CONTESTING JEWISH HISTORY IN LATE ANTIQUE CHRISTIANITY AND EARLY MEDIEVAL JUDAISM

Flavius Josephus' Jewish War *between the Latin* On the Destruction of Jerusalem *and the Hebrew* Book of Yosippon

By

CARSON BAY

BRILL

Contesting Jewish History in Late Antique Christianity and Early Medieval Judaism

Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval

Fondées par

Georges Vajda

Rédacteur en chef

Paul B. Fenton

Dirigées par

Phillip I. Lieberman
Benjamin Hary
Katja Vehlow

VOLUME 105

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/ejm*

Contesting Jewish History in Late Antique Christianity and Early Medieval Judaism

Flavius Josephus' *Jewish War* between the Latin *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* and the Hebrew *Book of Yosippon*

By

Carson Bay



BRILL

The open access publication of this book was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.



Swiss National
Science Foundation

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

This book is available as open access publication via https://www.degruyterbrill.com.

ISSN 0169-815X
ISBN 978-90-04-75910-7
ISBN 978-90-04-75911-4 (PDF)
DOI https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004759114

Library of Congress Control Number: 2026944805

© 2026 the author(s), published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands

Brill and Koninklijke Brill BV are part of De Gruyter Brill.
www.degruyterbrill.com

Questions about General Product Safety Regulation: productsafety@degruyterbrill.com

For David B. Levenson, who knows all things:
teacher, mentor, colleague, friend,
and Doktorvater par excellence

~ ... uir sapiens atque paratus non solum ad intelligendum sed etiam ad satisfaciendum, et ad loquendum quod cumque docere niteretur ~



Contents

Acknowledgements xi
Prologue xiv

Historiographical Contest: Latin *De Excidio* to Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon* 1
1 Background: *Sefer Yosippon*, Scholarly Disciplinarity, and the State of Research 15
2 *Sefer Yosippon*: Beginnings and Endings 26

1 Historical Context, Methodological Framework, Theoretical Considerations 34
1 Historical Context: Date, Author, Provenance, and Beyond 34
2 Imagining the Emergence of *Sefer Yosippon* in History 39
3 Methodology and Argument 45
4 Biblicizing, Theologizing, Judaizing 47
5 Underwriting Hellenistic Judaism, Overwriting Roman Christianity 50
6 Taking Jewish History Back 55
7 A Final Note on Method 56
8 Disciplinary Considerations 58

2 Negotiating Jewishness, Part 1: *De Excidio* 3.16 and *Sefer Yosippon* 6.7 (סז) 68
1 Josephus, Part 1: "Messiah of War" (משוח מלחמה) and More 70
2 Josephus, Part 2: Mighty Man and Messiah, Priest and Prince of the King 84
3 Exegeting Moses and Aaron between Divine Chastisement and Self-Sacrifice 103
4 Saul, Jonathan, David: Fated Warriors and Prophetic Kings 109
5 Conclusion: Jewishness, Jotapata, and Josephus the War Messiah + 113

3 Negotiating Jewishness, Part 2: *De Excidio* 3.17 and *Sefer Yosippon* 6.7 (סז) 116
1 Theology, Anthropology, Ontology: God and Humans according to Josephus 118
2 Saints and Scriptures against Suicide: Abraham and Moses as Paradigms of a Good Death 130

3 Saints and Scriptures against Suicide: The Case of Job 133
4 A Virtuous End: The Virtues of Death between Ps-Hegesippus and *Sefer Yosippon* 140
5 King Saul the Suicide: A Negative Example and Josephus' Exemplary Reversal 145
6 Aaron against Suicide: Between the Living and the Dead 149
7 Wisdom, Philosophy, and Suicide: The Latter Part of Josephus' Argument 152
8 Conclusion: Concept and Authority between *DEH* and *SY* 162

4 Addressing the Jews, Part 1: *De Excidio* 5.15 and *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח) 164
1 To Tear Down or to Build Up? Josephus as Prophet 165
2 Sanctifying Josephan Oratory: The Temple and the Lord 175
3 Shifting Heroes between *De Excidio* and *Sefer Yosippon* 184
4 Hellenism, Hasmoneans, and the Rise of the 'Kittim' 194
5 Conclusion: Underwriting, Overwriting, and the Spirit of Hellenistic Judaism 203

5 Addressing the Jews, Part 2: *De Excidio* 5.16 and *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח) 204
1 Abraham, Sarah, and Pharaoh: Genesis 12 (and 20) between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח) 207
2 Trimming the Tape: Tracking Omissions between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח) 213
3 Adding to the Scene: Assessing Additions between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 225
4 Switching the Script: Measuring Transformations between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח) 230
5 Conclusion: The Final Speech of Flavius Josephus—Director's Cut 253

6 Lamenting Jewish History, Part 1: *De Excidio* 5.2 and *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג) 254
1 The Rhetoric of Structure: Omissions, Additions, and Alterations in *SY* 73 (עג) 256
2 Rhetorical Erasure: The Major Omissions of *SY* 73 (עג) 259
3 Rhetorical Creation: The Additions of *SY* 73 (עג) 276
4 Rhetorical Change: The Alterations of *SY* 73 (עג) 284
5 Inference and Interpretation: Contested Endings between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) 312

6 Co-Producing Religious History: *BJ* 5.19–20, *DEH* 5.2.1, and *SY* 73 (עג) 316
7 Conclusion: The Lament over Jerusalem, the Same Yet Different 319

7 Lamenting Jewish History, Part 2: *De Excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא) 320
1 Simon/Simeon, Matthias/Amitai, and and the Narrative Context of *DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא) 321
2 More God: Theologization by the Numbers 321
3 A New Biblicization: Scriptural Poetics and Historiographical Speech-Writing 328
4 Judaizing Responsibility: Ideas of Martyrdom between Matthias and Amitai 333
5 Revenge of the Co-Produced: Identity, History, and Speech in *DEH* 5.22 and *SY* 81 (פא) 362
6 Conclusion: Rehabilitating Amitai, Reframing the Jews 368

Conclusion: After *Sefer Yosippon* and *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* 370
1 *Sefer Yosippon* and the Spirit of Hellenistic Judaism 371
2 *Sefer Yosippon* and the Reversal of Christian Supersessionism 372
3 *Sefer Yosippon* and Historiography in the Medieval World 374

Bibliography 377
Index of Biblical Texts 407
Index of Ancient and Medieval Sources 423
Index of Names and Subjects 432

Acknowledgements

The bulk of this book was researched and written over the course of my four years at the University of Bern, Switzerland, where I was, with René Bloch, tasked with researching one of three sub-projects within the 2019–2024 Swiss National Science Foundation research project *Lege Josephum! Ways of Reading Josephus in the Latin Middle Ages* (SNSF Project 180217). The project was led by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich along with Katharina Heyden and René Bloch, and its other researchers included Lena Tröger, Sara Moscone, Judith Mania, and Anthony Ellis, with research support provided by Patricia Berchtel and Melanie Ammeter. These colleagues were constant conversation partners for me during these years, and their feedback and insight contributed more than a little to this project's shape. Most of these colleagues read and responded to at least four full chapters of this project. Anthony Ellis, a particularly helpful collaborator in recent years, provided feedback on every single one. The years I spent in Bern were very happy ones, witnessing not only the fruition of this project but also the birth of my son, Jack (and, less happily, the global adventure of Covid-19). I consider myself very fortunate to have had such an environment in which to work in those years.

The latter parts of this book were written during my year's employment at the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) in Princeton (2023–2024) and then during my first year as a faculty member at the University of Austin (UATX). In the former context, this project's final portions benefitted from proximity to David Nirenberg (my boss), and Shlomo Zuckier and David Gyllenhaal, my fellow research associates with whom I was humbled to share, among other things, Albert Einstein's former office. My conversations with these three scholars regularly enhanced my writing and thinking on this study. From my time in Princeton I also owe my sincere thanks to the Medieval Studies Seminar at the IAS, which discussed material from this project at a meeting on December 19, 2024 organized by Suzanne Akbari and attended by Scott Bruce, Ariel Fein, Susan McDonough, Uri Shachar, Thomas Carlson, Celia Chazelle, Julien Stout, Dror Weil, and Ioannis Papadodgiannakis. This group of (formidable) scholars spent two hours providing generous and formative feedback that has improved this book's shape and argumentation considerably. I also enjoyed many other discussions that helped inform this project at the Institute's afternoon tea with Thomas Carlson, Scott Bruce, Uri Shachar, Ioannis Papadodgiannakis, Gavin Kelly, and others, and at the Ancient Studies Seminar run by Angelos Chaniotis, to whom I am indebted. In addition, I once spent a beneficial hour by the Institute pond discussing some ideas in this book with Sacha Stern, who was on

a research stay at Princeton University. Overall, Princeton in general, and the IAS in particular, proved a more than ideal place to button up the research for this study.

I submitted this project as a Habilitationsschrift to Universität Bern, where I successfully delivered my Habilitationsvortrag—and passed—on December 5, 2025. I am more than grateful to my supervisor and first reader, Professor Dr. René Bloch, my second internal reader, Professor Dr. Katharina Heyden, and my external reader, Professor Dr. Ronny Vollandt; all three were exemplary in their careful reading, detailed evaluation, and considered criticism. My thanks are also due to the Theology Faculty—especially Simone Häberli Mlinar—and to the university for a rigorous and enjoyable process.

The only portion of this book that has come close to appearing in print before is Chapter 7, which reworks to a considerable extent (and, importantly, corrects) the chapter "Killing Matthias: *De Excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)," published in *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*, ed. Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten (JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill, 2024), 368–389. The other material is new to publication, but some of it has appeared in various forms within conference papers and handouts. In addition to the conference-paper version of the above-cited chapter, portions of this project were used for a masterclass included in the August 2021 conference "From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: An International Conference," organized by Michael Avioz, Jan Willem van Henten, and myself. The next year, I organized a meeting in Bern: "Seeking *Sefer Yosippon*: A Workshop on the Hebrew Text and Its Latin Sources" (May 10–12, 2021), at which I presented a paper that would form the basis of Chapter 6. I benefitted tremendously from engagement with the other participants at that conference: Tessa Rajak, Saskia Dönitz, David Levenson, Yonatan Binyam, Peter Lehnardt, Steven Bowman (*in absentia*). Beyond this, portions of this research have appeared in presentations at annual and international meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature; the Jewish Studies Research Colloquium at the University of Bern; the conference on "The Medieval Afterlife of Hellenistic Judaism in Western Europe" (Bern; March 17, 2023); the 2023 Manfred Lautenschlaeger Award Colloquium (Heidelberg; May 1, 2023); and "The Medieval Receptions of the Josephan Tradition: The State of the Question (A Roundtable)," a panel I organized with Karen Kletter at the 60th International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Medieval Institute of Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo (May 9, 2025).

Saskia Dönitz read and provided invaluable feedback on several portions of this book and has in general been an important sounding-board for my work on *Sefer Yosippon*. Dagmar Börner-Klein has also been a helpful colleague in

my work thereupon. David Levenson, to whom this book is dedicated, has been a constant resource and guide in my exploration of *Sefer Yosippon*, the Latin Josephus tradition (indeed, all things Josephus), and much more; he gave particularly important feedback on the first two chapters of this book. Other helpful interlocutors have included Blake Jurgens, David Edwards, Judith Goeppinger, Johannes Heil, J.J. Kimche (who also invited me to interview on *The Podcast of Jewish Ideas*), Jacob Lollar, Ruth Nisse, Enrico Tuccinardi. Additionally, I am grateful to Danita R. Bay for an expert, thorough, and enthusiastic proof-reading of the entire manuscript; the corrections due to her careful eye were many.

Finally, I thank my family—Lindsay, Elizabeth, Jack—at whose expense I have sometimes traveled, written, and read in preparing this book. They constitute my bigger project, and my greater joy. And I owe all of my thanks, in the end, to the one that *Sefer Yosippon* refers to as יי and אלהים, whom I worship as triune: "his dwelling is in heaven, and his government over the entire world," בשמים מושבו וממשלתו על כל העולם—*SY* 24 (כד).

Prologue

The text referred to as the *Book of Yosippon*, or *Sefer Yosippon* (*SY*), is not unknown in contemporary scholarship. But neither is it well known. Our understanding of this text—an early-tenth century Hebrew history of the later Second Temple Period that focuses on the Roman-Jewish War of 66–70 CE and Jerusalem's destruction by the Romans—today rests largely upon the work of three scholars. In the later 1970s and early 1980s, David Flusser produced the standard critical edition of *SY*, complete with a wide-ranging commentary volume, amidst a series of studies dedicated to the work published over the course of a prolific career. This set the stage for later research. Starting with a review of Flusser's work (Bowman 1983),[1] Steven Bowman has over the past four decades illuminated *SY*'s literary character and value, its engagement with various cultural sectors, and its place within the Jewish worlds of Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Middle Ages. This research program consummates in Bowman's 2022/2023 English translation of *SY* (the only other modern-language translation is the German one of Börner-Klein/Zuber 2010), which has now made *SY* accessible at a level hardly imagined before. Building on the work of Flusser and Bowman, Saskia Dönitz has over the past decade and a half undertaken the text-critical and reception-historical work that renders *SY* interesting, intelligible, and important to scholars within and beyond Jewish Studies and Medieval Studies. Thus, thanks in large part to Flusser, Bowman, and Dönitz, *SY* is a text not totally unfamiliar to modern scholarship. That having been said, questions remain.

One of the key questions concerning *SY*, and a question to which Flusser directed a good deal of attention, has to do with *SY*'s source material. Written in the Classical Hebrew idiom of the Jewish Scriptures, *SY* reveals a perplexing trait upon close reading: *all* of its narrative sources other than the Hebrew Bible consist in Latin texts of the Classical and/or Christian tradition. These texts include the Vulgate Bible, versions of Livy and Vergil, and later authors like Orosius, Jerome, and Macrobius. The widely used sources of

1 My understanding is that Bowman met and studied with Flusser at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1978–1979. My own Doktorvater, David B. Levenson, had attended a summer seminar with Flusser earlier in the 1970s. Bowman and Levenson were then to meet in New York City at an advanced seminar organized by Louis Feldman in 1980. I am happy thus to be able to trace some small linkage between my own scholarly genealogy and the lineage of critical scholarship on *SY* that emerged in the later twentieth century.

SY come from the Latin Josephus tradition, namely Books 11–16 of the Latin version of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (produced under Cassiodorus in the mid-sixth century) and *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* (*De excidio Hierosolymitano* = *DEH*), aka Pseudo-Hegesippus. The latter source is, by far, the most extensively-used historical source of *SY*. It provides the foundational material for the final 40% of *SY*'s narrative, making it, by the numbers, the most significant textual influence upon *SY*. This text has been at least as marginal within scholarship as has *SY*, and its familiarity among scholars can likewise be attributed in some degree to the three authors who wrote books on *DEH* between 2009 and 2024. Chiara Somenzi (2009) provided a short but sweeping, and excellent, Italian study that helped situate *DEH* historically, literarily, and culturally, focusing on the centuries-old question of whether or not Ambrose of Milan was its author. The present author, Carson Bay, in 2023 wrote a book that further exposed the historiographical mechanics, classical and biblical nature, and anti-Jewish orientation of *DEH*, just before Otto Zwierlein in 2024 produced a massive study re-centering the question of Ambrosian authorship, for which Zwierlein argues. These studies benefitted not a little from the unpublished 1977 dissertation of Albert A. Bell, Jr., the unpublished 1987 dissertation of Dominique Estève, and the sweeping 2015 article on *DEH*'s reception by Richard Matthew Pollard. As a result of all of this, the nature and background of *DEH* can be reasonably guessed at by scholars.

What has *not* been adequately explored is the precise relationship between *SY* and this its most important Latin Christian source, *DEH*. While the use of the latter by the former has been known since Flusser (though this has not stopped scholars from routinely mischaracterizing, or completely missing, this relationship), exactly how *SY* relates to *DEH* remains a mystery. Virtually no work has been done to explain in detail what use *SY*'s author makes of *DEH* and what this might tell us about *SY*, its world, and its worldview. Part of the reason for this lacuna lies undoubtedly in the natures of these texts. Both *SY* and *DEH* are without definite authors, dates, and provenances. Moreover, both texts manifestly trace their narrative heritage back to Flavius Josephus' *Jewish War* (*Bellum Judaicum* = *BJ*), rendering them all too often superfluous and derivative to the eyes of modern scholars, so habituated to 'original texts' and 'earliest readings.' Yet, as the originality of both *SY* and *DEH* has come to be understood and appreciated (slowly), the need for an explanation of the precise relationship between these texts has asserted itself. It is this relationship that this book seeks to delineate. There exist, of course, a great many facets of *SY* and *DEH* that beg for clarification, facets that would have enjoyed investigatory celebrity long ago had they been attached to texts closer to the center of the received schol-

arly canon.[2] But research is a ship slow in the steering. This book seeks the helm only briefly, in hopes of maneuvering us toward a clearer understanding of *SY* as a text and *DEH* as a source, thereby expanding our field of vision concerning the thought and writing of Jews and Christians, and Jewish-Christian engagement, in Late Antiquity, the Early Middle Ages, and the premodern world writ large.

2 One of the ironies worth mentioning vis-à-vis these texts is the undeniable popularity they both enjoyed across the Middle Ages compared to their marked obscurity within modern scholarship.

Historiographical Contest: Latin *De Excidio* to Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon*

Whenever the work called *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* (= *DEH*), i.e. *On the Destruction of Jerusalem*,[1] appeared on the scene—sometime in the late-fourth or early-fifth century—it marked a point of contest within what might broadly (and euphemistically) be called 'Jewish-Christian dialogue.'[2] It was a contest over the meaning of history. The contestants: the anonymous author of *DEH*, conventionally referred to as "Pseudo-Hegesippus,"[3] and the author of *DEH*'s primary source, namely the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. As scholarship has slowly come to appreciate, *DEH* is a 5-book, Latin, Christian adaptation of Josephus' 7-book, Greek history called the *Jewish War* (= *Bellum Judaicum*, hereafter *BJ*)[4] which is distinct from—and really nothing like—the

1 The standard critical edition is Ussani (1932), which bases itself on (ten of) the oldest manuscripts. The roughly two hundred manuscripts and fragments now identified by Richard Pollard and Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce, and by myself and other members of the Bern "Lege Josephum!" team (Patricia Berchtel, Anthony Ellis), have not been fully collated as yet. A comprehensive list is to appear in Pollard (forthcoming).

2 On the anti-Jewish nature of *DEH*, see Bay (2021e) and Somenzi (2009) 151–182. While the authorship and date of the work are indefinite, a definite *terminus ante quem* comes with a lengthy block-quote from Book 3 (*DEH* 3.6) in Eucherius of Lyon's *De situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis*, written sometime in the early-fifth century; a definite *terminus post quem* from the text's mention of Constantinople, christened in 324 CE, at *DEH* 3.5.2. However, Bell (1977) was late in a long line of scholars to put forth still-compelling reasons for reading the text as a product of the 370s or 380s. For the older scholarship, see the bibliographies of Pollard (2018b) and Bay (forthcoming B). For a detailed introduction to *DEH*, see Bay (2023) or Somenzi (2009); for a short, broad introduction, see Goodman (2019) 24–26, 41–42.

3 As noted above, the author of *DEH* is not known. However, names have been put forward, including Isaac the Jew, Evagrius of Antioch, Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, and, most prominently, Ambrose of Milan. See Mras (1960), Bell (1987), Traube (1884), and Zwierlein (2024) respectively. Past scholarship on *DEH* has often been preoccupied with determining whether or not Ambrose penned this work. Most recent scholarship has opined that he did not; however, Somenzi (2009) shows that *DEH*'s author and Ambrose share a good deal of lexical and conceptual habit, suggesting that if they are not coterminous then the two authors likely came from the same "cultura scolastica." Most recently, Zwierlein (2024) has marshalled a massive and compelling argument resurrecting the thesis that Ambrose penned the work (see my *BMCR* review). Cf. Bay (2023) 17–69 for a discussion of the major issues.

4 The Greek text and English translation of the *BJ* herein is adapted from Thackeray's LCL editions, though the text and apparatus of Niese (1955) has been consulted where appropriate.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-002
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

Latin translation of *BJ*,[5] also made by an anonymous Christian in the fourth or fifth century.[6] The contest posed between *DEH* and *BJ* consists of competing answers to this question: what ultimate conclusion may one derive, if any, from the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Romans under Vespasian and Titus in 70 CE?[7] Or, in more contemporary language, what is the meaning of the history of the late Second Temple Period (roughly 520 BCE to 70 CE), the end of Second Temple Judaism, as it were?[8] What historical, theological, and theodical significance did the denouement of the Roman-Jewish War (66–70 CE) carry? Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus—or, better, *BJ* and *DEH*—provide rather different answers to that question.

But their answers are not *so* different. For Josephus had plenty of criticism for his countrymen, such that *BJ* reads as something of an emic rebuff (see 1.9–11). Most importantly—and, as it would turn out, fatefully—Josephus explained the Roman destruction of Jerusalem as an expression of divine wrath; God's people, the Jews, were collectively responsible for sin and sacrilege.[9] God's punitive response had been devastating, consisting of the shattering of the one

5 On the Latin *BJ* (= *LBJ*), produced in the fourth century, one can consult the Latin Josephus Project website (https://www.latinjosephus.org/) of Richard Matthew Pollard et al. (accessed December 6, 2024), but only Book 1 has critical edition as yet: Bader (2019). The most authoritative text-critical work has been done by David Levenson and Tom Martin, who are among other things (supposed to be) preparing a critical edition of Book 6. See, e.g., Levenson/Martin (2016a).

6 Most scholarship has treated *DEH* generically within the Latin portion of Josephus' *Rezeptionsgeschichte* and has not read the text closely nor appreciated what it is and how it works (vis-à-vis its sources) in a robust way. See the bibliography in Bay (2023) and Zwierlein (2024). For an example of how different *DEH* and *LBJ* are as texts both based on *BJ*, see Bay (2021f).

7 From Antiquity through the Middle Ages and beyond, the meaning of the Romans' destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE was an extremely popular topic in (Christian) literature of all kinds. Indeed, Lida de Malkiel (1973) treated it as "el tema literario," discussing the "insospechable Carrera como argumento teológico" experienced by Josephus' *BJ* and opining, in fact, that the reason for the popularity of the Roman-Jewish War and of Jerusalem's 70 CE destruction as a trope—as opposed to, say, the Bar Kockba revolt of 132–135 CE—was that the latter "no hubo un Josefo que la historiase" (15). We might also note that the historical implications of this destruction were not restricted to pre-modern historiography, but remain a routinely touched-upon subject; see, e.g., Goldenberg (2006), an essay whose title—"The destruction of the Jerusalem Temple: its meaning and its consequences"—seems almost to suggest, however, premodern conceits.

8 What 70 CE meant for Jews and Judaism is examined in the essays in Schwartz/Weiss (2012).

9 See Klawans (2012) 188, who explains how the *BJ* suggest that "the extensive Jewish defeat and the destruction of the temple were, ultimately, brought about by God as punishment of the sinful Jewish polity."

tangible presence of God in the midst of the Jews: the Jerusalem Temple.[10] The Romans might have been the efficient cause of that destruction, but they were not its final cause. By attributing this final causality to the Most High, Josephus was making a cultural statement that in his own day would have been very understandable, to Jews and Gentiles alike.[11] But, as it happened, at the very

10 One articulation of this theological reading of Jerusalem's destruction comes from the mouth of Eleazar ben Yair, the Jewish rebel who led the famous mass suicide of Jews atop Mount Masada in 73 CE. In a speech given before this, Josephus has Eleazar tell his comrades that they can "read God's purpose" so as to recognize "that the Jewish race, once beloved of him, has been doomed to perdition (τὸ πάλαι φίλον αὐτῷ φῦλον Ἰουδαίων κατέγνωστο)," and that the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple are proof positive of this (*BJ* 7.327–330; cf. 7.358 ff.). Josephus (*BJ* 6.439–442) counts 2,177 years "from [Jerusalem's] first foundation to its final overthrow" (ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης κτίσεως ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁλώσεως) and marks that "neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth, nor its people spread over the whole habitable world, nor yet the great glory of its religious rites, could aught avail to avert its ruin. Thus ended the siege of Jerusalem" (cf. *BJ* 6.269–270). Here *LBJ* translates μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁλώσεως simply as *usque ad excidium*. At *BJ* 5.310–311 Josephus reflects upon how all people, the Jews included, "owe their destruction to folly and calamities of their own choosing." At *BJ* 4.376 Vespasian, in a military council, characterizes the Jews as working toward their own destruction. At *BJ* 4.323–334 Josephus himself opines (οἶμαι) that it was "because God had, for its pollutions, condemned the city to destruction and desired to purge the sanctuary by fire, that he … cut off those who clung to them with such tender affection." At *BJ* 2.648–651 Josephus relates how civil discord and "omens" (θειασμοί) presaging the city's destruction, noting that "many, foreseeing the impending disasters, made open lamentation" (2.650) and concluding: "In short, the city before the coming of the Romans wore the appearance of a place doomed to destruction." Cf. the unusual storm recounted in *BJ* 4.286–287, of which Josephus concludes: "Such a convulsion of the very fabric of the universe clearly foretokened destruction for mankind, and the conjecture was natural that these were portents of no trifling calamity." The lengthy speech put into the mouth of Agrippa at *BJ* 2.345–402 strongly suggests that Agrippa's Jewish addressees are inviting their own destruction by their continued rebellion against the Romans. This passage is important because it, "obviously not wholly invented, is given great prominence by Josephus, serving as that turning point which marked the transition from peace to war"; Rajak (2001b) 147. This is just a small selection of examples of how Josephus frames Jerusalem's destruction as both effected by God and earned or invited by the Jews, especially certain groups among them. Titus, on the other hand, Josephus presents as sorry for Jerusalem's destruction and reticent to destroy it, going even so far as to blame the Jewish "criminals" whom he deemed responsible for it (*BJ* 7.111–113).

11 It was commonplace in Antiquity, and thereafter, to interpret the destruction of cities and/or temples and/or peoples as evidence of either the impotence of or the wrath of that city's, temple's, peoples' protector divinity or divinities. This was particularly consistent within the Jewish and Christian traditions, equipped as they were with a codified 'Deuteronomistic' understanding of history. The Book of Deuteronomy in large part lays out the consequences to be visited upon God's people should they violate their covenant with him; Jews and later Christians applied such an understanding to their own histories, and those of others, quite routinely.

time when Josephus was codifying his theory within his first-century historical work, another sub-group of Judaism was producing *its* foundational narrative (also writing in Greek). This Jewish group—eventually to be called 'Christians,' over and against the moniker 'Jew'—was to constitute Josephus' most significant fan-base over the next two thousand years.[12] For they also viewed Jerusalem's downfall as divine chastisement. Thus were they inclined to accept Josephus' account of the Roman-Jewish War and the end of Jerusalem as gospel truth—or, 'Gospel-adjacent' truth, literarily speaking—historiographical proof for already-determined theodicy.

So it was that when a fourth- or fifth-century Christian author put stylus to vellum in order to complete the story of Jewish history, he supplemented the writings of his Old Testament with a *res gestae* of the Maccabees and then the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, the structure and content of the latter being borrowed—though thoroughly adapted—from Josephus' *Jewish War*.[13] Except, the author of *DEH*, whom we are calling 'Ps-Hegesippus,' took a crucial step beyond Josephus' narrative. Already in his prologue, this author acknowledged Josephus as a famous recorder (*relator egregrius*) of the Temple's destruction, but at the same time chastened him for not being duly attentive to *religio* and *ueritas*. While Josephus got the facts right concerning the events

12 For the most systematic study of Josephus' reception, which is exclusively Christian until the early Middle Ages so far as we know, see Schreckenberg (1972) and Schreckenberg (1984). Cf. Inowlocki (2016); Kletter (2016).

13 *DEH* presents itself as a work-within-a-three-part series in its Prologue (1): "Having myself already followed with my pen the four Books of Kingdoms which the sacred scripture contained, all the way up to the captivity of the Jews and the destruction of the wall and the triumphs of Babylon, I have composed them in the manner of history. Likewise, a prophetic report has related briefly the deeds done by the Maccabees. Of what remains, up to the burning of the temple and the spoils of Titus Caesar, Josephus, famous for his historical composition, is the one who reports it; yet would that he had attended to reverence and truth as much as the investigation of events and the prudence of speeches. For in his speech itself, which he gave forth concerning their punishments, he shows himself to be a participant in the faithlessness of the Jews, whose arms he deserted, yet whose sacrilege he did not relinquish. He grieved the misfortune with tears, but did not intuit the cause of the same" (*Quattuor libros Regnorum quos scriptura complexa est sacra, etiam ipse stilo persecutus usque ad captiuitatem Iudaeorum murique excidium et Babylonis triumphos historiae in morem composui. Macchabaeorum quoque res gestas propheticus sermo paucis absoluit; reliquorum usque ad incendium templi et manubias Titi Caesaris relator egregius historico stilo Iosephus, utinam tam religioni et ueritati attentus quam rerum indagini et sermonum sobrietati. Consortem se enim perfidiae Iudaeorum etiam in ipso sermone exhibuit, quem de eorum supplicio manifestauit, et quorum arma deseruit eorum tamen sacrilegia non dereliquit: deplorauit flebiliter aerumnam, sed ipsius causam aerumnae non intellexit*). See Bay (2023) 33–34; Ussani (1932) 3.

of 70 CE, he did not understand them (*sed … non intellexit*). For the author of *DEH*, such interpretation was everything. For him, the meaning of Jerusalem's destruction—what he calls "the miracle of the divine plan" (*sanctae constitutionis miraculum*),[14] and which he depicts as "a rose among thorns" (*in spinis rosa*),[15] i.e. a meaningful and holy truth from an ugly past—was the effective end of the Jews in history. The Hebrew race, he says, had not maintained its holy lineage from the loins of Judah (the namesake of the Jews) until his day. Rather, that line continued in the one called "the hope of nations" (*spes gentium*),[16] namely Jesus Christ. In other words, for Ps-Hegesippus, the story of late Second Temple Judaism, of the Roman-Jewish War, and of Jerusalem's destruction was the story of the end of the Jews, a story which, for this Christian author, fundamentally coincided with the transfer of God's covenant and blessing from his old people onto his new people, from the Jews onto the Christians.[17] It is not without reason that *DEH* has been dubbed "vengeance literature."[18]

Suffice it to say that Josephus would have been unlikely to endorse this position, however critical he was of his countrymen complicit in the events of 70 CE. Hence the 'contest.' Inasmuch as Josephus does not present the calamities of 70 CE as permanent,[19] and inasmuch as he still presents the Jews as God's

14 Or, as per Hall (2016) 40, "miracle of divine destiny."

15 On this phrase, cf. Basil of Caesarea *Ep.* 28, Amphilocius of Iconium *Iambics to Selecus* 60–61, Gregory Nazianzen *Or.* 49.32 and see Bay (2025a) and Estève (1987) XXIII–XXIV. I wonder if this metaphor might look back to a comment in Lucian's *How to Write History* that criticizes the inclusion of many trivial details to the detriment of more relevant treatments of important historical events (*Hist. conscr.* 28): "To sum up, one might rightly say that such people do not look at the rose itself, but accurately observe its thorns that grow along the stem" (τοιγάρτοι εἰκότως ἄν τις εἴποι τοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μὲν ῥόδον αὐτὸ μὴ βλέπειν, τὰς ἀκάνθας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ῥίξαν ἀκριβῶς ἐ ἐπισκοπεῖν; LCL 430: 42–43).

16 It is possible that Ps-Heg with this term and in this passage is drawing upon Cyprian of Carthage *Ep.* 63.6, which calls Christ *leo de tribu Iuda* and the *spes gentium* and quotes Gen 49:11. See Hartel (1871) 705.

17 See this logic articulated at *DEH* Prol 1, 5.2.1, 5.27.1, 5.44.1 *et alibi.*

18 Nisse (2017) 27–28, calling *SY* (see below), among other things, an answer to this literature. We might note here that *DEH* was a formative influence for the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, penned around 700 to tell of how Titus and Vespasian sail to Jerusalem to wipe "the enemies of Jesus"—the Jews—"from the earth"; Pollard (2015) 89; Hall (2016). *DEH* also fueled other anti-Jewish texts, such as the eighth-century poem *Arve poli conditorem* and the ninth-century *Anacephalaeosis* (cf. Pollard [2018b]), leading Pollard (2015) to conclude that, in the Carolingian Period, *DEH* was "seemingly giving rise to even more anti-Jewish versions of the fall of Jerusalem, which the *De Excidio* had ironically already amplified from Eusebius" (91).

19 Josephus does not explicitly articulate the opinion that the Temple would be rebuilt after 70 CE. After all, the first Temple in Jerusalem was not rebuilt until (c. 520 BCE) some sixty-five years after its destruction by the Babylonians in 586 BCE, so such an expectation might

(chastened) people, his *BJ* constitutes a competing history vis-à-vis *DEH*.[20] The former, Jewish work sees Jerusalem's 70 CE destruction in terms of one among many historical devastations visited by God upon his ever-beloved people of Israel; the latter, Christian work casts that same destruction as the end of the Jews in history and the physical manifestation of a sea change, marking the dawn of a new (Christian) era even as it signaled the twilight of the Jewish age. The *BJ*—and the *AJ*,[21] for that matter—blames a few groups of exceptional Jewish factions for the Roman-Jewish War and the Temple's consequent destruction;[22] the *DEH* saddles the *Iudaei* writ large with this burden of responsibility.[23] Following the fourth century, both works—Josephus' *BJ* and Ps-Hegesippus' *DEH*—existed in Latin and found a perennial stream of enthusiastic scribes, copyists, readers, and commentators.[24] These parallel narrative traditions constituted a kind of historiographical competition, in that they provided effectively two discrete versions of—suggested two distinct meanings for—the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE.

