the introduction to his *Jewish War*.

²³ Clearly these prior versions were considered deficient, since Josephus later rewrites the complete history of the Jewish people in his *Antiquities*.

²⁴ Josephus does not acknowledge a source for his Maccabean Revolt narrative in *War*, and the account differs significantly from all other extant sources, although, this obviously does not exclude the possibility that the narrative was based on an unnamed, lost history.

The Maccabean Revolt narrative forms the dividing line between ‘irrelevant’ history (which had been adequately recorded by others), and ‘relevant’ history, that is, relevant to the history of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.²⁵ This point is substantiated further by the overview of pre-revolt history that Josephus includes in his introduction. In the opening summary of Jewish history prior to the revolt against Rome, the Maccabees/Hasmoneans, Pompey, Herod, and the outbreak of the Revolt in 66 CE are mentioned, yet no reference is made to the entire period 6-66 CE, although it later constitutes a significant proportion of *War* book ii. Clearly, the topics selected for the summary represent key features of the overall work, and act as stepping-stones on which Josephus’ readers were guided through the period leading up to the First Jewish Revolt. It is the aim of this paper to identify the possible motivations behind Josephus’ inclusion and presentation of the Maccabean Revolt narrative.

²⁵ That relating the history and intrigues of the Jewish Revolt against Rome was Josephus’ objective is clear from the very beginning of his work, *War* i. 1f. On the naming of the Josephus’ *War*, see T. Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and his Society* (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 210-212.

2.4.1 **στάσις** – Onias and the Sons of Tobias (*War* i. 31-33)

It is striking that Josephus begins his history of the Jews by commenting on their dissension and rebellious nature. The implication that the turmoil between Antiochus and Ptolemy provided the opportunity/time for internal Jewish disorder, exactly mirrors the contextual claim that Josephus made in his proem, that ‘the Romans had their own internal disorders. The Jewish revolutionary party, whose numbers and fortunes were at their zenith, seized the occasion of the turbulence of these times for insurrection’ (*War* i. 4). This connection is substantiated by Josephus’ use of the term **καιρός** (the perfect, vital, or opportune time – *War* i. 4), and its repetition in *War* i. 31, that Jewish dissension arose at an opportune time.²⁶ Whether Josephus is wishing to connect or compare the Maccabean Revolt with the First Jewish Revolt is not explicitly stated, although we may suppose that most readers would have made the connection. It is also possible that Josephus was implying that the Jews only rebelled during times of wider disorder, and that rather than label them as a people prone to sedition, they were in fact peaceable. This is also coherent with Josephus’ denigration of revolutionaries (a major theme of the *War*)²⁷, which is an understandable motif in the light of Josephus’ post-revolt authorship.

Josephus explicitly restricts the Jewish discord of *War* i. 31 to one social group, the nobility, amongst whom (Josephus notes) there were rival claimants to a position of supreme power (**δυναστεία**). Quite what the position was is not made explicit, although in the light of Onias’ promotion to high priest (*War* i. 33) it is probable that Josephus was linking the internal dissension with aspirations for the high priesthood (a reading that is consistent with the other extant sources). This rivalry is explained as follows: ‘no individual of rank could tolerate subjection to his peers’. Thus the dispute of the Jews was an internal struggle, and was not a direct action against a foreign power or against any political subjection. It is also made clear that the Jewish aristocracy did not tolerate one of their own holding power over the rest. The actual extent of the domestic conflict is difficult to ascertain, as only Onias

²⁶ Josephus’ use of **καιρός** at this point suggests that this was not only the time when the Jewish dissension arose, but that it was the opportune/advantageous time for political strife (cf. the LCL translation), as Thucydides iv. 54. 4. The number of Thucydidean parallels, both in language and in content, is remarkable – a point to which I shall later return.

²⁷ For Josephus’ presentation of the Sicarii and the Zealots, see *War* ii. 254-257, and iv. 514-558 respectively.

and the sons of Tobias are explicitly mentioned in this brief account. Indeed, Josephus does not even accord them supporters or set them up as leaders of groups of like-minded Jewish nobles.

Rajak has demonstrated the implications of Josephus' use of the term *στάσις*, and it is clear that it always carries a negative meaning,²⁸ and in this instance it suggests a disapproval of the rivalry for the High Priesthood. From the close connection between *στάσις* and the desecration of the Temple, it appears that the term is used with a religious connotation: the desolation was a divine punishment. This is further substantiated by a reference to the book of Daniel, which states that the Temple sacrifices would be interrupted for three and a half years (or 'a time, two times and half a time').²⁹ This reference to the vision of Daniel would have been apparent only to his Jewish audience, who would naturally have made the connection with Daniel's account of the Temple desecration: '[Antiochus] took away the daily sacrifice from him, and the place of his sanctuary was brought low. Because of *rebellion*, the host of the saints, and the daily sacrifice were given over to it' (Dan. viii. 11b-12a).

The importance of the concept of *στάσις* in Josephus' introduction to Maccabean history is emphasized by its prominent place as the first word of the Maccabean narrative,³⁰ and by its recurrence throughout his writings. The term *στάσις* appears some 165 times in Josephus, giving it an average frequency per 10,000 words of 3.48 (although with the respective sizes of *War* and *Antiquities*, it has a far higher frequency in *War*) – with the highest density of occurrences in *War* books i

²⁸ On the various interpretations of Josephus' use of *στάσις*, see T. Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and his Society*, pp. 91-96. Rajak identifies various trends, including the religious undertone of *στάσις* (that it led to divine punishment), and that those who committed *στάσις* were often of the poorer classes: although the use in *War* i. 31 can have no economic connotation, as both sides are explicitly identified as aristocratic. Thucydides is the likely basis for Josephus' use of the term; see L. Edmunds, 'Thucydides' Ethics as Reflected in his Description of *Stasis* - 3. 82-83', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975), pp. 73-92.

²⁹ *War* i. 32, cf. Dan. 7. 25; 8.14; 12. 7, 11. On Daniel see R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

³⁰ Especially as the context for the Maccabean Revolt narrative follows so closely Josephus' introductory statement about the First Jewish Revolt, which in turn forms the framework for the entire work: 'For, that it owed its ruin to civil strife, and that it was the Jewish tyrants who drew down upon the holy temple the unwilling hands of the Romans and the conflagration, is attested by Titus Caesar himself' (*War* i. 10).

(12 times), ii (14 times), iv (13 times), and v (15 times).³¹ The writings of Plato represent the next highest example of occurrences of *στάσις* in extant Greco-Roman literature, although Plato only uses the term 80 times, compared to Josephus' 162.³² The term seems to be highly significant to Josephus.

Josephus uses the Maccabean Revolt to introduce several themes that recur throughout the work. The notion of *στάσις* as leading to divine punishment is the most notable. The conflict between Onias and the sons of Tobias sets the pattern for future strife: as a direct result of this *στάσις*, Antiochus Epiphanes entered Jerusalem and desecrated the Temple (*War* i. 31-32). Another violation of the Temple that occurred nearly two and a half centuries later, during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, led Josephus to write:

Who knows not the records of the ancient prophets and that oracle which threatens this poor city and is even now coming true? For they foretold that it would then be taken whensoever one should begin to slaughter his own countrymen.

War vi. 109

That Josephus correlated Daniel's vision with the defilement by Antiochus is clear in his later remark in *Antiquities* (*Ant.* x. 276), where he also mentions the later Roman desolation of Jerusalem to imply that the prophet had foretold all of these calamities.

It is interesting to note that although Onias and the Tobiads were both of the priestly class, only Onias is given the honorific description 'chief priest' at this stage. The sons of Tobias disappear from the text of *War* after they have assisted Antiochus' invasion, whilst Josephus inserts a short notice that Onias fled to Ptolemy's protection and built a replica temple in the area of Heliopolis.³³ Neither party is described in an overly positive manner. The ambivalent manner in which Josephus depicts Onias (on

³¹ The consistency of the terminology adopted by Josephus throughout *War* (and, indeed, all four Josephan works) would indicate that the work represents either Josephus' thorough rewriting of his sources, or that all of his works were copied from the same source, verbatim. The former option remains by far the most likely.

³² The writings of Plato and Josephus are of a similar volume (556463, and 473463 words respectively). See LSJ, and the on-line Perseus project: Accessed August 2001 <<http://perseus.csad.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/persfreq?lookup=sta%2Fsis&lang=greek>> Appian also adopts this term regularly.

³³ A later note in *War* amplifies the account of the temple at Leontopolis, its creation and its subsequent demolition. The temple is destroyed because its priests are motivated by impiety, *War* vi. 421f.

the one hand he is the ‘chief priest’, while on the other he is involved in sedition), is reflected in Josephus’ attitude to the Oniad temple in Egypt. It was not in fact similar to Jerusalem, since Onias was motivated by resentment and opposition to Jerusalem (*War* vii. 421f.).

The initial rivalry between the houses of Onias and Tobias has an entirely different nature in *Antiquities*, although the parallel Josephan passage is introduced in a similar fashion: “About this same time...” (καίρῳς - *Ant.* xii. 237, cf. *War* i. 31). The later account in *Antiquities* recalls the conflict between Menelaus and Jason (who go unmentioned in *War*), and differs in the number and occasion of Antiochus’ invasions. The amplified version records that the desecration of the Temple occurred in a second invasion, which was not assisted by the sons of Tobias. Josephus, by way of justifying his second narrative on the Maccabean Revolt, and in order to explain the differences, writes: ‘since in my first work I mentioned these matters in summary fashion, I have thought it necessary now to go back and give a more accurate account of them’ (*Ant.* xii. 245). Josephus perceived his earlier account to be inaccurate, and this prompted his second version – one that was closely based on the Hasmonean history, 1 Maccabees.

Whilst it is impossible to state exactly why Josephus’ first account differed so radically from that of 1 Maccabees (which Josephus himself favours in his *Antiquities*), several factors are probable. The fact that Josephus chose not to include the efforts of the Oniads and Tobiads to buy themselves the ‘position of supreme power’ in *War* accords well with the recurrent theme throughout the earlier narrative that the Jews were primarily interested in religious observance (and that the revolt was motivated by attacks on their religious practices). This is also seen in Josephus’ omission of the apostasy of Menelaus and the Tobiads, and the assertion in *War* that *all* Jews opposed the abandonment of Jewish religious practice (*War* i. 35). Further, putting the chief religious post up for sale would undermine both the holder, and the position of the priesthood itself. This also accords well with the religious connotation of στάσις that can be identified in *War* – that the priestly dissension led directly to the Temple desecration as a form of divine punishment, whilst in *Antiquities* (and 1 Maccabees) the desolation of the Temple is the result of a second invasion, not engineered by the sons of Tobias.

2.4.2 The character of Antiochus Epiphanes (*War* i. 32, 34)

Whilst Antiochus had ‘long-cherished’ designs on Judea, Josephus repeatedly asserts that the king would not have invaded if it had not been for the sons of Tobias:

Josephus later describes Antiochus’ capture of Jerusalem as ‘unlooked for’ (or, better translated, ‘could not have hoped for’, *War* i. 34). What Josephus intended by laying blame at the feet of the sons of Tobias cannot be recovered, although the more likely conclusions are that Josephus was a) using the Tobiads as a scapegoat for Antiochus’ invasion and the subsequent Maccabean Revolt, and b) that the successful invasion of Jerusalem, and the defilement of the Temple, was divine punishment for the priestly *στάσις*.

Whilst Jerusalem was Antiochus’ long-held desire, it was the Tobiads who provided the means and opportunity for the invasion. Josephus builds the case that the response of the Maccabees was directed not against Antiochus *per se*, but rather against the Jews who had allowed foreigners to despoil the Temple. Josephus wishes to create the impression that the Maccabees were (initially at least) motivated by anger against religious outrages. Josephus provides extra justification by depicting Antiochus as an impious enemy of the Jewish religion. Epiphanes slew a large number of Ptolemy’s followers, gave his soldiers unrestricted licence to pillage, and himself plundered the Temple, and interrupted the course (*ἐνδελεχισμός*)³⁴ of the daily sacrifices for a period of three years and six months (*War* i. 32). Although Josephus presents the Jewish factionalists as assisting Antiochus, he is keen to stress Antiochus’ personal involvement in the desecration of the Temple. At all times in the Maccabean Revolt passage, Josephus emphasises the religious respect of the Jews, even those involved in *στάσις*. Even though the sons of Tobias led Antiochus into Jerusalem, they had no involvement in the Temple desecration itself. They assisted Epiphanes into Jerusalem but then disappeared from the record – nor does Josephus note any apostasy or willingness to depart from their Jewish customs and practices. Indeed, it is clear that the sons of Onias wanted positions in the high priesthood, and this was the initial source of their conflict with Onias.

³⁴ Here Josephus uses rare pentateuchal terminology, which is nowhere mentioned in any other extant non-Jewish classical source – receiving attestation only in Exod. 29:38, 42; 30:8, Num. 28:6, 13. and

In juxtaposition with the later *στάσις*-inspired destruction of the Jerusalem Temple during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (where Titus was the unwilling hand of God's judgment against the Jews), Antiochus Epiphanes is depicted in impious terms, acting to destroy the Jewish religion. An interesting notice later in the narrative of *War* confirms the role of Epiphanes as the tool of God's judgement, and compares the desolation under him with that of the Romans in 70 CE. In a speech to the Jews Josephus writes:

For myself, I shudder at recounting the works of God to unworthy ears; yet listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the Romans only, but also against God... when our ancestors went forth in arms against Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who was blockading this city and had grossly outraged the Deity, they were cut to pieces in the battle, the town was plundered by the enemy and the sanctuary for three years and six months lay desolate.

War v. 378, 394.

Josephus clearly wants his readers to equate the two revolts, with the first religiously inspired conflict turning into a Jewish success, whilst the later political movement led to disaster.³⁵

Antiochus' religious persecution of the Jews, as part of a larger plan for Hellenisation, has traditionally been identified as one factor that motivated the Maccabean movement.³⁶ It is true that in *War*, Josephus emphasises the impious ways of Antiochus. Not content with his victory in capturing the city, and with its plunder, Antiochus put pressure on the Jews to abandon their ancestral traditions, primarily by leaving their children uncircumcised and sacrificing swine on their altars. This was motivated by Antiochus' 'ungovernable passions' and the 'rankling memory of what he had suffered in the siege' (*War* i. 34).

Sir. 7:13. In its related forms, ἐνδελειχισμός appears throughout the apocryphal book of *Sirach*, a work that discusses the functions of the Jerusalem Temple at great length.

³⁵ It is also possible to read a positive notice to the Jews. The Temple had been laid waste before (for three and a half years under Antiochus) and it had then been restored to glory. The Temple may yet be rebuilt after its destruction under Titus.

³⁶ Perhaps inspired by Tacitus' *History* v. 8.

Quite what Josephus meant by Antiochus' 'ungovernable passions'³⁷ and 'rankling memory' (of what he had suffered in the siege³⁸), remains uncertain in the context of *War*, although these are used as the only justification for Antiochus' actions against the Jewish religion. Perhaps Josephus wanted to demonstrate the unjust basis of Antiochus' hatred of the Jewish religious customs: that Antiochus desired to destroy the Jewish religion because of his 'uncontrollable passions', presents the religious persecution in Stoic terminology.³⁹

Josephus, in *War*, does not articulate what happened during the siege to cause Antiochus' 'rankling memory', nor indeed to which siege he refers. The book of Daniel reveals that Antiochus was angered by his withdrawal and unsuccessful siege in Egypt (Dan. xi. 29f.). Josephus also omits any siege from his later account of the revolt. The amplified version relates that Antiochus entered Jerusalem ἀμυμεί - quite literally without battle (*Ant.* xii. 246) – as the gates were opened from the inside by pro-Seleucid Jews. After stealing large sums of money, Antiochus and his army retired to Antioch (*Ant.* xii. 247) without implementing anti-Jewish legislation or despoiling the Temple. According to *Antiquities*, it was two years later that Antiochus returned and desecrated the Jerusalem Temple and embraced policies against the Jewish religion (*Ant.* xii. 248f.). Yet the second time, Antiochus gained entrance to Jerusalem by treachery. Josephus does not report any siege prior to the ransacking of the Temple in either this account or his later *Antiquities*: his statement in *War* remains a mystery.⁴⁰

³⁷ The account in *Antiquities* stresses Antiochus' love of money: 'because of the wealth of the Temple, but through Greed – for he saw much gold in the Temple and an array of very costly dedicatory-offerings of other kinds', *Ant.* xii. 249, see also *War* i. 32; *Ant.* xii. 247.

³⁸ It is unclear what siege is meant – although it would be tempting to link this statement with the aborted invasion of Egypt, where Epiphanes was thwarted by the Romans. If a connection can be made, then it would provide support from Gruen's hypothesis regarding the origins of the religious persecution of the Jews by Epiphanes, E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution. Antiochus IV and the Jews', in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (California: University of California, 1993), pp. 238-274.

³⁹ Cf. 4 Maccabees, which has, as one of its central themes, a discussion of whether religious reason is master over the passions. See also ancient representations of Egypt as a land of passion, in S. J. K. Pearce, 'Belonging and Not Belonging: Local Perspectives in Philo of Alexandria', in S. Jones & S. J. K. Pearce (eds.), *Jewish Local Patriotism in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1998), pp. 79-106, esp. p. 83.

⁴⁰ It is possible that Josephus wished to imply that the Jews would defend their Temple, as it was the Jewish-cultic centre. This interpretation is coherent with the general impression of the Maccabean Revolt narrative in *War*, that the Jews were obedient to their practices and would defend their religious customs even unto death, although without further evidence it remains a purely evaluation.

It is significant that Josephus identifies two Jewish practices opposed by Antiochus. First, Josephus claims that Antiochus put pressure on the Jews to leave their children uncircumcised. That previous ancient authors had commented on the Jewish custom of circumcision is noted elsewhere by Josephus (Herodotus' comment is referred to in *Against Apion* i. 169-171, as is the negative remark by Apion, *Apion* ii. 137), and Josephus' contemporary Tacitus also comments on this Jewish practice (*Hist.* v. 5). The question of why Antiochus singles out circumcision over all other Jewish customs needs to be addressed, especially as many non-Jews would have considered a cessation of 'genital mutilation' a positive and humane policy.⁴¹ It is apparent that the Jewish custom of circumcising their male infants was long established,⁴² and that its purpose was to differentiate Jews from non-Jews (as *Ant.* i. 192, and Philo, *Quaest Gen.* 3. lxi). Thus, the measures might represent Antiochus' attempts to facilitate Jewish assimilation with non-Jews, by breaking down the Jews' self-imposed barriers. Yet, without any evidence that supports the claim that Antiochus held a desire to Hellenise or unify his peoples (if we discount the polemical accusations of Tacitus⁴³), this theory can be no more than speculative.⁴⁴

The order to sacrifice swine does not appear explicitly in 1 Maccabees,⁴⁵ and in the light of Antiochus' 'Hellenised' outlook on native religious customs, the historicity of the event is questionable. Regardless of Antiochus' motivation, Josephus presents the Syrian king as directly attacking two central customs of Judaism, which underlines the impiety of Antiochus whilst justifying the Jewish military response.

Josephus stresses that *all* Jews opposed Antiochus' restrictions on Jewish religious practice, and the more eminent of the people were massacred for their adherence to the Jewish ways. The impact of this passage is significant, as it sends a message to both Jewish and non-Jewish readers alike. If the work was intended

⁴¹ For later attempts to prohibit Jewish circumcision, see, *Historia August, Hadr.* 14. 2.

⁴² The practice is described in Genesis 17 as a mark of the covenant between God and the Jews. Yet, surprisingly, it only plays a relatively minor role in the Hebrew Bible, and is nowhere promoted as *the* symbol of Jewish identity. It would seem that circumcision attained a far greater degree of importance during the Maccabean era, when some Jews underwent epispasm to make themselves 'un-Jewish' – conversely, when the Maccabees conquered foreign lands, they imposed circumcision (*Ant.* xiii. 257).

⁴³ Tacitus, *Histories* v. 8. 2. In *GLAJJ* no. 281.

⁴⁴ See Schürer, i. pp. 147-148.

⁴⁵ Although there is an implicit reference, 1 Macc. i. 47. It is clear that the prohibition against eating pork was one of the more important Jewish dietary laws, as Lev. 11: 2, and it was also one of the best known food taboos.

primarily for a Jewish audience then it could be a warning against disregarding their ancestral practices: as the faithful Maccabees triumphed, so too will those Jews who continue the ancestral practices even when faced by persecution. If, on the other hand, the work was intended for a Roman or Greek audience then it shows the Jews as being a people who, even in the face of unjustified and unacceptable impiety, only offered their persecutors passive resistance. Again, it is easy to understand why Josephus would have wished to portray the Jews as peace-loving (especially when the narrative of the Maccabean Revolt is viewed in the context of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome – as it was surely here intended).

2.4.3 The Impiety of Bacchides (*War* i. 35-36)

The figure of Bacchides is used as the catalyst for the revolt of Mattathias and his sons, although this role is not attributed to him in any other source. Indeed, in his later account Josephus renames Bacchides, Appelles (while in 1 Maccabees he is anonymous). Bacchides does appear later in the narrative of both *Antiquities* and 1 Maccabees, but in no connection to the initial uprising of the Maccabees (see *Ant.* xii. 393, 1 Macc. vii. 8) – Josephus, in *War*, may have simply confused the names.

The account in *War* accentuates the iniquity and impious nature of Bacchides, and in rather vague terms Josephus condemns Bacchides as ‘innately brutal’. Whilst it is clear that Bacchides was sent by Antiochus, and acted on his behalf, it is noticeable that Bacchides is presented in pejorative terms to a degree far worse than Antiochus (the man who had, after all, defiled the Temple in Jerusalem). Bacchides is drawn in *War* as the scapegoat figure that justified the Jewish military uprising.

It is remarkable that Josephus does not link Bacchides with any precise action that sparked off the actions of Mattathias and his sons. It is only claimed that Bacchides paraded before the Jews their defeat. Whilst it is clearly of great importance for Josephus to justify the Jewish uprising of Mattathias in his work (which was written shortly after the First Jewish Revolt), it is perhaps surprising that Josephus does not claim some direct confrontation between the two groups. His later account in *Antiquities* relates a very different tale. Appelles/ Bacchides is presented as the official responsible for ensuring that the Jews sacrificed to Antiochus (*Ant.* xii. 268f.). In the later account, Josephus paraphrases the lengthy speech of the Syrian

official (from 1 Maccabees ii. 15f.). The original source relates this speech as praising the virtue and reputation of Mattathias, whilst asking him to forsake Jewish practices in exchange for silver and gold and the rank of ‘Friend of the King’. Mattathias replies that he and his sons would never abandon their ancestral religion, and he is greatly angered when a fellow Jew steps forward to sacrifice to Antiochus as Appelles/Bacchides has requested. It is at this stage that an angry Mattathias steps forward and slays both the apostate Jew and the king’s agents (contrary to the narrative of 1 Maccabees, the account in *Antiquities* claims Mattathias and his sons acted together).

In the narrative in *War*, Bacchides’ only named role was to command the garrison of troops left by Antiochus (*War* i. 35), and to uphold the policies of Antiochus (which are defined in the previous passage as sacrificing pigs and abandoning circumcision). There is no recorded interaction with Mattathias prior to the slaying, and it was his impiety that justified the Maccabees’ violence. Josephus was perhaps more cautious in relating this episode so soon after the failed uprising against Rome. His later account portrays a reasonable dialogue between the king’s official and Mattathias, with the official simply asking the Jews to adopt the king’s ordinances (some of the king’s policies would have appeared quite reasonable to Josephus’ audience, especially the cessation of circumcision). Josephus thus emphasises the impiety and evil of the official (who is only referred to ambivalently in 1 Maccabees and *Antiquities*), with the aim of justifying the rebellion. It was also convenient that Mattathias and his sons do not initially rebel against the rightful king or his policies, but against one of his servants and his iniquity. This further underlines the fact that the rebellion in *War* is a religious affair, in line with the overall motif of the work.

2.4.4 Mattathias, son of Asamonaeus (*War* i. 36-37)

It is remarkable that Josephus goes to no great length to amplify the figure of Mattathias, indeed the instigator of the fight which resulted in the Jewish independent state is introduced, fights and dies in the same paragraph (*War* i. 36-37). This is especially striking when it is compared to Josephus’ later account in *Ant.* xii. 265-285, and the various dramatic speeches accredited to Mattathias in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc.

ii. 1-69). What is also noteworthy is that while the version in 1 Maccabees reports that Mattathias killed the apostate Jew, and the king's official, on his own ('as Phineas acted against Zimri' – 1 Macc. ii. 26), both Josephus' accounts recall the role played by Mattathias' five sons – his position is clearly diminished by their assistance. It is interesting to note the omission of the apostate Jew in *War* (who appears in both *Antiquities* xii. 270 and 1 Maccabees ii. 15f.), although this accords with Josephus' presentation of the revolt as religiously motivated and his earlier statement that all Jews refused to violate their religious codes (*War* i. 34).⁴⁶

The little information we are given about Mattathias' background mentions only that he was a priest of the small village of Modein (*War* i. 36). The narrative in *War* provides no further background to Mattathias. In his later account Josephus seems less willing to situate the Maccabees in a provincial community, and notes that whilst Mattathias and his sons lived in Modein, he was originally from Jerusalem (*Ant.* xii. 265).

It is next recorded that Mattathias and his sons formed an armed band, and slew Bacchides with 'choppers' (*War* i. 36). That both *War* and *Antiquities* make this point is interesting, particularly in view of the silence on this matter in 1 Maccabees. The inclusion of Mattathias' use of 'choppers' is not explicitly symbolic, although a Jewish audience might well have recognised the large butchery knives as priestly tools to be used with animal sacrifices,⁴⁷ or it could be a simple play on words, relating the term κοπίς (chopper), and κόπις (hypocrite) – and thus the Maccabees used their knives to prevent hypocrisy?⁴⁸

As soon as Mattathias and his sons had slain Bacchides they retreated to the hills not wishing to fight the 'larger' garrison. Here, they were joined by many of the 'common people', and collectively they became a force powerful enough to defeat the generals of Antiochus, and expel them from Judea. Quite what Josephus intended to be understood by his claim that Mattathias was joined by the 'common people' (quite literally the *hoi polloi*) cannot be reclaimed, although it is likely to have been read by

⁴⁶ It is likely that for the same reason Josephus omits the notice that Mattathias was the first Jew to fight on the Sabbath (as 1 Macc. ii. 41).

⁴⁷ *t. Bek.* 1.17

⁴⁸ Although this interpretation makes better sense within his later account where Mattathias and his sons slay the apostate Jew – who would more appropriately be the target of the accusation of 'hypocrisy' (*Ant.* xii. 270).

his educated audience as a negative inference.⁴⁹ Indeed, the fact that Josephus is quite explicit about the constitution of the army suggests some form of agenda. It is conceivable that Josephus wished to distance the Jewish nobility from the revolt against Antiochus, for the simple reason that in the period after the revolt against Rome, Josephus would most likely have wished a Roman audience to believe that the Jewish nobility were not seditious and that they were capable of conducting their own nation in accordance with the will and design of Rome. Nevertheless, Josephus notes that Mattathias himself was not a commoner. This proposal agrees with the earlier reference to the Jerusalem aristocracy, who, whilst they were engaged in internal strife, were not reported as rebelling against their rightful king, Antiochus.

The passage continues by relating how Mattathias inspired the rebels, who descended the hillside, fought, and expelled Antiochus' generals' garrison. To enhance the figure of Mattathias as an idealised 'leader', Josephus (following authors such as Thucydides) shows off Mattathias' credentials: he was of good (priestly) birth⁵⁰; he was courageous⁵¹ and inspired courage, he spoke to the mass of commoners, and he controlled the masses by example. It was because of this military leadership that Mattathias is appointed as leader of the Jewish resistance. This is an important passage, as it is the only existing source that explicitly recalls the reasons for Mattathias' position. Whether the account is historically grounded or not, it does show that Josephus believed it necessary to legitimise and justify Mattathias' position at the head of the revolt, by idealising his leadership qualities. Significantly, the post to which Mattathias is promoted by his successes is that of *δυναστεία*, which is the same term used to identify the object of the conflict between Onias and the sons of Tobias. Josephus thus contrasts the piety and courage of Mattathias, with the bickering rivalry of the Onias and Tobiads.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Thucydides, 2. 65. 4. or Plato, *Republic* 8. 557-561. By denigrating the common people, Josephus is adopting established literary practice, thus (whether intentionally or otherwise) making *War* more palatable and comprehensible to his educated audience.

⁵⁰ Josephus is here showing respect for the Jewish religious leadership, presumably as he claims to be an ancestor of Jehoiarib (1 Chron. xxiv. 7), in *Life* 1f.

⁵¹ It is plausible that Josephus emphasises the courage of his literary figures, as a response to non-Jewish criticism of the Jews' lack of courage. See *Apion* ii. 148, and attacks on Josephus' courage, *War* iii. 358.

2.4.5 Judas and Antiochus Epiphanes (*War* i. 38-40)

While Mattathias was given just two lines, Josephus' recollection of Judas' exploits covers five times that amount (*War* i. 38-47). Josephus presents Judas as proactive, astute, and capable of leadership: he identified the threat from Antiochus, and took appropriate measures to protect the Jewish land, and to lay the foundations for Jewish independence. The first of these measures was, according to Josephus, to strengthen his army by taking on more recruits. Again, it is noticeable that Josephus places emphasis on the part played by the common people, and plays down any involvement from the aristocracy (as noted earlier). The fact that Josephus writes that Judas recruited from the 'people of the countryside', and later it was 'the countryside' who rose up forcing Antiochus' army to retire, cannot be mere coincidence. Again, Josephus is deliberately identifying the rebel forces with the common people, and marginalising the part played by the upper classes. In comparison with the military actions of the lower orders that are well attested by Josephus, the upper classes appear only twice in the *War* narrative of the revolt. In both instances the aristocracy are mentioned as only passively involved, the 'eminent' defaulters were massacred for not abandoning their customs,⁵² and died for their beliefs (*War* i. 34-35), or in internal *στάσις* - in no way directed against Antiochus. Josephus stresses the 'Jewish' constitution of the Maccabean forces in comparison to the later Hasmonean kings who were notorious for their use of mercenaries. It is likely that this emphasis on 'Jewishness' is related to Josephus' overall accentuation of religious motivation of the Maccabean rebels, and his deliberate downplaying of nationalistic or political motives: there were only Jews fighting, as only Jews would be directly affected by religious persecution.

The second precaution taken by Judas was to make an alliance with Rome. This has an obvious value for Josephus, regardless of whether the passage was read by a Jewish or non-Jewish audience. It established a tradition of alliance and friendship between Judea and Rome that would have been particularly important to Josephus, who wrote shortly after the Jewish Revolt against Rome.⁵³ However, this claim does

⁵² It is quite possible that Josephus had a specific group of people in mind that he named 'the eminent', although there are no further clues to their identity in either *War* or *Antiquities*.

⁵³ Josephus' high regard for Rome, and Roman power is evident throughout his writings.

not fit well with other evidence, which suggests the alliance occurred rather during the time of Demetrius (for example, 1 Macc. xii. 1-4), and not, as Josephus indicates in *War*, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With these measures taken, Judas' peasant army was more than a match for the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was forced to retire. Whilst it is unlikely that Epiphanes led the attack personally (1 Maccabees names Epiphanes' generals, Lysias and Gorgias), it is curious that Josephus does not elaborate further on the glorious victory of the Jews against the trained armies of Antiochus. Whether this is due to a desire to play down Jewish rebel achievements, or a simple lack of knowledge on Josephus' part, is uncertain. Judas' rebel forces, 'flushed with success' (κατορθώματος)⁵⁴, ousted the garrison of Antiochus' troops who had remained in the capital, and expelled them to the Acra. This is in itself an intriguing comment, as neither 1 Maccabees nor Josephus' paraphrase, *Antiquities*, mentions this garrison of troops left in Jerusalem.

Judas, having now regained the Temple, cleansed the whole area and walled it round, replacing the old, polluted vessels with others – which he had ordered made. Judas built another altar and reinitiated Temple sacrifices. Josephus concludes with the report that as the city of Jerusalem was just recovering its character, Antiochus dies, leaving his son Antiochus to rule over his kingdom – the heir shared his father's detestation of the Jews (*War* i. 40).

The emphasis placed on Judas' rededication of the Temple demonstrates to the readers of *War* the significance of Jewish religious practice to the rebels. The importance of this rededication to the Jewish people cannot be exaggerated, yet Josephus does not include a description of the Hanukkah holiday in *War* – presumably because he sought to distance the Jews from any celebration of nationalistic pride in the aftermath of the war with Rome (cf. *Ant.* xii. 323ff – although as the declared purpose of *Antiquities* is to provide an account of the history and practices of the Jews, it is to be expected that Josephus mentions it in full in his later work).

⁵⁴ Here Josephus not only portrays Judas' military endeavours as 'victorious', but he adopts stoic terminology (κατορθώματος) which implies not only success, but success due to virtue – it is possible that the intention was to portray Judas in a manner similar to (and understandable in terms of) popular Greek philosophy – Judas was fighting with, *and for*, virtue.

2.4.6 Eleazar and the Elephant (*War* 1. 41-45)

Whether Josephus' fantastic troop figures are to be believed or not (and he does alter them considerably in his later version⁵⁵), it is clear that he wishes to demonstrate the impressive size of the Syrian army. This may be intended to emphasise how seriously the Syrians took the Maccabean rebels, and justify the rebel failure: the rebels were clearly out-numbered. Presumably due to this disparity in troop numbers (the number of troops on the side of the Maccabees is not made explicit, although it clearly could not have been as large and well equipped as the Syrian force), Josephus notes that Judas tried to meet Antiochus' army at a spot of 'narrow defile' (*War* i. 41). This again is designed to show the military ingenuity of Judas, in the face of superior numbers Judas attempted to reduce the odds (after all, a narrow defile would have reduced the risk from Antiochus' elephants as they could only travel, at best, two abreast).⁵⁶

The character of Eleazar and the story of his death, contrast strikingly with the cautious and controlled Judas. Eleazar is undeniably brave and capable of fighting single-handedly through the enemy lines, where he dies not at the hands of the enemy soldiers, but rather underneath the elephant – no mere human can kill the brave Maccabee brother. It is clear that when Eleazar realised that he could not kill the Elephant's rider, he chose death – becoming the first in a line of Maccabean martyrs. Josephus clearly approves of this noble suicide, and states that Eleazar had 'achieved nothing more than to attempt great things, holding life cheaper than renown' (*War* i. 43), and 'the daring assailant would have gained but the reputation of courting death in the bare expectation of a brilliant exploit' (*War* i. 44).

The astute reader would have noticed the parallel between the brave death of Eleazar and the similar demise of Julianus (*War* vi. 81f.). In the face of far larger armies (*War* i. 41; vi. 80), both men left the sides of their leaders (Judas and Titus respectively), to charge single-headedly into the enemy ranks (*War* i. 42; vi. 82), choosing a heroic death (*War* i. 43; vi. 90). Neither Eleazar nor Julianus were felled by human opponents (Julianus died as a result of fate tripping him up), and their

⁵⁵ *Ant* xii. 366 gives 100 000 foot soldiers, 20 000 horsemen and just 32 elephants

⁵⁶ As Josephus makes explicit in *Ant*. xii. 371.

deaths constituted an omen (κληδών) of what was to befall their respective armies (as both the Jewish force of Judas, and the Roman army under Titus, lost their battles – whilst both won their respective wars).

In the case of the Roman Julianus, Josephus presents him in a heroic fashion, playing up his strength and courage (*War* vi. 82). In the corresponding case of Eleazar, Josephus makes less heroic statements, regardless of the otherwise similar nature of their exploits and deaths. Eleazar died to kill a commoner (a feature that is not mentioned in *Antiquities*, presumably as it would diminish Eleazar's heroic deed⁵⁷). In his later account in *Antiquities*, Josephus declares that Eleazar's actions were 'heroic' and brave (*Ant.* xii. 366ff.), and while *War* depicts Eleazar as brave, he is not eulogised to the same extent. On a basic level, it is possible that this demonstrates a shift in source dependence, from the anti-Hasmonean Nicolas of Damascus in *War*, to the pro-Maccabean work 1 Maccabees in *Antiquities* – although it is widely recognised that Josephus did not blindly copy his sources.

The fact that Josephus' works have different agendas should also be postulated as a reason behind the changing presentation of Eleazar: *War* was written shortly after the defeat of the Jews at Roman hands, and could thus represent the attempts of Josephus to warn potential rebels against action, whilst *Antiquities* was not 'officially sponsored' and was written after two decades of peace. Josephus may have wished to remove some of the glory from Eleazar's actions, since this might reflect negatively on his own withdrawal from the suicide pact at Jotapata (*War* iii. 389f.).⁵⁸ Josephus reports that he pulled out of the pact because, 'suicide is alike repugnant to that nature which all creatures share, and an act of impiety towards God who created us' (*War* iii. 369). After all, it would have been difficult for Josephus to praise Eleazar for his willing death, when he later harangues so vehemently against his own suicide.

Josephus, in true dramatic style, proposes that the death of Eleazar was an omen (κληδών) that Judas interpreted as signifying the rebels' defeat at the hands of Antiochus' far superior forces (*War* 45). Judas' insight and wisdom in interpreting such 'omens' portrays the Maccabean leader in terms not unlike those used by Plato

⁵⁷ Neither *Antiquities* nor 1 Maccabees are explicit about the identity of the elephant's driver; both state only that Eleazar assumed the rider would be the king (1 Macc. vi. 43f; *Ant.* xii. 366f).

⁵⁸ However, on some occasions Josephus views suicide as 'noble death'. See further R. R. Newell, 'The Forms and Historical Value of Josephus' Suicide Accounts', in L. Feldman & G. Hata, (eds.) *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), pp. 278-294.

in his descriptions of the great ‘philosopher-kings’ (e.g. *Rep.* 577 A). Josephus stresses that Judas’ army put up a ‘long and stubborn’ resistance and many rebels were killed – this leaves the reader with no doubt that cowardice played no part in Judas’ retreat, rather, fortune favoured Antiochus. Judas was forced to leave the field and retreat to Gophna⁵⁹, while Antiochus again took Jerusalem, but owing to lack of supplies, Antiochus retired to Syria for the winter leaving only a small garrison to maintain Jerusalem (*War* i. 46).

2.4.7 Judas, Jonathan, and ‘young Antiochus’ (*War* i. 47-49)

With the retreat of Antiochus from Jerusalem – due to a shortage of supplies (*War* i. 46) – Josephus reports that Judas ‘did not remain inactive’ (*War* i. 47). This is the second time that Josephus uses the phrase οὐκ ἤρήμει (‘he was not silent’) – the first instance relates that Judas made preparations for further warfare as he feared Antiochus would not ‘remain silent’ for long (*War* i. 38). Josephus leaves his readers with little doubt that the years of the Maccabean Revolt were hectic and without peace. It is also emphasised that Judas was an astute general who prepared meticulously for conflict. Judas reinforced his remaining army, and added ‘numerous’ new recruits from the nation (*War* i. 47). Josephus again impresses Judas’ popularity on his readers, and his ability to encourage and rally his troops.

Josephus next reports that Judas and his army gave battle to the generals of Antiochus (one of whom is named Nicanor in 1 Macc. vii. 39f.) at the village of Acedasa. After winning the honour of the day, and killing a vast number of his enemies, Judas was slain (*War* i. 47). All surviving accounts differ about the battle where Judas died, 1 Maccabees claims it was the battle of Elasa (1 Macc. ix. 5), while Josephus’ later account in *Antiquities* reports Judas’ death at the battle of Berzetho (xii. 422). Josephus’ account in *War* bypasses the encomium on Judas’ death that appears in both *Antiquities* and 1 Maccabees.

Jonathan, one of the remaining Maccabee brothers, took over the helm, and with the safety of his countrymen as priority, he made an alliance with Rome and a truce with ‘young Antiochus’ (*War* i. 48). Yet, relates Josephus, these precautions

⁵⁹ Josephus later states that Judas fled to Jerusalem, *Ant.* xii. 375.

were ineffective, as a certain Trypho, the traitorous guardian of Antiochus, arrested Jonathan and imprisoned him. To add emphasis to the evil deed, Josephus notes that when Jonathan was arrested, he was visiting the young Antiochus at Ptolemais, and had with him only a ‘small retinue’ (*War* i. 49). It is noteworthy that Antiochus, with whom Jonathan had formed a truce, is not presented in an overly pejorative manner (and we must remember that this Antiochus was only nine years old) – his primary fault seems, rather, to be his misplaced trust in Trypho, a man whom Josephus claims was ‘attempting to make away with his friends’. It was Trypho who initiated renewed conflict with Judea, and when Simon defeated Trypho’s forces, he put the still-captive Jonathan to death. It is remarkable that Josephus’ summary of Jonathan gives so little information, and contains comparatively little positive commentary. Whilst Judas was successful in battle, and Simon was an excellent leader, Jonathan’s eighteen-year leadership barely receives comment. Indeed, Josephus notes only that Jonathan wished to safeguard his people, and that he died a prisoner at Trypho’s hands. In his amplified account in *Antiquities*, Josephus notes that after Judas’ death, his companions went to Jonathan and begged him to follow in the footsteps of his brother (xiii. 5). Josephus portrays Jonathan as inferior to Judas, and his statement to the opposite effect that Jonathan ‘being in no way inferior to his brother’ might reflect an accusation to the contrary.

2.4.8 Simon and the End of the Revolt (*War* i. 50-53)

From the outset, Simon is portrayed in a positive light that characterises his leadership. This is noted by the following points: it was Simon who successfully stopped Antiochus’ invasion of Ptolemais (*War* i. 49); he went on to capture Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia (*War* i. 50); and Simon’s ‘administration of affairs’ was excellent – a conclusion supported by his military achievements. The Greek term adopted by Josephus was *γενναῖος*, which not only means ‘excellent’, but also has the connotation that his actions were ‘suitable to his high birth’ (although clearly his birth was no higher than that of his brothers!). Josephus thus implies that Simon’s whole family were also ‘excellent’, noble and aristocratic, and that Simon was the culmination of the good deeds of his predecessors.

Adopting the construction μὲν... δέ, Josephus justifies his verdict on Simon's excellent leadership. On the one hand Simon captured Gazara, Joppa and Jamnia, and on the other he overpowered the remaining Seleucid garrison and destroyed the Acra (*War* i. 50). Taking up the first of these two points, Josephus appends only a small notice that Simon's territorial conquests were 'in the vicinity of Jerusalem'. This regional note emphasises the growing military role of the Maccabees. Simon was, according to *War*, the first Maccabean leader to launch a successful campaign against towns surrounding Jerusalem. To date, attacks had been made only on the Acra, while battles occurred only between the Jewish Maccabean forces and the Seleucids. This more aggressive territorial expansion marks a turning point in Maccabean military history, which was to culminate in Alexander Jannaeus. After Judas' cleansing and rededication of the Temple, the military ambitions of the Maccabees were turning from religious to political targets. In a sense, Simon was adopting an increasingly nationalistic policy, which would be realised 30 years later when a descendant of Mattathias the Maccabee became both high priest and king of Judea.

That the attentions of the Maccabees could turn to the political dimensions of Judea was due to various achievements, not the least of which were the restoration of the Temple by Judas, and Simon's destruction (κατέσκαψε - literally 'throwing to the ground') of the Acra. The Maccabees' defense of the Jewish religion, by first standing up to the impiety of Bacchides, then cleansing the Temple, earned them the position of High Priest, which Josephus notes in *War*.⁶⁰ The throwing down of the Acra was a significant achievement, as it rid Jerusalem of the Seleucids.⁶¹

Josephus notes earlier that the Acra was the site where Antiochus' troops were confined by Judas (*War* i. 39), and he remarks only that the Seleucid troops were ousted from the 'upper city', and confined to the 'lower portion' of the town.⁶²

⁶⁰ Josephus implies Mattathias was high priest (he held 'supreme power', i. 37) although the Temple was out of operation during Mattathias' brief leadership. Judas is said to be 'master of the Temple' (κυριεύω, i. 39). Simon is the first Maccabee whom Josephus explicitly credits with being high priest - ἀρχιερέως (*War* i. 53).

⁶¹ See J. Sievers, 'Jerusalem, the Akra, and Josephus', in F. Parente, & J. Sievers, (eds.) *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 195-209. On the location of the Acra in Jerusalem, see Y. Tsafir, 'The Location of the Seleucid Akra', *Revue Biblique*, vol. 82 (1975), pp. 501-521.

⁶² Indeed, Josephus plays down the role of the Acra in *War*: regardless of its constant influence over Jerusalem until Simon's time it is only mentioned twice. Josephus mentions the Acra only during the leadership of Judas and Simon, but not during Jonathan's eighteen year rule – which is possibly a consequence of Jonathan's truce with Antiochus (*War* i. 48).

Josephus does not at this point describe the Acra or its origin, but it is noteworthy that he situates the Acra in the ‘lowest portion’ of town – especially as the term ‘Acra’ suggests height.⁶³ It is also interesting to note that no mention is made of any Jewish inhabitants of the Acra, which Josephus later recalls (‘the impious of the people’ - *Ant.* xii. 252⁶⁴). In line with Josephus’ generally ‘religious’ presentation in *War* – that all Jews observed their ancestral customs – it is not surprising that he chooses here to omit a reference to impious pro-Seleucid Jews. Finally, whilst the role of the Acra is purely military in *War*, its link with the towns captured by Simon suggests that the Acra held a provincial function.⁶⁵

Discussing Simon’s military accomplishments, Josephus presents Simon as nearly on a par with Antiochus. This is shown when, for instance, Josephus notes that Antiochus was besieging Trypho, but it was only through Simon’s assistance that the traitor was overcome. Josephus adopts the term *σύμμαχος*, which suggests they were literally fighting alongside each other (emphasised by the subsequent use of the term *συνεξαίρειω* - ‘to take out together’, *War* i. 51). Yet the alliance was quickly forgotten when Antiochus sent troops into Judea under Cendebaeus with the aim of making Simon a vassal - an action that Josephus notes was caused by Antiochus’ greed (*πλεονεξία*). Josephus notes that regardless of Simon’s age, he led his forces with ‘youthful energy’ and ingenuity. Simon attacked Cendebaeus on two fronts, and with the use of ambushing techniques was successful (*προλοχιζω* - a military term characteristic of Thucydides⁶⁶). Josephus claims that, for his military exploits, Simon was appointed High Priest, and he finally liberated the Jews from the Macedonian supremacy that had lasted 170 years.⁶⁷ The Maccabean Revolt had come to an end.

⁶³ Homer refers to an Acra in terms of its great height, e.g. *Odyssey* viii. 494, 508. See LSJ for further references to ‘Acra’.

⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that the notice of the destruction of the Acra and the levelling of the hill on which it stood does not appear in 1 Maccabees, and thus the variation is either due to Josephus’ dramatic influence, or an alternative unnamed source (which Josephus prefers to 1 Maccabees) *Ant.* xiii. 215-217.

⁶⁵ The earlier account of 1 Maccabees links the towns of Joppa and Gazara with the Acra (xv. 28). See Sievers’ illuminating article for the economic and social functions of the Acra, although none of these are mentioned in *War*, and thus further examination remains outside of the scope of the current work. See Sievers, ‘Jerusalem, the Acra and Josephus’.

⁶⁶ Thuc. ii. 81; iii. 110, 112.

⁶⁷ If 312 BCE can be equated with Year 1 of the Macedonian supremacy, this would date Simon’s leadership to 142 BCE – as it is in *Ant.* xiii. 213, and 1 Macc. xiii. 41f.

2.5 Synthesis

Josephus' presentation of the Maccabean Revolt in his *War*, presents the conflict as a *jus ad bellum*.⁶⁸ The notions of a just war are founded on ancient discussions on warfare, notably by the classical author Cicero. Cicero held that the use of force was only justifiable after all peaceful methods had been exhausted, and that it would only be just when it was declared by an appropriate governmental authority.⁶⁹ Conversely, the *modus operandi* of warfare in Jewish tradition is outlined in Deuteronomy chapter twenty, which presents a far more aggressive approach to war. Josephus reports that despite Antiochus' irreligious attacks upon the Jews and their traditions, they passively resisted the abandonment of their customs (*War* i. 34), even unto death. Moreover, Josephus notes that two different Maccabee brothers formed truces or alliances with the Syrians (*War* i. 48, 50). Josephus represents the Maccabees as repeatedly striving for a peaceful conclusion of the conflict, in contrast to Antiochus who treacherously broke both alliances.

