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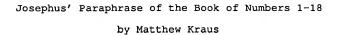
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Josephus' Paraphrase of the Book of Numbers 1-18

by Matthew Kraus

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for Ordination

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DIGEST

Josephus' <u>Antiquities</u> belongs to the Classical historical
genre of <u>archaiologia</u> because it systematically analyzes
ancient institutions in combination with a presentation of
narrative political history. The usage of the term in
Josephus and Classical authors indicates that Josephus adopts
the methodology, subjects, and purposes of <u>archaiologia</u>. The
paraphrase of Number 1-18 provides a specific manifestation of
the genre because it incorporates both methodical study of
military, religious, and political institutions and political
history of the Qorah rebellion. Since <u>archaiologia</u>'s ultimate
purpose is knowledge for its own sake and rooting institutions
in antiquity, the <u>Antiquities</u> is not an essentially apologetic
work, but scriptural exegesis in Classical historical terms.

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Chapter One: ἀρχαιολογία[1]

There is much debate among scholars concerning the
biblical sections of Josephus' Jewish Antiquities. What
sources did Josephus utilize? What is the relationship to
Greek and Roman historiography? To what genre, if any, do
the Antiquities belong? For what end did Josephus write
this magnum opus? Since ἀρχαιολογία represents both the
title and character of Josephus' work, an analysis of the
term ἀρχαιολογία answers these questions. By understanding
the precise meaning, function, content, sources, and purpose
of the term, we learn that the Antiquities is a systematic
analysis of Jewish history, based on local records and
Classical historical techniques, for the purpose of
understanding ancient Jewish history and rooting Jewish
instituitions into antiquity.

Let us examine initially how researchers have
understood Josephus' use of the term ἀρχαιολογία. Few
scholars have actually closely analyzed Josephus' use of
ἀρχαιολογία.[2] Arnaldo Momigliano defines the place of

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[1]Translation of Greek from Thackeray's Loeb edition of
the Antiquities. Abbreviations according to Theologische
Realenzyklopädie, 1976.

[2]See Louis Feldman, Josephus and Modern Scholarship
1937-1980, 1984, pp. 808, 812, 968. Many writers note the
similarity between the title of Dionysius of Halicarnassus'
work ('Ρωμαικἡ 'Αρχαιολογία) and that of Josephus'. Thus,
Henry St. John Thackeray, Josephus, The Man and the

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Josephus in the "archaelogical" traditon while Tessa Rajak

treats the matter in some detail, concluding that Josephus

fundamentally differs from Greek historiographical

tradition.[3] It is useful to compare the treatment of the

term by Rajak and Momigliano because their differences

highlight the central aspects of ἀρχαιολογία.

Since ἀρχαιολογία and its cognates have a long history

beginning with Thucydides 7.69, the question arises whether

the denotation of the word changed or remained essentially

the same. Rajak, on the one hand, asserts that the usage of

the word is clearly established, basically signifying

"nothing more than 'an old story'," and having an extended

sense of including the geneologies and stories of

foundations of cities as indicated in the Platonic dialogue

Historian, 1929, p. 56; Isaac Heinemann, "Josephus' Method
in the Presentation of the Jewish Antiquities"(Hebrew), Zion
5(1940)182; Abraham Schalit, "Introduction," Flavius
Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae (translated into Hebrew),
vol. 1, 1944, pp. xxiff.; Harold W. Attridge, The
Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates
Judaicae of Flavius Josephus, 1976, pp. 43ff. However,
these authors concentrate on the relationship between
Josephus and Dionysius and not the particular usage of
ἀρχαιολογία.

[3]See Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the
Antiquarian," JWCI 13(1950)285-313 and Tessa Rajak,
"Josephus and the 'Archaeology' of the Jews," JJS,
33(1982)465-477. While Momigliano is not dealing with
Josephus' use of ἀρχαιολογία per se, he does provide an
historical account of the term, including Josephus, thereby
shedding light on Josephus' usage.

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Hippias Major (285d).[4] According to Rajak, the usage stated by the sophist Hippias became fixed at least by the reign of Augustus.[5] Thus, Rajak asserts that ἀρχαιολογία has for the most part always meant what it literally represents, λόγοι of ἀρχαῖα, that is, "stories of old things." In direct contrast to Rajak, Momigliano asserts that the definition fundamentally changed. While in Plato it may have referred to geneologies and foundation stories, in Hellenistic Greek the meaning narrowed to either "history from the origins or archaic history."[6] By placing ἀρχαιολογία in the category of "history", Momigliano indicates that it describes a systematic treatment of the past.[7] However, not until Varro (116-27 B.C.E.) does ἀρχαιολογία achieve a definite character and genre. Varro's Antiquitates divinae et humanae defines antiquitas as the science of the systematic study of all aspects of a nation

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[4]Rajak, pp. 465-466.

[5]Ibid., p. 466. Thus, Rajak suggests that Cleanthes' work περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας refers to a cosmogony, thereby fitting into the sense of "story about old things".

[6]Momigliano, p. 288.

[7]Ibid. Momigliano considers ἀρχαιολογία one of the many types of systematic treatises of the past which arose as by-products of local histories. "Their titles allude to either the place or institution which was the object of research: Ἀργολικά, περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν, περὶ ἀδόξων ὀνομάτων, etc."

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from its foundations in the past.[8]

Consequently, Momigliano traces the gradual specification of a technical historical term, while Rajak understands it as a non-technical synonym for τὰ ἀρχαῖα. As a result, we can see different functions of the term. Often it is simply the title of a work.[9] However, a title reflects the nature of a work. To Rajak, such a title reflects the _theme_ of the work, "stories of ancient things," which in reality applies to the first half of the work.[10] To Momigliano, ἀρχαιολογία not only deals with antiquities, it represents the systematic analysis and presentation of such antiquities. It is a form of history.[11] It functions as a process which applies to the entire work.

Such different views of the meaning and function of ἀρχαιολογία are reflected in disparate understandings of its

[8]_Ibid._ _Antiquitas_ is the Latin equivalent of ἀρχαιολογία as can be seen in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.21) where he explicitly states that Τερέντιος Ουάρρων ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γέγραφεν. In addition, _Ant_. 1.5 and 1.94 in the Latin version of Josephus also translate ἀρχαιολογία as _antiquitas_. The most recent critical edition (Books 1-5) is The Latin Josephus, I: Introduction and Text, The Antiquities Books I-V, Franz Blatt, ed., 1938.

[9]Dionysisus of Halicarnassus 2.21; Josephus, _Ap_. 1.54.

[10]Rajak, pp. 465, 467. Rajak cites Cato's _Origines_, and Xenephon's _Cyropaedia_ and _Anabasis_ as examples of parts of a work providing the title for the whole. For the twofold nature of the _Antiquities_, see Schalit, pp. xvi-xvii.

[11]Momigliano, p. 288.

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sources and purpose. Rajak argues that "myths were the
principal source for <u>archaiologia</u>" for two reasons: 1) by
analogy to "<u>archaiologos</u>" (actor) who was concerned with
representing myths and 2)historians such as Thucydides,
Livy, and Varro who consciously based their "pre-histories"
on myths which of course were critically analyzed and taken
<u>cum grano salis</u>.[12] In contrast, Momigliano stresses that
"philosophy and systematic knowledge of the past joined
forces" and used philology, geography, and chronology to
produce treatises on the past. As a result, ἀρχαιολογία had
the initial purpose of knowledge of antiquities for their
own sake. Varro employed the evidence from language,
literature and custom, to explain, in the words of St.
Augustine (<u>De Civitate Dei</u>, 6.4), <u>qui (homines, i.e.,</u>
<u>Romani) agant, ubi agant, quando agant, quid agant</u>.[13]
After Varro, when antiquity became a criterion of value, it
served the political purpose of establishing the worth of an
entity.[14] Since Rajak considers ἀρχαιολογία as an object
of history, not a technique of history, it cannot be

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[12]Rajak, pp. 467-468.

[13]Momigliano, pp. 288-289.

[14]<u>Ibid</u>. "A letter by Ateius Capito on his fellow and
rival antiquarian Antistius Labeo gives us a glimpse of the
political implications of this research for Augustus'
contemporaries: '<u>Sed agitabat hominem libertas</u>
<u>quaedam...ratum tamen pensumque nihil haberet, nisi quod</u>
<u>jussum sanctumque esse in Romanis antiquitatibus legisset</u>.'"

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described as having a conscious purpose. Rather, historians like Dionysius or Josephus have their own literary or political purposes for which they exploit ancient stories. Dionysius sought to legitimize the Romans by rooting them in the mythological Greek past, while Josephus sought to publish to ignorant and ignoring pagans the comparative antiquity of the Jewish people.[15] Nevertheless, such goals, in Rajak's view, distinguish Josephus from his Greek counterparts. For Momigliano, such purposes as ancient knowledge for its own sake and rooting an institution in antiquity are integral to the discipline of ἀρχαιολογία.

Thus, we can consider Josephus' Antiquities in two ways: either it fits in a Classical historiographical tradition technically referred to as ἀρχαιολογία or it fundamentally differs from such a tradition although adopting the outer trappings of Classical historiography including the non-technical ancient stories otherwise known as οἱ λόγοι ἀρχαῖοι. By analyzing Josephus' usage of ἀρχαιολογία in comparison with Greek and Latin authors, we will see that Josephus does fall squarely within the Classical historiographical tradition. Such analysis, including the subject, object, synonyms, tone, and context of ἀρχαιολογία and its cognates, illustrates its meaning, function, sources and purpose.

Classical sources indicate the systematic nature of

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[15]Rajak, pp. 469 (citing Ap., 1.1ff.), 475-476.

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ἀρχαιολογία by requiring accuracy in this type of work.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus presents Cato as ἐπιμελής (D.H.
1.74) and Diodorus Siculus, who defines the initial books of
his Universal History as ἀρχαιολογίαι (1.4.6.), makes ἡ πᾶσα
ἐπιμέλεια (4.1.4). This care generates exact information:
the more 'archaeological' (ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι) say that
Cephalus, not Sappho, first leapt off the "lover's leap"
Leucas (Strabo 10.2.9). Sometimes the precise data of
ἀρχαιολογία may be considered digressions (ἐκβολαὶ καὶ
παρατροπαὶ τῆς ἱστορίας Plutarch, De Malignate Herodoti
855c). Nevertheless, exact information is a criterion of
ἀρχαιολογία. We find that the description of an
"archaeologist" as ἐπιμελής, confirms that the task of
creating an ἀρχαιολογία requires scientific analysis.

The Antiquities persistently represents ἀρχαιολογία in
general terms as a systematic history requiring great
solicitude. In Josephus, ἀρχαιολογία, appears as a noun in
all cases except Bellum Judaicum 1.17. This noun refers to
a technical historical process of gathering, sifting,
analyzing, and systematizing the antiquity of the Jewish
people.[16] It is, as a literal translation suggests, the
"study of ancient things." How do we know this? Since
Josephus associates the procedure of ἀρχαιολογία with

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[16]Rajak, p. 469, specifically distinguishes Josephus
from Greek historiography on the grounds that he does not
apply such a methodology to ἀρχαιολογία. Rajak's view
depends on the perception that ἀρχαιολογία is an object of
analysis, not a methodology itself.

ἀκρίβεια (Bell. 1.17, Ant. 1.17, 20.260, Ap. 1.53, 2.287),

he demonstrates that ἀρχαιολογία has the scientific goal of

accurately and precisely presenting antiquities, as opposed

to simply relaying old stories. In addition, ἀρχαιολογία

clearly requires a written not oral presentation. It is

either written (ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν...συγγραψάμεμος Ant.

1.94; συγγραψάμενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας Ant. 1.107·), read (οἱ

ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀρχαιολογίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες Ap. 2.136) or

translated (τὴν...ἀρχαιολογίαν...μεθηρμήνευκα Ap. 1.54).

Even in Bell. 1.17, ἀρχαιολογέω implies writing a work,

since it is equated with recording history (τὰ τῶν προγόνων

συνετάξαντο). Writing, by its nature, involves

systematization. Indeed, Josephus not only composes, he

arranges (πάντα γὰρ οἶμαι...συντεταχέναι Ant. 20.260 and

κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν Ant. 1.17). On Ant. 1.107, a variant

reading for a repeated συγγραψάμενοι is συνταξάμενοι. For

stylistic reasons, συνταξάμενοι is preferable to a

repetition of συγγραψάμενοι in the same section. If we read

συνταξάμενοι, then Josephus describes Hieronymous the

Egyptian[17] both as a συγγραψάμενος and a συνταξάμενος whose

object is Phoenician "archaeology" (τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν

Φοινικικὴν). Additional synonyms for the task of the

"archaeologist" reflect additional technical

characteristics. Thus, among those who are characterized in

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[17]"Otherwise unknown." Thackeray, tran., The
Antiquities, vol. 4, p. 45, note f.