But this was not much of a competition so long as Josephus' writings remained the sole purview of Christian literary culture[25] and the historiogra-

---

not have anticipated such imminence, and in any case articulating it would have been a touchy business in the Flavian period, as that dynasty played up significantly the destruction of Jerusalem as one of their major accomplishments for Rome.

20 Inowlocki (2016) 363 notes that John Chrysostom cited Josephus' silence on the rebuilding of the Temple as proof that it would not happen, turning Josephus "into a sort of prophet whose testimony was both theologically and historically valid." However, the first generation of rabbis after the destruction assumed that the Temple would be imminently rebuilt according to Dönitz (2016) 382.

21 Schwartz (2025) 17, discussing *AJ* 18–20 and imagining those books' Roman-and-Jewish audience(s), argues that they move away from *BJ*'s blaming of Rome "for sending corrupt governors who provoked rebellion" toward a more internal critique: "Josephus blames the Jews for having brought on the catastrophe themselves, by their sinfulness." Schwartz sees this as Josephus taking his place "as part of the Judaic and indeed biblical historiographical tradition, comparable to other Jews of his day, and later, who contemplated the catastrophe and blamed it on Jewish sinfulness."

22 See Josephus *BJ* 1.9–11 and Mason (2016) 17, who provides a robust bibliography of scholarship supporting "the now-standard view … that Josephus wrote to absolve the Judean people as a whole, or at least the ruling class and his good self, from blame for the war. He off-loaded culpability onto a few troublemakers, whom he labels 'tyrants' and 'bandits.'" By identifying culpable sub-groups of the Jews, Josephus is able to explain national responsibility within his theologized history while removing immediate blame from the Jews *en masse*.

23 See most fully *DEH* 5.2.1 with Bay (2018), Bay (2020), Bay (2023) 127–156.

24 See Bay (2023) 25–30, 39–44; Pollard (2015); Schreckenberg (1984); the appropriate places throughout Feldman (1984a); and Schreckenberg (1972) 56–60 and following.

25 Schreckenberg (1984) 1107.

phy of the late Second Temple period the Christians' more or less exclusive domain.[26] While Ps-Hegesippus himself occasionally suggests that Josephus' *BJ* represents the 'Jewish' perspective on that history,[27] this charge rings hollow. So far as we can tell, the only Jews in Late Antiquity who were reading, much less affirming, Josephus' writings were those Jews that Christian polemics fabricated.[28] These Jews were constructed, imagined, 'hermeneutical.'[29] There were no Christian-Jewish contentions over the historiography of the destruction of Jerusalem in Late Antiquity, or at least none that we know of—the Christians owned that story. Such a competition was not to emerge until a *new* Jewish version of Josephus' history materialized within the historiographical vacuum often presumed of ancient and early medieval Judaism.

In the late-ninth or early-tenth century, an anonymous Jewish author from southern Italy produced a history of the Second Temple period that we now call the *Book of Yosippon* (= *Sefer Yosippon*, hereafter *SY*).[30] The sources that this text used to construct its history were Latin, Christian ones. The work's most extensively-used sources were several books of the Latin version of Josephus'

26 Rabbinic literature deals with the late Second Temple period often, but never doing something that could be considered "historiography." In this case, the argument of Yerushalmi (1982) to the effect that the Jewish tradition evinces more collective memory than anything like history-writing proper seems apt. It should be noted, however, that rabbinic literature sometimes deals with the same material and traditions treated by Josephus, and it has been suggested that Josephus and rabbis shared certain (now-lost) sources: see Noam (2018), Noam (2016), and, most extensively, Ilan/Noam (2017), which contains studies of numerous parallel traditions.

27 *DEH* Prol 1; 2.12.1.

28 Consult Arye/Mendels (2007). So far as we know. The brand-new work of Heil (2024)—a massive and significant project—points to a broader world of Jewish society in Late Antiquity not represented by rabbinic Judaism, consisting of Jews of the 'western' diaspora whose cultural and literary language was, at least in part, Latin ("Der Westen war bis zur Rezeption des rabbinischen Judentums im Hochmittelalter keine Leerstelle"). It is also clear that some Jews existed who were using Greek after the first century CE, as the so-called recensions of the Septuagint (LXX) are conventionally ascribed to three Greek-writing Jews (and, in some cases, perhaps converts)—Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion—all of whom are thought to have flourished in the mid- to late-second century CE.

29 On the idea of the "hermeneutical Jew," see Cohen (1999) and Holo (2011).

30 The critical edition of Flusser (1978) is cited throughout, textual variants for which appear in volume 2: Flusser (1980). Chapter numbers are cited in English and Hebrew; I do not, as some do, cite Flusser's line numbers. The present study adapts the translation of Bowman (2023) for its accessibility as the only modern English translation to date (see my review in *Judaica*) and also cites pages for the German translation with Hebrew text found in Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010). The critical edition and both translations contain some significant problems, yet all are adequate to provide the textual basis for a study like the present one.

Jewish Antiquities (= *LAJ*)—namely, Books 11–16 (and mostly 13–16),[31] which provide the foundational material for *SY* 28 (בח)[32] to *SY* 50 (נ) and even the beginning of *SY* 51 (נא)—and *DEH*. (The Latin Vulgate is also a major source for the work's early chapters.) By a significant margin, *DEH* is *SY*'s most prominent source text. The final thirty-nine chapters of the work, from *SY* 51 (נא) to *SY* 89 (פא), clearly and often closely follow the narrative of *DEH* 1–5.[33] The fact that the Jewish author of *SY*, writing manifestly for a Jewish audience, chose a Christianized and pronouncedly anti-Jewish history as the basis for the crux of its narrative is interesting. And puzzling. More than a few scholars have wondered whether this choice signals that *SY*'s author (whom I call Yosippon throughout) was not aware of or had no access to the Latin *translation* of Josephus' *BJ* (or, indeed, the Greek original).[34] Given how widely-accessible and well-known

31 Already *SY* 27 (בז) corresponds to *LAJ* 13.228. Only a very small part of *LAJ* 11–12 is present in *SY*. See Levenson (2024) 212n2 for an up-to-date and detailed overview, noting *inter alia* that Flusser (1978) marks the use of (*L*)*AJ* 12.276 in *SY* 16 (טז) within the description of Mattithias' death (supplementing 1 Maccabees), as well as citing (*L*)*AJ* twice as a source of *SY* 26 (כו) in descriptions of the deaths of Judah the Maccabee and Simon.

32 As noted, *LAJ* provides some little material for *SY* 11 (יא)–27 (בז), which rely mostly on the Books of the Maccabees.

33 Dönitz (2013) 6; Dönitz (2011a) 956. *SY* picks up *DEH* toward the end of the latter's Book 1 (around 1.40). This rule is not iron-clad, however; in early chapters, small details reveal that Yosippon sometimes used *LAJ* and *DEH* together to relate material covered in both texts; thus, the apparatus of Flusser (1978) identifies *DEH* 1.1.7 as a partial source of *SY* 27 (בז), *DEH* 1.1.8 of *SY* 28 (בח), *DEH* 1.1.9 of *SY* 29 (בט), and *DEH* 1.1.5 and 1.1.8 of different parts of *SY* 31 (לא). This latter chapter is an excellent one in which to show this at length, as I hope to show in a future study and as can be derived from Levenson (2024), who notes Flusser's notes on 212n4.

34 Flusser (1974) 127: "Ob der Verfasser des Josippon das 'Bellum Judaicum' gelesen hat, ist ungewiß; er hat in diesem Buch höchstens geblättert. (…) Der Verfasser des Josippon hat also das Bellum Judaicum wohl kaum gelesen und die letzten vier Bücher der Antiquitates nicht gekannt." Later, Flusser (1987) 392 muses: "It seems that [Yosippon's author] also knew Josephus' *Jewish War* (in Latin translation), but this is by no means completely certain. If, indeed, he really read the original *Jewish War*, he only occasionally referred to it. He certainly did not use it as his main source, because he wrongly believed that the Hegesippus was also written by Josephus, and, thus, he was sure that he did not need Josephus' other book that dealt with the same subject. It is sure that he did not know the last four books of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*." Scholarship has progressed little beyond Flusser's cursory remarks. More recently, Dönitz (2016) 384 states that "there is no definite evidence that the tenth-century author of *Sefer Yosippon* knew the other, more literal translation of *Jewish War*." It should be noted that one can find small hints here and there that *SY* might well have known the *LBJ*; in short, more research needs to be done on this question. The statement in Bowman (2023) xi, to the effect that "Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum*" was one of Yosippon's sources, and that at 277n1 to the effect that we should not assume that Yosippon knew *LBJ*, are inconsistent and not well-informed.

the latter work was, this seems *prima facie* unlikely. Why, then, did Yosippon use *DEH* as a template for retelling the story of Jerusalem's destruction, the Temple's downfall, and what is arguably *the* great ancient travesty of the Jewish people? Was this an intentional choice? A pointed one? A polemical one? Here we come to the central issue of this book.

To answer the above questions directly would be to speak to authorial intention, which means going beyond what can be known. However, this book will argue that *SY*'s use of *DEH* in itself—the text of *SY* apprehended by the reader—constitutes a historiographical contest, something like what Amos Funkenstein once dubbed "counter history."[35] Without purporting to describe the thoughts and intentions of *SY*'s author (or *DEH*'s), this book will argue that a close comparison between the Latin text of *DEH* and the Hebrew text of *SY* reveals two versions of the same history with radically divergent orientations.[36] This book will argue that *SY*'s use of *DEH* evinces processes that I call 'biblicization' (the strategic use of biblical vocabulary, phrasing, and themes), 'theologization' (notable reframings of God's agency and intention within history), and 'Judaization' (recapturing and/or inserting 'native' Jewish ideas, categories, and perspectives into the narrative, thereby rendering the narrative 'emic,' i.e.

35 For Funkenstein (1993), 36, "Counterhistories form a specific genre of history written since Antiquity; it is curious that they have not been identified as such in treatises on historiography sooner. Their function is polemical. Their method consists in the systematic exploitation of the adversary's most trusted sources against their grain—'die Geschichte gegen den Strick kämmen'" (36). This aptly characterizes how *SY* treats *DEH*, yet the former never overtly names the Christian nature or objectionable content of the latter, nor should we necessarily assume that these will have been known to *SY*'s Jewish readers of Hebrew; by effecting a kind of quiet counter-history, therefore, *SY* more or less successfully counters—through erasure, addition, and alteration—the story of *DEH*. Dönitz (2015) 56 already uses this terminology of *SY* vis-à-vis its Christian sources.

36 The idea that *SY* and *DEH* evidence a Jewish-Christian contest over historiography is not new in scholarship. Dönitz (2015) 57 remarks that "Die Bearbeitung von *De Excidio* im *Sefer Yosippon* bildet einen Teil der fortwährend geführten Debatte zwischen Christentum und Judentum um die Deutung der Tempelzerstörung und damit verbunden auch um die Rolle des auserwählten Volkes," and thus that *DEH* served for *SY* "als passendes Modell zur Fortschreibung und Wiederaneignung der Werke des Josephus." Cf. Nisse (2017) 13–14, 21–22, who *inter alia* discusses how *SY* 'makes Josephus Jewish again' (26); picking up on the themes of "language, translation, and transmission" Nisse argues that "certain texts [like *SY*] defined as 'external,' 'apocryphal' or outside these two categories demonstrate the fundamental conflicts between [Medieval] Jews and Christians over temporality and narrative—how to interpret the past and the future" (13). The present study is the first to argue that these works evidence a historiographical competition *by showing how that competition works*. This study thus follows the advice given to grant-writers, autobiographers, and fellowship- and job-applicants everywhere: 'Show, don't tell.'

in-group, history). These processes feed an overall dynamic of the work that can be expressed in a twofold manner as *underwriting* (i.e., endorsing) a perspective on Jewish history-and/as-identity grounded in Hellenistic Judaism and *overwriting* (i.e., replacing) views of Jewish history and identity marketed by Christian-Roman authors like Ps-Hegesippus (in Latin and in other languages). This book will argue that, taken together, all of this amounts to *SY*'s taking back of Jewish history for the Jews in the early Middle Ages, reappropriating the history of the Second Temple Period and the story of Jerusalem's destruction for a Jewish readership for the first time since Josephus.[37]

One way to demonstrate this argument would be by undertaking sweeping overviews of the breadth of *SY* through the lenses of various themes. Let us call this the 'forest' approach. Its merit would be an ostensibly comprehensive scope. This book, however, adopts a 'trees' approach, electing to look closely at six chapter pairs, examining Latin and Hebrew texts side-by-side and in detail. The value, and indeed necessity, of this approach comes from the central question driving this inquiry: what is the precise nature of the relationship between the Hebrew *SY* and its major Latin source, *DEH*? The natural place to look for an answer could be in those portions of *DEH* // *SY* where the most ideologically-charged ideas are put forth. Or it could be in those places where the respective texts are at their most striking rhetorically and literarily and lexically. Or perhaps we should look at the places where the text of *DEH* is at its most original (i.e. where it departs most fully from Josephus' *BJ*) and is followed by *SY*, yet where *SY* introduces *its* most blatant originalities in bringing the narrative from Latin into Hebrew. The chapters studied in this book fit all of these bills. By means of a close examination of six long character speeches, each of

37 The fact that *SY* became popular among Jews is unavoidable, and scholarship has noted *that* this was the case without focusing on *how SY* effects such a reclamation. See, e.g., Schatz (2019) 68: "In the absence of Hebrew translations of Josephus's Greek works, *Sefer Yosippon* remained popular among Jews throughout the medieval and early modern period. This is no surprise, since *Sefer Yosippon* offered its readers access to many intriguing and entertaining narratives, among them a few additions to Daniel and Esther from the Septuagint, parts of the books of Maccabees, a version of the Alexander Romance, and plenty of material from the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War*. In fact, *Sefer Yosippon* could easily be perceived as a work celebrating, above all, the nobel achievements of the Jewish people among the nations, since it dedicates many chapters to the Hasmonean kings, the splendour of the Second Temple, and the heroic deeds of individual men, women and children, before turning, in its second half, to the Jewish revolt against the Romans and its devastating end." Schatz then cites the title page of an eighteenth-century Yiddish translation of *SY* that effectively says what is quoted above. Cf. Goodman (2019) 62–67 on the early modern Jewish reception of *SY* in Europe. The present book shows how, in this second half, *SY* rewrites the story for just such celebratory ends.

which appears in the narratives of both *DEH* and *SY*, this book will show how *DEH* and *SY* constitute a literary, rhetorical, epistemological contest over Jewish historiography and its implications for theology (theodicy), and identity. This approach of textual juxtaposition marshals in-depth comparative narratology, lexicography, and philology in the service of an argument that overall might be characterized as a hybrid of source- and redaction-criticism (to borrow classic method-terms from Biblical Studies) and literary analysis. That is, this book proposes to describe the nature of a moment within literary history as a way of informing intellectual and cultural history.

By way of a brief overview: one must understand that the narrative focus of *DEH* and *SY* consists of the years 66–73 CE, during which time the Roman province of Judea rebelled against her imperial overlords, prompting the Roman-Jewish War (66–70 CE) and ultimately leading the Emperor Vespasian and his son and general Titus, however (un)willingly, to oversee the sacking of Jerusalem and burning of its Temple in the year 70. The Latin and Hebrew narratives, albeit from incongruous beginnings, both terminate in this climax, adding as a kind of post-script the story of the deaths of nearly a thousand Jewish rebels—the last of their kind—before the Roman troops at Mount Masada in 73.[38] It is by telling this story that *DEH* for a late ancient Christian readership and *SY* for an early medieval Jewish one sought to explain who the Jews were in history, what they were like, and what their late-first century fortunes meant. Within this enterprise, both authors record a number of major speeches by major characters within the storyline. These speeches touch on some of the central themes recognized by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon (and earlier by Josephus himself), and together they arguably constitute the interpretive key to the entire history, whether of *DEH* or of *SY*. Again, this is why these speeches are the primary object of inquiry for this volume.

Before moving to the speeches themselves, Chapter 1 of this book contextualizes *SY* historically as a piece of early medieval literature, sketching out what can be known of its author, date, provenance, etc. and imagining through one Jewish individual active at the time of *SY*'s writing whose life is tolerably well known the kinds of social and political realities that *might* have surrounded *SY*'s emergence. Chapters 2 and 3 assess two speeches that appear in *DEH* 3.16 and 3.17 and *SY* 67 (סז). These speeches are made by Josephus' Jewish comrades-in-arms and then by Josephus himself just after the Battle of Jotapata, when they find themselves hidden together in a cave following the Roman overthrow

38 The story of Masada comprises the last chapter in each work, *DEH* 5.53 and *SY* 89 (**פא**) respectively.

of that city. These speeches debate the relative merits of suicide versus surrender, which contributes to a broader kind of martial theological ethics. Chapters 4 and 5 treat the sequential speeches of *DEH* 5.15 and 5.16, rewritten in *SY* 78 (עח), in which Josephus attempts—at Titus' behest, and with a thorough lack of success—to dissuade his countrymen from further resistance to the Romans while standing with his Roman captors outside the wall of Jerusalem (Josephus was captured just after the Battle of Jotapata, and thereafter served the Flavians as a kind of local guide for Judea until his relocation to Rome.) These speeches use *exempla* from the Jews' ancestral past to argue for surrender to the Romans. Chapters 6 and 7 deal with two speeches that do not appear together: Chapter 6 treats an oration made by the narrator in *DEH* 5.2.1 and Josephus in *SY* 73 (עג) that is directed to the city of Jerusalem itself, and by proxy its people (the Jews). This speech laments Jerusalem's state just before its destruction and muses over the reasons, causes, and meanings of the slow death it is dying at this point of each narrative; for the Christian author of *DEH*, this has to do with the Jews' rejection of Jesus, but for the Jewish author of *SY*, it has to do with the Jews' sacrilegious disregard for God's covenant, manifest in civil bloodshed, ritual impurity, and religious impropriety. Chapter 7 compares the Latin (*DEH* 5.22.1) and Hebrew (*SY* 81 [פא]) versions of a speech made by a certain high priest, Matthias (Latin) or Amitai (Hebrew), just before he is slain along with his sons by the Jewish rebel Simon bar Giora. This speech provides an up-close and personal look at Jerusalem's destruction, the suffering of individual Jews therein, and how *DEH* and *SY* make different kinds of sense of these things.

The speeches dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7 carry the distinction of having no real precedent in the Greek text of *BJ*, whereas the speeches treated in Chapters 2–5 do have Greek pre-cursors, which *DEH* alters and expands considerably in each case. All of the speeches treated herein mention figures and stories from the Hebrew Bible as part of their rhetorical logic; in fact, these speeches contain the greatest density of biblical *exempla* in both *DEH* and *SY*. This is another reason why these speeches have been placed at the center of this study. The use of the canonical past as a set of examples with which to think about, explain, and critique or justify later histories is a standard component of the western historiographical tradition.[39] When Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon engage in this commonplace habit, they reveal glimpses of the respective

39 By this I mean the cultural legacy developing out of and looking back to Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian Antiquity and eventually centered in western Europe. Naturally, this tradition had other inspirations and took root elsewhere in the world, but the idea of western tradition remains a helpful heuristic for thinking about a genetically-related variety of cultural legacies that have usually seen themselves as sharing common ancestors.

intersections at which each author's understanding of the Bible meets his conceptualization of theology and history. Assuming that the Hebrew Bible/Christian Old Testament comprises (a part of) the most important and authoritative text that exists for both of our authors, we may derive from the use thereof in *DEH* and *SY*—especially at places where these texts diverge or disagree—ideological core-samples representative of the most foundational convictions settled into the logical bedrock of each text. Yet it is not just in the use of the Bible that we will find revealing aspects of how *SY* reshapes *DEH*. Throughout the speeches examined in this study a variety of issues related to religion and identity, politics and theology, history and language will emerge as we compare *SY*'s Hebrew text to *DEH*'s Latin text. These data mined from textual comparison become the pixels within a larger picture of how the Hebrew *SY* relates to its major source, the Latin *DEH*, as it recaptures ancient Jewish history for the Jews at the dawn of what we call the Middle Ages.

The shape of this study is prompted by the state of the field. *SY* is not a widely known text. Historically, modern scholarship has overlooked *SY*, dismissing it as derivative and thus unimportant for the study of history.[40] In contrast, a literary-historical perspective delegitimates historiographical utility as a metric for a text's value, taking literary products *themselves* as objects worth studying, interesting in both their physical (codicological) manifestations and their contents.[41] This study thus breaks from unproductive scholarly habits. Furthermore, when *SY* has been mentioned or discussed in the past, this has almost always been done from a place of relative ignorance.[42] Few scholars who cite *SY*

40 This has been done explicitly, as when scholars like Amos Funkenstein (1992; 1993) and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (1982) have treated *SY* as something other than history, by which is meant historiography contemporary to events described, and implicitly inasmuch as scholars do not tend to talk about *SY* as historiography or use it when doing the history of any period, whether ancient or medieval; however, see Atkinson (2024); Pucci (1982); Pucci (1981). In contradistinction to Yerushalmi (1982), who presented historiographical narrative and collective memory as polar opposites, Funkenstein (1993) seeks to show how "historiographical consciousness became the mode of Jewish self-reflection," Israel's self-perceived uniqueness, seen as a condition of the nation's continued existence, being articulated at various points in theological and eventually historical idioms (1–2).

41 This also presents a challenge to ostensible 'originality' as a value-metric for texts, according to which texts which derive largely or wholly from others—either in the style of Eusebius' *Church History* (block-quotes) or of *DEH* (paraphrase), to take two examples—lack the core value of being authentic, original, novel, etc.

42 Recently, see for example Strauss (2024) 118–119, who states that "*De excidio* **seems** to have been the basis for the medieval Jewish work, the *Josippon*." The relationship is beyond doubt, and thus the "seems" unnecessary and misleading. Nor does Strauss cite any of the

understand its relationship to its Latin sources and its place within the broader Josephus tradition; those with a robust appreciation of *SY*'s relationship to its major source, *DEH*, can basically be counted on one hand (this has to do with the fact that *DEH* has been almost as marginal in the history of scholarship as has *SY*).[43] And yet, *SY* cannot be rightly understood apart from *DEH*.[44] As will be discussed below, a failure to appreciate that *SY* relies largely upon this Latin Christian history, and/or a failure to grasp the nature of that reliance, leads to the kind of piecemeal and problematic discussion of *SY* that adjacent research trajectories sometimes purvey. Hence this study's approach of detailed comparative examination of extended passages.

The structure of this book is designed to be as clear and as palatable as possible to a variety of readers. What remains of this first chapter is a survey of the scholarly landscape within which the present study seeks a place. This discussion both clarifies the need for a study like this one, while also explaining the shape and methodology of my approach, laid out more fully in Chapter 2.

---

standard scholarship, like Dönitz (2011a), Dönitz (2013), or Dönitz (2016). Moreover, inasmuch as Strauss is talking about early printed editions of Josephus, failure to mention Levenson/Martin (2016b) seems a lacuna as well. No less a scholar than Robert Chazan (2006) 117, 277–279 evinces little clue as to *SY*'s contents and sources.

43 This is true so far as I know, as someone who has been working on *DEH* and *SY* both over the past half-decade and more and who, I think, knows the scholars who have been doing sustained work on one or both texts. A shining exception to the rule of ignorance vis-à-vis *SY*, and its sources, comes in the work of Shulamit Sela, well represented in her article in Norman Roth's *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (2003).

44 This is not to say that *SY* cannot be or is not understood in broad strokes in wider scholarship. Consider this introduction to *SY* in Steve Mason's *Josephus and the New Testament* (2003 [1992]) 26, the only time *SY* is mentioned in the work: "Already in the middle of the tenth century, when Jewish scholarship was flourishing in southern Italy, someone from the region was motivated to translate Josephus's writings into Hebrew. This version of his *War* and *Antiquities* 1–16 proved extremely popular and was itself recopied and translated into several languages. Known as 'Josippon,' from a corruption of Josephus's name, this text was used extensively by medieval Jewish commentators to illuminate their interpretation of the Bible and the Talmud." Almost everything that Mason says here is true, and this does a serviceable job of presenting the *SY* clearly and concisely to the average reader (I cite this book here, for one thing, because of its popularity and influence within and beyond scholarship over the past thirty years). Yet again, as we discuss elsewhere in this chapter, *SY* was of course *not* based on *BJ* but on *DEH*, and *SY* does *not* present a "version" of *AJ* 1–16, but rather relies upon *AJ* 11–16 for about a quarter of its length—*SY* 28 (בח) to *SY* 50 (נ)—with perhaps some scattered uses in *SY* 27 (כז) to *SY* 49 (מט) and the first few chapters after *SY* 50 (נ). It may be true that *LAJ* 1–16 was a source for *SY*—its use of the early chapters is hard to show—but it presents a 'version' of that narrative only in the loosest sense.

1 Background: *Sefer Yosippon*, Scholarly Disciplinarity, and the State of Research

This project seeks to clear the field, and set the tone, when it comes to *SY* within the scholarly domain. Scholars of various disciplines have had occasion to deal with this text, most often very briefly and in passing. It is not uncommon to find in academic discussions (or, more usually, passing mentions) of *SY* a general unfamiliarity with the text as a narrative, a general ignorance as to the *status quaestionis* (whatever *quaestio* that might be),[45] and a general misunderstanding of what *SY* is—and how it came to exist—within the broader relief of literary history.[46] In fact, this is more the rule than the exception, save for the few *SY* specialists, and the picture is even bleaker when one finds studies that deal with both *SY* and *DEH*,[47] or, worse, *SY* and Josephus;[48] in such studies,

45 Particularly common is for scholars even in the twenty-first century to deal with *SY* and to recognize its connection to Josephus' *BJ* yet not to understand—or at least not to state—that the Hebrew text is based on Latin Christian *rewrite* of *BJ* (i.e. *DEH*), not *BJ* itself. See, for example, Grundmann (2009); McDowell (2020) 75–76; even Bowman (2014a) 228 leads by saying that "Yosippon's treatment of Masada relies on Josephus's *Bellum* and his *Antiquities* and more directly Pseudo-Hegesippus's *De excidio urbis hierosolymitanae*," when neither of the former works influences *SY* 89 (פט) and Yosippon may not even have known *BJ*. The same ambiguity is present in Bowman's 2023 translation of *SY*, as I point out in my review thereof in *Judaica*.

46 Schreckenberg (1972), generally the most systematic and valuable scholar of Josephus' writ-large reception in living memory, explicitly confesses his lack of knowledge when he states that *SY* "benutzt als Hauptquelle Josephus, vor allem das Bellum Judaicum, aber auch zahlreiche andere Quellen verschiedenster Art. Die sehr freie Art der Darstellung und die noch nicht völlig geklärte Art der Quellenverwertung (ausschließliche Benutzung oder Mitbenutzung des lateinischen Josephus und des Hegesippus) machen den Josippon im Hinblick auf die Kritik des griechischen Originals so gut wie wertlos" (62). Schreckenberg was writing six years before Flusser (1978) would clarify to some extent *SY*'s relationship to *DEH* (and *LAJ*).

47 This is even true in the work of formidable scholars like Louis Feldman. For example, when discussing *SY* vis-à-vis *DEH* and *BJ* and in terms of historical context, Feldman (1984b) 776 attributes the identification of *DEH* as *SY*'s source to the M.A. Thesis of Esther Sorscher (1973), remarks that *SY* used sixteen books of *LAJ* (it used a quarter of that—Feldman is cribbing off of Flusser's manuscript argument, discussed below), and dismisses the idea that "Josippon sets forth the essentials of Virgil and Livy [in *SY* 2] from a Jewish point of view," an idea he attributes to Cohen (1967). Had Feldman read *SY* 2 (ב)? One would assume so, but this statement makes it seem as though Feldman has, if anything, afforded the actual text of *SY* where it engages Livy and Vergil only the briefest glance. I would argue that it is obvious that Yosippon presents these Roman legends "from a Jewish point of view."

48 As an example of the latter, Reiner's 1967 Dropsie College dissertation compares *SY* to Josephus' *BJ* without knowledge of *SY*'s reliance upon *DEH* and **not** on *BJ*. Flusser's edi-

multi-level errors abound.[49] For this reason, this section of the introduction, and this book as a whole, seek to clarify what *SY* is and how it relates to its major source(s) in a way that is palatable for scholars who work in different arenas. In order to do this, this section and this chapter seek to connect the argument and content of this book with research on *SY* and with an interdisciplinary topography on the basis of the current state of research as regards *SY*.

Almost all of the important research on *SY* in recent years has been what I will call 'forward-facing.'[50] That is, most of the important studies have 'stood behind' the text of *SY*, chronologically speaking, and have 'looked forward' through the text into its various recensions, translations, editions. Such an approach characterizes the major studies of Saskia Dönitz, Nadia Zeldes, Andrea Schatz, Yonatan Binyam, and others.[51] In other words, most schol-

---

tion was still a half-decade away at that point, but it was already known—at least in modern-Hebrew scholarship—that *DEH* was *SY*'s major source for the narrative of the Roman-Jewish War: see Flusser (1959), and cf. Flusser (1953). Sorscher (1973) may be the first *anglophone* study to cite *DEH* as *SY*'s source. Sorscher's study helpfully shows how *SY* does not include anything that is in *BJ* but not in *DEH*, and it anticipates the present study somewhat in concluding that Josephus' *BJ* had a political purpose, i.e. to laud Rome and discourage Jewish rebellion, whereas *DEH* and *SY* both had religious aims, the former to show that Jerusalem's destruction was divine punishment upon the Jews, the latter a counter-position to this perspective. Sorscher compares Book 3 of *DEH* and *BJ*, and Feldman (1984b) 776 is right in stating that "it would have been preferable if Sorscher had selected another book for the sample study."

49 For example, Taube (2023) attributes the *DEH*, which he refers to as the *Historiae* (accidentally, I think, stumbling upon the probable original title of the work, if it had one), to the *actual* Hegesippus and thus dates it to the second century, adding "or perhaps fourth" (27). He then refers to *SY* as a "Jewish adaptation in Hebrew of Hegesippus's Latin *Historiae*," thereby implying that *SY* is basically a Hebrew version of *DEH*, which is not true. In attempting to explain things more fully (27–29), Taube finds only moderate success. The fact that so distinguished a scholar in so recent a book could purvey such inaccuracies is a signal to the lack of knowledge about *SY*, *DEH*, and the relationship between in contemporary scholarship.

50 One should distinguish between scholarship done in 'recent years' and that done before, in particular, Flusser's critical edition (1978) and commentary (1980), because before this scholars were often referring to much later texts (Recensions B and C, which date well after the 10th cent.) and were sometimes involved in what today appear to be wild speculation, such as Solomon Zeitlin's serial arguments that asserted or else assumed a third- or fourth-century date for *SY*: cf. Zeitlin (1963). For an overview of pre-1980 scholarship, see Feldman (1984a) 57–74.

51 Dönitz (2013) should be the first stop for those interested in understanding the original text of *SY* and its later expansion and reception. Binyam (2017) undertakes some brief case studies within the Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, and Ethiopic translation-traditions stemming from *SY* between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries—the Gəʾəz text is called the *Zena Ayhud* (*The History of the Jews*) and occupies a place in the canon of the Ethiopian

arship on *SY* has focused on that text's reception. And such a focus makes sense, given the explosive expansion, unbridled popularity, and multidirectional reception trajectory of *SY* throughout the past millennium since its writing.[52] *SY* quickly came to hold religious significance within the Jewish ritual calendar (especially on Purim and Ḥannukah).[53] It was read and used by the most important medieval Jewish philosophers and Bible commentators.[54] *SY* became a resource, often *the* resource, for the Jewish historians of the Middle Ages such that Saskia Dönitz has claimed that "die Rezeption des *Sefer Yosippon* zur Renaissance der jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter beigetragen hat."[55] Yehuda ibn Mosconi (b. 1328), who "collated four or five manuscripts

---

Orthodox (Tewahedo) Church, the most extensive canon within Christianity at 81 books strong. Schatz (2019) focuses on early modern Amsterdam as a place where Jews reclaimed Josephus "for Jewish contexts as 'our historian'" at the same time as *SY* was "framed as an attractive Hebrew compendium of *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* for modern readers." Zeldes (2020) covers much of the same territory as does Dönitz (2013), though with a slightly later focus and particular attention to context of use. The lengthy engagement with *SY* by Nisse (2017) 20–45 is also largely interested in its reception and later readers, though Nisse does (like Dönitz and Binyam) look 'backwards' to *SY*'s sources and influences as well. Goodman (2019) treats *SY* within a short but sweeping history of *BJ*'s broader reception (including also *DEH*).