It was Bacchides who provoked the Jews to revolt, and it is noticeable that a priest (Mattathias, *War* i. 36f.) was the first to rise up. Priests were clearly part of the traditional ruling class of the Jews, and Deuteronomy notes that it was the priest who should stand before the army and inspire courage (Deut. 20: 2) – this is in line with Cicero's conditions of a *justum bellum* that the conflict should be declared and led by the proper authority. The *War* narrative claims that Antiochus attacked the Jews for unjust reasons since Antiochus and his descendants are repeatedly recalled as greedy, motivated not by *just* aims but by reasons of self-interest and aggrandisement.⁷⁰ Attacks upon native religious practices were a major facet of the Maccabean Revolt narrative in *War*, which would have appeared unjust to a Hellenised audience who would have felt no such religious fanaticism.⁷¹

⁶⁸ See J. B. Elshtain (ed.) *Just War Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

⁶⁹ See *De Officiis* 1. 11. 34-36, *De Republica* 3. 23. 34-35.

⁷⁰ Antiochus plundered the temple and his troops pillaged, i. 32; the king's greed led to the end of the truce with Simon, i. 51.

⁷¹ Indeed, as Tcherikover correctly emphasises, it is unlikely that Antiochus would have had such religious fanaticism as to denigrate the native customs in favour of his own – in this Tcherikover agrees with Bickerman's assertion that Epiphanes, being a Greek king and a disciple of the Epicureans, would probably not have attacked Jewish religious practice. See, for a fuller discussion, V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: JPSA, 1959), 185f.

Yet the primary theme of Josephus' earliest surviving account of the Maccabean Revolt was the religious motivation of the Jews. Various events are emphasised: Antiochus plundered the Temple and prevented proper sacrifice (*War* i. 32); the rightful high priest fled to Egypt (*War* i. 33); Antiochus forced the Jews to abandon their religious practices, namely circumcision, and to sacrifice swine (*War* i. 34); all Jews resisted this apostasy, and many died for their obedience (*War* i. 34); Bacchides was given impious injunctions (*War* i. 35); the rebels held religious posts (*War* i. 36); and Judas' first deed on recapturing Jerusalem was to restore the Temple and normal services (*War* i. 39 – which is described in detail).

Moreover, the summary narrative concerning the Maccabees is placed within the framework of *στράσις*. It was as a result of internal disorder that God allowed the Temple to be desecrated. This theme recurs throughout *War*, and it is later used in connexion with Titus' destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.

After Judas' rededication of the Temple, the ambitions of the Maccabean rebels turn towards political ends, primarily terminating the influence of the Acra and gaining Jewish independence within Judea (or at least Jerusalem and its vicinity). Josephus records several political actions: Jonathan made an alliance with Rome and a truce with Antiochus (*War* i. 48);⁷² Simon expanded his territory by capturing Gazara, Joppa and Jamnia (*War* i. 50); Simon raised the Seleucid Acra to the ground (*War* i. 50); Simon made a truce with Antiochus against Trypho (*War* i.50-51), finally; Simon is credited with liberating the Jews from Macedonian supremacy (*War* i. 53).

Another feature that stands out in Josephus' narrative account of the Maccabean Revolt is his presentation of the Maccabee brothers as wise, courageous and mighty men. The benefits for Josephus of playing up these features were not purely literary (although it does add to the drama of the account), but they also formed significant aspects of his apologetic. Josephus attributes positive characteristics to Jews who otherwise might have been viewed negatively by his audience. He is also, perhaps, answering anti-Jewish claims that the Jews lacked wisdom and courage.⁷³

⁷² The earlier treaty with Rome (*War* i. 38) is historically unlikely in relation to the account of 1 Maccabees, which states that the treaty fell in Demetrius' reign – this corresponds to Josephus' second alliance made by Jonathan. It is clear that Josephus wished to demonstrate a tradition of Jewish-Roman alliance, for obvious motivations.

⁷³ Josephus later notes that he is accused of lacking courage (*War* iii. 358), and the Jewish people were similarly maligned by Apollonius (*Apion* ii. 148). Apollonius Molon and Lysimachus were also noted as slighting the Jews due to a perceived lack of wisdom, (*Apion* ii. 135-145).

Examples of this positive portrayal are as follows: Mattathias inspired courage in the Jews (*War* i. 37); Judas built an army and repelled Antiochus (*War* i. 38); Eleazar bravely attacked the Syrian elephant rider (*War* i. 42); Judas rallied his troops and won the honours of the day (*War* i. 47); Simon established an excellent administration (*War* i. 50), and won brilliant victories through his military skill (*War* i. 53).⁷⁴

⁷⁴ It is remarkable that Josephus used a great deal of military terminology – in particular some rare terms such as *προλοχίζω* - a term otherwise only found in Thucydides. This should not come as a surprise since Josephus stressed his military career, and the subject matter that he engaged upon. His knowledge and terminology is technical.

2.6 Conclusion

It is clear that the account of the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes and the resulting Maccabean Revolt occupies an important place within Josephus' *War*. It is also apparent that Josephus' account is very selective in nature. The most likely motive behind Josephus' use of the Maccabean Revolt in *War*, as outlined at the beginning of Part 2, is that Josephus wished his account of the Maccabean uprising to form an important part of the main subject of *War*, the First Jewish Revolt against Rome. Not only did the Maccabean narrative form the context, but it provided a model of revolt with which to compare the later unsuccessful war, which the readers of *War*, whether Jew or Roman, would recognise. Moreover, Josephus uses this section to introduce themes (such as that of $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) that play a major role in the later rebellion.

The narrative of the early Maccabees in *War* is presented in such a way as to legitimise and justify the uprising. In the decade after the Jewish Revolt against Rome, Josephus is likely to have felt it necessary to provide proof that the Jewish people were not inherently rebellious but rather desired to co-exist peacefully within the Roman Empire. This provided an adequate motive for constructing the brief account of the revolt in terms of unacceptable and impious religious persecution, and justifying the Maccabees' response by demonstrating the extreme provocation of the Syrians. The Jewish uprising against the religious attack of Epiphanes and Bacchides was presented as a *jus ad bellum*. That said, Josephus carefully shifted blame for many of the cases of impiety from the Syrian kings (Epiphanes and his son) onto their principal ministers in Judea – the uprising was not a movement against the rightful overlord, but the religious persecutions by his ministers. It is also clear that Josephus diminishes the nationalistic dimension of the revolt, which features far more in his later work, *Antiquities*. By comparing the account of the Maccabean Revolt in both Josephan works, it is possible to identify a divergence in agenda and outlook, although there are many points of similarity between the works.

3.1. The *Antiquities of the Jews* of Flavius Josephus¹

Nearly two decades after the *Jewish War*, Josephus completed his *magnum opus* the *Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*.² This work has received great attention from scholars because it was based on texts which largely survive to this day. This affords historians the opportunity of examining Josephus' literary technique by comparing directly his paraphrase and re-presentation of his foundational texts. In particular, this has provided huge scope for an assessment of Josephus' version of the Bible, which has been extensively analysed by, amongst others, Attridge, Begg, and Feldman.³ The present study fits within this model, since the Maccabean Revolt narrative in Josephus' *Antiquities* is a close paraphrase of the apocryphal work 1 Maccabees.

Perhaps in imitation of the great *Roman Archaeology* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus purposefully divides this work into twenty books which he claims adequately cover the entire history of the Jewish people from the most ancient times onward (*Ant.* xx. 267).⁴ The first ten books of *Antiquities* correspond to his

¹ The standard English translation is that of H. St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, & L. H. Feldman, *Josephus* (LCL: Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1926-1965). The Greek text used is that of B. Neise (ed.), *Flavii Josephi Opera* (3 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1887-1904).

² We can be quite precise about the date of completion of this monumental project, due to two references in the conclusion to the work, which dates it to the thirteenth year of Domitian's reign when Josephus was in his fifty-sixth year (*Ant.* xx. 267). Elsewhere we are told that Josephus was born in the same year as Caligula's imperial coronation (*Life* 5, which would situate it as 37/38 CE), and thus both of these dates point towards the year 93/94 CE as the time of the completion of *Antiquities*, although it should be remembered that individual portions of the text could date to anywhere within the 73-93 CE timeframe, or even later if the hand of a redactor can be identified. The debate on the dating of the *Antiquities* is a result of the autobiographical appendix, *Life*, which requires a dating of between 93 and 100 CE. This argument does not concern us here as it has no bearing on the Maccabean Revolt narratives. For a discussion of the debate, see, for example, Rajak, *Josephus*, pp. 237-239.

³ See, for example, H. W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976). C. Begg, *Josephus' Story of the Later Monarchy* (AJ 9, 1 – 10, 185) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 145; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000). L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible* (JSJ Supp. 58. Leiden: Brill, 1998). T. W. Franxman, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979). On the so-called *Letter of Aristaeus*, see A. Pelletier, *Flavius Josephus, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée. Une réaction atticisante contra la koiné* (Études et Commentaires 45; Paris: Klincksieck, 1962).

⁴ Exactly one century prior to Josephus' *Antiquities*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus published his *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*, a discussion of the mythological origin of the Rome in twenty volumes. We know that Josephus' division of the *Antiquities* into twenty volumes was intentional and not the work of later redaction (*Ant.* xx. 267). Like Dionysius, Josephus devotes the first half of his *Antiquities* to the ancient history of the Jews, and he forthrightly states that his account is 'pure of that unseemly mythology current among others' (*Ant.* i. 15). For further arguments linking the two works, see Thackeray's introduction to the Loeb translation of *Antiquities* 1-4, p. ix. Against the connection with Dionysius' *Archaiologia*, see Rajak, 'Josephus and the 'Archaeology' of the Jews', in *Jewish Dialogue*, pp. 242f., who convincingly demonstrates the weakness of the case for extensive influence. On the structural outline of Josephus' *Antiquities*, see the summary of Bilde, *Josephus*, pp. 89-92. See also S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary – Judaeon Antiquities 1-4* (vol. 3, trans. L. H. Feldman; Leiden, Brill, 2000), pp. xx-xxii.

version of the biblical texts, from the account of the creation to the end of the Babylonian exile. The eleventh book includes the period from Cyrus to the death of Alexander the Great. The twelfth through fourteenth narrate the Maccabean Revolt and subsequent Hasmonean period, until the time of Herod (forming the focus of the current study). The fifteenth to twentieth books deal with the century leading up to the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, and in particular, the life and times of Herod the Great.

The role of Josephus' autobiographical work, the *Life*, has been much debated, particularly concerning its apparent position as an appendix to *Antiquities*.⁵ On the basis that Josephus purposely segmented the *Antiquities* into twenty volumes, it is difficult to argue that the *Life* is an integral part of the *Antiquities*. Yet, textual evidence would suggest this is the case, and scholars have generally argued that *Life* constitutes an appendix to the *Antiquities*, and may have been attached in a secondary edition.⁶ Laqueur's hypothesis that the conclusion to the *Antiquities* represents two separate, and in our editions combined, endings (with *Ant.* xx. 259-266 forming a supplementary 'linking' passage to the *Life*),⁷ seems to be overly negative about Josephus' editorial skill, since he is clearly capable of re-editing/streamlining his conclusion.⁸ Our lack of evidence of the transmission process negates any examination of the role of his redactors – there is no recorded information on these

⁵ On Josephus' *Life*, see Rajak, *Josephus*. It should be stressed that while it is clearly an autobiographical work, it does not treat Josephus' life evenly, focusing on the years 66/67 CE, and all but ignoring the post 73CE period.

⁶ See for example S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus*, p. 170f.

⁷ R. Laqueur, *Der Jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus* (Giessen: Munchow, 1920), pp. 1-6. For discussion on this theory, see S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus*, p. 175, E. M. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 572-4, and D. A. Barish, 'The Autobiography of Josephus and the Hypothesis of a Second Edition of his *Antiquities*', *HTR* 71 (1978), pp. 61-75. Since Josephus places the publication of the *Antiquities* in the year 93/94 CE (*Ant.* 20: 267), and *Life* 359 mentions the death of Agrippa II (which, according to Photius, occurred during the year 100 CE), it logically follows that the *Life* appeared 6/7 years after the *Antiquities*. Yet, the date of the death of Agrippa II is uncertain, and little credence should be given to the later account attributed to Photius. The passage in *Life* is the only explicit statement concerning Agrippa's death, but several passages throughout the latter books of the *Antiquities* are best understood as being written after his death too, mainly due to their critical outlook (e.g. *Ant.* 18: 145-54; 20: 143-6; 189f.). If this is true, then it might be reasonable to assume that Agrippa II was dead by the time of the completion of *Antiquities*, 93/94 CE – a point opposed by Kokkinos on the basis of his reading of *Ant.* 18: 128, in N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 396. See, for discussion on *Life* generally, Bilde, *Josephus*, 104f. On the dating of *Life* see Rajak, *Josephus*, pp. 237-239, Mason, *Life of Josephus*, xv-xix.

⁸ However, Attridge points to the repetitions in the proem as evidence against this statement. See discussion on the proem to *Antiquities* below (3.1.1). See H. W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), p. 52. n. 2.

figures.⁹ The conclusion of *Life* betrays its intimate literary connection with *Antiquities*:

Such are the events of my whole life; from them let others judge as they will of my character. Having now, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete account of our antiquities (Ἀρχαιολογία), I shall for the present conclude my narrative.

Life 430

This authorial note probably reflects the final stages of the composition (the writings may not have been, at their inception, planned as one work), and it is evident from Josephus' own hand that he intended the works to complement each other.¹⁰ For the purposes of this thesis, information contained in the *Life* will be treated as equivalent to text from the main body of *Antiquities* itself.

The following section of this thesis will examine some of the pertinent features of the *Antiquities* that form the context for any examination of Josephus' paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. I have divided this analysis into four subsections: 1) the proem and Josephus' declared aims for *Antiquities*, 2) Josephus' use of his source material, 3) his audience, and 4) the genre of the *Antiquities*. Additionally, since there is a consensus that Josephus relied upon on 1 Maccabees for his account of the Maccabean Period, I shall briefly investigate this text, and look specifically at some of the questions surrounding its relationship with the Josephan paraphrase.

⁹ In the manuscript tradition, the *Life* follows the *Antiquities* in all manuscripts except one (see Schürer, I. p. 53).

¹⁰ See the external evidence of Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 10. 8f.

3.1.1. Josephus' proem

Ancient historians believed the proem to be a particularly vital part of their writing. Polybius, for example, an author of whom Josephus had some knowledge¹¹, saw it as a vital introductory passage, which should include signposts and motifs to guide the reader through the work. Polybius writes:

I indeed regard a prologue as a useful kind of thing, since it fixes the attention of those who wish to read the work and stimulates and encourages readers to their task, besides which by this means any matter that we are in search of can be easily found.

Histories xi. 1. 1

The preface to the *Antiquities of the Jews* outlines Josephus' *declared* motivations, difficulties, and literary aims, and for that reason it has been widely studied. In addition, the prologue contains Josephus' justification for translating/paraphrasing the biblical texts, and an evaluation of the importance of these ancient texts, which will assist this assessment of his rewriting of 1 Maccabees. Attridge persuasively identifies three distinct sections of the proem: the first section 1-9 focuses on general historiographical comments, the second 9b-17 presents the main content of *Antiquities*, and gives a prototype of translation in the form of the Septuagint, while the final section 18-26 introduces the figure of Moses the Lawgiver.¹² This thesis will briefly explore these three divisions, with the aim of creating a context of Josephus' historiographical understanding – or at least his 'self-presentation' of it.

i. General historiographical concerns – (Ant. i. 1-9)

The prologue to the *Antiquities* outlines Josephus' view of existing historiographical practices and, more precisely, the four main motivations for the historian (*Ant.* i. 1-3). The first is to 'show off' their literary ability in the expectation of winning glory (δόξα), the second to write to flatter the subject, the third to present an account of important events that they had witnessed, and the fourth to correct prior erroneous

¹¹ See, for example, A. M. Eckstein, 'Josephus and Polybius: a Reconsideration', in *Classical Antiquity* 9 (1990), pp. 175-208, and the earlier work by S. J. D. Cohen, 'Josephus, Jeremiah and Polybius', in *History and Theory* 21 (1982), pp. 366-381.

¹² Attridge, *Interpretation*, p. 41.

histories. Of these four, Josephus claims that the third and fourth reasons inspired him to write the *Jewish War* in order to refute the existing ‘outrages to the truth’ (*Ant.* i. 4).¹³

Having compartmentalised the motivation of historians into four ‘drives’, Josephus moves to his reasons for writing the *Antiquities*, which will be a work worthy of attention to the ‘whole Greek speaking world’ (*Ant.* i. 5). The dimensions of the project will encompass the ancient history (ἀρχαιολογία) and political constitution (πολιτεύμα) of the Jews, translated (μεθερμηνεύω) from the Hebrew records. It appears that the *Antiquities* should be thematically divided into two, with the first ten books acting as the ἀρχαιολογία, and the second half as the *political history*. Josephus does not make this thematic distribution explicit. What is certain, however, is that the two terms represent significant claims about the contents and genre of the work – a subject to which I shall return in the later section on the genre of *Antiquities* (3.1.4).

Josephus claims that the idea for the *Jewish Antiquities* occurred to him in the period shortly after the war against Rome, but due to the sheer volume of material, and the fact that the First Jewish Revolt lent itself to a separate work (‘thus duly measuring my writing’¹⁴), Josephus put aside his plans for an all-encompassing history (*Ant.* i. 6). This parallels his statement in the proem to the *Jewish War* which explicitly says that the reason why he did not relate the ancient history of the Jews and their customs was because it was the incorrect time (ἄκαιρος) to do so (*War* i. 17). The project was dogged by further hesitation and delay, due to its large scope and more specifically the problem of rendering ‘so vast a subject into a foreign and unfamiliar tongue’ (*Ant.* i. 7).

In addition to this disclosure by Josephus that he still found Greek a ‘foreign and unfamiliar’ language, he writes at the end of the *Antiquities* that he ‘laboured strenuously to partake of the realm of Greek prose and poetry, after having gained a knowledge of Greek grammar, although the habitual use of my native tongue has

¹³ Although Sterling identifies only the third – eyewitness – motivation as a driving force behind the *Jewish War*, it is clear from the opening to *Antiquities* that Josephus wrote the *War* a) as he had personally experienced the conflict, and b) in order to refute erroneous accounts (*Ant.* i. 4 – compare *War* i. 2, 6). Sterling’s thesis argues that the *Antiquities* belongs to an identifiable historiographical genre, without taking into consideration the role of *Life*, or the earlier *War* (both of which are intimately linked to *Ant.*) – this omission of the shared ‘fourth’ scholarly motivation is noteworthy. See, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 242.

¹⁴ This may be meant to imply an appropriate philosophical division of his writings, with the Stoic concept of ‘measure’ or μέτρον, which appears frequently throughout Josephus’ writings.

prevented my attaining precision in the pronunciation' (*Ant.* xx. 263). These statements appear to run counter to Thackeray's assistant theory. The principal basis for his theory is the statement in the *Against Apion* (i. 50), where Josephus admits that he employed some 'assistants for the sake of the Greek' in his composition of the *Jewish War*, yet he makes no similar admission for the *Antiquities*. I have already discussed the problems with Thackeray's theory in the introduction (1.6.1.i.). Further to that, it is necessary only to add that Josephus is clearly not afraid of admitting his use of translators for *War*, so the fact that he mentions his own efforts to command the Greek language, and the long time it took him to master, strongly suggest that the *Antiquities* was the product of his own hand. The disparity in tone and vocabulary is adequately explained as a result of Josephus' particular use of sources in *Antiquities* and the drawn-out process of composition.

Josephus acknowledges that its completion was in no small part due to the encouragement and curiosity of 'certain persons', amongst whom was one Epaphroditus,¹⁵ his patron for his later writings (*Ant.* i. 7). Josephus' change in benefactors has led to speculation about shifts in his position and influence within Rome, as well as his direct literary circle.¹⁶ However, Josephus does not unequivocally state that Epaphroditus was his benefactor for the *Antiquities* (in the financial sense of the word); he is presented rather as a literary enthusiast and philanthropist.¹⁷

¹⁵ The identity of this patron cannot be proven beyond doubt, however the scant information that Josephus gives about this figure fits two possible candidates. Josephus describes his patron as a devotee of learning with special interest in the experience of history, 'conversant as he himself has been with large affairs and varying turns of fortune' (*Ant.* i. 8). There is a suggestion in the dedication to his later *Against Apion* that Epaphroditus was involved in the political sphere, although it is by no means certain (*Apion* i. 1, and *Life* 430). This might suggest the Greek grammarian from Chaeronea, who had been in the employment of the prefect of Egypt (as mentioned by Suidas). This Epaphroditus (probably Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus) had schooled the son of the prefect whilst in Rome, and built up a considerable library (some 30,000 books), and had the reputation for expertise in Homer and the Greek poets. It is conceivable that Josephus' writings fit this environment of learning, yet it does not satisfactorily tally with Josephus' description of him. A second Epaphroditus is well known from this period, and that is the freedman and secretary of Nero, who had famously assisted the emperor with his suicide. Indeed this political involvement suits the patron of Josephus' description, except for the mention in Dio Cassius (lxvii. 14), that this Epaphroditus was banished and then slain by Domitian (Suetonius *Dom.* 14). On the basis that *Life* mentions the death of Domitian, but not the death of his patron, this identification is also problematic. In summary, the identity of Josephus' patron for his later works cannot be verified, and whilst there are two likely candidates, it is plausible that the real patron has disappeared from the pages of history in all but Josephus' acknowledgements. The exact identity of the patron is not central to the argument of this thesis.

¹⁶ See, for instance, S. Mason, "'Should Any Wish to Enquire Further' (*Ant.* 1. 25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus's *Judean Antiquities/Life*", in S. Mason (ed.), *Understanding Josephus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 64-103, esp. pp. 74-78.

¹⁷ Note also Varneda's claim to detect insincerity on Josephus' behalf when he refers to his gratitude to Epaphroditus – Varneda argues that since elsewhere Josephus is keen to take the credit for his work, this dedication to Epaphroditus is merely for show. In Varneda, *Historical Method*, p. 210.

That Josephus had always intended to write the ancient history and political constitution of the Jews, but settled first for writing about the war in which he took part, provides a plausible explanation of his literary enterprise. At various junctures of *War*, Josephus mentions customs or practices of the Jews and promises to elaborate on these at an unspecified later date – the majority of these expansions occur in the later *Antiquities*.¹⁸ This connection between the works has further repercussions for the cohesiveness and homogeneity of his writings as a whole: all of his works claim to be written for the same ‘intended’ audience¹⁹, and to be read together as a complete exposition of the Jews and their history – how else are his numerous cross-references to be understood?²⁰ Yet that is not to say that the accounts of Josephus exist in exact harmony with one another, as that is patently not the case. This thesis investigates the differences in presentation of the Maccabees from the earlier *War* to the later *Antiquities*, but nevertheless, if we allow for a shift in his immediate aims, his thematic and theological tendencies, his contemporary situation and even his sources, the correlation between the texts is close.

Josephus relates how he ruminated over whether to write the *Antiquities of the Jews* due to two particular reservations: whether his ancestors showed willingness to communicate their history with others, and whether the Greeks were ‘curious to learn our history’ (*Ant.* i. 9).

ii. The prototype model – the *Letter of Aristeas* (*Ant.* i. 9b-17)

Josephus finds support for his claim that the Greeks were interested in ‘our history’, in the story of the translation of the Jewish constitution into Greek at the request of Ptolemy II, as narrated in the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*²¹ which Josephus presents in greater detail in book xii. In the same way as Ptolemy, who is described as a ‘lover of

¹⁸ E.g. *War* v. 237. For a full exploration of these linking passages in Josephus, see H. Petersen, ‘Real and alleged literary projects of Flavius Josephus’, in *AJP* 79 (1958), pp. 259-74

¹⁹ *War* i. 3, the ‘Subjects of the Roman Empire’; *Ant.* i. 5, the ‘Greek speaking world’.

²⁰ Contrary to the theory of Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, who argues against Josephus’ writings being considered a corpus on the basis of a marked difference in aims and outlook between the works (and even between individual chapters – as the convincing distinction between *War* i-vi and vii shows).

²¹ For an English translation, (with a short bibliography and introduction by R. H. Shutt), see J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol. 2; New York: Doubleday, 1985).

learning', Josephus assumes that there are still 'today many lovers of learning like the king' (φιλομαθέω – a term favoured by Plato²², *Ant.* i. 12).

Josephus notes that even this bibliophile only obtained the Law, and that the rest of the scriptures were not translated into Greek at this point, and hence this was a desideratum (i. 13). The rest of the history of the Jews, covering some 5000 years, remained hidden from Ptolemy, and Josephus goes on to mention the 'selected highlights' of these untranslated 'holy writings': they encompassed many fortunes of war, heroic exploits of generals, and political revolutions – all themes which recur in Josephus' own writings. The value of these writings was not purely historical, as they contain a strong moralising tone. Josephus summarises the main lesson of 'this history' thus: men who follow God's will and the Jewish constitution will prosper (εὐδαιμονία). As a counter-example, Josephus uses a play-on-words on Aeschylus' famous phrase 'making impossibilities possible' (ἄπορα πόριμος), by stating that, should anyone depart from the perfect constitution, things 'possible become impossible' (i. 14).²³ As an example of the moralising influence of the Jewish histories, Josephus encourages all readers of his *Antiquities* to 'fix their thoughts on God', and then test the worthiness of the lawgiver's constitution for divine perfection, that it is 'pure of that unseemly mythology'²⁴ current among others'. There is more than a hint of criticism at the existing *Antiquities* of various nations, and Josephus is keen to disassociate this 'myth' with his accurate account of antiquity. He justifies this claim on the basis that despite two thousand years having elapsed since the time of Moses ('a period so distant that even the Greek poets would not dare claim their gods lived in' – *Ant.* i. 16), the accurate (ἀκριβεια) scriptures of the Jews corroborate

²² Of the thirty instances of φιλομαθέω in extant Greek literature half are from the writings of Plato – this is the only use of the term in Josephus (according to an exhaustive search of electronic tools). It is noteworthy that Josephus describes himself in similar terms in his autobiography, where he claims precocious talent by the age of fourteen such that 'I won universal applause for my love of letters' (φιλογράμματος - *Life* 9).

²³ Aeschylus, *Prometheus vincetus* 904. Thackeray relates this literary pun to 'the historian's cultured assistant', but we may argue against Thackeray that classical echoes or 'intellectual' phrases are not necessarily the work of a literary assistant, as shown by the statistical work of D. S. Williams, *Stylometric Authorship – Studies in Flavius Josephus and Related Literature* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1992).

²⁴ Josephus presents his work as a self-proclaimed *archaiologia* of the Jews; the main characteristic of this Greek literary genre is its concern with the antiquity and ancient history of a particular race, and thus in a literal sense only the first half of the *Archaeology/Antiquities* falls within this designation. See further Rajak, 'Josephus and the 'Archaeology' of the Jews'. Rajak notes that unlike similar histories, Josephus does not designate (and in his eyes denigrate) the ancient history of the Jews as simple *mythos*. Instead, every effort is made to support the historical nature of these accounts. In the same way as *Antiquities*, the *Against Apion* uses the scriptures as corroborating evidence, stressing their 'accuracy' on the basis that they were inspired by God, and related by the prophets, and thus irrefutable (*Apion* i. 37f).

their history. So, Josephus argues, it is necessary for him to present the scriptural records of the Jews, in order to prove the antiquity and accuracy of the Jewish Lawgiver Moses.

Josephus concludes this section of the proem with his promise not to ‘add nor omit anything’²⁵ from his account of the *Antiquities* (*Ant.* i. 17). This is clearly borrowed from Deuteronomic motifs (Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32). The term itself appears to be a stock phrase of ancient historiography, and is adopted by, amongst other, Dionysius of Halicarnasus (*De Thucydides* v, viii).²⁶ The question of the nature of Josephus’ *translation*²⁷ of the Hebrew records is a commonly debated subject, principally as a consequence of this programmatic statement (repeated in *Ant.* iv. 196; x. 218; *Apion* i. 42), that:

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προῖων ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν
σημανεῖ· τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης ποιήσῃν τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγελιάμην οὐδὲν
προσθεῖς οὐδ’ αὖ παραλιπῶν.

Antiquities i. 17

This statement is not to be understood literally (as is often noted), since Josephus appears to freely add²⁸, omit²⁹, rewrite, and elaborate on his biblical text.³⁰ In

²⁵ On this claim see Spilsbury, *Image of the Jew*, pp. 14f.

²⁶ For discussion see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 253f. See also, Attridge, *Interpretation*, pp. 58f.

²⁷ The term that Marcus renders as ‘translate’, μεθερμηνεύω, is used throughout Josephus, where it refers explicitly to the transformation of the ancestral works into Greek (as *Ant.* i. 5, xii. 20, 48; *Apion* i. 54). That said, however, it is clear that for much of Josephus’ so-called ‘biblical paraphrase’, the author appears to rely principally on the Greek text of the Septuagint – thus we are forced to question how much actual ‘translation’ occurred? An interesting feature of Josephus’ use of μεθερμηνεύω is its coupled usage with μεταγράφω in the introductory passage to the *Letter of Aristeas* (*Ant.* xii. 48).²⁷ The dual use of the terms would appear to be superfluous to requirements, unless they had different connotations. It is clear that the term μεταγράφω refers to the translation of the Hebrew sacred texts into Greek, but μεθερμηνεύω could suggest ‘interpretation’.

²⁸ See, for example, the tale of Moses’ invasion of Ethiopia (*Ant.* ii. 238-253), which the Loeb translator identifies as an ‘invention of the Jewish colony at Alexandria’. A similar account appears in the writings of Artapanus, as quoted in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* ix. 27), although Thackeray notes that Josephus’ version is far more detailed and appears not to be based on the Artapanan example, *Antiquities* I-IV, p. 269.

²⁹ He famously omits the golden calf incident and the breaking of the first tablets of the Law. See Thackeray, *Josephus the Man and the Historian*, p. 58. For a full list of major biblical omissions, see Sterling, *Historiography*, pp. 291-3.

³⁰ As emphatically demonstrated by the conclusions to Feldman’s numerous biblical portraits, conveniently collected into two volumes, L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus’ Rewritten Bible* (JSJ

addition, he appears to rely on a Greek translation for most of the non-Pentateuchal material (a text which closely reflects the Septuagint as we know it today), and the story of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek forms an integral argument in support of the writing of *Antiquities*.

In practice, Josephus paraphrases (rather than translates) his sources, and he appears to treat his biblical texts no differently from his non-biblical ones. The motives governing his rewriting process have been variously identified as a wish to instruct his Roman audience,³¹ to promote key Jewish figures³² and attribute to them Roman virtues, to ‘Hellenize’ the text (to dress the Jewish narrative in Greek garb),³³ to make his narrative more dramatic,³⁴ to correct his sources,³⁵ to give moral or philosophical instruction,³⁶ to respond to anti-Jewish slander,³⁷ to act as a missionary document,³⁸ and so on. Whilst all of these arguments remain hypothetically possible, and in some instances highly probable, most rely on presuppositions concerning Josephus’ audience and market, and ultimately they would appear to oversimplify the complexities of his rewriting.

The claim that the *Antiquities* is the translation of the Holy Books is further limited by the fact that the second half of the work is based on non-biblical materials – despite the apparent assertion to the contrary (*Ant.* xx. 261 - ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ βιβλοὶ περὶ πάντων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν – although, it should be said, this statement could be linked solely to the transmission of the biblical Judges). Bilde, in his introduction to the *Antiquities*, argues that Josephus’ repeated reference to the Holy Books was

Supp. 58. Leiden: Brill, 1998), and *Josephus’ Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: California Press, 1998).

³¹ As suggested by Gohei Hata (in a private discussion), who has identified sections of *Antiquities* which fulfil some of the characteristics of a work *on kingship*.

³² For example, Mason, who argues that Josephus adopts many of the existing Roman models of aristocracy and leadership, and applies them to Jewish figures. See Mason’s introductory essay to *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary – Life* (vol. 9, trans. S. Mason; Leiden, Brill, 2001).

³³ As Feldman, amongst others.

³⁴ As J. Price, ‘Drama and History in Josephus’ *BJ*, a paper presented at SBL 1999, and available online at: <<http://josephus.yorku.ca/pdf/PriceBJ.pdf>> (Accessed September 2003).

³⁵ As B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army: Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), who notes that Josephus corrects the errors on military matters in 1 Maccabees. There are several examples where Josephus appears to be answering questions left open by his biblical source, the most famous is his statement giving the origin of Cain and Abel’s wives, on which Genesis is silent (*Ant.* i. 52).

³⁶ On the moralising tendency of Josephus, see H. W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

³⁷ See Feldman, *passim*.

³⁸ See, for example, S. Mason, ‘Should Any Wish to Enquire Further (*Ant.* 1. 25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus’s *Judean Antiquities/Life*’, in S. Mason (ed.), *Understanding Josephus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 64-103.

designed to give credence to his claims of the antiquity of the Jewish people.³⁹ The textual evidence supporting this persuasive hypothesis is to be found in the later *Against Apion* (*Apion* i. 1-54; ii. 136, 287). Despite the merits of this proposal, Bilde recognises the problematic nature of this proposition, as it depends heavily on the authorial aims of *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* being identical.

The second section of the proem which ends with the statement at i. 17, serves as a sub-conclusion, effectively negating the need for a third section. This theory has been speculated upon by Attridge, who notes several duplicated themes between the first two sections and the third.⁴⁰

iii. The importance of Moses the Lawgiver – (Ant. i. 18-26)

The third and final section of the proem introduces the central figure of Moses the Lawgiver, who is the source of the ancient records used by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 18). This passage (re)introduces the moral tendency of *Antiquities*, which is based on the wisdom (σοφία) of Moses. To indicate the moralising and philosophising nature of his work, Josephus establishes the precedent of Moses, who believed that it was best to study the nature of God, apply reason to His works, and then to imitate (μιμῆομαι) them closely. The leitmotif of virtue (ἀρετῆ) is stressed as a central point of the history:

For neither could the Lawgiver himself, without this vision, ever attain to a right mind, nor would anything that he should write in regard to ἀρετῆ avail with his readers, unless before all else they were taught that God, as the universal Father and Lord who beholds of things, grants to such as follow Him a life of bliss, but involves in dire calamities those who step outside the path of ἀρετῆ. Such, then, being the lesson that Moses desired to instil into his fellow-citizens.

Antiquities i. 20-21a

The importance of looking back to the creation of the world is presented by Josephus as the basis on which the Jewish legislator gained his piety – he contrasts Moses with other legislators who, following fables (μῦθοι), attributed to their gods the wickedness of man, and ‘thus furnished the wicked with a powerful excuse’ (*Ant.* i. 22). Moses,

³⁹ See, Bilde, Flavius Josephus, between Jerusalem and Rome, p. 93.

⁴⁰ Attridge, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 52, n. 2.

on the other hand, demonstrated that the Jewish God was the very perfection of virtue, and that all men should strive to follow His example, and that they should punish those who do not follow the path of uprightness (*Ant.* i. 23). That this theme of virtue is the overriding moral testimony of the *Antiquities* is overtly stated by Josephus:

I therefore entreat my readers to examine my work from this point of view. For studying it in this spirit, nothing will appear to them unreasonable, nothing incongruous with the majesty of God... [Josephus continues] Should any further desire to consider the reasons for every article in our creed, he would find the inquiry profound and highly philosophical.⁴¹

Antiquities i. 24

A comparison of the moral lesson of line 14, with that of line 20 reveals a strong similarity: those who follow the Law and the examples of virtue, will prosper by God's hands, those who do otherwise will suffer calamity. This moral message is surely more than a superficial statement, as its repetition throughout the work demonstrates its significance for Josephus.⁴² The key characteristics of the third part of the proem are in most cases repetitions of previous comments.

Attridge notes the dual-layered nature of the proem, and speculates that it may reveal a secondary editorial gloss.⁴³ An alternative possibility is that the third and final section of the proem could in fact be a direct introduction to the Biblical account of the creation, and that the preface to the *Antiquities* as a whole, should be identified as finishing in line 17, rather than line 26. All of the key points have been made in the first 17 lines of the text, and whilst their repetition could be due to a desire to emphasise particular concepts, it would seem just as likely that the proem (*Ant.* i. 1-17) was written as a general introduction to the *Antiquities*, perhaps added after the main body of the work was completed.

⁴¹ At this point Josephus makes reference to a planned work, which, as far as we know, never came to fruition. The work was to be entitled 'On Customs and Causes', and divided into four books, which was to encompass what the 'Jews hold concerning God and His essence. As well as concerning the laws, that is, why according to them we are permitted to do some things while we are forbidden to do others' (*Ant.* xx. 267). Unfortunately there is no other evidence of what this book contained, and Petersen's attempt to identify this work with the *Against Apion* ('it is obvious that we still have this work, and it is the so-called *Contra Apionem*') is rightfully dismissed by L. H. Feldman, *Josephus* LCL 456, p. 143, n. d. For Petersen's arguments for this connection, see H. Petersen, 'Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus', in *AJP* 79 (1958), pp. 259-274, esp. p. 264.

⁴² E.g. *Ant.* i. 14, 20, 23, 72; vi. 307; vii. 93; xvii. 60; xix. 16.

⁴³ Attridge, p. 52.

3.1.2. Josephus' sources for the *Antiquities of the Jews*

One reason why Josephus' *Antiquities* has been the subject of so many scholarly studies is that his widespread use of sources, sometimes acknowledged and sometimes not, provides a rich mine of Greco-Roman literature. Indeed, several ancient authors are known only through their mention in Josephus. Modern scholarship has traditionally focused on discussions of the language of Josephus' biblical text; studies concerning themselves with Josephus' use, interpretation, and repackaging of his sources are relatively recent.⁴⁴

The extent of Josephus' reworking of the text has caused scholarly debate on the nature of his biblical sources. Pelletier, in his study of Josephus and the *Letter of Aristeas*, has shown Josephus' tendency to thoroughly rewrite his text, changing the words for variety and to fit the attic fashion.⁴⁵ It has been suggested that Josephus had before him only the Hebrew editions, or the Greek translations, or an Aramaic text, or even a now lost alternative account.⁴⁶ Thackeray concludes that Josephus used a Hebrew text for the Pentateuch, a Hebrew or Aramaic Targum for Joshua, Judges and Ruth, and a Greek edition, most likely the Septuagint, for the remaining scriptural writings.⁴⁷ Whilst Josephus' mother-tongue was probably Aramaic, the process of translation into Greek and, possibly, the availability of the LXX in Rome made the Alexandrian translation preferable. This lends support to Bloch's redaction study of 1879, which identifies Josephus' reliance on narratives from the LXX which have no Hebrew parallel.⁴⁸ Whilst the question of the exact nature of Josephus' biblical texts remains undecided, and (to an extent) out of the range of this thesis, a few comments are necessary.

The following points are based on the textual evidence from Josephus' own hand – a circular but necessary route to identify the nature of "Josephus' bible".⁴⁹ For a start, we have no reason to doubt that Josephus was fluent in more than one

⁴⁴ As argued, amongst others, by Attridge, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 30f.

⁴⁵ A. Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée. Une réaction atticisante contra la koiné* (Études et Commentaires 45; Paris: Klincksieck, 1962).

⁴⁶ For secondary literature on the various biblical texts identified within Josephus, see Attridge, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 31, who cites, for older material, the bibliography of Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (Vienna: Kohut, 1930), pp. ix-xxxvi.

⁴⁷ For discussion and (early) bibliography, see Thackeray, *Josephus: the Man and the Historian*, p. 81f.

⁴⁸ Bloch identifies parts of the books of Ezra and Esther that are unique to the LXX version. H. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archäologie* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1879), pp. 69-79.

⁴⁹ On the nature of Josephus' Bible, see Rajak, *Josephus: Thesis* vol. 1, pp. 231f, on the criteria for determining Josephus's dependence on the LXX. In addition, see S. Z. Lieman, 'Josephus and the Canon of the Bible', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, the Bible and History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), pp. 50-58.

language; his training in Jerusalem will have involved Hebrew and possibly Aramaic texts.⁵⁰ The very possibility that Josephus had texts in more than one language suggests that scholars should take more care when assigning a definite Septuagint or MT source to his biblical paraphrase. What is also apparent is that Josephus could have possessed biblical versions that differ from those which we have in our possession today. He states in the conclusion to his *Life* that Titus gave permission to take whatever booty he desired from Jerusalem, and Josephus claims to have been given a copy of the Holy Scriptures (*Life* 418). If these are to be identified with the biblical works that Josephus discusses elsewhere, then we may assume his gift from Titus included: the five books of Moses, the thirteen books of the prophets,⁵¹ and four books of hymns and instructions for living (*Apion* i. 37-40).

The exact nature of the biblical text(s) available to Josephus remains unresolved and to a large extent unrecoverable, and we can be barely more certain when it comes to the sources for the post-biblical era. In the books covering the period from the death of Alexander the Great to the end of the Maccabean Revolt (xii-xiii), it is evident that Josephus gives a free translation of the *Letter of Aristeas* and 1 Maccabees, as well as several additional sources – Polybius (twice named⁵²), Nicolas of Damascus, Posidonius, Strabo (all unnamed), and his own prior account in the *Jewish War* (which he seems to refer to, although without explicit identification).⁵³

While most scholars agree that Nicolas of Damascus was Josephus' main source for the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (in addition to 1 Maccabees), as nothing substantial survives from this author, any meaningful comparison is difficult.⁵⁴ The question of source dependence is problematical since Josephus rarely acknowledges his literary debts. His consistent use of rhetorical devices and general style makes it clear that when Josephus uses other writer's works, he sufficiently makes it his own by applying an individualistic Josephan stamp. Several other factors

⁵⁰ *Life* 8-9.

⁵¹ Thackeray, in a footnote to his translation of this passage, identifies the following biblical works, although he admits a certain caution in his naming: 1) Joshua, 2) Judges and Ruth, 3) Samuel, 4) Kings, 5) Chronicles, 6) Ezra and Nehemiah, 7) Esther, 8) Job, 9) Isaiah, 10) Jeremiah and Lamentations, 11) Ezekiel, 12) Minor Prophets, and 13) Daniel.

⁵² *Ant.* xii. 135, 358.

⁵³ There is no indication that Josephus found the book of Daniel useful during his composition of the Maccabean Revolt, despite scholarly consensus that the second half of the book of Daniel relates to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes. Josephus gives the impression of accepting Daniel's early dating when he claims that Alexander the Great read it (*Ant.* xi. 337). On Daniel, see A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (translated by D. Pellauer; London: SPCK, 1976), and J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (1977).

⁵⁴ It is also clear that, for presentation purposes at least, Josephus is critical of Nicolas of Damascus' historical approach (e.g. *Ant.* xiv. 9).

make the identification of Josephus' sources problematic: As Josephus had at least two sources at his disposal for his two accounts of the Maccabean period, it would have necessitated an element of selection – this is particularly evident towards the end of the *Antiquities* paraphrase of 1 Maccabees where Josephus chooses to omit the final three chapters. Also, as the accounts in *War* and *Antiquities* are clearly different, this might point to the changing nature of Josephus' available library, as well as a different literary agenda for the work. Further, unless Josephus directly cites or quotes another ancient author, it is impossible to tell whether he read them directly or had a secondary reference to their work.

The following graph demonstrates Josephus' explicit use of sources. The numbers on the horizontal axis relate to the lines in Josephus' text, whilst the vertical axis presents the relative size of his identifiable sources with the largest source (1 Maccabees) at the bottom.

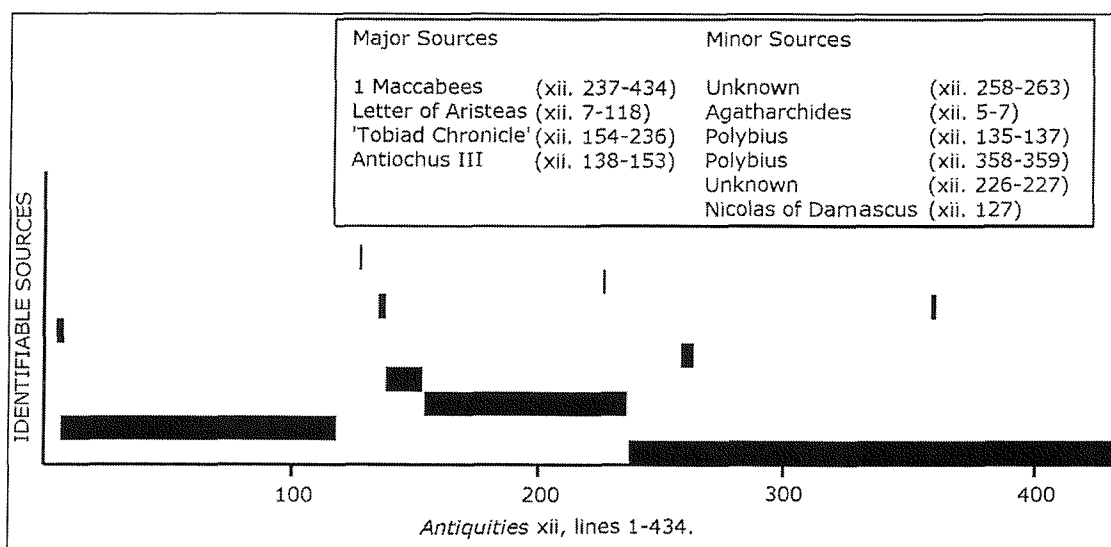


Figure 1. The identifiable sources, their frequency and usage, in *Antiquities* 12.

The above diagram demonstrates Josephus' use of his identifiable sources in *Antiquities* book xii. We can try to determine from this graph some features of Josephus' treatment of his source material. However, the existence of additional unidentified sources should raise a note of caution, although the graph does allow for the presentation of some generalised conclusions. If we bear in mind Josephus' programmatic statement, that 'the precise details of our Scripture records will, then, be set forth, each in its own place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure that I have promised to follow throughout this work neither adding nor omitting anything' (*Ant.* i. 17), we must assume that he dealt with his sources in an organised manner. Indeed, it appears from figure 1 that Josephus was happy to follow his larger

sources, while inserting additional references. These references occur mainly in the gaps between the lengthier sources, or at the beginning or end of his major source texts. A graph of the sources and their frequency of use in book xiii suggests slightly different conclusions.

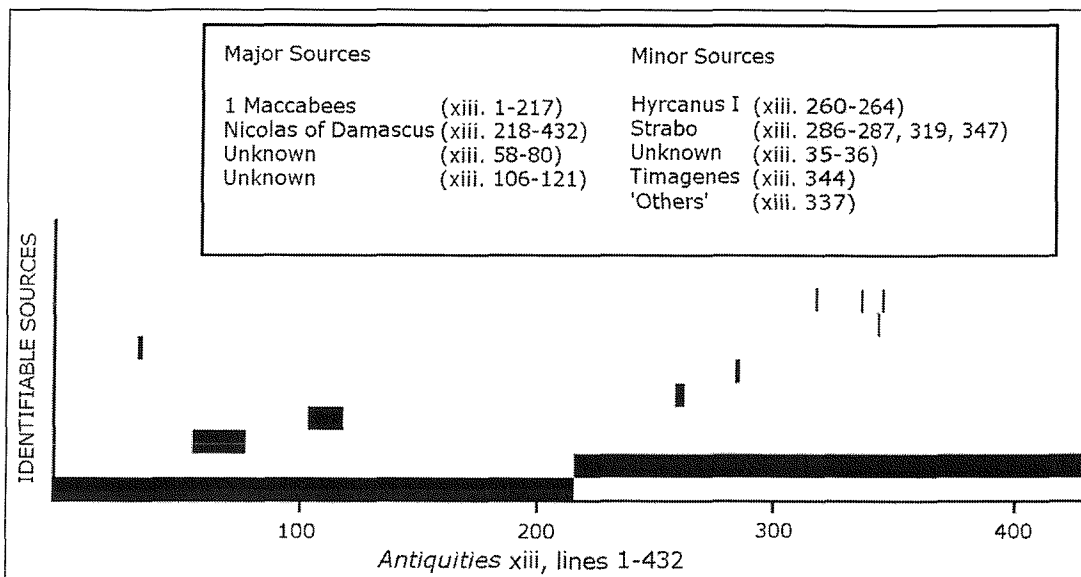


Fig. 2. The frequency of usage of the declared sources in *Antiquities* book xiii.

In addition to these identifiable sources, Josephus includes further material that has no parallel in 1 Maccabees, the most well known being the discussion of the ‘Schools’ of thought of the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 171-173).⁵⁵ The graph describing book xiii of the *Antiquities* shows Josephus’ use of two main sources throughout the work – it is generally accepted that the second source is Nicolas of Damascus,⁵⁶ although it should be remembered that we are largely ignorant about Josephus’ specific use of this source as it only survives in fragmentary form. Minor sources appear evenly distributed throughout with no particular grouping – perhaps as a consequence of the two main sources offering complete coverage of the period. A greater quantity of supplementary material is explicitly introduced during the rewriting of 1 Maccabees than during that of Nicolas of Damascus. Whether Josephus’ use of additional material reflects his available ‘library’, or some judgement as to the value of his sources (that they needed external verification), remains open to debate. What is

⁵⁵ On the Jewish ‘Schools’ of thought, see, for discussion and bibliography, Mason, *Pharisees*, pp. 196-211.