1.107 as συγγραψάμενοι τάς άρχαιολογίας, Manetho[18] is "the
annalist of the Egyptians" (τήν Αίγυπτίων ποησάμενος
άναγραφήν) and Berossus[19] "the compiler of the Chaldaean
traditions" (τά Χαλδαϊκά συναγαγών). Preparing an
αρχαιολογία also involves gathering and recording data.
Josephus refers to the sources of his antiquarian data by a
variety of names: γράμματα (Ant. 1.5), άναγραγαί (Ant.
1.17),[20] ίεροί βιβλοι (Ap. 1.1) and ίερά γράμματα (Ap.
1.54,127). Similarly, others who, according to Josephus
engaged in άρχαιολογία, utilized sacred writings and local
records. Thus, Manetho translated from sacred writings (έκ
τῶν ίερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν Ap. 1.228) and we can be
sure that Hieronymous the Egyptian and Berossus utilized the
Χαλδαίων καί Φοινίκων άναγραφαί (Ap. 1.215).

That the "study of ancient things" demanded analysis of

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[18]FGH 609. Manetho wrote during the rule of Ptolemy II
Philadelphus (283-246 B.C.E.).

[19]FHG ii.501, c. 330-250 B.C.E.

[20]See Louis Feldman, "Use, Authority and Mikra in the
Writings of Josephus," Mikra, 1988, p. 470. Feldman, citing
Ap. 1:43, asserts that Josephus distinguishes between laws
(νόμοι) and "the allied writings" (αί άναγραφαί). Feldman
explains that these allied writings include the non-legal
parts of Scriptures as well as midrashim and there are
several examples of written midrashic texts prior to the
time of Josephus. For an alternative view see Shaye Cohen,
Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a
Historian, Leiden, 1979, pp. 24-25. Cohen counters that the
actual texts described as άναγραφαί in Ap. 1.28-43 exclude
such midrashim, Josephus often uses two words such as νόμοι
and άναγραφαί when one would suffice, or if there is a
distinction here it is between law and narrative.

specific records is furthered illustrated by Josephus'
defense of his qualifications to write his work. He
explicitly connects his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek
language and literature to his unique ability to produce
such an accurate (ἀκριβῶς) work (Ant. 20.263).[21] His
ability in Hebrew enables him to understand the data for
antiquarian research; his training in Greek language and
literature enables him to systematize it for a Greek
audience. Likewise, in Ap. 1.54, Josephus calls attention
to his skill at translating from sacred records[22]
(μεθηρμήνευκα γεγονὼς ἱερεύς) and philosphical or scientific
understanding of these records (μετεσχηκὼς τῆς
φιλοσοφίας).[23] The term, φιλοσοφία, because it connotes

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[21]The veracity of Josephus here is a matter of debate
and requires clarification. Rappaport questions whether
Josephus actually used his Jewish upbringing (Salomo
Rappaport, Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus, 1930,
p.xv). The debate focusses on whether he used Hebrew,
Aramaic, or Greek sources and whether he actually wrote the
Antiquities by himself. Here the veracity of his statement
is not relevant: Josephus clearly considers the quality of
learnedness (whether he had it or not) necessary for
antiquarian research.

[22]Feldman, "Use, Authority..." p. 468, points out that
Josephus imprecisely employs terms for translation with
meanings ranging from exact translation to loose paraphrase
with amplification. Cohen, p. 34, notes that Josephus'
"translation" of the Letter of Aristeas follows the sequence
scrupulously while recasting the language.

[23]See Henry St. John Thackeray, tran. Josephus: The
Life; Against Apion, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library,
Cambridge, Mass., 1926, p. 185. He translates φιλοσοφία as
"philosophy", but in note c suggests "study" or "scientific
treatment". In any case, Josephus promotes his ability to

critical examination of phenomena, in particular refutes
Rajak's contention that Josephus does not systematically
analyze antiquity.

The antiquarians' critical attitude toward sources such
as mythology further illustrates the scientific character of
ἀρχαιολογία. Like Josephus, (Ant. 1.15)[24] Plutarch (De
Malignate Herodoti 855c) distinguishes between· μῦθοι and
ἀρχαιολογίαι. Nevertheless, we know that Cato used legends
for his Origines. But he also employed the senatorial
historian Fabius Pictor, Hellenistic legends, local
traditions, inscriptions and his own speeches. Without a
doubt, he who sought a precise date for Rome's founding,
also scrutinized his sources. Josephus likewise
incorporates his own speeches, and local traditions as
preserved in the ἀναγραφαί. Diodorus Siculus, who includes
μῦθοι in his ἀρχαιολογίαι (1.4), nonetheless, feels
compelled to defend this usage of myth (4.1.4). Varro,
characterized by Cicero (Brutus 15) as noster
diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis, utilized

analyze as well as translate.

[24]Heinemann (p. 90) notes that contrary to this promise
to exclude myth, Josephus actually does include them,
perhaps because they are better than Greek myths. Rajak
(pp. 468-469) argues that Josephus never refers to his own
nation's past as mythologia because it is based on adequate
records which place its antiquity in the realm of history
rather than mythology. Therefore, Josephus does not
critically analyze mythoi because the historically reliable
Bible does not fall in the category of mythology.

language, literature, and custom for evidence.[25] Thus, he

not only uses sources critically, but also uses critical

sources. There are numerous examples of Josephus employing

each of these forms of evidence.[26]

Given the technical nature of producing an ἀρχαιολογία,

it is necessary to delineate what this science seeks to

discover. Migrations of people and founding of cities is a

typical, if not fixed subject of ἀρχαιολογία. Hippias

includes κατοικίσεις (Plato, <u>Hippias Major</u> 285d) as one of

the subjects of ἀρχαιολογία. Strabo (11.14.12) relates

ἀρχαιολογία δε τίς ἐστι περί τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦδε τοιαύτη which

refers to the settling of Armenia (οἰκῆσαι).[27] Cicero

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[25]Momigliano, p. 288. Cf. above p. 3.

[26]Language: e.g. <u>Ant</u>. 1.38-39 on the etymologies of the
rivers of Eden. For Josephus' use of names see "Use,
Authority,...," p. 459. Much of the discussion on his
etymologies concentrates on what evidence they provide for
defining Josephus' sources. Literature: <u>Ant</u>. 1.108 cites
Hesiod among other Greek writers. Custom: "...Josephus'
indication (ant. 4:264-265 that the rebellious son is to be
exposed for a day after he has been stoned to death and then
is to be buried at night .. may reflect the practice in
Josephus' own day" (Feldman, "Use, Authority,...," p. 515).

[27]Rajak (p. 466) states that the passage refers to an
old story about Jason and Armenus. However, the reference
to Jason and Armenus is καθάπερ εἴρηται (11.4.8) in contrast
to the ἀρχαιολογία which refers to a new story about how
Armenia is named after Armenus, how they settled in
Acisilene, how the Araxes river was named, and the kinship
of the Armenians to the Thessalonians. ὁ μὲν δὴ παλαιός
λόγος οὗτος (11.14.15) summarizes the whole ἀρχαιολογία,
that is to say, the ἀρχαιολογία refers to more than just
Jason accompanying Armenus. Moreover, Strabo engages in
critical analysis of sources by characterizing his
ἀρχαιολογία as more reliable than Herodotus' (ὁ
λόγος...λεγόμενος ἔχει τι πιθανόν, ὁ δὲ Ἡροδότειος οὐ

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(Academici, 1.3) writes of Varro's Antiquities nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt. The image of his readers as wanderers becomes more vivid if understood as a play on the particular interest of antiquarian literature in wanderings and settling of cities. When Dionysius cites Phanodemus, (D.H. 1.61.5.), he does so to prove that Teucer migrated (μετοικῆσαι) from Attica to Asia.

But the Atthidographer Phanodemus (FGH 325) primarily wrote about the hieratic-mythical history of Athens.[28] Dionysius himself includes "customs and institutions" (τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα D.H. 1.5.2). He also cites both Marcius Porcius Cato (D.H. 1.74), who gathered ἀρχαιολογουμένη ἱστορία, for his chronological work, and Varro (2.21), the antiquarian par excellence, in a discussion of the priesthood according to the πολιτεία of Romulus.   In addition, Varro, according to Cicero (Academici 1.3), treats such subjects as qui et ubi essemus, jura sacrorum, domestica disciplina, and bellica disciplina. Thus, the subjects of ἀρχαιολογία include not only migrations and

πάνυ).

[28]FGH 3b (Supplement Nos 323a-334), vol. 1, text, p. 172.   In n. 16 on p. 173, Jacoby points out that "ἀρχαιολογία T6 is a favorite designation of works of a certain order with Dionysius of Halicarnassus." For our purposes, since Josephus rests on Dionysius, it does not matter if Dionysius incorrectly characterized certain authors as writing ἀρχαιολογίαι. Dionysius followed what he believed to be a particular literary tradition.

founding of cities, but also chronological issues and religious, political, and military institutions.

Josephus delineates similar topics as the subjects of ἀρχαιολογία. In its broadest sense, it records τὰ συμβεβηκότα (20.259). More specifically, Josephus (Ap. 1.6-7) defines one subject in the study περὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἔργων as the κτίσεις τῶν πόλεων. Josephus also ·juxtaposes πολιτεῖα with ἀρχαιολογία (Ant.1.5)[29] and quotes συγγραψάμενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας in connection with chronological issues (1.107 on the age of the patriarchs).[30] The interest in military structures emerges from a comparison between Bellum Judaicum (1.17) and the beginning of the Antiquities (1.6) in which Josephus outlines the particular subjects of ἀρχαιολογία.

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[29]Rajak (p. 467) says that here Josephus "distinguishes between two major themes, the Jewish archaiologia, and the formation of the Jewish constitution (politeuma)." However, since ἀρχαιολογία requires a systematic methodology, the constitution of the polity is one of the topics to which this methodology is applied.

[30]Note also that Cato rejects Greek chronology, while according to Thackeray note a on Ant. 1.106, Berossus, the antiquarian, had his own particular chronology. Since antiquarians include such information, systematic treatments of chronological issues, while not the most essential aspect of ἀρχαιολογία, identifies authors as working in the archaeological genre.

ʼΑρχαιολογεῖν μὲν δὴ τὰ ʼΙουδαιῶν τίνες τε ὄντες καὶ ὅπως
ἀπανέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, χώραν τε ὅσην ἐπῆλθον ἀλώμενοι καὶ
πόσα ἑξῆς κατέλαβον καὶ ὅπως μετανέστησαν (Bell. 1.17)

ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διενοήθην, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον
συνέγραφον, δηλῶσαι τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ʼΙουδαῖοι καὶ τίσι
χρασάμενοι τύχαις ὑφ' οἵῳ τε παιδευθέντες νομοθέτῃ τὰ πρὸς
εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλαν ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς πόσους τε πολέμους ἐν
μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταῖον ἄκοντες πρὸς
ʼΡομαίους κατέστησαν (Ant. 1.6)

Despite some verbal differences, at first glance both
passages essentially agree. τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς more
specifically describes τίνες ὄντες, and τίσι...τύχαις
summarizes ὅπως ἀπανέστησαν Αἰγυπτιῶν etc. However,
Josephus significantly adds the subjects of wars and the
sort of lawgiver who taught virtue and piety. The
implication of adding πόλεμοι is noteworthy: whereas his
predecessors had written ἀρχαιολογία up to Antiochus IV
(Bell. 1.17; Josephus says he begins Bellum Judaicum where
they left off), Josephus' work includes the Romans (Ant.
20.260). By adding "wars" as a subject, Josephus can
include Jewish history in the Roman period. For obvious
reasons, it was desirable to include Rome.[31]

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[31]On the relationship between Josephus and Rome and his
patron Epaphroditus, see Thackeray, Josephus the Man and the
Historian, pp. 52-53.