52 Concerning how quickly *SY* gained popularity: Dönitz (2014) 83 notes that "[o]nly a hundred years after its production, *Sefer Yosippon* was read among Jews in Palestine, Egypt, Byzantium, Spain, and Germany." Shahar (2025) 310 marks that Abraham Zacuto "clearly grants Joseph ben Gorion special pride of place" in his *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin*, mentioning Joseph ben Gorion twenty-five times and mentioning him alone in his introduction to the *Sixth Ma'amar*. See further Goodman (2019) 111–117 *et alibi*.

53 Dönitz (2015) 58. Bowman (2014a) 230 notes (as many have) how *SY* came to be read on Tisha B'Av in Jewish communities, with some even recommending its reading every Sabbath (!). Cf. Bowman (2011) 237–238.

54 Dönitz (2015) 58 opines that "Der wichstigste mittelalterliche Rezipient des *Sefer Yosippon* ist Schlomo ben Yiṣḥae (Raschi, 11. Jahrhundert)," noting also the "Zitate [von *SY*] in den Bibelkommentaren von Abraham Ibn Ezra, David Qimḥi und Naḥmanides in Sefarad."

55 Dönitz (2015) 58, citing the twelfth-century *Dorot 'Olam* by the Spanish philosopher Abraham Ibn Daud and the ca. 1325 redactions of both Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi (Germany) and Yehuda ibn Mosconi (Constantinople). Eleazar copied and augmented an eleventh-century *Book of Recollections* (ספר זכרונות) by a southern Italian Jew named Jeraḥmeel ben Shelomoh, the result of which is now called the *Chronicle(s) of Jeraḥmeel*, which borrows significantly from *SY* to the point of often repeating it, noting where it picks up or leaves off following *SY* or otherwise citing it: see *Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel* 36.15, 35.5–6, 36.15, 40.20, 58.1, 83.8 in Gaster (1899) 68, 78–79, 94, 101, 173, 251 (cf. 318). Reiner (1969) 137, contra Waxman (1938) 1.529, shows that the *Chronicle*'s use of *SY* is 'original,' i.e. the work of Jeraḥmeel in the eleventh century. Cf. Wasserstein/Wasserstein (2006) 202, 204.

to produce the best extant copy" of *SY* in the later Middle Ages, found the words of the text "as sweet as honey in my mouth."[56] In short, as Martin Goodman puts it: "The *Sefer Yosippon* became the most influential Hebrew historical work of the Middle Ages."[57] Indeed, the history of the printed editions alone—at least eighteen between 1475/1480 and 1978—invites interest in *SY*'s afterlives as a focus of research.[58]

The present study, on the other hand, produced by a scholar who specializes in Antiquity, is naturally 'backward-facing,' standing 'in front of' the original text of *SY*, as it were—at least so far as we are able to establish it—and 'looking back' through *SY* to its sources, influences, precursors. A detailed version of this kind of study has not been attempted, and it strikes me as a project that is not only obvious but also critical for a firm understanding of what *SY* is and how it operates as a piece of literature. This approach draws upon the fundamentally linguistic and literary-historical orientation of Classical Philology; the text-critical, source-critical, and translation-comparative *Forschungstradition* of Biblical Studies; interests of content and context most at home in Jewish Studies; and the ideological, rhetorical, and social-theoretical lines of ques-

56 Bowman (1985) 134–137, citing four main reasons that Mosconi saw the work as important: 1) it could strengthen the souls of scholars "against the pressures of conversions, so prominent in every generation"; 2) "the wise would find in it insights (*sodoth*) and hints concerning the end of days"; 3) "the reader would learn from it the deeds of valor of his ancestors, as well as stories about the Temple—in other words, memories of the days when Jews walked with heads high, as opposed to their contemporary status of exile and suffering"; 4) finally, what Bowman calls "the most important reason," namely: "For when we see how the sins of our fathers caused the exile, then we shall truly understand that our own sins lengthen the time to the end of our own redemption. Thus we shall better our ways to return to the Lord and to serve Him in a completely true way in order that He will repatriate us." Point 3 here in particular aligns with the present book's argument about the effect of *SY*'s narrative vis-à-vis Jewish history and Jewish readers.

57 Goodman (2019) 35 (see 31–35 for an excellent brief introduction to *SY* in general).

58 Reiner (1967a) 1 mentions "the many republications of its text—Mantua (1475), Constantinople (1510), Cracow (1588, 1599), Venice (1544), Frankfurt a. M. (1689), Gotha (1707, 1710), Amsterdam (1723), Prague (1784), Warsaw (1845, 1871), Jatomir (1851), Lemberg (1855), Berdtichev (1896–1913) and, most recently, in Jerusalem (1961)," to which may be added Hominer (1967) and Flusser (1978). (Note that Flusser's text was reprinted in a lightly revised format in 1980/1981.) The Hebrew text of Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) is not an edition *stricto sensu*—it reprints Flusser's text—but it does alter the punctuation and sentence construction considerably, perhaps rendering the text more readable by its creation of shorter sentences (some of these changes have significant implications for meaning). The Mantua edition of Abraham Conat may have been published in 1480, as often stated, or 1476–1479—so Gottheil/Schloessinger (1906) 260—or already in 1475, per Offenberg (1994) 312. Thanks to Saskia Dönitz for pointing me to the latter study.

tioning familiar to Religious Studies. The capital letters used here serve to signal discrete disciplinary designations, whose traditional methods and research tendencies have informed the shaping of this study. In addition, the present study's interest in *Rezeptionsgeschicte* is limited to texts and ideas received *within* the (original) text *SY*, rather than receptions *of* the *SY*-tradition. Finally, this study's engagement with 'capital-H History' is minimal, partly because *SY*'s author and specific circumstances-of-creation are unknown, and partly because this study targets language and ideas, rather than actions and events, as its object of inquiry.[59] In sum, this book is the first close examination of *SY* vis-à-vis its sources, namely its major source (*DEH*), and as such has little to do with *SY*'s reception or anything beyond *SY*'s initial late-ninth or early-tenth century (con)text.

This having been said, this study does rely on past scholarship in several key areas. David Flusser's critical edition of *SY*,[60] produced in 1978 followed by a second volume including a commentary and critical apparatus in 1980, offers the Hebrew text on which this study is based.[61] Flusser, who did examine the relationship between *SY* and *DEH* to a considerable extent—though never systematically and analytically—provides us with the only usable Hebrew text to date for a study like the present one, and his text seems likely to be close to what was initially penned in early medieval southern Italy. Even so, we know that Flusser's text is problematic,[62] to the point of containing entire books that

59 This study could be considered something of a combination of literary history and intellectual history.

60 It should be said up-front that it is not just due to Flusser's Hebrew edition of *SY* that his work serves as the bedrock for modern scholarship on *SY*. His academic production, which included over 1,000 articles alone (in Hebrew, German, Czech, and English at least), has been the major impetus for, and trailblazer of, research into *SY*'s sources: Lowe (1990); Bowman (1983). Similarly, his discussion of the dating and context of *SY* have shaped subsequent discussions. Unfortunately, a good deal of Flusser's most important work is still only accessible to readers of modern Hebrew, for example the first 252 pages of the second volume (which also includes the critical apparatus) to his edition, namely Flusser (1980); an English translation of this volume has been discussed among scholars in recent years.

61 I do usually follow the Hebrew text as reproduced by Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010), who regularly amend the punctuation and structure of the text (usually rendering much shorter Hebrew sentences). In general, I cite *SY* from Flusser's critical edition (Flusser [1978]), sometimes including his apparatus (Flusser [1980]), from Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010), and from the English translation of Bowman (2023).

62 See already Dönitz (2014) and Dönitz (2009). Among other things, any problems attending to Flusser's edition affect *de facto* Bowman's translation (2023), which follows Flusser strictly and reiterates most of his footnotes.

seem to have been absent from the original text, and a new edition accounting for all of the (now better-known) Cairo Genizah fragments—some of the oldest textual witnesses to *SY*—is needed.[63] The apparent candidates for this job would be Peter Lehnardt (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) and Saskia Dönitz (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main),[64] the latter's published dissertation, *Überlieferung und Rezeption des* Sefer Yosippon (2013), along with a series of related essays, being largely responsible for putting *SY* back onto the modern scholarly radar. At present, however, one can do no better than to use Flusser's (or Börner-Klein/Zuber's) text or to cite a particular manuscript, preferably Vatican Urb. Ebr. 52 (= א) if so.

Another contribution of the past work upon which this study leans has to do with *SY*'s sources in general. What these sources are, and where Yosippon relies upon what source, were extensively catalogued by Flusser and have now been rendered more accessible by Dönitz, Bowman, and others. Careful examinations of precisely how *SY* deals with its sources have thus far been few, though recent years have seen a handful of such studies.[65] Two of the most impor-

63 Already Dönitz (2009) 224 relates how a redaction of *SY* earlier than what is printed by Flusser (1978) is present in the eleventh -century Cairo Genizah fragments and in MS Vatican Urb. Ebr. 52 (= א; Italy; 15th cent.). Thus, while Flusser's text contains the additions to the Book of Daniel in *SY* 3–5 (ג-ה), these do not appear in the version represented by the Genizah fragments. The discussion also appears in Dönitz (2013), esp. Chapter 2, and the point is reiterated in Dönitz (2014) 83–84.

64 As in many areas of specialization, as regards *SY* there is much that is known by experts that is currently available nowhere in print. Most recently, this became obvious in a meeting organized by René Bloch and the present author in May of 2022: "Seeking *Sefer Yosippon*: A Workshop on the Hebrew Text and Its Latin Sources," at which Lehnardt presented a paper on "The *Yosippon* Source Challenge & the Lament over Jerusalem" and Dönitz a paper entitled "*Sefer Yosippon* in the Genizah—Versions and Variations." (Other participants were David Levenson, Yonatan Binyam, Tessa Rajak, and Steven Bowman.)

65 Van Henten (2024) assesses *SY* 15 (טו), which records the story of the martyrdom of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in terms of its definite and possible sources, that chapter basing itself on some Latin version of 2 Macc 7 (either Vulgate or Old Latin). Taube (2023) 93–94 does not really analyze but does mark by bolding comparisons between *DEH* 5.44 and *SY* 87 (פז). Bay (2022b) analyzes the 'Maria Story' of *SY* 86 (פו)—in which a starved mother within war-torn 70 CE Jerusalem is driven to kill, cook, and eat (half of) her infant son—against its primary source (*DEH* 5.40) and other possible influences. Bay (2022c) deals with *SY* 16 (טז) and *SY* 17 (יז), focusing mainly on the figure of Judah the Maccabee but showing that *SY* was working from a Latin text of 1 Macc. Bay (2022d) reads the description of the Jerusalem Temple in *SY* 76 (עז) vis-à-vis its source, *DEH* 5.9 (cf. Josephus *BJ* 5.136–247). For the source(s) of *SY*'s story of the writing of the Septuagint (LXX)—the translation of the Jewish Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek reputedly performed in the mid-second century BCE under the patronage of Ptolemy II

tant conclusions of this work should be mentioned: first, it has been shown to be the case that *SY*'s sources were in large part, if not completely, Latin Christian ones. There appears to be no good reason to assume that Yosippon worked with Greek. Second, the text tradition of the Latin *Antiquities* (*LAJ*) that *SY* used has now been fairly clearly identified within the massive textual history of *LAJ* by David Levenson;[66] such a text is *not* present in any of the several hundred extant *LAJ* manuscripts and, importantly, Levenson's work effectively disconfirms Flusser's suggestion that Yosippon must have used one of the handful of extant manuscripts containing *LAJ* 1–16 and *DEH* together.[67] Not so.

But these are technical matters. Aside from these points, the state of research vis-à-vis *SY* may be articulated simply. *SY* is a Hebrew work of the late-ninth

---

Philadelphus (285–247 BCE) in Alexandria—related in *SY* 12 (יב), see Flusser (1978) 64–66, Dönitz (2013) 76, and Wasserstein/Wasserstein (2006) 192–216; Josephus' rewriting of the *Letter of Aristeas* in *AJ* 12.2–118 appears to have been a source for *SY* here, but not necessarily a direct or sole source. Dönitz (2009) deals with several early chapters from the Vulgate that appear in *SY*.

66 Levenson (2024) provides a new starting point for assessing the form of *LAJ* used by *SY*, demonstrating by a series of case studies that *SY* most probably depended on the common source of the archetype for what are called Groups G and C according to the Levenson/Martin groups, on which see Levenson/Martin (2016a) 328. The manuscripts identified by Flusser witness variants from three different Group C subgroups, but certain readings show that these manuscripts themselves cannot constitute *SY*'s source for *DEH*'s Latin text. See the conclusions in Levenson (2024) 285–290. The Levenson (2024) paper began as a joint paper undertaken by the present author and Levenson for the August 2021 conference "From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond," whence the 2024 volume in which Levenson's essay appears. It is important for readers of *SY* and/or *LAJ* to understand that Levenson's work is the only work at present that can be consulted for a picture of how *SY* relates to *LAJ* (and, for that matter, for an understanding of the *LAJ* text tradition).

67 BML Plut. 66.1 (11th cent.) contains *LAJ* 1–16 + *DEH*; Naples V F 34 has *AJ* 1–16 + *DEH*; Vat. Lat. 1998 (late-11th/early-12th cent.) contains evidence for both a ms with *LAJ* 1–20 and a ms with *LAJ* 1–16 + *DEH* (the current ms contains *LAJ* 1–20 + *DEH*, but fol. 168^{r} has the end of *LAJ* 16 in a different hand, where *DEH* begins on 168^{v}); Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana 20 (later-13th cent.) has *LAJ* 1–16 + *DEH*; BL Harley 3691 (15th cent.) contains *LAJ* 1–16 + *LBJ* + *DEH*. (The respective sigla of these mss are La, B, V, Pi, hr.) Flusser (1953), Flusser (1959), and Flusser (1974) all put forward at least parts of the hypothesis that manuscripts of this form (*LAJ* 1–16 + *DEH*) belong to a particular group and that *SY* must have used a manuscript like this as his Latin Josephus source. Flusser had not seen all the manuscripts, did not understand the *LAJ* (or *DEH*) manuscript groups, and thus was not strictly correct, although an earlier common source for 1) the *LAJ* text-groups (Levenson/Martin groups c.1 and c.2) represented by these manuscripts and 2) (an)other text group(s) (g) must have been *SY*'s source text. Levenson (2024) is the only up-to-date discussion on this issue.

or early-tenth century. Its author: anonymous. Its provenance: southern Italy, almost certainly. Around 80,000 words in its modern critical edition, the original text was apparently slightly shorter, lacking several chapters that are present in almost every version of the text (see above). The text of *SY* in any case came quickly to be expanded, leading scholars to dub it an "open text."[68] The earliest version of which we know, referred to as "Recension A," is the shortest.[69] To this base what is called "Recension B" added *inter alia* portions of the Hebrew Alexander Romance[70] and stories from the LXX additions to Daniel in the twelfth century.[71] Later still, the Byzantine scholar Yehuda ibn Mosconi (b. 1328) created "Recension C," enlarging the text again by about a third by means of rewording and the addition of new stories into the text.[72] This, at least, has been *communis opinio* until more recent modifications by Saskia Dönitz, who does not overturn but rather enriches this traditional understanding. Dönitz shows that Recension A actually consists in three subgroups: 1) the Genizah fragments from southern Italy and the Near East, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (it was this textual version that was expanded to become Recensions B and C); 2) a group of manuscripts representing "a different editorial stage … characterized by certain features like attribution to Gershom Me'or ha-Golah and a different, longer ending"; 3) a group of manuscripts representing

68 On *SY* as an "open text," see Bowman (1993) 284; on the notion of the 'open book/text,' see Ta-Shma (1993) 17–24. A notable intervention into this conversation has been made more recently by Stein Kokin (2024) 432, whose criticisms of comparisons made between *SY* and *Sefer Masa'ot* (the *Book of Travels*) by Asher (1900) led to a state of affairs today in which *SY* "can be described as an 'open text,' not only in terms of what is actually added to its folios, but also with regard to what was believed (or at least alleged) to be found therein." (Basically, Asher exaggerated *Sefer Masa'ot*'s reliance upon *SY* for certain political expediencies of his time.)

69 In general, see Dönitz (2016) 387 for the recensions discussed here. Cf. Flusser (1980) 3–53; Dönitz (2013); Dönitz (2024), the latter constituting the most up-to-date information published anywhere as to the recensions and manuscript witnesses of *SY*; it should be consulted as a starting-point.

70 The *Ma'aseh Alexandros*, "a Hebrew translation of the Greek story of Alexander known as Pseudo-Callisthenes" and published in Flusser (1978) 461–491, was interpolated into *SY* at least by 1148, when Judah Hadassi claims to have seen the story therein: Nikolsky (2004) 35. The *Ma'aseh Alexandros* was translated from the Greek—see Flusser (1980) 226 and Flusser (1957)—whereas *SY*'s non-Hebrew sources were Latin.

71 The 1475 Mantua printed edition contains the conventionally-recognized "Recension B" text. On the Hebrew Alexander Romance, see Dönitz (2011b) with bibliography.

72 Hominer (1967) prints the "Recension C" version of the text. Bowman (2011) 233 notes that this version of *SY* became the standard version of Josephus' narrative for Hebrew readers until the Hebrew translation of *BJ* by I.N. Simhoni in 1923, on which see further ben Shahar (2024) 472–473 and Feldman (2010) 119.

what Dönitz dubs a "transitional stage" that "continue the textual tradition of the Cairo Genizah fragments" while "adding elements of Recension B."[73] It is only this third subgroup, e.g., that contains *SY* 3–6 (ג-ו), stories of Daniel and Zerubbabel, and thus these chapters are not 'original *SY*' so far as we can tell.[74] Moreover, it is this third group that was added to create what Dönitz calls the longer Recension B, to be distinguished from the "shortened version" found in the 1475 Mantua edition.

In addition to these recensions, two 'rewrites' of the book have been identified: that by Samuel Ibn Nagrela (993–1056), now lost, and the "epitome preserved in the *Book of the Memory of the Kings of the Second Temple* by Abraham Ibn Daud."[75] Beyond this, translations of *SY* from the Hebrew began within a few centuries of its writing, and by the mid-sixteenth century *SY* had been translated into Arabic,[76] Judeo-Arabic,[77] Ethiopic,[78] Old Russian,[79] Slavonic,[80]

---

73 Dönitz (2024) 172, followed by detailed commentary on each manuscript of each recension.

74 Dönitz (2024) 172; these manuscripts also contain the first interpolation from the story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.

75 Dönitz (2016) 387; cf. Vehlow (2013). Add to these the extensive sections (one and four) of the *Book* of Moses ben Abraham (Paris, 1244), discussed by Rachetta (2019), that contain translations of *SY*, e.g. *SY*'s narratives concerning Alexander the Great, on which see van Bekkum (1995).

76 On the Arabic translation of *SY*, see *inter alia* Vollandt (2014). The Arabic and Judeo-Arabic translations have been dated to the tenth, eleventh, and/or twelfth centuries: see Binyam (2024a) 561; Dönitz (2016) 286; Sela (2009).

77 Sela (2009) represents a critical edition of the Arabic and Judeo-Arabic texts, on which more work is needed.

78 The Ethiopic version (again, the *Zena Ayhud*) is a translation based on the Christian/Coptic Arabic version, made in the latter half of the fourteenth century (Binyam) or the thirteenth century (Dönitz [2016] 387). On this version, see Binyam (2024a); Binyam (2024b); Binyam (2017).

79 Per Bowman (2023) xiv.

80 The Slav(on)ic translation tradition of *SY* is complicated by several things, not least the presence of a full Old Russian (≈ East Slavonic) translation of Josephus' *BJ* that may have existed already by the eleventh century. Portions of *SY* appear in the Slavic/Old Russian *Hypatian Chronicle* (dating as early as 1116, but whose earliest manuscript is from 1425) and the *Academy Chronograph*, "a late fifteenth-century Russian compilation." It is not clear whether these attest the same Slavic translation of *SY*. In addition, the final part of *SY* is reworked within a Slavic work, *The Third Capture of Jerusalem by Titus* (*Vzjatie Ierusalimu tretee Titovo*), that appeared sometime between the eleventh and fifteenth century. All of this leads Taube (2023) 27 to conclude that between and twelfth and fifteenth centuries a "Hebrew reworking of *Josippon*" (i.e. *SY* Recension B) was translated "into the language of Rus'," perhaps by a converted Jew. See further Taube (2023) 17–18, 23, 28–29 and the bibliography and introduction in Leeming/Leeming (2003).

Latin,[81] Yiddish,[82] and English[83] at least. The historical popularity and influence of *SY* are without doubt, and have generally been appreciated within the literature.[84] More recent scholarship has tended to ignore *SY* because of its perceived nature as folk literature rather than "historiography" *per se*.[85] Yet it

81 A Latin translation was produced by Sebastian Münster in Basel in 1541, and again later by Friedrich Breithaupt in Gotha in 1707 and 1710. I encountered a sixteenth-century copy of Münster's work in the Universitätsbibliothek Bern in connection with another project—"Swiss Jewish Print Culture and the Hebrew Books of Bern: 1488–1600," generously funded by the Jakob und Werner Wyler-Stiftung—and I remember wondering what in the world I was looking at. As someone familiar with *SY* and with the Latin Josephus tradition, I thought that I should be able to recognize a Latin Josephus text, but could make neither heads nor tails of what was before me. Eventually I came to recognize the text for what it was.

82 See Dönitz (2015) on the Yiddish translation of *SY*, which appeared in Zurich in 1546 as one of the very first books printed in Yiddish. This became the basis for a Ladino translation by Abraham Asa, published 1753.

83 *SY* appeared in an Old English translation by Peter Morvvyng "of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford" in 1558 under the full title *A compendious and most marueilous history of the latter tymes of the Iewes commune weale beginnynge where the Bible or Scriptures leaue, and continuing to the vtter subuersion and laste destruction of that countrey and people: written in Hebrew by Ioseph Ben Gorion, a noble man of the same countrey, who sawe the most thinges him selfe, and was auctour and doer of a great part of the same*. This translation, however, was not based on *SY* proper but on the Latin of Sebastian Münster's Hebrew-Latin *SY* edition printed in Basel in 1541 and based on the Hebrew of Abraham Ibn Daud's ספר מלכי בית שני; see Reiner (1967) 131–136; Goodman (2019) 56–57. More fully on the reception of Ibn Daud's recreation of *SY*, see Vehlow (2017). In any case, the English text's popularity is attested by its republication (thirteen times) in England in 1561, 1567, 1575, 1579, 1593, 1596, 1602, 1608, and 1615: Reiner (1969) 132n12. Further on *SY*'s English fortunes see Wolf (1971); Reiner (1967b); Marx (1962); Wolf (1912). So popular was this book that it was the first book of Jewish authorship published in America (1718 in Boston). More recently, Nisse (2017) has integrated *SY* into her study of Jewish-Christian relations in medieval England (see 19–48), and Tessa Rajak has been working on *SY*'s afterlives in England and elsewhere. After the English translation, a French translation appeared in 1706: Dönitz (2016) 387.

84 Reiner (1972) 2 states that *SY* was "the primary authority on Jewish history for the traditional biblical and Talmudic commentators, who frequently quoted from it when they sought to illustrate their interpretation with historical example or precedent."

85 Bowman (1995) 40 remarks on how nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars routinely ignored *SY* and "dismissed it as a folkloristic collection." See, e.g., Baron (1964) 205, where *SY* is "but an abridged semi-folkloristic paraphrase of Josephus." These nineteenth-century historians were primarily interested in the development of halakha as part of their polemic against Jewish Orthodoxy. "*Yosippon* was *Aggadah* and, like mysticism and kabbalah, bordered on superstitious nonsense." Bowman elsewhere remarks upon "the fate of *Yosippon* since its appearance, to be misread, misidentified, and misappropriated" (48), also marking some major scholarly discussions that have, by failing to account

should be pointed out that some of the latest scholarship, somewhat surprisingly, mines the text precisely for historical material that is not to be found in *SY*'s sources.[86] On the level of public perception, Steven Bowman has pointed out that the text has long been known and not unpopular within modern Israeli culture.[87]

More than anyone else, Steven Bowman has highlighted the authorial creativity of Yosippon and the literary value of *SY*.[88] Bowman has also noted the surprising sparsity of rabbinic influence apparent in *SY*'s Hebrew language and narrative storyline,[89] demonstrated Yosippon's penchant for biblical interpre-

---

for *SY*, completely overlooked a major influence on the texts that they study. Thus, in discussing the "running feud" between Robert Chazan and Ivan Marcus of the later 1980s and early 1990s, Bowman comments upon how "[n]either seems to recognize the Crusader sources' indebtedness to *Yosippon*" (47n49). Such overlooking of *SY* is still, I would argue, par for the course in most every relevant discipline.

86 Here I have in mind: Atkinson (2024), which cites the "strange story of the Hasmonean high priest and ruler John Hyrcanus' participation in the 131 BCE Parthian invasion of Antiochus VII Sidetes," found in *SY* 29 (כט)—cf. *AJ* 13.249, with Hyrcanus' role glossed over in *BJ* 1.62 and *DEH* 1.1.9—as evidence that *SY*, "despite its late date, of composition and redaction, should be considered a primary source for Hyrcanus' reign" (403–404). Atkinson was anticipated by Pucci (1981) and Pucci (1982). See recently Rocca (2023), arguing that a treaty struck between Queen Salome Alexandra and the Roman Republic in the early 60s BCE, recorded in *SY* 35 (לה), dissuaded Tigranes II from invading Judea (sending him back to Armenia) and constitutes "un trattato di alleanza inedito" (175). This is a little tone deaf, because these texts are *not* "unedited"—they just have not been extracted as (if they were) standalone historical 'documents.' Rocca compares the Hebrew texts in Flusser (1978) and Hominer (1967), as the former provides a date of 67 BCE for this treaty, the latter a date of 69 BCE. Importantly, Rocca cites the Josephan passages for this treaty (*BJ* 1.116; *AJ* 13.419–421), neither of which *SY*'s author is likely to have known, but he does not cite the one text about this treaty that *SY*'s author *definitely did* have in front of him when penning this passage: *DEH* 1.13.1; see Ussani (1932) 19. Once again, the failure of modern scholarship to appreciate *SY*'s specific sources leads to unwarranted claims, in this case that the Hebrew text of *SY*—perhaps even that of Hominer's much later Recension C (!)—constitutes newly revealed historical material, "un trattato inedito." One should note that it is common for different recensions of *SY* to differ in details; for example, Shahar (2025) 307–308 discusses how in *SY* 87 (פז) Recension A—i.e., Flusser's text—has the Holy of Holies 'flung open' by the Romans "on the tenth day of the fifth month," whereas both the shorter Recension B (the 1475 Mantua edition) and the still later Recension C both have "on the ninth day of the fifth month."

87 Bowman (1995) 40 *et alibi*.

88 See esp. Bowman (2024); Bowman (2019); Bowman (2011); Bowman (2008); Bowman (1995) 24–25.

89 Bowman (2010) 104: "The author is an anonymous non-rabbinic scholar fluent in Latin and Hebrew." Bowman (2008) 27: Yosippon "was not a member of the rabbinic scholarly class" (see also 36); Bowman (1993). However, cf. now Bowman (2024) 399–400.

tation and scriptural language-borrowing and wordplay,[90] and even suggested that *SY* in places engages with New Testament traditions in a subtle form of counter-Christian polemic.[91] In addition to all of this—larger issues adherent to the Hebrew text and its recension/reception; localized source-critical findings as they pertain to *SY*'s use of *DEH*, *LAJ*, or other texts; qualitative studies accentuating *SY*'s literary and aesthetic virtues—two specific parts of *SY* have received more attention than others: namely, the very beginning and the very end of the work.

2 *Sefer Yosippon*: Beginnings and Endings

Yosippon begins his history with an account of the Table of Nations familiar from the Book of Genesis and 1 Chronicles 1,[92] including its own condensed Tower of Babel tale.[93] This appears in *SY* 1 (א).[94] Such genealogy had become

90 Bowman (1993) argues that *SY* was a combination of history and midrash, a "historical narrative of ancient Israel that used the methodologies of ancient historians, while also using the delicate word plays and close reading techniques developed by the rabbis"; Bowman (1995) 25.

91 Bowman (2010) 106–107, 111–112; Bowman (1995) 24.

92 1 Chronicles 1 weaves together genealogies derived from Gen 5:1–32, 10:1–32, 11:10–26 (at 1 Chr 1:1–27), Gen 25:12–16 (1 Chr 1:29–31), Gen 25:1–4 (1 Chr 1:32–33), Gen 36:10–14 (1 Chr 1:34–37), Gen 36:20–28 (1 Chr 1:38–42), Gen 36:31–43 (1 Chr 1:43–54).

93 *SY* mixes partial, verbatim quotations from Genesis (11:1,2a,3a,5a,6a,7a,8a,9a) to create a condensed summary: "And there was in the whole earth one language and one way of speaking. Then, in their migration from the east, people found a plain and they said, a man to his neighbor: 'Come, let us build for ourselves a city.' But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower. And the Lord said: 'They are one people. Come, let us go down and there confuse their language.' So the Lord scattered them from there over the face of the whole earth. For this reason they called its name 'Babel'" (ויהי כל הארץ שפה אחת ודברים אחדים. ויהי בנסעם מקדם וימצאו בקעה ויאמרו איש אל רעהו: הבה נבנה לנו עיר. וירד יי לראות את העיר ואת המגדל. ויאמר יי: הן עם אחד. הבה נרדה ונבלה שם שפתם. ויפץ יי אותם משם על פני כל הארץ. על כן קרא שמה בבל.). Flusser (1978) 3; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 30–31; Bowman (2023) 3. *SY*'s condensation of this well-known story, the biblical details for which are conspicuously absent, underscores the unity of humanity at Babel as its central focus, which creates a template for explaining global diversity, within which *SY* then focuses in on his special interest: "the generations of the sons of Japheth."

94 That *SY* is following the biblical text is not in doubt. The first line of *SY* contains a list of ten names with no verbs—"Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah" (אדם שת אנוש קינן מהללאל ירד חנוך מתושלח למך נח)—a verbatim quotation of 1 Chr 1:1–4a, which corresponds to the narrativized genealogy of Gen 5:1–31. The second line is an abbreviated quotation of Gen 5:32b; compare *SY* (נח הוליד שם חם ויפת ["Noah fathered Shem, Ham, and Japheth"]) to Gen 5:32 (ויהי-נח בן-חמש מאות שנה

a standard historiographical form,[95] especially for those integrating their narratives into a biblical framework.[96] Here is the conceptual geographical and ethnographic framework that can be derived from *SY* 1 (א):[97]

Founding figure	**'Modern' people**	**Place of habitation**
Gomer (גומר)	Franks (פרנקוס)	France (פרנצא)
Riphath (ריפת)	Britons (בריטנוס)	Britannia (ברטניא)
Togarmah (תוגרמה)[98]	Kusar (כוזר)	Eponymous Lands (שמות ארצותם על שמותם);
	Pecheneg (פיצינק)*	Rivers of Volga (נהרי התל);
	Alanni (אלן)	*the Danube (נהר הגדול הנקרא דנובי)
	Bulgarians (בולגר)*	[Hungarians, Pecheneg, Bulgarians]
	Kanbina (כנבינא)	
	Turks (טורק)	
	Bus (בוז)	
	Sachoch (זכוך)	
	Hungarians (אוגר)*	
	Tolmats (ותולמץ)[99]	

ויולד נח את-שם את-חם ואת-יפת) and 1 Chr 1:4 (נח שם חם ויפת). Then *SY* quotes Gen 10:2–4 // 1 Chr 1:5–7 (listing the sons of Japheth, Gomer, and Javan) before jumping to the story of the Tower of Babel from Gen 11.

95 This began already with chronicles in Late Antiquity, after which "the *historiae gentium* [came to] constitute one of the textual genres of the European Middle Ages"; Nissan (2019a) 188, citing Carozzi/Taviani-Carozzi 1996. Roberts (2007) 69–92 discusses how the Tower of Babel narrative was a focal point in the perennial medieval project of explaining *Christian* alterity. Bowman (2023) 3 calls the Table of Nations a "general feature of medieval chronographers and of Jewish historians from Josephus to Joseph ha-Cohen (sixteenth century)."

96 Flusser (1978) 3 notes that *SY*'s Table of Nations comports with medieval chronological conventions in correlating Gen 10 with contemporary people-groups, while also noting parallels between certain of *SY*'s ethnonyms (Gomer, Tuval, Tarshish, the Kittim) with depictions found in medieval Latin literature, leading him to surmise that Yosippon had among his sources a short list identifying biblical groups and contemporary peoples.

97 See Bowman (2023) 3–5, Flusser (1978) 3–9, and Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 30–37. Note that all of the group names in this chapter witness numerous textual variants.

98 Before the appearance of Flusser's 1978 edition, Cardona (1966) argued that, unlike so many of the 'semi-legendary' peoples mentioned in *SY*'s genealogy, the identification of Togarmah represented quite accurately ninth- to tenth-century realities (19). Cardona also notes a number of textual variants and comments upon *SY*'s correspondence to the later *Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel* (31.14) and Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Greek, and Latin traditions, systematically studying the ten family names listed as "Togarmah" in *SY*.