⁵⁶ On Nicolas of Damascus see, for example, Shutt, *Josephus*, pp. 79-92, for the fragmentary texts relating to Jewish history see *GLAJJ* i, n. 227-60. For non-Josephan testimony of Nicolas see F. Jacoby, ‘90: Nicolas of Damascus’, in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1926-58), 2A. For a reconstruction of the life of Nicolas of Damascus, see Schürer, I, pp. 28-32.

noteworthy is that when Josephus inserts secondary sources, apparently with the purpose of confirming his primary account, they are usually established Greco-Roman authors (such as Polybius) – although we should not read too much into this fact. Bilde suggests that these authors act as external verification to the biblical material, and that Josephus uses them to ‘convince them of the truth and value of the ancient Jewish scriptures, religion and history’.⁵⁷

Josephus gives some small hints as to his method for using sources. For instance, he acknowledges that Nicolas of Damascus was motivated by a desire to please Herod, where he says that Nicolas deliberately over-emphasised his noble Jewish ancestry (*Ant.* xiv. 9).⁵⁸ This, combined with the comments in the proem concerning the ambition of historians, would suggest that Josephus did not blindly copy his sources, but engaged with them critically. In his representation of source material, Josephus openly admits to rewriting with the aim of making the work more elegant:

For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.

Antiquities xiv. 2-3

Without a clear notion of Josephus’ sources, and the exact form that these texts were available to him, we cannot with certainty ascribe alterations and deviations from these texts to Josephus’ authorial enterprise. Moreover, we have no point of reference to gauge his use of non-literary sources (be it oral traditions or *Haggadah*). Several scholars have devoted studies to Josephus and 1 Maccabees, and yet these have invariably accomplished little more than the production of (often incomplete) lists of

⁵⁷ This theory has a lot in its favour, although it should be noted that Josephus does not always record his use of Greco-Roman authors, nor mark the spot when he changes from a Jewish biblical/scriptural text to a Greco-Roman source, such as Nicolas of Damascus. Bilde, *Josephus*, p. 99. Bilde’s theory is attractive and it should be stated that this literary practice would have had a similar impact on a Jewish and non-Jewish audience (Bilde uses it to support his identification of a non-Jewish readership).

⁵⁸ See also, *Ant.* xvi. 183 – concerning Nicolas; xix. 68-69 – on Callistus; xix. 106-107 – which possibly criticises Suetonius (see Feldman, LCL, *Ant.* xix. 106, n. a)

points of divergence and agreement. The benefit of this study is, I hope, clear since the aim is to examine what Josephus actually *said* about the Maccabean Revolt. And, while a not insignificant part of this thesis is devoted to Josephus' repackaging of 1 Maccabees, the spotlight remains on his text and presentation. It examines Josephus in his own right, rather than simply as a bad copy of 1 Maccabees.

3.1.3. The ‘implied’ audience of the *Antiquities*

No consensus exists concerning the audience of the *Antiquities*, largely because we do not have any external evidence of the work’s reception. We are not even in a position to assert that Josephus’ most likely audience consisted of Roman literary figures with a sympathetic view of Judaism, since we have no proof that Josephus was in Rome when he composed and published *Antiquities*, and nothing concrete concerning the form of Epaphroditus’ ‘encouragement’.⁵⁹

Regardless of these problems, scholars have hypothesised about the likely readership of *Antiquities*. Those who propose a Judaeian readership explain his outlook in terms of a desire to rehabilitate himself with the Jewish people after the allegedly traitorous *War* and his own dubious role in the revolt. Shaye Cohen, for one, identifies a Jewish audience as the early rabbinical movement in Yavneh.⁶⁰ This proposal was advocated by Morton Smith as early as 1956,⁶¹ whose particular take on the argument was that Josephus was trying to promote the role and skill of the growing Yavnean movement, so that the Romans might consider them for political roles within the post-war administration. Against this proposal, it should be noted that it is unlikely that Josephus would have written to promote the Yavneh assembly without explicitly naming them or, indeed, any other post-revolt Jews. Further, nowhere in the text do we find an indication that the Pharisees were particularly proficient in the business of government – indeed, the Pharisaic ‘school’ is clearly not an overriding concern of *Antiquities*, which does not mention them in the first dozen books and only fleetingly (and often in negative terms⁶²) in the second half of *Antiquities*. Finally, the connection between the Pharisees and the emergent rabbinical movement is by no means solid.⁶³

⁵⁹ Josephus reports that he moved to Rome with Titus after the defeat of the Jews and the fall of Jerusalem (*Life* 422). He had some form of imperial patronage, which, after the publication of the *War*, appears to have ceased. For the last three works Josephus gives no clue to his location, and the evidence from Eusebius, that there was a statue erected in Rome in honour of Josephus, is hardly convincing proof of his residence there (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 9. 2).

⁶⁰ S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, p. 145

⁶¹ M. Smith, ‘Palestinian Judaism in the first century’, in M. Davis (ed.), *Israel: its role in civilization* (New York: JTSA, 1956), pp. 67-81. See the subsequent work of S. Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaeian politics*, p. 209.

⁶² As S. Mason, *Pharisees*, passim.

⁶³ For arguments against the proposal of J. Neusner, see Grabbe, *Judaism*, pp. 477-482. Additionally, see D. S. Williams’s critique in, ‘Morton Smith on the Pharisees in Josephus’, in *JQR* 84 (1993), pp. 29-42. For Neusner’s arguments see ‘The Written Tradition in the Pre-Rabbinic Period’, in *JSJ* 4 (1973), pp. 56-65, and ‘The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh from AD 70 to 100’, in *ANRW* 2 (1979), vol. 19, part II, pp. 3-24.

The issue of Josephus' audience for the *Antiquities* has been hotly debated in several recent works. Whilst it is common to accept a Hellenistic audience for Josephus' writings (as this makes the best sense, both of Josephus' language and the explanation of basic Jewish practices), this does not necessarily preclude a Hellenised, diasporan Jewish readership.⁶⁴ Sterling argues that one of the main functions of the *Antiquities* was to demonstrate the 'glorious past' of the Jewish nation to the outside, Greek world. This theory goes hand-in-hand with the idea that the Jews in the ancient world were unpopular, and required a public relations make-over of the magnitude of the *Antiquities* – normally as a result of the alleged persecutions under the Emperor Domitian (which is often assumed in scholarship, but not supported by the surviving evidence).⁶⁵ In this light the so-called *Acta* are understood as attempts by Josephus to underline the long history of pro-Jewish attitudes by gentile nations, as he himself suggests (*Antiquities* 16. 174).⁶⁶

More recently, Mason, in his introduction to the Brill Josephus Project volumes on the *Antiquities* and later on the *Life of Josephus*, argues that Josephus' principal audience was "non-Judeaens who were keenly interested in his [the Jews'] national customs", as the work as a whole cannot be explained as a "defensive-apologetical, pro-rabbinic/Pharisaic, anti-Christian, or other similarly narrow appeal".⁶⁷ The basis for Mason's argument is the conjecture that due to the limitations of book production, it is most likely that Epaphroditus would have supplied a reading venue for a small, local audience in Rome. The fact that Epaphroditus actively encouraged Josephus to continue with his endeavours demonstrated, at least according to Mason, clear proof that there was a local, willing fan base. Sadly we have no concrete knowledge of Josephus' environment, nor do we have specific information on his patron. Furthermore, the claim by Josephus that his patron urged him into finishing the *Antiquities/Life*, could be little more than an apologetic or rhetorical device.

If we attend to what Josephus has to say about his own audience, it is clear that he claims to be writing for a Greek readership.⁶⁸ He opens the prologue to the *Antiquities* with the words: 'And now I have undertaken this present work in the belief that the whole Greek-speaking world will find it worthy of attention' (*Ant.* i. 5).

⁶⁴ See, for example, G. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition* p. 298.

⁶⁵ As argued by, amongst others, J. Daniel, 'Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic Roman Period', *JBL* 98 (1979), pp. 45-65.

⁶⁶ On the *Acta* see T. Rajak, 'Was there a Roman Charter for the Jews?', *JRS* 74 (1984), pp. 107-123.

⁶⁷ S. Mason, *The Life of Josephus: Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary (details)*, p. xix.

⁶⁸ Josephus wrote in Greek, for a Greek-reading audience, *Ant.* i. 5, 9; xvi. 174; xx. 263.

This claim is repeated at the end of the *Antiquities* where Josephus asks whether anyone else could have written ‘so accurate a treatise as this for the Greek world’ (*Ant.* xx. 262). These claims at the beginning and end of the narrative were most likely written during the concluding stages of composition (as suggested by their similarity in tone and language), and can be regarded as editorial polishing. They are clearly programmatic statements, and may have no bearing on the actual content of the text. Any judgement concerning audience should be based mainly on the content of the work, rather than infrequent editorial comments. The work itself forms a historical and cultural manual of the Jewish people. Not only does Josephus go into painstaking detail to describe Jewish practices and customs, but he gives various narratives about non-Jews seeking information about the Jewish way of life – the most notable examples being his rendition of the *Letter of Aristeas* and the account of the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene.⁶⁹ Josephus’ repeated assertion that both Greeks and Romans accorded citizen rights to Jewish communities can be attributed to a desire to raise the Jews’ profile with the Roman world – although other interpretations are possible. Josephus at times appears conscious that his countrymen are familiar with his work – for instance, he is keen to explain his thematic account of the Mosaic constitution in case his Jewish audience recognised that he had reordered the narrative (*Ant.* iv. 197),⁷⁰ and in addition Josephus tells us that some Jews disapproved of his version of events.⁷¹ Moreover, there appears to have been an absolute lack of interest in his writing from the Greco-Roman world, if we take the complete silence in contemporary literature concerning his writings. Further to this, it is worth stating that Greek Jewish literature generally was not widely acknowledged, and even the rabbis make no reference to Josephus, nor does the Septuagint appear popular.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Ant.* i. 10-11 represents a brief note about the translation – note its significant placement at the start of the narrative and its function of justification for the composition of *Antiquities*. The full account of the *Letter of Aristeas* was reserved until *Ant.* xii. 11-118, and acts as part of the introductory section to the Maccabean Revolt. Conceivably this was done with the intention of setting the context of Greek interest and friendship with the Jews: it establishes a ‘normalised’ state of relations between the Jews and their neighbours, and heightens the drama and polemic of their conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes. On the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene, see *Ant.* xx. 17-96, and for discussion and bibliography, see Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁰ Although this statement could be a literary effort to demonstrate the authenticity and legitimacy of his writings.

⁷¹ As Justus of Tiberias, who wrote a rival account of the war, which implicated Josephus as one of the ring-leaders. Josephus’ *Life* is largely constructed as a defence of Justus’ history (see, *Life* 336)

⁷² See J. Méléze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Second Edition; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, orig. published 1995), p. 67.

The concept of ‘audience’ can be divided into three groups: a group that Josephus may have wished to read his work (for instance the emperor and the political elite⁷³); those for whom Josephus claimed the work was written for (the Greek world – neither explicitly Jewish nor Gentile); and those he admits actually read it (some disgruntled Jews and Epaphroditus). Ultimately we have no evidence for the ‘real’ readership of Josephus’ literary output, and the only evidence that allows us to reconstruct the likely audience comes from the text itself. It is impossible to escape the circularity of this method and so, where speculative discussion of an audience is required, this thesis refers to an ‘implied’ or ‘hypothetical’ readership.

Given the technical limitations of first-century publishing, and the common practice of reciting works in public venues before only a small number of copies found their way into libraries, it is probable that any readership was either in Josephus’ direct circle of friends, or connected to a major library.⁷⁴ This presumes the audience possessed a certain level of education (and therefore wealth), and resided if not in Rome then at least in one of the major cities of the Hellenistic world. We cannot tell whether Josephus succeeded in creating an interested readership in his own lifetime,⁷⁵ yet his literature has endured and kept scholars occupied for nearly two thousand years.

⁷³ S. J. Case proposed that Josephus intended *Antiquities* for the Roman governing classes, a theory which is currently being examined by Gohei Hata. Whether the Roman leadership would have read the *Antiquities* is unrecoverable, and cannot be assumed on the basis of the alleged readership for the *War* (especially with the shift in patronage and his subsequent unknown status and situation). It should be recalled that at times there are indications that the audience is not Roman, nor based in Rome, as the famous explanation of chariot racing as a sport ‘to which the Romans are devoted’ implies, *Ant.* xix. 24.

⁷⁴ On publishing in the ancient world, see, for example, R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman literature and society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).

⁷⁵ A question posed by Rajak, *Flavius Josephus*, vol. 1, p. 191.

3.1.4. The genre of *Antiquities*

The *Antiquities of the Jews* of Flavius Josephus is normally regarded as an ‘apology’, often with no further discussion of the genre or explanation of what is meant by ‘apologetic’. An exception to this practice is Sterling, who proposes the following definition for the genre he identifies as ‘apologetic historiography’:

Apologetic historiography is the story of the subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group’s own traditions but Hellenizes them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world.⁷⁶

This categorisation is based on the rarely questioned view that Josephus was writing to promote the Jewish people, their customs and constitution, to a wider Greco-Roman audience, and in so doing, dismantle negative or ignorant national stereotypes about the Jews in ancient literature and culture. Sterling points to several oriental authors whose work falls loosely within this ‘apologetic’ category, however his classification does not entirely satisfy the content of *Antiquities*. Furthermore, it seems to me that his theory, whilst superficially attractive, is built on several presuppositions that are not verifiable through a textual (or contextual) analysis of Josephus (although that does not, by itself, refute Sterling’s claim).

Sterling argues that ‘an apology to Hellenism through the glorification of the Jewish past and the Hellenization of Israel’s traditions, appears to be the dominant hermeneutical device through which the historian shaped his magnum opus’.⁷⁷ Yet this clearly relies on a positive identification of a sympathetic Greek-reading, non-Jewish, audience, which remains unverifiable. Sterling’s recognition of ‘apologetic historiography’ as the genre of *Antiquities* neglects the obvious parallels with Josephus’ other works – for instance, when he discusses the historian’s motives, he admits a shared authorial motive for his *War* and *Antiquities* (*Ant.* i. 4). Further, this classification of historiography is not recognised by the ancient authors themselves, and thus we have no reason to think that Josephus modelled the *Antiquities* on any particular genre – he explicitly disassociates his work from related *Archaiologia* (myths) and he does not associate himself with any other group (*Ant.* i. 15). Finally,

⁷⁶ Sterling, *Historiography*, p. 17.

⁷⁷ Sterling, *Historiography*, p. 297.

the content of *Antiquities*, as well as the appendix *Life*, does not as a whole constitute a meaningful ‘apology/promotion’ of the Jews. There is nothing explicitly apologetic about the work. Josephus does not list complaint and slurs against the Jews and then counter each accusation – unlike in his later *Apion*. The label ‘apologetic historiography’ does not do justice to the intricacies and extent of his literary production.

I will now, briefly, attempt a reclassification of the genre of *Antiquities* based on the textual evidence at hand. The issue of genre is closely tied to the identification of the potential audience – itself a problematic concept. The following is intended to restate the possibility for a primarily Jewish audience for *Antiquities*, although, needless to say, it remains speculative.

Josephus is quite unambiguous concerning the content of the *Antiquities*, as it encompasses the ‘entire history’ and the Jewish ‘constitution’ (*Ant.* i. 5). Rajak’s investigation of the historiographical theme of Ἀρχαιολογία, and in particular the works sharing this title, shows that the literary connections between these texts are only superficial.⁷⁸ Significant discrepancies can be identified in Josephus’ claim to relate the ancient histories without adding or omitting anything. Josephus’ motivation was expressly different from that of other writers of *Archaiologia*, since Josephus claims to write to dispel ignorance of Jewish history, and, importantly, to write without reporting the ‘unseemly mythology current among others’ (*Ant.* i. 15).

What then is the purpose in Josephus’ enterprise, and why did he disassociate his work so explicitly from other exponents of *Archaiologia*, whilst following a similar historiographical model? Proving the antiquity of a particular ethnic group lent the authority and nobility of tradition to that ‘race’, as well as establishing it as an independent nation. This is surely the easiest way to understand his many statements in *Apion* that the Jews were an ancient people, and that their ancestral records were accurate and continuous (*Apion* i. 28-46). This preoccupation with demonstrating the antiquity, and thus the level of respect deserved, is not only a feature of *Apion*, but Josephus explicitly identifies this as a literary aim of his *Antiquities*.⁷⁹

Yet the *Antiquities* goes beyond a simple demonstration of the long history of the Jews, and the content of the work has the appearance of a historical textbook –

⁷⁸ T. Rajak, ‘Josephus and the *Archaeology* of the Jews’, in *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 465-477.

⁷⁹ Josephus opens his *Apion* with the words, ‘In the history of our *Antiquities*, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race, the purity of the original stock, and the manner in which it established itself in the country which we occupy to-day. That history embraces a period of five thousand years’ (*Apion* i. 1).

with an up to-date translation of the biblical texts, an expansion of moral and philosophical points, and the establishment and situation of the Jews within the wider Hellenistic and Roman worlds. In this sense, Josephus has succeeded in writing an ‘Ethnic Discourse’ on the Jews, which was available for the Greek-reading world (which could just as likely be Jewish as non-Jewish). A Jewish audience would have found this an invaluable handbook for the history and culture of their ethnic group, and it would be particularly significant for some Jews whose use of Hebrew/Aramaic might have lapsed. In addition a sympathetic non-Jewish audience would find this work particularly useful, and several historians have noted the missionary quality of the narrative.⁸⁰ One of the purposes of this ‘ethnic discourse’ was to describe and delineate the boundaries of identity and ‘belonging’ – what made a Jew a Jew, and what was ‘un-Jewish’? It was a presentation of the common origins of the Jewish people, which all Jews throughout the Diaspora could connect and relate to. The *Antiquities* is a self-classification of what it means to be Jewish – it is also the result of external factors such as Roman governmental policy and sensibilities.⁸¹

The *Antiquities* demonstrates the compatibility of Jewish practices within the wider culture and society of the Greco-Roman world. Thus, the work could be aimed at those Jews who failed to keep the law, or even full-blown apostates. In effect, he was writing to convince the Jews that they could live in a Gentile world without abandoning their Judaism. There is evidence of Jewish apostasy in the Second Temple Period, most notably the cases of Tiberius Julius Alexander⁸² and Dositheos.⁸³ Jews visited pagan temples⁸⁴ and intermarried.⁸⁵ Josephus records letters⁸⁶ which confirm the Jews’ right to practice the customs, which must imply that either voluntarily or by compulsion some Jews were not adhering to the law; he also records explicit instances of apostasy (as does Philo).⁸⁷ Indeed, Jewish literature of this

⁸⁰ S. Mason, ‘Should any wish to enquire further?’

⁸¹ The most pressing Roman policy that impacted on the Jews as an ethnic group was the *Fiscus Judaicus*. See M. D. Goodman, ‘Nerva, the *Fiscus Judaicus* and Jewish Identity’, *JRS* 79 (1989), pp. 40-44.

⁸² On Tiberius Julius Alexander see *Ant.* xx. 100; *War* v. 43-46; Tacitus, *Annals* xv. 28. 3; *CPJ* ii. No. 416b.

⁸³ On Dositheos see *CPJ* i. no. 127d, which records his work as the priest in a pagan temple.

⁸⁴ *CIJ* ii. Nos. 1537, 1538.

⁸⁵ See Acts xvi. 1-3; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 29; *Ant.* xviii. 140f.

⁸⁶ Including Alexander the Great who Josephus claims ‘prostrated’ himself before the high priest of Jerusalem, and sacrificed in the Jerusalem Temple (*Ant.* xi. 329-339). Alexander bestowed rights and privileges on the Jews of Alexandria, *Apion* ii. 35, 37, 42-44, 62, 72.

⁸⁷ *Ant.* xiv. 225-227, 256-258; xvi. 162f. On apostates see *War* vii. 50-51. See Philo’s concern for Jews who no longer practiced their ancestral customs, *De Virtutibus* xxxiv. 182; *Spec. Leg.* i. 35. 186, where Philo implies that apostasy was not widespread, but general neglect in keeping the ancestral practices was common. See also *De Vita Mosis* i. 6. 30.

period is infused with references to abandonment of the law – stemming directly from Deuteronomic concerns.⁸⁸

Further, there is evidence that non-Jews expressed an interest in Judaism, most notably Josephus' patron Epaphroditus.⁸⁹ Josephus declares that,

From the Greeks we are severed more by our geographical position than by our institutions, with the result that we neither hate nor envy them. On the contrary, many of them have agreed to adopt our laws; of whom some have remained faithful, while others, lacking the endurance, have again seceded.

Apion ii. 123

And he makes explicit statements concerning Jewish mission (admittedly in his polemical work *Apion* and not in his *Antiquities*), as for example when he states that 'while we have no desire to emulate the customs of others, yet gladly welcome any who wish to share our own' (*Apion* ii. 261). Moses 'took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them' (*Apion* ii. 209). Josephus' last recorded words stress the compatibility of the Jewish customs with the Hellenised world, noting that Greek philosophers imitated Moses (*Apion* ii. 281), and that the masses adopted the same Jewish practices (namely Sabbath observance, *Apion* ii. 282).

Finally, the question of loyalty to the Law is one of the fundamental concerns of Jewish literature generally, and in particular works influenced by Deuteronomy. The Books of the Maccabees discuss the abandonment of ancestral traditions in some detail, and this is an obvious theme of the Maccabean Revolt that Josephus emphasises beyond the account in 1 Maccabees.⁹⁰

It therefore remains a possibility that the *Antiquities* was written as an 'Ethnic Discourse' to inform and teach the Greek-speaking Jews about their history and

⁸⁸ E.g. Deut. xii. 1, *passim*.

⁸⁹ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 245; *War* ii. 463, 560; vii. 45; *Apion* ii. 282; Acts xvii. 4; xiii. 42f. For the famous 'Godfears' inscription see *CIJ* i. no. 683. Note also the conversion narratives in Josephus, in particular the house of Adiabene, *Ant.* xviii. 34-48. For discussion and bibliography on the seven conversions mentioned by Josephus, see A. Kasher, 'Polemic and Apologetic Methods of Writing in *Contra Apionem*', in L. H. Feldman & J. R. Levison (eds.), *Josephus' Contra Apionem: Studies in its Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 143-186.

⁹⁰ Feldman recognises Josephus' amplification of 1 Maccabees and estimates that the mathematical ratio between the works is 1.30 – some 2015 lines of text in the LCL edition, in 'Josephus' portrayal of the Hasmonaean', p. 43. As a point of comparison, Feldman notes that this enhancement is greater than Josephus' presentation of Daniel (0.72), Ezra (0.89), Elijah (1.02), Abraham (1.14), and Samuel (1.16), amongst others. David, Jehosaphat, Balaam, Joseph, Jehoram, and Saul, are the only biblical characters that Josephus enlarges to a greater degree than his treatment of 1 Maccabees.

culture. Such a work (if this hypothesis is valid), would have been useful in promoting the unity of the Jewish people regardless of their location and language.⁹¹ To take a modern parallel, we need only examine the recent government policy to introduce a citizenship examination (part of which requires knowledge and understanding of British history and culture). The *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002* requires that applicants both demonstrate a sufficient level of English language and ‘a knowledge of life in the UK’.⁹² The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group have proposed a handbook of Britishness, and have made the following recommendations concerning the contents of their proposed handbook:

In addition it will have a short historical introduction on the making of the United Kingdom, the rise of the democratic franchise, the origins of welfare institutions, patterns of immigration and emigration, traditions and laws on citizenship and asylum, and of political, economic and social changes since the First World War.

The New and the Old, Article 4. 2⁹³

The key aims of this handbook are to ‘encourage community cohesion’, to ‘create a greater sense of mutual respect, support and belonging’, and to ‘enhance the significance of citizenship’.⁹⁴ It is not so far-fetched to think of the *Antiquities* as just such a handbook on ‘Jewishness’ – after all, we know of other attempts to impose community cohesion throughout the Diaspora, and in particular to standardise religious practices (e.g. 2 Maccabees which was directed at the Jews of Egypt, and contained encouragement to follow the Hanukkah ceremony⁹⁵).

To test this hypothesis, it is necessary that it accounts for the tendencies of Josephus’ writings. For instance, Feldman has shown that Josephus’ ‘Hellenizing’ habit permeates the *Antiquities*: could this be explained within the context of a work aimed at Jews? When Josephus dresses his text in Greek language and values it has the same potential use for a Jewish audience as for a Greco-Roman readership. The

⁹¹ In the same way as 2 Maccabees attempts to enforce the observance of the laws throughout the Diaspora, 2 Macc. ii. 1-17.

⁹² For the full text of the report *The New and the Old*, see the Home Office website: <<http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/default.asp?pageid=4271>> (accessed September 2003).

⁹³ Sir Bernard Crick, Chairman of the *Life in the United Kingdom Advisory Group* writes, “to be British means respecting the institutions, values, beliefs and traditions that bind us all together in peace and legal order. It is vital that new citizens are also equipped to be active citizens with a course of practice learning and an understanding of UK society and civic structures”

⁹⁴ See also the Helsinki Declaration, September 2002.

⁹⁵ See T. Rajak, ‘The Hasmonians and the Uses of Hellenism’, in P. R. Davies & R. T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 261-280.

constitution appears superior to the Greek ways and, indeed, Josephus claims that much of Hellenistic thinking was influenced by the Mosaic law (*Apion* ii. 168). By Hellenising/ Romanising his narrative, Josephus could have been appealing to Greek-speaking (and culturally acclimatised) Jews, and presenting *their* history in terms that allowed full integration and equality with their neighbours. Josephus' philosophising tendency may have appealed to Greek and Roman sympathisers of the Jewish religion, while his stories of conversion, graphic details of practices, and his comments regarding the unnecessary practice of circumcision in converts (*Life* 114), are best understood within this light.

Another key feature of the *Antiquities* is the detailed explanation of Jewish practices, which most scholars use to identify a non-Jewish audience. Yet, the surviving evidence from the first centuries paints a picture of great diversity within Judaism, and there is no reason to think that what we imagine was 'common knowledge', may have been anything of the sort. Additionally, the Jews were regularly on the receiving end of malicious histories (as, for example, Tacitus), and these slights mostly concentrated on points of 'difference'. If the *Antiquities* can be understood as a textbook of the *Ethnos* of the Jews, then its focus on the practices and the reasons behind these customs could have proved useful to justify and clear Judaism of malicious slurs. In this case, the following claim may have more significance than has previously been thought:

Remember, too, that I who exhort you am your countryman, that I who make this promise am a Jew; and it is right that you should consider who is your counsellor and whence he comes. For never may I live to become so abject a captive as to adjure my race or to forget the traditions of my fathers.

War vi. 107

There are enough textual indicators that a Jewish audience is intended, and no explicit data which claims otherwise. Whilst this hypothesis is, to be sure, 'creative', I hope that it demonstrates that the *Antiquities* can be understood in a variety of ways, and not simply pigeonholed as 'apologetic'. No total consensus exists regarding the issues of genre and audience, and clearly there is some potential for further study.

3.2. Introduction to 1 Maccabees⁹⁶

Several good introductions to the Jewish Greek text 1 Maccabees exist, so a lengthy repetition here is not required.⁹⁷ However, in order to maximise the context of Josephus' rewritten text, the following summary points should be considered.

The evidence for a Hebrew original is far from concrete.⁹⁸ Nothing survives of this original version, and Josephus appears to have only consulted a Greek text – the occasional hint of a Hebraism or Aramaism in Josephus' paraphrase hardly reveals more than his natural inclination to fall back into his native tongue (or an identical inclination by the author of Greek 1 Maccabees). Many of the documents which are included in 1 Maccabees, if they are original, can hardly have been written in Hebrew – and so the author of 1 Maccabees must have worked to some extent in the Greek literary milieu. Following the standard practice of Jewish literature in the Second Temple Period the author of 1 Maccabees remains anonymous; we cannot even be certain about the location of the composition. The work is well-informed about the revolt, which suggests it represents an official Hasmonean history (which nominally places the text in Palestine/Jerusalem). It is clear that the author had extensive knowledge of the Jewish scriptures, and probably had these texts to hand during the composition process. The work has no proem, starting instead with a brief comment on the historical context of the work.⁹⁹ The primary theme of 1 Maccabees is respect for the law and the temple. The name of God is generally avoided – substituted instead for the term 'heaven' - and prophecy is viewed as a thing of the past, although there is an expectation of a returning prophet (1 Macc. iv. 46; xiv. 41).

⁹⁶ The standard Greek text of 1 Maccabees is A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982). This thesis uses the *New Revised Standard Version* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1989) for the English translation, unless the argument relies on a different reading of the text (which will be stated in the text).

⁹⁷ See, for example, F. -M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1949), J. C. Dancy, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), J. R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), J. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1976). For recent discussion and bibliography, see J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

⁹⁸ The testimony of Origen (through the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, vi. 25), refers to the work with an Aramaic sounding title, Σαββηθσαβαναιελ (the meaning of the title is debateable, some favouring 'Prince of the House of Sabaniel', or the 'Book of the House of the Hasmoneans', although none of the interpretations are particularly compelling) which has led scholars to promote a Hebrew primary version. See for example, Schürer, III. i, p. 182. The comment by Jerome can be understood in a number of ways, as recognised by Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, pp. 17-19. Whilst a Hebrew original is not by itself unlikely, Goldstein's claim that it was written in 'elegant biblical Hebrew', is clearly a step too far, *1 Maccabees*, p. 14.

⁹⁹ This lack of a proem, combined with the numerous biblical quote, poems, and laments, give the impression of a deliberate attempt to write in a 'biblical style'.

The text is concerned with the dynasty of the Maccabees, and (in several places) repeatedly portrays the family as Israel's saviours (e.g. v. 55-62; xiii. 2-6; xiv. 26). This dynastic element may be the best way to explain the absence of 1 Maccabees from the surviving literature at Qumran, since various cryptic references in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest that those behind them were constructed by their opposition to the Hasmonean dynasty.¹⁰⁰

The date of 1 Maccabees is normally given as the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus.¹⁰¹ Whilst the year of composition is only indirectly relevant to the current study, it should be noted that the main chronological indicators appear in the final chapters of 1 Maccabees, which may be a later editorial addition. The period covered by the work is, roughly speaking, 175-135 BCE, and after that date few historical events are mentioned.

Josephus clearly did not regard 1 Maccabees as having the same level of scriptural authority as the biblical 'canon' (as *Apion* i. 37f.), yet the similarity between the Hasmonean work and its biblical predecessors allowed Josephus the same scope for interpretation and repackaging that he followed with his biblical paraphrase of books i to x.

¹⁰⁰ See, G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd Ed; London: Penguin, 1987).

¹⁰¹ The work shows no sign of being written after the Roman conquest of Palestine in 63 BCE, and this should be considered the latest possible dating, although the text appears to represent an earlier period. At the end of the work several obituary-style references to John Hyrcanus appear, which implies that the Hasmonean leader was dead at the time of the composition of the final chapter (1 Macc. xvi. 23f. 104 BCE). Additionally, there is no reference to later Hasmonean leaders, nor is there any indication of the decline of the Maccabean dynasty, which appears to have begun during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE). Thus a date shortly after the death of John Hyrcanus is usually postulated. For an alternative, earlier date, see S. Schwartz, 'Israel and the Nations Roundabout: I Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion', in *JJS* 42 (1991), pp. 16-38. For a hypothesis concerning an earlier dating of 1 Maccabees (or at least the earliest edition of the text), see the following section of this thesis which deals with the contested issue of why Josephus demonstrates no knowledge of the latter three chapters of 1 Maccabees.

3.3 Josephus' use of 1 Maccabees

This section of the discussion will look at three main areas relating to Josephus' use and representation of 1 Maccabees, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*. The first will examine what version of 1 Maccabees Josephus relied upon. The second will seek to answer the question of why Josephus omits the final three chapters of 1 Maccabees from his paraphrase. And the third briefly surveys the findings of previous scholarship on the relationship between Josephus and 1 Maccabees. Since one of the key points of interest in scholarship on Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt centres on his use of 1 Maccabees, an investigation to identify his most likely version is essential. The two main stumbling blocks for this source-critical discussion relate to the language of the source, and a specific feature of Josephus' retelling; he omits the final three chapters of 1 Maccabees as we know it today.

i. What version of 1 Maccabees did Josephus use?

In the case of 1 Maccabees, we can, with reasonable certainty, identify the Greek text as Josephus' source, although it should be noted that we can never be entirely sure of the exact wording of the text he had to hand. That Josephus used the Greek version over the original Hebrew (which would have been the author's native language), vexed nineteenth (and some twentieth¹⁰²) century scholars, and led to various efforts to claim that either Josephus' source radically differed from all surviving versions of Greek 1 Maccabees, or that several 'Semitic' instances in his lengthy paraphrase

¹⁰² J. A. Goldstein, in his translation of 1 Maccabees for the Anchor Bible series, purports to isolate a great number of sources at Josephus' disposal, including the Hebrew original to 1 Maccabees. Goldstein argues that Josephus had access to Daniel, Hebrew 1 Maccabees and its translation into Greek, 2 Maccabees and its source work by Jason of Cyrene, the Testament of Moses, an otherwise unknown work by Onias IV, and a smattering of Greco-Roman authorities. We have no evidence that some of these works existed, let alone that they were available to Josephus during his repackaging of the Greek 1 Maccabees. It is an example of Goldstein's problematic scholarship that he on one page speculates about the existence of sources, and on the next page treats them as direct evidence, and then deconstructs their content, programme, and the author's agenda (n.b. the work of Onias IV, p. 58 – see also his chapter titles, including, "What really happened"!). Whilst Goldstein's translation of the text is relatively conservative (bar his insertion of 'Torah' when the Greek refers to 'ancestral practices' or 'laws of the father'), his introductory essays are very speculative and have been ill-received by modern scholars. Goldstein lists a number of presuppositions that coloured Josephus' version of events (p. 55), including his proud claim of Hasmonean descent (concerning which, outside of the *Life*, Josephus remains silent), and his 'convinced' Pharisaic convictions (which have been undermined by several recent studies, most notably S. Mason's *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*). Additionally, Goldstein suggests that rare overlaps between the evidence of Josephus and 2 Maccabees, or the fictitious Oniad chronicle, demonstrate a 'conclusive' dependence (p. 56), whilst conversely claiming that Josephus found these writings 'unreliable' (p. 57 – which is surely an argument from silence). On Goldstein's speculative claims see, for example, S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, p. 44, n. 77.

reveal that Josephus had both Hebrew and Greek versions to hand, *but preferred the Greek*.¹⁰³ Yet Josephus' use of a Greek text should not come as a great surprise to us – after all, he was writing in Greek, for a Greek-reading and Greek-educated audience, so the process of paraphrase would be easier within one language, rather than translating between two very different tongues. In addition, it is commonly thought that Josephus wrote in Rome¹⁰⁴, and therefore one would assume that he had far greater access to Greek texts than he would have had to Hebrew or Aramaic ones. The so-called 'Semitic' influences do not, to my mind, prove anything other than knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic on Josephus' part – and surely if the Jewish priest-turned-author did not write with a hint of a regional accent, alarm-bells would be ringing as to the authenticity of the works attributed to the Judean historian.

ii. Why did Josephus omit the last three chapters of 1 Maccabees?

One of the particularly thorny issues of Josephus' rendition of 1 Maccabees relates to his omission of the final three chapters of the Hasmonean work. Scholars have presented various plausible hypotheses: Josephus' version of 1 Maccabees may have ended at 1 Macc. xiii. 30; Josephus knew 1 Maccabees only through an intermediary filter (a secondary, unnamed source);¹⁰⁵ Josephus may have simply chosen to omit them; or Josephus' manuscript may have been incomplete.¹⁰⁶ Ultimately, no definitive conclusion can be reached since we have no direct evidence of Josephus' text – indeed, Josephus does not even openly admit his usage of 1 Maccabees.

It may be extrapolated from figure 2 (section 3.1.2), that Josephus' supplementation of 1 Maccabees with the evidence of various Greco-Roman sources demonstrates his decision making procedure. Abel has demonstrated a series of parallels between Josephus and the final three chapters of 1 Maccabees, which admit the possibility that Josephus knew the text, but consciously chose not to render it

¹⁰³ For modern scholarship on Josephus and 1 Maccabees, see the excellent survey in Isaiah Gafni's 'Josephus and 1 Maccabees', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), pp. 116-131. Gafni points in particular to the work of E. Z. Melamed, 'Josephus and Maccabees I: A Comparison', in *Eretz Israel* 1 (Hebrew; 1951), pp. 122-130. See also L. H. Feldman's annotated bibliographical entries in his *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*.

¹⁰⁴ Although there is no explicit reference to the *Antiquities* being composed in Rome, the fact that Josephus does not say otherwise is sufficient evidence for most scholars to presume his Roman situation.

¹⁰⁵ A view popular with the extreme source-critical scholars. See, for instance, Destinon, quoted in Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁰⁶ As suggested by Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, p. 62.

closely.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the language of Nicolas of Damascus' text was less barbarous than 1 Maccabees and so required less translation/rewriting, or its authority as an official record of Herod lent *Antiquities* a greater historical and evidential value than the Jewish text 1 Maccabees.¹⁰⁸

As mentioned above, doubts should arise concerning the dating of 1 Maccabees, since theories usually rely on dating statements in the final chapters of the work. Several scholars have attempted to split the text of 1 Maccabees into versions and later additions, often to answer the question of why Josephus appears not to have used the final chapters. Whilst this source-critical method is questionable – arguing that 1 Maccabees was shorter because Josephus used only the first three quarters of the text - the basic premise that the last section of 1 Maccabees is a later addition remains a distinct possibility. This thesis suggests that the final three chapters of 1 Maccabees (from 1 Macc. xiv. 16 to the end) constitute a supplement to the main work, an argument based purely on the (con)textual evidence of 1 Maccabees itself.

Problems with the internal consistency of 1 Maccabees suggest that it may not have originally constituted one work. The narrative extols the virtues of Simon in poetic fashion, mirroring the earlier praise of Judas (1 Macc. xiv. 4-15, and on Judas, 1 Macc. iii. 3-9). This point (1 Macc. xiv. 15) adequately concludes the history of the Maccabean struggle and represents an appropriate summary to the work.¹⁰⁹ This passage starts with the claim that 'The land had rest all the days of Simon. He sought the good of his nation; his rule was pleasing to them, as was the honour shown him, all his days' (xiv. 4). It is true that Simon's rule went through periods of peace, and yet the claim that the 'rest of his days were peaceful' is not accurate, especially if we are to accept the evidence of chapters xv and xvi. There is, therefore, some internal literary evidence to support the theory that 1 Maccabees does not constitute a single compositional unit. Further, it is possible that the primary version of 1 Maccabees was written during the reign of Simon when he had complete control over the nation (and the claims that it was peaceful *for the rest of his days* were formulaic), and was supplemented with additional chapters after his death.¹¹⁰ These 'secondary' chapters

¹⁰⁷ F. -M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1949). As these echoes are ambiguous they could reflect Nicolas of Damascus, or another, now lost, source.

¹⁰⁸ It is commonly assumed that Josephus' source for the second half of the Hasmonean period was Nicolas of Damascus, who Josephus claims elsewhere, bore witness to Antiochus Epiphanes' desire to rob the temple (*Apion* ii. 84). The text also claims that Nicolas acted as advocate for the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 126; xiii. 250, 347).

¹⁰⁹ As noted by Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ This eulogy of Simon's life gives no indication of his discreditable death, which is recorded in the final chapter as resulting from his drunkenness, 1 Macc. xvi. 16.

contain several independent literary units, often based on particular sources, which break up the flow of the narrative.¹¹¹

The contents and outlook of the remaining chapters of 1 Maccabees differ in some important aspects from the earlier texts. Most noticeable is the lack of anti-Gentile hostility,¹¹² which figures throughout the earlier chapters of 1 Maccabees, but then disappears. Related to this is a reduction in the references to animosity towards the Jews. Clearly both of these features may represent historical events, yet the underlying attitude of the author towards the Gentiles appears to have softened remarkably. For instance, the author of the earlier chapters expresses vehement hatred of the foreign powers who attempted to separate Israel from the Law (for example, i. 49; ii. 48, 68; iii. 59).¹¹³ And Schwartz identifies Simon's speech to the Jews as representative of the work's clear programmatic statement – Simon reportedly concluded 'I will avenge my nation and the sanctuary and your wives and children, for all the nations have gathered together out of hatred to destroy us' (xiii. 6). Yet this tone is not prevalent in the final three chapters. Indeed, if we are to accept the proposed narrative break of 1 Macc. xiv. 16, then the supplementary text begins with comments about Gentile respect for Jews (xiv. 17f.), and the friendship of Rome and Sparta is emphasised. Despite the ongoing battles between Simon (and his sons Judas and John) and King Antiochus, this section contains none of the pejorative statements about the 'nations roundabout' which characterise the former parts (e.g. xii. 53).

If we are to take at face value the claims in 1 Maccabees (echoed in Josephus) concerning the subjugation of the surrounding areas within this period of Hasmonean expansion, then one would expect the level of anti-Gentile rhetoric to be severely reduced – this supplementary section of 1 Maccabees is best situated within post-expansion Palestine, whilst the earlier chapter (i-xiv. 15) represents better the period of continual warfare and hostility between the Maccabees and their neighbours.

¹¹¹ The remainder of chapter xiv consists of two documentary sources, xiv. 20-23, 28-47. This disjointed section of narrative is noted by Bartlett as 'more complex' than the previous sections which were 'well-ordered' and 'coherent', yet he offers no reason for this apparent change in the structuring and editorial style of the text. Additionally, Bartlett makes the important statement that this section has 'more diplomatic letters than poetic laments, more politics than religion' in *1 Maccabees*, pp. 23-28 (esp. p. 27).

¹¹² This could help corroborate S. Schwartz's theory that 1 Maccabees best reflects the historical situation during the 130s, prior to the conquest of Idumaea and Samaria. The internal literary information that Schwartz adopts for his challenging thesis derive from the early part of 1 Maccabees, principally chapter v, in 'Israel and the Nations Roundabout', *passim*.

¹¹³ Schwartz finds 1 Maccabees' attitude towards the Gentiles as 'one of the more conspicuous features of the work', in 'Israel and the Nations Roundabout', p. 21. He notes that the popular decree concerning Simon (1 Macc. xiv. 27-49) appears to omit any mention of the neighbouring enemies, but Schwartz does not continue this line of enquiry to the end of the text, p. 30.

To return to the question in hand, if doubt can be cast over the structural integrity of 1 Maccabees, the argument that Josephus' version of 1 Maccabees differed from extant versions becomes more attractive. Josephus may have had the 'original version', which omitted the final three and three quarter chapters. To be sure, this remains speculation, but an application of Williams's stylometric testing¹¹⁴ would give a statistical likelihood of a second version – this is clearly an area of research in need of further study.

iii. Review of works on Josephus and 1 Maccabees

Scholarship is largely sceptical of Josephus' account. It is usually held that that 1 Maccabees was correct as it was written closer to the event, and that it contained eyewitness and official elements. Consequently, where Josephus differed from his source, he did so in error. Thus, Josephus' account of the revolt has been largely ignored by scholarship, whose discussions have been restricted to matters of source-identity and language, but rarely content analysis. A study of the older scholarship has been compiled by Feldman and Gafni, and so the following is mainly a summary of their arguments.¹¹⁵

By the mid-1950s it was still common for scholars to ask the question, as Dancy did: 'when Josephus amplifies or corrects the version of 1 Maccabees, is he doing so out of his own head, or is he using one of his other sources?' Dancy concludes, 'A single foreign detail inserted in a paraphrase of 1 Maccabees is probably his own invention, but anything over a sentence is more likely to be derived from another written source'.¹¹⁶ In accordance with this view that Josephus was incapable of independent input, Dancy, (as well as Solomon Zeitlin and others¹¹⁷) went to great lengths to identify the other unnamed sources behind the *Antiquities*. And whilst it is clear that at least one further source was used (Josephus mentions Polybius explicitly, xii. 358f. - and Nicolas of Damascus remains the most likely

¹¹⁴ D. S. Williams, *Stylometric Authorship – Studies in Flavius Josephus and Related Literature* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1992).

¹¹⁵ For annotated bibliography on Josephus and 1 Maccabees, see L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 603-605.

¹¹⁶ J. C. Dancy, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), p. 31.

¹¹⁷ For Zeitlin's comments see S. Zeitlin & S. Tedesche (eds.), *The First Book of the Maccabees* (New York: Harper, 1950), pp. 57-58.

candidate for the later Hasmonean material), any additional works used by Josephus are unattested, and others are in lost.

Levenson's thesis of 1966 was one of the first to seriously compare the accounts of 1 Maccabees and the *Antiquities of the Jews* without simply listing areas where Josephus 'got it wrong'.¹¹⁸ Levenson found that Josephus' narrative plays on four main themes: liberty, country, law, and piety – and noted that these themes were coherent with Roman practices. Support for Josephus' version of events arrived in the form of Bar-Kokhva's study on the Seleucid campaigns.¹¹⁹ Bar-Kokhva commented that Josephus' use of military terminology was highly accurate, and his knowledge of the battlefields was precise – in instances where *Antiquities* and 1 Maccabees differ, Bar-Kokhva often found Josephus' statistics concerning military details far more plausible. Scholarly answers to the question why Josephus altered his source, shifted (with Levenson and Bar-Kokhva) away from conjectures about additional sources and alternative editions, towards reassessing Josephus' own input. Wirgin found that areas of 1 Maccabees omitted in Josephus' paraphrase were consistent with an agenda of a pro-Hasmonean, yet consciously (and conspicuously) pro-Roman author.¹²⁰ This was the state of play prior to the three most recent works that tackle the question, those by Gafni,¹²¹ Feldman,¹²² and Enermalm-Ogawa.¹²³

Gafni's important study, first published in Hebrew in 1980, then reprinted and amended in an English version in 1989, concludes that Josephus introduced changes to his version of 1 Maccabees that were consistent with the modifications he made to the biblical paraphrase of the first half of *Antiquities* (a notion originally put forward a century earlier by Emil Schürer). In the first instance, Gafni found that Josephus had downplayed the role of God within the narrative. In 1 Maccabees, on numerous occasions the victory of the Jewish rebels is ascribed not to their efforts, but to God's support – the subtle shift identified by Gafni was that in Josephus' version the

¹¹⁸ For a summary and critique of E. R. Levenson, *New Tendentious Motifs in Antiquities: A Study of Development in Josephus' Historical Thought* (Unpublished MA Dissertation: Columbia University, 1966), which is summarised in Feldman's *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*.

¹¹⁹ B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army: Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

¹²⁰ Wirgin,...

¹²¹ I. M. Gafni, 'Josephus and 1 Maccabees', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), pp. 116-131.

¹²² L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', in F. Parente & J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68.

¹²³ A. Enermalm-Ogawa, 'Josephus's Paraphrase of 1 Maccabees in *Antiquities* 12-13. Prayer in a Narrative Context', in J. H. Charlesworth & M. Kiley (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (Philadelphia, PA 1994), pp. 73-84.

victories of the Maccabees was due to their piety and righteousness of cause, rather than direct divine intervention. Secondly, where the Jews fight for victory in 1 Maccabees, Josephus' spin holds that martyrdom was the highest honour – a theme which has caused various historians to identify the influence of 2 Maccabees (as 2 Maccabees has a far greater interest in martyrdom).¹²⁴ Taking note of Josephus' claim that his version of the Maccabean history was altered for reasons of 'charm of exposition' and 'elegance of narrative', Gafni detects a thorough and systematic rewriting that goes beyond a purely aesthetic gloss, and he draws attention in particular to the speeches of the Maccabees. Gafni writes: [Josephus placed into the mouths of the Maccabees] ideas far removed from the atmosphere created by the author of 1 Maccabees, but these new tendencies correspond precisely to Josephus' attitudes towards war in general and not only the Hasmonean uprising, [Gafni continues] they address head-on the issue of defining a justified war.¹²⁵

Again, the emphasis returns to the demotion of the role of God as deliverer, in favour of the righteousness and piety of the rebels – here Josephus exhibits an anthropocentric tendency.

Feldman's study takes issue with all previous scholarship for not comparing the portrayal of the characters involved.¹²⁶ He systematically compares each member of the Hasmonean family in Josephus, with 1 Maccabees and a vast variety of other sources from the Greco-Roman world (how many of whom would have been known by Josephus is a moot point¹²⁷). Feldman draws numerous parallels with biblical episodes, and implies that Josephus had these in mind whilst paraphrasing 1 Maccabees – although this appears unlikely in view of Josephus' habit of omitting the biblical echoes of 1 Maccabees (note, in particular, the deathbed speech of Mattathias where the Maccabean chronicler glories in the history and ancestry of the Jewish people). Feldman does make several important notes about the text, although these

¹²⁴ Against Josephus' knowledge of 2 Maccabees, it is worth stating that if Josephus had been searching for examples of martyrdom then he would have found plenty in 2 (and even 4) Maccabees – yet he uses none of these examples.