This interest in Roman history further defines the genre of the <u>Antiquities</u>: Josephus consciously follows the model of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[32] Thus, the incorporation of ἀρχή parallels Dionysius' desire to present the truth about Rome's ἀρχή (D.H. 1.4.2.). Just as Dionysius seeks to prove that Rome succeeded from εὐσέβεια, διαικοσύνη and ἡ ἄλλη ἀρετή (D.H. 1.4.2), Josephus states that the Jewish lawgiver taught these as well. The parallels continue. Both incorporate τίσι χρασάμενοι τύχαις as a subject of ἀρχαιολογία. Moreover, in Dionysius, this directly refers to wanderings (καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὰς πατρίους οἰκήσεις ἐξέλιπον D.H. 1.5.1). Josephus as well considers an account of an early peoples' wanderings and settlings as a basic subject of ἀρχαιολογία. Hence, he explains in <u>Ap</u>. 1.1 that his ἀρχαιολογία shows how the Israelites came to inhabit the land (πῶς τὴν χώραν...κατῴκησεν). According to <u>Ap</u>. 1.127, his ἀρχαιολογία contains evidence about the arrival of the Jews to the χώρα

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[32]Similar words and phrases include: τίσι χρησάμενοι τυχαῖς, ἀξία, certain rationalistic phrases, sentence structures (Attridge, p. 43-44), recurrent formula regarding miracles, words used to describe deaths of Moses, Romulus, and Aeneas (Thackeray, <u>ibid</u>., p. 57); similar themes: discussion of origins, legislator who taught religion, wars (Heinemann, p. 182); similar techniques: rhetoric, encomium, romance (<u>ibid</u>.); similar aims: aesthetic presentation of history, moral instruction via exempla, apology for the people's history (Attridge, pp. 51-53). See also Schalit, pp. xxiff.

and the πόλεμοι necessary to capture it.

While we should not over-emphasize the similarities between Philo and Josephus,[33] it is striking that both of these Jewish products of the Hellenistic world see ἀρχαιολογία as some form of systematization. Philo explicitly articulates the methodical character of ἀρχαιολογία. The usage in De Abrahamo 5 is especially instructive: τοὺς τεθέντας νόμους μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἤ ὑπομνήματα εἶναι βίου τῶν παλαιῶν ἀρχαιολογοῦντας ἔργα καὶ λόγους, οἷς ἐχρῆσαντο. Instead of an historian systematizing the deeds, words, and laws, the Bible itself represents a coherent formulation of the lives of the ancestors. Having νόμοι as "archaeologizing" is peculiar to Philo, but organizing the deeds of the ancients is typical of Josephan ἀρχαιολογία. II Moses 48 presents the goal of this systematization: two necessary teachings 1) the father and maker of the world and lawgiver are one and the same and 2) the one who follows the laws will live in harmony with nature. On a basic level, therefore, both Josephus and Philo view ἀρχαιολογία as systematizing religious and political subjects. As an

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[33]Despite Siegfried's statement "bekannt ist ihm naturlich Philo" (Carl Siegfried, Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testament, p. 270), most scholars attribute parallels between these writers to a common Hellenistic background. See F. H. Colson. ed. and trans. Philo, vol. 6 (Loeb Classical Library), 1935, pp. xviii, 588; Erwin R. Goodenough, By Light, Light, 1935, p. 99; Samuel Belkin, Philo and the Oral Law (Harvard Semitic Series, 11), 1940, p. 24; Samuel Sandmel, Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction, 1979, p. 175, n. 6.

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historian, Josephus differs from the philosopher Philo, in that he systematically examines various types of institutions in conjunction with narrative political history.

However, simply depicting Josephus' methodology does not illustrate _why_ he utilizes the technique of ἀρχαιολογία. A common explanation, such as Rajak's, is that it supports Josephus's apologetic aims. Such apologetic aims, in general, might be showing that knowledge of Judaism is worthwhile,[34] defending his reputation as an historian from the accusations of Justus,[35] proving to the Romans that the Jews are not inherently rebellious,[36] answering anti-semitic charges,[37] and convincing readers of the truth of Scriptures.[38] Hellenizations, therefore, serve the function of attracting the Hellenized readers to whom the apology is directed,[39] especially because they

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[34]Rappaport, p. xv.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Schalit, p. xviii.

[37]E.g., the Jews originated from Egypt, Moses was a leper (Thackeray, Josephus, The Man and the Historian, p. 59), the Jews produced no great leaders, and the Jews are anti-social (Feldman, "Use, Authority...," pp. 494-495).

[38]Heinemann, p. 186.

[39]Ibid., p. 183 and Feldman, "Use, Authority...," p. 481.

aesthetically enhance the Hebrew Bible.[40] Attridge
suggests theologizing as another apologetic aim of the
Antiquities,[41] but Feldman refutes this possibility on the
grounds that Josephus promises a different work which will
discuss theology. Josephus interprets the Bible as an
historian not theologian, and, thus, tends to diminish God's
role in favor of human characters.[42]

    Although the Antiquities contains apologetic aspects,
these must be understood as occasional, not essential.[43]
Moreover, when Josephus engages primarily in apology, he
employs the format of a Contra Apionem rather than an
ἀρχαιολογία. Furthermore, Josephus incorporates
unapologetic elements. Aesthetically reworking Scriptures
criticizes the Bible by implying that the Bible is inferior
from a literary standpoint.[44] In addition, a statement like
στάσις οὖν αὐτοὺς οἵαν ἴσμεν οὔτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ
βαρβάροις γενομέμην κατέλαβεν (4.12) undermines the

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[40]Cohen, p. 37 and Feldman, "Use, Authority...,"
p. 484.

[41]According to Attridge, p.17, the Antiquities'
"theology is very much an apologetic one which reworks
Jewish tradition in categories derived from and
comprehensible to a Greco-Roman public."

[42]Feldman, "Use, Authority...," pp. 503-505.

[43]Thackeray, Josephus, The Man and the Historian,
p. 59.

[44]At any rate, an apology for Scriptures can only be a
partial aim of the Antiquities because almost half the work
deals with post-biblical history.

imputation of an apologetic purpose in two ways. On the one
hand, it does not present the Jewish people in a favorable
light, especially since it confirms an inherent tendency to
rebellion. On the other hand, οὔτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ
βαρβάροις implies that the Israelites are neither Greeks nor
barbarians. Since Josephus perceives the Jews as a
belonging to a distinct civilization, it would be illogical
for him to defend Judaism as conforming to the Greco-Roman
world. Rather, the purpose of Josephus' <u>Antiquities</u>
corresponds to that described by Momigliano as inherent in
ἀρχαιολογία--historical knowledge for its own sake and
valuation of a structure by establishing its antiquity. In
this respect, the historian Josephus portrays his
understanding of the character, causes, and antiquity of
early Israelite history. Such analysis and explanation of
history is the ultimate and treasured function of the
classical historian of ἀρχαιολογία.

An analysis of the treatment of the book of Numbers,
chapters 1-18, through the genre of ἀρχαιολογία indicates
how this systematic examination of institutions in
conjunction with political history affects Josephus'
historical interpretation of the Pentateuch. These chapters
from the book of Numbers include material relevant to the
military and religious institutions and political
development of the early Jewish people. By recasting the

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military institutions in Greco-Roman terms, Josephus not only adopts the genre of ἀρχαιολογία, he also applies that genre to exegeting the character of the Israelites in the desert. Religious institutions including God, the priests, and ritual receive "archaeological" treatment in Classical modes as well. In addition, Josephus characterizes the rebellion of Korah as a στάσις, i.e. in accordance with the Greco-Roman canons for describing political development. Thus, Josephus, like Varro, deals with institutions as well as political history.

However, Josephus does not simply present ἀρχαιολογία as discrete units of institutional and political history. Rather, the military and religious institutions are interwoven with each other and with the political history. The politics affect the nature of the institutions and the institutions elucidate the politics. Josephus' approach to the Book of Numbers particularly illuminates an "archaeological" and political issue pertinent to the Bible and the κτῆσις narrative: what is the justification for their possession of the land of Israel? Here, Josephus interprets, not apologizes for Jewish history in the Antiquities: he analyzes and explains how the divine promise for κτῆσις functions.

Chapter Two: Military Institutions

Since Josephus initiates his paraphrase of the
Book of Numbers with a focus on military matters, he invites
the reader to a systematization of early Jewish·military
institutions.[45] These institutions include: organizational
practices--the ἐξέτασις; personnel--στρατηγός, φυλαρχοί, and
κατάσκοποι; and physical components--the camp itself, the
φάλαγξ, and βυκάνη. The parallels between the Antiquities
and Greek and early Roman military organization are
strikingly close especially where the Josephan institutions
differ from their biblical bases. These parallels explain
why Josephus departs from the biblical text.

1. ἐξέτασις

The assertion that Josephus "initiates his paraphrase
of the Book of Numbers" assumes that he recognizes Numbers
as a distinct biblical book. Ap. 1.39, τούτων πέντε μέν
ἐστι τά Μωυσέως clearly establishes his awareness of a

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[45]Josephus explicitly values systematic treatment of an
army: εἰ' δέ τις αὐτῶν καί εἰς τήν ἄλλην σύνταξιν τῆς
στρατιᾶς ἀπιδοι, one would gain a deeper understanding of
Rome's success (Bell. 3.71). And just as Rome is
admired(θαυμάζω: Bell. 3.70) for good military organization,
Moses is described as θαυμαστός (Ant. 3.317) in a digression
amid a discussion of Moses' preparation for war. Skillful
military organization evokes praise.

separate book. By topically introducing the Book of Numbers
into the Antiquities, Josephus highlights his systematic
approach to early Jewish history. Having concluded with the
topic of νομοθεσία, Josephus turns his attention to military
matters: πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν [Μωυσῆς] ἐτράπη
τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤδη κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ἅπτεσθαι.[46] His use of
ἐξέτασις emphasizes his focus on military matters in
general. The term never appears in the Septuagint version
of Numbers[47] which utilizes the verb ἐπισκέψασθε(Num. 1:3)
and the noun ἐπίσκεψις (Num. 3:39). However, since Josephus
repeats the verb form of ἐξέτασις in 3.290, he parallels the
Bible's presentation of the census as a specific concept
פקוד (MT) or ἐπίσκεψις (LXX).[48] Moreover, just as Josephus
utilizes the same word in connection with Levites (3.290) so
too does the Bible (Num. 3:39). But why does Josephus
employ ἐξέτασις rather than ἐπίσκεψις? Because ἐξέτασις
specifically refers to the inspection of an army. When
collocated with βίων (Plu. Aem. 38), ἐξέτασις refers to the
Roman census, "listing roughly every five years the members

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[46]Ant. 3.287. Thackeray (3.287 note c) observes here a
"transition from civil to military matters."

[47]ἐξέτασις occurs twice in the Greek Bible. In 3 Macc.
7:5, it appears in the context of investigating captives,
while in Wis. of Sol. 1:9 it refers to an inquiry into the
council of the wicked.

[48]Since the MT, Targums, and LXX all repeat their
renditions of census, Josephus could be following any one of
these texts.

of the citizen body and the amount of their property liable to taxation."[49] In 3.287, it is joined with στρατοῦ which corresponds more closely to Thucydidean usage. Thucydides applies ἐξέτασις to military inspections or reviews such as of weapons or cavalry (Th. 4.74, 6.45, 96).[50] The difference between the ages of those counted in Josephus and those in the Bible further illustrate the military character of the census. According to the Bible, males from age 20 and older are to be counted (Num. 1:3). In the Antiquities, Moses counts from age 20 to 50 (3.288) similar to the Athenian army--although ages ranged from 18 to over 50, 18-20 year olds and over 50 year olds were limited to garrison duty;[51] therefore, those fit for fighting (τῶν ὁπλιτεύειν

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[49]Michael Crawford, "Early Rome and Italy," The Oxford History of the Classical World: The Roman World. 1988. LSJ cites Ant. 3.12.4 (=3.287) with the passage from Plutarch, suggesting a parallel to the Roman Census. However, LSJ further cites ἐξέτασις ἱππέων also in Plu. Aem.38, as the transvectio equitum, the review of the equites riding in front of the censor. Therefore, its meaning can vary with different objects.

[50]Thackeray (3.287, note c) identifies Josephus' correspondence to Thucydides in terms of his "assistants theory": "the hand of the 'Thucydidean' assistant...here makes its appearance, as it has done already in the account of the battle with Amalek (iii.53ff.). In these earlier books he is employed as a sort of 'war correspondent.' The phrase πολεμικῶν ἅπτεσθαι is based on Thuc. v. 61 ἅπτεσθαι πολέμου."

[51]Herbert William Parke, "Armies: Greek," OCD, p. 120. Parke draws this conclusion from Thuc. 2.13.6ff. as interpreted in A. W. Gomme's commentary on Thucydides, vol. 2, pp. 34ff.

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δυναμένων) would be aged 20-50.[52] Josephus presents the
biblical census in Classical military terms.