99 Bowman (2023) 4n8: "Turkic tribe in tenth-century Byzantine imperial guard."

(*cont.*)

Founding figure	'Modern' people	Place of habitation
Javan (יון)	Greeks (יונים)	Ionia and Macedonia (יוניא ומקדוניא)
Madai (מדי)	Daylamites (אלדילם)	Kurdistan (ארץ כורסן)
Tubal (תובל)	Tuscans (תושקני)	Tuscany (ארץ תושקנ)[100]
Meshech (משך)	Saxons (שקשני)	The Great Sea (הים הגדול)[101]
Tiras (תירס)	Russians (רוסי)	Kiev (ביוא)[102]
Elishah (אלישה)	Alemanni (אלמניא)	The Alps (בין הרי יוב ושבתימו)[103]
Tarshish (תרשיש)	Tarshish (תרשיש)[104]	Tarsus (תרסוס)[105]
Kittim (כיתים)	Romans (רומאני)	Campania (בקעת כנפנייא)[106]
Dodanim (דודנים)[107]	Danes (דנישבי)	Denmark (ארץ דנמרכא)

This textualized map, with its biblical connotations interwoven with historical specification, does the work of situating Yosippon's story of Jerusalem's destruction within a metahistorical (and, implicitly, metaphysical) superstructure. *SY* 2 (ב) offers an overview of Roman Antiquity familiar to readers of Livy and Vergil yet integrating into this myth/history figures and moments from the

100 "Upon the river of/near Pisa" (על נהר פיסא), apparently the Arno; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 34n1; Nissan, (2019b) 158–166. Cf. Jerome *Commentary on Isaiah* 65.19; *Questions in Genesis*. Bowman (2023) 4n10 notes that "Medieval legend has Tubal found Ravenna and Subria."

101 *SY* states that this is also where the "English" (אינגליסי) live.

102 See Toaff (1969) 6 for the argument that this refers to an earlier Kiev; cf. Bowman (2023) 4n12.

103 Modelski (1912) compares Arabic and Latin sources to establish this identification and to state that the people referred to are the Germans, from whom *SY* says the Longbards (לנגוברדי) come.

104 *SY* says that these people "came with the Macedonians with a single creed" (הם באו עם מקדוניא בדת אחת), i.e. Greek Orthodox Christianity; Bowman (2023) 5n16.

105 Actually, *SY* casts the Tarshish as having been displaced by the Ishmaelites (הישמעאלים), i.e. Muslims, who destroyed Tarsus and now live on the border of Greece and make war against the Ishmaelites. Flusser, (1987) 390. Bowman (2023) 5n17 notes that Emperor Nicephoras Phocas (r. 963–969) "reconquered this frontier city, Muslim since the mid-ninth century." That is, Tarsus lay under Muslim control between 637/640 and 965 CE.

106 "On the Tiber River" (על נהר תיבירייאו).

107 Among the Dodanim *SY* also includes the Moravians, Croatians, Serbians, Lučanin, Poles (Lucahin), Krakowians, and Bohemians (מוראוא וכרואטי וסורבין ולוצנין ולייכין וכראכר ובוימין), on which see Flusser (1947–1948).

ancient Israelite record.[108] The biblical Joseph is recorded as having a run-in with the grandson of Esau, a certain Zepho ben Eliphaz, prompting the latter to flee and eventually make his way to Africa, where Aeneas received him with great honor.[109] Zepho goes on to perform great feats, winning acclaim and even coming to be identified with the Roman god Janus, and with Herakles; according to Shulamit Sela, all of this serves to configure Zepho as the ancestor to the Romans.[110] This is significant because Zepho himself hails from Esau/Edom, and thus this chapter configures Rome—perhaps with later Christianity in mind as well—as the ur-antagonists of the people of God, Israel, who had descended from Jacob.[111] In addition, King David is made co-eval with Romulus, and the latter is presented as having been fearful of the former all his life, at one point prompting a treaty.[112] This chapter thus aligns ancient Israelite and ancient Roman traditions, weaving ancient identity into the fabric of history.

These early chapters have captured scholarly attention for several reasons.[113] *SY* 1 (א) is particularly interesting because of the toponyms and ethnonyms it

108 Bowman (2011) 188 offers a good summary of the chapter: "[*SY*'s] second chapter is a lengthy treatment of the antiquities of Rome, much of it drawn from epitomes and legends that he found perhaps in the environs of the Bay of Naples where he likely read his Josephan and other manuscripts in the newly established library of the ruling duke. In this chapter he provides a creative interpretation to the sobriquet Edom that Jews had long attached to the persecuting Roman Empire and its church. He weaves a tale of Zepho ben Eliphaz, the grandson of Esau of Edom, that incorporates the story of Hercules and Caius, the cattle-stealing monster of Vergil's *Aeneid*, in the career of the progenitor of the Roman monarchy—the deified Zepho-Saturnus. So much for Roman polytheism and the Roman deification of the emperor, which the author of *Sepher Yosippon* demystifies on two historical levels by a tongue-in-cheek use of Rome's own classical traditions and satirically claims a Semitic origin for the ancient Roman state."

109 Bowman (2008) 37 parallels this story to an episode in *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.16.

110 Sela (1992) 139; Toaff (1963–1964) already identified Books 8, 10, and 12 Vergil's *Aeneid* as part of the backdrop in *SY* 2 (ב); see Feldman (1984b) 777.

111 Bowman (2008) 36 notes that by that point scholars had already long appreciated *SY*'s "linkage of the stereotyped enemies of the Jews (Esau = Edom) with the Romans." Cf. Cohen (1967) and Bay (forthcoming A). Boyarin (1999) 2 claims that, after 312 CE, references to Esau/Edom most commonly target the Christian Church. Yuval (2008) tends to agree with Boyarin, whereas Schremer (2010) disagrees. A much more pronounced inclination to see Judaism as often polemicizing (covertly) against Christianity rather than Rome is represented by Jacob Neusner, as discussed by Zuckier (2026). Cf. more fully relevant sections of Berthelot (2021).

112 The story of foreigners initiating covenants with Israelites because the former apprehend the latter as powerful and therefore dangerous is something of a biblical motif: see Gen 26:26–35 (Abimelech and Isaac); Josh 9:6–27 (Hivites and Israelites).

113 Sela (2009) 1.37–46 suggests that Chapters 1 and 2 may not have existed in the original *SY*, part of an (apparent) argument that the Arabic version constitutes the earliest version; Zeldes (2024) 591; cf. Dönitz (2013) 111–112.

proffers,[114] which allow for *SY* to be placed and dated with a certain (limited) level of specificity and which provide information for historical geographers, ethnographers, etc.[115] *SY* 2 (ב), while manifestly unhelpful for writing ancient Roman or Israelite history, speaks volumes of *SY*'s ideological orientation and historiographical interests and imagination.[116] This chapter has what I would consider *totalizing*, *relativizing*, and *equalizing* functions in aligning the Jews' ancestors with those of dominant ancient cultures,[117] signaling *SY*'s proclivity to present a highly positive portrayal of the Jewish ancestral past within a broader historical framework. Scholars who have paid concerted attention to

114 Some place-names and people-names for which *SY* is the first attestation are mentioned in Taube (2023) 75 (בנען for Slavs), 77 (תירס for Rus') and Bowman (2023) 5n21 (the Lučanin = ולוצנין).

115 For example, *SY* "rightly states that the location of the Russians was Kiev" and differentiates between Russians and Slavs. (The name תירס for Rus' first appears in *SY* per Taube [2023] 77.) Moreover, *SY*'s portrayal of the Hungarians seems up-to-date, given their settling on the Danube in 895–896 CE. *SY*'s mention that Tarsus as contested by Muslims and Byzantines appears to provide one (of several) *terminus ante quem*, since the Byzantines did not take it until 965. All of this leads Flusser (1987) to situate *SY* between 900 and 965 CE (390). He also claims that the author of *SY* had firsthand knowledge of Venosa (397n25). Nissan (2019a) calls *SY* a text "replete with tantalizing onomastics" and finds particular interest in river names, the Hebrew spelling for which can cause confusions. He notes an extract on the onomastic material from *SY* 1 (א) in Elijah Capsali's chronicle of the Ottomans (1517) and compares *SY* to the medieval travelogue of Benjamin of Tudela (1130–1173)—on which see Stein Kokin (2024)—en route to a valuable comparative study of the first two chapters of *SY*. Nissan (2019a) 190 also notes that Sela (2009) 1.102–103n18 "credited … C. Zuckerman for dating the Table of Nations of the *Yosippon* to no later than 945, because that is when the Rus' invasion of the region north of the Caspian ended." Zuckerman (1995) does this incidentally, as he only mentions *SY* once, at 255n67, in noting that Golb/Pritsak (1982) cite *SY* as a contemporary example for a translation of the verb סילה as "did away," "evidently used as a euphemism for *hishmid* destroyed or *harag* slew" to convey a less-violent way of ruining a person. The verb is used in an anonymous Hebrew letter from the Cairo Genizah dated ca. 949.

116 Bowman (2010) 106 summarizes the portion of *SY* 2 (א) dealing with Zepho: "So much for Roman polytheism and the Roman deification of the ruler which the author of *Sepher Yosippon* hereby demystifies on two historical levels—by a tongue-in-cheek use of Rome's own classical traditions and by satirically claiming a Semitic origin for the ancient Roman state."

117 By *totalizing* I mean that *SY* 2 (ב) attempts to account for effectively all of (known/significant) 'ancient history' together by combining Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish traditions, just as the chronicle genre began to do more commonly in Late Antiquity; by *relativizing* I mean that this chapter situates Roman Antiquity not on its own terms, but within a broader scope contained within a biblical/Jewish view of the world, as implied by *SY* 1 (א) and by the biblical figures and events contributing to Rome's beginnings, success, and survival; by *equalizing* I mean that this chapter places an explicit comparandum

SY 2 (ב)—such as René Bloch, Ruth Nisse, and myself[118]—have done so because of the striking singularity of Yosippon's portrayal of a Judaized Roman Antiquity, written from the cultural margins that the Jews always occupied within early medieval western Europe. Like *SY* 1 (א), *SY* 2 (ב) comprises a unique portion of *SY* that is especially helpful for thinking through how *SY* conceives of the social geography of the ancient past and the place of the Jews within it.

At the other end of the narrative, indeed the work's final chapter, is *SY* 89 (פט), Yosippon's version of the Masada saga, which ends in the deaths of the last Judean rebels under the leadership of Eleazar ben Yair. This occurred atop a now-famous plateau in southern Israel and, according to Josephus, involves the mass suicide of 960 Judean warriors (*BJ* 7.400).[119] That something happened involving Judeans and a Roman siege at Masada around 73 CE is supported by archaeological evidence, which nevertheless leaves ambiguities.[120] What is remarkable about Yosippon's version of this narrative is that, unlike the famous account of Josephus (*BJ* 7.275–406) or the more anti-Jewish account of *SY*'s source (*DEH* 5.53), Yosippon records these Judean soldiers as dying *in battle*; according to *SY* 89 (פט), the final Judean rebels die not at their own hands but by Roman swords, slaying enemy soldiers as they draw their final breaths.[121] Moreover, Yosippon casts this mass casualty as a kind of martyr-

---

alongside Rome that Rome does not overshadow, but which constitutes a peer, an equal, even an antecedent to the famous proto-empire. On the Jews as friends and foes of Rome in *SY*, see Börner-Klein (2010); for an overview of the Roman-Jewish interface in literature and history, see now Berthelot (2021).

118 Bloch (2009) offers a high-quality introduction to and translation of *SY* 2 (ב). Nisse (2017) 19–48 focuses *SY* 2 (ב) within a wider treatment of *SY* amidst Jewish and Christian historiographical debates of the early Middle Ages. Nisse (2024) brings out the apocalyptic undertones of *SY* 2 (ב)—and *SY* 89 (פט)—by comparing them to Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist* (ca. 950). Bay (forthcoming A) assess *SY* 2 (ב) in terms of post-colonial and subaltern critique, highlighting the significance of such a chapter's surprising reversals inasmuch as they come from the cultural margins of early medieval western Europe.

119 The place to begin when studying Masada is Magness (2019).

120 The classic study is Yadin (1966), along with the field reports published in 8 volumes after Yadin's death in 1984 recording the 1963–1965 excavations there. Cf. briefly Atkinson (2007) 357–358.

121 While the line between suicide-by-self and suicide-by-Roman-soldier (something like the modern idea of 'suicide by cop') may be thin, it is worth noting that, while Jewish and Christian traditions have quite consistently condemned suicide, both contain in their scriptures a story in which a hero—not necessarily one to be emulated, however—commits effective suicide while fighting enemies: Samson, whose death as a captive of the Philistines was self-wrought yet also took a host of Philistines with him (Judg 16:30); cf. Heb 11:32 and see Middleton (2020) 16–17.

dom: it is for "the name of the LORD" or "for the LORD and for his sanctuary" that these zealous soldiers die (depending upon which version of the ending one reads).[122] Given the surprising shift that Yosippon makes to the traditional Masada story,[123] it is not difficult to imagine why and what kind of attention this passage has received.[124] From studies of its engagement with the martyrdom/noble death tradition[125] to assessments of its implications for Zionism and/or Jewish and eventually Israeli nationalism,[126] *SY* 89 (פט) has not found itself as marginalized in research as has the rest of the Hebrew work to which it belongs.

This study does not include these chapters at the center of its argument because they have been examined to some degree already and because they provide a less-stable basis for comparing *SY* to *DEH* than do the speeches with which this book does concern itself.[127] However, even a passing glance at *SY* 1 (א) or *SY* 2 (ב) or *SY* 89 (פט) would be shown to support the arguments of this study. What I describe as biblicization, theologization, and Judaization are all

122 See Bowman (2023) 392; Grundmann (2009) 79–82, who suggests that *SY* offers an "implizite Kritik" of suicide in both the Jotapata and Masada narratives.

123 In discussing which, Bowman (2014a) 228 writes of how Ps-Heg had "Christianized" the Masada narrative and then how *SY* "de-Christianized" Ps-Heg's treatise.

124 Josephus' account itself has long been held in great suspicion by scholars, including Yadin (1966). See Chapman (2007) for an analysis of the story as found in Josephus qua myth. In recounting the various sources for the Masada myth, Ben-Yehuda (1995) 213 includes *SY* in a subsection entitled "Fiction" within his chapter on "Masada in Children's Literature." Needless to say, scholars have rarely taken *SY*'s account of Masada as historically serious, but rather see it as literarily and culturally interested (a mirror to the present book's approach). (Note that Ben-Yehuda is totally unaware of *SY*'s Latin Christian source!)

125 Nisse (2017) 36 remarks that, in its translation of 2 Macc 7 and *DEH* 5.53 (Masada), *SY* "reinvents martyrdom itself as a kind of holy war, influenced … by the indulgence granted by the ninth-century popes Leo IV and John VIII to Christians who died fighting the Muslim forces in Europe. Martyrdom becomes a focus of the text," picking up earlier suggestions made by Avraham Grossman (see also 38–39, 46). Likewise, Baron (1952) 193 reckons that "many Jews before 1096 must have pointed to the example set by the last heroic fighters of Masada and preached that individual or communal self-extermination was preferable to conversion."

126 See Bowman (1995); Bowman (2014a) 230. Feldman (2010) 120–123 argues that *SY*, not Simhoni's Hebrew translation of Josephus, served as the inspiration for the 1926 poem *Masada* by Yitzhak Lamdan (1899–1954), thus helping fuel ideas about patriotism, self-sacrifice/martyrdom, and nationalism in early-twentieth century Jewish thought. Feldman (2024) picks up and extends this argument. Grundmann (2009) 77 argues that *SY*'s Masada story turns nationalistic motives for suicide into fully religious ones.

127 *SY* 1 (א) and *SY* 2 (ב) do not have parallels in *DEH*, and *SY* 89 (פט) has very early, very divergent text traditions, in comparison to which the chapters studied in this book are extremely stable.

operative in each of these chapters, and each of them may be seen to counter a Christian conception of Jewish history and/as identity by lionizing the Jewish legacy. These chapters thus fully comport with a reading of *SY* that sees it as a reclamation project whereby the Jewish tradition recaptures its own ancient history by presuming once again to write it … for the first time in about a thousand years.

• • •

The state of research on *SY* suffices to show that this text is not well understood. A better, clearer understanding of what this text is and how it works is necessary for scholarly circles that find occasion to mention it, whether in disciplines like Jewish Studies and Medieval Studies, for which *SY* is an obvious and important object of inquiry, or in fields like Biblical Studies, Classics, or Religious Studies, for which *SY* can provide interesting insights and specified case studies. Regardless of the who or the why, *SY* cannot receive the responsible treatment it deserves until it is shown precisely how *SY* relates to its major Latin source, *DEH*. To ignore this source-critical relationship, or to wave vaguely to it without understanding it, is to invite misunderstanding of *SY* itself. To appreciate *SY* as a piece of historiographical literature, we must approach the text in terms of its own lineage within literary history.

Of course, a knowledge of *SY*'s historical context of conception, writing, and production is also important. While as a literary historian and philologically-oriented scholar I tend in this book to stress linguistic and textual aspects of *SY*, there is no question that an adequate understanding of *SY* requires insight into the era, the area, and the social and intellectual topography of its conception. As we will see, we know precious little for sure about *SY*'s historical contexts. Nevertheless, what we do know helps shape the way we understand *SY* and the questions we ask of it later on in this study. Therefore the next chapter prepares the way for the content chapters to follow by outlining what is true of the environments that witnessed *SY*'s emergence as well as some of the *kinds* of things that *might* have been true of *SY*'s author and the social milieus that that person inhabited.

CHAPTER 1

Historical Context, Methodological Framework, Theoretical Considerations

The study of *SY* is plagued by some of the same vagaries as its primary source, *DEH*. Neither author, nor precise date, nor exact provenance is known for either work. But such an unfortunate lacuna can also be an opportunity. When we examine either text, there is less occasion than there might be for knowledge of an author's biography or of particular historical context to prompt presuppositions. Similarly, when we examine these texts side-by-side, all that we really know about the authors behind the texts is what may be inferred from the texts themselves, occasionally supplemented, perhaps, by knowledge of the general time periods and broad areas whence these texts are thought to have come.[1] We may capitalize upon such inability to presume by treating these texts as texts. Thus, while I refer to the authors of these texts throughout this work—as "Yosippon" and "Ps-Hegesippus," as mentioned before—we are really talking about the texts themselves, human artifacts which as such supply evidence of human authorship and intention. This necessity aligns with the present study's textually-oriented methods of close reading and the literary and philological tenor of its discussion. Before moving on to that discussion, however, we must put forward what can be said about Yosippon, and about when and where *SY* was first written down.

1 Historical Context: Date, Author, Provenance, and Beyond

The least debatable aspect of *SY*'s beginnings has to do with its date.[2] While scholars a century ago were entertaining the idea that *SY* hailed from Late Antiquity, say the fourth century or so,[3] it is now *communis opinio* that the

1 *SY* fits generally with what Roberto Bonfil (1983) described as the "penumbra documentaria che circonda la storia degli Ebrei d'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo" (135).

2 One can begin here with Bowman (1994).

3 Trieber (1895) for the fourth century, with a complex theory involving three layers of *SY*'s text over time; cf. Gaster (1899) xiv–xvii and Zeitlin (1929) 3 for early dates.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-003
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

Hebrew text comes from the late-ninth or early-tenth century.[4] This has in part to do with the names that *SY* 1 (א) assigns to places and peoples. There the Hungarians are situated on the River Danube, a place they did not inhabit until 895–896. And there the city of Tarsus in Asia Minor is presented as having been conquered by Muslims and contested by Byzantines, suggesting that the Byzantine reconquest thereof in 965 had not yet occurred. This led Flusser to date *SY* to between 900 and 965.[5] Further, Flusser believed he could date *SY* to 953 exactly, given a colophon that he found in a fifteenth-century manuscript reading: "And we have written and translated from the book, namely from the book of Joseph ben Gurion the priest in the year 885 after the destruction" (ואנחנו כתבנו והעתקנו מן הספר, מספר יוסף בן גוריון הכהן בשנת מאות ושמנים וחמשה לחורבן).[6] However, this note must refer to a later copy made of the book or something else, for several reasons.[7] For one thing, *SY* is quoted by Saadia Gaon (d. 942).[8] For another, Hasdai ibn Shaprut (c. 915–970) commissioned a copy of *SY*. A manuscript from the Cairo Genizah records the fortunes of Hasdai's emissary, who was violently waylaid twelve miles from Naples:[9]

> Moreover, we have to inform the leader of "the scattered flock" [Ḥasdai Ibn Shaprūt] concerning Mar Samuel, who has been as a faithful slave to his master … After he had escaped from "the defilement of that curse" [the danger of enforced conversion], he undertook nine months to make a copy of the book of Joseph b. Gurion [*Yosippon*] in a short time. On his way hither [Bari], when he got twelve miles away from NPIAH, he was held up by robbers who deprived him of the book as well as of the letters, and whatever else they found on him … Then out of esteem for you, Mar Abraham ⟨b.⟩ Sassōn, the doctor and head of the community, was stirred up. He and some other men of his rode off on horses [but failed to recover anything] …[10]

4 Only the consensus, not the idea itself, is new: Zunz (1832) 148 had already argued for a tenth-century, southern Italy origin of *SY*, in which he was followed by Steinschneider (1893) 898, Cassuto (1932) 424, and Baer (1949) 204–205 before Flusser (1953) 114–117.

5 Flusser (1987) 390; more fully see Flusser (1953) and Flusser (1980) 74–98. However, if the first chapter of *SY* was not original—as argued by Sela (2009) albeit without adequate support—such an argument falls apart.

6 Flusser (1953); Flusser (1987) 390; Flusser (1980) 83, with a note (n. 254) explaining why this had to be the author and not a copyist. This manuscript is Flusser's ms "g," i.e. "MS Rabbenu Gershom."

7 Bowman (2023) xx–xxi.

8 Dönitz (2016) 387.

9 Golb/Pritsak (1982) 86–90; Holo (2009) 118–119.

10 Starr (1939) 153–154.

As reported, brigands stole, among other things, the copy of *SY*—the product of nine months' labor, and thus of no mean value—which was thereafter recovered.[11] This led Umberto Cassuto to imagine an early-tenth century date for *SY*.[12] Other arguments have been put forward, all of which suggest that *SY* was written in the tenth century (or possibly late-ninth).

It is not insignificant that Hasdai ordered his copy of *SY from Byzantine Italy*.[13] This is where virtually all scholars have located the work's genesis.[14] David Flusser argued that Yosippon's "Italian spelling and grammatical forms of Latin proper names," as well as his apparent knowledge of southern Italy, was enough to confirm that "the author of *Josippon* was an Italian Jew."[15] Even more important for Flusser was the author's ostensible familiarity with Naples,[16] where Sergius, Duke of Naples from 840–864, had dedicated three (Latin) Josephus manuscripts to the bishop's library and where John III, Duke of Naples from 928–969, had a manuscript of (Latin) Josephus copied in memory of his wife Theodora, who died in 951. Alternatively, Steven Bowman has noted the over 700 manuscripts available at the great library of the monastery of Bobbio in Piacenza, Northern Italy, a collection that included the major (*LAJ*, *DEH*) and minor (Macrobius, Jerome, Orosius) Latin sources used by Yosippon.[17] While no incontrovertible evidence ties *SY* to Italy, no real alternatives have been put forward concerning whence that work came. Not that firmly attaching *SY* to Italy helps much; as scholarship like that of Roberto Bonfil has shown, we are extremely limited in what we can say about the Jews in early medieval Italy due to a dearth of sources.[18] In addition to the author's language and local knowledge, one can mention the early manuscript tradition, the work's early readership, the longstanding presence of Jews in Italy (testified *inter alia* by epi-

11 Sharf (1971) 170.

12 Cassuto (1918–1920).

13 Holo (2009) 118n184 suggests that Hasdai's emissary was waylaid in traffic between Amalfi and Naples.

14 Rachetta (2019) locates *SY*'s origin "probabilmente in Puglia" (209).

15 Flusser (1987) 393; cf. Holo (2009) 87.

16 Namely, that Naples' inhabitants collected oil that seeped to the surface of the sea "from subterranean levels between Naples and the new site of Sorrento." Flusser (1987) 393; Flusser (1978) 18.

17 Bowman (2019) 59, pointing out that these sources of *SY* were identified already in Baer (1949). On Orosius in *SY*, see Bay (2025b).

18 Bonfil (1983) 135, noting that this state of affairs tends to lead in extrapolation in all directions to create a picture of early medieval Italian Jewry based on norms and comparanda from other eras and areas. He cites the work of Blumenkranz (1960) 7–10, 13–15 as an example of this. More fully on the issue, see Bonfil (1996).

taphs),[19] and the 'Hebrew renaissance' attached to eighth- to eleventh-century (southern) Italy[20] as complementary evidence pointing to an Italian provenance for *SY*.

We may note here that "southern Italian Jewry traced its origins to the Judean captives taken from Palestine" after Jerusalem's destruction by Titus and Vespasian.[21] The author and/or reader of *SY*, then, might well have attached a kind of patriotism or micro-nationalism to *SY*'s narrative, which in this case would tell the ur-history of south-Italian Jews in much the same way that the Livy and Vergil did for the Romans, whose ancient history is retold in *SY* 2 (ב). One document may be particularly illuminating in this regard: the eleventh-century Aḥima'aṣ Scroll (*Megillat 'Ahima'aṣ*) chronicles the family history of one Aḥima'aṣ ben Paltiel (b. 1017), claiming that the family was initially brought to southern Italy by Titus after the 70 CE fall of Jerusalem.[22] Incidentally, this scroll also attests to another important feature of Jewish culture in southern Italy around the time of *SY*'s writing: namely, the poetic tradition. "Aḥima'aṣ boasts that his forebears were 'diviners of mysteries' and 'makers of verse' and describes Amittai as 'a poet and a scholar.'"[23] This Amittai is known as a prime example of southern Italy's pioneering industry of *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) in the ninth and tenth centuries. Importantly, as Ezra Fleischer has discussed, the Italian branch of the medieval resurrection of the ancient *piyyut* was dis-

19 While little is known about the Jews in Sicily before the ninth-century Arab invasions, the "first concrete and dated documentary piece of evidence" is the epitaph on the tombstone of Aurelius Samuel and his wife Lasie Erine in Catania; Simonsohn (1997) ix, 1. Bowman (2011) 233 and Bowman (2014b) 41 discuss the "important corpus of Hebrew epitaphs in Venosa and elsewhere throughout Apulia." However, Jewish grave inscriptions in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are nothing new to Italy in the early medieval—such evidence testifies to "significant Jewish communities in the peninsula" for more than 500 years before the Gothic War of 535–554: von Falkenhausen (2011) 271. Jewish inscriptions appear all over Italy, with 600 between Roma, Ostia, and Porto (272–273). Cf. Lacerenza (2021).

20 Bowman (2014b) 41: "This period of eighth- to eleventh-century South Italy has long been recognized by modern scholars as a renaissance of Hebrew whose legacy extended to the Rhineland and later to eastern Europe." Lehnardt (2014) 99 cites Simonsohn (1974) "for the cultural importance of the transition from the use of Hebrew as icon in Antiquity and Late Antiquity into Hebrew literacy."

21 Mancuso (2010) 3; Milano (1963) 27–28.

22 Weinberger (1998) 136: the scroll "recounts the achievements of the author's ancestors from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, beginning with Amittai (c. 800) of Oria, in Apulia. According to the family legend, Amittai's family was brought to southern Italy by Titus after the fall of Jerusalem."

23 Weinberger (1998) 136.

tinctive for its more approachable Hebrew compared to its Eastern counterparts.[24] It may well be that the "pure biblical Hebrew" of *SY* reflects the ideals of a contemporary, emergent Hebrew poetics.[25]

As stated, the author of *SY* is completely unknown. Many scholars have noted that the work was attributed to Josippon/Josephus, i.e. Joseph ben Gorion,[26] until the sixteenth century, when Azariah dei Rossi (1511–1578) noted the distinction between the intra-narrative character/speaker and the author of *SY* (*Me'or Einayim* 1.224–225).[27] It is perhaps difficult for the modern scholar, upon examining *SY*, to reconcile generations of readers believing that the first-century Jewish priest-general-historian Josephus wrote this Hebrew work.[28] But believe it they did.[29] For its part, modern scholarship has offered up several potential authors: David Flusser noted parallels between *SY* and the writings of the Jewish physician Shabbatai Donnolo (912/913–c. 982), including language usage, an appetite for anti-anti-Jewish polemic, and apparent medical knowledge.[30] As Donnolo is one of few (known) Jewish scholars in tenth-century

24 Fleischer (1983) 422–424. Generally on medieval Italian poetry, which then formed the basis for later Ashkenazic *paytanut*, see Lehnardt (2014); Lehnhardt (2006); Fleischer (1975) 423–473, and cf. Hollender (2021) 251–253. On the significance of this corpus for *SY* in particular, see Chapter 4 and elsewhere in Dönitz (2013). Thanks to Saskia Dönitz for encouraging me to include a brief discussion of the poetry tradition here and for supplying important parts of the bibliography.

25 Discussing the tenth-century figure Dunash ben Labrat, student of Saadia Gaon and client of Hasdai ibn Shaprut—who is known to have possessed a copy of *SY*, by the way, on which see below—Rosen/Yassif (2002) 243 link the Hebrew-Andalusian school of poetry and the Arabaic-Hebrew interface to the revival of "pure" Hebrew: "The revival of 'pure' biblical Hebrew as a poetic language—often seen as a manifestation of renewed national awareness—was itself modelled upon the puristic linguistic ideals cultivated by Arabic poets and linguists." This makes more interesting the idea that *SY* may have had Arabic origins: see Sela (2009).

26 The name "Joseph ben Gorion" comes from Yosippon's conflation of Josephus, i.e. Joseph ben Mattityahu, and a certain *Iosephus Gorione genitus* mentioned at *DEH* 3.3.2. Thus did Josephus the author and historical actor obtain a new patronymic en route to becoming the assumed author of *SY*.

27 See Feldman (1984) 62.

28 As Flusser (1980) 74–75 points out, the author of *SY* unmistakably distinguishes himself from the ancient author/actor.

29 Dönitz (2013) 4–5; see further Goodman (2019) 96; Zeldes (2020); Zeldes (2024).

30 Flusser (1980) 81, 86; cf. Dönitz (2013) 17; Bowman (2019) 60. One does find passages in *SY* that suggest that the author may have been a physician. At *SY* 81 (פא), the priest Amitai says that because his blood will be mingled with that of his sons after both are slain by the same sword (see Chapter 7 of this book), this will be "a medication and a soothing balm" (לתרופה ולמרח מנוחה), a phrase with biblical connotations yet somewhat obscure and apparently technical: see Bay (2024) 375n23. So also with the discussions of child-

southern Italy, this isn't an impossibility. It is also not a probability. While definite identification of *SY*'s author is too much to hope for, we can use Donnolo as a theoretical *type* of the kind of author and context that might have produced *SY*.

2 Imagining the Emergence of *Sefer Yosippon* in History

Regardless of how little we know about *SY*'s specific provenance (or, indeed, about specific Jewish experiences in early-tenth century Italy), it is helpful to imagine how a text like the one we are studying possibly or probably came to

birth at *SY* 15 (טו)—see van Henten (2024) 361 and Flusser (1980) 86—and also at *SY* 86 (פו), on which see Bay (2022b). Cf. the descriptions of body and carnage in *SY* 31 (לא), with some apparent medical terminology, additional mentions of doctors, and physiological descriptions. *SY* 31 (לא) is also very helpful in illustrating how *SY* relates to *LAJ* and *DEH* in places where it sews them both into its narrative weave. In the following portion thereof (describing the aftermath of Antigonus' murder at Aristobulus' behest), **bolded text** = material adapted from *LAJ* 3.314–319; *italicized text* = material adapted from *DEH* 1.8.1 (cf. *BJ* 1.81–84 and Bay 2023, 50–52); and unmarked text = material original to *SY*: "**And it happened after this that it was told to Aristobulus that his brother had been murdered. Then his compassion for his brother was inflamed and he wept and let out a great and extremely bitter cry**. And he beat his breast with his two fists and cast himself to the ground. And he broke his lungs within him and they opened up sources of the blood which was in his chest *and the king began to vomit blood from his mouth*. **And it happened as he was vomiting blood** from day to day upon a golden bowl that he gave the bowl to a boy so that he might carry it to the king's doctors. *And the boy was carrying the vessel, and he passed over that place in which Antigonus, the brother of the king, had been murdered. And behold, there were still bright spots of his blood spilled upon the marble floor*, and all the stones of the floor were stained with the blood of Antigonus. And the boy's feet were pushed, and they led him astray, *and he overturned the bowl and spilled the blood of the king on top of the blood of his murdered brother and the blood of the king was intermingled with the blood of Antigonus, his brother*." Mention of the king's doctors, the description of what happens to Aristobulus' lungs and chest, and the staining (not just spilling) of the floor with blood, are additions made by Yosippon. Was it a doctor's hand that held this pen? Note also a part of *SY* 41 (מא), drawn from where Josephus reports of the death of Phasael, older brother of Herod the Great in *LAJ* 14.365–369. Taken captive by Antigonus and not being willing to await execution on the order of the same, Phasael dashed his own head against a rock to commit suicide. Josephus' text ([*L*]*AJ* 14.368) reports that Antigonus heard of Phasael's wound and sent physicians whom he ordered to infuse the wound with poison, thus killing Phasael. The parallel portion of *SY* omits this completely. Was this because Yosippon, a physician himself, was loathe to cast such shade on his colleagues? (This draws upon research undertaken by myself and David B. Levenson in 2020–2021.)

be. Here we do not have much to go on.[31] However, there is one figure whose name has consistently appeared in the literature on *SY*'s author and the historical circumstances of the work's creation: Shabbatai Donnolo.[32]

Shabbatai Donnolo, or Shabbethai ben Abraham ben Joel, was born in 912/913 and lived until after 982.[33] He was thus a Jewish scholar who lived in the mid-tenth century, around when *SY* was written,[34] about whom more is known than almost any of his contemporaries. Based on a brief sketch of his life, we may identify some potential connections between Donnolo and our imagined author of *SY* that could help explain where *SY*'s author came into possession of certain skills, knowledge, texts, and resources. This is *not* an argument that Donnolo wrote *SY*. But it is a demonstration that there existed people at the time and place of *SY*'s origin who can be easily imagined to have penned a work like *SY*. What we know of Donnolo, in other words, helps us paint a portrait of the *kind* of figure that could well have authored *SY*.