¹²⁵ Gafni, 'Josephus and 1 Maccabees', p. 119.

¹²⁶ Feldman puts Josephus' version on the same level as 1 Maccabees, although some of his claims are difficult to support – for instance, Josephus 'as a non-participant... was more objective [than the author of 1 Maccabees]', (p. 42). Also, Feldman's casting of Josephus as a Roman lackey seems inappropriate (p. 49), particularly if we consider the potential implications of the shifting patronage for *Antiquities*. In L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', in F. Parente & J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68.

¹²⁷ For instance, Feldman uses as evidence of Josephus' familiarity with Virgil, a reference to Livy (p. 45, n. 7). Knowing of the existence of one Latin author does not by itself guarantee knowledge of Latin or other writers.

are all features of Josephus' writing which are more apparent in connection with his lengthy biblical paraphrase (rationalisation of the narrative, Romanising and Hellenising influence, etc).

Enermalm-Ogawa's article-length study of Josephus' rewriting of the prayer narratives of 1 Maccabees identifies important themes in Josephus' technique. By comparing Josephus' version with that of his source, Enermalm-Ogawa postulates that *Antiquities* is not as concerned with the actual events of history, as the direction taken by the Jewish people – 1 Maccabees, she notes, being closer to the period and not interested in future events, pays closer attention to the prayers and the description of individual events.¹²⁸ Yet her comparison of Josephus' use of prayers and speeches is superficial, since Josephus did not simply embellish all speeches, but in practice many were rewritten as indirect speeches or turned into plain narrative. Also, Enermalm-Ogawa fails to engage with the Josephan corpus, and she does not discuss Josephus' use of prayers elsewhere or indeed trends such as his recasting of the role of God in favour of the place of (his leading) man. This is largely symptomatic of scholarship on *Antiquities* xii and xiii, which focuses solely on a comparison with 1 Maccabees to the detriment of the remainder of Josephus' writing.

Summation

The three studies highlighted are based on direct evaluations of *Antiquities* and 1 Maccabees, noting the differences between the texts and postulating hypotheses for their modification. Prior scholarship, by and large, focused on the sources available to Josephus, and diminished any direct influence from the author. Although the recent articles give much greater credence to Josephus, they are still framed and constrained by reading Josephus through 1 Maccabees, and not taking his source evidence as a unique testimony to the Hasmonean period. On the basis that there is continuing uncertainty regarding the sources available to Josephus, and a good assumption that Josephus played a direct role in translating his sources, rearranging the narratives, building dramatic images, Hellenising and Romanising Jewish customs and practices, and even changing the language to reflect the popular Attic style, it is important to engage directly with the *Antiquities* account prior to any source-contrast.

¹²⁸ A. Enermalm-Ogawa, 'Josephus's Paraphrase of 1 Maccabees in *Antiquities* 12-13. Prayer in a Narrative Context', in J. H. Charlesworth & M. Kiley (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (Philadelphia, PA 1994), pp. 73-84, esp. p. 80.

This thesis will now present a detailed reading of Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, and specifically his account of the Maccabean Revolt. The aim of this research is to identify the methods and techniques employed by Josephus in his construction of this important event in the history of the Jewish people. The text is divided into manageable sections and the examination will focus on Josephus' presentation of the key figures as an interpretative solution for understanding the underlying aims and outlook of *Antiquities*. The benefit of *Antiquities* books xii and xiii is that we have the sources before us that Josephus had before him, yet this has allowed scholars to ignore Josephus' primary role as author. This thesis will examine the Josephan text, and (con)textualise his presentation within his wider corpus, before comparing the narrative with 1 Maccabees.

3.4. The Maccabean Revolt in the *Antiquities of the Jews*

The Maccabean Revolt forms an important narrative in the wider context of Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*. It is based on one of the largest non-biblical sources (1 Maccabees) from early Jewish literature, and centres on the crucial period of the development of Hellenism in the East and the time after the death of Alexander the Great. This meeting point between Jews and Greeks is important not only to Josephus' narrative, but to the wider historical context – many of the concerns expressed in 1 and 2 Maccabees are shared throughout the Josephan literature.

Most studies of Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt proceed by comparing him with his source, and commenting on where Josephus made a mistake. Few have actually studied this text in relation to Josephus' unique literary enterprise, his use of rhetorical, or his key themes for his narrative. Indeed, even a cursory examination reveals that Josephus has significantly reformulated the text to bring it closer to his key ideas, which are expressed throughout the *Antiquities*: the representation of Jewish history with a Hellenising and Romanising tendency; the integration of the Jews with their neighbours and the normally good relations with the superpowers of the day; the promotion of individual Jewish figures and their place on the world stage; and a preoccupation with describing the virtues and psychological state of his main actors. In addition, Josephus' leitmotif of *σάσις/ὁμόνοια* recurs¹²⁹, as does his plea to Jews not to forsake their ancestral laws¹³⁰ – both of these points are emphasised beyond his source and both feature as important interpretive tools to assist our reading of the text. The key speeches of Mattathias and Judas act as programmatic statements, and depart wholesale from 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 279f., 302f.). His narrative is also witness to Josephus' general rewriting technique, in particular his practice of varying vocabulary and dressing concepts in philosophical (often Stoic) language.

The following section presents a close critical reading of Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt from his *Antiquities of the Jews*. The aim is to identify features of Josephus' presentation of the Maccabees which will allow us to form general conclusions regarding his literary technique and his treatment of source materials.

This analysis is structured according to textual divisions in *Antiquities*, which often consist of either a brief summary of a section or a formulaic phrase which emphasises the

¹²⁹ *Ant.* xii. 283, 294; xiii. 67, 142. On the motif *ὁμόνοια* as a subset of the virtues attributed to religion, see *Apion* ii. 171, where it is incorporated with the four cardinal virtues of the Platonic School.

¹³⁰ Abandonment of ancestral traditions and laws is a key theme throughout this narrative.



break with the preceding narrative or the unitary value of a section of text. This approach has the advantage that the material suggests its own divisions, rather than imposing thematic links on the text which may not have been apparent to either the author or the intended audience. This may lead to some repetition in the discussion; even so this will serve to highlight points that Josephus stresses, and recurrent motifs throughout the narrative.¹³¹ However, within the confines of thesis, some thematic constraint is required, and I will examine language specific to the personification of the central characters in addition to obviously promoted themes.

Throughout, I will adopt an intertextual reading – that is, intertextualities that the author intentionally alludes to, and might reasonably have expected his audience to recognise; and thus intertextual references which impact upon the hypothetical readers' interpretation of the narrative. I suggest that Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt in *Antiquities* was intended to be read against the background of his wider rewritten Bible and that the links between the narratives are more than simple linguistic parallels, representing a subtle and thorough thematic adaptation and redrawing of his source text.

¹³¹ For a similar approach, see P. Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jews in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 35-36.

3.4.1. The literary context of the revolt, *Ant.* xii. 1-236

Prior to a detailed analysis of Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, a summary of significant issues that appear in the direct narrative context must be considered (*Ant.* xii. 1-236). The following points should act to summarise the first half of *Antiquities* book twelve. Josephus establishes the background to the Maccabean period as one of long-term friendship between the Jews and their rulers. Using various documents often attributed to sovereigns, Josephus seeks to define the 'normalised' state of relations between Judaea and the surrounding nations. The themes of loyalty and piety are stressed, both in his narrative and also in alleged declarations made by non-Jewish dignitaries. Troublesome times in the Jews' history are repeatedly ascribed to their failure to adhere to the Law, and to their misplaced trust in the goodwill of foreign monarchs. These themes are clearly central to the discussion of the Maccabean Revolt and, more generally, to Josephus' views of the meeting between Judaism and Hellenism and related questions of Jewish observance in the Diaspora. I will briefly consider several of these themes to create a preliminary literary and historical context for the main textual analysis.

i. 'Cunning and Deceit'

Josephus begins the twelfth book of his *Antiquities* with a summary of the death of Alexander the Great and the resulting divisions in the Macedonian Empire (*Ant.* xii. 1-10). This is the same historical period covered in the prologue to 1 Maccabees, although Josephus' version is fuller and more informed. The first major narrative introduces Ptolemy Soter (the irony of his nickname is not lost on Josephus),¹³² who seized Jerusalem by 'cunning and deceit' - here Josephus uses the Greek terms δόλος and ἀπάτη, which recur throughout his narrative in books twelve and thirteen.¹³³ Josephus combines δόλος with ἀπάτη seven times, with over half of the incidences between book nine to thirteen of *Antiquities*.¹³⁴ A few examples may suffice to demonstrate the importance of this theme.

¹³² Josephus states that Ptolemy 'suffered the reverse of that which was indicated by his name', *Ant.* xii. 3. On the meaning of his surname, see Pausanias i. 8. 6 claims that this nickname stems from the Rhodians, who called him 'Soter' meaning Saviour.

¹³³ The incidence of these two terms is concentrated in the Maccabean Revolt account in *Antiquities*, where eleven percent of all uses of ἀπάτη and eighteen percent of all Josephan examples of δόλος appear. The Maccabean Revolt account constitutes only four percent of the extant writings of Josephus.

¹³⁴ *Ant.* vii. 32; ix. 134; xii. 4; xiii. 188, 204; xviii. 326; *Apion* ii. 200.

In Josephus' version of 2 Kings he presents the resolve of Jehu that none of the false prophets or priests of Ahab's gods should go unpunished; he employed 'cunning and deceit' to capture and kill them (*Ant.* ix. 134 – by contrast, the Septuagint describes Jehu's action as a deception /πτερνισμός, 2 Kings x. 19). In a similar passage to the account of Ptolemy's entrance into Jerusalem, Jehu promises the followers of Baal that he will sacrifice to their god, if they are all present – when the Baalites gather, Jehu burns down their Temple and thus 'purged Samaria of strange rites'. 'Cunning and deceit' was usually employed to gain political influence and consolidate power, whilst the by-product was often the murder of a rival claimant or group – the majority of cases within the Josephan corpus reflect this understanding.¹³⁵ We can conclude from this examination that Josephus completely edits and rewrites the language of his source, in this case the Septuagint.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author on whose work Josephus may well have based aspects of his *Antiquities*, shares Josephus' understanding of δόλος and ἀπάτη. In a significant statement to this effect, he contrasts the use of military force with δόλος and ἀπάτη, saying:

In the next place, we shall not be attempting to destroy the great and formidable power and good fortune of our adversaries by force, but rather by those means by which everything that is overbearing and not easy to be subdued by force is taken, namely, by guile and deceit (δόλος and ἀπάτη); and we shall be neither the first nor the only people who have resorted to these means.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* iii. 23. 10

Josephus is not as approving of this method as Dionysius, as it was by 'treachery and cunning' that foreign kings usually gained access to Jerusalem – since it was strong and 'not easily subdued by force' – and Josephus cites Agatharchides of Cnides: 'There is a nation called Jews, who have a strong and great city called Jerusalem, which they allowed to fall into the hands of Ptolemy' (*Ant.* xii. 6).

¹³⁵ With the exception of the laws of marriage of *Apion* (ii. 200), which claims that a man must not take a bride on the basis of her dowry or by 'cunning and guile'.

ii. Piety

The recurring theme of Jewish piety is linked to the narrative of Ptolemy Soter's invasion of Jerusalem. King Ptolemy entered Jerusalem on the Sabbath as though he was coming to sacrifice, hence the Jews did not suspect his hostility; he took the city during their sabbatical rest and ruled it harshly (*Ant.* xii. 4). This account also recalls the later version of Antiochus Epiphanes' invasion of Jerusalem, where he entered Jerusalem whilst offering a treaty of peace, and then overcame the city by treachery (again ἀπάτη - *Ant.* xii. 248). The Jews' defeat as a consequence of their observance of religious and ancestral customs is stressed – indeed, Josephus may have been providing the foundations for the Maccabean policy shift concerning fighting on the Sabbath (*Ant.* xii. 276; 1 Macc. ii. 40). Josephus' use of the evidence of Agatharchides of Cnidus concludes that the Jewish religion (and piety) led directly to their loss of liberty (ἐλευθερία).¹³⁶

iii. Loyalty and international relations

Josephus takes great care to amplify the loyalty of the Jews. Using a wide variety of secondary sources, he emphasises the high esteem that foreign rulers had for the Jews, lists the gifts and privileges awarded to Jewish leaders, and refers to their citizenship and related political rights.

The first major source used in book twelve is the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*.¹³⁷ Josephus represents part of this text, omitting large sections of the narrative (or at least the text as we know it today).¹³⁸ Yet those sections of *Aristeas* which he uses closely reflect the

¹³⁶ That this statement by Agatharchides is of importance to Josephus can be shown by its repetition in his later work, *Apion* i. 205ff.

¹³⁷ *Ant.* xii. 11-118. Josephus' version of the *Letter of Aristeas* covers only about a third of the work, missing out lines 82-171 and 187-292 of all extant versions. It is possible that the text available to Josephus differed, but other reasons for this omission have been proposed. On the relationship between Josephus and the *Letter of Aristeas*, see the excellent study by A. Pelletier, who found that Josephus alters his source as often as possible, to make it thoroughly Josephan. According to Pelletier, only in one instance are there as many as twelve words copied directly from the source. Another notable outcome of Pelletier's study is his comment that Josephus' paraphrase of *Aristeas* was rewritten with an atticizing and stoicizing tendency – *Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée. Une réaction atticisante contre la koiné* (Études et Commentaires, 45; Paris, 1962). It may be worth adding that the significant omission of the famous banquet scene from the *Letter of Aristeas* should be sufficient to cast doubts over the suggestion that Josephus wrote the *Antiquities* with the hope that it would be read by the Emperor as an instruction manual on the correct ways of kingship – as suggested by Professor Gohei Hata at the March 2003 conference on 'Hellenistic Monarchy', Somerville College, Oxford.

¹³⁸ Josephus admits that he has only partly copied the account of Aristeas, and advises his reader to consult *Aristeas* directly for further information (*Ant.* xii. 100). It should be noted that Josephus appears to make little effort to blend this source into the wider narrative. It is not referred to when Josephus discusses the translation

surviving text, and he appropriates three documents nearly verbatim. These three records are the Ptolemaic decree, a memorial of the declaration of the proposed translation as presented by Demetrius of Phalerum, and the reply by Eleazar the high priest to Ptolemy's request.¹³⁹

Throughout Josephus' version of *Aristeas*, the loyalty of the Jews is prominent. For example, a letter attributed to King Ptolemy states that,

There are many Jews whom my father honoured, enrolling some of them in his army with high pay, and entrusting to others, who came to Egypt with him, the guarding of the fortresses... Those who were in the prime of life I enrolled in the army list, and on others, who might be of service to us and occupy positions of trust at court.

Antiquities xii. 45-47.

Ptolemy is recorded as offering gifts¹⁴⁰ and friendship to the Jews and remarking on the perfection of their Laws and the godliness of their Lawgiver.¹⁴¹

After his paraphrase of *Aristeas*, Josephus lists the privileges granted to the Jews by later monarchs.¹⁴² Seleucus Nicator granted citizenship to the Jews, placing them on an equal social and political footing with the Macedonians and Greeks (*Ant.* xii. 119-120). Mucianus, governor of Syria, upheld these privileges (*Ant.* xii. 120). This situation continued until Josephus' day, and he stresses the pro-Jewish policies of Vespasian and Titus (*Ant.* xii. 122-124). Marcus Agrippa continued this policy and supported the Jewish citizens' rights to

of the scriptures into Greek in the proem to *Antiquities*. Also, on either side of the paraphrase of *Aristeas*, Josephus comments on Jewish participation in foreign armies (as a sign of their loyalty), which gives the impression that Josephus has simply dropped the *Aristeas* source into the narrative in the appropriate place.

¹³⁹ These three official documents promote the Jewish people and particularly their rights and constitution. The decree by Ptolemy to release the Jewish slaves and pay their former owners compensation admits that the invasion of the slave's countries was unjust, *Ant.* xii. 28-31 (*Aristeas* 22-25). The second memorial by Demetrius of Phalerum to ensure the translation of the Jewish constitution into Greek, contains the remark that this project was necessary as 'their legislation is very wise and pure as a result of coming from God', and justifies the omission of the Jewish constitution in the ancient histories and by the poets, as they did not wish to reveal such sacred works to profane ears, *Ant.* xii. 36-39 (*Aristeas* 29-32). The third letter that Josephus copies without significant amendment is the high priest's reply to Ptolemy which stresses the piety of both the translation and the translators, *Ant.* 51-56 (*Aristeas* 42-46). See J. A. Goldstein, 'The Message of *Aristeas* to *Philokrates*: in the Second Century BCE, Obey the Torah, Venerate the Temple of Jerusalem, but Speak Greek, and put your Hopes in the Ptolemaic Dynasty', in M. Mor (ed.), *Eretz Israel, Israel and the Jewish Diaspora: Mutual Relations* (Lanham, University Press of America, 1991), pp. 1-23. For a critical translation and discussion, see M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (New York: Harper, 1951).

¹⁴⁰ See, for instance, *Ant.* xii. 116-117.

¹⁴¹ The King 'was amazed at the depth of mind and wisdom of the lawgiver', *Ant.* i. 110.

¹⁴² Several major studies on the treaties and privileges of the Jews cast light on these documents, including the study by Pucci Ben Zeev on the documents of book fourteen of the *Antiquities*, M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: the Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998). See also, on the subject of Jewish privileges, T. Rajak, 'Was there a Roman Charter for the Jews?', in T. Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome – Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 301-334.

follow their own religious customs (*Ant.* xii. 126-127 – Nicolas of Damascus defended the Jews in a case brought against them by the Ionians).¹⁴³

Additional documents quoted by Josephus demonstrate the ‘normal’ good relations of the Jews with the Ptolemaic and Seleucid monarchs. The *Letter of Antiochus III to Ptolemy*¹⁴⁴ stresses the piety of the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 140), confirms their right to follow their ancestral Laws (*Ant.* xii. 142), and grants them gifts and tax exemption (*Ant.* xii. 140-141, 143-144).¹⁴⁵ The *Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis* explicitly links the piety of the Jews with their loyalty to the Seleucid monarch (*Ant.* xii. 150).¹⁴⁶

Josephus concludes this section on pro-Jewish policies with the final note that: ‘On the friendship of Antiochus the Great towards the Jews, let this here testimony suffice’ (*Ant.* xii. 153). The literary purpose of these decrees is thus explicitly identified as establishing the record of friendship between the Seleucids and the Jews. Here, as elsewhere, his concluding remarks act as signposts for his audience to follow – this, I suggest, would have been particularly important in the sphere of public recitation, where the audience does not have the facility to cross-refer comments and would have had to hear the work over several sittings.¹⁴⁷ Josephus possibly expected some of his contemporaries to be suspicious about these decrees – concerning their authenticity and resulting from their patently apologetic and propagandistic function. He hints as much with his later statement that,

Many people, however, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians because these writings were not found everywhere and are not deposited even in public places but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples, while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said – for they are kept in the public places of the cities.

Antiquities xiv. 187-8

¹⁴³ For a fuller account, see *Ant.* xvi. 27-65

¹⁴⁴ On this treaty, see Bickerman’s study, who argues for the authenticity of this document. E. J. Bickerman, ‘La charte Seleucide de Jerusalem’, *REJ* 100 (1935), pp. 4-35.

¹⁴⁵ For bibliography, see Appendix D to the Loeb translation of *Antiquities* xii-xiv.

¹⁴⁶ On the authenticity of this letter, see L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (London: SCM, 1994), pp. 201-202. Also, E. Bickerman, ‘Une question d’authenticité les privilèges juifs’, in J. Neusner (ed.), *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: III* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 24-43.

¹⁴⁷ On publishing in the ancient world, see, for example, R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman literature and society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).

Thus Josephus acknowledges that his audience may doubt the authenticity of these pro-Jewish decrees, since they only survive in Jewish works (in the case of his decrees by Antiochus III no other versions of these legal orders survive).

Demonstrating the honours and privileges bestowed on the Jews has an obvious function within Josephus' narrative, not least in view of the Maccabean Revolt where the Jews rose against their legitimate ruler. That Josephus should be anxious to advocate friendly relations between the two countries is hardly surprising when we consider that he wrote shortly after the failed Jewish revolt against Rome. The value of these rights is amply assessed by Pucci Ben Zeev, who notes that contrary to traditional scholarship, when the individual rights are viewed within the context of epigraphical and papyriological material from the period, many of the 'privileges' attributed to the Jews are normal practice within the Roman world.¹⁴⁸

iv. στάσις and factionalism.

After the death of Alexander the Great, Josephus comments on the στάσις and factionalism of Alexander's successors, which led to prolonged warfare (*Ant.* xii. 3). This leitmotif occurs throughout Josephus' writings. On the death of Joseph, Josephus reports that factionalism arose among the Jews, with most supporting the elder sons, outnumbering Hyrcanus and his supporters (*Ant.* xii. 228). While the parallel between these two examples should not be pushed, however, it is striking that two examples of στάσις appear in the introduction to the Hasmonean period. Later Josephus uses this notion of factionalism to describe the breakdown of relations between the Oniads and the Tobiads on the eve of the Maccabean Revolt (*Ant.* xii. 239).

That στάσις is a major interpretative tool in Josephus' arsenal cannot be doubted. He frames his *War* in terms of factionalism (*War* i. 10), and describes the revolutionaries of his own day as 'promoters of sedition' (*Life* 17). Perhaps, more tellingly, Josephus describes how he personally brought an end to στάσις (*Life* 63, 264). Following authors such as Thucydides, Josephus focuses on this notion as a way of explaining warfare and, in the case of the *War*, exculpating the aristocracy from the conflict – he understands the First Jewish

¹⁴⁸ M. Pucci Ben Zeev, 'Did the Jews Enjoy a Privileged Position in the Roman World', *REJ* 154 (1995), pp. 23-42.

Revolt against Rome in the same way as the Maccabean Revolt, and his use of the term στάσις in his narrative implies that the revolt of the Maccabees was as much a civil war as a battle against outsiders.¹⁴⁹

v. Liberty

The notion of liberty is central to Josephus' presentation of the Maccabean Revolt. Its appearance in the prologues to books twelve and thirteen, as well as the main proem to *Antiquities*, supports this claim. The term ἐλευθερία/liberty features habitually in Josephus' writings (105 times).¹⁵⁰ It appears with increased frequency during his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (10% of incidences appear in books twelve and thirteen, whilst there are no occurrences in neighbouring books – *Antiquities* eleven and fourteen). Conversely, 1 Maccabees features only a single application of ἐλευθερία in the final section which escapes Josephus' literary reformulation.¹⁵¹ According to Agatharchides of Cnidus, cited in *Antiquities*, the Jews' adherence to their religious customs namely Sabbath observance lost them their liberty during the time of Ptolemy Soter (*Ant.* i. 5-6). Later, Josephus makes 'liberty' the rallying call of the Maccabees, and inserts it into the deathbed speech of Mattathias (*Ant.* xii. 281). I will discuss this concept in greater detail below.

vi. Synthesis

The literary context of the Maccabean Revolt in Josephus' *Antiquities* is littered with motifs which have great bearing on his presentation and interpretation of the Maccabean period. I have noted in particular Josephus' accentuation of Jewish piety, loyalty, foreign benevolence, and love of liberty, and the negative themes of 'cunning and deceit' and στάσις. The Letter of Antiochus III to Ptolemy his governor, which Bickerman entitled the 'Seleucid Charter', is an appropriate summary of this section. The document (represented in *Ant.* xii. 138-144) bolsters the Jews as loyal servants, philanthropic, and pious, and thus, 'all members of the nation shall have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country' (*Ant.* xii.

¹⁴⁹ On στάσις, see for example T. Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and his Society* (London: Duckworth, 1983; Second Edition 2002), esp. p. 91-96.

¹⁵⁰ According to an exhaustive electronic search using *TLG*.

¹⁵¹ 1 Macc. xiv. 26. For a discussion on Josephus' omission of the final three books from his re-presentation of 1 Maccabees, see 3.3 above.

142).¹⁵² Thus Josephus has constructed a framework for his subsequent paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, which extols the privileged situation of the Jews within the wider Diaspora, as well as underpins the Jewish adherence to their ancestral laws and practices. The irreligious injunctions of Antiochus Epiphanes are therefore made all the more impious by their stark comparison with this prior period of peace and prosperity.

¹⁵² On the Seleucid Charter see E. J. Bickerman, 'La charte Séleucide de Jérusalem', *REJ* 100 (1935), pp. 4-35. Bickerman surmised that Jerusalem 'was a holy city on the basis of a royal decree which confirmed the 'Law of the Fathers' and this assured their observance'. E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (ET; Leiden: Brill, 1979), p. 34.

3.4.2. The background to the revolt *Ant. xii. 237-245*

Josephus introduces his second version of the Maccabean Revolt with a formulaic narrative-divider, Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν.¹⁵³ This marks the beginning of a new section, which consists of a short introductory passage before Josephus changes source and embarks on his close paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. This introductory phrase is not uncommon and was particularly favoured by Polybius whose writings were known to some degree by Josephus, and the subjects of their histories during the period of Alexander the Great and the Diadochi often overlapped.¹⁵⁴ The idiom is used to connect otherwise unconnected narratives, and to suggest a chronological association – it is also used to introduce new sources into his narrative, as is the present case.

The figure of Antiochus Epiphanes is the central character in this introductory section, which weaves together two separate narratives, linking them with the conjunction δέ.

Antiochus reportedly ‘gave’ the high priesthood to Jason and then withdrew it, giving it instead to Jason’s brother Menelaus - Josephus makes no comment as to why this occurred. That Josephus wished to emphasise the power and position of Antiochus Epiphanes is apparent from previous claims.¹⁵⁵ And while he is silent on how Jason angered the king, Josephus does stress Antiochus’ anger. Josephus uses the term προσοργίζομαι three times: the second instance occurs when the valour of the Jewish soldiers made Nero indignant (*War* iii. 1), and the other instance involves Pharaoh’s anger at Moses (*Ant.* ii. 288). In two out of three occurrences of this term, the angered/indignant party displayed tyrannical tendencies, and their anger was unjustified – neither the brave Jewish soldiers, nor Moses, are depicted as being ‘in the wrong’. It would be valid to assume therefore that Josephus wanted to present Antiochus’ anger at Jason as unprovoked and unjustified.¹⁵⁶

To be in control of one’s passions is a defining Stoic quality, while anger and the loss of control is a feature of Jewish depictions of tyrants – as we see, for example, in Alexander’s

¹⁵³ This introductory formula appears with slight variations in *Ant.* i. 194; ix. 258; x. 15, 84; xi. 158; xii. 237, 354, 389; xiii. 18, 103, 180, 365; xiv. 268. The formula is often used by Josephus to mark a major change in the narrative, either the use of a different source or the start of a new era of history, e.g. *Ant.* ix. 258. On this phrase see Cohen who following Niese thinks it is a meaningless way for Josephus to change narrative, S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: his Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), p. 45, n. 78.

¹⁵⁴ For examples see *Histories*, i.28.10; ii.49.10, 58.14; xxvii.2.3; xxviii.20.4; xxix.4.9. On Polybius see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (3 volumes: Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-79).

¹⁵⁵ In the brief notices about Epiphanes prior to this introductory passage, Josephus presents Antiochus as a powerful king to be feared. Hence Hyrcanus, on seeing ‘how great was the power of Antiochus’, killed himself rather than face capture (*Ant.* xii. 234 - 236).

¹⁵⁶ This is in contrast to the presentation of Jason in 2 Maccabees, where he is depicted as obtaining the high priesthood by corruption, 2 Maccabees iv. 7. If the above analysis concerning the unjustified anger of Antiochus is valid, then Josephus’ omission of Jason’s corruption is understandable.

anger in 3 Maccabees (e.g. 3 Macc. iii. 1). 4 Maccabees also sets out to demonstrate that control over passion is all important (4 Macc. i. 1f.).¹⁵⁷ It is only thirty lines since Josephus ironically recalls that Hyrcanus' request to the Alexandrian steward for one thousand talents was met with anger, as the steward thought Hyrcanus should be more like his father and in control of his passions (*Ant.* xii. 203). Note also Bacchides' anger, which led to the execution of fifty Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 25).

Josephus' account presents a jumbled picture of the high-priestly succession, and for this reason it has been dismissed as 'worthless' by many scholars.¹⁵⁸ And yet, despite the confusion, there are no compelling grounds for dismissing Josephus' testimony. Marcus argues against the account presented in this passage on the basis that two brothers would not have been called Onias and, more specifically, because of the claim in 2 Maccabees that Menelaus was a brother of Simon. In defence of Josephus, it should be stated that the two accounts differ on the 'guilty party' concerning the abandonment of the Jewish ancestral ways, and Josephus shows no reliance on 2 Maccabees as a source. 1 Maccabees is silent relating to the order of succession and family-tree of the high priests. If the decision comes down to preference for one text over another, then there are sufficient elements of the supernatural about 2 Maccabees to raise serious concerns amongst modern critics about its interest in historical reliability.¹⁵⁹ Later, Menelaus is identified as Onias IV's uncle, so the Josephan account is consistent, albeit confusing and in contradiction of 2 Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 387; 2 Macc. iii. 1f.). The earlier account in *War* is not inconsistent but simplified (cf. Marcus' footnote).

Factionalism among the high priests

¹⁵⁷ A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982) contains the standard edition of 3 and 4 Maccabees. See also the English translation of M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of the Maccabees* (New York: Harper, 1953). For the debate concerning the dating of these texts, see Schürer iii, pp. 539f, 591f (respectively).

¹⁵⁸ See Marcus' notes, who refers to E. Meyer's verdict of the value of this passage. For a bibliography of the older material, see Appendix G in the LCL translation of *Antiquities* xii-xiv.

¹⁵⁹ Whilst 2 Maccabees does present several examples of supernatural phenomenon, the outlook of the book is far more theologically inclined than 1 Maccabees, and so its account should not be immediately disregarded as unhistorical – as this was not the main purpose of the author. However, the account needs to be treated carefully. See 2 Macc. iii. 24-26, which describes the divine manifestations of a man on horseback and two beautiful men, who protect the Jerusalem Temple against the thieving plans of Heliodorus. On 2 Maccabees, see R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda the Purpose and Character of II Maccabees* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981). For a recent translation, with copious notes, see J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1983).

When Jason rose against Menelaus, the conflict divided the population. Josephus notes that the majority of the population supported Jason against Menelaus and Antiochus. This is a notable shift in public support, in view of Josephus' earlier statement that the majority of the people supported the Seleucids, following Joseph son of Tobias and his eldest sons (against Hyrcanus, xii. 229). By the time of Antiochus Epiphanes this situation had clearly changed, although Josephus gives no explicit reason for this swing in public attitude.

The abandonment of Jewish practices

Menelaus approached King Antiochus and informed him that the Tobiads would willingly abandon their ancestral laws and customs (πάτριος νόμος) and follow instead the king's laws and adopt the Greek way of life (καί τήν κατ' αὐτοῦς πολιτείαν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καί τήν Ἑλληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν – *Ant.* xii. 240). The two ways of life are incompatible, and Josephus imposes a limiting factor on their relationship – to embrace the king's laws and the 'Greek ways' required full apostasy from Judaism.

In his description of the demands of Menelaus, Josephus twice uses the term πολιτεία (which is most often translated as 'citizen rights'), when he refers to the king's constitution and the 'Greek way of life'. This is followed by the request to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. These petitions aim at the creation of a polis structure in Jerusalem, with the Tobiads and Menelaus requesting citizenship status. This is how the account of 2 Maccabees renders the Jewish renegades' request to Antiochus (although 2 Maccabees blames Jason for the gymnasium, whilst Josephus insists the construction was Menelaus' design):

In addition to this [Jason] promised to pay one hundred and fifty more if permission were given to establish by his authority a gymnasium and a body of youth for it, and to enroll the people of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch.

2 Maccabees iv. 9.

The exact meaning of the reference to enrolling the people of Jerusalem 'as citizens of Antiochus' is debated, although Tcherikover's suggestion that the Jews wished to install a

gymnasium and create a polis structure, in order to give the Jews better financial and social advantages, is compelling.¹⁶⁰

This point marks the commencement of Josephus' close paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. Already it is clear that 1 Maccabees and Josephus differ as, in addition to the establishment of the gymnasium, the former work also claims that these 'renegade Jews' 'joined with the Gentiles and sold themselves to do evil' (1 Macc. i. 15). If this statement means 'intermarriage', then it is interesting that Josephus avoids mentioning this thorny issue. The subject of intermarriage was problematic because, on the one hand, the Jewish Bible is explicit in its condemnation of intermarriage (Deut. vii. 3),¹⁶¹ yet on the other, it contains many examples of Jews who had married non-Jews, including leading figures like Joseph (Gen. xxxxi. 45¹⁶²). Additionally, opposition to intermarriage was a popular Greco-Roman slur against the Jews as they refused to intermarry – as exemplified by Tacitus' pejorative statement.¹⁶³ The passage in 1 Maccabees could however, refer to a union of outlook between the Jews and the Greeks.

Antiochus' invasion of Egypt

Josephus ascribes psychological motives to Antiochus' invasion: using the terms πόθος and καταφρονέω, he reports that Antiochus 'coveted' Egypt, and had 'contemptuous' of Ptolemy (*Ant.* xii. 242). The verb καταφρονέω appears to be significant throughout his narrative, eight times alone within his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (where the term does not appear).¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, in several cases Josephus speaks of 'contempt' in an ironic sense. Thus, Judas encourages his troops to have contempt for the larger army of Bacchides and to fight valiantly – Judas dies on the battlefield (*Ant.* xii. 425). Apollonius the general of Alexander Balas had confidence in his horsemen, and contempt for Simon and Jonathan's forces – but the

¹⁶⁰ For the various interpretations of this phrase, discussion, and bibliography, see V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: JPSA, 1959), p. 105f.

¹⁶¹ This ban is quite explicit; it is not significantly 'toned-down' in the Septuagint translation.

¹⁶² The story of Joseph's marriage to Aseneth proved problematic to some Hellenistic Jewish writers, as shown by the Pseudepigraphic work, *Joseph and Aseneth*, whose author worked to rewrite the tradition and include a dramatic conversion narrative, thus proving that Joseph married a believing Jewess. For the Greek text of *Joseph and Aseneth* see M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Asénath. Introduction, Texte Critique et Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1968). For an English translation based on Philonenko and Battifol, see C. Burchard, 'Joseph and Aseneth', in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols; New York: Doubleday, 1983-1985), pp. 177-248. For comment and bibliography, see S. Taverner, 'Jewish Depictions of Non-Jews in the Greco-Roman World: The Meeting of Joseph & Aseneth', *Jewish Culture and History* 2 (1999), pp. 72-87.

¹⁶³ Tacitus, *Histories* v. 5. 2, in *GLAJJ* no. 281.

¹⁶⁴ *Ant.* xii. 242, 292, 357, 425; xiii. 92, 122, 189, 200.

horsemen were routed, and fled in confusion (*Ant.* xiii. 92). The invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes is a similar literary construction: Antiochus held the weak Ptolemy in contempt, but the invasion failed due to Ptolemy's alliance with Rome (*Ant.* xii. 242).¹⁶⁵

Arriving with a great force, Antiochus circumvented Ptolemy with 'cunning' (δόλω) and occupied Egypt (*Ant.* xii. 242-243). Josephus notes that the Roman instruction to 'keep away from the country'¹⁶⁶ had been already related in an earlier passage (*Ant.* xii. 244). Yet no such parallel can be found, unless this reference is to *War* i. 31¹⁶⁷ (which does not explicitly mention the Romans). It is plausible that Josephus intended to imply that it was related 'earlier' by a different historian. Polybius records this Roman intervention (xxix. 27), although he places it in 168 BCE, a full year later than Josephus' account (cf. *Ant.* xii. 246). 1 Maccabees does not mention the Roman intervention, and instead claims that Antiochus triumphed, plundered the land, and returned to Jerusalem (1 Macc. i. 17-20).

Whether intentionally or not, Josephus depicts Rome as mightier than the Syrians.¹⁶⁸ He also established the identity of Rome as an opponent of Antiochus Epiphanes; this has an apologetic impact as later the Jews also opposed the Seleucids, while they make a pact of alliance with the Romans (*Ant.* xii. 414-419; xiii. 163).

A more 'accurate' treatment of Antiochus Epiphanes

Here we see an editorial signpost to the next theme of the work, which was to be a 'more exact account' of Antiochus Epiphanes (*Ant.* xii. 245). Since his first account was only a summary, Josephus states that it is necessary to give a more detailed and accurate version of the events during the reign of Antiochus IV. There is no evidence to suggest whether this was in response to accusations about the accuracy of his earlier account, or purely a literary motif to underline the accuracy of his current narrative. It is clear that the Maccabean period is, in his view, a significant historical event that is worthy of a second, and more detailed, account.

¹⁶⁵ Note also Josephus' claim that on his deathbed, King Antiochus Epiphanes recognised that he was inflicted because he held the Jewish God in contempt, *Ant.* xii. 357.

¹⁶⁶ Probably the same instruction mentioned by Polybius xxix. 27. So, Marcus, p. 124, n. b.

¹⁶⁷ As suggested half-heartedly by Marcus, p. 124, n. c.

¹⁶⁸ While Josephus makes little discernible use of Daniel in his Maccabean Revolt narrative, it is noteworthy that Daniel also identifies Rome as the reason for Antiochus' withdrawal from Egypt, which substantiates Josephus' account (Dan. xi. 9).

3.4.3. Antiochus IV in Jerusalem, *Ant.* xii. 246-256

In this section of the narrative, Josephus describes one of the low-points of Jewish history. Josephus' presentation of the two invasions of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes is idiosyncratic; differing on many points to the account in 1 Maccabees. Once again Josephus scatters motifs in the text which have a significant impact on the narrative.

i. The first entry into Jerusalem – *Ant.* xii. 246-247

Antiochus, through 'fear' (δέος) of the Romans, withdrew from Egypt and marched against Jerusalem (*Ant.* xii. 246). This is another example of Josephus attributing an emotional state to key characters, where none existed in his source (cf. 1 Macc. i. 20). Josephus reports that Antiochus entered Jerusalem without a fight, since the gates were opened from the inside by his supporters. This version of events differs from the account in 1 Maccabees, which does not mention the manner in which Antiochus gained entry into Jerusalem, but hints that it may have been as a result of his large army (1 Macc. i. 20). While Josephus' account is short, 1 Maccabees lists the items stolen by Antiochus and explicitly mentions the Syrian's entry into the Temple – Josephus leaves this list of despoiled items until the second incursion into the city. Josephus fails to mention Antiochus' visit to the Temple, which he reserves for the Syrian's second visit to Jerusalem. The best way, it seems to me, to explain this rearrangement of his source material is that Josephus wished to present the Jewish people as faithful to their ancestral laws and their Temple. Thus, if Epiphanes had entered and despoiled the Temple on his first visit, the Jews would not have so easily allowed him to return.

Both 1 Maccabees and Josephus comment on Antiochus' murder of his opponents, who go unnamed in all but the shorter *War* narrative, where they are called simply 'Ptolemy's followers' (*War* i. 32).

ii. Antiochus Epiphanes' second attack on Jerusalem – *Ant.* xii. 247-250

Using a lengthy date formula, Josephus reports Antiochus' second incursion into Jerusalem on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Kislev in the hundred and forty-fifth year. This date differs from 1 Maccabees, which claims Antiochus entered the Temple on the fifteenth of that

month (1 Macc. i. 54). The easiest explanation for this chronological disparity is that Josephus corrected his source, as elsewhere in 1 Maccabees it is clear that the twenty-fifth day was correct (1 Macc. i. 59; iv. 52, 59; 2 Macc. i. 18; x. 5).

Again, Josephus reports that Antiochus gained admittance into Jerusalem by feigning (προσποιέω) friendship, overcoming the city by treachery (ἀπάτη - *Ant.* xii. 248). Similarly, Alexander Balas is credited with feigning (προσποιέω) pleasure at Jonathan's victory over Apollonius, despite the former's secret employment of Apollonius to kill the Maccabean leader (*Ant.* xiii. 102). Antiochus' untrustworthiness is stressed as he killed even those of his party who open the gates for his first invasion of Jerusalem, as a result of his greed (πλεονεξία, *Ant.* xii. 249).¹⁶⁹ This 'covetousness' was the reason that Josephus gives for the neighbouring countries' enmity towards the Jews, and the explicit reason that they attack them.¹⁷⁰

The emphasis of the greed of Antiochus also brings out the wealth of the Jerusalem. Josephus gives a list of the stolen goods, emphasising the quality and number of items (*Ant.* xii. 249-250). For instance, Josephus and 1 Maccabees both list the curtains of the Temple amongst Antiochus' spoils, although Josephus adds the note that they were made of 'fine linen and scarlet' (*Ant.* xii. 250).¹⁷¹ Josephus' desire to raise the profile of the Jews may have led him to answer specific allegations made by Greco-Roman authors.¹⁷² Additionally, his description of the 'scarlet' Temple curtains (καταπέτασμα) has no equivalent in 1 Maccabees: the colour was symbolically associated with Roman imperial usage, and thus Josephus' note may represent more than just decoration (he does not make reference to his earlier philosophical discussion of the colour of the Temple curtain, in *War*, v. 212-213¹⁷³). Josephus particularly emphasises the theft of the curtains by his deliberate use of the negative particle μηδέ - 'and *not even* forbearing to take the curtains' (*Ant.* xii. 250).

¹⁶⁹ In his later writing, the *Against Apion*, Josephus refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' theft from the Temple, and blames it explicitly on the king's poverty/cash flow crisis – a claim which Josephus states is supported by Polybius, Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the Chronicler and Apollodorus (*Apion* ii. 83-84 – which survives only in Latin).

¹⁷⁰ According to Josephus' version of Jonathan's letter to the Spartans – an account which also figures in 1 Maccabees, albeit without this theme of greed/envy (*Ant.* xiii. 169, cf. 1 Macc. xii. 6-18).

¹⁷¹ e.g. Exod. xxxix. 32ff.

¹⁷² E.g. Juvenal, iii. 10-16. On Greco-Roman depictions of the Jews as beggars, see L. H. Feldman, *Jew & Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 171-172.

¹⁷³ Clearly, on at least one occasion, Josephus' attribution of colour is symbolically significant. In his earlier *War*, Josephus describes the veil as an embroidery of blue and fine linen, of scarlet also and purple, wrought with marvellous skill, 'Nor was this mixture of materials without its mystic meaning: it typified the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea: the comparison in two cases being suggested by their colour, and in that of the fine linen and purple by that of their origin, as the one is produced by the earth, and the other by the sea', *War* v. 212-213.

The list of stolen goods recorded in Josephus is no doubt based on the account of the first invasion of Jerusalem in 1 Maccabees i. 21-23. The correlation between the two lists is almost exact. However, he does not only mention the fabric and colour of the Temple curtains, but Josephus also omits the crowns that appear in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 22). The omission of the crowns is interesting. The origin of these crowns is not explicit in 1 Maccabees, although the later reference to the diplomatic gifts of King Demetrius to Simon indicates one possibility (1 Macc. xiii. 37). Josephus' failure to mention these monarchical symbols, if deliberate, could be understood within the context of his general opposition to the constitution of monarchy – and especially Jewish kingship¹⁷⁴ – and it may also be related to a desire to downplay the nationalistic and independence-seeking tendencies of the Jews.

This theft threw all of the Jews into 'deep mourning' (*Ant.* xii. 250). 1 Maccabees, which is deliberately based on a biblical model, portrays the mourning of the Jews in terms comparable to earlier biblical descriptions of lament:

Israel mourned deeply in every community, rulers and elders groaned, young women and young men became faint, the beauty of the women faded. Every bridegroom took up the lament; she who sat in the bridal chamber was mourning. Even the land trembled for its inhabitants, and all the house of Jacob was clothed with shame.

1 Maccabees i. 25-28

While 1 Maccabees explicitly refers to acts of mourning thirteen times¹⁷⁵ (with additional references to lamentation¹⁷⁶), Josephus reduces this usage to just four instances,¹⁷⁷ and on the desecration of the Temple he says that the people were in 'deep mourning', a significant quietening of the lament recorded in his source text (*Ant.* xii. 250). What are we to make of Josephus' reduction in the references to mourning? Generally, Josephus shifts the focus of 1 Maccabees from the Temple to the Jews' ancestral law. Josephus' main instances of public mourning occur on the death of key Jewish characters, or the loss of liberty to practice their ancestral traditions. I discuss the biblical paraphernalia of mourning – sackcloth

¹⁷⁴ On Josephus' opposition to Jewish kingship, and his identification of the concept of kingship as the turning point in the fortunes of the Hasmonean dynasty, see *Ant.* xiii. 300-1. More generally on the ideal constitution, see *Apion* ii. 165. For discussion and bibliography see T. Rajak, 'Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition', in P. Bilde et al (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), pp. 99-116.

¹⁷⁵ Using either the noun πένθος or verb πενθέω: 1 Macc. i. 25, 27, 39, 40; ii. 14, 39, 70; iii. 51; iv. 38, 41; ix. 20; xii. 52; xiii. 26.

¹⁷⁶ Using the noun θρήνος: 1 Macc. i. 27; ix. 41.

¹⁷⁷ *Ant.* xii. 250, 285, 317, 432; xiii. 210.

and ashes – below (3.4.5.i); I will note only that Josephus removes most instances from his paraphrase.

iii. The religious injunctions of Antiochus Epiphanes

The list of religious injunctions of Antiochus Epiphanes closely follows that recorded in 1 Maccabees. Josephus presents these prohibitions as being advanced personally by Antiochus Epiphanes – the Syrian king is not present in 1 Maccabees, in his place his unnamed tax-gatherer¹⁷⁸ enforces the injunctions (1 Macc. i. 29-40). Josephus lists the religious injunctions without identifying Antiochus' motivation for imposing them. The list of prohibitions closely reflects that of his source 1 Maccabees, with the exception of the profanation of the Sabbath and feast days¹⁷⁹, which Josephus omits, and his addition of swine sacrifice, which does not explicitly appear in 1 Maccabees.¹⁸⁰

In addition to the religious edicts, Josephus notes that Antiochus built the Acra, a citadel filled with a garrison of Macedonian soldiers and those of the people who were impious.¹⁸¹ It was from this citadel that the impious inhabitants forced calamity upon Jerusalem's 'citizens'. Precisely what Josephus intended by his use of the term 'citizens' is uncertain, although this group of Jews are clearly juxtaposed by the impious dwellers of the Acra (*Ant.* xii. 252). This will have suggested an element of injustice as not only were the people of the Acra ungodly, but they also persecuted citizens (and not just mere barbarians).

¹⁷⁸ The tax-gatherer is named Apollonius in 2 Macc. v. 24, where he is referred to as the captain of the Mysians.

¹⁷⁹ That Josephus chose to ignore the prohibition on keeping the Sabbath is perhaps not surprising since Mattathias is (only twenty lines later) noted as urging his countrymen to ignore the biblical requirement when faced with military oppression. It would have made little sense in heralding an anti-religious policy by Antiochus, which was later voluntarily followed by the rebels (*Ant.* xii. 276).

¹⁸⁰ 1 Macc. i. 47 might be taken to imply that swine sacrifice occurred on the Jerusalem altar. What is more likely is that Josephus wanted to emphasise the impiety of the injunctions, as Antiochus forced the Jews to sacrifice an unclean animal – his audience would have understood this as a direct attack on the Jewish religion, as the Jews were renowned for their aversion to pork (e.g. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* iv. 4. 4. 669D). See also Diodorus 34. i. 4, who records the episode of Epiphanes' sacrifice of the sow at Jerusalem. For other references to the Jewish abstention from pork, see L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 167-170, and P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia: attitudes towards the Jews in the ancient world* (Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 66-81. See also section 2.4.2 (above).

¹⁸¹ The account in 1 Maccabees implies that the Acra was home to 'a sinful nation, lawless people' (i. 34). Bickerman suggests that this term may have actually referred to one group, with 'lawless people' acting as an apposition to 'a sinful nation', thus a reference to the Syrians. *God of the Maccabees*, p. 47f., 71f. Yet Josephus clearly understands this to signify two separate groups, Syrian soldiers and renegade impious Jews. See Marcus, p. 129, n. e.

Josephus proudly asserts that not all Jews adopted the practices of Antiochus Epiphanes, although some acquiesced.¹⁸² The worthiest (δόκιμος) Jews, who of noble soul (ψυχῆ), held their ancestral customs higher than any punishment, even death. The term that Josephus uses for ‘worthiest’ (δόκιμος), is used only fourteen times in his entire corpus, evenly distributed throughout his writing.¹⁸³ It is the same adjective used to describe the loyal Jews in the earlier version of the religious injunctions (in *War* i. 35). This preliminary statement about the Jews who refused to abandon their ancestral laws is a significant addition to 1 Maccabees, and bears a striking resemblance to the later deathbed speech of Mattathias (especially with the variant reading of *Ant.* xii. 281, ‘but being worthy sons of mine to be superior to all force and compulsion, being so prepared in spirit as to die for the laws.’¹⁸⁴).