We can explain such use of military terminology as part
of Josephus' attempt to exegete the Bible. According the
MT, as well as the LXX and Targums, God simply commands
Moses to make the census,

(Num. 1:1-2) · וירבּר יי אל משׁה...לאמר: שׂאו אֶת-ראשׁ
without giving the reason. Josephus has Moses himself
initiate the ἐξέτασις in order to prepare for battle. It
appropriately begins the military campaign because the
census falls בַּאחר לחרשׁ השׁני. Since the ancient Greeks chose
the summer for fighting military campaigns,[53] spring would
be the logical season to prepare the people for battle.
Since Josephus notes also the first commemoration of the
Passover sacrifice in 3.294, he is aware that Moses
organizes military matters in the spring. Consequently
Josephus utilizes ἐξέτασις for the purpose of explaining the
census as Moses' spring preparations for his imminent
military campaign.

By defining the census as a military review, Josephus
implies that the Israelites travelling in the desert
represent an army, not merely a wandering people. This

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[52]Thus, one should read ὄντων ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἕως
πεντήκοντα as a parenthetical gloss on τῶν ὁπλιτεύειν
δυναμένων.

[53]W.W. Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval
Develpments, 1930, p.2.

army, according to the Antiquities, includes various
institutions which parallel Greek and Roman armies:
στρατηγός, φύλαρχοι, and κατάσκοποι are various positions in
the army; the camp itself, φάλαγξ, and βυκάνη exemplify the
physical components of the army.

2. στρατηγός

Although Josephus rarely refers to Moses specifically
as στρατηγός in the paraphrase of the Book of Numbers,
nevertheless, Moses engages in the typical activities of a
Greco-Roman general. Wayne A. Meeks identifies στρατηγός as
one of the roles attributed to Moses by Josephus.[54] In
addition to the obvious functions of leading the army in
battle, he inspires confidence,[55] provides for the

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[54]Wayne A. Meeks, The Prophet King: Moses Traditions
and the Johannine Christology, 1967, pp. 133-134. The term
represents a specific office since the voice at the burning
bush announces that Moses will be a στρατηγός (2.268) and
Joshua succeeds Moses as στρατηγός (4.165; Meeks p. 133).
Meeks guesses that Josephus classifies Moses as a στρατηγός
partly in order to "idealize him as the leader of Israel's
holy war" and partly in order to incorporate its broader
connotations in the Hellenistic world such as provincial
governor (p. 134).

[55]Cf. Archilochus as cited in F.E. Adcock, The Greek
and Macedonian Art of War, 1957, p. 83: "I have no liking
for a tall or long-shanked general, nor one proud of his
hair, nor one with shaven lip. Give me a man who is short
and bandy-legged, firm set on his feet, full of heart and
courage."

sustenance of the troops,[56] and is involved in punishing

disobedience.[57] Similarly Moses encourages the Israelites

(παραθαρσύνων αὐτοὺς 3.298), promises to feed them

(ὑπέσχετο...αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεῶν 3.298), and participates

in chastisement by announcing that God will punish the

Israelites (αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν 3.311).[58] Thus,

Josephus incorporates his understanding of a general's

functions within the narrative of the Israelites'

wanderings.

3. φύλαρχοι

Just as Josephus conflates Greek and Roman sources in

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[56]According to Adcock, pp. 65ff., finances became a
crucial element of military campaigns ever since the
Peloponnesian War. While Moses does not deal with
specifically monetary matters, he does have to cope with the
ἀπορία of the desert.

[57]Roman writers recorded many examples of generals who
severely punished soldiers (H.M.D. Parker, Roman Legions,
1928, p. 232). According to Parker, under the Principate,
some generals had the power to mitigate penalties. Moses
announces to the people that God will punish them in a way
"not proportionate to their errors" (οὐκ ἀξίαν μὲν τῶν
ἁμαρτημάτων 3.311). He himself does not lessen the penalty
for believing the scouts, but he does play a role by
announcing the mitigation.

[58]In the discourse on the amazing virtue and power of
Moses continuing to the present (3.317ff.), Moses is
referred to as ὁ ἐλέγξων (3.319). The context of the phrase
asserts that those who brought the sacrifices did not fear
Moses rebuking them, but followed their consciences, the
point being that they respected the laws themselves not
feared punishment. Nonetheless, the argument assumes that
Moses has the power to punish.

his presentation of the στρατηγός, he characterizes the
φύλαρχοι as both Greek colonels in the cavalry as well as
Roman tribuni militum. First of all, however, we should
note that the usage of φύλαρχοι in Josephus is unique. The
MT and Targum utilize several words to describe those who
carry out the census: MT (1:16) has
ראש לבית אבותיו (1:4), נשׂיאי מטות אבותם, ראשי אלפי ישראל
and Targum Onkelos (1:16) רברבי שבטי אבהתהון.[59] The LXX
approximates the MT with κατά φυλήν...άρχόντων· κατ᾽ οίκους
πατριών (1:4),[60] άρχοντες τών φυλών, and χιλίαρχοι(1.16).
By employing only φύλαρχοι, Josephus calls attention to
their Greek and Roman usage. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus
(2.7.) the φύλαρχοι are the tribuni militum. Like the
φύλαρχοι in the Antiquities (3.287) who count the number of
those capable of fighting (τόν άριθμόν έκμαθεῖν τών
στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων) the Roman military tribunes of the
pre-Marian army were entrusted with "the duty of choosing
soldiers for the annual armies from the tribes...."[61] These
pre-Marian tribunes differed from those in the Augustan

[59]Targum Onkelos, as well as Neophyti and Pseudo-
Jonathan, utilize cognates of the Hebrew version in the
other verses.

[60]Wever's apparatus includes the possible reading καί
which means that άρχόντων could apply to both κατά φυλήν and
κατ᾽ οίκους πατριών. Even if Josephus derives φύλαρχοι from
the LXX by combining φυλήν and άρχόντων into one word, he is
still responsible for transforming a literal translation
into a technical term.

[61]Parker, p. 13.

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army: the former were second in command to the consul and numbered twenty-four (six per legion, twelve per consular army) while the latter served under the legati and performed administrative and judicial functions.[62] Since the Antiquities' φύλαρχοι choose soldiers (by counting those who were fit), are second in command to Moses, and number the equivalent of one consular army (twelve), they more closely resemble the institution as manifested in the early republic. Nevertheless, the fact that Josephus borrows from Polybius' description of the Roman army[63] creates a problem. Polybius calls the military tribunes χιλίαρχοι, but Josephus employs φύλαρχοι even when χιλίαρχοι is readily available from the LXX. Besides associating this component of the Israelite army with an ancient Roman military institution, Josephus also wishes to incorporate the Greek usage of the term. According to Herodotus (5.69), φύλαρχος refers to the cavalry commander furnished by each tribe. In Xenophon's Eq. Mag., φύλαρχοι describes the colonels underneath the cavalry commander. The manual of Xenophon is especially significant since Josephus read it in order to

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[62]Ibid., pp. 13, 190.

[63]Thackeray (Bell. 3.71 note d) explains that Polybius 6.19-42, while providing a more detailed description of the Roman army, suggested Josephus' own digression on the army in Bell. 3.70-109.

train himself to be a general.[64] In general, Xenophon's
φύλαρχοι, like Josephus', are second in command to the
commander, assist him, and help prepare men for battle.[65]
In particular, we find few verbal similarities and must
observe that the φύλαρχοι of Xenophon belong to a cavalry
which the Israelites did not possess. Nevertheless,
Josephus does evoke the image of the Greek institution
thereby confirming his interpretation of למטה אישי as an
ancient (relative to Josephus) military office.

4. κατάσκοποι

Despite a basic dependence of Josephus on the LXX for
the account of κατάσκοποι, he does relate them to Greek and
Roman military institutions. By utilizing κατάσκοποι,
Josephus recalls the similar verbal form κατασκεψάσθωσαν

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[64]Norman Bentwich, Josephus, 1914, p. 46, discovers no
reason by virtue of enthusiasm or skill for his appointment
to the generalship over the Galilee. Aharon Kaminka,
Critical Writings(Hebrew), 1944, p. 69, agreeing with
Bentwich on this point, argues that Josephus culled his
military knowledge from other sources. Bentwich, p. 53,
specifies "some military textbook" as the source for the
details concerning the seige of Jotapata. A common textbook
was Xenophon's De Equitum Magistro according to Herbert W.
Parke, "War, Art of (Greek)," OCD. Josephus was familiar
with the common military manual Eq. Mag. because he shows
verbal similarities with many of Xenophon's works including
Eq. Mag. (see Elchanan Stein, De Woordenkeuze in het Bellum
Judaïcum van Flavius Josephus, 1937, pp.68-75, esp. p. 70).
Josephus' knowledge of the Roman camp (see below pp. 34ff.)
manifests his studiousness in military matters.

[65]Xenophon, Eq. Mag. 1.7-8, 22. In Xenophon they arm
the troops while in Josephus they simply select them.

found in the LXX (Num. 1.3). Furthermore, just as the partitive genitive is applied to Joshua and Caleb in Josephus (τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων; 3.308), so too in the LXX ('Ιησοῦς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ καὶ Χαλεβ...τῶν κατασκεψαμένων Num. 14:6)[66] Both the LXX and Josephus delineate the tasks of the κατάσκοποι in similar terms. According to Josephus, the scouts will τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν κατανοήσουσι καὶ πάση δύναμις αὐτοῖς and they explore the nature of the land, the inhabitants, fruits, rivers, mountains, cities, and walls (τῆς γῆς φύσις, οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, καρποί, ποταμοί, ὄρη, πόλεις, and τείξεις. Similarly, in the LXX (Num.13:18ff.), Moses bids them observe the γῆ and λαὸς ἐγκαθήμενος, determine their power (ἰσχυρότερός ἤ ἀσθενῆς), calculate the virtue of the land (εἰ καλῆ ἐστιν ἤ πονηρά), explore the πόλεις and ascertain whether the cities are walled or not (ἐν τειχῆρεσιν ἤ ἐν ἀτευχίστοις). After returning (Num. 13.27ff.), they display the καρποί of the land and mention a ποταμός. Where Josephus departs from the LXX and MT, we see an emphasis on the military/exploratory function of the κατάσκοποι. Not only do they comment on the well-fortified cities and powerful giant inhabitants as in the MT, they attach the added complication of impassable rivers and

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[66]The recensions of Aquila and Symmachus have ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων, albeit with the preposition. Furthermore, Josephus' Ναυῆχου is closer to the LXX's Ναυῆ than to the MT's נון. Naue, in the Latin version of Josephus is identical with the LXX.

mountains (3:304-305). Understanding the terrain of the
land was required of a skilled commander.[67] As in the case
of the census, Josephus provides a reason for sending the
scouts when the MT recounts simply a command from God
repeated by Moses. Again the justification lies in military
preparation: παρασκευαζώμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· οὐ γὰρ
ἀμαχητὶ παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις αὐτὴν
ἀγῶσιν ἀφαιρεθέντες. πέμψωμεν δὲ κατασκόπους....(3.302).
Exegeting the κατάσκοποι as military scouts represent an
attempt to cope with a thorny hermeneutical problem.   The
traditional interpretation of Num. 13ff as the incident of
the "spies" is rather unusual because the MT does not
actually use מרגלים, but התרים. Spies, such as those whom
Joshua sent to reconnoitre Jericho (Josh. 6.25), secretly
gather information whereas in the Numbers account they
function as scouts engaging in exploration rather than
espionage. The distinction between spies and scouts is
significant because scouts epitomize the early institution
and spies the later from the Classical perspective. Greek
and Macedonian warfare lacked sophisticated espionage.[68]
Therefore, scouts played a more significant role. Xenophon
(Eg. Mag. 4.6) encourages the general to know the roads and

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[67]Xenophon, Eg.Mag. 4.6.

[68]"It is on the whole true that the art of
reconnaissance and the gathering of intelligence was not a
strong point of fleets or armies in antiquity" (Adcock, p.
41).

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places of various localities, although he urges the general
himself to do this. Nevertheless, the idea that scouts or
spies could perform this function emerges from the context:
4.5 comments on scouts and 4.7 on spies (κατάσκοποι). Even
though Xenophon understands κατάσκοποι as spies, Thucydides
(6.63.3) defines them as scouts. That spies represent a
later development from scouts is confirmed by the
corresponding Roman phenomenon. The Roman equivalent to
κατάσκοποι, speculatores,[69] originated as geographical
investigators. "Speculatores had originally been scouts,
but by the third century they had been transformed into
executioners."[70] During the age of Julius Caesar, they
differed from exploratores because they worked secretly and
with cunning.[71] Thus, Josephus, in conferring to
κατάσκοποι the character of scouts, follows the biblical
narrative and LXX's word choice. At the same time, he roots
his scriptural exegesis in the annals of antiquarian

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[69]Procop. anecd. c. 16 "nennt er dieselben Spione
κατάσκοποι" (F. Lammert, "Speculatores," PW, col.1584).

[70]G.R. Watson, The Roman Soldier, 1969, p. 85. They
also served as dispatch riders (Graham Webster, The Roman
Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D., third
edition, 1985, p. 270, n. 6).