Donnolo was born in Oria, a small town in the center of southernmost Italy, but was then relocated to the coast.[35] At the time of his birth, Italy in general and southern Italy in particular had already housed identifiable Jew-

31 See generally the documents and discussion in Starr (1939), esp. 50 on the education of Jewish children (in one place stated to be limited to the Bible, which Starr finds improbable).

32 Note Starr (1939) 56–57: "The works of Donnolo constitute a valuable proof of the kind of intellectual ferment that was taking place among the better educated Jews of his province, which is noteworthy for other cultural activities as well. The most important manifestation of the latter is the very valuable chronicle of Aḥīma'as. This was written at the close of the Byzantine regime in southern Italy, and is thus far the only historical writing that can be definitely credited to that section of Jewry. For although it is now known explicitly that *Yosippon*, the Hebrew version of Josephus, was available there before the middle of the tenth century, there is as yet no proof that it was composed in the same region rather than in northern Italy; and with regard to such writings as the *Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel* and the Alexander-romance, these seem to belong to a later period." Starr departs from the assumption of most scholars today in demurring at southern Italy as its provenance; given our lack of knowledge, we should keep in mind northern Italy as a possibility.

33 Gottheil (1906) 639. The foundational twentieth-century works on Donnolo are Muntner (1949) and Sharf (1976).

34 Scholarship has routinely noted the contemporaneity of *SY* and Donnolo to make them mutually illuminating sources for studying tenth-century Judaism in Italy. See already Steinschneider (1868) 61n22, 87–88.

35 Either to Otranto, further to the southeast, as per Gottheil (1906) 639, or to the port-city of Taranto, due west, as per Mancuso (2010) 17. In 925, at the age of 12, Donnolo "was made prisoner by the Arabs under the leadership of the Fatimite Abu Ahmad Ja'far ibn 'Ubaid" before being ransomed by family, some of whom lived in Palermo. Interestingly enough,

ish populations for over a thousand years.[36] Within early medieval "Jewish Italy," which Shlomo Simonsohn dubbed "the melting pot of Mediterranean Jews,"[37] Hebrew existed as a language that connected Jews within a wider milieu whose common coin was Vulgar Latin but within which early Italian dialects[38] were emerging and Byzantine Greek would not have been unusual.[39] However, according to Nicholas de Lange, it did not do so as a spoken language, but as the language of "'high' culture among Jews," the "language of literary compositions."[40] This is the language of *SY*, and that of Donnolo's oeuvre. Shabbatai Donnolo "was the author of a series of works, among the first in medieval Europe to be written in Hebrew, about medicine, pharmacopoeia, and astrology."[41] So, in terms of place and in terms of literary language, Donnolo represents a type for *SY*'s anonymous author.[42] This statement about his literary corpus, moreover, points us to two further points of connection.[43]

One question for which an answer must be imagined is: how did *SY*'s author access all of the Christian and Classical material that he used, given that all of its sources fall within the Latin iterations of these traditions? In 946 Donnolo produced his *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* ("The Wise Book"),[44] which engaged *inter alia*

---

an early source "most probably" recording the burning of Oria in 925 by the Muslim Fatimids mentions *SY*, which Bonfil (1983) 155n73 understood as collapsing the attempt of Flusser (1980) 63–64n183 to write off that source so as to maintain his favored date-of-composition (953). Cf. Starr (1939) 149.

36 Westenholz (1995) 14–16; Noy (2000); Milano (1963) 27–28; Mancuso (2010) 3.

37 Simonsohn (2016).

38 The so-called Placiti Cassienesi, four legal documents from southern Italy dating to 960–963, are often taken as the earliest instances of Italian as a Romance language.

39 Bowman (1987) 374: "In the mid-tenth century southern Italy was still an integral part of the Byzantine world."

40 de Lange (1996) 113.

41 Mancuso (2010) praef.

42 As there may be particular reason to imagine *SY*'s author as a doctor, we might note Chazan (2006) 117 to the effect that, among the Jewish communities of Sicily and southern Italy, "Jewish involvement in medicine is particularly noteworthy."

43 Though Donnolo is known for engaging Greek texts, not necessarily Latin ones: see, e.g., Starr (1939) 51, who credits Donnolo with "the most important works" in the Early Byzantine Period, calling him "an eminent intellectual figure among both the Jews and Gentiles of southern Italy." See Starr (1932) 52, 164, *et alibi* on Donnolo's reputation as a physician, and 53 ff. for further discussion of him and his time.

44 The *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* is a Neoplatonic interpretation of the *Sefer Yeṣirah* ("Book of Formation"), a Hebrew work first attested in the tenth century and attributed to the patriarch Abraham himself which provides a numerological explanation of the world's creation (on this text, see Weiss [2018]). As such, *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* is part of a cultural dialogue on philos-

with the state of astrological knowledge of the time.[45] Donnolo's research for this project caused him to turn his "attention to the science of the Greeks, the Ishmaelites, and Babylonians and the Indians, to know, to search and to seek." He consulted the books of each of these groups and found them to comport with Jewish wisdom, after which he writes: "I travelled around the country seeking out gentiles who knew the science of the constellations and the planets in order to learn from them."[46] That is, Donnolo traveled around Italy consulting with Gentiles and accessing their literatures in the mid-tenth century. Moreover, Donnolo by this point seems already to have earned a reputation even among Christians as a learned and accomplished physician: he is mentioned as such in the *Life of Saint Nilus of Rossano* (c. 1020)[47] and in the Latin *Chronica Elini* eventually compiled into the *Urbis Salernitanae Historia* (1681),[48] where he appears as a legendary Jewish doctor alongside three others doctors, one Latin Christian, one Greek (Orthodox) Christian, one Muslim. The latter source has less historical value than the former, but it does, as Piergabriele Mancuso notes, signal "Donnolo's fame, making him a paradigmatic figure of the Jewish doctor in southern Italy."[49] All of this is to say that Donnolo enjoyed extensive professional engagement across confessional lines and was active across Italy in the tenth century.

---

ophy involving figures like the prominent philosopher and rabbi Sa'adiah ben Yosef Gaon (892–942), the Spanish grammarian and poet Dunash ha-Levi ben Labrat (c. 920/925–985+), and the Neoplatonic Jewish philosopher from the Arab world, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon (832–932); see Mancuso (2010) 57.

45 In case one is tempted to demur when faced with the suggestion that a physician-astrologer would be likely to write a traditional history, consider the case of Abraham Zacuto (1450–1515), a Spanish Jew who went from studying the stars to producing his own history (*Sefer ha-Yuḥasin*). Astronomy and historiography are both based upon calculation, and indeed, Zacuto's history is full of treatments of sticky dates and problematic historical details. Notably, Zacuto produced his work because "everyone relies on Joseph ben Gorion ha-Kohen" (שסומכים רובם על יוסף בן גוריון הכהן)—that is, *SY* was popular among Jews—and Zacuto wanted to straighten out some of his calculations (*Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* 6); see Shahar (2025) 289.

46 Translations from Mancuso (2010) 229–230, who also provides a new critical edition of the text.

47 Chapter 7. This work was penned by Nilus' disciple Saint Bartholomew. Here Donnolo (Ἰουδαῖος τις ὀνόνατι Δῶμνοθλος) is said to have been "studious to a very high degree" (σφόδρα φιλομαθῆ) and "learned in the medical art in no common way" (ἱκανόν περὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην) and is supposed to have been known in Rossano from Nilus' youth (ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ). See Mancuso (2010) 16.

48 Written by Antonio Mazza in Naples.

49 Mancuso (2010) 17.

As for the literature and language in which Donnolo immersed himself, he is known to have read Latin and to have transliterated Latin terms.[50] All of his known works, moreover, were written in Hebrew, albeit in a "style which combines the syntax and morphology of Rabbinical and Biblical Hebrew." While this does not match well a description of *SY*'s Hebrew, what does is Donnolo's use of nouns and adjectives in distinctive ways, sometimes confusing the grammatical gender of Latin. In other words, Donnolo's Hebrew prose, which occasionally included Latin-to-Hebrew, evinces just the kind of Latin/Hebrew interface that one finds in *SY*, as Flusser, Mancuso, and Solomon Zeitlin noticed.[51] Indeed, a portion of Donnolo's work that engages with the physiology and philosophy of soul/breath/spirit appears to have been included, unreferenced, into *SY*.[52]

Remember that we are not testing the hypothesis that Donnolo penned *SY*. We are using Donnolo as a thought experiment. In that vein, let us ask: What would it take for a figure like Donnolo to produce *SY*? Motive and opportunity. The ability was there. Nor is it difficult to imagine a scholar with Donnolo's ranging interests, particularly as they overtly contraposed Jewish thought to that of Christians and other 'others,' being interested in rewriting the story of Jerusalem's destruction, the Temple's downfall. All it would have taken is a bit of time and access to a range of Latin sources like *DEH*, sources which, as we showed in the last chapter, will have existed together in more than one library of early medieval Italy. The natural place to gain such access would have been through the court of a Christian potentate of some sort. Donnolo was a doctor. Might such a figure not have had such access, either during some short period or for an extended period of his life? (Remember that we can only fill in tiny portions of his biography, and based only upon what he relates, which he does incidentally, not systematically.) As noted above, the early-eleventh century *Life of Saint Nilus of Rossano* contains a passage in which Donnolo is presented as a talented doctor in Rossano long known to the saint (Chapter 7). Just after this in the same work (Chapter 8) comes another passage featuring Donnolo, this time as a doctor present in the court of Eupraxius, Byzantine Viceroy of Calabria. The episode involves an audience of Saint Nilus before the Viceroy:

---

50 Mancuso (2010) 29–33.

51 Mancuso (2010) 33; Flusser (1974) 122–132; Zeitlin (1963); Flusser (1953) 115–116. It should be noted that Zeitlin here dates *SY* "in the third or in the early part of the fourth century" (277), which is absurd; Zeitlin in any case is not working with any kind of adequate Hebrew text, writing fifteen years before Flusser's edition.

52 See Lieber (1984) 237, 244, suggesting that this section ultimately came from Asaf the Sage's slightly earlier *Book of Medicines*; see further 235–236 here on *SY*; Bonfil (1983) 158; Flusser (1980) 81.

the latter has been struck with gangrene on account of his wicked treatment of Nilus, and his repentance involves allowing the saint to dress him in a monk's garb. The scene is related thus:

> There was also present a Jew, Donnulus, as a doctor whom I have mentioned before, who watched what went on around him; and he came up, and after admiring what had been done, addressed those standing there in this way: "Today I saw marvelous things, which we have heard were done before. Now have I seen Daniel, the prophet, taming the lion. For who had ever been able to lay his hand on a lion. Yet this new Daniel both shaved his hair and put on him a monk's cap." And it was a Jew who said this.[53]

Harry Friedenwald, discussing this passage in article over a hundred years ago, objected to arguments to the effect that "Donnolo was the physician of Eupraxius," stating that "there is no ground whatever for this assumption."[54] He was here correcting suggestions made by no less a scholar than Heinrich Graetz.[55]

Friedenwald is right. There is no reason to take a passage like this as evidence that Donnolo served at Eupraxius' court. Indeed, it is also probable that Cesare Colafemmina goes too far in stating that "St. Nile, the monk of Rossano (910–1004), who founded the Greek monastery of Grottaferrata (Rome), met Donnolo many times."[56] But either scenario is within the realm of possibility, even if not in evidence.[57] Furthermore, connection to either one of these individuals, Eupraxius or Nilus, might have provided someone like Donnolo access to Latin texts like the Vulgate, Jerome, Orosius, *LAJ*, and *DEH*. Court libraries and monastery libraries would have been as likely to have these as they would any Latin works. The point here is not to say that Donnolo had access to such libraries, but only that he demonstrates that an intellectually active and literarily productive Jew, writing biblicized Hebrew and aware of extra-Jewish

53 Friedenwald (1922) 141.

54 Friedenwald (1922) 141, following the work of Moritz Steinschneider, whose text he was also citing.

55 Graetz (1859) 316: "… war der junge Donnolo auf sich selbst angewiesen und erlernte die Heilkunde und die Unheilkunde der Astrologie … und war Leibarzt des byzantinischen Vicekönigs (Basilicus) Eupraxios, der im Namen des Kaisers Calabrien beherrschte."

56 Colafemmina (2012) 4 (and 5–6). The monastery, which Nilus founded with Bartholomew of Rossano (981–1055), author of his *Life*, still holds three Greek autograph manuscripts of Nilus dating to around 965: B.α.XIX—Gr. 215; B.α.XX—Gr. 216; B.β.I—Gr. 217.

57 So Friedenwald (1922) 141: "The citations are evidence of the reputation of Donnolo as well as of the attitude of one of the great Italian church fathers of the tenth century toward Jewish physicians and toward the medical treatment of disease."

cultural conversations, *could* have procured access to the textual sources necessary for a work like *SY*. Nor does such a possibility stretch the imagination. And if *SY*'s author was, as Flusser has suggested, a physician, then he could have traveled in circles very similar to those of Shabbatai Donnolo. They could have known each other.

At the end of the day, however, even more than with *SY*'s date and provenance, with its author we are left to make educated guesses (or, sometimes, just guesses). It seems safe to assume that *SY* emerged in Italy, probably the South, and probably in the earlier-tenth century. Fortunately, for the present project's scope, these details are less important than the Hebrew text of *SY* itself.

3 Methodology and Argument

The argument of this book concerns two texts: the Hebrew text of *SY*, and the Latin text of *DEH*. My central thesis pertains to how *SY* relates to *DEH* as a later text engaging and reworking its source. Extrapolating upon the descriptive demonstrations at the base of these claims, I posit broader arguments about what *SY* is vis-à-vis *DEH*, how it functions as an inheritor of that text, and what this means for our understanding of *SY* and *DEH* as texts involved in a historiographical competition. The way that I have laid out my central argument below illustrates this progression.

The method that grounds this multi-level argument is extremely simple. It involves, in the first place, setting major speeches shared by *SY* and *DEH* side-by-side and observing the differentiated dynamics of these orations' transitions from Latin to Hebrew. Close comparison of two texts. This means paying close attention to *SY*'s choices of vocabulary and phrasing, measured against the text of *DEH*, other apparent sources (such as the Hebrew Bible), and broader habits of language exhibited elsewhere in *SY*. Sometimes such discussions may be supplemented with reference to particular debates or topics of literature current at the time of *DEH*'s or *SY*'s writing. Such comparison also requires that we do our due diligence re: textual variants within the Latin of *DEH* and the Hebrew of *SY*. Eventually, such comparison reveals patterns in *SY*'s use of *DEH*, which invite the reader to hypothesize about *why* certain omissions, additions, alterations appear between *DEH* and *SY*. This critical 'why' question can be answered in several ways. In this book, I prefer to speak in terms of what the redactional manifestations of *SY* suggest, rather than what Yosippon 'thought' or 'was trying to do' and rather than reading *SY* within particular theoretical frameworks.

This is not to say that this study is 'theory-free.' Far from it. But it is not driven in the first instance by sweeping theoretical concerns. A good example of a theoretical precursor to my approach comes in the work of Bruce Lincoln.[58] In his *Gods and Demons, Priests and Scholars*, Lincoln makes the fundamental point that (religious) texts "are human products," and that this contingency is a constant when considering texts, as authors do not and cannot produce these disinterestedly.[59] Lincoln's work on myth and/as history as tools for negotiating the origins and identities of groups also provides theoretical guidance for the present book, as *SY* in many ways is an example of the "origin myths" about which Lincoln writes in *Between History and Myth*, and elsewhere.[60] Lincoln frequently points out the capacity of such narratives to alter the traditions out of which they spring by way of 'reshaping the story' or 'recalibrating' the traditionary structures into which they make interventions.[61] This relates to a final formative contribution of Lincoln's, which is his insistence upon comparison, the charting of similarities and differences, as a basic methodology for tracking meaning and intention (as far as this can be done) within (hi)story. Comparative method looms large across his work, finding its consummation

58 I am indebted to Jacob Lollar for continually returning me to Lincoln's work and for reminding me of its particular suitability for engagement in projects like this one.

59 Lincoln (2012) 10–15, quote at 10. Note, however, that Lincoln's method for approaching the interests reflected in texts involves, naturally, the establishment of the "authorship of all texts considered and the circumstances of their authorship, circulation, and reception" (9). In the case of *DEH* and *SY* we are more limited in these regards than would usually be the case in the study of texts.

60 Lincoln (2014); cf. Lincoln (2012) 53–62. One generative point that Lincoln makes is his characterization of myth as "a discourse that consistently denies originality and obscures the identity of its producers and reproducers, thereby concealing their positionality and the interests (material and other) that influence the modifications they introduce in the stories they tell." We are not privy to such 'interests' as they might relate to *SY*, because we do not know its author. But this very fact, vis-à-vis Lincoln's point, proves interesting. Did the author of *SY* leave his name off the work intentionally, perhaps to encourage an aura of timeless truth? Did the author of *DEH*? Possibly not, but in any case the *effect* of both works' respective anonymities is to create a tradition that remains attached to an *ancient* authority, Flavius Josephus, given the invisibility of his latter-day tradents. Likewise salient is Lincoln's association of mythic narrative with the propensity to describe particular peoples, states, and actions (i.e., the protagonists, as it were) as "paradigmatically admirable and extraordinary" (61); this, as we will see, if one of the defining features of *SY*'s restructuring program vis-à-vis *DEH*.

61 See, e.g., Lincoln (2012) 7, 9, 13, 55. It should be pointed out that Lincoln is in these cases often interested in how real-world social structures are being changed via textual or traditional intervention, whereas the present study pertains mostly to how identities are shifted by means of changes effected within historical (perhaps mythical) narrative. Cf. Lincoln (2012) 62 for his understanding of history as opposed to myth.

in his book *Apples and Oranges*.[62] (Lincoln's predecessor in the University of Chicago's so-called 'History of Religions' school, J.Z. Smith, was also deeply committed to comparison, and sensitive to the tendency to privilege particular religious texts in line with one's own commitments, on which see his *Drudgery Divine*.)[63] For all of this, however, work like Lincoln's serves more as background than as handbook for this study. One does not find his work cited consistently throughout the ensuing pages. Rather, principles suggested and illustrated by Lincoln, digested, contribute in large part invisibly to the critical assumptions and methodological mechanics of this book.

The conclusion(s) to which this book comes can, like any conclusions, be viewed from a number of angles. I have chosen to articulate my conclusions in terms of a scaffolded set of points about 1) the textual dynamics of *SY* vis-à-vis *DEH*, 2) the religio-cultural significance of those dynamics, and 3) the broader historical import of those religious and cultural significances. Together, these comprise the argument of this book. They run as follows.

4 Biblicizing, Theologizing, Judaizing

The most fine-grained component of my thesis has to do with several features of the text of *SY*. I argue that, when one undertakes a close comparison between the Hebrew of *SY* and the Latin of *DEH*, one finds that *SY* biblicizes, theologizes, and Judaizes its Latin source.

By *biblicization* here I mean that the language that *SY* uses to rewrite *DEH*'s Latin text into Hebrew infuses the narrative and its speeches with vocabulary, phraseology, and ideas from the (Hebrew) Bible. As the following chapters will show, in places where Ps-Hegesippus evinces an interest in the cultural vocabularies of ancient Rome and/or early Christianity (e.g. *fides*, *lex*, *libertas*, *natura*, *pro patria mori*, *religio*, *seruitus*, *triumphus*), *SY* will replace these with terms and concepts from the Hebrew Scriptures. *SY* will use conspicuous phrases to frame characters and scenes, as when the brigand Simeon bar Giora is presented in *SY* 81 (פא) as 'hardening his heart,' painting him in terms reminiscent of the Pharaoh as described in Exodus 7:22 and 8:19 (Chapter 7). Yosippon will correct or augment or even delete scriptural references made in *DEH*: where Josephus' speech of *DEH* 3.17.1 contains New Testament quotations, Yosippon replaces these with reworked language from the Book of Job (Chapter 3). Not

62 Lincoln (2018); cf. Smith (2000), who begins there with remarks dealing specifically with the place of comparative work vis-à-vis the academic study of Judaism.

63 See Smith (1994).

only does Yosippon overwhelmingly use the language of the Jewish Bible as a baseline for vocabulary, grammar, and syntax in rewriting the narrative and speeches of *DEH*, it also inserts cross-references into the text and even reframes thereby the meaning and significance of the narrative and its speeches.

We can imagine how well such a dynamic might play with *SY*'s readership. The biblical nature of *SY*'s Hebrew prose makes the work immediately familiar, perhaps even aesthetically pleasing and redolent of authority, to the reader intimate with the Hebrew Bible.[64] For an early medieval Jewish reader who had no access to ancient Jewish history in the Greek and Latin texts created and controlled by Christians—or who did not subscribe to those accounts—a writing like this would come as a most welcome resource, perhaps even as a revelation.[65] Yet my argument for biblicization does not rely upon how *SY*'s readers apprehended the text, nor what Yosippon intended his language and references to do. My point is that *compared to what we find in* SY*'s major source*, i.e. *DEH*, what we find in *SY* is differently and insistently biblical on a number of fronts, creating a text that is even more reminiscent of the Jewish Scriptures than its predecessor (and, given Ps-Hegesippus' robust engagement with his Old Testament, this is saying something).[66]

By *theologization* I mean that Yosippon reframes how God is presented in the story he tells. In *DEH*, the divinity is often in the background, even though a generic Christian theology and supersessionist understanding of history provide the philosophical underpinnings of that work. In *SY*, God is more present. In several of the speeches we will examine, we will see that the Hebrew text of *SY* mentions God's name far more often than does *DEH*'s Latin. In all of the passages we examine, the deity is closely affiliated with the Jewish people, and more favorably disposed toward them, than is stated or assumed by Ps-Hegesippus. Overall, in reading *DEH* one gets the impression of a Jewish people hastening toward their destruction, a destruction definitely determined yet only vaguely observed by a somewhat distant divinity. In *SY* one finds the

64 Cf. comments by Bonfil (1983) 155–156.

65 It is likely that *SY* would have been read as an ancient work, written in the period of its narrative. This is how Yehuda ibn Mosconi understood the text in the fourteenth century, emphasizing *SY*'s authority and antiquity vis-à-vis rabbinic literature and Scripture: "And know too that this book which is known to us as Josippon is the first book written for Jews after the completion of the Prophets and the Hagiographa [i.e., the last two divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures], and it preceded the composition of the Mishnah and the Talmud. Moreover, it preceded the writing of all the books of our ancestors which they wrote to explain the Pentateuch, the Prophetic writings, and the remaining sacred texts on the basis of midrash." Bowman (1985) 136, with further discussion.

66 See Bay (2023), among others, on *DEH*'s engagement with the Old Testament Scriptures.

story of a people thoroughly identified with the one God, their God (called יי in *SY*), undergoing hard times, yet these hardships are always framed in terms of God's covenant and sovereignty. In a thousand subtle ways, *SY* rescripts the story of theodicy attached to the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE, thereby implicitly undoing centuries of Christian historiography that had sought to render that event proof positive of God's revengeful rejection of and judgment upon the Jews, his former people, within history.[67] In *SY*'s story of Jerusalem's destruction, God does not disappear; he is there.

By *Judaization* I mean that *SY* writes the story of the late Second Temple Period in ways that would be more familiar, palatable, and natural to a Jewish reader than what appears in its Latin source. Another way of thinking about this is to consider *SY* an *emic* telling of a story whose *etic* version may be found in the Latin of *DEH*.[68] Just as Yosippon assumes, it seems, that his reader will know the Hebrew Scriptures, so his narrative puts forth an in-group Jewish ethic observable from the very first chapters (out of which Israel/the Jews emerge as an object of interest among all the peoples in the world and among the great empires of Antiquity) to the very last (in which the pious and patriotic self-sacrifice of formidable Jewish warriors is most likely to appeal to those who share those religious and national values).

Despite their tripartite configuration here, biblicizing, theologizing, and Judaizing are not necessarily co-equal in prominence or significance. In fact, one might be forgiven for seeing biblicizing as the most ubiquitous and important of the three, often encompassing the dynamics of the other two. Perhaps *the* reason that *SY* presents such a striking presence given when and where it appears is that its language is so deeply scriptural. While occasional resonance of rabbinic language does crop up in *SY*, the text sounds for the all the world like the Hebrew Bible,[69] which renders it unusual in terms of literary history and the socio-cultural context of early medieval Judaism, and which presumably lent it an immediate aura of authority, something like the *Book of Mormon*'s (1830) adoption of King James English (1611) as its chosen idiom.[70] Though this need not downplay what *SY* does vis-à-vis theology and Jewishness—indeed, it informs it—it is arguably a more important, and more unexpected, feature of a narrative text of *SY*'s time and place.

---

67 On *DEH*'s contribution to this industry, see Bay (2021e).

68 Indeed, in many ways Yosippon's retelling is 'more *emic*' than the narrative told by the Jewish historian Josephus: it is written in Hebrew, less preoccupied with contemporaneous Hellenistic discourses and Roman politics, etc.

69 Bowman (2008) 21.

70 Thanks to David B. Levenson for this wonderful analogy.

Each of these aspects of *SY*'s text—biblicizing, theologizing, Judaizing—occasionally crops up in what one assumes to be distinctively *medieval* garb. Yet the tools we have for contextualizing *SY* within early medieval discourses are limited. *SY* is arguably the earliest post-biblical work of its kind (Hebrew narrative prose) in length and content, and the intellectual heritage that it overtly engages is—aside from the Hebrew Bible—that of the Latin Christian majority culture in which its author no doubt lived. Thus, as we encounter in the coming chapters distinctive ideas about the human soul/spirit, the afterlife, martyrdom, biblical tradition, war, women, and whatever else, our task will rarely be to find contemporary parallels. More often we must look to clues in the Latin text of *DEH* or intra-textual cross-references within *SY* itself to help explain such things, which in any case are almost never articulated as the author's own conviction (i.e. in the narrator's voice), but rather appear in the mouths of characters written into this Hebrew history.

5 Underwriting Hellenistic Judaism, Overwriting Roman Christianity

The three dynamics outlined above conduce to a description of the overall literary effect of *SY* when measured against *DEH*: on the one hand, *SY* underwrites (or endorses) what I call 'the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' by putting forth a distinctive narrative path negotiating identity and alterity vis-à-vis the history (and backstory) of the Roman-Jewish War.[71] On the other hand, *SY* overwrites (or replaces) the ethos of (Latin, Roman) Christianity inasmuch as the latter scripts the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in a way that downplays noble Jewish action, denigrates Jewish religiosity, and delegitimates the historical Jewish polity in both political and theological terms. As a result, *SY* reads like a familiar story being retold with different characters and a different moral (and, indeed, a different ending).

There are a number of distinguishing features that have been identified within what is usually called "Hellenistic Judaism" or, sometimes, "Jewish Hel-

71 Here I am only incidentally drawing upon the language of *Geist* familiar from the work of Hegel, particularly his *Phänomonologie des Geistes* (1807), or *Phenomenology of the Spirit*. Therein Hegel uses the terms *Weltgeist*, *Volkgeist*, and *Geist der Zeiten* (today speaking in terms of *Zeitgeist* is more common) in highly sophisticated and often very specified ways. I draw upon this language as expedient and necessary to do the irreducible and ambiguous work of denoting characteristics particular to a specific time-bound cultural milieu *while avoiding a specificity of description that may not be warranted* (that is, without being historiographically 'scientistic').

lenism."[72] Yet all of these can be subsumed under or linked to the basic habit of cross-cultural thought and expression, catalyzed in the first instance by the Jewish interface with the Hellenistic world, that casts Jews/Judeans as noble, heroic, virtuous peers to their non-Jewish/non-Judean neighbors.[73] This self-understanding and self-expression, moreover, interacts with broader cross-cultural idioms. I will therefore define 'the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' in terms of a *Zeitgeist*—which need not have remained moored to any particular *Zeit*—that tends to produce new modes and media of cultural expression that frame the Jewish collective self in ways that reflect intense engagement with other peoples, worldviews, and cultural forms (language, religion, philosophy) native to the Hellenistic world.[74] Such expressions, moreover, are constructively and positively oriented toward Jewish identity. There is no reason to restrict the expression of such a 'spirit' to Greek texts, though most literary iterations thereof do consist in Greek. I would consider the original Hebrew text of 1Maccabees as much a manifestation of this *Geist* as its most famous Greek expressions,[75] namely the Septuagint (including other Books of the Maccabees), the writings of Philo of Alexandria, and the Josephan corpus. Taking a broad view of what counts as 'Hellenistic,' *SY* is a history not only *about* Jews of the (post-) Hellenistic world but also a renewal of a narrative originally penned by one of the more famous Hellenized Jews in history: Flavius Josephus. It is worth noting that the Septuagint and Philo, as well as Josephus, have left some

72 For discussion/bibliography on the history of scholarship on Hellenistic Judaism: Bay/Ellis (2025) and Kurtz (2022).

73 This cross-cultural ethos of Hellenistic Judaism qua *Zeitgeist* is captured well by Barclay's study (1999) of how ancient diaspora Jews navigated identity, meaning, and belonging through processes of what he calls assimilation, acculturation, and accommodation. Similarly, Collins (1999) deals in a similar vein with diaspora communities living "between Athens and Jerusalem," as it were (i.e., between Jewish and Hellenistic cultural spheres), engaging helpfully with the idea of cognitive dissonance developed by Leon Festinger (1957).

74 By "Hellenistic world" I mean the world dominated by Greek language and ideas that, as the inheritor of the 'Classical' world proper, emerged with Alexander the Great and resonated through the early centuries of the Roman Empire as intellectuals read, wrote, and thought in Greek and in conversation with the multicultural discourse that the spread of Greek hegemony under Alexander and his successors prompted.

75 On the early medieval Hebrew Maccabean texts, see Dönitz (2022) and Rothschild (1990), briefly discussed alongside a summary of *SY* by Gallagher (2025) 89–90, who cites the most important scholarship but is clearly unfamiliar with the state of the field. That both *SY* and other early medieval Hebrew texts preserve—or resurrect—the Maccabean narrative tradition is important inasmuch as the Hasmonean kingdom was one that "Jews, until the modern period, were usually content to forget"; Schwartz (2025) 2 (with bibliography).

mark upon *SY*.[76] Yet, at the same time as *SY* reflects this *Geist* of Hellenistic Judaism, its rather parochial prospects—being written in Hebrew, and thus to a highly limited readership—stand in some tension with the multinational play on homogeneity indicative of ancient Hellenism.

There is no *de facto* reason to consider Hellenistic Judaism and its *Geist* as a departure from some other 'normative' Judaism, whether that of ancient Israelite religion and the Hebrew Bible or that of later rabbinic Judaism.[77] That is, while I would not want to claim that Hellenistic Judaism represents some kind of *real* Judaism or the 'best' Judaism within history, I do think it deserves to be studied as an expression of Jewishness that is as 'authentic,' meaningful, powerful, etc. as any other form that one might care to describe. In fact, Hellenistic Judaism does a great deal in terms of apologetic self-expression and cultural exposition that one is hard pressed to find in the Jewish media of other times and places (if largely because of its catalyzation by a language with an extremely broad reach in its time). Josephus, furthermore, stands at the center of this industry.[78] This aligns with Hindy Najman's argument for "the importance and centrality of the Hellenistic period for understanding the vitality of Judaism" and that "the Hellenistic period is one of the most important and formative periods for the history of Judaism."[79] Inasmuch as Najman's recent book, *Scriptural Vitality*, focuses on vitality rather than conventional notions like originality (or even antiquity) as a historical marker of Judaism qua object of study, it provides an important theoretical template upon which the present book is happy to proceed.

---

76 Josephus' writings form the ultimate basis of the vast majority of *SY*'s narrative. Most of the early chapters are based upon narratives from the Latin Vulgate that trace their lineage back to the Greek Jewish Scriptures, i.e. the Septuagint. As for Philo, *SY* 58 (נח) contains a version of Philo's trip to Rome as part of an embassy sent to Gaius on behalf of the Jews. Based loosely on Josephus *AJ* 18.257 ff. (not discussed in the parallel section of *DEH* 2.3.4; but cf. Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*), Yosippon's version contains numerous interesting features, including a short speech by Philo with no precedent, and later additions regarding Philo, traceable to Jeraḥmeel ben Shelomoh, are also in evidence. See Bowman (2023) 393, 399–401.