Josephus dwells in some detail upon the torments of those Jews who remained faithful, presumably to accentuate the bravery of their actions and fealty to the Law of Moses. It is notable that Josephus describes the ‘observant’ Jews as the ‘worthy’ (δόκιμος) and noble (εὐγενής) of soul – as this implies aristocratic virtues, which assists in Josephus’ portrayal of these heroic Jews. These idealised Jews held their ancestral customs in greater esteem than any punishment threatened by Antiochus, and some met their death as a mark of this fidelity (*Ant.* xii. 255).

Josephus builds up the mistreatment of these faithful Jews beyond even the horrific account of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 60-64). His testimony of their whipping, beating, and mutilation is singular, as is his claim that they were then crucified. Embellishing the tradition as related by 1 Maccabees (that mothers who had circumcised their sons were strangled along with their offspring), Josephus makes the gruesome claim that the children were hung from the necks of their impaled parents (*Ant.* xii. 256 – it is only implicit in 1 Macc. i. 61).

In a change to the order of 1 Maccabees, Josephus moves the sentence concerning the punishment and execution of those who held on to their ‘sacred books’ or copies of the Law, to the end of the section (*Ant.* xii. 256). This allows him to conclude dramatically that the Jews who were found with banned religious books and the observing their ancestral laws, καὶ

¹⁸² Josephus states that Antiochus was personally responsible for the long list of atrocities committed on this second invasion of Jerusalem, and the religious injunctions. 1 Maccabees claims that the injunctions, which were transmitted throughout the land, were ordered by Antiochus personally, yet they were physically enforced by Antiochus’ ‘minister for revenue’ (1 Macc. i. 29f.).

¹⁸³ *War* i. 35; ii. 482; iv. 160; v. 45; vii. 447; *Ant.* vi. 191; xii. 255; xiv. 21, 43; *Apion* i. 18; *Life* 55, 228, 293, 386.

¹⁸⁴ I will discuss the deathbed speech of Mattathias in the section below, 3.4.5.

αὐτοὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο.¹⁸⁵ By his rearrangement of his source material, Josephus adds to the importance of the Law and the Jewish holy books.

Summary

Josephus sets out to give a more detailed and accurate account of Antiochus Epiphanes, and chronicles the Syrian king's two conquests of Jerusalem. In order to render them more logical and explicable, Josephus rearranges the visits as recorded in his source. The list of stolen articles is close to his source text, but even here Josephus emends and embellishes his account, making it more dramatic. Throughout his narratives Josephus promotes the individual by placing them into the lead position in events. In Josephus' account, Epiphanes personally led the persecution in Jerusalem (contra 1 Maccabees). The moral statements are clearly programmatic and lay the foundation for Josephus' interpretation of the Maccabean Revolt – for instance he outlines the Jews' loyalty to their ancestral practices, even on to death, which recur throughout his version of 1 Maccabees. Finally, Josephus stresses the importance of the holy books and Laws, in the face of the Syrian's book-burning.

¹⁸⁵ Josephus uses a similar phrase earlier in the *Antiquities* in his description of the plagues of Egypt, and in particular, the death of the wretched to the plague of lice (*Ant.* ii. 300). Plutarch contains a similar usage, in his life of Brutus (xxxiii. 6. 2).

3.4.4. The Samaritan Appeal, *Ant.* xii. 257-264

Here Josephus' narrative departs from his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, and in an unparalleled passage, recalls an appeal made by the Samaritans to Antiochus, concerning their religious rights and privileges.¹⁸⁶ The letter is an attempt to distance Samaritan practices from the Jews, and thereby avoid the religious injunctions imposed upon the Jews. Josephus contrasts the Samaritans with the 'worthiest' Jews, who did not forsake their covenant even when threatened with death.¹⁸⁷ At the beginning of book twelve, Josephus briefly mentions the Samaritans in the context of arguments between them and a group of Law-observant Jews (*Ant.* xii. 10¹⁸⁸), later the Samaritans reportedly laid waste to Judaea and carried off hostages (Josephus does not justify this event by recording their motivation, *Ant.* xii. 156). Thus Josephus has prepared the context for this discussion of the Samaritans, focusing on the poor relations between the two groups, and the arguments over observance of ancestral practices.

Context

Josephus introduces the Samaritan letter in pejorative terms, which follow on from (and explicitly refer to) his earlier claim that the Samaritans

alter their attitude according to circumstance and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen, on the grounds that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see the Jews in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race. Now concerning these people we shall have something to say in a more fitting place.

Antiquities ix. 290-1

¹⁸⁶ For full discussion on the Samaritan appeal, see J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 524-539. For the older literature on the Samaritan appeal, see Marcus, appendix G. Historical reconstructions of the Samaritans are hampered by a lack of contemporary literature from this group. Many of the references to the Samaritans are ambiguous, and could refer to the inhabitants of Samaria, rather than the religious and ethnic group – or references are polemical, as the New Testament cases (as the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, John iv. 7f.). For more recent discussion and bibliography, see L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Attitude Towards the Samaritans: A Study in Ambivalence', in L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 114-136.

¹⁸⁷ Josephus clearly presents Samaria as within the boundary of Galilee, *War* iii. 48, and yet identifies it as a distinct *ethnos*, *Ant.* x. 184; xvii. 20.

¹⁸⁸ Which is expanded at *Ant.* xiii. 74-79, as a polemical debate concerning the antiquity of the Jewish Temple.

In contrast to the Jews of the previous passage, who willingly died rather than forsake their religious customs, Josephus accuses the Samaritans of readily denying God out of fear that Antiochus' persecution against the Jews would extend to the Samaritans (*Ant.* xii. 257).¹⁸⁹

The Samaritan petition

The Samaritan appeal opens with a brief formulaic address, before quickly moving on to the business of distancing the 'Sidonians' from the Jews. According to Josephus, the Samaritans kept the Sabbath and feared that this would associate them with the Jews, and thus the main section of the letter disassociates the Samaritan practice of Sabbath observance with that of their Jewish counterparts. The decree states that due to national droughts the Samaritans adopted the ancient religious scruple of Sabbath observance which is also practised by the Jews. They built a Temple on Mount Gerizim and sacrificed there (xii. 259). This is a hugely important statement that goes some way to counter Bickermann's theory that the persecution during Antiochus IV's reign was religiously motivated. The Samaritans admit that they share a great number of practices with the Jews – they do not hide their practices, which suggests that the persecution was not directed at abolishing the ancient customs. The only item that the Samaritans offer to amend is to officially rename their Temple (xii. 261). 2 Maccabees records a request to rename the Samaritan Temple, and claims that it was to be named Zeus Xenios ('protector of strangers' - 2 Macc. vi. 2). In contrast, Josephus reports that the Temple was to be designation 'Zeus Hellenios', which puts a greater emphasis on the pro-Hellenistic outlook of the Samaritans (than 2 Maccabees). Finally, the Samaritans offer a financial incentive for Antiochus to leave them unmolested – if they could live in security, they could work harder and pay more tax (*Ant.* xii. 261).¹⁹⁰

The Letter of Antiochus to Nicanor

Josephus records a brief reply by King Antiochus to Nicanor and Apollonius. 2 Maccabees identifies Nicanor as the royal agent whose concern was with raising the revenue for the Seleucids (2 Macc. viii. 9). Josephus is aware of some part of this tradition, although direct

¹⁸⁹ On Josephus' attitude to the Samaritans, see R. Coggins, 'The Samaritans in Josephus', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1987), pp. 257-273. In actual fact, it appears as though much of the south of Samaria was inhabited by Jews during this time, see Schürer, i. 142.

¹⁹⁰ See F. Millar, 'The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism*', *JJS* 29 (1978), pp. 1-21.

dependence on 2 Maccabees remains unlikely. The king informs his official that the Samaritans are not to be associated with the Jews, and that they had agreed to live in accordance with Greek customs and rededicate their Temple to Zeus Hellenios (*Ant.* xii. 263). Antiochus is clearly content for the Samaritans to continue their religious customs (the same customs as those practiced by their Jewish neighbours), so long as they show allegiance to Syria by changing the name of their temple, and pay.

Josephus presents the date in the Seleucid manner (the 146th year – which equates to 167/166 BCE), then in the Attic month Hekatombian, and then in an otherwise unattested calendar designation, the month of Hyrcanios – or is it Hekatombian Hyrcanios? What Josephus meant by this date formula is unknown, although we can at least note that it is interesting that Josephus does not give the Hebrew month (*Ant.* xii. 264).¹⁹¹

There is every reason to suggest that this letter is authentic,¹⁹² and it shows that, for some reason, Antiochus was specifically opposed to the Jewish people (and not necessarily their practices). Josephus is keen to stress the key influence of finance on Antiochus' political moves – the Samaritans offer protection money for their security. After Josephus' representation of the greed of Antiochus, it should come as no surprise to his audience that the Syrian accepts the terms of the Samaritan petition. The final point of significance is that the Samaritans agreed to live in accordance with the 'Greek customs', and thus they were acquitted of all charges. Josephus here, as elsewhere, juxtaposes the ancestral traditions (in this case Sabbath observance) with the Greek way of life.

¹⁹¹ For a discussion on Josephus' date formula, see Marcus, p. 136, notes a, b, and c.

¹⁹² See E. Bickermann, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, II (Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 105-35.

3.4.5. Mattathias and his sons, *Ant.* xii. 265-286

This section of the narrative can be divided into three distinct sections, which reflect the structure of Josephus' source. Partitioning the account with a formulaic 'divider', Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν,¹⁹³ Josephus firstly introduces the central family of the Hasmoneans (*Ant.* xii. 265-267). The next section addresses the catalyst for revolt (*Ant.* xii. 268-278). The final part portrays the death of Mattathias, his departing speech, and the immediate aftermath (*Ant.* xii. 279-286).

i. Introduction to the Hasmoneans (xii. 265-267)

Josephus presents the main characters in his narrative:

At that same time there was a man living in the village of Modein in Judaea, named Mattathias, the son of Joannes, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamoniai, a priest of the course of Joarib and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, Joannes called Gaddes, Simon called Thatis, Judas called Maccabaeus, Eleazar called Auran, and Jonathan called Apphus.

Antiquities xii. 265-266

It is from this text that we gain the family name of the Hasmoneans, although little else is known of them.¹⁹⁴ Josephus claims personal descent from the Hasmoneans through the marriage of Mattathias to the daughter of Jonathan (*Life* 2), although, in his narrative of the Maccabean Period, he betrays no hint of this familial connection. Earlier in *Antiquities*, Josephus describes the division of the priestly courses by David, although his discussion remains general, and he does not mention any of the priestly courses by name. In his *Life*, Josephus makes the claim that the course of Jehoiarib was the first of the 'twenty-four', and states that this position was a 'peculiar distinction' (ἁδιαφορὰ¹⁹⁵), yet no such importance is implied in the biblical account of David's division of the priesthood, where the process is

¹⁹³ That Josephus uses this expression to introduce both the prologue to the Maccabean period, and the start of the revolt proper, might suggest that he found it a useful tool for signalling important narrative shifts or chronological phases. This phrase is not found in 1 Maccabees. See also, *Ant.* xi. 304, 313; xii. 196; xiii. 351, 395, 419.

¹⁹⁴ The later rabbinic sources refer to them as the family of Hasmonai, as, for example, *b. Meg.* 11a.

¹⁹⁵ Whilst his term can be understood in a negative manner, i.e. discordant, Josephus appears to qualify this by claiming that he was from the very best (ἄριστος) of its clans (*Life* 2).

completed by the drawing of lots (1 Chron. xxiv. 7, cf. *Life* 2). In this introductory passage, Josephus does not give any indication of the pre-eminence of the Jehoiarib clan (following 1 Maccabees).

Josephus presents the ideological outlook of Mattathias by attributing to him (in indirect speech) a lament (*Ant.* xii. 267). Mattathias' complaint focussed on two aspects of the persecution: the plundering (διαρπαγή) of the city and spoiling (σύλησις) of the Temple, and the misfortunes (συμφορά) of the people. The motifs of plundering and spoiling will be discussed throughout my analysis of Josephus' account of the Maccabean Revolt. Suffice it to state at this point that, generally speaking, Josephus downplays episodes where the Maccabees plunder or spoil. This might be a result of his idealised presentation of the priesthood as disinterested in material goods and wealth (*Apion* i. 32-33). Further, his only other use of the term 'spoiling' (σύλησις), is specifically associated with an ill-disciplined army (*Ant.* xix. 160).

The 'tragic' theme of 'misfortune' (συμφορά) appears throughout the Josephan corpus, and particularly in the *Antiquities* - its emphasis in the proem indicates the centrality of the concept to Josephus' overall presentation of Jewish history (*Ant.* i. 14, 20). The moralising tone of the proem presents 'misfortune/calamity' as the result of living without virtue; calamity was something brought upon oneself. Josephus presents the dire situation of the Jews in Jerusalem as of their own making, due to their negligent observance of the Law.¹⁹⁶

According to Josephus, Mattathias declared that it was 'better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so ingloriously' (*Ant.* xii. 267). This summary of the political thought of the Maccabees is repeated in several important speeches, mentioned below. Josephus, at the opening of his narrative of the Maccabees, links the 'misfortunes' of the people with their apostasy and raises the higher ideal of martyrdom.

Josephus' account differs in several aspects from 1 Maccabees. The earlier work makes it clear that Mattathias and his sons were residents of Jerusalem during the days of the persecution, but moved to Modein after witnessing the sacrilege of the Temple (1 Macc. ii. 1-7). They took no direct action against this profanation and yet rose up when a single Jew embraced foreign practices. Josephus' account alters this passage by removing Mattathias from the scene of the desolation in Jerusalem, thus avoiding the potential accusation of cowardice.

¹⁹⁶ This is made more explicit in *Ant.* xiii. 4-5.

1 Maccabees reports that Mattathias addressed his sons in a speech modelled on the language of Lamentations (1 Macc. ii. 6-13, compare Lamentations i. 1f.). Josephus, however, omits this lengthy lament in favour of a summary of its key features. The concept of martyrdom is brought to the forefront by Josephus, despite its vague expression in 1 Maccabees: ‘why should we live any longer?’ (1 Macc. ii. 13). Further, Josephus does not include the mention of the sackcloth (σάκκος) and rending of cloths (1 Macc. ii. 14) – indeed it is characteristic of Josephus’ representation of 1 Maccabees that he downplays the grief and mourning of the Jews.¹⁹⁷ In particular Josephus reduces instances of typically Jewish mourning¹⁹⁸ – notably sackcloth, ashes, and references to biblical examples. This may be a feature of the historiographical style of both works, since 1 Maccabees presents itself within the biblical genre, whilst Josephus writes Hellenistic history, emphasising accuracy and downplaying the novel aspects of the Jewish religion (in a sense, Josephus is contemporizing the account to make it more appealing to a Graeco-Roman audience).¹⁹⁹

ii. The catalyst for revolt (xii. 268-278)

Josephus recounts how some officers were sent by Antiochus to Modein, to compel the Jews to adopt the king’s religious commandments and sacrifice according to Antiochus’ decree. One of the Jews of the village volunteered to abandon his ancestral laws, and this was the catalyst for Mattathias’ uprising (*Ant.* xii. 268-278). Several features of this narrative stand out and deserve attention.

The officers of the king were sent to Modein to ‘compel’ (ἀναγκάζω) the Jews to abandon their ancestral practices (*Ant.* xii. 268). Earlier, Josephus reported that Antiochus sought to ‘force’ (ἀναγκάζω) the Jews to worship his gods, rather than the God of the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 253). The concept of compulsion, whether expressed in the form ἀναγκάζω, ἀναγκαῖος, or ἀνάγκη, is central to Josephus’ understanding of Jewish history. Both the *War* and the *Antiquities* were written ‘out of necessity’ (to expose ignorance - *War* i. 3; *Ant.* i. 3). These terms suggest a causal relationship, and in this instance should be understood as

¹⁹⁷ Sackcloth is only mentioned once in his paraphrase, *Ant.* xii. 300.

¹⁹⁸ See *TDNT*, which concludes that as a garment of mourning, sackcloth ‘seems to be an ancient institution in the Semitic world’. It was apparently associated with the Ancient Near Eastern communities, perhaps deriving from Babylonia. Finally, the wearing of sackcloth has a variety of meanings, including for national mourning, or for ancient prophets.

¹⁹⁹ The comparison between Josephus and 2 Maccabees is even starker.

accentuating the role of Antiochus Epiphanes. Although he is represented by officials, Josephus stresses that it is as a direct result of Antiochus' wishes that the officers *compel* the Jews to sacrifice to his gods. The repetition of king (βασιλεύς) within the sentence clearly identifies Antiochus as the instigator and perpetrator of the Jewish misfortune.

Josephus promotes the character of Mattathias by stating that the officers asked him to sacrifice first, believing that if 'his fellow citizens'²⁰⁰ saw Mattathias sacrifice, they would follow suit. This was because Mattathias was held in glory (δόξα) both for his deeds and his goodly sons. The previous paragraph establishes the connection of the abandonment of ancestral practices with ἄδοξος. By underscoring the glory (δόξα) of Mattathias, Josephus highlights this connection between 'distinction' and loyalty to the Law.

The reason for Mattathias' glory is identified as twofold: because of 'various things', and because of his goodly sons (εὐπαιδία - *Ant.* xii. 268). Josephus uses this term in only one other example, when he mentions Abdon, son of Elon, who judged Israel in a time of complete peace and security and this was remembered only for 'happy paternity' of forty sons! (*Ant.* v. 273-274 is an embellishment on the original text, based on Judg. xii. 13-15). From the beginning, therefore, Josephus presents the virtue of Mattathias as being intertwined with the personal qualities of his sons. Likewise, Mattathias reportedly responds to the request of the officers that he, *and his sons*, would never abandon their native form of worship, regardless of the other nations (*Ant.* xii. 269). This is despite the promise that he would be honoured by the king.

The precise catalyst for revolt was the willingness of one Jew to sacrifice according to Antiochus' commandments. Mattathias was 'filled with anger' (θυμώω), and he *and his sons* killed the Jew, the king's officer, and some soldiers, and tore down the pagan shrine with the shout "Whoever is zealous for our country's laws and the worship of God, let him come with me!" (*Ant.* xii. 270-271). The term ζηλωτής here means devotee (to view with a jealous regard), and Josephus connects it with the 'customs of our country'. While 1 Maccabees regularly uses the verb ζηλώω to describe the Jews' zeal: in view of Josephus' account of the

²⁰⁰ This promotes the social position of Mattathias and his sons, beyond that which is recorded in 1 Maccabees, which does not use this social designation πολιτικός.

zealots, it is deliberate and significant that he reduces the number of instances of this term in his rewriting of the Maccabean Revolt (as I will discuss shortly).²⁰¹

Josephus compares two groups of Jews who fled to the wilderness (*Ant.* xii. 271-275). Mattathias and his sons, leaving behind all of their property, fled to the wilderness - a second, unnamed group fled to the wilderness, but took their wives and children with them. Mattathias and his sons, by not burdening themselves with their property, were unencumbered. The Syrian soldiers gave the second group the chance of peaceful surrender, but they showed a 'hostile spirit' (φρονέω²⁰²). The Syrians attacked them on the Sabbath and massacred a thousand Jews since they offered no defence (*Ant.* xii. 275). The example of this observant group of Jews provides the context for Mattathias' 'Sabbath ruling'. Mattathias instructs his followers that by following the Law (to the letter) and not fighting on the Sabbath, the Jews were their worst enemies.

This account of the initial uprising of the Maccabees reworks the narrative of 1 Maccabees in several important instances. Josephus reduces the anger of Mattathias, and removes the majority of references to zeal. While Josephus states that Mattathias was in a 'rage', his source 1 Maccabees claims that 'When Mattathias saw it, he burned with zeal and his heart was stirred. He gave vent to righteous anger' (1 Macc. ii. 24). Likewise, Josephus mentions ζηλωτής only once in his entire Maccabean Revolt narrative (in Mattathias' exclamation for Jews who are zealous for the Law to follow him), whereas 1 Maccabees uses various forms of the term eight times within thirty-five lines of text and revels in the figure of Phinehas, the archetypal Jewish zealot.²⁰³ Elsewhere in Josephus the term (ζηλωτής) refers to the revolutionary party whom Josephus explicitly blames for the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.²⁰⁴ It is understandable that he downplays this usage when he refers to the Maccabees, out of fear that his audience would associate the two groups of 'freedom fighters'.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ On Josephus' use of 'zeal', see O. Betz, 'Miracles in the Writings of Flavius Josephus', in L. H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds.), *Jesus, Judaism and Christianity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 212-235, esp. 219f

²⁰² Marcus' translation of 'hostile spirit' is interesting, since elsewhere he translates the self same terms to mean 'holding an opposing view', *Ant.* xii. 274; xviii. 286.

²⁰³ 1 Macc. ii. 24, 26, 27, 50, 54 (twice), 58 (twice); viii. 16. On the figure of Phinehas see, 1 Macc. ii. 26, 54, which is based on Num. xxv. 7-11.

²⁰⁴ See *War* vii. 268 for a definition of their depths of lawlessness.

²⁰⁵ W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus* (New York, 1956) argues that the Zealots of the First Jewish Revolt actively sought a connection with the Maccabees and modelled themselves on the example of the Maccabean brothers. Yet this overall thesis falls short on two main points: first, as no literature survives that reflects a Zealot perspective, we can only reconstruct their viewpoint and 'propagandising' efforts from the polemical work of their opponents; and secondly, comparing the aims of the two groups highlights some inconsistency between their designs, particularly concerning their views of national independence.

Josephus shifts the focus of his retelling of 1 Maccabees from the figure of Mattathias to that of his sons. In *Antiquities* Mattathias is held in esteem because of his ‘goodly sons’, whilst 1 Maccabees presents Mattathias as ‘a leader, honoured and great’ (1 Macc. ii. 17). That said, Josephus explicitly credits Mattathias with the legal instructions allowing Jews to fight on the Sabbath, while 1 Maccabees states that it was Mattathias and his friends (1 Macc. ii. 39-41). Josephus uniquely claims that Mattathias was elected leader by the people: this may be a case where Josephus makes explicit what is unsaid in his source, rather than an example of Josephus’ elevation of his figures above and beyond his source (*Ant.* xii. 275).²⁰⁶ If he had wished to enhance the Hasmonean patriarch, it would be remarkable that Josephus omits the claim in 1 Maccabees that Mattathias was the leader of the town (1 Macc. ii. 17).²⁰⁷

Additional alterations to Josephus’ version include making the narrative of 1 Maccabees more realistic. Josephus omits the list of benefits and gifts that the king would bestow upon Mattathias, which, according to 1 Maccabees, includes the offer of the rank of Friend of the King, silver, gold, and ‘many gifts’ (1 Macc. ii. 18). This is barely credible when we consider the provincial nature of Judea and the previously unknown figure of Mattathias. Another important aspect of Josephus’ reinterpretation of 1 Maccabees, is that he omits all references to the Hasidim who, according to 1 Maccabees (ii. 42), joined Mattathias. This may simply have been because Josephus wanted to present Mattathias and his followers as a unified group of observant and faithful Jews. Having a distinctive group of ‘pietists’ would imply that many of the other Jews were not equally pious. Omitting the Hasidim also has an important apologetic benefit within a text that generally seeks to enhance the role of the priesthood in terms of religious and political leadership and authority. According to 1 Maccabees, the Hasidim broke their alliance with the Hasmoneans when their goal of religious autonomy had been achieved (1 Macc. vii. 13). Josephus does not record this schism, as it would emphasise the political and nationalist agenda of the Hasmoneans and dilute Josephus’ presentation of their piety and attachment to their ancestral traditions.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ As argued by Feldman, ‘Josephus and 1 Maccabees’, p. 44-45. Feldman claims that “in Josephus’ narrative each of the Hasmoneans is built up as a personality beyond the account in 1 Maccabees.” Feldman points to Mattathias’ election by the people, his (solo) decision to fight on the Sabbath, and the fact that Josephus credits him with a “respectable” period of leadership of one year. None of these factors unequivocally promotes the figure of Mattathias, and Feldman’s parallel with Virgil’s Aeneas is also problematic, since we have no evidence that Josephus read Virgil, nor indeed that he read Latin – Feldman’s claim that because Josephus mentions Livy (once), he must have read Latin is debateable (p. 45, n. 7).

²⁰⁷ Mattathias is completely marginalised by the author of 2 Maccabees, who omits him from his narrative. On this omission, see the speculative conclusions of J. A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 8, 17.

²⁰⁸ Feldman uses an unfortunate choice of words to discuss the problem of Josephus’ omission of the Hasidim. He writes, ‘On the one hand, as a lackey of the Romans, [Josephus] seems to identify with the ideological viewpoint of the Hasidim in seeking only religious autonomy rather than an independent state; on the other he

iii. The death of Mattathias (xii. 279-286)

After a year of leading the rebellion against the Seleucids, Josephus reports that Mattathias' health declined, so he called together his sons to charge them with the continuation of the revolt (*Ant.* xii. 279). The deathbed speech is a heavily symbolic oration, into which Josephus inserts ideas that have a bearing on the larger picture of the Maccabean Revolt – in effect, Mattathias' speech is used as the political manifesto of the early Hasmonean dynasty. This is clear as he later refers to this speech as the set of instructions under which Judas lived, fought, and died (*Ant.* xii. 433). The importance of deathbed speeches in Josephus' narrative generally cannot be overstated; Bickerman noted their popularity in Jewish literature and labelled this subgenre 'ethical wills'.²⁰⁹ In these eulogising passages Josephus summarises the achievements or failures of his historical personalities and gives his final judgement on their actions and motives, suggesting how his audience should remember them.²¹⁰

The biblical overtone is unmistakable: 'I myself, my sons, am about to go the destined way, but my spirit I leave in your keeping, and I beg you not to be unworthy guardians of it', *Ant.* xii. 279. This is the same language in which Josephus relates the final speech of Moses the Lawgiver (*Ant.* iv. 315), and it closely reflects Deut. xxxi. 16.²¹¹ And this is not the only textual similarity between Josephus' version of Mattathias' speech and the traditions surrounding Moses as recorded in the *Antiquities*, a subject to which I shall shortly return.

Mattathias continues by summarising the Hasmonean policies: while many through 'their own will or compulsion' had abandoned their ancestral practices, the sons of Mattathias were to remain true to their ancestral customs, and they would be rewarded by God for their faithfulness. God's reward would be the return of His Laws and liberty in which to practice them. Yet, Mattathias notes, this will not be easily achieved, and it was better to die letting the memory of great deeds live eternally, than to acquiesce to the foreign customs. Finally,

was a descendent of the Hasmoneans who insisted on that as well.' In L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', in F. Parente & J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68, p. 49. Feldman's use of the term 'lackey' is particularly problematical, not just because of its pejorative sense, but also as many scholars associate the *Antiquities* as Josephus' own production unshackled from his Roman patron (unlike the *War*, which is often understood as official Roman propaganda). On the purpose and outlook of *War* and *Antiquities*, see 2.2 and 3.1.4 respectively.

²⁰⁹ As argued by S. J. D. Cohen, among others, *Josephus in Galilee*, p. 46. On the Jewish use of deathbed speeches and their relation in particular to the notion of testimonies, see E. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 205f.

²¹⁰ It also provides an interesting opportunity to assess the relationship between Josephus' narrative as a whole, and what he chooses to emphasise (or ignore) in his summary.

²¹¹ A connection that has escaped Feldman's otherwise careful commentary in the new Brill series, who notes only the comparison with the biblical text, where it is God who tells Moses that he is about to join his ancestors, S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary – Judaeen Antiquities 1-4* (vol. 3, trans. L. H. Feldman; Leiden, Brill, 2000), p. 470, n. 1100.

Josephus ends Mattathias' speech with references to his two most prominent sons, Simon and Judas, the former of whom is endowed with intelligence and is to be respected for his sage advice, whilst the latter is a military genius who would 'avenge our nation and punish our enemies' (xii. 283-284).

Summarising the objectives of Mattathias' revolt, Josephus identifies two main objectives: to preserve our country's customs, and to restore the ancient form of government (*Ant.* xii. 280). This reflects the declared purpose of the *Antiquities* as Josephus claims to be writing about the 'ancient history and political constitution' of the Jewish people (*Ant.* i. 5). If my hypothesis that the *Antiquities* was intended for a Jewish audience is correct (in 3.1.4, above), then this passage is particularly significant as it forms a stirring call to Jews not to abandon their ancestral practices.

The text of the speech records several important themes. The concept of 'compulsion' (ἀνάγκη), which is discussed above, is emphasised in Mattathias' address: 'do not make common cause with those who are betraying the ancestral practices, whether of their own will or through compulsion (ἀνάγκη); but since you are my sons, I wish you to remain constant as such and to be superior to all force and compulsion (ἀνάγκη)' (*Ant.* xii. 280-281). Josephus writes that Mattathias warns his sons to remain constant to the Law, as God rewards those who remain faithful by reinstating their ancestral customs and practices – this, according to Josephus, was Mattathias' notion of virtue (ἀρετή - translated by Marcus as 'heroism').

The notion of martyrdom is accentuated. Mattathias asks his sons to be prepared in spirit (ψυχῆ) to die for the Law (*Ant.* xii. 281), to pursue glory (δόξα) and not shrink from giving up their lives for it (*Ant.* xii. 282). In a fatalistic tone Mattathias states 'for though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, we can through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality (ἀθανασία)' (*Ant.* xii. 282).²¹² In a later place, Josephus uses this same term, 'immortality' (ἀθανασία), to justify a digression from his main narrative, as the detour provided 'instances of something bearing on the immortality of the soul' (*Ant.* xvii. 354). Noble deeds and memories live forever and become part of the national consciousness.²¹³

²¹² Feldman stresses the link between the concept of immortal memory of great deeds and Stoic idealism. However it should be noted that this idea of an undying renown is a feature of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 51), a work that is clearly not Stoic. See L. H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees', in F. Parente & J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 41-68, p. 46.

²¹³ Cf. *Ant.* xvii. 152. This description of the ongoing 'spirit' of Mattathias reflects the Essenic notion of immortality, as recorded in *Antiquities*: 'They regard the soul as immortal and believe that they ought to strive

Josephus makes striking alterations to Mattathias' oration in his source 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 49f.). Marcus notes that Josephus 'converts into philosophical language what is in 1 Maccabees a simple appeal by Mattathias to his sons to remember the heroism of the great national figures from Abraham to Daniel.'²¹⁴ Josephus omits the inventory of biblical heroes listed by 1 Maccabees as being examples of faithfulness to the Law (1 Macc. ii. 52-61: Abraham, Joseph, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elijah, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, and Daniel). Indeed Mattathias' speech in 1 Maccabees is principally concerned with promoting the reputation of these biblical characters, and their faithfulness to the Torah. Why then does Josephus choose to ignore this significant portion of the dialogue? One reason may be that the account in 1 Maccabees (ii. 49-70) was heavily influenced by the Deuteronomic motif of 'remembering', which is not a major feature of Josephus' writing.²¹⁵ Mattathias' deathbed speech in Josephus bears more similarity to the philosophy of Plato or tragedies of Aeschylus, whose terminology is replicated in the speech from start to finish. However, there are points of similarity in theme between Josephus and 1 Maccabees which confirms Josephus' reliance. 1 Maccabees recalls that the sons were instructed to 'give your lives for the covenant of your ancestors and you will receive great honour and an everlasting name' (1 Macc. ii. 50-51). Josephus' version commands them, 'to die for the laws' and 'not [to] shrink from giving up your lives to pursue glory and undertake the greatest things' (*Ant.* xii. 281-282).

The conclusion to the final speech of Mattathias is similar in Josephus and 1 Maccabees, with the exception of the Josephan addition that Mattathias' sons should be of one mind (ὁμονόεω), and yield to each other where one proved strongest, and thus combine their virtues (ἀρετή - Josephus again stresses the virtues of the Maccabees, while 1 Maccabees does not contain this term), (xii. 283). This passage underlines the coherence and unity of the Maccabees, which should be contrasted with his earlier examples of στάσις.²¹⁶ Josephus uses the related Greek term ὁμόνοια within his refashioning of 1 Maccabees, in his letter from

especially to draw near to righteousness' (*Ant.* xviii. 18, also *War* ii. 154f). We know little else about the Essenes, and have no data from their own hands (especially now the Essene/Qumran consensus is being challenged). I find it more likely that Josephus is projecting idealised philosophical and political notions onto groups, with the aim of demonstrating the virtuous nature of some Jewish groups.

²¹⁴ Marcus, p. 145, n. c.

²¹⁵ The speech in 1 Maccabees bears a striking resemblance to Deuteronomy, notably 1 Macc. ii. 51 = Deut. xxxii. 7. That 'remembering' was a key feature of Deuteronomy, see, for example, Deut. iv. 10; v. 15; vii. 18; viii. 2, 18; ix. 7, 27; xi. 2.

²¹⁶ That the terms ὁμόνοια and στάσις should be understood as opposites is clear from Josephus' claim that when the famine led the Jews to cannibalism, Titus 'offered the Jews peace, independence, and an amnesty for all past offences, while they, preferring sedition (στάσις) to concord (ὁμόνοια), peace to war, famine to plenty and prosperity... were indeed deserving even of such food as this' (*War* vi. 215-216).

Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra requesting permission to build a Temple in Egypt. Onias is quoted as claiming that the Jewish Temple in Egypt will create *ὁμόνοια*, and as a result of this *ὁμόνοια*, the Jews would be able to serve King Ptolemy better (*Ant.* xiii. 67). Whether Josephus was borrowing from established political notions of harmony, as popularised by Plato, is unknown.²¹⁷ Josephus is certainly keen to stress the unity of the Maccabees and portray them as virtuous (*ἀρετῆ*), (*Ant.* xii. 283).

This deathbed speech contains many parallels with a monologue that Josephus puts in the mouth of Moses (*Ant.* iii. 300-2). In this oration, Moses encourages the Jews on the Canaanite frontier with the words:

Of the two blessings which God has resolved to grant you, liberty (*ἐλευθερία*) and the possession of favoured land, the first *through His gift* ye already have, and the second ye are forthwith to receive. For we are seated on the frontiers of the Canaanites, and henceforth our advance shall be stayed not only by neither king nor city, nay not even by their whole united nation. Prepare (*παρασκευάζω*) we then for the task; for it is not without a combat that they will cede to us their territory, but only when after mighty struggles they are dispossessed of it. Let us then send scouts to mark the richness of the land and the strength of its people's forces. But, before all, let us be of one mind (*ὁμόνοια*) and hold God, who is ever our helper and ally (*σύμμαχος*), in lasting honour.

Antiquities iii. 300-2

The similarity between the two speeches is remarkable, in particular concerning the plea by Mattathias to stay faithful to God's laws, as he will then restore the liberty of the Jews (as *Ant.* xii. 281). The highlighted Greek terms, *liberty*, *preparedness*, *unity of mind*, and God as *ally*, appear in both speeches. None of the terms appear in Mattathias' speech in 1 Maccabees, and *παρασκευάζω* and *ὁμόνοια* do not appear anywhere within this work. There is no direct biblical source for Moses' speech (the account is an expansion of the events recorded in Numbers xiii. 1f.). Josephus has clearly used the narrative from Numbers and invented a plausible and dramatic oration. Both Mattathias' and Moses' speeches appear to be rather free elaborations on their source texts. The fact that Josephus stresses the same points in both monologues heightens their importance. That Josephus had the former oration in mind when he wrote Mattathias' deathbed speech is implied by the reference to God restoring 'liberty' to the Jews

²¹⁷ E.g. *Republic* 352a, 545d.

in reward for their adherence to their ancestral customs – as it is in Moses' speech that God initially grants liberty to the Jews (*Ant.* iii. 300).

Finally, Josephus notes that Mattathias prayed to his God to be their ally and aid them in recovering their people's way of life, before he died, and was buried with great public lamentation at Modein (*Ant.* xii. 285). Enermalm-Ogawa, in her examination of the narrative context of prayer in Josephus, identifies this entreaty as particularly significant to Josephus' representation of the 1 Maccabees.²¹⁸ She finds this short prayer a 'vehicle for Josephus' eschatological hope', and concludes that 'the fact that the prayer repeats the theme of restoration from the discourse makes the hope expressed therein into something more than a doctrinal statement'.²¹⁹ Yet in comparison with the lengthy speech of Mattathias, his final prayer is an incidental statement, which barely warrants the significance that Enermalm-Ogawa attempts to attach to it. The contents of this prayer are more likely the result of its relationship with the invented speech of Moses discussed above.

Mattathias' eulogy in Josephus is not enhanced, despite his habit of playing down mourning and lamentation on the death of his heroes – no such literary embellishment occurs. Josephus' main literary technique throughout this section of text appears to be one of rewriting 1 Maccabees in Greek terms borrowed from Plato and the tragedian Aeschylus. He also underlines the agenda and themes of the Maccabean period as a fight to restore their liberty and their ancestral traditions.

Josephus ends with the additional notice that on Mattathias' death he was succeeded as first in authority by Judas. Emphasising the theme of unity between the brothers, Josephus briefly summarises the immediate achievements of Judas Maccabaeus. This is a condensed version of 1 Maccabees (iii. 1-9) - Josephus includes the main historical events, whilst skipping the poetic descriptions of his source – which describes Judas as lion like, and a single-handed protector of his people. Josephus concludes with the unique statement that Judas 'purified (καθαρίζω) the land of all pollution (μίασμα)' (*Ant.* xii. 286). Both of these terms occur rarely in Josephus, but it is clear that they carry a religious overtone. The term καθαρίζω is used only four times in the main manuscript tradition of Josephus, with two additional uses in minor textual variants.²²⁰ The word gives some indication in this initial

²¹⁸ A. Enermalm-Ogawa, 'Josephus's Paraphrase of 1 Maccabees in *Antiquities* 12-13. Prayer in a Narrative Context', in J. H. Charlesworth & M. Kiley (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (Philadelphia, PA 1994), pp. 73-84, esp. p. 76.

²¹⁹ Enermalm-Ogawa, 'Josephus's Paraphrase', p. 77.

²²⁰ All major uses are in the *Antiquities*. See *Ant.* x. 70; xi. 153; xii. 286, 316 – variant readings are *Ant.* xiv. 160; *Apion* i. 260.

introduction to Judas of his later achievement: first Judas cleanses the land (καθαρίζω – *Ant.* xii. 286), and then he purifies the Temple (καθαρίζω – *Ant.* xii. 316).

The word μίσημα appears seven times in *Antiquities*, and mostly relates to the cleansing of ritual impurities. On the succession of Hezekiah, the king orders the Levites to purify themselves of their former pollutions (μίσημα), which were caused by Ahaz's transgression of the laws and the worship of God (*Ant.* ix. 262). It also refers to religious pollution by idolatry (*Ant.* ix. 273).²²¹ A person who has paid the last rites to the dead for over seven days, must sacrifice two lambs because of their pollution (*Ant.* iii. 262).²²²

²²¹ Here Josephus is paraphrasing 2 Chronicles xxix, which nowhere uses μίσημα.

²²² This is based on the requirements of Numbers xix. 11 and xxxi. 19 – neither passage in the LXX uses the term μίσημα.

3.4.6. Judas Maccabaeus, *Ant.* xii. 287-315

The following section of narrative deals with the early military successes of Judas Maccabaeus. This section features three separate battle sequences, which act to promote the leadership qualities of Judas (at Baithoron, Emmaus and Bethsur). I will discuss these three battles briefly, highlighting elements that characterise Judas. That this section is a distinct part of the overall representation of the Maccabean Revolt is evident from the change in narrative style, from the summary and vague account of Judas' succession and the period immediately afterwards, to the focused and detailed account of the preparations for battle, speeches, and battle sequences. Further, the paragraph starts with a new character in the form of Apollonius, and the formulaic linking phrase 'hearing of this' (*Ant.* xii. 287). The second subdivision of this section also adopts this linking phrase, 'hearing of this', to reintroduce King Antiochus Epiphanes into the narrative (*Ant.* xii. 293). These phrases appear to be a way of connecting narratives and sources – hence the divisions adopted in this study. The third subdivision chronicles the battle of Emmaus (*Ant.* xii. 298-312), the fourth the short battle at Bethsura (*Ant.* xii. 313-315).

i. Apollonius and Seron

Whilst the battle against Apollonius contains little information on the character of Judas, a couple of points are significant.²²³ Josephus recognises that Judas seized booty (λεία) from his victory over Apollonius; in addition to stealing (σκυλεύω) the governor's sword, Judas also plundered 'the camp of the enemy'. Josephus reduces the number of references to plunder and booty in his version of 1 Maccabees, as it is a prominent feature of the Hasmonean history.²²⁴ Later, Josephus criticises ill-disciplined armies for their indiscriminate pillaging and despoiling (*Ant.* xix. 160 – which names citizens and Temples as illegitimate targets), and he adds the location of Judas' plundering – the camp of the enemy – as a justifiable and legitimate target.

²²³ Rappaport believes that the omission in 2 Maccabees of these two battles against Apollonius and Seron reveals their insignificance. However, they are clearly important morale-boosting battles, which established Judas' reputation, as is evidenced by the anger of Antiochus Epiphanes (which is recorded in 1 Maccabees and Josephus). U. Rappaport, '1 Maccabees', in J. Barton & J. Muddiman (eds.), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 716.

²²⁴ The noun σκῦλα is used nineteen times. λεία is not found in 1 Maccabees.

Josephus repeats his use of the linking phrase when he recounts that Seron ‘heard’ of Judas, and mustered an army against him (*Ant.* xii. 288). Josephus converts to prose the oration of Seron recorded in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. iii. 14), which prevents it from overshadowing Judas’ speech – Josephus only gives a direct voice to the Maccabees. Josephus’ amplification of Judas’ courage and leadership skill is clear throughout – Judas persuaded (πειθω) his men to hold the enemy in contempt (*Ant.* xii. 292). The Jewish rebels had fasted, and were outnumbered, so Judas encouraged them that victory lay not in numbers, but in piety (εὐσέβεια) towards God.²²⁵ It is Judas who notices that his soldiers are afraid – this example of Judas’ insight is not apparent in 1 Maccabees, which states instead that the soldiers came to Judas to relay their fears (*Ant.* xii. 290, 1 Macc. iii. 17).

The term that Josephus uses for persuasion (πειθω), is not found in 1 Maccabees, yet it is used nineteen times during Josephus’ paraphrase. The word occurs throughout the *Antiquities*, and it is introduced three times in the proem, where it describes Epaphroditus’ encouragement of Josephus’ literary enterprise (*Ant.* i. 9) and twice characterises Moses’ persuasion of the people (*Ant.* i. 21, 21). During Josephus’ version of the Maccabean Revolt, he applies this form of persuasion to the Maccabees and the Syrians alike, although the Maccabees always convince others successfully (*Ant.* xii. 277, 283, 292, 300, 347), while the Syrians fail in their attempts to influence the Jews, or their acts of persuasion backfire (*Ant.* xii. 255, 269, 273, 384).

1 Maccabees differs in several ways from Josephus’ retelling of the same events. It mentions that the Jewish soldiers were hungry as they had not eaten, but Josephus explains this by identifying a religious fast day (*Ant.* xii. 290), which heightens the Maccabees’ piety. The account in 1 Maccabees presents victory as coming from Heaven (1 Macc. iii. 18-19), whilst Josephus’ version credits the piety of the Jews as sufficient. Further, Josephus states that ‘in doing no wrong there is a mighty force’, which again emphasises the human influence in battle and the righteousness of the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 291).²²⁶ Finally, whilst 1 Maccabees presents three different speeches (by Seron, the terrified Jews, and Judas), Josephus turns the first two into prose, and alters Judas’ oration into direct speech, thus emphasising it above the others.

²²⁵ Josephus’ use of piety (*Ant.* xii. 290) compares favourably with his verdict of the pro-Seleucid Jews of the previous line, whom he describes as impious (*Ant.* xii. 289).

²²⁶ Compare this catchphrase with Zerubbabel’s praise for truth (*Ant.* xi. 56)

ii. Antiochus Epiphanes

Using the same phrase, ‘hearing of this’, Josephus reintroduces Antiochus Epiphanes into the narrative (*Ant.* xii. 293). Immediately Antiochus is recorded as being ‘greatly incensed’ (ὀργίζω), a recurring motif of tyranny and lack of control. Antiochus’ efforts to invade Judaea are hampered by a lack of funds, which is a regular verdict on Antiochus’ administration in the ancient sources.²²⁷ The blame for this financial shortfall is placed with the failure of nations to pay their tribute, due to widespread sedition (στάσις – *Ant.* xii. 294). Earlier in his account, Josephus gives an example of a marginal Jewish community who offered to pay more tribute if they are left in peace from persecution.²²⁸ Later, Josephus answers the calumnious slur of Apion that supported Antiochus Epiphanes with the words,

These authors are more concerned to uphold the sacrilegious king than to give a fair and veracious description of our rites and temple. In their desire to defend Antiochus and to cover up the perfidy and sacrilege practiced upon our nation under pressure of an empty exchequer, they have further invented, to discredit us, the fictitious story which follows

Apion ii. 90

Antiochus instructed Lysias to subdue Judaea, make slaves of the people (ἐξανδραποδίζω), to destroy Jerusalem, and kill (ἀπόλλυμι) the Jewish race (*Ant.* xii. 296). The term ἐξανδραποδίζω is found only twice in the *Antiquities*, and in the other instance, it also refers to the complete enslavement of a town (*Ant.* xiv. 275). It also implies a financial element, since the Jews are sold into slavery for money, and so Josephus’ choice of word may be intended to stress Antiochus’ financial problems. That said, the policy of ethnic cleansing could not be clearer. Josephus’ source does not claim that the Syrians wanted to kill all Jews, just the ‘strength of Israel’, and the ‘remnant of Jerusalem’ (1 Macc. iii. 35). Although these groups are not explicitly identified, it is clear that the author of 1 Maccabees is using biblical sobriquets to describe the Maccabees.²²⁹

²²⁷ 1 Macc. iii. 29 gives the parallel version. Polybius maligns Antiochus for being too willing to part with expensive gifts, xxvi. 1.

²²⁸ The Samaritans petition Antiochus to be left unmolested, so as to ‘apply ourselves to our work in security, we shall make your revenues greater’ (*Ant.* xii. 261).

²²⁹ 1 Macc. iii. 35; on the ‘Remnant of Jerusalem’ see, Isa. x. 20; Jer. vi. 91 xxxi. 7.

iii. The battle of Emmaus

Lysias appointed Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias to lead an attack on Judas, and together with a large force, they went to the city of Emmaus and awaited Judas and the Maccabean Rebels (*Ant.* xii. 298-312). This battle provides an opportunity to present Judas' military achievements, and using his favoured editorial device, Josephus reports Judas' morale-boosting speak to the Maccabean forces. Judas defeats the Syrians, and as a mark of the importance of this battle, Josephus' summary notes that 'it contributed not a little to the regaining of their liberty' (*Ant.* xii. 312).

This narrative unit makes a stark comparison between slavery and liberty, as the slavetraders are amassed awaiting the assured Syrian victory, while the section concludes with Judas' establishment of liberty for his followers. Using reported speech, Josephus details Judas' attempts to persuade (πειθω) his soldiers to be encouraged (θαρσέω), and to make supplication to God according to their ancestral customs (explicitly sackcloth).²³⁰ Judas acts as the military commander, by dividing his force up following biblical precedent (*Ant.* xii. 301), and dismissing newlyweds, and those who had recently bought property.²³¹ Josephus claims that these men might be preoccupied with 'enjoying these things', and therefore they might be cowardly (ἄτολμος)²³² in order to survive (*Ant.* xii. 301; iv. 298). 1 Maccabees also records the dismissal of these men, but does not give an explicit reason for their release (1 Macc. iii. 56).

The battle of Emmaus is the first time that Josephus presents Judas' speech in direct language. It is clearly a symbolic and important statement, which summarises the Maccabees' concerns and demonstrates continuity between Judas and his father Mattathias. Judas' speech in *Antiquities* bears little relation to that reported in 1 Maccabees, which is little more than a plea for preservation of life (*Ant.* xii. 302-304; 1 Macc. iii. 58-60).

Josephus heightens the drama of the occasion by maintaining the importance of the battle in the opening sentence of Judas' speech: 'No time will ever be given you, my comrades, when there will be more need for courage and contempt of danger than at the present moment' (*Ant.* xii. 302). Judas unpacks the notion of 'liberty' (ἐλευθερία), which is

²³⁰ Josephus greatly reduces the description of the mourning and supplication recorded in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. iii. 44-54), and he keeps the focus of the narrative on the figure of Judas, rather than introducing other characters.