[71]Lammert, col. 1583. "So geben bei Caes. bell. Gall.
II.11, 2 die S. Nachricht vom Abzug der Feinde, die
miltärische Tragweite dieser Nachricht aber wird erst bei
Tagesanbruch durch exploratores festgestellt." Although
Lammert notes that the speculatores sometimes perform the
tasks of exploratores, they are precisely secret agents.

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military history.

Not only does Josephus apply the method of ἀρχαιολογία to his interpretation of the personnel of the Israelite military, he also interprets its physical components--the camp, φάλαγξ and βυκάνη--with archaeological hermeneutic. He explains the biblical text, relates it to ancient Greek and Roman institutions, and consequently highlights the military motif of the Book of Numbers.

5. The Camp and the φάλαγξ

While the Antiquities describes the camp of the Israelites in terms similar to the Roman camp, at the same time, it distinguishes the Roman camp from the Israelite one which thereby becomes understood as an ancient military institution. According to Thackeray, "the Hebrew camp is modelled on that of the Romans, which is also compared to an improvised city (B.J. iii. 82f.), the tabernacle here replacing the praetorium."[72] In the passage from the Jewish War, Thackeray also calls attention to its dependence on Polybius 6.19-42.[73] Additional similarities between the Antiquities account and Bell. and Polybius include defining the camp as a παρεμβολή (Ant. 4.7; Bell. 3.77; Polybius 6.40.1) with an ἀγορά (Ant. 3.289; Bell. 3.83; Polybius

[72]Note c on Ant. 3.290.

[73]Note d on Bell. 3.71.

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6.31.1), streets, and tents (Ant. 3.289; Bell. 3.82;
Polybius 6.27.2, 28ff.). As in Polybius 6.27.2, the camp is
pitched on each side of the tabernacle (praetorium). And
both have four divisions (Ant.3.294; Polybius 6.21.6ff.).
However, the Roman divisions, based on age, nomenclature,
and weaponry, contrast with the Israelites divided by tribe.
Moreover, since Moses seeks hoplites (τῶν ὁπλιτεύειν
δυναμένων Ant.3.288) and the Israelites fight in a φάλαγξ
(Ant.4.7), the Hebrew army markedly departs from the Roman
maniple of Josephus' time. The hoplite and φάλαγξ were
characteristic of the Greek and early Roman army.[74] Nor
does Josephus arbitrarily depict the Israelite army in
Greco-Roman terms--he finds a basis in Jewish records. The
LXX also has παρεμβολή for camp (Num. 11:1) and the buying
and selling in the camp follows Num. 3:47-51. Josephus
interprets the payment to the Levites (Num. 3:51) as
emblematic of a market. The artisans (δημιουργοί, 3.289)
refer to the δημιουργοί (3.106) who made the tabernacle.

By relating the Hebrew army both to the Roman camp and
the φάλαγξ, Josephus achieves two goals. On the one hand,
he attributes the significance of the Roman camp to Moses'
camp and, on the other hand, he connects his army to
antiquity. According to Polybius, 6.42ff. the Romans differ
primarily from the Greeks in their mode of encampment.
Josephus (Bell. 3.71) attributes the hegemony of Rome to its

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[74]Adcock, p. 3; Parker, p. 10.

superior army. If the unique element of the Roman army is its method of encampment, then the similarity between the Israelite and Roman camps includes a reason for Moses' superior military skill. Adopting the Greek method of fighting provides the connection to antiquity. Thus, conflating the Roman camp with the Greek battle formation, Josephus captures the best of both interpretive worlds: he explains the virtue and the antiquity of the Israelite military.

6. βυκάνη

Josephus' paraphrase of the passage concerning the חצוצרה (Num. 10:1ff.) also reflects the attempt to relate Israelite military institutions to ancient Greco-Roman counterparts. Josephus demonstrates that he enagages in paraphrase in his dependence on the MT/Targum and LXX: he explains that ἀσώσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Εβραίων γλῶσσαν (3.291) and, as in the LXX, recounts four signals from the βυκάνη.[75] Morever, its functions of summoning to assembly the leaders with one horn, the people with two, and moving the camp (3.292-294) parallel the LXX and MT. And Josephus

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[75]"The third and fourth signals are mentioned here (Numb. x.6) by the LXX only (not in the Hebrew text)" (Thackeray on 3.294 note c). Thackeray adds that Num. 2:18 ff. already stated four movements while Schalit (n. 219 to Book Three) cites a rabbinic parallel from Malekhet Hamishkan, 12.

includes the ceremonial applications of the instrument.[76]
That Josephus adds a unique interpretation to this passage
emerges from the fact that he translates חצצרה into βυκάνη.

This markedly differs from the LXX's σαλπιγξ, but displays
some similarity to an element of the Roman camp.   The
passage on the Roman Camp in book three of The Jewish War
includes the description of a trumpet which announces the
moving of the camp (3.89).   Although this trumpet is called
σάλλπιγξ and performs the additional roles of announcing
sleep, guard-duty, and wake-up(3.86), and hastening
stragglers (3.91), the parallel passage in Polybius utilizes
a cognate of βυκάνη, βουκανᾶν (Poly. 6.35.12).[77] In
addition, Polybius (as in Bell.) chooses σημαίνω (6.40.2)
for the act of blowing the trumpet like Ant. 3.294, and
unlike LXX's σαλπιεῖτε (Num. 10.6).   Nevertheless, unlike
his Greco-Roman and scriptural sources, Josephus includes
the precise measurements of the βυκάνη and does not mention
its uses in battle (as in Num. 10:9).

Why then does Josephus have these partial similarities

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[76]Julien Weill, tran., Oeuvres Completes de Flavius
Josephes: Tome Premier, Antiquites Judaiques, Livres I-V,
1900, p.213, notes Josephus' addition of the sounding of the
clarions on the Sabbath.   "L'Ecriture ne parle pas en
particulier du sabbat.   Mais le Sifre (sur Nombr., x, 10)
explique que les mots: 'En vos jours de rejoissance et vos
epoques feriees' designent particulierement le sabbat."
Here we have an example of Josephus drawing upon non-
scriptural ἀναγραφαί.

[77]LSJ lists βουκανάω as a variant of βυκ-.

and differences to the MT, LXX, and the trumpet of the Roman camp? Josephus is applying his technique of ἀρχαιολογία, methodical treatment of a particular structure. Words and phrases such as ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη (3.291), καλεῖται (3.291), ταῦτα ἐγίνετο (3.293), and the iterative imperfect ἐχρῶντο (3.292, 294) characterize this passage as a systematic depiction of a military instrument and not as a political narrative. Such systematization involves scriptural exegesis: Josephus explains the Bible's account of God commanding Moses to make a clarion by means of an important lexicographical addition to his narrative. Thus, he also resolves the common hermeneutical issue of an unusual word's definition. Josephus defines חצוצרה as a close equivalent to the Roman bucina[78] and distinct from other instruments of the Roman army. By indicating its size of about one cubit and eliminating its function in battle, Josephus excludes any possible confusion of חצוצרה with tuba[79] and cornu. The tuba, over a meter long, "sounded the advance and the retreat," and the cornu, like a large French horn, drew attention to the standards.[80] Even though the lituus had a ceremonial function, its enlarged mouthpiece[81]

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[78]According to LSJ, bucina is the Latin equivalent of βυκάνη.

[79]Indeed, one Latin witness to Num. 10.3 has tuba.

[80]Webster, p. 140.

[81]Ibid.

contrasts to the σῦριγξ στενή of <u>Ant</u>. 3.291. Comparing the
breadth of the mouthpiece to that of an αὐλός deletes <u>aulos</u>
(or <u>tibia</u>) as a potential equivalent. This leaves the Latin
cognate <u>bucina</u>. Little is known about the <u>bucina</u>, except
that it had a ceremonial function.[82] Considering that the
<u>bucina</u> had Etruscan origins[83] and its verbal similarity to
Polybius 6.35.12. rather than <u>Bell</u>. 3.86ff., βυκάνη is
rooted in Roman antiquity. Indeed, Dionysius of Halicarnus
(2.8) refers to a βυκάνη in connection with a custom of
summoning the plebeians during the time of the kings. That
Dionysius differentiates this method of summoning the
plebeians from the method for summoning the heralds recalls
Josephus' (and the Bible's) similar distinction.
Consequently, Josephus conflates elements from Jewish
records and Roman antiquity to produce an archaeological
exegesis of הצוצרה, the instrument invented by Moses for
internal use in the Hebrews' military camp.

Josephus' paraphrase of these pericopes from Numbers
incorporates a systematic survey of the structures of the

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[82]<u>Ibid</u>. Webster points out that since it did not give
clear piercing sounds like the <u>tuba</u> and <u>cornu</u>, the <u>bucina</u>
was unsuitable for battle. However, it still falls under
the category of military institution because it belongs to
the camp of the Roman army. See also J. Kromayer and G.
Veith, <u>Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer</u>,
1928, p. 323.

[83]<u>Ibid</u>.

Israelite military. Whether Josephus draws on Jewish
records or classical histories and manuals, he ultimately
explicates biblical passages. Josephus integrates his
promise to discuss the ancient war of the Jews with
scriptural exegesis on the definition of military
institutions. He also exegetes the reasons behind the
biblical use of these institutions.

Chapter Three: Religious Institutions

Besides paraphrasing chapters 1-15 of the Book of
Numbers from the perspective of military institutions,
Josephus also incorporates a systematic understanding of
Israelite religious institutions within these chapters.
While we do not find definite excursuses on particular
elements such as in the case of the camp and the βυκάνη,
nevertheless we do find the perception of specific religious
elements as institutions in the Antiquities. We know that
Josephus methodically analyzed religion both in word and in
deed. According to Ant. 4.198, Josephus intended to write a
work περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν, and 3.224ff. initiates a detailed
digression on sacrifices.[84] This systematic approach to
religion functions in Josephus' presentation of the
priests/Levites, sacrifices, and God in the paraphrase of
Numbers 1-15. We could argue that God is not a religious

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[84]Two important questions must be resolved concerning
this treatise: 1) did it, even in an incipient stage, exist
and 2) did Josephus draw from it in the Antiquities? As to
the former question, Thackeray (note b on 1.25) argues that
although never completed, "the mention of its 'four books'
(A. xx. 268) and scattered allusions in the Antiquities to
its intended contents suggest that it had taken shape in the
author's mind and was actually begun." As to the latter
question, Josephus discusses a few (ὀλίγων) of the sacred
rites(ἱερουργίαι) and sacrifices (θυσίοι) in 3.224ff. Since
Josephus employs the identical terms in the proposed
treatise described in 3.205 (ἱερουργίαι, θυσίοι) the
discussion must be based on this treatise. Thackeray
considers 3.205 to refer to the work on "Customs and
Causes."

institution per se. However, Attridge's work on Josephus'
theology depicts the process of including a theology (which
embodies a systematic understanding of God) into the course
of the narrative.[85] Naturally, the military nature of the
section still dominates Josephus' exegesis of these
religious institutions.

1. Priests/Levites

Josephus explicitly differentiates between the priests
and the Levites in order to interpret the latter as parallel
to the immunes of the Roman camp. The Antiquities makes it
patently clear that the Levites and the priests belong to
disparate categories: τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ
ἱερεῖς κατεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Λευῖται...(3.290). Utilizing
μέν and δέ here establish the Levites and priests as two
separate groups. Similarly, in 3.258, Josephus relates that
the Levites, although separate from the community, work
under the supervision of the priests (ὑφηγουμένων τῶν ἱερέων
ὑπηρετήσωσιν). Despite Thackeray's observation that Numbers
1:53 has only the Levites, not the priests too, camped
around the tabernacle,[86] Josephus essentially agrees with

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[85]Attridge, pp. 4ff criticizes scholars who denied
Josephus a theology because he did not compose a methodical
theological treatise. Rather Josephus theologizes through
an interpretive retelling of history by reworking scripture,
transforming biblical motifs, and applying significant Greek
terminology.