77 In fact, attaching one singular *Weltanschauung* to either of these is debatable to begin with.

78 Sterling (1992) sees in Josephus' *AJ*, and in Luke-Acts, what he dubs "apologetic historiography." This he defines as "the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group's own traditions but Hellenizes them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world" (17). While not written in Greek or within the Hellenistic world, what Sterling describes is precisely what *SY* does to/with its in-group historical narrative.

79 Najman (2025) ix.

In line with widely recognized habits of Hellenistic Jewish discourse, *SY*: betrays a penchant to exalt the political clout, piety, and patriotism of the Jews and their ancestors, coupled with a capacity for self-criticism; signals continuities between ancient Israelites and latter-day Jews, employing biblical *exempla* to evaluate the latter; evinces creativity in reimagining the contours of Jewish tradition as it reshapes it to fit new molds, even as it relies upon earlier sources, which it reworks with considerable freedom.[80] These ideas course through all of the Hellenistic-Jewish texts of which I know, as they do through *SY*; reading *SY* alongside ancient Greek literature written by Jews reveals broad continuities of worldview and expressive habit. *SY* is imbued with the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism, and its reworking of Jewish history betrays the same creativity and ingenuity that has been assigned to ancient Greek textual expressions of Hellenistic Judaism by scholars like Erich Gruen.[81]

This study argues that *SY* resurrects the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism for the early Middle Ages, reifying via Hebrew literature an initially-Greek cultural habit within the context of a Latin (Christian) world, first and foremost by reinstituting ideas of Jewish political-national nobility within a historiographical lens viewed from a Jewish perspective and articulated in Jewish terms forged via deep engagement with the extra-Jewish world. As Yosippon biblicizes, theologizes, and Judaizes the speeches studied in this book, a representation of Jewish identity and history emerges that corresponds to many of the norms and assumptions of Hellenistic Judaism, several of which we have just listed above. Compared to its source, *DEH*, *SY* conveys more heroic Jewish figures, both in the first century and in the more ancient ancestral past. Yosippon provides fuller accounts of the motives of Jewish action and the meaning of the fate of the Jews than Ps-Hegesippus. *SY* articulates Jewish understandings of important topics more fully and more charitably than does *DEH*. Granted that, unlike much Hellenistic Jewish literature, *SY* does the opposite of translating intra-Jewish stories and ideas into wider extra-Jewish vernaculars. However, what I am suggesting as the core of the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism is simply the impulse to effect a robust engagement between a Jewish traditionary introspection and the world of non-Jewish thought, language, and literature *as it pertains to Jewish history and identity*; whether the linguistic transfer moves

80 One finds these ideas ubiquitously in texts like the Books of the Maccabees, *Joseph and Aseneth*, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, all of Philo's corpus, the Book of Judith and the additions to Daniel, and the many now-fragmentary works of Jewish-Hellenistic authors collected by Holladay (1983); Holladay (1989); Holladay (1995).

81 Gruen (1998) remains one of the best introductions to the thought, literature, and ethos of Hellenistic Judaism.

from introverted to extroverted or vice-versa is, I suggest, less important than the manifest determination to put emic and etic into conversation in a way that privileges and touts the virtues and strengths of Jewishness vis-à-vis the Gentilesphere. Effectively every sentence of *SY* that we examine in this study exudes such an impulse. That *SY* is writing about Jews who lived in the Hellenistic world of first-century Rome, and that the text traces its lineage back to a history written in Greek by a Jewish, and Roman, Hellenist (Flavius Josephus),[82] adds texture to my argument that this text resurrects the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism by exhibiting the core values, ideas, and communicative tendencies of that movement initially codified in ancient Greek-Jewish texts.[83]

That and how *SY* overwrites a Latin/Roman Christian understanding of Jewish history-and/as-identity can be more intuitively discerned. Even a passing glance at *SY* suffices to show that its latter half repeats the narrative of *DEH* shorn of all Christian ideology. In its place we find a similar story told from a Jewish perspective with Jewish interests. *SY* contains no mentions of Jesus' death as the cause of Jerusalem's downfall, no structural features or explicit statements that effectively write the Jews out of history, and certainly no story about the martyrdoms of the apostles Peter and Paul or of a trinitarian God, which one finds at *DEH* 3.2.1 and 5.9.4 respectively. All of this is either replaced or simply erased in *SY*. Yet the narrative of *SY* and its character speeches are still reworked versions of those that appear in *DEH*. The basis of the former in the latter is unmistakable. It is for this reason that the final two chapters of this book, Chapters 6 and 7, employ the theory of religious co-production to frame the relationship between *DEH* and *SY*. Indeed, it is only because the demigod's-eye view of modern scholarship can look back 'through' *SY* to its source material in *DEH* that we can appreciate the extent to which and the

82 Not only is *SY*'s narrative ultimately beholden to narratives and speeches originally written by Josephus (usually, at least), but *SY*'s lionizing portrayal of individual Jews and the Jewish collective undeniably resonates with the discursive tendencies of Josephus. Spilsbury (1998) and the massive production of Feldman (largely collected in 1998a; 1998b) provide excellent examples of how Josephan narratives engaged broader (Hellenistic, Roman, e.g.) ideals and concepts to construct positive historical-literary portrayals of the Jews via their ancestors. *SY* picks up this tradition with vigor.

83 While the earliest manifestations of what I am calling the 'spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' were inherent to the Hellenistic world, I would like not only to suggest that such a temporal restriction does not fully encompass this 'spirit' within (literary or cultural) history, but also to say that *SY* is not alone in evincing a revivification of this spirit post-Late Antiquity. Here should be mentioned the revival of interest in Alexander the Great in Hebrew literature that was effectively coeval with *SY*; writings in this vein may have antedated *SY*, and they were already being integrated into the later recensions of *SY* by the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see Dönitz (2011b); Yassif (2006); van Bekkum (1986).

means by which the Latin, Christian, late antique text of *DEH* is overwritten in the Hebrew, Jewish, early medieval production of *SY*, resurrecting the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism for the minority Jewish subculture of medieval western Europe.

6 Taking Jewish History Back

I argue that the processes and dynamics discussed above amount to a taking back of Jewish history for the Jews in the early Middle Ages.[84] The history of the later Second Temple Period, the narrative of Jerusalem's doom and the Temple's demise, had by the time of *SY*'s writing long been the purview of Christian historians. The rabbis had effectively ceded this historiographical territory to their religious sibling in preference for new forms of intellectual and (eventually) literary engagement. The recycling and recreation of biblical interpretation and Jewish tradition and religiosity in the Mishnah, Talmudim, and midrashim did not ignore Jerusalem, its Temple, and the Second Temple Era, but nothing like the historical prose of *SY* appears therein. A few texts, like *Genesis Rabbah*, written in the middle of the first millennium, do contain prose that is historical, but texts like this did nothing to rival the formidable Christian industry of writing, rewriting, and rewriting again the story of how Jerusalem fell, the Temple burned, and the Jews were disgraced, delegitimated (in Christian eyes) as God's chosen people within history. This was a story whose telling rabbinic Judaism conceded. *SY* took it back.

This study's overall argument, articulated in the preceding three sections, can be delivered in a 1-2-3 or in a 3-2-1 format. By way of recap, the argument *a la 1-2-3* reads: *SY* implicitly took Jewish history back for the Jews in the early Middle Ages by rewriting the story of late Second Temple Judaism; it did this by overwriting/replacing the (often Latin) Christian versions of this period of history and by underwriting/validating a perspective on this history inspired by Hellenistic Judaism; many of the discrete manifestations of this process may be tracked in the text of *SY* as it theologizes, biblicizes, and Judaizes its major Latin Christian source, *DEH*. The same argument, articulated backwards, simply shifts the emphasis: by theologizing, biblicizing, and Judaizing its major Latin Christian source, the Hebrew *SY* overwrites a Christian understanding of late Second Temple Judaism and the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple and underwrites a version of this history influenced by Hellenistic Judaism,

84 Bay (Forthcoming A).

which amounts to a taking back of historiographical agency for the Jewish perspective in the early Middle Ages. This thesis amounts to a description of how *SY* used its major historical source, an articulation of Yosippon's manifest historiographical methodology.[85] However articulated, this argument speaks to the conventional 'Five W's' of journalism: **W**ho? **W**hat? **W**hen? **W**here? **W**hy? (How? Is usually added to this list.) But it does not address the 'Sixth W,' as it were, which this list appears to ignore yet actually assumes: **W**ho cares? The final set of subsections in this introduction traces out the realms of inquiry to which this project is salient and the academic disciplines to which its thesis is most germane, thereby tapping the discussions from which this project draws and/or to which it attempts to make a contribution.

7 A Final Note on Method

As outlined above, this book makes the above arguments on the basis of close, extended comparative readings of *SY*'s Hebrew texts vis-à-vis that of its major Latin source (*DEH*) across a series of important passages. These passages constitute speeches within the narrative where important themes and subject matter are more densely represented than anywhere else in the work. Within such comparative readings, the method of this study consists in the first place of marking similarities and differences.[86] The nature of these textual-linguistic

85 One of the more important notes on *SY*'s historical method comes from Bowman (2023) xv–xvi, just before his chapter-by-chapter description of Flusser (1980): "The author of *Sepher Yosippon* is unique in his historical methodology, which helped him arrive at conclusions that anticipated the Jewish historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The work of these historians—part of the Wissenschaft des Judenthums, the scholarly movement that represents the influence of German scholarship in the nineteenth century—offers an interesting modern parallel to the philosophizing influence of the Hellenistic period and the Christian influence of the Middle Ages. Yosippon was faithful to his sources—some of which are no longer extant—that represented sound medieval scholarship (as Flusser was able to test). His reliance on Pseudo-Hegesippus's abstruse Latin and the faulty manuscripts he read resulted in a number of errors that have been preserved in this translation" (though I don't know if Ps-Heg's Latin is "abstruse"; and Yosippon may well have read faulty *DEH* manuscripts, but if he did we do not know what they are—all we have are occasional readings based on errors in the Latin text).

86 Such "innovations, modifications, omissions, and fine recalibrations" within the *BJ-DEH-SY* tradition, or any tradition, "are not regrettable lapses but the very heart of the matter. For in making such revisions, narrators actively intervene to reshape the story and, through the instrument of the story, to reshape the consciousness of those who hear and retell it. They do so, moreover, not in random, impersonal, or disinterested fashion but from a specific social locus with its own distinctive perspective, representing interests they

distinctions signals ideas, interests, vocabularies, and tendencies present in *SY* and its major source, *DEH*. Some of these appear more mundane—for example, those referring to what is often called "translation technique"—while others connote unmistakable ideological divides: that *SY* never repeats any of the (few) things that *DEH* says about Jesus, Christians, or Christian doctrine is not a translational accident, but an implicit rejection of Christian ideas. It is a feature, not a bug, of Yosippon's story. Such a snub in *SY* is all the more powerful for its understatedness—indeed, its silence—and it would not be visible to the contemporary scholarly gaze outside of a text-comparative approach like that adopted in this study. Yet this comparative method does not restrict the lens of this study to focusing on the texts of *DEH* and *SY* themselves. As mentioned above, there is one particular place where this study routinely reaches outside of these texts for understanding and for nuance, and such reaching takes us to a textual corpus far older than either *DEH* or *SY*.

There is one source upon which *SY* always draws in its narrative: the Hebrew Bible. Inasmuch as the language and phraseology of the Jewish Scriptures animates the language of Yosippon at a fundamental level, one can never dissociate *SY* from the Hebrew of the Tanakh. Yet *SY*'s attachment to biblical vocabulary and construction may mean in different ways. A good deal of this study concerns itself with tracking the intertexts and apparent inspirations of Yosippon's Hebrew usage. In this regard, some of the most interesting findings have to do with *SY*'s employment of *hapax legomena* or standardized phrasing. It is also telling to track those biblical books and sections upon which Yosippon evinces a pronounced proclivity to draw. Because this is the first close, text-oriented study of *SY*'s Hebrew, and because *SY*'s Hebrew is deeply biblical—which is to say non-rabbinic, by and large—a significant amount of this study involves detailing where *SY*'s lexicon intersects with that of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet the implications of such findings are far from limited to what I have called "biblicization"—they routinely suggest significance in terms of "theologization" and "Judaization" as well. The sea of footnotes that follows, pertaining to niche terms and stock phrases from the Jewish Scriptures, constitutes the literary and linguistic backdrop of *SY* at its most basic level. While Yosippon allowed his historical narrative to be steered in large part by a Christian predecessor—Ps-Hegesippus—his use of Hebrew harkens back to the Tanakh

---

seek to advance through these variations. Should their variants gain a sufficiently favorable hearing to be repeatedly retold, they can gradually displace the (previous) standard version, transforming the views of the group at large—and those of future generations—on issues of fundamental importance." Lincoln (2012) 55. I quote this discussion of history and myth at length as this book's subject matter is one of which it is particularly apropos.

as surely as modern English harkens back to Shakespeare or the King James Bible. Thus, the vestiges of biblical language in *SY* provide, along with *DEH*, a necessary comparative tool for appreciating our medieval Jewish text. Among other things, this book is a study in biblical reception history.

8 Disciplinary Considerations

When we compare *SY* to *DEH*, we are confronted with a Jewish text from the early Middle Ages that could be described as 'unique' and 'radical,' yet one whose singularity or radicality is less apparent, if not invisible, before placing *SY* atop *DEH* and viewing them together. The synthetic scrutiny of *DEH* and *SY* has the effect of donning 3D glasses in a movie theater made for them: that which was previously viewed through a glass darkly becomes crystal clear. But to what end? What are the implications of this new clarity, and which scholarly arenas is it most likely to illuminate? This section briefly surveys what this book draws from and contributes to the several academic disciplines to which it is most relevant.

Jewish Studies is perhaps the one discipline in which *SY* has always been fairly well known and represented.[87] No doubt this has something to do with the perennial popularity of *SY* as literature in Jewish and Israeli culture.[88] Yet, as discussed above, *SY* has tended to enjoy integration into research on Jews and Judaism of the Medieval Era and later—that is, within historical bounds at which *SY* stands near the beginning—rather than that on (late) ancient Judaism, which finds its gravitational center in the rabbis. Rabbinic hegemony has long been apparent in scholarly and popular perspectives on post-Temple Judaism, though other foci have appeared in the research,[89] with

87 This is *not* to say well understood. Note, e.g., Rosen/Yassif (2002) 280–281, who discuss differences between Josephus and "*The Book of Jossipon*" [*sic*] as though this constituted a source-critical comparison and describe Flusser's project as paying "particular attention to the differences between *The Book of Jossipon* and Josephus' historical narrative" (280). As with many of the authors mentioned in the previous chapter, Rosen and Yassif here betray ignorance of *SY*'s primary source, which is not Josephus, but *DEH*; the footnotes of Flusser's edition for the latter part of *SY* only occasionally mention Josephus, whereas "Hegesippus" is cited on every page. Rosen/Yassif (2002) also claims that *SY* adds "narrative rabbinic and medieval material" to Josephus' *BJ* narrative, which is both ambiguous and basically incorrect (especially vis-à-vis "rabbinic").

88 See discussion and notes in Bowman (1995).

89 Consider, e.g., the Jewish legacy traced in scholarship on Byzantine Jewry: Bowman (1985); Sharf (1971); Starr (1939).

some notable recent examples.[90] After all, it was the tannaitic traditions of Late Antiquity that synthesized and transmitted a tradition associated with Judea and its ancient inhabitants that has outlasted the Jerusalem Temple by about two thousand years now. By and large, the Mishnah and Talmud provided the bedrock for subsequent Judaism up to the present. Therefore, perspectives and ideas that are counted as 'Jewish' tend to be deeply influenced by the rabbinic legacy. As a 'first millennium' Jewish text whose language and style rarely betray the influence of rabbinic literature,[91] *SY* may help us envision a broader, more diversified late ancient/early medieval Jewish literary culture whose language was not always the Aramaized Hebrew of the rabbis nor its ideological orientation identical to their preoccupations, whether halakhic or aggadic. One might reasonably align *SY* with the kind(s) of 'andere Juden' imagined by Johannes Heil in his 2024 book, *Andere Juden: Texte der westlichen Diaspora* (*ca. 400–800*) *und ihre christliche Rezeption* (*ca. 700–1200*).

One of *SY*'s singularities within Jewish literary history consists in its textual partners (i.e. sources), which need not comprise or exhaust his conceptual interlocutors, comprised of texts that were, if 'originally' the products of Jewish authors, filtered through the cultural sieve of Christianity.[92] One of *SY*'s contributions to Jewish Studies is its illustration of a historiographical and literary imagination engaged in a broader cultural discourse (involving Jews and non-Jews) that departs in certain ways from the normative model of Jewish authorship up to and during the Early Medieval Period.[93] This is not to say that *SY* diverges from 'rabbinic Judaism' (however we imagine that entity), but the text itself evidences precious little overt engagement with its formal milieu.[94]

---

90 Bay/Ellis/Mania/Moscone/Tröger (2025); Heil (2024); McDowell/Naiweld/Stökl ben Ezra (2021). Cf. Edrei/Mendels (2007), who importantly include Josephus in their argument for forms of Judaism that represented an alternative to the halakha-based, (proto-) rabbinic tradition (see esp. 126–127). Thanks to Saskia Dönitz for alerting me to this latter article.

91 Bonfil (1983) 155–157, in some contrast to Flusser (1980) 114–115.

92 Here one should consult the theoretical engagement of Najman (2025) 14–32 with the idea of originality as inappropriate for historically-oriented scholarship on Judaism.

93 It is not the case, however, that 'non-rabbinic' Hebrew literature did not exist in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, as shown by the work of Sacha Stern, *inter alia*. Stern (2007) 107 notes in this vein the *Sefer Yeṣirah*, *Sefer Harazim*, and the "multifarious *Heikhalot*" as examples. More recently, the author attended a lecture given by Stern at Princeton University on September 16, 2024 ("The Origin of the Christian Feasts: Re-Dating a Passage of *Toledot Yeshu*"), which focused on an eighth-century manuscript of "non-rabbinic Hebrew"—namely T-S NS 98.51—containing an Easter Cycle, in fact the earliest reference to Easter in Jewish literature.

94 Goodman (2018) 299 includes *SY* among those expressions of Judaism toward the end of the first millennium CE whose outlook was "essentially rabbinic," though what this means

By doing Jewish historiography in a classicizing biblical Hebrew, i.e. by writing in a genre and in a language not particularly resonant of rabbinic literature, *SY* may point to 'other' forms of Jewishness not currently prominent on the scholarly radar.

Of course, because of *SY*'s generic singularity and because of its size, scope, and subject matter—none of which find obvious peers in early-tenth century (southern) Italy—it is also a treasure trove of linguistic, conceptual, and cultural data that is only sometimes integrated into broader projects within Jewish Studies. The text of *SY* itself is rarely cited; it is often rather the *fact* of the text that crops up. In Martin Goodman's 2018 *A History of Judaism*, the one purpose which *SY* serves is to show how a largely Greek-speaking Judaism in the middle of the first millennium CE (i.e. the golden age of rabbinic literature) had gradually given way to a Hebrew-language Jewishness in southern Italy as elsewhere.[95] However, no one-trick pony, the text of *SY* has much more to tell us about Jewish habits of thought and expression current in early medieval Europe.

The broader history of historiography has remembered *SY* less often than Jewish Studies proper, though the text does tend to be known by historians of historiography. These fields come together in the discussion of 'Jewish historiography,' something that Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, in his much-cited 1982 book, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*,[96] argues did not exist between Jose-

---

in *SY*'s case is difficult to tell. Goodman (2002) 44 speaks of the "infiltration of Josephus' writings into rabbinic thought through the work of Josippon, who produced in the ninth century a Hebrew paraphrase of Josephus' *Jewish War*." Here Goodman, I think, means that *SY*'s emergence into Jewish culture as a Hebrew text that came to be read widely within 'rabbinic Judaism' marked an important moment. Otherwise, Goodman would be speaking about *SY*'s context of emergence as that of rabbinic Judaism, or else equating the latter with Judaism *tout court* at that time. Importantly, Goodman is here dealing with the issue of the unity vs. diffuseness of "Jewish society and Judaism" in and after Late Antiquity.

95 Goodman (2018) 299–300, discussing the tombstones in Italy as a case study, among which Greek and Latin were prominent in Late Antiquity, during which time relatively little Hebrew appeared on these Jewish graves. Then, "Hebrew letters are found in funerary inscriptions in Venosa from the fifth century in far great amounts than in the isolated use of *shalom* characteristic of the Jewish catacombs of Rome. (…) by the end of the first millennium the religious life of those who remained faithful to Judaism in the western Mediterranean was rarely expressed in Greek. By the ninth century Jewish inscriptions from a separate cemetery discovered in Venosa are entirely in Hebrew" (299).

96 Yerushalmi's (1982) project is to distinguish between historiography and collective memory: "If Herodotus was the father of history, the fathers of meaning in history were the Jews" (8). Historiography he sees, reasonably enough, as driven by curiosity for knowledge, whereas Jewish historical memory is covenantal and theological: "The biblical appeal to

phus ben Mattathias and Joseph ben Joshua Ha-Cohen of Avignon, who wrote in the sixteenth century.[97] I think Saskia Dönitz is right to have suggested that *SY* insinuates some tension with that argument.[98] And if *SY* belongs to the history of history-writing, it marks the first *Hebrew* installment of its length in this lineage. Also, inasmuch as Yosippon imbibes habits of expression from Greco-Roman historiography, processed through the machinations of late antique Christian reception, he marks a significant confluence whereby Jewish culture adopted, and would retain, tenets of Classical Antiquity within its own historiographical tradition. Further still, *SY* possesses its own original and sometimes remarkable innovations within the historiographical tradition. Its reversal of the consummating Masada episode represents a radical contribution in terms of content. It also puts its own mark on certain oft-repeated stories: for example, *SY*'s version of the story wherein Queen Thamyris savagely kills King Cyrus in revenge for her son's death—a story told by Herodotus (1.201–215), Pompeius Trogus, Justin (*Epitome* 1.8), Jordanes (*Getica* 10.61–62), and Orosius (2.7)—adds the detail that the queen was "like a bereaved she-bear whose cubs were killed,"[99] providing new imagery and a biblical tone to an already-ancient narrative.[100] In terms of the narrative-oratorical content covered in the present study, *SY* provides new rewritings of historiographical speeches that had been written once or twice before, in different centuries and in different languages.

---

remember thus has little to do with curiosity about the past. Israel is told that it must be a kingdom of priests and a holy people; nowhere is it suggested that it become a nation of historians" (10). Israelite/Jewish history is not interested in the entire past, but only "God's acts of intervention in history, and man's response to them, be they positive or negative" (11). Thus, Yerushalmi sees Jewish historical thinking as rooted in the Hebrew Bible—again a sound assumption—and as actuated by principles other than "the normal and praiseworthy desire to preserve heroic national deeds from oblivion," a desire which characterized the history-writing of Greeks and Romans and others, and indeed, Christians. For Yerushalmi, biblical historiography holds together "meaning in history, memory of the past, and the writing of history" (14), things which "are by no means to be equated" and which are not in post-biblical Judaism. Overall, however, *Zakhor* is a masterful work and should still be consulted now, some forty years later.

97 Yerushalmi (1982) 16: "Not only did [Josephus'] works not survive among the Jews, it would be almost fifteen centuries before another Jew would actually call himself a historian. It is as though, abruptly, the impulse to historiography had ceased." The fact of *SY* threatens to belie both statements made here, as this was a pre-fifteenth century Jewish iteration of Josephus and its author presumably a historian.

98 Dönitz (2016) 388; Dönitz (2015) 58; Dönitz (2011a) 968; cf. Bowman (2023) xv–xvi.

99 *SY* 8 (ח): כדובה שכולה אשר נהרגו ילדיה. Bowman (2023) 42; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 126–127; Flusser (1980) 47.

100 See Bay (2025b), discussing how this language is reminiscent of Hos 13:7–8.

Thus, *SY* offers the very rare opportunity for scholars to look at historiographical speeches written and rewritten between Greek and Latin *and Hebrew*, and across the religious-cultural borders between Judaism and Christianity, revealing what kinds of continuities and discontinuities obtained within such chains of narrative tradition.

In short, *SY* has the potential to reshape common assumptions about what Jewishness looked like at the dawn of the Middle Ages and to fill in our state of knowledge about Judaism, Hebrew literature, and the Hebrew and/or Jewish historiography of that time. It also contributes to the history of history-writing, not only as a full Hebrew narrative from an era in which these were not common, but as a demonstration of the fact that *earlier* and/or *ancient* history could occupy the early medieval historical gaze substantially. Any inclination to think of historiography only as that which is written as near-contemporary to events narrated would apparently be anachronistic when applied to the premodern West; *SY* and texts like it show that written histories of far earlier ages garnered significant interest and were thought about as 'history'—indeed, they make it difficult to imagine an ancient or medieval concept of 'history' that excluded by definition non-recent events.

The reception histories of classical literature, biblical literature, and early Christian literature, all by now established subdisciplines (at least the former two),[101] are immediately salient to the study of *SY* inasmuch as *SY* adapts texts and traditions from each. In terms of biblical reception history, *SY* contains, on the one hand, a set of idiosyncratic instances of 'rewritten Scripture' or 'rewritten Bible.'[102] On the other hand, throughout *SY* one finds short recollec-

101 There now exists a prominent *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* dedicated to the reception of the Classics; significantly, Issue 3 of Volume 23 (2016), edited by Martin Goodman and Joanna Weinberg, was dedicated to the reception of Josephus (in the Early Modern Period) and contains several mentions of *SY*. Goodman/Weinberg (2016) 168 refer to it as a "somewhat garbled version of Jewish history"—a sentiment that betrays their fundamentally historical, rather than literary or philological (or other), interests. There are also now journals dedicated to biblical reception—for example, the *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception*, which De Gruyter publishes along with a massive encyclopedia, a book series, and a handbook series all dedicated to biblical reception history; cf. Wiley-Blackwells' "Through the Centuries" commentary series. Christian reception studies is a bit more diffuse as yet, but appears not infrequently as a topic of consideration in journals, monographs, book series, etc., dedicated to Early Christian Studies.

102 In recounting the Table of Nations from Gen 5, 10–11 and 1Chr 1 (SY 1 [א]), stories about Daniel and Zerubbabel (SY 4–6 [ד-ו]), Esther and Mordecai (SY 9 [ט]), and allusions to the stories of Joseph, David, and others in SY 2 (ב), Yosippon evinces a distinctive medieval exegetical engagement with the Jewish Scriptures—midrash, perhaps—, and with apocryphal traditions usually considered Christian, within a historiographical framework. See

tions of biblical stories and figures and suggestive uses of biblical language and phrasing—some of these taking their cues from *DEH* or other sources, some not—that evoke an ongoing creative exegetical interface with the Hebrew Bible. Similarly polyvalent is *SY*'s reception of Classical Antiquity. Yosippon serves up tantalizing adaptations from canonical Latin authors like Livy (the Rape of the Sabines) and Vergil (the *Aeneid*) in *SY* 2 (ב),[103] displaying a rare Jewish-Classical interface in the realm of myth and history. *SY* also functions as a third-order source for linguistic and episodic remnants of Classical Antiquity transmitted by *DEH* (and other texts).[104]

By date and by geographical provenance, *SY* properly belongs to Medieval Studies, and to Byzantine Studies by the same token.[105] Yet, generally drawing its ranks from English and History Departments and tending to focus on Old/Middle English and Latin (and sometimes Slavonic and Scandinavian languages), Medieval Studies qua discipline has historically made little room for sources written in Greek, or Arabic or Syriac, or Hebrew.[106] Nor is *SY*'s inclu-

---

Dönitz (2009) for an early study in this vein, which points out, importantly, that some of these passages—for example, those involving Daniel in *SY* 4–6 (ד-ו)—were apparently not present in the earliest version of *SY*. McDowell (2025), in showing that *SY*'s version of Mordecai's dream underlies the Aramaic *Dream of Mordecai*, "illuminates medieval Jewish engagement with deuterocanonical literature and highlights how apocryphal texts could acquire cultural authority through their transmission patterns and translation techniques."

103 Again, see Bay (forthcoming A); Nisse (2024); Nisse (2017) 19–48; Bloch (2009); Flusser (1978) 9–20.

104 A thorough examination of this has yet to be made, but it is probable that tropes or language from authors like Horace, Livy, Seneca, Vergil, etc. will show up in *SY* after having been recycled within *DEH*; such passages may not be recognizable at first glance as receptions of the Classical world, but when identified as such they enrich our understanding of *SY* and of classical reception writ large as a pool of ever-expanding concentric ripples. *SY* may even be a fourth-order source for received classics in certain cases; consider details of Cyrus' death in *SY* 8 (ח), drawn from Orosius, who himself borrowed from a predecessor like Justin, who was writing an *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus' history, which was ultimately beholden to Herodotus. See Bay (2025b).

105 Bowman (2003) 125 calls *SY* "the most lasting contribution of Byzantine south Italy." On Jewish Studies and/in Medieval Studies, see Baumgarten (2011).

106 Goodman (2019) 114–115 exaggerates in saying that "David Flusser … eventually brought study of the book [*SY*] into the mainstream of medieval studies through publication of a scholarly edition in 1980–1981." Or rather, Goodman means that *SY* became widely known among medievalists working in Jewish Studies and with Hebrew. There are no works written in modern Hebrew that can really be located in "the mainstream of medieval studies" writ large, because the vast majority of scholars in that field do not read modern Hebrew. The ongoing work of Thomas Carlson—see Carlson (2018)—is an example of scholarship that does the important work of merging Middle Eastern Studies and Medieval Studies.

sion among medievalists encouraged by a certain feature it shares with *DEH*: both texts are anonymous, and neither text has a definite provenance or date. Yet Medieval Studies is conventionally grounded in the purveyance of history, even social history, as the basis for extracting meaning and insight from the texts at the center of its enterprise. Studies of the most famous works of the Middle Ages, like Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, tend to find their footing in the real historical circumstances of such texts' creations before approaching their contents and receptions.[107] Yet Medieval Studies evidences the ability to attend to texts whose authors and historical circumstances are uncertain: consider the prominence of *Beowulf*.

The promise that the present book holds for conversations within Medieval Studies has to do with *SY*'s overt engagement with a vessel of majority-culture thinking in early medieval Europe. *DEH* refracts the specter of cultural hegemony in the European Middle Ages: the text is 1) Latin and it is 2) Christian, articulating a perspective on history, theodicy, and Jewish identity that would have constituted 'cultural common sense' within early medieval Christendom. This study argues that *SY* constitutes a counter to this text, hailing from the subcultural margins as a text that is A) Hebrew and B) Jewish. *SY* thus offers an example of minority- versus majority-cultural interaction, and a case study in the modes of Jewish engagement with and resistance to dominant Christian discourse. Rather than mere objects of Christian legislation, discrimination, and conceptualization, *SY* shows early medieval Jews and Judaism to be capable of articulating marginalized voices. This becomes apparent *particularly at those points where texts like* SY *break their in-group confines to engage with out-group ideas*.

SY's temporal and geographical 'medievalness' also render it a distinctive contribution to the *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche* pocket of "Josephus Studies," which may now be considered a subdiscipline in its own right.[108] While I would

107 For example, one of the more prominent recent studies of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* is Clark (2016), which, although it focuses a good deal on the contents of that work, is nevertheless a work of history. Regarding Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, consider Bernard McGinn's important treatment of that work (2014), whose engagement with the *Summa*'s contents in Chapter 3 (74–116) is preceded by chapters on "The World that Made Thomas Aquinas" (Chapter 1: 7–18) and "Creating the *Summa theologiae*" (Chapter 2: 19–73).

108 In fact, this has long been true. Louis Feldman's 1984 bibliography tracked scholarship only up through 1980 and already witnessed a massive scholarly industry dedicated to Josephus and the Josephan tradition. Today, the Society of Biblical Literature has its own Josephus Seminar, a new translation-and-commentary on all of Josephus' works has been underway at Brill for several decades now (under the editorship of Steve Mason), and every year wel-

not be content to summarize the significance of this project purely in terms of its salience for the study of Josephus' legacy, the fact cannot be escaped that this research possesses numerous organic connections to the decades-long industry of examining Josephus' *Rezeptionsgeschichte*.[109] It is arguably at the confluence of Josephus Studies, Jewish Studies, and Medieval Studies that *SY* finds its most natural disciplinary home.[110] At the same time, other scholarly disciplines which we need not expatiate upon here—take Religious Studies, Comparative Literature, Literary Theory, and Translation Studies as a few ready examples—, in addition to the others mentioned above, both inform the methods and assumptions undergirding the present study and would benefit from interacting with the present study's findings.

Finally, there is one subdiscipline into which this book fits more organically than any other: the study of Jewish-Christian relations. Scholarship has long since come to appreciate the place of Josephus' legacy/reception and of *DEH* within this euphemistically-named subfield. Indeed, in many ways the ostensible context of *DEH* constituted cultural ground zero for Christian anti-

---

comes a plethora of new articles and books on Josephus scattered across several handfuls of academic disciplines. For a review of the field, see the introduction to Bay/Avioz/van Henten (2024). For recent work, see Edwards (2025).