²³¹ Deut. xx. 5; see also Josephus paraphrase of Deuteronomy in *Ant.* iv. 298.

²³² Josephus uses this term only twice in his entire surviving corpus (*Ant.* xii. 301, *Apion* i. 62). It does not feature in the Septuagint (and thus it is absent from his source 1 Maccabees).

loved by all men, but more so by the Jews, since ‘it gives [them] the right to worship the Deity’ (*Ant.* xii. 303). Josephus relates that to recover this liberty would result in ‘a happy (εὐδαίμων) and blessed life’.²³³ This theme of εὐδαιμονία was introduced in the proem to *Antiquities* as the reward for those who followed the path of righteousness: God allowed the virtuous this privilege, while those who departed from virtue were faced with calamity (*Ant.* i. 14, 20). Josephus inserts an explanation of Judas’ speech to define the nature of a ‘happy and blessed life’ as a ‘life in accordance with the laws and customs of their fathers’ (*Ant.* xii. 303).

Judas continues his speech by stating that ‘death is the portion even of those who do not fight’, and that those who die for ideals gain eternal glory (εὐκλεία). This statement closely reflects the deathbed speech of Mattathias in Josephus – in fact, these are the only two uses of εὐκλεία in Josephus’ representation of the Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 282).²³⁴ Judas clearly advocates martyrdom, and he highlights the ‘precious causes’ of the Maccabees as fourfold: liberty (ἐλευθερία), country (πατρις), law (νόμος), and piety (εὐσέβεια). Whilst the themes of liberty, laws and piety are well represented in Josephus’ version of the Maccabean Revolt, this is the only time that ‘nation/country’ is vocalised as a rallying call for the rebels.²³⁵

Judas’ speech ends with his instruction for the Jews to prepare their spirits (ψυχὰ) to meet the enemy (*Ant.* xii. 304). This reflects Mattathias’ earlier plea for his sons to be ‘prepared in spirit as to die for the Law’ (*Ant.* xii. 281). This theme permeates the narrative, as can be shown by Josephus’ presentation of the immediate aftermath of Antiochus’ religious injunctions, that some of good spirit held their ancestral practices above the king’s laws, and suffered martyrdom (*Ant.* xii. 255).²³⁶

The account of Judas’ speech in Josephus differs fundamentally from that of his source. 1 Maccabees does not include any of the motivations described by Josephus (liberty, laws, land and piety), and states instead that ‘Heaven’ will decide the victory (1 Macc. iii. 60).

²³³ It is clear that Josephus intends this to refer to the previous sentence on ‘liberty’, and his repeated use of the Greek term ἀπολαμβάνω connects the two clauses (*Ant.* xii. 302, 303).

²³⁴ The term is not used in 1 Maccabees.

²³⁵ During the Hellenistic period, national boundaries were often intangible, which may be reflected in Josephus’ relegation of this policy – likewise the Diasporic nature of Second Temple Period Judaism and the negative connotations of nationalism (particularly in the light of the recent war against Rome), could have also been factors that limited Josephus’ rewriting process.

²³⁶ Earlier in *Antiquities*, Moses’ speech to the people prepares their spirits for battle (*Ant.* iii. 48), also, and significantly, in Josephus’ version of the Deuteronomic laws concerning the release of newly weds prior to battle, Moses is recorded as wanting the strong spirited to fight (and he compares this group with the cowards, *Ant.* iv. 298).

Josephus' version is more focused on the human aspects of the battle, and through the soldiers' courage, contempt for the enemy, and spirit, they will gain victory.

The battle sequence itself contains several examples of Judas' virtue, and in particular his military capability. Judas became aware of the enemy's plan to attack at night, and so he devised a counter-strike taking advantage of the divided Syrian forces. Josephus claims that Judas and his men were prepared (they had eaten in good time, and left fires burning to pretend they were camped in that location²³⁷), and that Judas further encouraged them in the face of a superior enemy, as God admired and supported men of good spirit/courage (εὐψυχία,²³⁸ *Ant.* xii. 307). Judas' strategic ability is indicated by the notice that the Syrians were caught completely off guard, and were filled with terror (ἐκπλήσσω) and confusion (ταράσσω, *Ant.* xii. 308). This achievement is all the more impressive as the Syrians were previously presented as having 'experience in warfare' (ἐμπειρία,²³⁹ *Ant.* xii. 307).

The Syrians were routed, and Josephus reports that Judas prevented his soldiers from taking spoil until the battle is completely won, thereby demonstrating the discipline of the soldiers and Judas' power over them (*Ant.* xii. 309; cf. *Ant.* xix. 160). The second detachment of Syrians were quickly put to flight, and Judas' victory led to the regaining of their liberty – which stresses 'liberty' as the key military ambition of the Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 312).

Josephus' account is basically comparable to 1 Maccabees, although he attributes greater fear to the enemy. Further, 1 Maccabees implies that the victory is due to God alone,²⁴⁰ whilst Josephus, as elsewhere, recognises the importance of Judas and his soldiers, and demotes divine influence. It is noteworthy that Josephus makes explicit that the renegade Jews fought on the side of the Seleucids, which is only implied in 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 299, 305; cf. 1 Macc. iii. 39-40, which mentions only the forces from Syria and the 'Philistines').

iv. The battle of Bethsur

The battle at Bethsura between Lysias and Judas is not recorded in detail by any of our sources for this period. Josephus reports that Lysias was dismayed (συγχέω) at his generals'

²³⁷ This was a common trick, as mentioned by Thucydides, vii. 80. 3.

²³⁸ Josephus only adopts this term ten times, and its use here is emphatic since its deployment as the key theme in Judas' speech (*Ant.* xii. 302).

²³⁹ A military term which, unsurprisingly, features heavily in the writings of Thucydides, i. 121. 2; i. 142. 5, etc.

²⁴⁰ 'And now, let us cry to Heaven, to see whether he will favour us and remember his covenant with our ancestors and crush this army before us today', 1 Macc. iv. 10.

defeat and launched an attack on Judas. Judas prayed to God to be his ally (σύμμαχος), attacked, and became a cause of fear (ἐπίφοβος) to the Syrians (*Ant.* xii. 314). Josephus stresses the next statement with the emphatic ἀμέλει, 'indeed' (*Ant.* xii. 315), when Lysias saw the resoluteness (φρόνημα) of the Jews to live in liberty, he feared this stubbornness as strength and departed to Antioch. Josephus is eager to stress the psychological aspects of this brief battle: Judas was an object of fear, the Jews' resoluteness was their strength which Lysias feared. Mattathias' deathbed speech bequeaths his resoluteness (φρόνημα) to his sons, and Josephus emphatically demonstrates Judas' guardianship of this purpose (*Ant.* xii. 279).

The account of this battle in 1 Maccabees is equally short, and it devotes the majority of its version to Judas' prayer to God, to assist them in the same way that He helped the biblical characters David and Jonathan son of Saul (1 Macc. iv. 30). Josephus, as he does throughout his paraphrase, omits the references to the biblical characters and the examples of God's assistance. Instead God is promoted as the ally of the virtuous, and is not necessarily a Jewish ally by right.

3.4.7. The Temple, *Ant.* xii. 316-326

The early military career of Judas culminates in his restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem (*Ant.* xii. 316-326).²⁴¹ Josephus starts this section of narrative with a summary of the previous section: Having defeated the Syrians ‘so many times’, Judas assembled the people and told them that they ought to purify the Temple (*Ant.* xii. 316-318). Judas rededicated the Temple, reinstated the sacrificial practices, and instigated the ‘festival of lights’ (*Ant.* xii. 318-326).

i. The assembly of the people

Josephus explicitly records that Judas assembled the people (ἐκκλησιάσας), and informed them that after God’s assistance in their victories, they ought to go to Jerusalem and purify (καθαρίζω) the Temple.²⁴² Here Josephus uses the verb ‘to cleanse’, which has an evident religious connotation²⁴³ – the term is a verbal echo of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 41). Josephus accentuates Judas’ popular support by his claim that he, and the ‘entire multitude’, came to Jerusalem and lamented (θρηνέω) in dismay (συγχέω) at the sight of the dilapidated Temple.²⁴⁴ It is rare for Josephus to acknowledge the mourning and lamentation which figures throughout 1 Maccabees, and in this instance, even though Judas does mourn, the Josephan account is a considerable abridgement of the version of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 39-40).²⁴⁵ This is Josephus’ only use of the term ‘dismay’ (συγχέω) relating to one of the Maccabee brothers themselves, as it is normally used to describe Syrian disasters: Lysias’

²⁴¹ The question of dating, and more specifically, why Judas delayed cleansing the Temple after his victory over Lysias, is debated at great length in Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, pp. 273ff.

²⁴² 1 Maccabees states that Judas and his brothers decide to restore the Temple – and that, without being explicitly commanded, the ‘entire army assembled’ (iv. 36-7). Josephus’ use of ἐκκλησιάσας is rare, and it does not appear in 1 Maccabees – the term does occur within the Septuagint in this form, and its function in LXX Deuteronomy is particularly significant. Deut. xxxi. 12, 28 depict Moses ‘gathering’ of the people prior to their entrance into Israel and his own death. The word thus has precedence for being used in the aorist participle, in connection with the establishment of the land, and the associated liberty and national independence.

²⁴³ According to *TDNT*.

²⁴⁴ Josephus notes only that the gates were burnt down, and there were plants growing in the sanctuary, 1 Maccabees mentions the ruined priestly chambers, and generally builds up the desolation of the Temple, and the resultant mourning. Bickerman, *God of the Maccabees* p. 72, interprets this passage to mean that Antiochus had installed pagan worship in the Temple, by converting the precinct into ‘grove-like parks’. The evidence, however, does not support this assertion by Bickerman, and his reliance on Deut. xvi. 21 does not stand scrutiny.

²⁴⁵ Indeed, Josephus only uses the term for putting on ashes (σποδός) three times in his entire corpus – *Ant.* vii. 171, 204; xx. 123. The text in 1 Maccabees favours the use of biblical models of mourning, and the rending of sackcloth is a well-known episode in the life of David – whether the author wished to equate Judas and David is not clear, although the connection is feasible, as 2 Sam. i. 11.

‘dismay’ at the defeat of his generals (*Ant.* xii. 317, 313), the emotional state of Antiochus Epiphanes on his death (*Ant.* xii. 357), Bacchides’ dismay at Jonathan’s success (*Ant.* xiii. 30).

ii. The rededication of the Temple

Josephus’ version of the rededication of the Temple focuses on the central character of Judas, and promotes him beyond his role in 1 Maccabees. According to Josephus, Judas selected some of his soldiers, ordering them to fight the men of the Acra, whilst ‘he himself’ sanctified (ἀγνίζω) the Temple (*Ant.* xii. 318). In Josephus’ account, Judas single-handedly purifies the Temple, installs new vessels, pulls down the altar, and builds a new one not hewn by iron (Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5). Josephus notes that when the sacrifices restarted, it was on the same day on which, three years before, the Temple had been profaned (*Ant.* xii. 320), as was predicted by the prophet Daniel (who Josephus claims wrote four hundred and eighty years beforehand, *Ant.* xii. 322). Josephus here, as elsewhere, gives the Macedonian name of the month where 1 Maccabees has only the Hebrew (*Ant.* xii. 319, 321; 1 Macc. v. 52). This reflects his modernising tendency, and the fact that his audience (whether Jewish or not) may not have understood Hebrew.

Josephus’ account of the rededication of the Temple differs from 1 Maccabees. Significantly, 1 Maccabees claims that Judas selected ‘blameless priests’ to purify the Temple and reinstall the vessels; Josephus maintains that Judas completed the task personally (1 Macc. iv. 42-51). This preoccupation with the central character, at the expense of minor ones, is characteristic of Josephus’ retelling of 1 Maccabees (and, indeed, of his writing style generally).²⁴⁶ In this case it is important, since Josephus later claims that Judas Maccabaeus was the high priest, a role which is not accredited to Judas in any other source (see *Ant.* xii. 414, 419, 434 – yet compare with *Ant.* xx. 237 which states that the high priesthood was vacant on the death of Alcimus for seven years).

Josephus omits the storing of the defiled altar stones until a prophet can decide on them (as 1 Macc. iv. 46). With the benefit of hindsight, Josephus would have known that no such prophet arose, and, indeed, that the Temple itself would be destroyed by the Romans.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Feldman’s biblical portraits amply demonstrate the importance of the key personalities, and Josephus’ habit of exaggerating their role in history. See L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus’ Rewritten Bible* (JSJ Supp. 58. Leiden: Brill, 1998).

²⁴⁷ On Josephus’ views on prophets, see J. Blenkinsopp, ‘Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus’, *JJS* 25 (1974), pp.239-263.

Josephus presents the festival of lights²⁴⁸ as a time of great celebration, in which the Jews omitted no pleasure (ἡδονή - repeated twice, *Ant.* xii. 323, 324),²⁴⁹ and worshipped God and sacrificed to Him. This celebration was followed by Judas' rebuilding of the wall, and other protective reinforcements (*Ant.* xii. 326). Little information can be gleaned from this passage regarding the character of Judas, and a comparison with Josephus' source 1 Maccabees reveals little alteration on Josephus' behalf.

²⁴⁸ Josephus explains the naming of the festival of lights, as their right to worship was restored to them at a time when they least expected it (a time of darkness), *Ant.* xii. 325.

²⁴⁹ Elsewhere in *Ant.* xii, Josephus uses ἡδονή to describe the peak of happiness experienced by King Ptolemy when the translators wished him joy, *Ant.* xii. 91.

3.4.8. Judas and his brothers, *Ant.* xii. 327-353

Using a rather vague connecting statement, ‘when these things had been done in this fashion’, Josephus starts a lengthy chronicle of the military achievements of Judas and his brothers. Since much of this narrative constitutes a list of places and peoples conquered by Judas and his brothers, it has little bearing on an examination of Josephus’ presentation of the Maccabees, beyond noting their military success. This subchapter will examine the scattered references to the personalities, and look in greater detail at the bungled efforts of Joseph and Azarias to gain a valiant reputation.

i. The personalities of the Maccabees

Josephus starts his account of the wars of Judas and his brothers by commenting on the resentful attitude of the surrounding nations to the growing (ἀναζωπύρησις) strength (ισχύς) of the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 327). This is the only example of the use of the term ἀναζωπύρησις in Josephus’ writings – it does not appear in 1 Maccabees, nor, indeed, the Septuagint. The noun ἰσχύς figures throughout Josephus’ writing, and often relates specifically to civil or political strength. At the end of Mattathias’ important deathbed speech, he recommends Judas to be the rebels’ military commander, due to his courage and strength (ισχύς, *Ant.* xii. 284). With the basis for continual warfare established – that the surrounding nations were jealous and bitter about the Jewish political strength – Josephus begins a long list of battles won by Judas and his brothers in defence of the Jewish people (*Ant.* xii. 328-349).

Judas is portrayed as ‘commanding’ (προσιάσσω) his brothers and the Maccabean army (*Ant.* xii. 332, 333). This is one of Josephus’ favoured expressions, which he uses fourteen times during his rewriting of 1 Maccabees, always relating to the orders of the commanding officer or leader. Judas is eager to save his fellow Jews from crises: when the Nabateans warned Judas to hurry to save the Jews of Galaaditis who were under threat, Josephus notes that ‘not even when night came on did he call a halt, but marched through the night toward the fortress where the Jews had been shut up’ (*Ant.* xii. 337). As noted throughout his portrayal of Judas, Josephus stresses his military skills, and in particular his ability to encourage and ‘urge on’ his soldiers – this also has the effect of demonstrating his courage. Judas urges (παροπμάω) his soldiers to face danger in order to save their fellow Jews

(*Ant.* xii. 338), he then urges (παρορμάω) his army to besiege the city of Emphron (*Ant.* xii. 347). Judas' speech to his men before the battle of Emmaus is introduced with the words, 'Judas urged' (*Ant.* xii. 301). Josephus attributes this act of encouragement to several of the Maccabean leaders, and yet never to the Syrian commanders – the term is not used in 1 Maccabees.²⁵⁰ Thus the Maccabees are depicted as idealised generals, capable of rousing their armies to greatness – it is significant that Josephus does not use this term of the Syrians.

According to Josephus, the enemies of the Jews recognised Judas' courage and good fortune in war. Timotheus had heard of Judas' courage (ἀνδρεία) and his good fortune (εὐτυχία) in war, which led him to flee (*Ant.* xii. 339). That Judas is described explicitly as courageous agrees with Mattathias' will, that Judas should be the commander of the Jews because of his courage (ἀνδρεία) and strength (*Ant.* xii. 284). Shortly afterwards, Josephus reports that Timotheus was defeated by Judas' army, as Judas 'hastened' to meet the enemy before the river could be secured against him (*Ant.* xii. 343).

Josephus concludes the list of Judas' military victories by commenting on his return to Jerusalem, playing harps, singing songs of praise, and general victorious merry-making (*Ant.* xii. 349). He says that the reason for the Jews' celebrations was to offer thanksgiving for the safe return of the Maccabean army, 'for not one of the Jews had met death in these wars' (on this unbelievable claim 1 Maccabees agrees, 1 Macc. v. 54).

During his description of the military victories of Judas, Josephus departs from his source in several significant ways. Josephus omits the two messengers' reports about the surrounding nations' hatred of the Jews (1 Macc. v. 10-15), 1 Maccabees presents it as if all of the surrounding nations sought the Jews' death. Josephus diminishes this impression, but lists specific peoples and their reasons for hating the Jews. The instances of Judas taking spoil are reduced, notably after the battle at Bozrah (1 Macc. v. 28; *Ant.* xii. 336), Judas' victory at Mella (1 Macc. v. 35; *Ant.* xii. 340), and the siege of Emphron (1 Macc. v. 51; *Ant.* xii. 347). Josephus removes the implicit cowardice of the Jews at the battle of Romphon, where 1 Maccabees says that Judas had to post his own soldiers on the banks to persuade the others to cross into battle (1 Macc. v. 42).

ii. Joseph and Azarias

²⁵⁰ *Ant.* xii. 301, 338, 347, 409; xiii. 13. 226.

Whilst Simon and Judas were fighting abroad, the generals Joseph and Azarias were left in charge of Judaea (*Ant.* xii. 333). Josephus reports that these two sought to acquire the glory (δόξα) of being valiant warriors and took their army to fight Gorgias in Javneh (*Ant.* xii. 350-351). They were routed, and, Josephus notes, this reverse (πταῖσμα) befell them as they had disobeyed (παρακούω) Judas' commands to not embark upon warfare in his absence.²⁵¹

Josephus claims that, in addition to the other examples of Judas' 'cleverness' (στρατήγημα), he should be respected for having the foresight (συνήμι) to see the reverse (πταῖσμα) that befell his generals (*Ant.* xii. 352).

Josephus summarises Judas' victories in Idumaea in one short verse, and it is noticeable that he includes references to looting, which elsewhere he omits. In particular, Josephus notes that Judas and his brothers sacked the city of Azotus. No indication is given at this stage.

Josephus also describes Moses as being an excellent strategist, and he uses the term in his extra-biblical narrative of Moses' military career in Egypt (*Ant.* ii. 245).²⁵² In his autobiographical work, Josephus applies the term στρατήγημα to himself on several occasions, always in the context of a successful military 'subterfuge' (*Life* 148, 163, 169, 265 and 379). Judas' intelligence allowed him to perceive (συνήμι) the failure of the generals' operation – this Greek verb is used nine times in Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt, and usually with the sense of uncovering a plot (as *Ant.* xii. 405; xiii. 107, 117, 178, 205).

This episode is presented in a different way in 1 Maccabees, which stresses the Maccabean family by stating that Joseph and Azarias 'did not belong to the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel' (1 Macc. v. 62). Josephus skips over this dynastic notice, in favour of concentrating on individuals and their virtues and qualities. Additionally, while 1 Maccabees was written at the height of the Hasmonean dynasty, Josephus knew of their demise; therefore it would have been problematical for him to assert their dynastic claims.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Cf. Mattathias' instructions that they were to obey each other and work in harmony (*Ant.* xii. 283).

²⁵² This is most likely an expansion of the claim in Numbers that Moses married a Cushite woman (Num. xii. 1). For discussion on this parabiblical tradition, see Rajak, 'Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature', in Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue*, pp. 257-272, (originally published in *JJS* 29, 1978, pp. 111-122).

²⁵³ As Gafni, p. 119.

3.4.9. The death of Antiochus IV, *Ant.* xii. 354-361

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes stands out as a separate unit of text and is marked by the repetition of the formulaic introduction, ‘About the same time’ (*Ant.* xii. 354).²⁵⁴ Continuing his representation of Antiochus IV and, in particular, the king’s poor financial situation, Josephus paraphrases the account of Antiochus’ death in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. vi. 1f.). Antiochus, on hearing of the wealth of the Temple of Artemis at Elymais, set out to besiege the city (*Ant.* xii. 354-5). Josephus emphasises the wealth of Elymais and the Temple of Artemis – he then expands upon the account in 1 Maccabees by mentioning that the Temple contained many ‘dedicatory offerings’, which further demonstrates Antiochus’ disregard for native cults and his penchant for raiding Temples for financial gain. Josephus diagnoses Antiochus’ ‘excitement’ (κινέω) at the reports of the wealth and adds to this impression by recording that he ‘rushed’ (ὄρμῶ) to Elymais and laid siege to the town. His use of the verb κινέω carries a negative connotation, since Josephus elsewhere uses this word to mean anger (e.g. *Ant.* iii. 311; xii. 158).

The inhabitants of Elymais were expecting the attack and put up a stout (καρτερὸς) resistance – Josephus notes that they were not fearful (καταπλήσσω) of Antiochus, (*Ant.* xii. 355). With more than a hint of irony, Josephus concludes that Antiochus’ hopes were dashed. It is a mark of distinction of the citizens of Elymais that, facing the might of Antiochus, they were not fearful. Josephus attributes this same mental attitude to Judas before the battle of Bethzacharias (*Ant.* xii. 372), and states later that Judas inspired his army not to ‘fear’ Nicanor (*Ant.* xii. 409), whilst 1 Maccabees does not use this verb (it appears only in LXX Job vii. 14; xiii. 21). Josephus uses the verb καταπλήσσω consistently throughout his version of the Maccabean Revolt to define the emotional state of an army faced with a larger, Syrian opponent – the word is nowhere used of the Seleucid forces themselves.

Josephus describes Antiochus’ ‘state of dismay’ (λυπέω) at his own defeat (διαμαρτία) compounded by news of the Jews’ victory and their strength (ισχύς) – the same word that Josephus earlier attaches to Judas (*Ant.* xii. 356, 327). Additional terms of despair and despondency are used by Josephus in his description of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his woes combined (προσγιγνομαι) to cause him dismay (συγγέω) and dejection (ἀθυμία)

²⁵⁴ See D. Mendels, ‘A Note on the Tradition of Antiochus IV’s Death’, *IEJ* 31 (1981), pp. 53-56.

(*Ant.* xii. 357). Josephus uses the verb συγχέω to describe several instances of confusion/dismay during his rendition of 1 Maccabees – note in particular Lysias’ dismay at the defeat of his generals at Judas’ hands (*Ant.* xii. 313) and Bacchides’ similar state of dismay (συγχέω) and dejection (ἄθυμια) at the failure of his siege against Jonathan and Simon (*Ant.* xiii. 30).

Antiochus realised that he suffered (πάθος) because he had harmed the Jewish nation, by despoiling (συλάω) the Temple and holding their God in contempt (καταφρονέω – discussed above, 3.4.2) (*Ant.* xii. 357). Josephus inserts the evidence of Polybius of Megalopolis, who claimed that Antiochus despoiled (συλάω) the Temple of Artemis in Persia (*Ant.* xii. 358).

The account in 1 Maccabees is similar to Josephus’ version (1 Macc. iv. 1-17; *Ant.* xii. 354-361). However, Josephus’ account stresses the emotions of Antiochus beyond his presentation in 1 Maccabees. As is apparent throughout his paraphrase, Josephus reduces the references to Jewish plundering (e.g. 1 Macc. iv. 23 has no parallel). More subtly, Josephus rearranges the dialogue of Antiochus (changing it from direct to indirect speech) with the aim of heightening the drama of the episode: Antiochus acknowledges that his treatment of the Jews and their God led to his affliction, and then he died immediately (1 Maccabees presents additional discussion with his commanders after his deathbed speech – *Ant.* xii. 357; 1 Macc. vi. 13-16).

3.4.10. Judas' victories and death, *Ant.* xii. 362-434

In the final scene of book twelve, indicated by a narrative separator 'At this time', Josephus returns to the military exploits of Judas Maccabaeus. This lengthy episode chronicles the final years of Judas' life, and his military campaigns against the Jerusalem Acra, Antiochus V, Demetrius and Bacchides, and Nicanor. In addition, this segment of text presents the Roman treaty with Judas, followed by his speech to his soldiers and subsequent death at the battle of Berzetho. Within the constraints of my examination of *Antiquities*, I will analyse Josephus' account with an eye to his descriptions of the main characters and notable features that depart from or embellish the primary version of 1 Maccabees.

i. Judas and the Jerusalem Acra

Josephus informs us that the garrison in the Acra, and the Jewish renegades (φυγαί) therein, did much to harm the Jews and specifically attacked them as they worshipped in the Temple (*Ant.* xii. 362). The favoured epithet used in Josephus' writing to describe the pro-Seleucid Jews is 'renegades/fugitives' (φυγαί).²⁵⁵ In contrast 1 Maccabees does not use the term in this way, and the only reference to 'renegade' actually refers to the Maccabees themselves (1 Macc. ii. 43). Indeed, Josephus' source rarely acknowledges the role of the pro-Seleucid Jews. The initiative to eradicate the garrison in the Acra is credited to Judas, who organised the 'stout' siege, and applied (κατασκευάζω) himself to the task. This phrase is reminiscent of Mattathias' plea to his sons to 'exert yourselves (κατασκευάζω) to recover liberty and have a happy and blessed life', (*Ant.* xii. 304, 363). The renegades and some 'likeminded ungodly men' complained to Antiochus that they should not be left in the hands of their countrymen (ὁμόφυλος); Josephus only uses this term when he refers to the Jews themselves, and he is therefore impressing on his audience that the Maccabees' enemy was often Jewish. These 'renegades' complained to Antiochus that they had willingly abandoned their ancestral practices, and adopted those of his father Antiochus Epiphanes, and for this reason Judas was persecuting them – this was sufficient to cause King Antiochus to become angry (ὀργίζω) and

²⁵⁵ *Ant.* xii. 289, 362, 391; xiii. 23, 25, 31, 40, 125, 133, 216. The 'renegade Jews' are often credited by Josephus as initiating trouble – they twice petitioned Demetrius to fight Judas (*Ant.* xii. 391; xiii. 23).

he raised an army to defeat Judas. This associates the young King with the emotional state regularly ascribed to his father.²⁵⁶

The account of Judas' decision to besiege the Acra is presented in essentially the same way by 1 Maccabees as it is by Josephus. The major difference between the two versions of the Maccabean Revolt is that Josephus identifies a Jewish contingent within the Acra (and 1 Maccabees notices only the Syrian garrison), and that Josephus lays stress on the impiety of the renegade Jews – he specifically states that they attacked the Jews as they went up to sacrifice,²⁵⁷ and the renegades' petition to Antiochus includes the explicit claim that they had abandoned their ancestral practices.

ii. Antiochus V

The renegade Jews convince King Antiochus to invade Judaea and attack Judas – the blame for the Syrian invasion is placed squarely on the pro-Seleucid Jews (*Ant.* xii. 366f.). Josephus uses this battle to further express the bravery and good judgment of Judas. It is Judas who goes out to meet the king's army (*Ant.* xii. 369).²⁵⁸ By dramatising and describing in detail the impressive picture of the Syrian forces,²⁵⁹ Josephus heightens the courage of Judas by stating that he was not terrified by this, and that he was valiant (*γενναῖος*) in battle (*Ant.* xii. 372). This phrase is evocative of the desire of the two generals Joseph and Azarias, who wished to gain a reputation by being 'valiant in battle' (*Ant.* xii. 350, above 3.4.8). It is also implied that Judas chose to make camp at a spot of 'narrow defile', and so reduced the Syrian fighting elephants to single-file (*Ant.* xii. 371) – thus reinforcing his military expertise. Josephus implies that Judas single-handedly slew six hundred Syrian soldiers, an exaggeration that reflects Josephus' focus on the individual over the group – 1 Maccabees reports that Judas *and his men* slew six hundred (1 Macc. vi. 42).

²⁵⁶ *Ant.* xii. 364-366 – on Epiphanes' anger see *Ant.* xii. 293 – of the three occurrences of ὀργίζω in Josephus' version of the Maccabean Revolt, all refer to the anger of the Seleucids.

²⁵⁷ Attacking the Jews whilst they attended the Temple is an act of supreme impiety, cf. Luke xiii. 1.

²⁵⁸ Indeed, that Judas was prepared for the battle is in no small part due to the strength of the city of Bethsura, which Antiochus attempted to besiege (*Ant.* xii. 367) – Josephus previously relates that Judas had personally reinforced the city (*Ant.* xii. 326), and that its stout defence 'consumed much time' (which is not explicitly stated in 1 Maccabees, *Ant.* xii. 368). In additional geographical statement that has no counterpart in 1 Maccabees, Josephus notes the distance between Judas' camp and Antiochus as being 70 stades (although the actual distance, with the place names mentioned by Josephus is nearer to 55 stades – Josephus' estimate is certainly within the right ballpark).

²⁵⁹ Their gold shields caused a brilliant light to shine, and their battle-cries echoed off of the mountains – *Ant.* xii. 372.

At this point Judas' brother, Eleazar, believing that the most impressive elephant would be mounted by the king, acted boldly (εὐκάρδιος)²⁶⁰ and attacked it (*Ant.* xii. 373). Josephus' only other use of the term εὐκάρδιος is in his response to the lengthy speech on the Indian philosophers, who willingly gave their own lives (*War* vii. 351-357): he writes that it is God's will that we all die, and this requires a stout heart (*War* vii. 358). Eleazar killed many men, and stabbed the beast on its underside, killing the animal, which in turn fell upon him and crushed him to death. Josephus credits Eleazar with bravery/good spirit (εὐψυχος). This virtue is the focus of Judas' three rousing speeches to his troops (εὐψυχος, *Ant.* xii. 409, 423, 428 – see also xii. 302). Judas has earlier claimed that God had granted victory against a majority, as He respected the 'good spirit' of the few (*Ant.* xii. 307). Judas pragmatically withdrew to Jerusalem, while Antiochus seized Bethsura – Josephus inserts the unique claim that the inhabitants of Bethsura surrendered after Antiochus gave sworn promises that he would not harm them (*Ant.* xii. 375).

Next Antiochus besieges Jerusalem, where the Jews fought with courage (καρτερῶς), yet they too became hungry, as it was the sabbatical year and supplies were low.²⁶¹ However, as Philip was conspiring to seize control of the Syrian empire, Antiochus sought a speedy conclusion to the siege, and offered a treaty of friendship with the whole nation, permitting them to follow their ancestral law, since he realised that it was the prohibition on these laws which caused the revolt (*Ant.* xii. 381). The Jews gladly (ἄσμενος) accept, and on gaining a sworn oath (ὄρκος) they abandoned their defences. The theme of oaths is common in Josephus' *Antiquities*, and it features to a lesser degree in 1 Maccabees (see, 1 Macc. vi. 62; vii. 18). The Josephan addition of the oath at Bethsura justified Judas' subsequent trust, as it provides an example of Antiochus' honesty (*Ant.* xii. 376), yet Judas' trust was poorly placed as Antiochus breaks his vow and pulls down the walls of Temple (*Ant.* xii. 383).

In a break from 1 Maccabees, Josephus reports the withdrawal of Antiochus, and his execution of Menelaus, a 'wicked' and 'impious' man who had compelled the Jews to abandon their ancestral practices, in order to gain for himself authority of the land. Josephus' narrative is similar to 2 Maccabees, and yet he does not rely on the earlier work (as indicated by Josephus' omission of the grisly death scene, 2 Macc. xiii. 4). On Menelaus' death,

²⁶⁰ A term favoured in the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, e.g. *Hecuba* 549, 579, *Ajax* 364.

²⁶¹ This is an amplification on 1 Maccabees, with the aim of demonstrating the loyalty to the ancestral practices.

Antiochus chose Alcimus to succeed as high priest, whom Josephus immediately slurs by stating ‘he was not of the family of the high priests’ (*Ant.* xii. 387).

iii. Demetrius and Bacchides

Antiochus V and Lysias were executed, and Demetrius proclaimed himself king, Josephus reports that Alcimus (the high priest) and the renegade Jews petitioned Demetrius to attack Judas, since he had killed all of the pro-Seleucid sympathisers in Judaea (*Ant.* xii. 391). This roused the king’s ‘anger’ (παροξύνω). To amplify this emotion Josephus notes that shortly thereafter, Alcimus returned to rouse the king’s anger (παροξύνω) against Judas for a second time (*Ant.* xii. 393, 401).

Demetrius sends one of the king’s friends, Bacchides, to Judaea, and Josephus claims that he tried to take Judas by ‘treachery’ (δόλος – see 3.4.1). Judas saw through this plot, but many of the Jews fell for Alcimus and Bacchides’ pledge (ὄρκος) of safety from harassment, which Bacchides broke by massacring sixty of the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 396). In 1 Maccabees, the trusting Jews are identified as the Hasidim, who believe that an oath from Alcimus, the priest, is truthful (1 Macc. vii. 14). Josephus fails to identify this subgroup of pious Jews and omits the claim that Alcimus’ priestly status validates his truthfulness; he states simply that the Jews believed the oath, as Alcimus was one of their countrymen (*Ant.* xii. 395). Josephus reduces the image of the untruthful high priest, probably out of respect for the institution of the priesthood, to which he himself claimed membership (*Life* 1).

Alcimus gained a large following from the renegades and impious men (*Ant.* xii. 399) – 1 Maccabees does not record how Alcimus attracted supporters, and Josephus adds an explanation, since Alcimus spoke kind words to them. Josephus contrasts Alcimus’ supporters with those of Judas in his claim that Alcimus attracted the ungodly (ἄσεβής) and renegades (φυγαδεύω), while he set out to kill the pious (ἴσιος) and the good (ἀγαθός) men of the nation. On realising the strength (ἰσχύς) of Judas, Alcimus appealed to Demetrius for more assistance, and Demetrius in turn recognises Judas’ strength and influence (*Ant.* xii. 402). The effect of forcing the Syrian leader to proclaim Judas’ strength is intentional and dramatic.

iv. Nicanor

Nicanor, the king's friend, came to Jerusalem and attempted to seize Judas through a deceitful plot, by offering him an oath that no harm would befall him (δόλος, ὄρκος – *Ant.* xii. 403). Surprisingly, considering the long history of treachery and scheming, Judas believes Nicanor and does not suspect ἀπάτη. Once again Josephus uses these two terms to designate a Seleucid plot against the Maccabees. Judas had the foresight (συνίημι) to see through the plot (ἐπιβουλή) and escaped. 1 Maccabees does not contain ἐπιβουλή - this is an example where Josephus deliberately varies his terminology. Nicanor attacks Judas, but Josephus notes that the Maccabee was well organised (συγκροτέω) and prepared (παρασκευάζω) for battle – further augmenting his military skill (*Ant.* xii. 405) – and defeated Nicanor, who fled to the Acra where he harried the priests.

Nicanor gathered his army, and met Judas at Adasa. Josephus stresses the disparity between the sizes of the two forces, which serves to emphasise Judas' underdog status and adds to the prestige of his victory. Josephus presses this point by reporting the indirect speech of Judas. Judas encouraged (παρορμάω)²⁶² his men not to be overawed (καταπλήσσω) by the larger Syrian enemy, but remember their prize (ἔπαθλον) and fight bravely (εὐψυχος) in battle. Once again, Josephus magnifies the quality of Judas as an inspiring figure for his soldiers as he motivates them towards committing brave deeds. The term ἔπαθλον is used rarely in Josephus and it is not coincidental that it has also occurred in the earlier speech by Judas, where he describes the four prizes as liberty, country, laws and religion (*Ant.* xii. 304). Josephus paraphrases the Deuteronomic account of Moses' last speech to the people, in which Moses urges them to follow God's laws and worship him, as the prize (ἔπαθλον) for such virtue is glory and the ability to follow the ancestral customs (*Ant.* iv. 180-183, esp. 182). This is a thematic element within the *Antiquities* and it is with similar words that Judas inspires his troops and defeats Nicanor (*Ant.* xii. 409).²⁶³ In 1 Maccabees Judas prays to God to crush the enemy (1 Macc. vii. 41-42), yet in *Antiquities* God does not automatically side with the Jews (or they would never lose), but, rather, He favours the virtuous and law-abiding – during his rewriting process Josephus removes supplications to God which are not related to the qualities of his lead characters (as *Ant.* xii. 307).

²⁶² *Ant.* xii. 301, 338, 347, 409; xiii. 13, 226.

²⁶³ Josephus notes that the Jews celebrate Nicanor's Day, when their country was rid of the Syrian general.

The Jews had peace, although this was short-lived and, Josephus notes, they were soon to undergo more struggle (ἀγών) and danger (κίνδυνός) – Josephus creates an environment of continual and prolonged warfare between the Maccabees and the Syrians (*Ant.* xii. 412). Josephus' account of the battle against Nicanor is similar to 1 Maccabees, although with his usual alterations. Josephus omits the mention of Jewish plundering on Nicanor's death (1 Macc. vii. 47), he also fails to relate the graphic beheading of the Syrian general, and instead presents his death in virtuous terms: Nicanor fell 'fighting gloriously' (*Ant.* ii. 410). Whether this is the result of Josephus' respect for death in battle, or due to his desire to present the whole battle in virtuous/glorious terms, is unknown– it may echo an alternative and unacknowledged source. That Josephus purposefully represents Nicanor in more positive terms than 1 Maccabees, is also suggested by his alteration of the claim that Nicanor was the first man to fall in the battle (1 Macc. vii. 43).

v. The death of Alcimus

Josephus reorders the narrative of 1 Maccabees, to bring the death of Alcimus forward, with the aim of ensuring that Judas succeeded to the post of high priest. Judas' high priesthood is mentioned three times in *Antiquities* (xii. 414, 419 and 434), although it would appear to contradict his later statement that on the death of Alcimus, the Jews went seven years without a high priest (*Ant.* xx. 237). It is clear that Josephus wished to give Judas a political position as leader of the Jewish people (which explains why he shifted Alcimus' death to before the treaty with Rome). Additionally, on Judas' death, Jonathan was immediately made 'leader of the Jews', and does not automatically assume the high priesthood (*Ant.* xiii. 6).

In 1 Maccabees, Alcimus dies after Judas and not before him (as Josephus). This is in order to allow Josephus to promote Judas to the high priesthood without having to demote the incumbent priest (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 54f.). Josephus follows 1 Maccabees in recording that Alcimus was pulling down the Temple wall – which Josephus twice emphasises as old – and that he suffered a seizure, followed by a painful death. Josephus' version enhances the agony of death and prolongs it for many days – 1 Maccabees states that he died that day (*Ant.* xii. 413; 1 Macc. ix. 56).

Josephus' rearranged narrative brings together the accounts of Nicanor's and Alcimus' deaths and invites a comparison between them: both had threatened to pull down the Temple walls, and the priests pray to God to assist them against Nicanor, while Josephus claims that

God gave the seizures to Alcimus (*Ant.* xii. 413; 406 respectively). However, Josephus presents the death of Nicanor in far more positive tones than his source, while Alcimus suffers to a higher degree than in 1 Maccabees – it appears as though Josephus judges Alcimus more harshly than he does Nicanor.

vi. Judas' treaty with Rome

Judas initiates a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Romans, whom he recognised as powerful, in the hope that Rome would prevent Demetrius from attacking Jerusalem (*Ant.* xii. 414-415). In his abbreviated list of the nations conquered and brought under tribute, Josephus corrects and updates some of the nations mentioned in 1 Maccabees.²⁶⁴ He concludes by stating that 'this, then, is how the first treaty of friendship and alliance between the Romans and the Jews came about' (*Ant.* xii. 419). Josephus employs the key terminology 'friend' and 'ally', and their repetition throughout the paragraph indicates their significance within the text.²⁶⁵

Compared with the version in 1 Maccabees, Josephus considerably reduces the list of the successes of the Romans and the idealised view of the senate (cf 1 Macc. viii. 1-16). There was less need for Josephus to describe the processes of the senate and the glory of Rome by the time that the *Antiquities* was composed. Aside from the phraseology of the treaty, both sources generally agree on the terms of the contract: mutual military support. Josephus omits the final Roman petition to Demetrius to cease harassing the Jews, because, since the Syrian king persisted in his attacks on Judas, this would have made the Roman threat hollow and the treaty worthless.

vii. The final battle against Bacchides, and the death of Judas

Demetrius again sent Bacchides to Judaea with the aim of defeating Judas – as testimony to Josephus' editorial consistency, he does not follow 1 Maccabees by claiming that Alcimus accompanied Bacchides, since in *Antiquities* Alcimus is already dead (*Ant.* xii. 420; 1 Macc. viii.). Bacchides met Judas at Berzetho (Berea), and Josephus emphasises the disproportional

²⁶⁴ For example, where 1 Maccabees mentions the Roman victory over the Kittians, Josephus inserts 'Greece' (1 Macc. viii. 5; *Ant.* xii. 414); again, Josephus names the Carthaginians, when 1 Maccabees only vaguely refers to the 'Kings who had come against them from remote quarters of the earth' (*Ant.* xii. 414; 1 Macc. viii. 4)

²⁶⁵ σύμμαχος *Ant.* xii. 415; συμμαχία *Ant.* xii. 416, 417, 418, 419 - φίλος *Ant.* xii. 415, 415; φιλία *Ant.* xii. 414, 419.

troop numbers – reducing the estimated Maccabean numbers by twofold (1 Macc. ix. 5 has 3000 ‘picked men’; *Ant.* xii. 422 has 1000 men). Marcus rightly criticises the figures, as Josephus claims that most of the Maccabean soldiers fled, leaving only 800 men – if Judas had only 1000 at his disposal, this hardly constitutes ‘most’ (*Ant.* xii. 422-423).²⁶⁶

The soldiers were afraid and fled, but Judas stayed firm and prepared to engage Bacchides, once again exhorting his men to brave deeds (εὐψυχος) – one of the most frequent virtues that Josephus attributes to Judas (*Ant.* xii. 423, 409, 428). This term is first used in Eleazar’s brave attack on the leading elephant, and each instance where Josephus applies this word signifies bravery in the face of death (*Ant.* xii. 374). This is the first recorded instance in the Josephan account where the troops discuss their fears with Judas, although Josephus writes it in indirect speech, rather than the direct speech of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. ix. 9). Judas assembled (συνάγω) his men and Josephus relates another short direct speech inspiring his soldiers to superhuman efforts (*Ant.* xii. 424-425). Judas declares:

May the sun not look upon such a thing, he replied [to the fearful soldiers], as that I should turn my back to the enemy. But even if the present moment brings death to me, and I must inevitably perish in the fight, I will stand my ground (ἵστημι), valiantly (γενναῖος) enduring all things rather than flee now and so bring disgrace upon my former achievements and upon the glory won through them.

Antiquities xii. 424-425

With these words he heartened his men. Josephus’ use of the verb ἵστημι is dramatic, considering that five lines later, Judas is hemmed in and Josephus employs ἵστημι to describe his last stand (*Ant.* xii. 430 – unless this can be read to imply that Judas prophetically foresaw his own demise). This account differs radically from 1 Maccabees, which explicitly states that Judas was fearful of the battle (1 Macc. ix. 7-8, which describes him as ‘broken-spirited’ and ‘faint’). Josephus omits this feature entirely, as it would undermine his overall presentation of the valiant deeds and courage of Judas Maccabaeus.

Both combatants fought well and Josephus praises both armies’ performance equally. Judas’ bravery is stressed by his attack on the strongest part of Bacchides’ formation, yet he is outnumbered, and so he stood and fought until he fell (*Ant.* xii. 430). Josephus notes that

²⁶⁶ Marcus, p. 221, n. e.

Judas was performing glorious deeds as he died; his army fled on his death, as without their ‘commander’ (στρατηγός), they had no one to follow.

Josephus reports that Simon and Jonathan obtained Judas’ body – no mention is made of either brother during the battle – and buried him at Modein, where the people mourned him for many days (*Ant.* xii. 432). Resulting from Josephus’ normal omission of mourning in his paraphrase, this act of grief reinforces the sense of loss at Judas’ demise. Book twelve of the *Antiquities* ends with a short eulogy to the life of Judas that summarises his virtues and in particular his qualities of military leadership. Judas was a valiant (γενναῖος) man – a term that Josephus puts into Judas’ mouth in his last rallying speech (*Ant.* xii. 425, 433). Josephus depicts Judas as a great warrior (μεγαλοπόλεμος), using a term otherwise not found in the Josephan corpus, nor in wider ancient literature. A variant reading presents a more likely alternative, μεγαλότολμος, which Josephus uses elsewhere in his eulogy of Joshua (*Ant.* v. 118) and in his digression on the virtues of Saul (*Ant.* vi. 347 – which I will discuss in detail in 3.4.11, below). Either reading of the term magnifies Judas’ military aptitude.

The final notice of the deeds of Judas focuses on the theme of liberty (*Ant.* xii. 433-434). Judas had suffered for the liberty of the Jews, and his greatest memorial was that he restored liberty to the nation, and rescued them from slavery. This eulogising passage has no parallel in 1 Maccabees, which states simply that no further deeds of Judas were recorded, but his great actions were many (1 Macc. ix. 22).

3.4.11 Summation

A detailed examination of the Maccabean Revolt in *Antiquities* reveals the thoroughness of Josephus' rewriting technique: the apparent deviations from his source are systematic and organised. The key features that arise in book twelve are: Josephus promotes the character of Judas in terms reminiscent of his biblical hero Saul and he heightens the virtues of the ideal general and leader. In particular Judas is to be respected for his courage, stout heartedness, strategy, and his ability to convince and persuade his troops.²⁶⁷ Mattathias is presented in such a way as to enhance the attributes of his sons, while as a character he himself receives only minor embellishment. Conversely, the Syrian leaders are represented in negative terms with a particular focus on their emotions of greed, plundering and dishonesty. The Maccabees' actions are justified and their revolt is a consequence of their adherence to the Laws of their Fathers. The linguistic echoes demonstrate Josephus' heavy reliance on 1 Maccabees, and that his source is close to the extant manuscripts of that work.

An intertextual key to understanding the presentation of Mattathias and Judas Maccabaeus in the *Antiquities* is Josephus' digression on the virtues of King Saul. This passage, in book six of the *Antiquities*, represents an acknowledged digression from the main paraphrase of 1 Samuel, and it is connected to the eulogising and distinctively Josephan elements in his later account of the Maccabean Revolt. The text itself contains most of the key words and themes identified as significant in the foregoing analysis of book twelve, and so I shall summarise Josephus' reflections on Saul: the digression is aimed at states, peoples, nations, and all good men; all should aspire to virtue and gain themselves glory and eternal renown; kings and rulers should desire noble deeds, and should face danger and death for their country's sake (*Ant.* vi. 343). He knew the time of his death, but Saul did not flee, as it was noble to face danger and die fighting for his country. Saul preferred that his sons should meet their death nobly, and this would provide him with glory and an 'ageless name' (*Ant.* vi. 345). Josephus' conclusion is worth repeating in full:

Such a man alone, in my opinion, is just (δικαιος), valiant (ἀνδρείος), and wise (σώφρων), and he, if any has been or shall be such, deserves to have all men acknowledge his virtue. For men who have gone forth to war with high hopes, thinking to conquer and return in safety, and

²⁶⁷ It is clear that courage (ἀνδρείος) and loyalty (πίστις) are respected virtues within Roman society (*Ant.* xiv. 186).

have accomplished some brilliant feat are, to my mind, mistakenly described as valiant (ἄνδρῆϊος) by the historians and other writers who have spoken of such persons. Certainly it is just that these receive approbation; but the terms ‘stout hearted’ (εὐψυχος), ‘great daring’ (μεγαλότολμος), ‘contemptuous of danger’ (τῶν δεινῶν καταφρονητής) can justly be applied only to such as have emulated Saul[...] to harbour in one’s heart no hope of success, but to know beforehand that one must die and die fighting, and then not to fear nor be appalled at this terrible fate, but to meet it with full knowledge of what is coming – that, in my judgement, is proof of true valour (ἄνδρῆϊος).

Antiquities vi. 343-350

The parallels between this text and both Josephus’ treatment of Mattathias (in his deathbed speech) and, more significantly of Judas, are clear. Josephus notes at the end of this passage that he could write more about Saul’s courage, but he would not want to appear to lack taste in delivering his panegyric (*Ant.* vi. 350). The central themes of bravery, stout-heartedness, daring, contempt for danger, defence of one’s country, are all described in terms that Josephus again uses in his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. Josephus tells his audience that he could talk further on this subject and it would appear that in the case of his representation of the Maccabean Revolt, he has done so. Some of these terms Josephus uses ubiquitously, but others are rarer, and thus their appearance in his reflections on Saul connects the texts.