[86]Note d on 3.290.

the MT in terms of placing the two entities in separate
classifications. Thus, the Levites are the tribe not
counted in the census (Num. 1:47) while the priests (הכהנים)
are the בני אהרון (Num. 3:3). Moreover, the Mishnah
reflects the traditional rabbinic view distinguishing
between priests and Levites (e.g. Kidd. 3.12, 4.1).
Therefore, such a distinction by itself is not original on
Josephus' part. Josephus' originality, however, lies not in
recognizing the difference, but in how he characterizes it.
Like the MT, Josephus points out that the Levites have the
responsibility of ministering to the tabernacle. He departs
from the MT by describing the Levites as πάντων ἀτελεῖς
(3.287). On one level, πάντων ἀτελεῖς serves the
hermeneutical function of explaining why the Levites are not
included in the review where the MT gives no reason for
their exclusion from the initial counting. Thackeray
translates the phrase as "exempt from all claims" and Weill
has "exempts de toute charge." These translations, while
faithful to the Greek, do not adequately explain precisely
from what the Levites were exempt. In Dionysius of
Halicarnassus (4.18.3), ἀτελεῖς appears in connection with
the century of the poorest plebeians. The context (4.16-21)
is particularly relevant because it involves a discussion of
the Roman census of Servius Tullius which served the

purposes of taxation and military organization.[87] Since
the object of ἀτελεῖς in Dionysius is πάσης εἰσφοράς, a
military tax, the term suggests exemption from taxation.
This would apply to the Levites who received rather than
made contributions to the commonwealth. Although these
plebeians were also freed from military service (also
4.18.3), the Levites differ in that they still participated
in the Israelite military camp, but in a non-combat
function.   Thus, Moses appoints Manasseh to be a φύλαρχος
in place of Levi (Ant. 3.288), because Levi is exempt from
warfare.[88] This kind of exemption conforms with the
purpose of the Josephan census, to prepare the army, because
Josephus excludes them (being non-military) from the review.
Therefore, Josephus conflates exemption from taxation and
warfare into his application of ἀτελεῖς.

Such a conflation places the Levites in the
classification of immunes. The immunes were exempt from
general duty because they had a "more specialized
appointment."[89] Such special duties, according Vegetius'

[87]George Hope Stevenson, "Census," OCD, p.220; see also
A.H.J. Greenidge, Roman Public Life, 1901, 221ff. Since the
Roman Census occurred every five years and aided in
taxation, it represents an institution unlike the ἐξέτασις
(see above, pp. 22ff.). Moreover, Dionysius (4.43.2) has
τιμῆμα as the Greek equivalent for census. Therefore, here
Josephus adapts, not copies, Dionysius.

[88]On the military character of the φύλαρχοι see above
pp. 27ff.

[89]Watson, p. 76.

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<u>Digest</u> 50.6.7,[90] include various craftsmen, keepers of
sacrificial animals, and the <u>bucinator</u>. On the most basic
level, the Levites as well had the specialized function of
attending to the tabernacle and its vessel. On a more
specific level, the Levites were the <u>bucinatores</u>. Although
the MT states that the Aaronides sound the חצצרה (Num.
10.8), Josephus does not confirm this. Rather, the closest
plural subject for ταῖς δὲ βυκάναις ἐχρῶντο (3.294) would be
the Λευῖται at the end of 3.293. However, we cannot too
hastily equate <u>immunes</u> with ἀτελεῖς because "it would be
difficult to trace the <u>immunes</u> as a definite class back
before the reign of Hadrian."[91] Even so the concept of men
exempted from ordinary duties because of special assignments
can be traced back to Domitian.[92] Josephus then could have
conceived of such a classification. By referring to the
Levites as ἀτελεῖς, Josephus depicts them in the military
category of persons excluded from battle[93] because of their
particular duties. The fact that he distinguishes them from
the priests, who have a clear cultic function,[94]

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[90]Quoted and translated in Watson, p.76 and n.178.

[91]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 77.

[92]<u>Ibid</u>.

[93]<u>Ant</u>. 4.67 states that the Levites are freed from both
πόλεμος and στρατεῖα. Nonetheless, this refers to refers to
the time when the land is settled, not their current
wanderings.

[94]See, for example, <u>Ant</u>. 3.151ff., 189, 191, 276ff.

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strengthens their secular role. Thus, in the case of the Levites, Josephus secularizes a biblically religious institution. Such a transformation corresponds to Josephus' military perspective on the book of Numbers.

2. Sacrifices

In the case of sacrifices, Josephus similarly provides a military understanding to this institution. The sections under consideration mention sacrifice three times. Since the final case appears as a contemporary (to Josephus) example of Moses' amazing ability to evoke obedience (3.317ff), it does not belong to the area of ἀρχαιολογία. This is a digression on a recent event. The other two presentations of sacrifices appear in 3.294. One case paraphrases scripture (Num. 10:10) in indicating that the Levites use the clarion for sacrifices (ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας). Since the βυκάνη is a military institution with ceremonial functions,[95] Josephus implies that the clarions were used for sacrifices (Sabbaths, and other festal days) which occurred within the context of the camp. In fact sacrifice plays a significant role in Greek warfare.[96] Xenophon begins his Hipparchikos by advising initial sacrifices (πρῶτον μὲν θύοντα χρὴ αἰτεῖσθαι θεοὺς

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[95]See above, pp. 36ff.

[96]The Roman army too had festivals and official cults (Parker, pp. 130-131).

ταῦτα διδόναι Eq.Maq. 1.1). In Lacedaemonians 13.2 he similarly explains that the king first sacrifices when initiating a military campaign. In fact, the king does not cross the borders until the sacrifices are accepted (Lac. 13.3). Given Josephus' dependence on Xenophon, the third instance of sacrifice, the Pascha, could refer to such a sacrifice. Standing on the borders of Canaan, preparing for battle, Moses sacrifices like any good Greek general.

3. God

Diminishing the role of the divine does not entail eliminating God from the Antiquities altogether. Rather, God plays a specific role in Josephus' theology which results in increasing the efficacy and importance of human action. In the case of military ἀρχαιολογία, this means portraying the military characteristics of the "human" Israelites. Harold Attridge has extensively studied Josephus' theology in the Antiquities. By summarizing his position and comparing it closely to the paraphrase of Num. 1-15, we will see how Josephus depicts God as a religious institution interwoven into the Israelite military organization.

The essential difference between biblical theology and Josephan theology lies in Josephus' concentration on God's moral governance rather than covenant. According to Attridge, "the history of the people is taken to be an

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example of how that moral governance operates. Whatever special position Israel enjoys is to be understood as a result of its special virtue."[97] Special virtue is to be understood as moral virtue.[98] Israelites receive providence (πρόνοια) in the form of God as σύμμαχος and βοηθός, also described as συνέργεια.[99] Such terminology replaces "the biblical notion of covenant."[100] In the first place, Josephus, in utilizing such terms, has also deleted "explicit descriptions of an agreement made between God and man" despite the availibility of suitable Greek terminology.[101] In the second place, συμμαχία and βοήθεια have a universal connotation distinct from the biblical covenant: anyone can receive συμμαχία and βοήθεια, but only the chosen may be party to a covenant.[102] Finally, alliance

> "does not imply any necessary, formal,
> long-term or automatic commitment on the
> part of god to act on behalf of the
> Israelites. Terms such as σύμμαχος
> refer primarily to God's role in times
> of need, and *not to a fundamental*
> *agreement which determines the*

[97]Attridge, p. 92.

[98]Ibid., n. 4, pp. 89-90.

[99]Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[100]Attridge, p. 79.

[101]Ibid., p. 80.

[102]Ibid., p. 81.

> *relationship between God and*
> *Israel.*"[103]

Thus, in Attridge's view Josephus avoids covenant
terminology and the particularism and eternality associated
with it.

Attridge does not deny a special relationship between
the Israelites and God in the Antiquities. He cites 3.311-
313 where God mitigates the Israelites' punishment because,
as Moses states, Israel is "esteemed above all mankind" and
4.114 where Balaam says that God's συμμαχία will last
forever.[104] Nevertheless, while the special relationship
exists, Josephus does not emphasize it. In addition, he
limits this special relationship through his presentation of
God's punishment. That God displays providence in history
by punishing the evil and rewarding the good for the most
part parallels the Deuteronomic history.[105] Thus, since
Israel is rewarded with, not chosen for, special treatment
from God because they merit it, Israel represents an example
of the principle of providential retribution rather than
unique covenant partner.[106] For instance, Josephus

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[103]Ibid., pp. 81-82.

understands the Aqedah as God rewarding Abraham for his devotion, his virtue which the Antiquities persistently emphasizes.[107] Therefore, συμμαχία and βοήθεια must be recognized as the rewards for such moral virtue.

Josephus' paraphrase of Num. 1-15 agrees to some extent with Attridge's analysis of the Antiquities' theology of punishment, but the concept of ὑπόσχεσις (promising) counters much of his argument. That God punishes lack of virtue emerges from the incident of the quails where God chastises the Hebrews for θρασύτης and λοιδορία (3.299).[108] Moreover, this punishment is reward for Moses' virtue since God exacts retribution from the Hebrews because of their arrogance to Moses (τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτητος).[109] Prior to the abortive attack against the Canaanites (4.1ff), the Israelites argue that God rewarded them with their freedom not because of Moses' virtue, but the virtue of their ancestors. Even though the Israelites lose to the Canaanites, the implication is that they were wrong in thinking that God did not reward them with aid because of Moses' virtue.[110] And they do correctly think in terms of

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[104]Ibid., pp. 82-83. Attridge sees 3.111 (οἵαν δὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ νουθεσία τοῖς τεκνοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι) as an exegesis of Num. 14:18, לֹא יְנַקֶּה. However, I think Josephus reads פֹּקֵד עֲוֹן אָבוֹת עַל-בָּנִים (also Num.14:18) as
פֹּקֵד עֲוֹן כְּאָבוֹת עַל-בָּנִים.

[105]Ibid., pp. 84-86.

God compensating virtue.

However, the connection between alliance and
providential reward for virtue is not always so clear. When
Moses exhorts the Israelites to revere God ὅς ἐστιν ἐπι
πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βοηθὸς καὶ σύμμαχος (3.302), he does indicate
that God is ally independent of any ethical criteria (ἐπι
πᾶσιν ἡμῖν). Furthermore, although God as ally
(ὑπερμαχοῦντας 3.309) is juxtaposed to τοῖς ἀρετήν
ἠσκηκόσιν, the context of the passage dictates a non-
moralistic interpretation of ἀρετῆ. Here, it describes
military virtue, the ability to cross mountains and rivers.
While God's aid in this case depends on some kind of virtue,
3.306 connects God as helper to God's promise: ὡς οὐδὲν ἔργῳ
τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ δὲ μόνον ὑπισχουμένου. Thus, the
Israelites believe that God's assistance was part of God's
promise.

Indeed, Josephus' concentration on the promise of God
contradicts Attridge's contention that the Antiquities
deletes the notion of covenant replete with its
particularity and eternality. Josephus certainly focusses
on the promise (ὑπόσχεσις) since he mentions it several
times (3.307, 312, 314, 4.3). As God promises to give the
land to the Israelites (3.314, 4.5),[111] God can only be a
particular ally and helper to Israel to obtain a particular

[111] Following the MT, Josephus limits the promise to the
next generation because of the incident of the scouts.

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land. Moreover, the military context defines the character of God's help: God would be their στρατηγός (4.6) as well as σύμμαχος.[112] The term σύμμαχος itself has a military connotation more than a moral one. An additional component of the Roman camp were the socii, the allies. Polybius 6.26 defines the corresponding Greek term as σύμμαχοι. Since the socii fought in units separate from the consular army,[113] they parallel the deity who certainly represents a distinct unit. In fact, although the Israelites expect God to act as their σύμμαχος in their attack against the Canaanites (4:2), they find their hopes disappointed. Thus, both στρατηγός and σύμμαχος indicate more than a form of God's providence. They specifically define God's providence as military aid. In short, God promises to give the land to the Israelites and act in a military capacity to fulfill this promise. Nevertheless, God reserves the right to respond to human virtue (3.315). However, human virtue includes military skill which, Josephus contends, the Israelites amply had in their military institutions. As we shall see in Chapter Five, the human element becomes the primary determinant of events.

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[112] For the military nature of στρατηγός, see above Chapter 2, p. 26ff.

[113] Barker, p. 13.

Chapter Four: An Example of Political History

Josephus' ἀρχαιολογία not only includes systematic
analysis of institutions, but also engages in comprehensive
description and analysis of political events. We have seen
how Josephus depicts military and religious structures.
Political history characterizes Josephus' paraphrase of
Numbers 16-18, which relates the rebellion of Qorah. Thus,
Antiquities 4.11-75 provides both a narrative describing the
events themselves, as well as an investigation of their
causes and results. Nor does Josephus neglect his
systematic consideration of institutions. In fact, he
integrates a detailed description of some Mosaic legislation
into the account of the rebellion. By comparing the causes
of the insurrection according to the Antiquities to the
subsequent legislation, we will recognize an example of
"archaeological" political history. We analyze the Qorah
rebellion from a literary standpoint.[114] Such an inquiry

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[114]The methodology of this chapter differs from the
previous ones in that this chapter examines a portion of
Josephus' paraphrase of Numbers independent of external
sources.   Rather, Ant. 4.11-75 requires a literary analysis
because Josephus enhances his investigation into the causes
of the rebellion with his literary artistry. Moreover, we
must keep in mind that Josephus wrote primarily for a
Hellenized audience who would appreciate the importance of
literary technique. Concerning Josephus' readership, cf.
Ant. 1.9-10, 20.262 as well as Thackeray, Josephus: The Man
and the Historian, p. 58 and Feldman, "Use, Authority...,

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demonstrates that Josephus understands the event as a
unified phenomenon, in political terms, and influential upon
Mosaic legislation. Moreover a literary analysis highlights
the underlying and immediate reasons for the insurrection.