109 For recent work, see the latter chapters in Rodgers/Chapman (2016). The most important contributor to this subdiscipline was Heinz Schreckenberg: see Schreckenberg (1992); Schreckenberg (1984); Schreckenberg (1977); Schreckenberg (1972). Recent work has continued under the auspices of major international research initiatives like the Oxford Josephus Project (run by Martin Goodman, Tessa Rajak, and Andrea Schatz in the 2010s), the Bern *Lege Josephum!* project (run by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, René Bloch, and Katharina Heyden from 2019 to 2024), and now the Josephus Christianus project at Haifa run by Sabrina Inowlocki (2024–). Consider also the recent volume edited by Karen Kletter and Paul Hilliard: *A Companion to Josephus in the Medieval West* (2025), the recent monograph of Sara Moscone, *Pro veritate historiae: Flavio Giuseppe e le fonti ebraiche nell'Historia Scholastica di Pietro Comestore* (2025), and the forthcoming monograph of Richard Pollard, *Josephus and the Church Fathers in the Early Middle Ages: How Wide is the Canon?*, Pollard being one of the more prominent medievalists with a good deal of work dedicate to Josephus: see Pollard (2015), one of the most cited articles on *DEH*, and Pollard (2018a).

110 Witness the title of David Flusser's 1987 essay, "Josippon, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus," within the volume *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, one of the very early English-language essays dedicated to *SY*. Work at this confluence tends to be interdisciplinary and specialized. This explains why the 2024 volume edited by myself, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten—*From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond*—is the first edited volume dedicated (albeit only partially) to *SY*. Yet even here, the potential significance of *SY* has barely been tapped by a scholarly milieu still fixated upon *SY*'s historical context and later reception where, if the text of *SY* comes up at all, chances are one will be reading about *SY*'s introductory and concluding chapters.

Judaism: in the wake of Julian's aborted attempt to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple in 363 CE (an event soon to become a punching bag for church historians, and others), with writings like John Chrysostom's *Homilies Against Judaizing Christians* coming out of the East (Antioch, 386–387 CE) and Ambrose's *Exposition on the Gospel According to Luke* coming out of the West (Milan, 377–378 CE), the anti-Judaism of *DEH* finds itself in good company.[111] These were the pioneers of codified Christian anti-Judaism. One of the longstanding truisms of the *adversus Judaeos* tradition is that there are no real *Judaeos* there: we have Christians writing about, and eventually legislating against, Jewish 'others,' but we do not have genuine Jewish responses to the Tertullians, Justin Martyrs, Ephrems, and so on of late ancient 'Jewish-Christian relations.' One valuable thing we may glean from *SY*, then, is a glimpse into what a Jewish interlocutor of the old world *might have said* in the face of Christian rhetoric. Though written centuries after the late antique heyday of Christian anti-Judaism's adolescence, *SY*'s 'response' to Christian historiography, seen in its erasure of Christian content and rejection of Christian assumptions, strikes the modern reader as a late-come response, a refutation returned well after the fact. Scholarship on Jewish-Christian relations, then—like so many other disciplines (artifacts of our own creation, let us remember)—not only provides a natural frame for this study, but also stands to benefit from it.

•••

Were this book only being written to specialists in *Sefer Yosippon*, or to Jewish Studies scholars, or to Josephus experts, or to medievalists, this chapter would have been shorter, sweeter, and simpler. But alas: so ill-known is *SY*, and so poorly understood the broader *Rezeptionsvermächtnis* of Flavius Josephus to which both *DEH* and *SY* belong, that I have felt compelled to cast a broader net in seeking to explain the nature of *SY*'s relationship to *DEH*. As I have sought to outline in the previous chapter and the present one, and as I seek to demonstrate in the ensuing pages, this relationship may be viewed as a contest, a contest over the truth and meaning of the Roman-Jewish War, of Jerusalem's devastation in 70 CE, and of the implications these events have for Jewish identity, theology, and the Bible. As we have seen, the impetus to engage

111 On Chrysostom see Wilken (1983), on Ambrose Doerfler (2011), on *DEH* Bay (2021e; 2023). As mentioned above, Ambrose has long been associated with *DEH* as a possible author: Zwierlein (2024); Somenzi (2009). *DEH* also shares certain ideological or worldview features with Chrysostom: Bay (2019).

in such a contest is quite imaginable for a Jew from Italy in the Early Medieval Period. In the following chapters, which initiate our foray into the heart of this book, we find a fine-grained example of precisely *how* such a 'competitive historiography' was engaged in during the final tithe of the Common Era's long first millennium.

CHAPTER 2

Negotiating Jewishness, Part 1: *De Excidio* 3.16 and *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)

One of the episodes from Josephus' *BJ* that remains known in some circles of popular culture comes in his account of the aftermath of the Battle of Jotapata (May–July, 67 CE). There, after withstanding a 47-day siege, the Judean general Josephus ends up hidden in a cave with forty of his comrades-in-arms. When Josephus is offered clemency by the Roman general Vespasian and appears to be considering this offer, a debate ensues amongst the Judean warriors about how to proceed. Capitulate and surrender? Commit collective suicide? Josephus records himself, brilliant as ever, as having come up with a satisfying solution:

> But, in his straits, his resource did not forsake him. Trusting to God's protection, he put his life to the hazard, and said: "Since we are resolved to die, come, let us leave the lot to decide the order in which we are to kill ourselves; let him who draws the first lot fall by the hand of him who comes next; fortune will thus take her course through the whole number, and we shall be spared from taking our lives with our own hands. For it would be unjust that, when the rest were gone, any should repent and escape."
>
> *Jewish War* 3.387–389[1]

Modern mathematics, and computer science, remember this scene in the form of what is called "the Josephus problem," revolving around the issue of how one might compute a starting position that would guarantee that one would be the last survivor.[2] Such a calculation assumes, of course, some regularity in how the sequence of the slain are chosen, which is not necessarily implied in Josephus' text. It also assumes the narrative denouement of this story—a critical point. There was a survivor to this ordeal; two, in fact: Josephus himself,

1 Thackeray (1927) 112. Here and in preparation for the mass suicide atop Mount Masada (*BJ* 7.395) Josephus recounts that the responsibilities were assigned to the killing parties "by lot" (κλήρῳ).

2 One can find the problem discussed and summarized in numerous textbooks, articles, and online discussions especially from the 1980s onwards; see briefly Park/Dogan/Teixeira (2021) 970–971.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-004
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

naturally, and one other comrade whom he talks out of mutual bloodshed and whom we never hear from again (*BJ* 3.391).[3] How in the world did Josephus get himself out of that pickle?

Whatever the answer, this scene epitomizes the ambivalent legacy that Josephus has ever since enjoyed: was Josephus, the general who convinced his men to kill each other and then himself escaped, a traitor to the Jewish people, to Judea? While this question is interesting, one that is more interesting within the framework of the present study pertains to the two speeches that Josephus records as having taken place before this fateful cooperation. Namely, in *BJ* 3.356–360 and 3.361–382 respectively Josephus repeats (read: produces) twin orations that preceded the mutual killing in the Jotapata cave, the first speech made by Josephus' fellow soldiers and the second by Josephus himself. These speeches are, in fact, two sides of an argument: whether surrender to the Romans was unallowable under any circumstances (Josephus' comrades), or whether such surrender might be worth pondering under certain conditions (Josephus himself). In Josephus' rendition, these twin speeches tell us a great deal about how the Flavian viewed himself, the Jewish national spirit, historical causality, theodicy, and human existence. The later Latin and Hebrew rewritings of these speeches by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon tell us even more.

This chapter and the next deal with these speeches in turn. The present chapter, then, assesses *DEH* 3.16 against its reformulation in the first part of *SY* 67 (סז).[4] The intertextual dynamics here are fascinating in and of themselves. The original speech which Josephus recorded (read: invented) in Greek constitutes in many ways an attempt at negotiating Jewish identity vis-à-vis action, history, theology, philosophy, ethics, etc. So does Josephus' response. Yet between *DEH* and *SY*, this discourse becomes subsumed within another discourse, from Latin-into-Hebrew, wherein not just the narrative actors, but also the authorial scribes writing their scripts are attempting to define, frame, explain, and evaluate Jewishness, Jewish action, and Jewish history within divergent conceptual frameworks. There are multiple games being played at the same time here. And that, I think, is that makes this chapter most interesting.

This chapter is structured around the figures under discussion in *DEH* 3.16 and *SY* 67 (סז). In the foreground is Josephus. In their speech his Jewish countrymen wonder: What will he do? What should he do? And why? This chapter

3 Josephus' recording of this story gives poignant force to the idea that 'history is written by the winners.'

4 For a translation of the entire Latin chapter in *DEH*, see Bay (2023) 243–244, with the entire chapter (241–268) for analysis, context, and the argument that Ps-Heg's version of the speech deals in fundamentally classical concepts.

will show a divergence in tone, intensity, and content between *DEH* 3.16 and *SY* 67 (סז) on the 'Josephus question.' In the background are the heroes of the Jewish Scriptures, beginning with Moses and Aaron. As in their treatment of Josephus qua object of discussion, so in these chapters Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon to some extent go separate ways in their treatments of the string of biblical personalities brought to bear on the argument being made by Josephus' latter-day interlocutors. By focusing in on diverse treatments of these pivotal people, this chapter shows how Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon 1a) alternately negotiate Jewishness 1b) *through their respective portrayals of these first-century Jewish soldiers trying to negotiate Jewishness*, who themselves 1c) *cite contemporaneous and ancient* (*proto-*) *Jewish models for negotiating Jewishness*. Multiple games indeed. Along the way, and in the conclusion, it will be made clear how Yosippon's adaptations of and departures from *DEH* contribute to this book's overall thesis of *SY*'s theologizing, Judaizing, biblicizing of its sources toward an underwriting of Hellenistic Judaism and an overwriting of Roman Christianity, all of which comprises a reinvention of Jewish history and identity within *SY*'s early medieval narrative.

1 Josephus, Part 1: "Messiah of War" (משוח מלחמה) and More

DEH 3.16 // *SY* 67 (סז) present an auspicious opportunity to gauge the respective treatments of Josephus as a historical character in each work. A quick overview before moving into the text: at the very beginning of *DEH*, in its Prologue, Josephus is identified as the famous authority (*egregius relator*) who recorded the history between the Maccabean revolt and the destruction of Jerusalem's Temple in 70 CE (Prol 1). He is portrayed as a *Iudaeus* who had not forsaken the *perfidia* of his people (i.e. he remained a Jew, unmoved by Christian truth), as one who depicted the divine punishment of the Jews in Jerusalem's destruction (*de eorum supplicio manifestauit*) but who did not actually understand the meaning of its downfall (*sed ipsius causam aerumnae non intellexit*). Josephus is thereafter portrayed mostly as a character within *DEH*'s narrative, but Josephus the Jewish author occasionally appears in place of Josephus the historical actor, for example at *DEH* 2.12.1 (as the Jews' own historian who related history accurately but refused to recognize Jesus' divinity).[5] Throughout his work, Ps-Hegesippus presents Josephus as a figure of historiographical sobriety, and religious error.

5 In *DEH* 2.12.1, after paraphrasing the famous *Testimonium Flavianum* of *AJ* 18.64–65—see Whealey (2016; 2003)—Ps-Heg states: "If the Jews do not believe us, let them believe their

Yosippon is predictably less negative about Josephus. While *SY*, often called *The Book of Joseph ben Gurion*, identifies Flavius Josephus with that patronymic based upon a confused reading of a line in *DEH* 3.3.2,[6] his יוסף is a far cry from the *Iosephus* of Ps-Hegesippus. Far from faithless, in *SY* יוסף בן גוריון is both a source of trustworthy historical information *and* a model of virtue, from his first mention in *SY* 8 (ח).[7] He is cited as a source some thirty-three times in *SY*, fourteen times in reference to "his book" ([ו]ספר) and thirteen as direct quotations (with ויאמר *or* וידבר), as noted recently by David Levenson.[8] Yosippon explicitly cites Josephus as source far more often than Ps-Hegesippus does.[9]

It is worthwhile briefly to overview here how *SY* cites Joseph ben Gurion. In *SY* 8 (ח), *SY* 26 (כו) (twice), *SY* 30 (ל), *SY* 31 (לא), *SY* 33 (לג), Joseph ben Gurion's

---

own. Josephus said this, whom they themselves hold in the highest regard, and although he spoke what was true as regards the thing itself, he was of faulty judgement, so that he did not believe his own words. But he said this for the sake of [producing] credible history, because he considered it criminal to lie, [yet] he did not believe due to his hardness of heart and his penchant for faithlessness. Yet he was not prejudiced concerning the truth of the matter because he did not believe, but rather added more to his testimony because, though incredulous and reluctant, he did not negate the facts" (*Si nobis non credunt Iudaei, uel suis credant. Hoc dixit Iosephus, quem ipsi maximum putant, et tamen ita in eo ipso quod uerum locutus est mente deuius fuit, ut nec sermonibus suis crederet. Sed locutus est propter historiae fidem, quia fallere nefas putabat, non credidit propter duritiam cordis et perfidiae intentionem. Non tamen ueritati praeiudicat, quia non credidit sed plus addidit testimonio, quia nec incredulus et inuitus negauit*); Ussani (1932) 164. Dönitz (2016) 385 points out that *SY* 62 (סב) erases this reference (naturally). This the most detailed portrayal of Josephus' character in *DEH*, much in line with his presentation in *DEH* Prol. 1, casting him as a historian committed to *fides historiae* and that which is *uerus*, yet also as someone who, as a Jew, possesses characteristic *duritia cordis* and *intentio perfidiae* toward the Christian message about Jesus Christ. The other citation of Josephus comes at *DEH* 1.1.8, where Ps-Heg cites him (*ut Iosephus auctor est*) as a source for the account of Hyrcanus' plundering of David's tomb in Jerusalem (*BJ* 1.61; cf. *AJ* 13.247–249).

6 Ussani (1932) 187: *Iosephum Gorione genitum et Ananum principem sacerdotum Hierosolymitanae urbis negotiis et praecipue instaurandis muris praeficiunt*.

7 Where he is also called "Joseph the priest" (יוסף הכהן). *SY* mss attest to the variants יוסיפוס and יוסיפון (+ בן גוריון) as well, denoting transliteration rather than the Semitic domestication of the Latin.

8 Levenson (2024) 215n15. Significantly, as Levenson notes, *SY* never cites *DEH* in such Josephan terms.

9 Further on Josephus as author cited by *SY*, see Flusser (1980) 74–79, Flusser (1987) 389–390, and Bowman (2023) 41n2, the latter noting that one Genizah fragment reads "Josephus" in *SY* 8 (ח) and clarifying that Joseph ben Gurion and Joseph ben Mattathias were two separate generals in the Roman-Jewish War (the latter being Josephus, the author of *BJ* and *AJ*). Cf. *DEH* 3.5.2.

book (ספר) is cited as one among numerous sources chronicling the events of a deceased king or leader whose career has just been summarized in *SY* (a literary feature based on the model of the biblical books of Kings and Chronicles).[10] In *SY* 28 (כח), *SY* 48 (מח), *SY* 49 (מט) Joseph ben Gurion's *book* is cited as a historical witness. Twice in *SY* 30 (ל), five times *SY* 36 (לו), thrice in *SY* 37 (לז), and once each in *SY* 38 (לח), *SY* 39 (לט), *SY* 43 (מד), *SY* 45 (מה), and four times *SY* 50 (נ) Joseph ben Gurion is cited as a source himself (e.g., with ויאמר or וידבר or ויוסף עוד) with no mention of a ספר. In *SY* 16 (טו), the text has just introduced Mattathias within the story of the emergent Maccabean revolt, namely the scene where he kills (and, in *SY*, ceremoniously lops the head off) the Judean who had impiously sacrificed a pig before images of King Antiochus. Yosippon then links this to universal Jewish tradition by explaining: "He was the first to raise his hand against the kingdom of Macedon, and he was the one who commanded us to fight on the Sabbath, and he is the one who will be our intercessor in this matter. It is written in the book of Joseph ben Gurion the priest."[11] In *SY* 35 (לה) we find a critical linkage between Joseph ben Gurion qua author and the author of *SY*:

> Now it seems right to me to record the deeds that were done after her, for it is proper for a man who produces books and who relates ancient affairs should write in good order and carefully, lest the deeds that were done be forgotten. In addition to all this, it is proper for the man who produces books to write true accounts. For thus commanded Joseph ben Gurion the priest, who is chief of the authors of all the books that have been written, except for the twenty-four sacred books and the books of wisdom that Solomon, king of Israel, and the sages of Israel made. And I have compiled words from the book of Joseph ben Gurion

10 In order, the figures so referenced are: King Cyrus (*SY* 8 [ח]): "The rest of his deeds are written in the books of the kings of the Medes and Persians and in the book of Joseph the priest, who is Joseph ben Gurion, who was exiled from Jerusalem in the days of Vespasian and Titus, his son, and in the book of the kings of the Romans," from Bowman (2023) 41 (I include the quote here as an example of how *SY* reshapes the biblical citation-motif); Judah the Maccabee and Simon the Maccabee (*SY* 26 [כו]); John Hyrcanus, i.e. "King Hyrcanus" (*SY* 30 [ל]); Aristobulus I, i.e. "Aristobulus Philhelleni" (*SY* 31 [לא]); Alexander Jannaeus, i.e. "King Alexander" (*SY* 33 [לג]).

11 זה הרים ידו תחילה במלכות מקדון וזה ציוה עלינו להלחם בשבת וזה יעמוד לנו למליץ על הדבר הזה. הוא כתוב על ספר יוסף בן גוריון הכהן. While *SY* bases itself on the Latin texts of 1–2Maccabees for its Hasmonean history (and perhaps also the Hebrew Maccabees that appeared just before [?] *SY*), it cites Joseph ben Gurion as its source. It should be remembered here that Josephus was often associated with Maccabean literature in Antiquity and thereafter.

> and from the books of other authors who wrote the story of our forefathers, and I have collected them into one scroll. And Joseph ben Gurion wrote thus in his book …[12]

The historiographical philosophy articulated in this section resonates with Classical historiography, i.e. the Greco-Roman tradition, the 'lest [great] deeds done be forgotten' trope finding particular resonance with the prologues of Herodotus and Thucydides.[13] So also in this vein is a note in *SY* 40 (מ):

> Now, it becomes us to relate the love that the Roman leaders showed to our fathers because of their strength, their might, and their faithfulness. For mighty and faithful men were our fathers, for which reason all the kings of the earth have loved to cut covenant with them, on account of their strength and might. And likewise the kings of Media and Persia sent offerings to them, and many letters to Jerusalem. However, Joseph ben Gurion transcribed only a few of their letters, because he did not want to transcribe [too] much of the gentile letters that came to them in Jerusalem. Only the Roman letters did Joseph ben Gurion transcribe, all of them exactly as they were written. But I have been too lazy to transcribe them all. For I have written [only] a few of their letters, just as I found them written in the book of Joseph ben Gurion.[14]

---

12 ועתה ישר בעיניי לספר את המעשים אשר נעשו אחריה. כי כל הכותב אשר יכתוב ספרים ואשר יגיד דברים עתיקים ראוי לכתוב בסדר ובנחת לבלתי שכוח מן המעשים אשר נעשו. ועל כל זאת ראוי לאיש אשר יעשה ספרים לכתוב דברי אמת. כי כן צוה יוסף בן גוריון הכהן אשר הוא ראש הסופרים לכל הספרים אשר נכתבו חוץ מעשרים וארבעת ספרים הקדושים ומספרי החכמות אשר עשה שלמה מלך ישראל וחכמי ישראל. ואני ליקטתי דברים מספר יוסף בן גוריון ומסיפרי סופרים אחרים אשר כתבו מעשה אבותינו ואגרתי אותם במגילה אחת. וידבר יוסף בן גוריון בספרו. וידבר יוסף בן גוריון בספרו. Bowman (2023) 137; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 302–305; Flusser (1978) 143–144.

13 Herodotus 1.1 begins the "demonstration of his inquiry [i.e. history]" (ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις) with the stated aim: "so that the things that have occurred may not be forgotten among men, nor great and marvelous deeds, whether done among Greeks or among Barbarians, be without renown …" (ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται). Similar yet different is Thucydides' writing of the Peloponnesian War "believing that it would be a great war and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it" (1.1.1; cf. 1.21.2), also noting his goal to write "as an aid in interpreting the future" and thus as a "possession for all time" (1.22.4).

14 ועתה נאה לנו לספר את אהבת שרי רומנים אשר אהבו אבותינו בעבור כוחם ובעבור גבורתם ובעבור אמונתם. כי גיבורים ונאמנים היו אבותינו על כן כל מלכי הארץ אהבו לכרות ברית עמהם על דבר כוחם וגבורתם. וגם מלכי מדי ופרס שלחו אליהם מנחות ואיגרות הרבה בירושלם. אבל יוסף בן גוריון כתב מעט מאיגרותיהם כי לא רצה לכתוב הרבה מאיגרות הגוים אשר באו אליהם בירושלם. רק איגרות רומא כתב אותם יוסף בן גוריון כולם ככתבם. ואני התעצלתי

An even more important follow-up to this note appears at the end of *SY* 40 (מ):

> Many letters like these that we found in the book of Joseph ben Gurion we have not transcribed here. For there is much to record in these letters which we found in his book of the year 508 after the destruction of the house. Now we have transcribed and translated from the book, the book of Joseph ben Gurion the priest, in the year 885 of the destruction [era].[15]

As Steven Bowman notes, "the medieval date for the destruction of the Temple was 68 CE," and thus "the author's Latin Josephus source was dated 576 CE."[16] This date is highly realistic, falling right around the time that Cassiodorus is known to have commissioned the translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. Indeed, David Flusser dated said translation to 576 CE on the basis of this passage, which also led him to posit 953 CE as *SY*'s date of writing.[17] It is important to note that the last two sentences here, i.e. everything after האלה—in other words, the only references to dates vis-à-vis the destruction (חורבן) of the Temple—only appear in the Rothschild Miscellany (Flusser's ms ד).[18] In

---

לכתוב אותם כולם. כי אם כתבתי מעט מאיגרותיהם כאשר מצאתי כתוב על ספר יוסף בן גוריון. Bowman (2023) 165; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 364–365; Flusser (1978) 174, with n. 9 on the historiographical ideals—*brevitas*, *fastidium*—activated here. The strings of adjectives in passages like this—see בעבור כוחם ובעבור גבורתם ובעבור אמונתם in the first line—is typical of ornamental historiography generally, and is ubiquitous in (e.g.) *DEH*. This passage also refracts the 'spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' in lionizing the Jewish people as a political powerhouse and ethical paragon, even among the great states of Antiquity. Note also Josephus' careful and sparing handling of gentile material, so pure a Jewish author is he (Judaization). Finally, Josephus' priestly career may be in view given the idea that he would have had easy access to missals sent *to Jerusalem*. Further on Roman-Jewish relation in *SY* and the letters integrated into *SY*'s narrative, see Börner-Klein (2010).

15 ואיגרות הרבה כאלה אשר מצאנו בספר יוסף בן גוריון לא כתבנו אותם פה. כי הרבה לספר באיגרות האלה אשר מצאנו מספרו משנת חמש מאות ושמנה שנה לחורבן הבית. ואנחנו כתבנו והעתקנו מן הספר מספר יוסף בן גוריון הכהן בשנת שמנה מאות ושמנים וחמשה לחורבן. Dönitz (2024) 187; Bowman (2023) 166–167; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 368–369; Flusser (1978) 176–177.

16 Bowman (2023) 167n10, citing Benzion Wacholder and *Seder Olam*, *Tractate Avodah Zarah*, and *Yalkut Shimoni* on Dan 8 to the effect that "placing Destruction Era dates inside a text is an important rabbinic injunction." Dönitz (2024) 187n81 rightly marks that "it is not clear what this date refers to."

17 Flusser (1959) 459; Flusser (1974) 130–131; Levenson/Martin (2016) 323. This date is also added as the date-of-writing on the Rothschild manuscript (which postdates 1470), apparently copied there from an earlier manuscript.

18 = Israel Museum B61.09.0803 (formerly Israel Museum 180/51/12). This manuscript belongs to Flusser's Recension A—see Flusser (1980) 254—but should now be located in

addition to this, Joseph ben Gurion's larger literary corpus is mentioned several times—in *SY* 49 (מט) and *SY* 50 (נ);[19] then, at the beginning of *SY* 65 (סה) we encounter him as a historical character in the narrative (and as משוח מלחמה).[20] In short, all of this shows that *SY* cites Joseph Ben Gurion (= Josephus) as an important source. However, such citation should have prevented readers of *SY* from conflating it with the book(s) of this Josephus, just as *DEH*'s readers should have picked up from the Prologue and elsewhere that that work used Josephus' writing as a historical source (and historiographical template). However, both texts appear to have been mistakenly identified as works of Josephus by many of their readers, at least initially.

While *SY* cites Joseph ben Gurion as a textual authority some thirty-nine times, as surveyed above, *DEH* cites Josephus qua author in just four pas-

---

the more up-to-date "Ashkenazic A" category of Dönitz (2024) 205; cf. 185–188, which contains a discussion of this passage and a fuller commentary on the manuscript.

19 *SY* 49 (מט) has: "Josephus ben Gurion relates in his book: 'I have many things to write about the wisdom of the people of the Lord. For they were wise. There have not been in this world wise men like the people of the Lord. And wisdom has not reigned except among the people of the Lord. But in this Menahem [the subject at this point in *SY*'s narrative, a teacher of the Hasidim, i.e. Essenes], all the nations now recognize and know whether this wisdom existed among the other colleagues of Menahem,' even as it is written in Joseph's book of wisdom. For the books of wisdom which Joseph ben Gurion wrote are books in which he did not write about wars but about wisdom only" (וידבר יוסף בן גוריון בספרו: יש לי דברים רבים לכתוב מחכמות עם יי. כי חכמים היו. לא היה בעולם הזה חכמים כעם יי. והחכמה לא מלכה כי אם בעם יי. אבל בזה מנחם יכירו עתה וידעו כל הגוים אי זה חכמה היה לאחרים חבירי מנחם כאשר כתוב על ספר חכמת יוסף. כי ספרי חכמות עשה יוסף בן גוריון ספרים אשר לא כתב שם מלחמות רק החכמה לבד). *SY* 50 (נ) has: "The building of the house [the Jerusalem Temple renovations of Herod the Great] about which we have written is only some of the building, for it was a great enterprise. Therefore, we have not written the half or even a third of it. For Joseph ben Gurion did not write in just one book about the construction of the house, but he wrote [about it] in the Book of the Wars and in his Book of Wisdom. He produced many books: books of wisdom and books of polemics and apologetics in which he reproached gentile writers who had spoken evil of Israel. He refuted their words and overcame them and vanquished them and spoke well of his people and his family" (ובניין הבית אשר כתבנו מקצת הבניין כי מלאכה גדולה היתה על כן לא כתבנו כחצייה וכשלישיתה. כי יוסף בן גוריון לא על ספר אחד כתב את ביניין הבית כי כתב על ספר המלחמות ועל ספר החכמה אשר לו. כי ספרים הרבה עשה סיפרי חכמה וספר תוכחות ומריבות אשר הוכיח סופרי גוים אשר דיברו רע על ישראל. וישיבם דברים ויגבר עליהם וינצחם וידבר טוב על עמו ועל משפחתו). Bowman (2023) 209–210, 215; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 460–461, 474–475; Flusser (1978) 224, 234–235.

20 It is no coincidence that these references to Josephus as a historical and textual authority go through *SY* 50 (נ) and that *DEH* becomes the primary source for the work at *SY* 51 (נא). Apparently—again as guessed by Levenson (2024) 215n15—*SY* distinguished between *LAJ* as a work of Josephus and *DEH* as something else.

sages.[21] Josephus' divergent portrayals as source/historical/authority in *DEH* and *SY* respectively are owed to the opposing moral evaluations of Jewishness assumed and communicated by the authors of those two works. For Ps-Hegesippus, Josephus is a wonderful historian—why else would he crib off of his work?—, but the fact that he remained (and thus in the tradition remains) a Jew was (is) his one fatal flaw. His portrayal cannot be fully sanctified. On the other hand, Josephus' insistent Jewishness is not a problem for Yosippon. Rather, it is a given: Josephus the Jew was Jewish.[22] Obviously. (But of course, "Jewish" may have meant somewhat unlike things to Yosippon, the medieval Jew, than to Ps-Hegesippus, the fourth-century Christian.)[23] In *SY*, it is precisely Josephus' Jewish pedigree—with all of its military, priestly, and religious, as well as historiographical, aspects—that marks him as a paragon. In *DEH* Josephus possesses a problematic piety; in *SY*, he renders right religiosity. Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon, the ancient Christian historian and the medieval

21 *DEH* Prol 1; 1.1.8; 2.12.1 (×2); 2.12.2.

22 Beginning with Daniel "the Jew" (דניאל היהודי) in *SY* 4 (ד) and Mordechai "the Jew" (מרדכי היהודי), or "a Jewish man" (איש יהודי), in *SY* 9 (ט), Yosippon frequently refers to Jew(s) as יהודי(ם). The term appears nearly 350 times across *SY* (the plural being far more common than the singular). Josephus is immediately and implicitly described as one of the גיבורי היהודים among at *SY* 65 (סה). Contrast this to Ps-Heg's polemical construction of noble *Hebraei* versus ignoble *Iudaei* across his work, as argued in Bay (2023) 70–97. Unlike *DEH*, which uses the adjective *Hebraeus* a few dozen times, *SY* mentions "Hebrews" only twice, both times in the plural: first, at *SY* 76 (עו), in a speech over and about Jerusalem, Josephus recalls how King David, as founder of Jerusalem, "drove out the Canaanites and established the Hebrews in their place" (יגרש הכנענים וישכן תחתם עבריים), an adaptation of *DEH* 5.9.1: *Ea* [Jerusalem] *a principio suos incolas habuit de gente Chananaeorum. Dauid primus uir gentis Hebraeae Chananaeos expulit, constituit suos* … Cf. Bay (2022d) 14n43; Bay (2021a) 25–27. Then, in *SY* 78 (עח), Josephus addresses the Jews and Jerusalem in Hebrew (עברית)—the only time this language is named as such in all of *SY*—saying: "Listen to me, all you Hebrews, and I will speak into your ears that which is good for you" (שמעו אלי כל העברים ואדברה באזניכם את אשר ייטב לכם), an adaptation of *DEH* 5.15.1, in which Josephus addresses his hearers also as *Hebraei*. See more fully Chapter 5.

23 Starting already in the Prologue of *De excidio*, Ps-Heg betrays his alignment with the Christian thought of his day concerning the Jews, whereby the latter were construed as a group defined religiously, by something like belief + ritual (*doxa* + *praxis*). This Jewish 'religion' was, for Christians, wrong-headed by definition. See the final paragraph of Section IV in Fredriksen/Irshai (2008) 1007 (cf. 1004–1007 for the fourth century as the critical era), and note the important discussion in Boyarin (2004) 1–33. But Jews will no doubt have understood themselves as a historic people with what could be called racial, ethnic, national, religious, geographic, cultural, and/or ideological ties, a community imagined so as to be ill-fitted to such religiose (in this case Christian) reductionism. My thanks to Anthony Ellis for reminding me of the two notions of 'Jewish' ostensibly at work between *DEH* and *SY* here.

Jewish one, do not agree in their assessments of Judaism. Should we be surprised? No. Instead, what we shall do is compare *DEH* 3.16 and *SY* 67 (סז) and thereby witness the outgrowth of this disagreement. In each of these two chapters we find the idea of Jewishness deeply intertwined with the person of Josephus (the concept and the precept, as it were); we also end up finding radically variant portrayals of both things.

The first sentence of each passage sets the tone for what will follow. Here is how Josephus' comrades begin according to Ps-Hegesippus:

> Now is the greater downfall of the name 'Jew' felt, now are the ashes more repulsive, which conceal and hide the custom of our most illustrious stock and undermine all decency, when Josephus is appointed as a captive to be reserved for the victory procession.
>
> *Nunc maior Iudaei nominis temtatur ruina, nunc fauilla taetrior, quae sepeliat et abscondat splendidissimae disciplinam prosapiae atque omne decus subruat, quando Iosephus ad triumphum captiuus reseruari iubetur.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.16.1[24]

Note that 1) Josephus' anticipated surrender is immediately linked with the *ruina* of the *nominis Iudaei*, 2) Josephus is named (in the third person) in this statement, and 3) Josephus' comrades evince offense at his anticipated course of action, expressing both shame and disgust by their use of the adjective *taeter*.[25] Now look at the opening statement per Yosippon:

---

24 Ussani (1932) 210. The comparative adjective "repulsive" (*taetrior*) that modifies "ashes" here, given its proximity to the mention of the "downfall of the Jewish name," recalls Tacitus' description of the Jews as *despectissima pars servientium*—***taeterrima gens*** (*Hist.* 5.8). Thanks to René Bloch for reminding me of this. We may remember here that Ps-Heg knew Tacitus: Bloch (2012) 380–383; (2002) 190–192. Similarly, the ethnographic superlative *splendidissima prosapia* reads like a foil to Tacitus' *despectissima pars* or to Seneca's description of the Jews as *sceleratissima gens* according to Augustine *Civ. Dei* 6.11. These and similar Roman prejudices toward the Jews—see Isaac (2017) 291; (2004) 478—would have been well-known to Ps-Heg. Note that *DEH* only contains the adjective *taeter* in the superlative (3×: 2.13.8; 3.26.3; 4.8.1) and the comparative (2×: 3.16.1; 5.25.1), and it always describes the Jews or something that directly affects them.