The following examples should suffice, I hope, to prove the intertextual connection between the figure of Judas and Saul in Josephus. I note, in particular, that many of the words appear in the Maccabees’ speeches, which is the area where Josephus has the greatest editorial freedom (and departs most from 1 Maccabees). Josephus focuses on the terms for ‘stout hearted’, ‘great daring’, ‘contemptuous of danger’, and states that these should only be applied to a man who imitates Saul – as we see in Judas’ speech to his troops prior to the battle at Emmaus where he urges his men to fight with courage (εὐψυχία), and to be contemptuous (καταφρόνησις) of danger (*Ant.* xii. 302). Moreover Josephus’ attribution of the term ‘great daring’ (μεγαλότολμος) is rare, using it only three times to venerate the figures of Saul (*Ant.* vi. 347), Joshua (*Ant.* v. 118),²⁶⁸ and Judas (*Ant.* xii. 433 – in variant). Josephus has certain stock phrases which he adopts in his characterisations of leading characters. Using

²⁶⁸ Indeed, Josephus ascribes Joshua with acting ‘bravely’ εὐψυχία and with ‘great daring’ μεγαλότολμος (*Ant.* v. 118).

this practice throughout the *Antiquities*, Josephus personalises the narrative of 1 Maccabees, treating it in the same manner as his handling of the biblical material.

3.4.12. Setting the scene, *Ant.* xiii. 1-3

Josephus begins his thirteenth book of the *Antiquities of the Jews* with a brief summary of book twelve, in which he stresses key themes of liberty and the military role and martyrdom of Judas:

Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων
ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι' ὅσων καὶ πηλίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν
Ἰούδας ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν.

Antiquities xiii. 1

This short connecting notice has no parallel in 1 Maccabees, which indicates, on a basic level, that Josephus did not blindly copy his sources but rather rewrote them in his own words and in accordance with his own structural plan. The narrative break at the death of Judas is logical and signifies the importance that Josephus attributes to the figure of Judas, it also reinforces the themes of liberty and martyrdom – it is noteworthy that the author of 1 Maccabees does not divide his text in the same place.

The introduction enhances the virtuosity of Judas, which is immediately juxtaposed with the description of the country after his death. Refashioning the account of 1 Maccabees, Josephus laments that the ‘godless’ and the Jews who transgressed their ancestral laws once again grew powerful and attacked their countrymen (*Ant.* xiii. 2; 1 Macc. ix. 23). Josephus represents his version of this period of turmoil without the biblical references inherent in 1 Maccabees.²⁶⁹ Both the ‘godless’ and those who abandoned the law, have a function within Josephus’ Maccabean Revolt narrative: the godless appear as the counter-example of Judas and his brothers, and the preservation of the ancestral laws is used to justify the rebellion. In addition to their sobriquet, Josephus notes their wickedness with his use of the noun *πονηρία*. This growth in the power of the ‘wicked’ coincided with a widespread famine, which was the reason given by the author of 1 Maccabees for the ‘land’ going over to the side of the Macedonians (1 Macc. ix. 24) – Josephus develops this argument by identifying the lack of necessities, and the Jews inability to hold out against the damage caused by the famine and the godless. I would suggest that if a famine had taken hold food supplies would be

²⁶⁹ Compare 1 Macc. ix. 23 with LXX Psalm 91: 8.

monitored and distributed by the authorities, and so it should come as no surprise that the former supporters of the Maccabees were hit particularly hard, or that the need for food forced the Jews to side with the Seleucid authorities as a matter of self-preservation.

3.4.13. The succession of Jonathan, *Ant.* xiii. 4-6

Taking advantage of the famine, Bacchides gathered together the ‘godless’ Jews and gave them government over their own land (*Ant.* xiii. 4; 1 Macc. ix. 25). The friends and sympathisers of Judas were rounded up and executed, which signalled the worst calamity to strike the Jews in several hundred years (*Ant.* xiii. 5; 1 Macc. ix. 27). This bleak situation led Judas’ companions to seek out Jonathan and appoint him commander of the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 5-6; 1 Macc. 28-31).

Key themes and discussion

Josephus refers to the godless Jews as the main opponents of the Maccabees – this is clear from the second line of book thirteen. To highlight this point, Josephus illustrates the ‘wickedness’ of the godless Jews twice within quick succession: the wicked Jews had abandoned their ancestral customs and ‘chosen the kind of life common to other nations’ (*Ant.* xiii. 4). 1 Maccabees calls them simply ‘godless’ and does not qualify their wickedness, although both sources agree that these impious Jews were given the rule of the country (1 Macc. ix. 25). These Jews tracked down Judas’ supporters and presented them to Bacchides, who ‘tortured and maltreated them at his pleasure, and then made an end of them in this way’ (*Ant.* xiii. 5). The explicit act of torture amplifies the negative presentation of Bacchides. The verb αικίζω is used twice in Josephus’ account of the Maccabees of *Antiquities* – the other instance charts the punishment for observant Jews who refused to adopt the king’s ordinances (*Ant.* xii. 255). This verb appears to have the particular connotation of Jews suffering martyrdom for their ancestral customs.²⁷⁰ It parallels the claim in the *War* that Bacchides tortured the observant Jews (*War* i. 35). In the *War* account, Josephus places this episode prior to Mattathias’ revolt, yet it is clear (and not simply because of the verbal repetition of αικίζω) that the connection between these accounts is significant. Josephus records that

²⁷⁰ Which is one of the fundamental aspects of the Maccabean manifesto – if that is how we understand Judas and Mattathias’ speeches.

Bacchides tortured the Jews for his pleasure (ἡδονή,²⁷¹ *Ant.* xiii. 4) and then killed them (διαφθείρω²⁷²) – which renders graphic 1 Maccabees’ remark that Bacchides ‘toys with his captives’ (1 Macc. ix. 26).

At the start of Mattathias’ uprising, he laments to his sons about the ‘misfortunes’ of the people and states that it was better to die for the law than to live without glory (*Ant.* xii. 267). Once again, at the outset of renewed military action, Josephus uses the same term for misfortune, συμφορά, which he employs frequently throughout his works to signal the times of great suffering that are the direct result of the iniquity of the people.²⁷³ Josephus outlines this theory in his introduction to the *Antiquities*, where he recalls the moral lesson of history: they who ‘depart from the strict observance of these laws[...] whatever imaginary good thing they strive to do ends in irretrievable disaster’ (συμφορά, *Ant.* i. 14, 21). God brought this ‘calamity’ upon the Jews as a response to their apostasy during the Maccabean period. Also, the use of ‘calamity’ prior to Mattathias’ and Jonathan’ uprisings, justifies the subsequent Jewish rebellion.

Josephus believed in the continuation of the prophets as evidenced by his description of John Hyrcanus as prophetic (*War.* i. 68; *Ant.* xiii. 299).²⁷⁴ Therefore it is unsurprising that he replaces the note in 1 Maccabees that this calamitous time was the worst since the days of the prophets, with a similar claim that it was the worst period since the return of the Jews from Babylonia (*Ant.* xiii. 5; 1 Macc. ix. 27).²⁷⁵ Chronologically this indicates a similarly lengthy period (if the author of 1 Maccabees was referring to Malachi as the last prophet), which demonstrates the severity and extraordinary nature of the crisis. This treatment of prophets mirrors his earlier reworking of 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 318; 1 Macc. iv. 44-47, as discussed above in 3.4.7).

This calamitous situation forced the surviving friends of Judas to offer Jonathan the post of commander (*Ant.* xiii. 5; 1 Macc. ix. 28-30). Following his usual treatment of direct speeches in 1 Maccabees, Josephus omits the speeches of Judas’ friends and replaces them

²⁷¹ On ἡδονή as a sign of loss of control, see 4 Maccabees.

²⁷² This verb ‘to kill’ occurs throughout the Josephan corpus, and is used nineteen times in his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (where the term does not appear). This is further evidence of Josephus’ complete revision of his source text and it also supports the assumption that Josephan literature originates from a single hand.

²⁷³ Josephus admits that he often dwells on these ‘calumnies’ in his writing, and he asks his audience to forgive him for his personal sentiments (*War* i. 9).

²⁷⁴ Yet Josephus reserves the use of the noun προφήτης for the biblical prophets. See Gafni, pp. 118-119.

Contrastingly, 1 Maccabees presents a prophet-less world, although there is an expectation of a future prophet (1 Macc. iv. 46; xiv. 41).

²⁷⁵ See Feldman, ‘Josephus’ Portrayal of the Hasmoneans’, pp. 58-59.

with greater narrative detail and explicit motives. Josephus makes his version more dramatic by reporting that ‘those of Judas’ companions who survived,²⁷⁶ seeing their nation perish so miserably, went to Jonathan and begged him to imitate his brother’ (*Ant.* xiii. 5). That Jonathan should *imitate* his brother Judas is an important statement, which has no parallel in 1 Maccabees. It lends credence to the theory that Josephus presents his main characters as virtuous role-models that should be imitated, both by later figures in his text and also by his audience. Elsewhere, Josephus notes that it is wrong to imitate the ignorance of others (*Apion* ii. 130), and in a telling passage Josephus writes: ‘each nation endeavours to trace its own institutions back to the remotest date, in order to create the impression that, far from imitating others, it has been the one to set its neighbours an example of orderly life under the law’ (*Apion* ii. 152).²⁷⁷ Josephus extols the figure of Judas, and by association his brother Jonathan, by depicting him an archetypal leader. The only other instance of this verb (μιμέομαι) during his version of the Maccabean Revolt falls in the ‘dark days’ of Menelaus and the Tobiads, when they abandoned their ancestral practices and ‘imitated the practices of foreign nations’ (*Ant.* xii. 241). Josephus may have been juxtaposing the two groups; the first abandoned their traditional customs in favour of the laws and practices of foreigners, while the second, under Jonathan, followed the virtuous ways of his brother Judas.

Recalling Judas’ achievements and sacrificial death to achieve liberty, the Jews urged Jonathan to assume the leadership (στρατηγός) of the nation (*Ant.* xiii. 5). Josephus heightens Jonathan’s military credentials with this claim of rank, which is a continuation from Judas (*Ant.* xii. 284) - the prestige with which he regards the position of στρατηγός is evident from his use of the term to describe Moses’ role of commander (*Ant.* ii. 241). According to 1 Maccabees this function was not offered to Jonathan at this time and none of the previous Maccabees were ascribed it: Judas is called the commander (ἄρχων) of the army (1 Macc. ii. 66) and Jonathan is given the posts of commander and chief (ἄρχων and ἡγέομαι respectively – 1 Macc. ix. 30). This may more accurately reflect the fact that the rank of στρατηγός was granted by the Seleucid monarchy – as is clear through Alexander Balas’ conferment of the

²⁷⁶ Josephus refers to ‘survivors’ frequently throughout his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, and this mention of the surviving companions of Judas forms a literary connection to the earlier speech by Judas to his ‘surviving’ soldiers before his final battle against Bacchides (*Ant.* xii. 425) – they are clearly one and the same group.

²⁷⁷ See also, *Ant.* i. 19; vi. 342; vii. 144; viii. 193, 197; xvii. 110.

posts of 'Friends of the First Rank', στρατηγός and μεριδάρχης upon Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 65).²⁷⁸

The key issue with the succession concerns the choice of Jonathan in preference to his brothers, in particular Simon.²⁷⁹ If we understand the list of Mattathias' sons to be written in order of age, then it is remarkable that Judas was the first leader since he was not the oldest (*Ant.* xii. 266). In his final speech Mattathias proclaims that 'Simon shall be your father', which carries with it seniority of wisdom and most likely advanced years (*Ant.* xii. 283). Despite this, the friends of Judas promote Jonathan to leadership. In his earlier account Josephus claims that Judas was the eldest son but, as I have discussed above, this can be explained by his attempt to make sense of the order of succession (*War* i. 37). Geiger argues that since Josephus is dependant on 1 Maccabees, this reference is his attempt to rationalise his account – however, it is unlikely that Josephus used 1 Maccabees as a source for *War*, as I have discussed above (2.3).²⁸⁰

One possible explanation for skipping Simon is the reference in 2 Maccabees to his failed military campaign (2 Macc. xiv. 17), although both 1 Maccabees and Josephus are silent on this matter and betray no reliance on the epitome. It is also possible that the leadership of the Maccabean rebels was divided between the roles of counsellor and military leader, as suggested by Mattathias' will concerning Simon and Judas.

The issue of martyrdom is a significant addition by Josephus. The account in 1 Maccabees does not mention Judas' willingness to die at this point, whilst Josephus repeatedly accentuates the point. Josephus writes that Judas' concern for his countrymen had led him to die fighting for the liberation of the Jews, and underpins this ideal with the claim that Jonathan likewise said that he was willing to die for his countrymen (*Ant.* xiii. 5-6). According to Josephus therefore, it was Jonathan's willingness to die that qualified him for the post. In view of Josephus' positive characterisation of Judas Maccabaeus, his claim that the Jews found Jonathan 'in no way inferior to his brother' acts only to augment the figure of Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 6).

²⁷⁸ Josephus might be aware of his anachronistic titular usage, and covers over this apparent discrepancy in his later rendering of the gifts of Alexander Balas to Jonathan by omitting the post of στρατηγός altogether (*Ant.* xiii. 85; 1 Macc. x. 65).

²⁷⁹ On the question of the order of the Hasmonean succession, see J. Geiger, 'The Hasmoneans and Hellenistic Succession', *JJS* 53 (2002), pp. 1-17. Geiger points to the reference at the end of 1 Maccabees to Judas and John, the two elder sons of Simon (1 Macc. xvi. 2, 14), by comparing this statement with the later description of 'Mattathias and Judas', in that order, Geiger surmises that 1 Maccabees does not always present its characters in line of seniority, p. 2.

²⁸⁰ J. Geiger, 'The Hasmoneans', p. 1, n.2.

3.4.14. Jonathan and Bacchides, *Ant.* xiii. 7-35

Josephus records the relationship between Jonathan, the newly appointed leader of the resistance, and the Syrian general Bacchides. This segment of the text is neatly subdivided into three prose units that depict the initial warfare between the Seleucids and the Maccabees and their subsequent reconciliation. The first examines the initial hostilities and Jonathan's defeat by the river Jordan (*Ant.* xiii. 7-17). The second looks at Jonathan's and Simon's revenge of the death of their brother John, at the wedding reception attended by the sons of Amararios (*Ant.* xiii. 18-21). The final part describes the cessation of violence between Bacchides and Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 22-35). In each case I shall investigate Josephus' presentation of the events and the central characters, and compare this with his source.

i. Bacchides defeats Jonathan

Josephus reports that Bacchides feared that Jonathan would cause trouble for the king in the same way as Judas had before him, and thus Bacchides planned to kill Jonathan by means of treachery (*δόλος*, *Ant.* xiii. 7). This passage amplifies the account of 1 Maccabees, which states only that Bacchides wanted to kill Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 32). The repeated association of Jonathan with Judas enhances his leadership credentials. The additional references to the Syrian's 'fear' and his attempt to kill Jonathan by treachery are unique to Josephus, and are features that Josephus regularly accentuates in his rewriting process.

Bacchides' plotting is used to enhance Jonathan's flight, giving the impression that he skillfully evaded the planned treachery (*Ant.* xiii. 8). In contrast to his monolithic presentation of Judas who acts as a singular figure, Josephus frequently mentions that Jonathan acted together with Simon (e.g. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 18, 19, 22, 28). Josephus' account systematically modifies the version of 1 Maccabees, which gives the impression that Jonathan and his followers were cowards: when Bacchides sought to kill Jonathan, the Jewish rebels ran into hiding in the desert (1 Macc. ix. 32-33). The later paraphrase adds the notion that Bacchides was acting treacherously, and that it was a result of Jonathan's good insight (*μανθάνω*) that allowed him to evade the Syrian's plot (*Ant.* xiii. 8). Rather than cowardice, Josephus transfers the figure of Jonathan into a pragmatic, insightful and intelligent leader.

Josephus reports the battle between Bacchides and Jonathan on the banks of the Jordan (*Ant.* xiii. 9f.). Immediately prior to the battle, Jonathan sends the baggage train to safety with his brother John, and both are captured in ambush by the sons of Amaraïos (*Ant.* xiii. 10-11). At this stage, 1 Maccabees describes Jonathan's and Simon's revengeful attack on the wedding party of the sons of Amaraïos, but Josephus moves this section to a later point.²⁸¹

Josephus reports that Bacchides waited until the Sabbath day before he attacked the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 12). This, he explains, was because Bacchides did not expect them to fight on the Sabbath because of their law. In an echo of Mattathias' speech justifying military action on the biblical day of rest (again on the grounds of self-defense), Jonathan encouraged his men to fight (*Ant.* xiii. 13; cf. xii. 276). The whole issue of fighting on the Sabbath is problematic for Josephus, who reports in his autobiography that the soldiers under his command in the war against Rome would not bear arms on the Sabbath, despite the previous note that Mattathias' ruling was adopted from that day onwards (*Life* 161, *Ant.* xii. 277). The Jews were known for their Sabbath observance, so it is understandable that Josephus wants to justify and explain episodes where they might be seen to have acted against the law. 1 Maccabees notes that Bacchides attacked on the Sabbath, but there is no indication that this was his deliberate intention (1 Macc. ix. 34, 43), and no discussion of Jonathan's legal clarification on this matter.

Josephus' repeated use of the Sabbath as the time favoured by foreign armies to attack the Jews is intended to emphasise their disregard of Jewish customs and laws. He presents Jonathan in more impressive terms than 1 Maccabees does - rather than appealing to Heaven to deliver them from their enemy, Josephus claims that Jonathan prayed for victory. Josephus often embellishes his battle sequences, perhaps as a result of his own military experience and interest, and he claims that Jonathan killed many of the enemy before coming face-to-face with Bacchides (*Ant.* xiii. 14). Josephus glosses over Jonathan's defeat and presents his evasion of Bacchides' army as heroic - even doubling the number of Syrians killed as recorded in 1 Maccabees (2000 according to Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14; compared to only 1000 in 1 Macc. ix. 49). Both sources fail to give any casualty figures for Jonathan's forces, and both present the event in a positive light despite the obvious defeat. As a result of his victory Bacchides, controlled all of the major cities of Judaea, and fortified them against the rebels (*Ant.* xiii. 15-17; 1 Macc. ix. 50-53).

²⁸¹ Josephus acknowledges that he has rearranged the wedding massacre, and forecasts the event with the statement that, 'Nevertheless they suffered fitting punishment for this at the hands of his brothers, as we shall presently relate' (*Ant.* xiii. 11). For the attack in 1 Maccabees, see ix. 37-42.

ii. The wedding reception of the sons of Amaraïos

Josephus rearranges his source material and adopts the connecting phrase, 'At about this time' to reintroduce the account of the Maccabees' revenge for the death of John (*Ant.* xiii. 18).

The events of the massacre are similar in Josephus and 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xiii. 18-21; 1 Macc. ix. 37-42). The main discrepancies between the accounts can be put down to a combination of Josephus' simplification of the tale and his desire to elevate Jonathan and Simon. Whilst the author of 1 Maccabees states that Jonathan killed many of the wedding party and the others escaped, Josephus claims that all of the sons of Amaraïos were murdered, without exception, even giving a number of casualties (400 dead, *Ant.* xiii. 21).

1 Maccabees contains a poetic statement that the wedding turned from celebration to mourning and the music of the choir into a song of lamentation (1 Macc. ix. 41). Josephus omits this completely. It would be understandable that Josephus did not wish to provoke sympathy for the wedding group by dramatising their suffering. Further, Josephus takes pains to present the attack as justified, as is amply demonstrated by his use of the terms ὑπέχω and τιμωρία to signify righteous 'punishment' for their previous offences (*Ant.* xiii. 11, 21). The verb ὑπέχω is repeated in the Maccabean Revolt narrative when Josephus describes the just punishment of the murderous plotter Ammonius (*Ant.* xiii. 108), whereas the term is not found in 1 Maccabees. The noun τιμωρία occurs elsewhere in Josephus' paraphrase of 1 Maccabees; in particular, when Josephus admonishes Polybius' version of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, he states 'for merely to wish a thing without actually doing it is not deserving of punishment' (*Ant.* xii. 358, likewise this term does not occur in 1 Maccabees). Therefore Josephus impresses upon his readers the justice of the punishment inflicted by Jonathan and Simon.

iii. A peaceful resolution

The author of 1 Maccabees places the death of Alcimus directly after Bacchides' triumphal return to Judaea (1 Macc. ix. 57). In contrast, Josephus has already narrated this episode in order to attribute the post of high priest to Judas Maccabaeus (*Ant.* xii. 413f.). Therefore Josephus departs from the narrative of 1 Maccabees and notes simply that Bacchides returned to the king (Demetrius), and thereafter the 'affairs of the Jews were peaceful for two years' (*Ant.* xiii. 22). Whatever the historical situation, Josephus' reordered account presents a more

believable version to his readers. It is hard to imagine that in the midst of peasant uprisings and the death of the pro-Seleucid high priest, Bacchides would have returned to the king for two years – the situation was volatile, and clearly demanded the Syrian general’s presence. Josephus, however, impresses on his readers the stability and security of the Syrian’s control over Jerusalem, which allowed Bacchides the opportunity to return to Demetrius.

Once again the ‘godless’ and ‘renegades’ amongst the Jews saw that Jonathan and his followers were living in security because of the peace, and sent to Demetrius in order to urge him to kill Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 23). The account in 1 Maccabees omits King Demetrius, which Josephus may have adjusted following the statement that Bacchides was returning to the king’s side, or simply to include influential characters and important people in his narrative (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 58-60). Bacchides sent letters to his supporters in Judaea (whom Josephus identifies as Jewish) with instructions to seize Jonathan. Again, Jonathan becomes aware of the plot, and in an additional dramatising note, Josephus explains that Jonathan guarded himself closely (*Ant.* xiii. 25).

In keeping with Josephus’ policy of ascribing emotions to his historical figures and, in particular, the emotion of anger to the villains of his narrative, Josephus departs from 1 Maccabees to describe Bacchides’ anger at the failed plot to kill Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 25). According to 1 Maccabees, fifty of the ringleaders of the plot to kill Jonathan were captured and put to death, and, although the Greek is unclear, most scholars infer that Jonathan executed them (1 Macc. ix. 61 – as the translator of the RSV). Josephus repackages this report to blame Bacchides for the death of his own allies, due to his anger (ὀργίζω) at their failure to capture the Maccabees. Perhaps this is a case of mistaken identity on Josephus’ behalf, as the suggestion made by Marcus that Josephus may have had in mind 1 Macc. ix. 69 seems a plausible explanation of this alternative tradition.²⁸²

Josephus’ version of the massacre of the renegades increases Bacchides’ negative characterisation and excuses Jonathan’s flight to the wilderness. In a rare attribution of a negative psychological state to the Maccabees, Josephus claims that Jonathan and his followers ‘feared’ (φοβέω) Bacchides, which forced them to withdraw to Bethalaga²⁸³ in the wilderness (*Ant.* xiii. 26). In all of the instances where Josephus attributes fear to his literary figures, this is the only occasion where it is explicitly stated that one of the Maccabees was

²⁸² See Ralph, *Josephus*, vol. vii, p. 238, n. e.

²⁸³ Josephus and 1 Maccabees locate this siege of Jonathan in different towns, both commonly identified as ruins to the north, or north-east of the town of Tekoah.

fearful of their Syrian enemy.²⁸⁴ This apparently negative feature of Jonathan is immediately overlaid by his subsequent military success. Indeed, this note could be intended to add a dramatic and personalising gloss to Jonathan's character: despite the fear, he still manages to humiliate Bacchides on the battlefield.

The two accounts of the siege of Bethalaga/Bethbasi agree in content, although, as in other places, Josephus adds observations about the psychological state of his key players. Josephus impresses upon his audience the strength of Jonathan, who did not yield in the face of the ferocious siege (*Ant.* xiii. 28). Using his favoured term *κατερός*, Josephus credits Jonathan with defending the town stoutly – this is the same term Josephus uses of other successful defenses.²⁸⁵ Both of these character-enhancing statements are absent from 1 Maccabees, which implies that shortly after the siege began, Jonathan smuggled himself out of the town leaving his brother in charge (1 Macc. ix. 64-65).

Josephus simplifies the narrative of 1 Maccabees and creates a more believable account of Jonathan's actions. 1 Maccabees claim that Jonathan escaped Bethbasi with a small force and attacked the nomadic tribes of Odomera and Phasirites, before turning his attention on Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 66). On the other hand, Josephus states only that Jonathan secreted himself from the siege and gathered a large force made up of his sympathisers, before returning to attack the Syrian general (*Ant.* xiii. 28). Josephus' account has a lot to recommend it. If Jonathan 'secreted' himself from the siege (as both versions agree), then it is unlikely that he escaped with a large enough force of men to attack several nomadic tribes, before returning to fend off Bacchides. On the other hand, by the time of the attack on Bacchides, Jonathan had gained a sufficiently large army to threaten the Syrians. The easiest explanation is that Jonathan enlisted the assistance of pro-Hasmonean partisans, and far from attacking the tribal groups, Jonathan employed their assistance. This explanation is argued on a linguistic level by Goldstein, who proposes that the similarity of the terms *ἐπάταξεν* and *ἐπέταξεν* led to confusion in the manuscript tradition, and that 1 Maccabees

²⁸⁴ Josephus uses the term *φοβέω* five times within his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees: Bacchides feared Jonathan's actions (*Ant.* xiii. 7); Jonathan feared Bacchides (*Ant.* xiii. 26); King Demetrius feared Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 38); the Joppa garrison feared Jonathan might besiege them (*Ant.* xiii. 92); and Simon feared the people might turn away from him (*Ant.* xiii. 205). Josephus uses the noun *φόβος* four times: to denote the reason why nations gave up their ancestral practices (*Ant.* xii. 269); fear of war (*Ant.* xiii. 129); Tryphon's fear of Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 187); and Simon's speech declaring that he knows no fear (*Ant.* xiii. 198).

²⁸⁵ E.g. Elymais (*Ant.* xii. 355), the Jerusalem Temple (*Ant.* xii. 377), or of reinforced town walls (*Ant.* xiii. 202). This adjective does not appear in 1 Maccabees.

originally implied that Jonathan ‘commanded’ the tribe.²⁸⁶ In this instance, then, it would seem that modern scholars who place little value on the historical reliability of Josephus should be less suspicious concerning his account.

With this support Jonathan attacked the besieging Syrian force. Josephus stresses the achievement and courage of Jonathan by recounting the vicious attack on Bacchides’ forces (*Ant.* xiii. 28), which caused such a commotion that his brother Simon heard it from within the besieged fortress. Jonathan is credited with strategic insight through the nature of his nocturnal campaign, as well as highlighting the calculated and tactical alliance with Simon and the other Jews under siege in Bethbasi. At this sign from Jonathan, Simon sallied forth from the fortified town, and together they killed a great number of the enemy. 1 Maccabees acknowledges Jonathan’s role, but gives the impression that the victory was won by Simon (1 Macc. ix. 67-68).

Both accounts recognise Bacchides’ anger (*Ant.* xiii. 31; 1 Macc. ix. 69), which was aimed at the renegade Jews for encouraging him into this fruitless mission, but Josephus’ diagnosis of his emotional state went further. Reminiscent of the prior helplessness of Jonathan (when he and his men were hemmed in, between the river and the enemy – *Ant.* xiii. 13), Josephus reports that Bacchides was hemmed in by his foes, ‘some of them pressing him from in front and others from behind’ (*Ant.* xiii. 30). This caused Bacchides to fall into despondency and a disturbed state of mind due to his unexpected defeat. Throughout the entire Maccabean Revolt narrative, Josephus uses ἀθυμία on only one other occasion, and that too was a Seleucid defeat. Josephus narrates that King Antiochus Epiphanes, on hearing the bad news of his generals’ defeat, fell ill through his despondency and died (*Ant.* xii. 357). In both cases the despondency was the result of an unexpected defeat at the hands of the Jewish rebels, and in both instances it heralded their departure from the narrative – Epiphanes died, while Bacchides signed a treaty and left Judaea never to return. The term ἀθυμία does not appear in 1 Maccabees.

In addition to helplessness, both sources record that the Syrian general felt great anger against the Jewish renegades. The Greek term that the Loeb translator interprets as ‘anger’ is θυμός, a word particularly favoured in Josephus’ *Jewish War*, and found nowhere else in his narrative of the Maccabean Revolt or in 1 Maccabees. Josephus does not describe the actions of Bacchides in as much detail as 1 Maccabees, where in his fury he puts many of the Jewish renegades to death (1 Macc. ix. 69), since it appears that in his rearranged version, Josephus

²⁸⁶ See Goldstein, *1 Maccabee*, p. 395, n. 66.

used this information earlier (*Ant.* xiii. 25). Josephus also claims Bacchides had a ‘troubled state of mind’, a phrase which is not repeated in the exact same form in all surviving Greek literature. The repetition of the word for mind/thought, *διάνοια*, within two lines, may not in itself be worthy of discussion, although the term’s absence from 1 Maccabees makes it more notable (*Ant.* xiii. 30, 32).

In addition to these psychological statements about Bacchides, Josephus does add a nobler virtue, ascribing the Syrian’s anger to the belief that his military failure brought shame upon his honourable reputation (*εὐπρεπῶς*, *Ant.* xiii. 33). This addition seems to run contrary to the general theme of demonising the enemies of the Maccabees, yet it does fall within Josephus’ thesis of promoting virtue in characters, especially after they have realised the folly of attacking the Maccabees. Once again, it is easy to draw parallels with Josephus’ version of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who realises after defeat that the root of his demise lay in his enmity to the Jews (*Ant.* xii. 359). Further, Josephus is deliberately linking Bacchides with a desire for honour, which he cements (in a literary fashion at least) by his repetition of the term *εὐπρεπῶς* two lines later when Jonathan and Bacchides make a pact of friendship (*Ant.* xiii. 33). It would be easy to read into this repetitive vocabulary Josephus’ desire to show the virtue of relations between other states and the Jews, particularly in view of the First Jewish Revolt of 66-73 CE.

Josephus follows 1 Maccabees closely on the treaty between Jonathan and Bacchides, agreeing on the key features of mutual non-aggression and the return of prisoners (1 Macc. ix. 70; *Ant.* xiii. 33). Josephus implies that both Jewish and Syrian prisoners were swapped, whilst it is clear that 1 Maccabees only mentions the Jewish detainees – Josephus might have been stressing the equality of the forces and thereby enhancing Jonathan, or, in this instance, it may reflect his interpretation of the ambiguity of 1 Maccabees. Josephus augments the political influence of Jonathan by stating that Bacchides made a deal of friendship with him and, again following his usual practice of inserting important figures into the narrative where they are absent in 1 Maccabees, Josephus notes that Bacchides returned directly to the king (*Ant.* xiii. 33; 1 Macc. ix. 72 states that Bacchides returned to ‘his own land’).

Jonathan is recorded as setting up his base at Machma (Michmash), where he administered the affairs of ‘the people’ (*Ant.* xiii. 34).²⁸⁷ This phrase carries some negative connotations, since elsewhere the term that Marcus translates as people/crowd, *ὄχλος*, has a

²⁸⁷ 1 Maccabees presents this in terms reminiscent of the biblical Judges (1 Macc. ix. 73).

definite pejorative meaning (e.g. *War* iii. 475; *Ant.* iii. 198). The only other instance of this term during the Maccabean Revolt narrative occurs when Josephus describes the wedding party, which Jonathan and Simon massacred (*Ant.* xiii. 20) – this coincides with its only application in 1 Maccabees, thus reaffirming the dependency (1 Macc. ix. 35). Finally, to underline the reason for the conflict, Jonathan cleansed the country of the wicked and godless as soon as the warfare had ceased (*Ant.* xiii. 34).

3.4.15. Alexander Balas and Demetrius, *Ant.* xiii. 36-61

This section of the narrative discusses the rise of Alexander Balas, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the attempts of Alexander and Demetrius to win Jonathan's favour (in the belief that his support would tip the balance in their direction). The text contains letters purporting to be from both kings to Jonathan, each outbidding the other for his allegiance. Jonathan plays a diplomatic and pragmatic hand, which enables him to be installed into increasingly powerful positions, most notably the high priesthood and First Friend.

According to Josephus, the high priesthood was given to Judas because of his military valour; he does not describe its reallocation on Judas' death. Whilst Judas won this position through bravery, Jonathan gained the post by political wrangling. This section is divided into four parts, which cover the introduction of Alexander Balas and Demetrius' initial attempt to gain support from Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 35-42), the letter of Alexander to Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 43-45), and the counter-proposals of Demetrius (*Ant.* xiii. 46-57), and, finally, the death of Demetrius I in battle (*Ant.* xiii. 58-61).

i. Alexander Balas and Demetrius

Josephus introduces Alexander Balas while denigrating the figure of Demetrius I – Alexander gained entry to Ptolemais through the treason of the soldiers there, as they had turned their backs on Demetrius (*Ant.* xiii. 35). This information is exclusive to Josephus, who disparages Demetrius in no uncertain terms. 1 Maccabees states, 'when King Demetrius heard of it, he assembled a very large army and marched out to meet him in battle' (1 Macc. x. 1-2).

Josephus, following his unparalleled claim that Demetrius' soldiers were disloyal, lists the faults of the king: Demetrius had become arrogant (*ὑπερηφάνια*) and unapproachable (*δυσέντευκτος*), lazy (*ρόθυμος*) and careless (*ὀλιγώροσ*) in matters of public life (*Ant.* xiii. 35-

36). Josephus uses the term ὑπερηφανία sparingly, and as an indication of its pejorative sense, he applies it to the Sodomites (*Ant.* i. 195). All of these terms are infrequent Josephan vocabulary and, indeed, his use of δυσέντευκτος (meaning ‘unapproachable’) is unique within his writings.²⁸⁸

The frequency and context of the term ῥάθυμος (meaning ‘negligent/lazy’) shows a strong bias towards areas of the *Antiquities* that are based on post-biblical works, and in particular the section of *Antiquities* most commonly identified as relying on Nicolas of Damascus. Idleness is one of the repeated slurs that Josephus throws at the Jews’ enemies, including the Egyptians (*Ant.* ii. 201), the Philistines (*Ant.* vii. 96), and the Cuthians (*Ant.* xi. 20). Josephus emphasises Demetrius’ laziness, which led to his subjects opposing him (*Ant.* xiii. 36). This description of a ‘declining leader’ can be compared with Josephus’ presentation of Jonathan’s rise to prominence and his eventual high priesthood. His use of the noun πρᾶγμα to describe Jonathan’s administration of the affairs of the people (*Ant.* xiii. 34), contrasts with Demetrius’ neglect of his public duties (*Ant.* xiii. 36). Such an evaluation augments the role and influence of Jonathan, whilst denigrating the impious and tyrannical character of his Syrian opponent.

Josephus and 1 Maccabees recall that Demetrius sent an army to meet Alexander Balas, while at the same time proposing an alliance with Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 37-38; 1 Macc. x. 2-6). Josephus turns to narrative the direct speech of 1 Maccabees that outlines Demetrius’ motivations for the alliance – Demetrius attempts to pre-empt any pact between Jonathan and Alexander (*Ant.* xiii. 37; 1 Macc. x. 4-5). Both authors agree that Demetrius tabled this treaty because he did not want Jonathan to side with Alexander, yet Josephus’ version notes that Demetrius was fearful that Jonathan might bear a grudge for previous ill-treatment (again φοβέω, *Ant.* xiii. 38).

Demetrius gave Jonathan the ability to raise an army and retrieve the Jewish prisoners who were held in the Acra. Both accounts agree that the men of the Acra – the godless and renegades – were fearful of Jonathan’s rising power (*Ant.* xiii. 40; 1 Macc. x. 8). Josephus notes that the only enemies to remain in Judaea were the godless and the renegades in the

²⁸⁸ The term is rare, and is most prevalent in Plutarch where it is used only twice in this form (*Phil. Nicias*, v. 2, and *Phil. Dion*, xvii. 10).

Acra and those in Bethsura (*Ant.* xiii. 42). Using diplomacy Jonathan had achieved more than Judas before him.

ii. Letter of Alexander to Jonathan

Hearing of the promises that Demetrius had made to Jonathan, Alexander Balas sought to win the Maccabees' support (*Ant.* xiii. 43). Josephus' account is similar to that of his source (1 Macc. x. 15f.). The courage of Jonathan is central to Alexander's request, since the king recognises Jonathan's bravery and the great things that he has accomplished against the Macedonians (*Ant.* xiii. 43 – yet his poor military performance to date hardly warrants such praise). 'Courage' is mentioned three times in this short section, and it is coupled with the idea that Jonathan had personal motivation for opposing Demetrius, primarily because of the suffering caused by his general Bacchides (Josephus emphasises the suffering by repeating the term *πάσχω*, *Ant.* xiii. 43). The letter itself follows the text of 1 Maccabees closely (*Ant.* xiii. 45; 1 Macc. x. 18-20), with the addition of Alexander Balas' recognition of Jonathan's courage and trustworthiness. The terms of the deal are identical in both sources and most importantly, guarantee Jonathan the posts of high priest and Friend.

iii. The counter-proposals of Demetrius

It is clear that Jonathan followed the terms of Alexander's treaty as he officiates at the feast of tabernacles (*Ant.* xiii. 46).²⁸⁹ Yet no explicit indication of his agreement is made, and Josephus reports Demetrius' subsequent attempt to better Alexander's offer. Josephus' version of the letter of Demetrius to Jonathan has several original elements. The treaty in Josephus is addressed to Jonathan and the people, and follows the standard formula of treaties, 'King Demetrius to Jonathan and the Jewish nation, greetings'. According to 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. x. 25), the letter was directed towards 'the people' (and not Jonathan), which is unlikely considering the epigraphic and literary examples of Hellenistic and Roman treaties collected by Pucci Ben Zeev.²⁹⁰ Josephus represents the letter faithfully without significant addition or alteration. The literary impact of the letter of Demetrius to Jonathan

²⁸⁹ And this, Josephus digresses, was 'four years after the death of his brother Judas – for there had been no high priest during this time' (*Ant.* xiii. 46). This statement is incorrect as there was a seven year period between the death of Judas (159 BCE) and the high priesthood of Jonathan (152 BCE). Marcus, p. 248, n. b.

²⁹⁰ M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World : the Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

would certainly suit an apologetic attempt to demonstrate the loyalty of the Jews to foreign powers and enhance their prestige and pivotal role in international relations. In addition, if we can identify a primarily Jewish market for *Antiquities*, then these treaties demonstrate the history of toleration of Jewish ancestral practices.

Josephus emphasises some aspects of the treaty further than 1 Maccabees. The loyalty of the Jews is stressed by the claim that they have remained loyal in spite of Alexander's 'tempting offers' (*Ant.* xiii. 48). The treaty continues by granting exemption from salt tax, poll tax, crown tax, and the tribute. Jerusalem and the Acra were given to Jonathan to garrison with men of his choosing, and Josephus adds the note that these favoured men would be faithful and friendly (*Ant.* xiii. 51). Jewish prisoners would be released, and the Jews would be able to maintain the Sabbath and other cultic festivals. Jews who wished to serve in the Seleucid army would be allowed to do so, and in a supplementary notice that endorses their loyalty, Josephus claims that Demetrius not only promised to take Jewish soldiers as officers in his court, but also into his private bodyguard (*Ant.* xiii. 53).

In two places Josephus makes significant statements about the temple. He augments 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. x. 38) by adding that 'not a single Jew shall have any Temple to worship other than that at Jerusalem' (*Ant.* xiii. 54). Likewise, Josephus inflates fivefold Demetrius' annual donation to the Temple, which has the effect of demonstrating the importance of the Jerusalem Temple and Demetrius' high regard for Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 55). This passage is significant when we consider its narrative context, since it precedes the account of the Oniad temple in Heliopolis which Josephus depicts negatively (*Ant.* xiii. 62f.).

iv. Demetrius' death at the hands of Alexander Balas²⁹¹

Josephus avoids identifying Jonathan's preference of either Demetrius or Alexander Balas, where he notes simply, 'these then were the promises and favours which Demetrius offered when he wrote to the Jews' (*Ant.* xiii. 58). Goldstein suggests that opposition to Alexander was the result of his negative reputation within the Graeco-Roman circles that formed Josephus' audience.²⁹² 1 Maccabees states that Jonathan supported Alexander, since 'the first to speak peaceable words to them' (although in fact Demetrius was the instigator of peace, 1

²⁹¹ This section of text breaks radically from 1 Maccabees, preferring instead an unnamed source. Justinus and Appian both wrote on the battle between Demetrius and Alexander Balas, yet neither author can be identified as Josephus' source. For a brief discussion on the sources for this passage (*Ant.* xiii. 58-80), see Marcus's notes, p. 255.

²⁹² Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 414. Based on Alexander's dubious claim to the throne.

Macc. x. 47, cf. x. 3). Josephus may have recognised this contradiction in the narrative and glossed over any decision by Jonathan until the result of the battle between the monarchs had been related – thereby guaranteeing that Jonathan sided with the victor. Further, having recounted the lengthy letter from Demetrius to Jonathan, with its many privileges and allowances, Josephus could not undermine this testimony by questioning Demetrius' truthfulness (as 1 Macc. x. 46).

The battle between Alexander Balas and Demetrius is greatly developed in Josephus' account, with sufficient distinctive elements to suggest the use of an alternative source. Josephus dramatises the battle beyond the account in 1 Maccabees that states only that Demetrius fought hard till sunset before he died (1 Macc. x. 49-50; *Ant.* xiii. 58-61). Josephus relates that despite the collapse of the right wing of his forces, and the disarray of his troops, Demetrius continued to attack. The enemy realised the helplessness of his situation, surrounded him and speared him to death (*Ant.* xiii. 60-61). Up to this point Josephus has portrayed Demetrius in negative terms; yet, once Demetrius has acknowledged the rights and privileges of the Jews, Josephus paints his death in dramatic and heroic colours (emphasising this notion with his dual use of *γενναῖος*, *Ant.* xiii. 60, 61).

3.4.16. Onias in Egypt, *Ant.* xiii. 62-79

Josephus digresses from the text of the Maccabean Revolt by inserting the account of the fortunes of Onias, who fled to the side of Ptolemy after the execution of Menelaus and the succession of Alcimus to the high priesthood (*Ant.* xii. 386ff.).²⁹³ As this section of text is marginal to the Maccabean conflict, I will discuss it only briefly.²⁹⁴ The key questions to ask of this digression are what are the main themes and motifs of the passage, and how do these contribute to the surrounding narrative of the Maccabean period?

The overriding theme that emerges from the account of Onias' building of the Temple in Egypt is that of foreign respect for the Jewish race and successful co-existence of the Jewish religion with other customs. Onias wrote to Ptolemy and Cleopatra to request their authority to build the Temple, using the words of Isaiah (Isa. xix. 19) as historio-biblical proof

²⁹³ On the Oniad temple and the 'echoes of the Maccabean crisis' in Egypt, see J. Méléze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Second Edition; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, orig. published 1995), pp. 121-128.

²⁹⁴ The fact that Josephus resumes his discussion of the reign of Alexander Balas and Jonathan with a temporal marker ('as we have related above', *Ant.* xiii. 80; 1 Macc. x. 51) underlines the clear and intentional break in the narrative – which is further emphasised by the note at line 62, 'as we have said before', which links the digression with the comment on Onias from book twelve.

of the legitimacy of the project (*Ant.* xiii. 64). The arguments proposed by Onias in favour of building a temple are that the Egyptians have many temples which lead to disharmony in matters of practice (*Ant.* xiii. 66); that he has located a deserted and suitable place (*Ant.* xiii. 67); that it will unite the Jews and make them harmonious so that they can better serve Ptolemy, and that the prophet Isaiah predicted the building of the Temple there (*Ant.* xiii. 68). Josephus disassociates the Jewish religion from native Egyptian practice by his claim that Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in their reply to Onias, implied that it would be sinful for the Jews to build their temple on a site tainted by sacred animals (*Ant.* xiii. 70). The argument that convinces King Ptolemy in favour of Onias is that the prophet Isaiah foretold the building of a temple in the land of Egypt (*Ant.* xiii. 71).

It is clear that Josephus is ambivalent in his presentation of Onias the man, and this literary interlude contains several barely disguised slights. However, when compared with the account of Onias in Josephus' *War*, the priest's portraiture has been significantly polished in the *Antiquities*. In *War* Josephus states that Onias was 'not actuated by honest motives', but was attempting to create a rival temple to that in Jerusalem (*War* vii. 431). Josephus' attitude has changed significantly, which may indicate the use of a different source. Additionally, the theme of *στάσις* is more prominent in the earlier work, and so it should not be surprising that it emphasises disunity and factionalism (the term appears twice as often in *War* as it does in the larger work *Antiquities*). By the time Josephus wrote *Antiquities*, it was evident that the Jerusalem Temple would not be rebuilt in the short term, and thus examples of the export of the Jerusalem cultic and priestly practices were presented in more positive terms.²⁹⁵

In *Antiquities* book thirteen, Josephus' attitude to Onias has altered to present his aims as gaining lasting fame (*μνήμη*) and glory (*δόξα*). Josephus commends these motives as virtuous. These are the same motives that Josephus advocated in his reflections on the life of Saul, discussed above (3.4.11, in *Ant.* vi. 343).²⁹⁶ However admirable the aspiration of lasting fame and reputation, Josephus also uses this motif to heighten the drama of his account, and to add an ironic tone. For example, Joseph and Azarias sought *δόξα*, but they did this against the explicit orders of Judas Maccabaeus and thus, according to Josephus, they were defeated (*Ant.* xii. 350) – Josephus points to the paradox of the situation, as they aimed so high and yet

²⁹⁵ Josephus does not give any indication of the biblical prohibition on sacrifice outside of the city of Jerusalem and the location of the *Shekhinah*.

²⁹⁶ Of the few examples of the use of 'glory and eternal renown', the most similar to Josephus' phrase can be found in Isocrates' *Panegyricus* – see the translation with useful, albeit dated, introduction by J. H. Freese (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894). The collocation of these terms was calculated using an exhaustive electronic search of *TLG*.

fell (πρᾶσιμα) so low. Josephus makes other implicit slights against Onias, including a claim that the temple was similar to that at Jerusalem, ‘but smaller and poorer’, and that Onias found some Jews ‘like him’ (ὁμοίωσις) to minister there (*Ant.* xiii. 73).

The quarrel between the Samaritans and the Alexandrian Jews, which forms the second half of this short digression from 1 Maccabees, is related to Onias by the implicit denigration of the Oniad Temple (*Ant.* xiii. 74-79). This short account demonstrates King Ptolemy’s favouring of the Jews, and in particular his approval of the Jerusalem Temple and the Jerusalem priesthood. The priests are recommended for their continuity of post and the honour bestowed on them by the kings of Asia (*Ant.* xiii. 78). Josephus does not record whether the Samaritan representative was able to put his case to the court – and no other literary evidence of this argument survives (thus scholars, such as Marcus question the whole basis for this account²⁹⁷). The fact that Josephus refers to this conflict at the beginning of book twelve shows that this story was not an insignificant fiction – Josephus carefully wove the account into his narrative.

3.4.17. Balas and Jonathan, *Ant.* xiii. 80-102

Josephus details the relations between Alexander Balas and Jonathan following the death of Demetrius I (*Ant.* xiii. 80-102; 1 Macc. x.51f.). This text returns to the close paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, following the digression concerning the Oniad temple in Egypt. This section is divided into two subsections: the first establishes the relationship between Alexander and Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 80-85), and the second examines the battle between the Maccabees and Apollonius (*Ant.* xiii. 86-102).

i. Alexander and Jonathan

Josephus records the letter of Alexander to Ptolemy Philometor, requesting his daughter’s hand in marriage with the aim of cementing relations between the two monarchs (*Ant.* xiii. 80). The account in 1 Maccabees differs in several aspects (1 Macc. x. 52-54). A brief comparison of Josephus’ rendition of this letter to his source, reveals that Josephus reduces the triumphant boast of Alexander, and that he inserts his stock motifs of providence and virtue.

²⁹⁷ Marcus, p. 263, n. d.