Since he selects the term στάσις to define the
rebellion, uses στάσις as a title and programmatically, and
connects στάσις to the subsequent legislation, Josephus
engages in political history of a self-contained event.
Josephus plainly establishes the political character of the
Qorah rebellion when he continually refers to it as a
στάσις,[115] which Classical literature constantly employs
when examining the dangers to the πόλις.[116] In addition,
generalizations about στάσις further indicate that Josephus
occupies himself with abstract political analysis.[117]
Political history involves relating such theoretical
discussion to particular events. Therefore, Josephus
applies the generalizations to the specific story of Qorah.
The addition of the article to στάσις in 4.13 and 4.76
specifies this story as the sedition. It functions as a
virtual title for the whole series of events. This

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pp. 470-471. Feldman includes Hellenized Jews among
Josephus' readers.

[115]στάσις and its cognates appear several times in the
Qorah account--4.12, 13, 30, 32, 36, 59, 66, 76.

[116]E.g. Plato, Republic, 545d.

[117]Ant. 4.12-13.

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particular title then summarizes Num.16-18 as a political

occurrence typical of Greco-Roman political history.[118]

Josephus also highlights the analytical nature of his

paraphrase of Qorah's rebellion by utilizing στάσις

programmatically. Its appearance in 4.12 and 4.76 provides

a frame to the story while 4.59 and 4.66 periodize the

narrative in terms of the various stages of the στάσις (e.g.

τὴν μέντοι στάσιν οὐδ' οὕτως συνέβη παύσασθαι 4.59).

Although the MT simply presents legislation concerning

sacrifices after the Qorah rebellion, Josephus makes a

causal connection between the rebellion and aspects of

Mosaic legislation. He introduces and concludes the Qorah

narrative with a reference to the στάσις and the political

response to it (ὅσα μετ' αὐτὴν Μωυσῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο 4.13;

'Ως δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς διέταξεν 4.76).

By rearranging the MT, Josephus further reflects his

interest in combining the political event with the

legislative reaction. According to Josephus, Moses enacted

laws related to the Levitical and priestly cities, tithes,

redemption, freewill offerings, the "qorban", and Nazirites.

These laws are drawn together from different places in the

Bible. While Num. 18 contains the laws concerning tithes

and redemption of first fruits, the "qorban" derives from

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[118]Josephus himself (4.12) alludes to rebellions
prevalent among the Greeks and pagans (στάσις...οἵαν ἴσμεν
οὔτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις γενομένην).

Leviticus 27ff., the Nazirites from Num. 6ff. and the Levitical and priestly cities from Num.35ff. Such rearrangement of material reflects an effort to consolidate the legislative content which relates to this historical event.

This combination of the στάσις story with constitutional results accents causes of the sedition and the purpose of the subsequent legislation. A detailed analysis of the story illuminates the natural and immediate/specific causes of the conflicts. This analysis must include not only Josephus' and Qorah's explicitly stated reasons for the sedition, but also Moses' (non-legislative) reactions as expressed especially in his speeches. For Moses' speeches reflect his understanding of the bases of the revolt. And we can only comprehend the laws which Moses subsequently enacted if we can explain how they answered the causes of the rebellion.

An historian identifies the general, natural, rules which govern the development of human society. Military failure, the inherent tension between leaders the masses, and the uncontrollable nature of στάσις, represent the underlying intrinsic causes of the revolt. The Qorah event is an example of these universal factors at work. After describing the defeat of the Israelites by the Canaanites, Josephus comments generally about the rebellion ("Οπερ δέ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδοῖς καί μάλιστα παρά τάς

κακοπραγίας 4.11) with παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας betokening failure as an innate cause of στάσις. Josephus defines the στάσις as strife amid the people as well as against the leader (ἐξηγανάκτουν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα 4.11). That πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα reproduces a general historical factor emerges from 4.37 where the people naturally enjoy criticizing those in power (ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὅμιλος φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβοᾶν τῶν ἐν τέλει). Since Qorah exploits this natural tension between the crowd and its leaders, it eventually becomes a specific factor. A στάσις itself develops organically. Not only does the speech of Qorah spread without agency through the crowd (προϊόντος δ' εἰς τοὺς πλείονας 4.21), the sedition itself actually independently increases and grows (τὴν μέντοι στάσιν...μᾶλλον αὔξειν καὶ φύεσθαι 4.59).[119] Moreover, the innate by-products of στάσις also underscore its organic causality. By using ἄν in τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν ἄν γενομένων δεινῶν (4.13), Josephus distinguishes between στάσις and its characteristic consequences. These by-products include general confusion and disorder as well as undermining of respect for the leadership which Josephus stresses with the pervasive references to such

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[119]In 4.59 Josephus employs στάσις as the subject of verbs thereby suggesting it has mind of its own.

phenomena.[120]   That Moses prays for peace (ὁμόνοια καὶ
εἰρήνη 4.50) illustrates his recognition of the opposite
effects of revolution. We observe a manifestation of how
sedition undercuts leadership in the refusal of Dathan and
Abiram to come to the sacred rites (4.37ff.) Their refusal
can only be explained as a direct consequence of Qorah's
actions. An ancillary natural cause pertinent to both the
spread of confusion and the decline in respect for authority
is the inborn fickleness of a crowd. According to Josephus
the crowd changes its will to whomever should speak (4.37)
and the kinsfolk capriciously forget their compatriots (τῶν
γὰρ συντεταγμένων ἐκλαθόμενοι) and rejoice at their
destruction (4.53). Furthermore, in noting the oratorical
ability of Qorah and Moses to move the crowd (4.14; 4.25),
Josephus also recalls the typical ease in which a crowd may
be agitated.

Thus, Qorah exploits and Moses responds to the natural
aspects of a crowd. Moreover, Qorah takes advantage of the
failure, organic confusion, and inherent antipathy for the
leadership in engendering the immediate causes of the
rebellion. To understand these causes, we must remember
Qorah's skill at public speaking. His stated reasons for
rebelling are not always the reasons according to Josephus.

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[120]ἀνερεθίζω (4.22), θόρυβος/θορυβώδη (4.22, 36)
παροξύνω (4.24), ἀκόσμως/κόσμος (4.22, 36), ταραχή (4.22,
32, 35, 36).

The specific bases for the revolt according to Josephus are both Qorah's personal motivations and the issues he raises which elicit a response from the people. Jealousy, family tensions, the desire for the high priesthood, and wealth represent Qorah's internal incentives, while the crowd adopts the anti-tyranny attitude and tribal tensions raised by Qorah.

Josephus' editorial comments, Qorah's own words, and Moses' rejoinders all highlight the personal motives of Qorah. Josephus initially introduces Qorah as jealous (φθόνος) of Moses (4.14) and explains that such jealousy incites him to dishonour Moses (4.21). Being in the same family (συγγενής) as Moses exacerbates the jealousy (4.14). Qorah exploits the family tensions by addressing his speech to the kinsfolk (συγγενέσι 4.15), although he subordinates his claim to the high-priesthood as equal family member to the critique of Moses' tyranny: γένει μέν ὁ αὐτός (4.19) appears near the end of the speech.[121] Moses recognizes the importance of the issue by addressing Qorah and his followers only.[122] In addition, he acknowledges Qorah's kinship to himself (4.26), as if he perceived a foundation

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[121]Josephus has Qorah intentionally diminish the family issue. Being a skilled orator, he would recognize the emphatic effect of the opening and closing arguments and only avoid placing an assertion in one of these position for good reason.

[122]4.25; Moses specifically addresses Qorah and points to his followers, rather than focusing on the crowd.

for Qorah's jealousy. The family issue is played out in the contest concerning the high-priesthood. Josephus editorially delineates the high-priesthood as one of Qorah's original aims: ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τιμὴν μεταστῆσαι (4.20). In addition, he systematizes the earthquake, fire, and blossoming staff as three proofs confirming the choice of high-priest (4.66).[123] It also becomes an issue from Qorah's speech (4.15-19) and Moses' responses. Indeed, Moses' speech to Qorah and his followers (4.25ff) constantly repeats and focuses on the issue of the high-priesthood thereby reflecting his understanding of Qorah's ambition. Josephus also includes a financial component to Qorah's ambition and rebellion. Both Qorah (4.14,19) and Moses (4.25, 26) acknowledge wealth as a criterion for the high-priesthood. And Josephus tells us that one of the immediate factors causing the revolt is ἀπορία (4.11, 4.87). When we examine the subsequent legislation we will see how these economic factors are connected. At any rate, in Josephus' view, such economic factors, as well as psychological, familial, and political aims and tensions determine Qorah's involvement in the rebellion.

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[123]ὁ μὲν τρὶς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἶχε τὴν τιμήν. While the context of the MT can imply a similar understanding of the story, three contests concerning the high-priesthood, in no way does the MT stress this view with the repetition of ἱερωσύνη and such systematization as in Josephus.

However, Qorah also manipulates the tribal and democratic factors which incite the tribe of Reuben and the crowd. Although these factors do not motivate Qorah, they do influence others; therefore, they represent immediate causes to the comprehensive view of the historian. Josephus applies the tribal issue in order to explain the involvement of the tribe of Reuben in the rebellion.[124] Thus, the Antiquities' Qorah raises the point that tribal antiquity should be a criterion for selecting the high-priest (εἰ' δὲ τῆ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν φυλῶν 4.19).[125] Since Moses singles out the tribal leaders for the third confirmation of Aaron's high-priesthood (μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προειπὼν 4.63), he specifically responds to tribal tensions. Not only does Qorah agitate the intra-tribal strife, he also raises the democratic critique of Moses' dictatorial rule. Thus, he accuses Moses of acting like a tyrant (τυράννων τρόπῳ 4.16). Josephus has Qorah define "in the manner of tyrants" as denying the people the vote (μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι τοῦ πλήθους 4.15), depriving them of their power (τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρεῖται 4.16), and acting deviously (λεληθότως ἐξυβρίζειν 4.16,

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[124]The MT implies, not explicitly states, the existence of intra-tribal tensions. Moreover, the MT has Qorah and the Reubenites working together from the beginning.

[125]Of course, since Qorah desires the priesthood for himself, the suggestion that the tribe of Reuben merits the high-priesthood is merely a subterfuge to aggravate more people against Moses. For this reason, Qorah addresses his words to the tribal leaders (4.20).

λανθάνειν οἰομένους 4.18, τέχνη 4.17, ἐπὶ προφάσει 4.15).
The repetition of these phrases by others establish the
democratic movement as a factor in the revolt. For
instance, the crowd massed against Moses refer to him as the
tyrant (τὸν τύραννον 4.22), accuse him of trickery (τῇ τοῦ
θεοῦ προφάσει 4.22) and assert their rights over his to
grant the high-priesthood (ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν
δόσιν 4.23), while Dathan and Abiram argue that Moses
opposes the people with artifices(4.38). We further notice
the causality of a democratic, anti-tyranny movement in
Moses' response to the στάσις initiated by Qorah. He
reacts to Qorah's attempt to arouse the people against
himself by separating Qorah and his followers from the
people: he addresses only Qorah and his comrades (4.25) and
affirms the will of the people (προτιμῶν...κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν
γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων 4.31). Moreover, Moses repeats almost
verbatim from the crowd's accusation the phrase τὸν
ἱερωσόμενον ἐκλεγόμενος (4.23) with ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸν
ἱερωσόμενον (4.28), thereby highlighting the significance of
the argument concerning who has the power to choose the
high-priest. In this particular example, Moses also
responds by redefining the issue: instead of the conditional
participle of 4.23, Moses uses the indicative--God did in
fact choose the high-priest. To refute the charge of
tyranny, Moses denies any trickiness on the grounds that
nothing done or thought escapes God's notice (λανθάνει 4.41)

and recalls his efforts for freedom (4.42) in contrast to the indictment of imposing slavery (4.22).