Josephus states that Alexander recognised that his victory was due to the providence of God (πρόνοια, *Ant.* xiii. 80). The theme of providence recurs throughout Josephus' writings and has been discussed at great length in recent scholarship, most notably by Harold Attridge.²⁹⁸ I will discuss this phrase below (3.4.20), where Josephus ascribes 'divine providence' directly to Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 163). Let it suffice to state that this description suggests divine favour and recognition of the virtue of the recipient. Josephus follows this claim directly by acknowledging that Alexander was not unworthy (ἀνάξιος). This is an unusual phrase, which suggests a negative connotation – it is the term used to describe the accusation of Alexander Jannaeus' enemies, that he was unfit to hold the post of high priest (*Ant.* xiii. 372).²⁹⁹

Josephus closely follows the text of 1 Maccabees concerning the marriage of Alexander to Cleopatra and the subsequent honouring of Jonathan (*Ant.* xiii. 83f; 1 Macc. x. 59f). The Jewish high priest was invited to the wedding celebrations, which demonstrates his importance and influence – which is heightened by his robe of purple (*Ant.* xiii. 84) and the declaration by Alexander publicly supporting Jonathan. The main difference between the two versions of this narrative is that Josephus omits two of the roles/privileges bestowed onto Jonathan. Both sources mention Alexander's gift of the position of 'First Friend' (*Ant.* xiii. 85; 1 Macc. x. 65), yet 1 Maccabees contains the additional posts of general and governor that are not found in Josephus. This is remarkable, considering his enhancement of the Maccabees beyond his source text. It is possible that Josephus did not wish to associate Jonathan and Alexander too closely, as he later denigrates the king.

ii. Apollonius

In 147 BCE, Demetrius II sought to regain his father's kingdom, with the aid of mercenaries and Apollonius (1 Macc. x. 67). Either Josephus confuses Demetrius for Alexander Balas, or subsequently a scribal error has crept into the manuscript tradition, as *Antiquities* claims that Alexander employed Apollonius – which, in view of the following battle and the testament of 1 Maccabees, is clearly incorrect. Apollonius is immediately portrayed as tyrannical and unjust, with his first recorded communiqué to Jonathan that it 'was unjust (ἀδίκος) that he

²⁹⁸ For discussion and bibliography on πρόνοια, see H. Attridge, *passim*.

²⁹⁹ Elsewhere in the ancient sources Alexander Balas is recorded in pejorative terms, Justin claims he was an incompetent and lazy ruler (Justin xxxv. 2. 2f.).

alone should live in security (ἄδεια) and freedom to do as he liked, not being subject to the king [Demetrius II]' (*Ant.* xiii. 88). This statement does not appear in 1 Maccabees, which instead recounts a taunt made by Apollonius, inciting Jonathan to meet him in battle (1 Macc. x. 70-73). This exclusive claim by Josephus is reminiscent of the earlier ill-fated siege by Bacchides, which was inspired by the renegade Jews who saw that 'Jonathan and his followers were living in the country in the greatest security (ἄδεια) because of the peace.' (*Ant.* xiii. 23). When Bacchides withdrew, killing some of the renegade Jews and making peace with Jonathan, Josephus uses the term (ἄδεια) to describe Jonathan's secure position (*Ant.* xiii. 34). In this instance the unjust men who opposed Jonathan's security were themselves routed, and similarly, Apollonius' forces were defeated.³⁰⁰

Josephus reports that Jonathan was provoked into a response (*Ant.* xiii. 91). With identical numbers to 1 Maccabees, Josephus reports that Jonathan selected 10,000 men and marched to Joppa, where the inhabitants opened the gates to him from fear of his army. Both accounts agree that Apollonius took 3,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot soldiers (1 Macc. x. 77, 85; *Ant.* xiii. 92). Josephus draws out the drama and irony of the situation, by claiming that Apollonius had overconfidence (καταφρονέω) in the cavalry, which he hoped (ἐλπίζ) would make him victorious (*Ant.* xiii. 92). Apollonius laid a trap, but due to Jonathan's insight it was foiled – the account in Josephus elaborates on the battle using military terminology whilst promoting the character of Jonathan. In addition to 1 Maccabees, which says only that Jonathan discovered there was an ambush, Josephus speaks also of Jonathan's mental state, that he was not dismayed by this news (καταπλήσσω – *Ant.* xiii. 94). This is clearly a significant military virtue, as Josephus reports that Judas Maccabaeus encouraged his troops not to feel dismayed (καταπλήσσω) at the size of the opposing forces (*Ant.* xii. 409).

The role of Jonathan's brother Simon is also suitably adapted by Josephus. Whereas in 1 Maccabees it is Simon who led his troops out bravely and won the day, Josephus includes Jonathan's part in the battle: Jonathan gave part of his army to Simon and commanded them to engage the enemy, whilst Jonathan himself ordered his men to make a fence of their shields to withstand the javelins (*Ant.* xiii. 95). In the amplified account, Jonathan is the hero. The enemy hurled all of their spears and javelins at the Jews, but due to their obedience to Jonathan's commands, and his wisdom, none were injured. Jonathan pursued the enemy to

³⁰⁰ Feldman identifies the role of the statesman as ensuring peace for his people, and thus it is possible that these references are designed to amplify Jonathan's statesmanship. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 94.

Azotus, where he burnt the city and the Temple of Dagon, where many of the enemy were hiding.

Josephus' paraphrase of 1 Maccabees disagrees on the identity of the master of Apollonius (see above). Josephus claims that Alexander Balas pretended (προσποιέω) to be pleased 'as if it had been against his will that Apollonius fought with Jonathan who was his friend and ally' (*Ant.* xiii. 102). The term used for 'pretended' at this point, is the same Greek word used to describe Antiochus Epiphanes' treacherous entry into Jerusalem, which resulted in the desecration of the Jerusalem sanctuary (*Ant.* xii. 248) – the term is not found in 1 Maccabees.

3.4.18. Conflict between kings, *Ant.* xiii. 103-120

This narrative does not contain any reference to Jonathan or the Maccabean Revolt, and for that reason, this thesis will only touch on it briefly.

The text between lines 103 to 120 differs at times radically from extant versions of 1 Maccabees. Whilst lines 103 to 109 are clearly based on the Maccabean work, Josephus switches the role of the treacherous king, in the same way as he had claimed previously (and contrast to 1 Maccabees) that Alexander Balas was the employer of Apollonius and only pretended to be Jonathan's ally. Both 1 Maccabees and the Josephan account use this chronological point to separate their treatments of the rule of Jonathan.

1 Maccabees makes it clear from the outset that Ptolemy Philometor brought his army to Syria to seize Alexander's lands by treachery (1 Macc. xi. 1). Josephus, on the other hand, claims that Ptolemy went to Syria as the ally of Alexander, only turning against his son-in-law after a failed attempt on his life (*Ant.* xiii. 106). Josephus narrates a brief account of the unmasking of the true instigator of this attempt on Ptolemy, which has no parallel in 1 Maccabees. An otherwise unknown friend of Alexander by the name of Ammonius was the intended assassin – who was only revealed to Ptolemy by Alexander's shielding of his friend – Josephus notes that Ptolemy felt very bitter (χαλεπός) when he discovered the degree of the treachery involved (*Ant.* xiii. 108). In an anecdotal statement, Josephus mentions the death of Ammonius who, having angered the Antiochians, was cut down whilst disguised as a woman (*Ant.* xiii. 108).

This section elaborates on the simple statement in 1 Maccabees that Ptolemy regretted his alliance with Alexander, 'as he has plotted to kill me' (1 Macc. xi. 10), although it is

subsequently implied that Ptolemy falsely accused Alexander of this treachery with the aim of gaining Demetrius' support to oust his son-in-law from Syria (1 Macc. xi. 11). The section ends with Ptolemy's and Alexander Balas' death, which leaves the path open for Demetrius (*Ant.* xiii. 118-119).³⁰¹ At no point are the Maccabees mentioned, or matters relating to Judaea or the revolt discussed.

3.4.19. Demetrius II and Jonathan, *Ant.* xiii. 120-162

This section of text is marked by the event of Demetrius II's accession, and relates the king's relations with Jonathan. The Maccabean leader's relationship with Demetrius swings from friendship to enmity, mainly (Josephus notes) as a response of Demetrius' wickedness (*πονηρία*, *Ant.* xiii. 120). Indeed, upon his accession the two features which Josephus stresses are Demetrius' wickedness and his disloyalty to Ptolemy (which Josephus emphasises by stating that not only was Ptolemy his ally, but he was also his father-in-law, *Ant.* xiii. 120). This part of the narrative is characterised by the dualistic language of righteousness and wickedness.

i. Jonathan's alliance with Demetrius

Josephus reports that on the succession of Demetrius II, Jonathan gathered an army and besieged the Acra, which contained the Macedonian garrison and the godless men (*ἀσεβής*) – Josephus qualifies this attribute with the claim that these were the men 'who had abandoned their ancestral customs (*συνήθεια*)' (*Ant.* xii. 121). This use of the noun *συνήθεια*, which appears in the Septuagint only in 4 Maccabees (ii. 13; vi. 13; xiii. 22; xiii. 27), serves to introduce one of the key themes of the Maccabean Revolt – the adherence to the traditions of the fathers. Mattathias in his dying prayers asks God to be their ally, and that the Jews may recover their ancient 'way of life' (*συνήθεια*, *Ant.* xii. 285). Judas Maccabaeus in his speech prior to the battle of Emmaus inspires his soldiers to recover their liberty as this would allow them happiness – Josephus interrupts the speech to define this liberty/happiness as 'a life in accordance with the laws and customs of the fathers' (*Ant.* xii. 303). Josephus describes the profanation of the Temple as the institution of 'unholy and heathen practice' (*βέβηλος και κοινή*

³⁰¹ For additional ancient testimony see Diodorus, xxxii. 9.

συνήθεια, *Ant.* xii. 320). Likewise, the term is applied to the godless Jews, most notably in the introduction to book thirteen (*Ant.* xiii. 4).

The godless Jews of the Acra had confidence (καταφρονέω) in the strength of their defences. Again, Josephus uses this verb ironically, as the renegade Jews were overconfident (*Ant.* xiii. 122), they went to Demetrius for assistance, and Josephus notes they incited the king's anger (παροξύνω). This depiction of the psychological state of the king is common in Josephus' rendition of 1 Maccabees, and his typical of his representation of bad kings generally – it is noteworthy that 1 Maccabees also, in this instance, recalls the king's anger, but Josephus explicitly states that it was the godless Jews who incited the king (*Ant.* xiii. 123; 1 Macc. xi. 22). The importance of this account of Demetrius' emotions is brought out by Josephus' subsequent claim that Jonathan sent gifts to Demetrius, which softened the anger of the king (*Ant.* xiii. 124) – Demetrius' emotion could be bought, and Jonathan's diplomacy is established with the king's confirmation of the post of high priest and the control over Judaea, Joppa, Samaria and Galilee (*Ant.* xiii. 125).

The letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan is close to the version of 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xiii. 127-128; 1 Macc. xi. 30-37). It confirms Jonathan's post and allowed for tax exemptions and control of Samaria and Judaea. The main Josephan addition is once again related to the king's finances – according to 1 Maccabees, Demetrius dismissed his soldiers and kept on his mercenaries; Josephus however, relates that Demetrius reduced their pay, which incurred his soldiers enmity (*Ant.* xiii. 130). This military payment, Josephus notes, should be made in peacetime or wartime, in order to keep the soldiers loyal and keen to fight for their employer. This is a significant addition to 1 Maccabees, and it betrays Josephus' focus on the base financial problems of the Seleucids, which he compares to the ideological motives for the Maccabees – at no time does Josephus mention the payment of the Maccabean soldiers, and when they are inspired to fight, it is done so on moral and social grounds (to fight for liberty, land, laws, and piety). Building on the disaffection of Demetrius' army, Tryphon convinced the protector of Antiochus to allow him to place the boy on his father's throne (*Ant.* xiii. 131). The guardian, Malchus the Arab, was initially mistrustful of Tryphon (which is an addition to 1 Maccabees), but consented (*Ant.* xiii. 132) – the wars between Demetrius and Tryphon are thus more obviously related to the financial policies of Demetrius.

Josephus reports that Jonathan sent further gifts to Demetrius to persuade the king to disband the Acra – and expel the Syrians and the Jewish renegades and godless men (*Ant.* xiii.

134) – and that Demetrius agreed dependent upon Jonathan’s military assistance, as his own men had rebelled.

ii. The battle at Antioch and ‘young Antiochus’

In a break from his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, Josephus relates Jonathan’s assistance at the battle of Antioch (*Ant.* xiii. 135-144). This battle does feature in 1 Maccabees, albeit in a far shorter version – in contrast, Josephus relates in dramatic style the rooftop chases and ingenuity of the Jewish rebels. Both sources agree that the Jews and Demetrius were outnumbered by the Antiocheans (Josephus counts many tens of thousands, while 1 Maccabees claims 120,000 – *Ant.* xiii. 137; 1 Macc. xi. 45), but while 1 Maccabees claims that the Jews killed 100,000 citizens, Josephus relates the method of their victory: the Jews took to the roofs and hurled stones at the crowds, while they were safe from the missiles of the enemy – Josephus admits that it was a ‘very strange manner of pursuit’ (*Ant.* xiii. 140). Josephus clearly has alternative sources to hand for this period, and in this example of the dramatic battle at Antioch, he chose to replace the basic account of 1 Maccabees with a more exciting action sequence. The figure of Demetrius is devalued, since his killing of the defenceless Antiocheans is his only recorded action (*Ant.* xiii. 141), while Josephus writes that the king thanked the Jews because they were ‘chiefly responsible for the victory’.

Demetrius did not keep his promises, and Josephus writes that the king threatened the Jews with war unless they paid more tribute (*Ant.* xiii. 143), but Tryphon gathered the king’s disaffected soldiers (because they had not received their payment) and lead a successful coup against Demetrius. Josephus twice emphasises the issue of Demetrius’ poor finances, which does not appear in 1 Maccabees. Antiochus was crowned and confirms Jonathan’s high priesthood, and Josephus follows the claim of 1 Maccabees that Jonathan was granted the title of one of the king’s First Friends (πρῶτοι φίλοι, *Ant.* xiii. 146).³⁰²

iii. Jonathan defeats Demetrius II

Josephus portrays Jonathan’s leadership skill with his claim that he persuaded (πειθω) the towns of Syria to fight against Demetrius. The citizens of Gaza were not so easily convinced, which provides the opportunity for one of Josephus’ moralising digressions that is

³⁰² Jonathan had already been appointed First Friend by Alexander Balas, *Ant.* xiii. 85.

unparalleled in 1 Maccabees. The source text states simply that the people of Gaza refused Jonathan's offer, so he besieged them, plundered and burnt their city until they agreed an alliance (1 Macc. xi. 61-62). Josephus writes,

For before they experience misfortune (δεινός), human beings do not understand what is good for them (συμφέρω); only when they find themselves in some difficulty and after stubbornly resisting what they might better have done when they were quite unharmed, do they finally choose to do this when once they have been afflicted.

Antiquities xiii. 152

The correlation between this moralising statement and Josephus' earlier reflections on the life of Saul is remarkable and extends beyond mere verbal echoes. Josephus repeats his usage of the terms δεινός and συμφέρω, indeed the comments on Saul are introduced with the statement 'I shall touch on a subject profitable (συμφέρω) to states, peoples and nations' (*Ant.* vi. 343). Josephus claims that it is virtuous to face dangers bravely, and despise terror (δεινός), (*Ant.* vi. 344). As elsewhere, Josephus omits the reference to Jonathan's plundering (1 Macc. xi. 61).

In line with Josephus' general technique of enhancing the military aspects of his narrative, his presentation of Simon's siege against Bethsura contains details not found in 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xiii. 155-156; 1 Macc. xi. 65-66). In contrast to Simon's military achievement, Jonathan is depicted as walking into the ambush laid for him by Demetrius (*Ant.* xiii. 159). The ambush forced many of Jonathan's men to flee, leaving him with just fifty soldiers (1 Maccabees claims that only two of Jonathan's generals remained with him, Mattathias and Judas, 1 Macc. xi. 70). Josephus' inclusion of the fifty soldiers makes his account far more feasible than 1 Maccabees, which claims that Jonathan covered himself in ash and tore his clothes, and then the three men defeated 3000 of Demetrius' forces (1 Macc. xi. 71-72). Avoiding the mention of ashes, Josephus rephrases his account by promoting the strength and courage of the Jewish soldiers, who fought without fear for their lives and dismayed (καταπλήσσω) their enemy (*Ant.* xiii. 161).

3.4.20. Rome and Sparta, *Ant.* xiii. 163-170

Josephus intersperses his narrative of the military achievements of Jonathan, by his inclusion of two treaties with Rome and Sparta. Whilst Josephus gives little information about the Maccabees themselves in this section of text, he does establish the impression of long-term friendship and alliance, which clearly had contemporary functions when we consider the proximity of Josephus' literary enterprise to the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus reports that 'God's providence' (πρόνοια) was with Jonathan in all of his affairs (*Ant.* xiii. 163). Attridge demonstrates the importance of this motif within the *Antiquities*, in particular the role played by πρόνοια to reward virtue and punish vice.³⁰³ The term does not mean unprovoked or interfering providential behaviour but, rather, indicates God's careful intervention in history as a response to the virtue or inequity of an individual. Hence, by associating Jonathan πρόνοια, Josephus establishes his piety and virtue and implies that Jonathan's enemy was impious. The noun πρόνοια does not appear in 1 Maccabees.

Josephus and 1 Maccabees both gloss over the treaty made by Jonathan with Rome, favouring instead his agreement with Sparta. The authenticity of this letter has been agreed by most scholars, who note that Josephus clearly depends on 1 Maccabees although he freely corrects the language to reflect what he knows of Hellenistic practice.³⁰⁴ The most interesting aspect of this treaty, from the perspective of the current study, is the Josephan addition that the Jews had not previously contacted the Spartans for assistance, in their 'many wars through the covetousness (πλεονεξία) of our neighbours' (*Ant.* xiii. 169).³⁰⁵ Again Josephus stresses the Maccabean conflict in terms of the financial concerns of the enemy – this is the same noun used to describe Antiochus' despoliation of the Temple, because 'he saw much gold and an array of dedicatory offerings' (*Ant.* xii. 249).

³⁰³ Attridge, *Interpretation*, pp. 71-108, esp. 90.

³⁰⁴ On the authenticity of the document, see, for discussion and bibliography, J. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, pp. 454ff. See also R. Katzoff, 'Jonathan and Late Sparta', *AJP*, 106 (1985), pp. 485-9. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, p. 264.

³⁰⁵ On the alleged connection between the Jews and the Spartans, see S. Schuller, 'Some Problems Connected with the Supposed Common Ancestry of Jews and Spartans and their Relations during the Last Three Centuries BC', *JSS*, 1 (1956), pp. 257-68.

3.4.21. Three ‘Jewish’ Schools, *Ant.* xiii. 171-173

Josephus inserts a brief notice concerning the three Jewish schools of thought which were current at this time. This passage has been frequently studied,³⁰⁶ and has little bearing on the Maccabean Revolt itself – indeed, the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes play no recorded part in the whole account according to both Josephus and 1 Maccabees. Schwartz finds the placement of this passage particularly puzzling: he identifies this material from an anti-Hasmonean source (Nicolas of Damascus) and concludes that since Josephus was pro-Hasmonean he removed all political references and thus left the narrative ‘incomprehensible’.³⁰⁷

The presentation of the Jewish sects is clearly meant to be intelligible to a Greek-educated audience, as implied by the construction of Jewish religious groups into ‘schools’ (αἱρέσεις, *Ant.* xiii. 171). The Pharisees are depicted as comparable with the Stoic school – elsewhere he explicitly connects the two, (*Life* 12) - while the Essenes are equated with the Pythagoreans (as *Ant.* xiii. 371). There are parallels to this philosophical scheme, as noted by, amongst others, Mason who points to Cicero (*de Fato* 39).³⁰⁸

Further, despite Schwartz’s critique³⁰⁹ of the dividing phrase κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, it is clear that Josephus uses it throughout his narrative to change from one scene to the next – in this case Josephus implies contemporaneous action and situates these Jewish schools in the time period of the early Hasmoneans. This form of connecting phrase is known from a variety of authors from the ancient world, including Thucydides (iv. 7. 1), Plutarch (*Vitae decem oratorum* 835A), Polybius (*Historia* xviii. 10. 6), and Diodorus of Sicily (xiv. 55. 4). Josephus concludes this short digression with a cross reference to his earlier *War*, where a more complete account of these matters is to be found (*Ant.* xiii. 173; *War* ii. 119-166).

³⁰⁶ See for discussion and bibliography, Mason, *Pharisees*, pp. 196-212.

³⁰⁷ D. R. Schwartz, ‘Josephus and Nicolas on the Jews’, in *JSJ* 14 (1983), pp. 157-171, esp. 161.

³⁰⁸ S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary – Judaeae Antiquities 1-4* (vol. 3, trans. L. H. Feldman; Leiden, Brill, 2000), p. xxxi.

³⁰⁹ D. R. Schwartz, ‘KATA TOYTON TON KAIPON: Josephus’ sources on Agrippa II’, in *JQR* 62 (1982), pp. 241-268.

3.4.22. Demetrius and Tryphon, *Ant.* xiii. 174-193

Josephus returns to his report of the battles between Demetrius and Jonathan, and resumes the paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (*Ant.* xiii. 174; 1 Macc. xii. 24). Throughout his writings, Josephus ascribes motives to his characters which are not always apparent in his sources – thus, this section begins with the claim that the generals of Demetrius sought revenge for their early defeats (ἀναμύχομαι). Josephus uses this term in only one other place, and this also relates to a foreign king seeking revenge on the Jews for a past defeat at their hands (*Ant.* vii. 103). Jonathan sent spies to the opposing camp to learn of their plans, and in the meantime he arranged outposts outside the camp in preparation, praising his military foresight.

In an indirect speech, Josephus records that Jonathan exhorted his men to keep their spirits high (ψυχρή, *Ant.* xiii. 176). This noun is used throughout the *Antiquities* to describe the ‘heart’ or ‘fortitude’ of various characters.³¹⁰ The term has a particular significance within the Maccabean Revolt narrative as it relates to a willingness to die in order not to forsake the laws (*Ant.* xii. 255, 281, 304; xiii. 193). Josephus uses the term ἐρρωμένος to accentuate the strength of spirit required by Jonathan’s troops – this word is found only ten times in *Antiquities*, and the only other instance during his representation of 1 Maccabees comes in the letter from Jonathan to the Spartans just ten lines earlier, where Jonathan follows the pattern of ancient correspondence by wishing the recipient good health (*Ant.* xiii. 166).

The figure of Jonathan is greatly built up by the psychological damage he inflicts on Demetrius’ generals – Josephus reports that they were not capable of sound judgement, and that they were disturbed because Jonathan had discovered their plan and his army was their equal (*Ant.* xiii. 177). The Syrians escaped over the river, and Josephus, using a Thucydidean phrase, states that the Syrians ‘were on safe ground’ (*Ant.* xiii. 179; Thuc. viii. 39. 4 – as suggested by Marcus).

Josephus records Jonathan’s fortification of Jerusalem and his explicit commands to restrict the Acra by building a wall between the Syrian garrison and the city (*Ant.* xiii. 182). Jonathan began a Judaea-wide building policy to reinforce the Jewish towns and cities against future invasion.

Diverging from 1 Maccabees, Josephus narrates the changing allegiance of Tryphon, who plotted to kill and seize the throne from Antiochus (*Ant.* xiii. 187). Preventing Tryphon’s

³¹⁰ *Ant.* xii. 255, 281, 304, 430; xiii. 13, 176, 193, 198, 199, 201.

scheme was his fear (φόβος) of Jonathan – since, Josephus reports, the Maccabee was one of King Antiochus’ Friends. Resorting to the motif of ‘deceit and treachery’, Josephus claims that Typhon hatched a plot to kill Jonathan – the use of these terms casts Tryphon in the same light as the Syrian tyrants of *Antiquities* book twelve. Josephus describes the plotting of Tryphon in greater detail than his source and attributes motives to Tryphon’s actions: he flattered Jonathan with presents and friendliness, in order ‘that Jonathan might make light of these and be taken off his guard, foreseeing nothing’ (*Ant.* xiii. 190). Jonathan did not suspect these things and accompanied Tryphon to Ptolemais where the inhabitants of the city shut their gate on them. Josephus is alone in his claim that this was part of the plan, and that the citizens of Ptolemais were instructed in this matter by Tryphon (*Ant.* xiii. 192; 1 Macc. xii. 48).

3.4.23. The succession of Simon, *Ant.* xiii. 194-217

This final section of Josephus’ paraphrase of 1 Maccabees focuses on the succession of Simon and his early career. The narrative begins with the immediate aftermath of the capture of Jonathan, which allows Josephus to give a short eulogising statement (despite the fact that Jonathan was still alive at this stage). The Jews of Jerusalem lamented the loss of Jonathan and were overcome by a great fear (φόβος), as they were deprived of the courage (ἀνδρεία) and foresight (πρόνοια) of Jonathan. This represents a considerable extension upon the claim in 1 Maccabees that ‘all Israel mourned deeply’ (1 Macc. xii. 52). The Jews were particularly concerned that without their heroic leader, the surrounding nations would reinitiate their attack on Judaea, and Josephus reports in dramatic style that the Jews’ fears were realised.

i. Simon’s speech to the Maccabean forces

In the same way as his Maccabean predecessors, Simon delivers a rousing speech to his soldiers, which is infused with the recurring themes outlined throughout the narrative (*Ant.* xiii. 198-200). For this reason it is sufficient to outline Josephus’ representation of Simon’s speech, and refer to previous discussions on the specific terminology.

The importance of liberty is paramount. Simon’s speech opens with the claim that ‘It was for your liberty, my countrymen, that I and my brothers together with our father have

gladly dared death' (*Ant.* xiii. 198). This statement encapsulates the early Maccabean agenda, as presented by Josephus, and it provides clear parallels with Mattathias (*Ant.* xii. 281) and Judas (*Ant.* xii. 302, 304, 312, 433; xiii. 1, 5).

The notion of martyrdom for the law recurs, and Jonathan explicitly refers to the deaths of his brothers and father as evidence that 'the men of my house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion' (*Ant.* xiii. 198). Combining several key terms that appear throughout his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees, Josephus notes that no fear is 'great enough to drive this thought from my mind or to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory' (*Ant.* xiii. 198). Martyrdom is again stressed with the claim that 'to die for the laws and the worship of God' is the noblest thing of all (*Ant.* xiii. 199).

Josephus emphasises the continuity of the Maccabees and Simon's concern to be seen to follow in their footsteps (*Ant.* xiii. 200). Using the verb φαίνομαι, Simon declares that he will show himself a true brother of theirs, and defend the people and the temple from the surrounding nations who hold them in contempt (*Ant.* xiii. 200).

The effects of this speech pay testament to Simon's leadership and oration skills: the soldiers' courage is restored, and their spirit (ψυχή) which was crushed is now healthy (*Ant.* xiii. 201). The people call out in 'one voice' to pledge their support for Simon. Yet, as elsewhere, Josephus does not give direct voice to the people, but, rather, he reports it in indirect speech. In 1 Maccabees, on the other hand, the people respond to his speech in a loud voice, 'You are our leader in place of Judas and your brother Jonathan. Fight our battles, and all that you say to us we will do' (1 Macc. xiii. 8b-9).

Josephus' presentation of Simon's speech represents a considerable reformulation of the account in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. xiii. 3-6). No mention is made of the notion of liberty, the temple, nor does martyrdom hold the same importance. 1 Maccabees states that since his brothers had already died 'for the sake of Israel', that he too should face death as he is no better than his brothers' (1 Macc. xiii. 4-5).

ii. Tryphon's treachery

Josephus' account of Tryphon casts him in the same mould as Antiochus Epiphanes and Bacchides. Tryphon tried to capture Simon by 'deceit and treachery' (*Ant.* xiii. 204). This theme has been discussed at length above (3.4.1). The basis of this plot was the life of the hostage Jonathan whom Tryphon would free in exchange for a hundred talents of silver and

Jonathan's two sons (*Ant.* xiii. 204). In these details Josephus accords closely to the text of 1 Maccabees (1 Macc. xiii. 14f.). Simon notices the trap and fears that by giving Tryphon money and additional hostages, he would get nothing in return – however, he feared that his supporters would misinterpret his reluctance to pay (*Ant.* xii. 205; 1 Macc. xiii. 17). In an addition to his source, Josephus reports that Simon conferred with his troops on this matter, and explained to them in great detail his concerns of Tryphon's deceit (*Ant.* xiii. 206).

As Simon foresaw, Tryphon, reneged on the deal, and invaded Judaea with the aim of taking Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiii. 207). 1 Maccabees presents a similar consequence of treachery, albeit without explicitly recognising Jerusalem as Tryphon's target (1 Macc. xiii. 20, as noted by Marcus). After his designs were thwarted, Tryphon executes Jonathan. Josephus downplays the lamentation of the people from his source, which reports that the people cried for many days (*Ant.* xiii. 210; 1 Macc. xiii. 26).

On Jonathan's death, Simon was elected high priest by the populace, and, Josephus records, he 'liberated the people from the servitude to the Macedonians' (*Ant.* xiii. 213). This theme of liberty is repeated with the claim that Simon additionally freed the Jews from payment of the tribute to Syria, and that he pulled down the Acra (*Ant.* xiii. 215-217). With this action and the final statement that 'Such was the nature of the things accomplished in the time of Simon', Josephus concludes his account of the Maccabean Revolt, and his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees.

3.4.24. Summary of *Antiquities* xiii

Book thirteen of the *Antiquities* focuses on the Maccabean Revolt after the time of Judas, in particular on the character of Jonathan, the στρατηγός of the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 6) and later high priest (*Ant.* xiii. 124). Jonathan appears to have taken full advantage of the political uncertainty in the Seleucid Empire, and played a cool diplomatic hand to win for himself the high priesthood, tax exemption, the right to gather an army, and treaties of friendship with Rome and Sparta.

The extended narrative analysed in this part has shown that Josephus rewrites 1 Maccabees carefully and consistently. Throughout his paraphrase Josephus inserts additional sources where appropriate, and he rearranges his source texts to accentuate characters and events, regularly making signposting comments to direct the reader. Following on from book

twelve, Josephus depicts the Maccabees as brave and valiant heroes, whose virtue is expressed in several different ways.

Jonathan and Simon assume leadership of the Maccabean forces because of their similarity to Judas Maccabaeus and their willingness to die for the ancestral laws (*Ant.* xiii. 5, 201). Their bravery is stressed, and Josephus glosses over their military defeats and any sign of cowardice (e.g. *Ant.* xiii. 28). Foreign rulers show support for the Jews, and Josephus shows particular favour to Ptolemy Philometor who is described as a good and upright man (*Ant.* xiii. 114, which agrees with *Apion* ii. 49).

Conversely, the villains of the work are depicted in typically negative terms. The godless Jews of the Acra are accused of abandoning their ancestral customs in exchange for the ways of other nations (*Ant.* xiii. 4). The figure of Bacchides is presented as wicked and prone to anger. The theme of 'treachery and deceit' reappears; and it is by treachery that Bacchides plots Jonathan's death (*Ant.* xiii. 7). Wicked foreigners could redeem themselves in Josephus' eyes after they acknowledge the Maccabees' rights and privileges, although this usually exhibits itself in a valiant and honourable death.

Josephus adds a sense of drama and irony to his rewritten account: the Syrians have a 'sublime confidence' in their superiority, which is misplaced (e.g. Apollonius' confidence in his horsemen, *Ant.* xiii. 92). Dramatic scenes are inserted to the text of 1 Maccabees, the most notable example being the rooftop fight at Antioch (*Ant.* xiii. 135f.).

Despite the freedom and authority that direct speech allows, in his version of 1 Maccabees Josephus has generally avoided its use. More often than not, when Josephus silences a character it is one of the subsidiary figures, the Syrians, or the Jewish masses. Lengthy orations are the sole privilege of the Maccabees, and in these speeches Josephus departs from his source to present concepts and philosophies that are more at home within a Hellenistic philosophical (Stoic) world.

4. Concluding remarks

I have offered detailed conclusions in the foregoing chapters, concerning the representation of the early Hasmonean leaders in the narratives of Flavius Josephus (*War* i. 31-53; *Ant.* xii. 237-xiii. 216). This study provides the first intensive analysis of Josephus' two versions of the Maccabean Revolt in his *War* and *Antiquities* and of his presentations of this problematic episode in Jewish history. This has been achieved through a context-critical examination of the text, which attempts to read Josephus on his own terms (outside of his interpretative framework), as well as to interpret and analyse his use of rhetoric.

The second part of this thesis examines Josephus' *War* account. I argue that this short account has been marginalised by scholars in favour of his lengthier paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (or, more often than not, 1 Maccabees itself), but that it contains many important and unique elements. Not least amongst these factors, is the important place that the Maccabean Revolt holds in the narrative structure of the *War* – it is the first historical event, which frames the readers' understanding of Jewish rebels and Jewish revolts. Considering the common interpretation of the *War* as a work designed to demonstrate to the Romans the inherent loyalty and pacifistic nature of the Jews, the account in *War* i. 31-53 is clearly of great significance. In addition, the placing of the Maccabean Revolt as a key event in the 'table of contents' underlines its impact. Following this reappraisal of the text, this thesis then completes a close reading of *War* i. 31-53, highlighting important trends and rhetorical devices:

- 1) the theme of *stasis*, which permeates Josephus' work, is introduced in this section, and Josephus clearly puts the blame for the crisis at the feet of the Jerusalem priests, who were involved in 'factionalism' (see §2.4.1);
- 2) Antiochus is not held solely responsible for the conflict, rather, as a result of the infighting between the Tobiads and sons of Onias, the Jewish dissention is the prime cause – as he also claims of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (see §2.4.2);
- 3) in addition to reducing Antiochus' culpability for the conflict, Josephus depicts the king's officer, Bacchides, as being the author of brutality, and thus another major cause of the conflict – with the added bonus of underlining the

implicit claim that the revolt was not aimed at their legitimate overlord, but, rather, against one particularly brutal officer (see §2.4.3);

- 4) the Maccabees are credited with stereotypical leadership virtues, such as courage, the ability to inspire troops, good (priestly) birth, and control of the masses (for Mattathias see §2.4.4; for Judas see §2.4.5-6, 7; for Simon see §2.4.8);
- 5) while the rebels are credited with bravery for facing death, Josephus diminishes Eleazar's heroism by the ironic note that he died purely to kill a commoner. Considering the time when Josephus wrote *War* (shortly after the Jewish defeat to the Romans), this could be read as a cautionary tale (see §2.4.6);
- 6) the young Antiochus (the fifth) is also not directly blamed for the revival of fighting, rather it was his chief aid who behaved treacherously and with greed (see §2.4.7)
- 7) the overriding impression that Josephus gives, through his use of rhetorical techniques, is that the Maccabean Revolt was a legitimate enterprise embarked upon by the Jews in the face of injustice (§2.5).

This thesis agrees with Gafni's reading that Josephus was deliberately trying to create a 'just war', which forms that basis for legitimate rebellion (which can be compared to the later revolt against the Romans). The Maccabean Revolt is a counter-example to the First Jewish Revolt, and not only does Josephus introduce elements in the narrative that are motifs throughout *War*, but he also establishes the Jewish people's strong attachment to their religious customs and ancestral laws.

The third part of this study looks at the longer account of the Maccabean Revolt in his *Jewish Antiquities*. Whilst it is accepted by the majority of scholars that Josephus based his account on the Jewish Hellenistic writing 1 Maccabees (as this work predates Josephus' version by two centuries), the Josephan account is often entirely ignored (which, considering the common agreement that Josephus had at his disposal additional documentary evidence from the time of the Maccabees, seems short-sighted). This thesis does not claim that Josephus' account is more historically reliable, nor does it attempt a large scale historical reconstruction of the period; the

Maccabean Revolt is used as a case study to examine Josephus literary skill and rhetoric, as well as his agenda and purpose.

This section starts with a reassessment of *Antiquities*, with a particular focus on his use of sources (§3.1.2), its intended audience (§3.1.3), as well as the identification of literary genre (§3.1.4). The suggested hypothesis is that the primary audience of the work is for Jews in the Diaspora (including Rome), who would have been the group with a vested interest in such a large composition on a relatively minor ethnic group in the eastern Empire (see §3.1.1). With this Jewish audience, the thesis suggests that the genre of the *Antiquities* is different from extant writings from the ancient world (despite its superficial resemblance with several other writings, including Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Archaeology* - see §3.1), and demarcates Josephus' *magnum opus* as an 'Ethnic Discourse' (see §3.1.4). An 'Ethnic Discourse' is a self-presentation of the history and customs of an ethnic group, which, in the case of the *Antiquities* takes the form of a handbook of Jewish history, translation of the Holy Scriptures into Greek, and a presentation of the political constitution of the people. The fact that so much of the *Antiquities* is focussed on demonstrating the support of foreign leaders and nations for the Jews, should be understood as providing Jews with ammunition to answer attacks on their loyalty and privileges - and cautioning them against apostasy.

The third section examines the relationship between Josephus and 1 Maccabees, and tackles the following key questions: what version(s) of 1 Maccabees did he use (§3.3.i); how did he use his sources, and what other sources were available to him (§3.1.2; 3.3); and a review of previous scholarship on Josephus' use of 1 Maccabees (§3.3.iii). In particular, reasons are suggested for Josephus' failure to copy the final three chapters of 1 Maccabees in his paraphrase (that the edition of 1 Maccabees available to Josephus was shorter – on the basis that the work appears to have two separate endings, which coincide with a noticeable shift in narrative and emphasise on the 'surrounding nations', and could thus have been produced in several editions/versions, §3.3.ii).

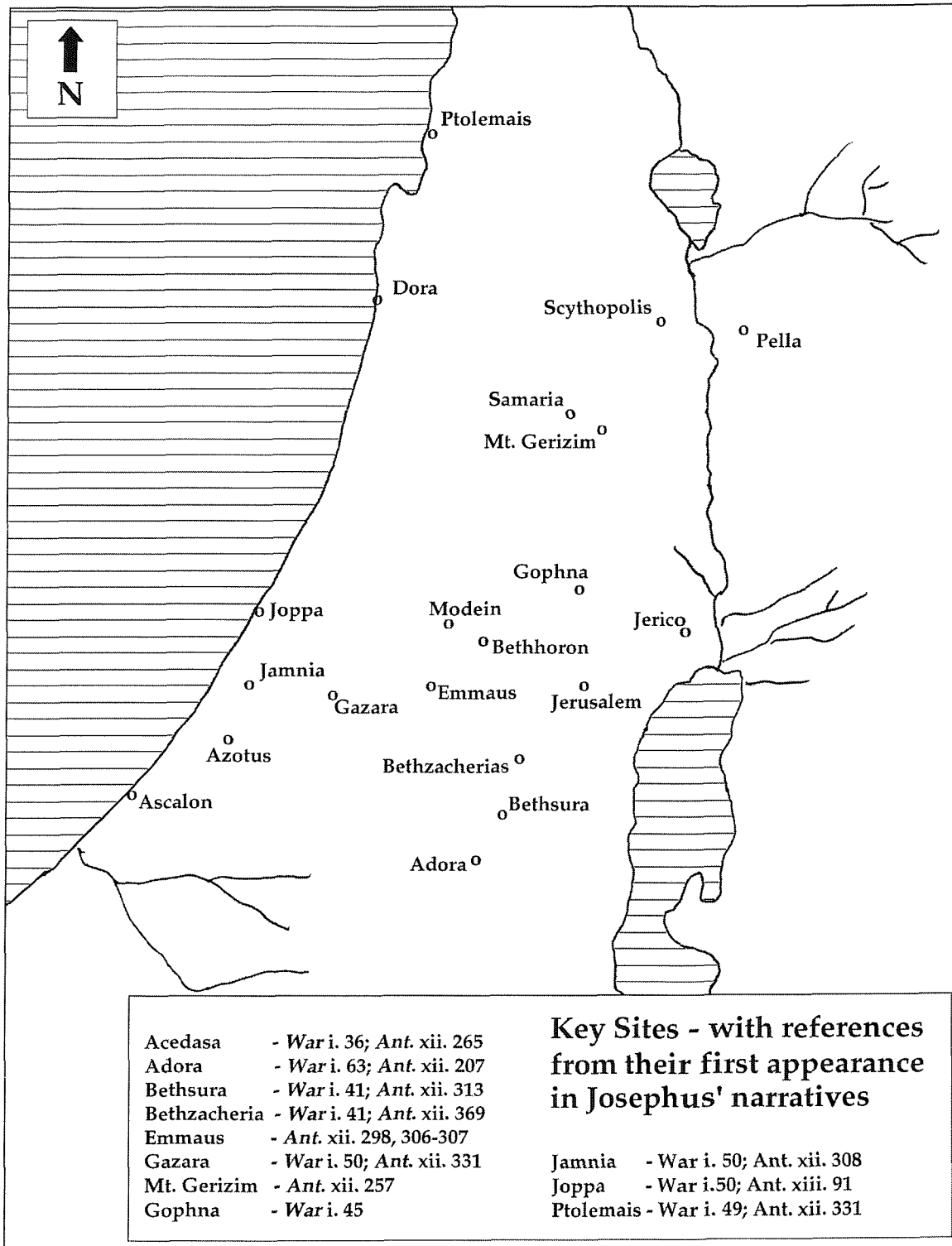
Following a discussion of the context and key problems relating to Josephus' rewriting of 1 Maccabees, the thesis completes a close reading of the text, with the purpose of identifying trends and the implications of significant divergences from 1 Maccabees. A tabulation of the most important additions and subtractions in Josephus' rewritten version of 1 Maccabees forms the second appendix, and there is

no need to rehearse the specific details at this point. The following summary of the key points should suffice:

- 1) Josephus omits the following themes in his account: mourning and prayer; zealousness, and in particular the biblical character of Phinehas; the cessation of prophecy (which is a key feature of 1 Maccabees); the Hasidim; dynastic claims of the Hasmoneans; and instances of Jewish plundering.
- 2) Josephus adds the following features, or strengthens points made in 1 Maccabees: psychological motives ascribed to the enemies of the Maccabees; the emphasis on the desire to adhere to their ancestral laws, and willingness to die for these laws; the cry for liberty/freedom from oppression; promotion of Maccabees as virtuous leaders (courage, skill, strategy, ability to inspire troops); the denigration of the enemy by linking them to excess plunder, rage, fear, and reliance on treachery and traps.

The findings of the third part of this thesis suggest a shift in Josephus' treatment of his key characters. In the *Antiquities*, Josephus emphasises the role of kings far beyond 1 Maccabees - the purpose of this modification is to heighten the influence and virtue of the Maccabees themselves. All of the Maccabees possess the cardinal virtues popularised in the writings of Plato (*Protagoras* 349B), including wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, and piety. Conversely, the villains in the narrative are attributed with vices including: laziness, cruelty, cowardice, impious, anger, treachery and deceit. The ancestral laws are central to Josephus' presentation of the motives of the rebels, and the cry of liberty/ freedom (*to practice their laws*) is presented as the key manifesto of the Hasmoneans. I propose that Josephus' reflections on Saul from the sixth book of *Antiquities* are the intertextual key to understanding his later representation of Jewish leaders, military cunning, and bravery (§3.4.11). Finally, in the speeches of the Maccabees, Josephus demonstrates the greatest literary freedom, and it is in these places that the key motifs are expounded – there is clearly scope for further examination of these significant passages, particularly in comparison with other speeches from the *Antiquities* and *War*, such as those at Jotapata (by Josephus himself), and Eleazar's speeches at Masada.

Appendix i: Map of Palestine during the Maccabean Revolt



Appendix ii: Josephus' significant deviations from 1 Maccabees

a) Major omissions from the text of 1 Maccabees:

Josephus greatly reduces the number of references to mourning: e.g. 1 Macc. i. 25, 27, 39, 40; ii. 14, 39, 70; iii. 51; iv. 38, 41; ix. 20, 41; xii. 52; xiii. 26.

Josephus greatly reduces the number of instances of Jewish plundering: e.g. 1 Macc. v. 35, 55, 68; vii. 47; x. 84; xi. 61

Josephus reduces the number and content of prayers, e.g. 1 Macc. iv. 10-11, 30-3; vii. 37-8, 41-2; xiii. 161

Josephus omits references to Phinehas, 1 Macc. ii. 26, 54

Josephus omits the fanciful: e.g. claim that Judas 'was like a giant', 1 Macc. iii. 3

Josephus omits references to the Hasidim, 1 Macc. ii. 43; vii. 13 (cf. *Ant.* xii. 284)

Josephus omits references to cessation of prophecy/prophets, 1 Macc. iv. 46; 9:27

Josephus omits reference to dynastic claims, 1 Macc. v. 62

Josephus omits reference to Judas' burning of the idols of the people of Azotus, 1 Macc. v. 68

b) Major additions/alterations made by Josephus, in his version of 1 Maccabees (in Antiquities):

Antiochus Epiphanes sacrificed swine on the altar, xii. 253

Mattathias declares that it is better to die for their *country's laws*, xii. 267

Mattathias filled with 'rage' (rather than zeal), xii. 270

Mattathias, and his sons, *slew the official, the apostate Jew, and some soldiers with broad knives*, xii. 270

Mattathias again refers to *country's laws* in his call to arms, xii. 271

Mattathias appointed leader of the rebels by his countrymen, xii. 275 (and *War* i. 37)

Mattathias (alone) interprets Sabbath law, xii. 276

Mattathias drove out the king's officers, xii. 278

Mattathias commanded the rebels for one year, xii. 279

Josephus omits the biblical history in Mattathias' deathbed speech, xii. 279-284, in favour of:
calling instead for his sons to follow in his spirit.
 Josephus omits reference to 'zeal', xii. 280
 Emphatic appeal to 'Ancestral Laws', xii. 280, 281
 Mattathias declares that God will give them *liberty*, xii. 282

Josephus again stresses the Hasmonean aim of restoring their 'Ancestral Laws', xii. 285, 286

Focus on figure of Judas – he *personally* killed most of the enemy, xii. 287

Judas convinced his troops to fight the larger enemy, xii. 292

Josephus claims it was Judas *alone* who defeated enemy, xii. 292

Judas exhorts his troops to be of brave heart, xii. 300

Liberty is stressed by Judas at Emmaus, xii. 302-3

Martyrdom is justified as it will gain 'everlasting glory', xii. 304

Judas left fires burning *as a strategy to confuse the enemy*, xii. 306

Judas's appearance made his enemies quail with terror, xii. 308

Liberty was gained by the victory at Emmaus, xii. 312

Abbreviation of prayer (1 Macc. iv. 30f.), xii. 314

Liberty again stressed as motive of rebels, xii. 315

Judas does not pray to God, xii. 317 (1 Macc. iv. 39-40)

Judas performs the priestly roles of cleansing the temple, xii. 318

Judas again omits praise to God, xii. 321 (1 Macc. iv.55)

Judas does not call assembly, but he alone makes policy, xii, 332

Judas alone strikes fear into the enemy, xii. 343

Judas' courage known to Timotheus' men, xii. 339

Judas foresees calamity striking Joseph and Azariah, xii. 352

Judas was not afraid of Lysias' army, xii. 372

Judas is in the group who defend the temple, and Josephus adds a peace treaty with Antiochus V (in 1 Macc. the Jews simply fled), xii. 382

Josephus claims that King Demetrius recognises Judas' growing strength, which prompts Nicanor's military campaign, xii. 402

Nicanor's anger is purely directed at Judas (and not the Jews), xii. 406

Judas wins the battle for the rebels, killing many of the enemy, xii. 409-10

Judas credited with high priesthood by countrymen, xii. 414, 419, 434 (cf. xx. 237)

Josephus reduces the size of the rebel army to make the victory more impressive (from 3000 to 1000), xii. 422

Josephus adds graphic details about Judas' last stand, xii. 430-1

When Judas dies, Josephus says he worked to give the Jews liberty, xii. 433; xiii. 5

Bacchides' employment of treachery, xiii. 7

Simon alone burns the siege engines of the enemy, xiii. 29

Jonathan is heralded as courageous and the best possible ally, xiii. 43.

Josephus inflates the gift from Demetrius to Jonathan, from 15,000 shekels, to 150,000 drachmas (about 37,500 shekels), xiii. 55.

Jonathan is repeatedly referred to as High Priest, xiii. 83, 121, 133, 212

Jonathan described as Alexander Balas' 'First Friend', where 1 Maccabees calls him one of his 'Best Friends', xiii. 85, 146 (cf. 1 Macc. x.65)

Jonathan uses advanced military tactics by getting his troops to form a square, xiii. 94

Jonathan again exhibits military skill, by ordering his troops to make a wall out of their shields as a way of protecting them against the arrows, xiii. 95

Jonathan personally chases the fleeing army (all the way to Azotus), xiii. 99

Specific military details are added to Simon's siege of Beth-Sur, xiii. 156

Jonathan successfully exhorts his troops in the face of a larger enemy, xiii. 176

Jonathan's courage and foresight are credited as being the only things that prevented the neighbouring countries from invading, xiii. 195

Simon fights for *liberty*, and would willingly die for it, xiii. 198

Simon rouses the spirits of the troops and exhorts them to fight, xiii. 201

Simon chosen by the people to be High Priest, xiii. 213

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