Indeed, Moses primarily answers the accusations of Qorah by redefining the issue. Instead of presenting the choice of the high-priesthood as an instance of his will versus the people's, Moses contrasts Qorah's will with God. The reiteration of ἀφαιρέω highlights this point. Whereas Moses, according to Qorah, takes away power from the people (τήν ἰσχύν ἀφαιρεῖται 4.16), he himself advises the people not to let Qorah take away the power to choose from God (ἄτοπον γὰρ Κορῆν...τήν ἐξουσίαν...ἀφελέσθαι τόν θεόν 4.32). In addition, the vocative Κορῆ and extra pronoun σύ in σὺ δέ, Κορῆ, παραχώρησον τήν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ (4.33) as well as the comparative in μή σαυτόν ποίει τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα (4.33) definitively illustrate Moses transforming a leader/people conflict into a Qorah/God conflict. Josephus also has Moses alter the nature of the contest to explain the reason for God to make the selection: the contest will provide certainty of who will hold the priesthood, not for now, but for all time (4.31). The βεβαίως in βεβαίως εἶχε τήν τιμήν (4.66), recalling the βεβαιοῦντος in ἀξιοῦν[126] ἔχειν εἰς ἄπαντα χρόνον μή τήν ἀσφάλειαν τήν επ' αὐτῆ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστον (4.31), likewise connotes certainty forever. Besides the character of the priesthood dispute, Moses alters the power struggles. By designating

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[126]Niese's conjecture for the manuscripts' ἀξιοῦντ'.

the earthquake as an ἐπιδειξις τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος (4.52; cf.4.49), Moses asserts that power belongs not to himself or the people, but to God.

In summary, ἀπορία, the natural character of στάσις and the crowd, Qorah's individual jealousy and ambition for the high priesthood, intra-tribal and familial strife, people/leader tensions are all forces which either initiate or continue the sedition. We have seen how Moses has resolved the immediate causes related specifically to Qorah. The decisive affirmation of Aaron in the priesthood (4.66) represents the successful resolution of the particular issues concerning Qorah as well as any leader/people conflict.[127] However, Moses must, in addition, prevent a στάσις from occurring in the future, especially because once it begins, it develops organically.

Thus, Moses not only counters the causes of the rebellion with direct reactions and redefinitions, he also develops legislation which copes with the familial and tribal conflicts and the ἀπορία which can lead to στάσις. Preventing ἀπορία from the Levites and priests is unquestionably the purpose of the Mosaic legislation. The Antiquities has Moses explicitly state that he legislates here in order to avert lack of resources (ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπορίαν

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[127]4.66 also notes that even those who hated Moses and Aaron recognize the miraculous confirmation of their authority.

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4.67) from the Levites and provide abundant resources
(εὐπορίαν ἐπενόησε 4.74) to the priests. Furthermore, the
items given to the Levites and priests, culled from
different parts of the MT, do indeed eliminate ἀπορία:
cities, money, food. How then would abundance of resources
reduce the risk of rebellion among the Levites? Although
Josephus never explicitly combines Qorah's wealth with the
prevalent lack of resources, nevertheless, he is suggesting
that Qorah's wealthiness made him particularly attractive to
the Levites who were suffering from poverty. The
legislation relates to the tribal and familial issues as
well. Since Josephus refers to the cities and tithes given
to the Levites as ἃ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους λαμβάνει
(4.68), he interprets the legislation as clearly
distinguishing the Levites from the other tribes. And
similarly, ἃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ πάντων γίνεται (4.68)
distinguishes between the Levites and the priests. Such
distinctions respond to intra-tribal and intra-familial
conflict by confirming the separate roles of the Levites and
the priests. In basing the distinctions on the types of
provisions mandated to prevent ἀπορία, Moses integrates the
method of avoiding στάσις into the familial/tribal issue.
In effect, the legislation precludes the primary cause of
sedition (ἀπορία), but affirms the differentiations between
the other tribes, Levites, and priests through the
distinctions between who gives, who receives, and what

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provisions a particular group receives.

The <u>Antiquities'</u> account of the Qorah rebellion is a classical example of political history. Josephus concentrates on identifying the various underlying and immediate causes both explicitly and through literary motifs. Moreover, he places the subsequent legislation in an historical context which enables the events to interpret the legislation and enables the legislation to interpret the events. Thus, Josephus' treatment of the Qorah rebellion demonstrates that his ἀρχαιολογία, in addition to systematically analyzing institutions, paraphrases the Bible into narrative political history.

Chapter Five: The Justification for the κτῆσις

A consideration of Josephus' ἀρχαιολογία and its
application to the paraphrase of Numbers 1-18 illuminates
the character of Josephus' methodology. While Josephus
discretely incorporates aspects of systematic and political
history, he also combines military, religious, and political
interpretive components. However, simply defining Josephus'
method must be subordinated to identifying the purpose of
the Antiquities' hermeneutical system. By examining an
instance where Josephus conflates military, religious, and
political history, we discover a significant justification
for the Israelites acquiring the land of Canaan. The
character of this justification confirms that Josephus
engages in "archaeological" interpretation, not apology.

We have observed how the methodology of Josephus'
ἀρχαιολογία includes analysis of military and religious
institutions as well as political history. In addition, the
political history of Qorah relates to the legal institutions
of the Jewish polity. Indeed, not only does Josephus
consider military, religious, and political elements
separately, he also combines them in various ways. For
example, the political event of Qorah's sedition centers
around a religious institution, the high-priesthood; the
religious group priest/Levites have their tasks defined by

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the military context; the βυκάνη is used both to move the
military camp and at festivals; the military camp has an
ἐκκλησία; and the supernatural entity God plays the military
role of σύμμαχος. Thus, interweaving these various
approaches belongs to Josephus' ἀρχαιολογία.

Rather than Hellenizing the Bible to suit Judaism to
the Greco-Roman world, Josephus applies Hellenized concepts
and forms to interpret Scriptures. A case in point is the
justification for κτῆσις indicated in 3.300. "δύο," φησί,
"τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν ἀγαθά, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γῆς
κτῆσιν εὐδαίμονος, τὴν μὲν ἤδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἤδη
λήψεσθε...." represents a critical example of ἀρχαιολογία
because it conflates theological, political, and military
components. Imbedded in τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος is the religious
institution of God's promise. Although κρίναντος παρασχεῖν
here means "deciding to furnish," the objects of this
decision, in particular, ἀγαθά and γῆς κτῆσις, directly
parallels the objects of the divine ὑποσχέσις. Thus, in
3.314, God promises to bestow land and good things
(παραδώσειν τὴν γῆν ὑπέσχετο κἀκείνους τῶν ἀγαθῶν...ποιήσειν
δεσπότας) and in 4.5 the Israelites, relying on God, decide
"to win this land which He has promised them" (κτήσασθαι γῆν
ἥν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται). While the subject of the promise is
religious, the object is political. Acquisition of land
represents a political act. Moreover, Josephus connects
this acquisition of land to the prominent Greek political

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unit, the πόλις. Josephus equates not acquiring the land to being "city-stateless" (οὐ παρέξειν γῆν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν equals ποιήσειν...ἀπόλιδας 3.313-314) and by making πόλεις the object of παρασχεῖν (3.315) he recalls the κρίναντος παρασχεῖν of 3.300. Furthermore, Josephus compares the Jewish camp to a πόλις (3.289)[128] which identifies a political-like structure as the entity obtaining the land.

If, then, the religious institution God promises to a political body both land and πόλεις, where does the military element operate? Here, we must contrast δόντος and λήψεσθε in τὴν μὲν ἤδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἤδη λήψεσθε. Josephus emphatically demands this comparison with the μὲν/δὲ construction, as well as the repetition of ἤδη. Such a comparison reveals that Josephus transfers realization of the divine promise to human agency: God has given the freedom, now you (the Israelites) must take the land. In a similar vein, Joshua and Caleb urge the Israelites themselves toward the acquisition of the good things (3.308).[129] In order for human agents to succeed, they

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[128]Thackeray asserts (3.289 note c) that Josephus conflates Thuc. 7.75 (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἤ πόλει...ἐῴκεσαν ὑποφευγούση) with Thuc. 1.12 (ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατῳκίζετο). Since Thucydides is the political historian par excellence, this signifies that settling, moving, and acquiring territory may be integrated into political history.

[129]Betsy Halpern Amaru, "Land Theology in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities," JQR, 71(April 1981) pp. 205ff. notes that the predominance of human agency in the realization of the divine promise is characteristic of the patriarchal

must have ἀρετή. In 3.309, Josephus defines the virtue
required for conquering the land as military prowess.[130]
Prior to exhorting the people themselves to take the land,
Moses enhances the military virtue of the Israelites with
his war preparations--inspection, arrangement of the camp,
provisions, scouting. 3.301, juxtaposed to τήν δέ ἤδη
λήψεσθε, explains how they will obtain the land: οὐ γὰρ
ἀμαχητί...ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις...ἀγῶσιν, i.e., by military means.
Even though the Israelite lose their initial attack against
the Canaanites, they themselves decide to engage in battle
and they lose because of their own lack of military virtue.
The dependence on military institutions for acquiring the
land, does not completely eliminate God's role. God
determines when to fight (4.8, 4.10) and helps the
Israelites in battle. However, even God's assistance is
defined in such military terms as σύμμαχος.[131] Nor does
God's aid diminish the requirement of military virtue.[132]

narratives in the Antiquities. She accounts for this
phenomena on the grounds that in Josephus God's promise
represents a "divine prediction" not a covenant, as in the
Bible (p. 207).

[130]See above, p. 51.

[131]See above, p. 52.

[132]Cf. Amaru, p. 216: "Nowhere in these passages
[concerning the ally theme in the context of promise] is
there a promise to grant the land as a covenanted gift which
has not been earned." According to Amaru (pp. 218-219),
Ant. 4.294-295 describes "God as ally of those who are
martially prepared."

By having the Israelites declare God as their general (4.6) and subsequently losing, Josephus indicates that God is not their general. God is their military ally, not leader; therefore, ultimate victory depends on their and Moses' military skill. Thus, ultimate possession of the land hinges on the military institutions of the Israelites.

As a result, Josephus justifies the acquisition of the land on the grounds of military superiority. In short, God promises the Israelites political dominion, provided they acquire it by military force. This markedly differs from the biblical view (especially in Deuteronomy) which constantly stresses God's gift of the land in return for proper behaviour.[133] Josephus derives his interpretation of the promise of κτῆσις from the application of the military, religious, and political aspects of ἀρχαιολογία.

Since the ancients divided the world into Greek/Roman and barbarian, we might assume that Josephus here is apologizing for Judaism by categorizing it with the Greeks and Romans, that Judaism is basicly the same as Hellenism. Just as the Greeks and Romans had κτῆσεις, so too did the Hebrews. In reality, Josephus understands the Jewish people as a category additional to barbarian and Greco-roman, of

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[133]"Nowhere does Josephus connect land and specific legislation" (Amaru, p. 217).

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equal legitimacy, but of markedly different character.[134]
Betsy Halpern Amaru argues that Josephus' land theology here
represents an apology for different reasons. In her view,
Josephus reduces the eternal divine land covenant to a
prediction of acquisition based on military virtue in order
to "reconstruct a context for diaspora living."[135] The
apology has two possible forms. By deleting the concept of
"a covenant people limited to a covenant land," Josephus
either (1) universalizes Judaism to the Greco-Roman world
or (2) defends the validity of a diaspora Judaism.[136] In
both cases, Josephus functions as an apologist of the Jewish
diaspora. However, although Josephus does include
apologetic aspects in the Antiquities, in the case of land
acquisition, he writes as a Hellenized Palestinian
historian. In the first place, most diaspora Jewish
historians tended to idealize the land or ignore it, rather
than relate the military components of its conquest.[137]
In the second place, beginning with the Hasmonean period "we
find the more realistic concept of the Land as a reflection
of actual conquest."[138] Justification of Jewish possession

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[134]See above, pp. 19ff.

[135]Amaru, p. 229.

[136]Ibid., p. 211.

[137]Doron Mendels, The Land of Israel as a Political
Concept in Hasmonean Literature, 1987, p. 126.

[138]Ibid., p. 26. Cf. also pp. 38, 48-49, 109ff.

of the land was a significant issue in the Hasmonean period: territorial conflict between Samaritans and Jews permeated this period and affected its literature.[139] Therefore, since Josephus employs ἀρχαιολογία to interpret the acquisition of land realistically and to justify it on the grounds of military superiority, he belongs to a Palestinian exegetical/historical not apolegetical tradition.

Asserting that the ancient Israelites obtain political dominion as a result of their own military virtue, along with God's promise and help does not represent an apology for Judaism. Rather, the historian Josephus interprets early Israelite history through Classical techniques and in Classical terms. Such analysis and explanation of history belongs to the genre of ἀρχαιολογία.

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[139]Ibid., pp. 109ff.

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