25 This "allerweltsadjektiv … von allgemein negative Bedeutung" had private uses, but was often used in Roman political invective to effect moral disqualification in the public sphere, implying the bringing of shame upon the state: "Diese fassen den Beschimpften als Schädigung des Staatwsprestiges auf, wofür oben die *labes*-Metapher und Ähnliches gebraucht wurde." Opelt (1965) 159; cf. 153 and 162n82 (in the latter it is likened to the adjectives *foedus*, *turpis*, *molestus*).

> We are amazed at you, for you were chosen from among a great, priestly people and a holy kingdom and you were in command as general of the army at the head of your people, and your eyes have seen the disgrace of your people and the failure of your flock this day, and you would live!?
>
> תמיהים אנחנו ממך כי נבחרתה מרבבות עם כהונה וממלכת קדש ותפקד לשר צבא בראש עמך ותראינה עיניך חרפת עמך וכשלון צאנך ביום הזה ותחיה?!
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[26]

Here Josephus' relation to the Jews does not match what we find in *DEH*. Rather than a shaming, hyperbolic ejaculation suggesting that all is lost, Josephus' comrades make a personal we-to-you statement (אנחנו ... ממך) expressing shock, confusion, consternation.[27] At first glance, one might think that Ps-Hegesippus' version of this speech was going to be the more relationally oriented of the two, as Josephus is named no fewer than five times in the opening section of the speech (i.e. before Moses is mentioned), twice in the vocative,[28] while his name never appears in his comrades' mouths in *SY*'s version. But no: what we find is that Yosippon's version is much more about Josephus, and about the Jews, while Ps-Hegesippus is more interested in the Roman side of things. David Flusser noted that *SY*'s reworking of *DEH* here was "free in its adaptation" (בעיבוד חופשי);[29] we will see that behind this 'freedom' also lie certain of *SY*'s ideological commitments, in line with my overall thesis.

---

26 Bowman (2023) 289; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 628–629; Flusser (1978) 311. Given that Josephus is about to be designated the 'war messiah' by his comrades, it is worth comparing this passage, with its conjuring of the idea of blaspheming/blasphemy/shame in חרפה, with a passage in which the only other 'war messiah' in *SY*'s storyline—Judah the Maccabee—is affected by this concept. In *SY* 19 (יט), Judah and a band of Hasmonean youths (בחורים מחשמונים) are fighting against the Seleucid commander Timotheus at Gaza. On the fifth day within the besieged city, a group of Timotheus' men climbed a tower and "were cursing and insulting the war messiah" (ויקללו ויחרפו את משוח מלחמה), i.e. Judah. Twenty of the youths responded with indignant zeal (קינאו) "on account of the shame of these insults" (על חרפות המחרפים), and thus took up shields and scaled the wall. They slew everyone within, and "they captured alive everyone who had insulted the war messiah and burned them with fire" (ויתפשו חיים את המחרפים את משוח מלחמה וישרפו אותם באש). This shows that particular piety and seriousness were attached to this title, such that its sullying could require special forms of purificatory violence.

27 Bowman (2023) 289 translates the phrase: "we are surprised at you."

28 Thrice in the third person, twice in the second person.

29 Flusser (1978) 311n4.

Consider the following list of items mentioned in the first section of the speech in *DEH* 3.16 that are *not* repeated in *SY* 67 (סז): a) downfall (*ruina*), ashes (*fauilla*), and the formal Roman victory procession (*triumphus*), all mentioned in the first sentence;[30] b) the comparison between the many others whom the Romans did not spare, and Josephus, whom they will;[31] c) in the following sentence, the second mention of a triumph proper and the imputation of motivation to both Rome and Vespasian;[32] d) the metaphorical play between physical and notional violence (to be) perpetrated by Rome;[33] e) the insinuation that Josephus will be bowed down (with *inflecto*) and has been broken (*fractus*) by "softness of spirit" (*mollitia animi*).[34] This list provides a gauge by which to measure *DEH* against *SY* at the beginning of the soldiers' speech. In *DEH*, there is a decided emphasis upon the Roman perspective and the Roman part in the drama, and, in the end, the probity of Josephus' character is brought into question: will he prove a prostrate figure of fractured soul? In *SY*, we find hardly a hint of these things.

What we find instead in *SY* is, first and foremost, an emphasis upon Josephus' position and status within a noble Jewish lineage. By posturing Josephus

30 The Roman triumph per se is a major fixation of Josephus' comrades in *DEH* here: they begin by suggesting that "Josephus has been commanded to be held captive for a triumph" (*Iosephus ad triumphum captiuus reseruari iubetur*). See further the notes below.

31 *DEH* 3.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 210): "They have not spared the lives of others who asked for it: yet Josephus is summoned, Josephus is invited to live" (*Rogantibus uitam aliis non pepercerunt: Iosephus arcessitur, Iosephus rogatur ut uiuat*).

32 *DEH* 3.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 210): "Obviously they are afraid lest they forfeit their triumphal procession, lest they fail to obtain him whom Rome would see a captive, whom Vespasian would drive chained before his chariot" (*Metuunt uidelicet ne pompam amittant triumphi, ne desit quem spectet Roma captiuum, quem catenatum Vespasianus ante currum suum dirigat*).

33 *DEH* 3.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 210–211): "Life is offered to you, but things worse than death are being prepared for you. Roman arms may have conquered you, but let not deceitfulness captivate you. Their gifts are more harmful than wounds, for the former threaten captivity, but the latter preserve liberty" (*Vita tibi promittitur, sed parantur grauiora morte. Vicerint te Romana arma, non capiat fraudolentia. Atrociora sunt dona eorum quam uulnera, illa enim captiuitatem minantur, haec libertatem reseruant*). Some mss of *DEH* read *ad seruitutem* in place of *libertatem* (including, significantly, Bern 180, Ussani's *B*), placing the final two clauses in apposition rather than contrast.

34 *DEH* 3.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 211): "Will you be bowed down, Josephus, and, broken by some softness of spirit, do you wish to be one who outlives your country?" (*Inflecteris, Iosephe, et animi quadam fractus mollitia uis esse patriae superstes?*). This is what Ussani prints, but the best manuscript readings appear to reflect *molestia* instead of *mollitia* (thus, "trouble" or "annoyance" or "vexation" "of spirit").

as a stand-out figure from within a "priestly people" (עם כהונה) and "holy kingdom" (מלכת קדש)—expanding, it seems, upon *DEH*'s reference to the *disciplina* of a *splendidissima prosapia*[35]—Josephus' interlocutors frame him and the Jews in terms of holiness and priestliness. This descriptive focus is a telling improvement upon Ps-Hegesippus, supplying the national and biographical implications of the discourse with a religious undercurrent. This undercurrent, moreover, has its headwaters in the Jewish Scriptures: it is difficult not to see in *SY*'s verbiage here a reflection of the "kingdom of priests" (מלכת כהנים) and "holy nation" (גוי קדוש) that God promises Israel, through Moses, will be for him in the future in Exodus 19:6.[36] If we assume for a moment that this is a conscious intertext of Yosippon here, then this line sanctifies Josephus and Judea in a way, by recalling their place within a chosen and missional people of God from of old. Perhaps it is no accident that this was language that Christians claimed for themselves on the basis for their scriptures (1Pet 2:9).[37]

At least as striking is the descriptor or title attributed to Josephus shortly hereafter in *SY*. Compare this string of questions in Ps-Hegesippus' version—

> Do you wish to be reserved for such mockery? For on what basis will they hold a triumph, if a leader of those over whom a triumph is made is lacking? Or what kind of triumph is it, if friendship is offered to those conquered? Believe it not, Josephus.

> *Ad haec ergo ludibria uis reseruari? Et unde triumphabunt, si dux eorum defuerit de quibus triumphatur? Aut qui triumphus, si amicitia datur uictis? Ne credas, Iosephe.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.16.1[38]

35 Bern 180 (ms *B*) alone among Ussani's manuscripts reads *disciplinae prosapiam* rather than *disciplinam prosapiae*; Ussani (1932) 210.

36 See Davies (2004) and cf. the LXX/Vulgate renderings: βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον/*regnum sacerdotale et gens sancta*. Note that *SY* flips the 'holiness' and 'priesthood' adjectives/modifiers such that they modify converse nouns, unlike any textual variants within any of the biblical translations. Was this switch meaningful, or stylistic, or accidental, or perhaps just an attempt at originality?

37 1Pet 2:9: "But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession (γένος ἐκλεκτόν βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα ἔθνος ἅγιον λαὸς λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν/*genus electum regale sacerdotium gens sancta populus adquisitionis*), so that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light."

38 Ussani (1932) 210.

—to the cognate line of questioning as recorded by Yosippon:

> Is it for their mercy toward you that they do not kill you? Is it to do you good that they summon you? It is only so that they may capture you alive, so that they may boast, saying: 'Behold, we have taken their messiah of war.' Then they will say: 'Our hand is triumphant!'
>
> המחמלתם עליך לבלתי המיתך? או להטיב לך יקראוך?! רק למען ילכדוך חי! כי יתהללו לאמר: הנה משוח מלחמתם תפשנו חי. ויאמרו: כי רמה ידינו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[39]

While imagining the Romans' motivations for offering Josephus clemency and envisioning what they will say once they lay hands upon the Jewish general, the Jewish soldiers here cite a moniker that comes to be associated closely with Josephus within the *SY* tradition and beyond: what I have translated "messiah of war" (משוח מלחמה).[40] This imposing label was placed upon 'Josephus'

---

39 Bowman (2023) 289; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 628–631; Flusser (1978) 311. The direct quotes used in *SY* as compared to *DEH*'s indirect implication of these notions epitomizes the more concrete treatment of such issues in *SY* generally (also in its characters speeches) in contrast to the penchant for metaphor, analogy, and abstraction in *DEH*; the contrast is also in part a reflection of idiomatic differences between Semitic and Indo-European norms of expression in Hebrew versus Latin. Note that the final statement in this line of *SY* is lifted from Deut 32:27. There the LORD tells Moses that he would wipe the people of Israel out, except for one thing: "Had I not feared the provocation of the enemy, that their adversaries would misjudge, that they would say 'our hand is triumphant (פן-יאמרו ידינו רמה), and the LORD has not performed all this.'"

40 Or simply "anointed for war," or perhaps "battlefield messiah," or, as Bowman has it, "anointed warlord." See Bowman (2023) 289, who mistakenly translates משוח מלחמתם as "*your* anointed warlord." This title links Josephus to the great Maccabean warrior Judah the Maccabee. In *SY* 16 (טז), Judah's father Mattathias is on his deathbed. He summons Judah and charges him to fight for God's people. The scene is worth repeating here: "He [Mattathias] said to him [Judah]: 'My son Judah, your name is called "Maccabee" because of your might; I know my son; I know that you are a man of war and that God has given you strength and might and a heart like the heart of a lion, which flees before nothing. Now, my son, honor the LORD from your wealth (כבד את יי מהוניך = Prov 3:9a) that he has given you; fight his battles and make war without sloth. Be not slow to go into all the winds' corners [i.e. four corners] of your land, into the east and west and north and south, to take the land from the hand of the uncircumcised; be for this people general of the army and war messiah (ותהיה לעם הזה לשר צבא ולמשוח מלחמה).' And he brought out a flask of oil, he [Mattathias] poured it over his [Judah's] head and anointed him for war (ויוצא את קרן השמן וישפוך על ראשו וימשח אותו על המלחמה). All the people shouted for joy and blew on the shofar, saying: 'Long live the messiah!' (ויריעו כל העם ויתקעו בשופר ויאמרו: יחי המשיח). And having completed commanding his sons, he [Mattathias] died

(like so much oil poured over the head) two chapters earlier in *SY* 65 (סה), when Yosippon relates how military oversight of the territory of Galilee was divided between three Judean commanders, including Josephus.[41] It would later become commonplace among the descriptors of Josephus qua 'author' of *SY* on printed title pages of the work (and elsewhere),[42] and would find its way into the broader Hebrew historiographical milieu of medieval Judaism, e.g. in Abraham Ibn Daud's *Generations of the Ages* (דורות עולם).[43] Earlier in *SY*, the

---

and was gathered to his people." Bowman (2023) 76; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 184–185; Flusser (1978) 79–80. This goes far beyond 1Macc 2:66, where Mattathias is talking to all of his sons, not just Judah, and says: "Judas Maccabeus has been a mighty warrior from his youth; he shall command the army for you and fight the battle against the peoples." Bowman (2023) 76n14 opines that *SY*'s author has misread the Latin verb (*se*) *coniunxerant* (they joined themselves to) in 1Macc 3:1 and rendered *unxerant* ("they anointed") instead, but this portion of *SY* is hardly beholden at all to the sparse details of 1Maccabees here. Much closer to 1Macc 3:1 is the statement from the ninth- or tenth-century Hebrew book of the Maccabees: "Judah the Maccabee rose after him, and his brothers helped him and anointed him with joy in place of his father to be משוח מלחמה." The Hebrew title משוח מלחמה appears in m. *Sotah* 8, which bases the traditions of Judah and Simon in Deuteronomy.

41 "The third of the land that fell by lot to Joseph ben Gurion, for he been anointed as warlord, included all the territory of Naphtali and Mount Galil and beyond" (ותפול שלישית הארץ בגורל כל ארץ נפתלי והר הגליל והלאה ליוסף בן גוריון כי אז נמשח משוח מלחמה). Bowman (2023) 277; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 602–603; Flusser (1978) 300 (with 299n2, 300n5). Cf. *DEH* 3.3.2 and 3.3.3–4. This is the passage in which, in *SY*'s reading of its Latin source, Flavius Josephus the historian and Joseph ben Gurion the Judean commander become conflated, as noted by Flusser (1978) 299n2 and translated in Bowman (2023) 277n1.

42 Neuman (1950) ends (on 667) with this sentence: "Fantastic as it must seem to the modern reader, the eulogy of an early editor [of *SY*] of the fourteenth century faithfully expressed the appraisal of many generations: 'Joseph b. Gorion, man of God; mighty warrior; *anointed for war*; priest to the Supreme God" (italics mine). Many such editors placed such descriptions in various places on *SY* editions. Thus, Abraham Conat, in his 1475 edition printed in Mantua (Flusser's מ), while he omitted references to Joseph ben Gurion within the work itself, added this authorial introduction (on p. 269): "I have determined that this weighty book, which he composed, to have been written by a man called Joseph ben Gorion—man of God, mighty man of valor, messiah of war, priest of God Most High" (ראיתי לכתוב זה הספר הנכבד אשר חברו איש אלהים גבור חיל משוח מלחמה כהן לאלהי עליון הנקרא יוסף בן גוריון). Available online: https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH0012 68325/NLI (Accessed 22 September, 2022).

43 In particular, his *Accounts of the Kings of Israel* (דברי מלכי ישראל), a Second Temple history that is "heavily indebted to the *Book of Josippon*" (Vehlow [2013] 19). *Dorot 'Olam* 63 includes a paraphrase of the quote from *SY* 65 (סה): "The commanders were the high priest Ananias and his son Eleazar, the head of the rebels, and the priest Joseph ben Gorion, who had been anointed for war and who composed a great book about the affairs of the Second Temple" (והפקידים ענני הכהן הגדול ואליזר בנו ראש הפריצים ויוסף בן גוריון הכהן משוח מלחמה שחבר ספר גדול בדברי בית שני); from Vehlow (2013) 300–301.

title is given to Judah the Maccabee.[44] Its application to Josephus in *SY* 67 (סז) lends his persona a heroic and august air, as impressive in its historical legacy as it would become in its traditionary afterlife.

We need not read any sort of sophisticated messianism into *SY* here to understand the phrase משוח מלחמה as applied to Josephus: perhaps complementing Josephus' 'anointed' status as a priest, it heroizes him and aligns him with Judah the Maccabee, the only other person in *SY* to merit the title.[45] Josephus and Judah are *SY*'s war messiahs. This collocation of heroes via shared title might be read to create a link between the Maccabean revolt under Antiochus IV and the Judean revolt under Nero/Vespasian, between Judah's Judea and Josephus' Galilee. If so, Yosippon transfers the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism, most significantly and representatively embodied in the Maccabean revolt and Hasmonean era, up into and through the Roman-Jewish War, into the age of Josephus, and in fact epitomized in the latter.

This labeling exaltation of Josephus in *SY* 67 (סז) points to the rhetorical something that Yosippon is doing with Josephus and Jewishness in this speech. Neither the laudatory labels for the people of Israel nor the 'military messiah' moniker for Josephus are present in Ps-Hegesippus. Indeed, the implication of Josephus as bowed, broken, and soft in *DEH*, mentioned above, is totally absent from *SY*. In *SY*, in the aftermath of Jotapata, we see Josephus painted in heroic relief. His conversation partners are not fixated on the Roman perspective, as they were in Ps-Hegesippus' version, nor do they denigrate Josephus as much as their Latin counterparts had. Instead, their speech takes on the tones of an earnest entreaty aimed at their anointed general, of whom they stand in considerable awe.[46]

---

44 Judah is identified as משוח מלחמה in *SY* 16 (טו), 19 (יט), 20 (כ), 21 (כא), 22 (כב), and Josephus is so identified in *SY* 65 (סה) and 67 (סז). The phrase is used 11 times in *SY*. Its restriction to Judah and Joseph links these two figures as heroic military deliverers of their people. In *SY* 16 (טז) we read that Mattathias "anointed [Judah] for war" (וישמח אותו על המלחמה). On Judah in *SY*, see Bay (2022c).

45 This correlation may be deliberate in more ways than one: in *SY* 17 (יז), Judah's stellar career is marked by boldness, success, and blessedness—the peace and blessing pronounced upon his legacy are bestowed "because his soul did not shrink away from death for the sake of Israel, the people of the LORD" (כי לא חשך נפשו ממות בעבור ישראל עם יי). See Bay (2022c) 665–666. This, of course, is the precise thing that Josephus is being challenged on in this speech, something that he claimed he would do, encouraged others to do, but now appears to be shrinking away from. By drawing numerous parallels between Josephus and Judah, Yosippon may be doing some intratextual commentary.

46 This dynamic, of Josephus' argument being even more the 'winning' argument in *SY*, led Mintz (1984) to conclude that "the suicides at Jodphata (from which Josephus the general escaped through a ruse) are presented as misguided and contrary to the precepts of Judaism," which Bowman (1995) 47n48 somewhat disputes.

We also see here the linking of Josephus and Jewish identity, as discussed above. This linkage is underscored once more in the final line of this opening part of the speech of *SY* 67 (סז), where Josephus' fellows ask: "And now, have you set your heart to live *after the loss of your people and your brethren*? For what desire would you choose to live?"[47] Mention of people (עם) and brethren (אחים) is absent in *DEH*. There we find something much less personal: "do you wish to be one who outlives your country?"[48] The *patria* is the group unit that came to the Roman-Christian mind of the Latin-writing author Ps-Hegesippus as he rescripted this speech—for him, Josephus' relationship to his *country* is what this speech is about. Yosippon, however, a latter-day sharer in Josephus' Jewishness, opts for terms of kinship as a way to articulate what these Jewish soldiers really would have said (he imagined). This contributes not a little to the new meaning that *SY* gives to this old story, as Josephus and Jewishness are reborn in a new Hebrew form for a new Hebrew readership in the early Jewish Middle Ages.

The lionization of Josephus reaches new heights at the end of this opening speech. After citing a short series of biblical *exempla* to reinforce their point—all of which are discussed below—Josephus' comrades return to his case as the case-at-hand and the *de facto* case-in-point. But comparing *DEH* 3.16.1 and *SY* 67 (סז) in the final part of the oration of Josephus' fellows is tricky, because a good deal of what appears in *DEH* has no obvious correlate in *SY*; conversely, a considerable amount of what is said in *SY* is difficult to locate in *DEH*.[49] We must be careful as we proceed, then. In that vein, we will identify in the text and footnotes what of significance in this part of the speech is changed, added, or omitted between *DEH* and *SY*.

2 Josephus, Part 2: Mighty Man and Messiah, Priest and Prince of the King

After discussing Moses, Aaron, Saul, Jonathan, and David, to which we turn in the following sections below, Josephus' friends in *DEH* hit him with two powerful questions, one biblical and one theological (strictly speaking):

---

47 ועתה השמת לבך לחיות אחרי אבידת עמך ואחיך?! לאי זה חפץ תבחר בחיים?! Bowman (2023) 289; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 630–631; Flusser (1978) 311.

48 … *uis esse patriae superstes*? Ussani (1932) 311.

49 Note that this final part of the speech is the *only* part that appears in *BJ* (3.356–360), the earlier majority being an invention of Ps-Heg dutifully picked up by *SY*.

> Finally, where is the divine law, whose interpreter you have always been, which promises to the righteous perpetual immortality in place of this brief life? Where is the God of the Hebrews, who teaches the righteous to have contempt of death, even that they ought to flee this earthbound habitation, to return to the celestial realm, to that place of paradise, where God sanctifies pious souls?
>
> *Postremo ubi lex diuina, cuius interpres semper fuisti, quae pro hac breui uita perpetuam iustis promisit inmortalitatem? Vbi Hebraeorum deus, qui docet iustos mortis contemtum habere, refugere etiam debere terrenum habitaculum, reuolare ad superna, ad illam regionem paradisi, ubi pias animas deus sacrauit?*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.16.1[50]

This interrogation brings into question Josephus' relationship to the Holy Scriptures and to the Holy God.[51] Yosippon rescripts the questions in native Jewish terms:

> Where is the holy Torah, which is hidden in your heart? Are you not a priest and a messiah who taught us the Torah? How can we love our God with all our hearts and with all our souls if we do not die on behalf of his covenant alongside his servants slain for his name?
>
> ואיה התורה הקדושה הצפונה בלבבך? הלא אתה כהן ומשוח אשר למדתנו את התורה? איך נוכל לאהוב את אלהינו בכל לבבינו ובכל נפשינו אם לא נמות על בריתו עם עבדיו הנהרגים על שמו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[52]

---

50 Ussani (1932) 211–212. Interestingly, the term *deus* at the beginning of the second sentence appears *supra lineum* in the oldest manuscript witnesses (M^2 and C).

51 The same bi-partite theme appears already in *BJ* 3.356, this passage's inspiration. There, however, the tone is more explosive. As this begins Josephus' comrades' speech in that work, we read that they "bellowed" (ἐβόων) their objections. Also of note there is the mention, not of "the Law" but of οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, whereas ὁ νόμος might have been the expected backdrop for *lex* (*diuina*). Josephus' Greek also personifies the Laws and God (θεὸς) as 'groaning' and 'hiding his face for grief' respectively given Josephus' intentions. A comparison of this passage with its reiteration in *DEH* 3.16.1 will show how the latter has rearranged considerably the various parts of that speech.

52 Bowman (2023) 290; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 632–633; Flusser (1978) 312. Two "Recension A" manuscripts (ד, ק) read על דם עבדיו ליקום ("upon the blood of his servants for vengeance") for עם עבדיו ("with his servants"). Manuscript נ reads עמו ("his people") for שמו ("his name") for the last word: Flusser (1980) 323.

The Latin's *lex diuina* quite naturally gives way to the Hebrew's התורה הקדושה in translation.[53] But Josephus' orientation toward said Law does not bear the same equivalency. Yosippon begins with the deeply personal and deeply traditional statement that the תורה was 'hidden in Josephus' heart,' an elocution drawn from the Hebrew Bible's poetic tradition.[54] The soldiers then go on to identify Josephus as priest (כהן) and messiah (משוח).[55] Josephus' trifold description here triangulates his character within *SY* for the reader, and also underlines the extreme incredulity underlying the questions being put to him by his interlocutors. But note that Josephus is not so depicted *DEH*. Rather, Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus simply dubbed an *interpres*.[56] It would not strain the imagination to read this as a downplaying of Josephus' bona fides.[57] In any case, it is clear that

53 This is the only time this phrase is used in the nominative singular in *DEH*, though it appears in the plural (as *humanae nec diuinae leges*) at 1.32.6 (alongside cognates like *sacra praecepta diuini iuris*). Cf. the genitive singular in 2.5.3. *Diuinus, -a, -um* is a relatively common adjective in *DEH*, paired with a wide variety of typical nouns for a work like this: *arbitrium*, *auxilium*, *beneficia*, *gratia*, *ignis*, *imperia*, *indignatio*, *iudicium*, *munus*, *offensa*, *opera*, *opitulatio*, *oracula*, *pietas*, *praesidium* (*-a*), *sacramenta*, *scriptura*, *sententia*, *spiritus*, *uis*, *ultio*, *uoluntas*. The term appears as a substantive alongside *humana* ("human and divine things") at 5.2.1; cf. 2.12.1; 5.41.2; and McCormick (1935) 55. The use of *lex* to refer to the Mosaic Law (i.e. Torah) in *DEH* is widespread: Dwyer (1931) 35. The absence of the adjective "divine" from the Hebrew may be easily explained: it is simply a rather unnatural adjective in Hebrew, with something like קדוש being far more normal. The reason I include this lexicographical footnote is because *DEH* is an unappreciated text that stands near the beginning of a long tradition of Latinate anti-Jewish literature, and phrases with the adjective *diuin-* have a tendency to become stock phrases within such discourses; thus, it would be worth examining how many of the above phrases can trace themselves back earlier than *DEH* and, conversely, whether their use in later late antique and medieval texts may not be owed to *DEH* (such influence of *DEH* often goes undetected).

54 The phrase לב + צפן finds a biblical basis in Job 10:13 and Psa 40:11 (40:10). But the only passage to use this language in a similar context to that here in *SY* 67 (סז) is Psa 119:11: "I have hidden your word in my heart, so that I might not sin against you" (בלבי צפנתי אמרתך למען לא אחטא-לך). It would be a clever and fitting trick indeed if Yosippon intended to have his speakers insinuate this entire verse here, as Josephus' peers are effectively trying to prevent him from so 'sinning.' In any case, *SY*'s language here echoes biblical usage.

55 Manuscripts נ and י read משיח for משוח; Flusser (1980) 323.

56 Not that this is a moniker to be snubbed: in late ancient Latin Christianity, "an *interpres* is a translator, someone who is able to integrate a piece of writing into the wider network of signs by which people place themselves in the world"; Hunt (2019) 135 (with n. 177). The question arises: in placing this identification into the mouths of Josephus' Jewish fellows, does Ps-Heg imagine them identifying their addressee as a priest who exposited, taught, explained the Scriptures vocationally, or as the author of the 'scriptural' *Jewish Antiquities*?

57 At *BJ* 3.350–355, after hearing the offer of clemency and before being berated by his fellows, he describes how he intuited the situation and said a prayer to God justifying to the deity—and, no less importantly, to the reader!—his impending surrender. Within that

the Josephus of *SY* in this passage is a formidable figure: priest and messiah, Torah in his heart, he had, like Moses, "taught" (למד) his people the Law.

The Josephus-Moses alignment, and the idea of having Torah 'hidden in the heart,' are in sync with the first half-sentence of the Shema (i.e., Deut 6:5a) quoted in the second sentence cited above. The latter part of that passage (Deut 6:7–9) provides practical instructions on what it means to "love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength."[58] Namely: repeat God's words diligently, to yourself and your progeny, during all of your waking life, and affix them to your hands and head, and your doors and gates, as a reminder. This is what Moses means when he instructs Israel: "these words … shall be on your heart" (והיו הדברים האלה … על-לבבך).[59] But this is *not* what Josephus' interlocutors mean in *SY* 67 (סז). Not at all. What *they* have in mind, it seems, is not the ancient and conventional, but a contemporary and practical application of the Shema: namely, dying *for* God's covenant (ברית) and *with* his servants (עבדיו). Such a sentiment is reminiscent of, if not necessarily connected to, the tradition whereby Rabbi Akiva was executed (by Romans) with the Shema on his lips.[60] In any case, the axis of Shema and active Jewish martyrdom would have a healthy afterlife in the Middle Ages following the writing of *SY*.[61]

---

passage, he describes himself at 3.356: "He was an interpreter of dreams and skilled in divining the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the Deity; a priest himself and of priestly descent, he was not ignorant of the prophecies in the sacred books" (ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἱκανὸς συμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀμφιβόλως ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα· τῶν γε μὴν ἱερῶν βίβλων οὐκ ἠγνόει τὰς προφητείας ὡς ἂν αὐτός τε ὢν ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερέων ἔγγονος). Josephus' self-description renders him perhaps more of a generic Mediterranean holy man (and thus, intelligible to his non-Jewish readers) than anything else; here I align with the tenor of Smith (1987). Ps-Heg, unsurprisingly, says nothing like this in his lead-up to *DEH* 3.16, nor does he mention Josephus' prayer, but tells a rather different story. The mention of books is interesting, but this should not lead us to assume that *SY* therefore knew *BJ* (he might have, but this is no evidence thereof). The absence of the prophetic component, mentioned here, from both *DEH* and *SY* in general is discussed in the present chapter's conclusion.

58 Deut 6:5: ואוהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל-לבבך ובכל-נפשך ובכל-מאדך.

59 Deut 6:6.

60 b. *Berakhot* 61b. Akiva hereby "willingly accepted the yoke of the kingdom of heaven upon himself" (היה מקבל עליו עול מלכות שמים). Cf. y. *Berakhot* 9 and see Boyarin (1999) 93–126, esp. 106; cf. Boyarin (2004) 238–239n3, a work which deals more with Akiva's heresy/apostasy based upon his putative messianic pretensions.

61 Thus, *SY*'s correlation of the Shema and this kind of military martyrdom may have been grounded in older Jewish tradition, and it may well have helped propel such tradition into the future as well: notably, Marcus (2013) 200–201, in discussing active Jewish martyrdom during the anti-Jewish Crusader riots in the German Rhineland in spring/summer 1096, assesses the phenomenon attested by chroniclers and liturgical poets of "Jewish

This zealous patriotism, which holds lightly the value of one's own life, is implied by the phrase "to have contempt for death" (*mortis contemtum habere*) in *DEH*. Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus' conversation partners aver that the *Deus Hebraeorum* teaches such a virtue and that its realization has significant afterlife implications. Yet, unlike Yosippon, Ps-Hegesippus does not mention the dead per se,[62] whereas *SY* populates the afterlife with presumably Jewish figures, personalizing Josephus' statements. Moreover, Yosippon takes the Latin's short treatment of this subject and balloons it into a further paragraph, a paragraph in which Josephus, not God per se, is the teacher of such doctrines, making Josephus an even more Mosaic figure:

> Have you not testified to us many times, saying that every man who died in battle on behalf of the LORD and His people and His Torah, would be the portion of the LORD by lot, to go into the Great Light so as not to see the darkening darkness? Are you not Joseph, who shouted out during battle in the midst of the Roman camp: 'I am Joseph, priest, messiah of war! For I have given my life over to death on behalf of the people of the LORD.' And now with your going out to them alive, what will you answer then? Will not shame cover you, and your disgrace, since every word from your mouth was feigned? Did you not say to the people, 'Fight until you die in battle, for if you die for the sake of the LORD's sanctuary and his Torah, your deaths will be an atonement for your souls, and you will go into the Great Light?' If it was true, the thing that you said, why do you save your own soul from death, from following your people who have gone into the Great Light?

---

martyrs crying out the first line of the liturgical texts known as the Shema" (citing Deut 6:4–9; Deut 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41). He classes this act as "performative midrash … creations of newly fashioned ritual acts based on combinations and extensions of the ancient motifs," suggesting that the 1096 Jewish martyrs "midrashically transformed earlier literary models and did not simply imitate or combine them." It is significant that Marcus mentions *SY* as an important inspiration in this regard, but only in reference to the Masada episode of *SY* 89 (פט), probably simply because the speeches at Jotapata, discussed in this chapter, are less well-known (indeed, as already mentioned, a few chapters of *SY*, especially 1–2 (א-ב) and 89 (פט), receive the vast majority of scholarly attention, and much of the work remains unknown to many scholars). On *SY* in medieval Germany, Marcus (2007) notes: "It should be recalled that the first major rabbinic figure of medieval Germany, Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah, is thought to have copied his own Mishnah, Talmud, and *Sefer Yosippon*, a sign that the latter had canonical status in medieval Ashkenaz," citing Grossman (1981) 159–160. On *SY*'s contribution to Jewish martyrdom discourse generally, see also *inter alia* Grossman (1992) 113–119, Ta-Shma (2000) 151–152, and Assis/Cohen/Kedar/Limor/Toch (2000) more generally; Ben-Sasson (2010) 52. On *SY*'s "quasi-canonical status," see McDowell (2025).

62 Flusser (1980) 97 points this out in discussing this passage. See also 110–111 on *SY*'s afterlife themes.

הלא אתה העדותה בנו פעמים רבות לאמר כי כל האיש אשר ימות במלחמה על יי ועל עמו ועל תורתו יהיה בגורל חלק יי ללכת אל האור הגדול לבלתי ראות את החושך המחשיך. הלא אתה יוסף אשר צעקת במלחמה בקרב מחנה רומנים: אני יוסף כהן משוח מלחמה! אשר נתתי נפשי למות בעד עם יי!? ועתה בצאתך אליהם חי מה תענה אותם? הלא תכסך בושה וכלמתך כי בשקר כל דברי פיך. הלא אמרתה לעם: הלחמו עד מותכם במלחמה כי אם תמותו על מקדש יי ועל תורתו מיתתכם תהיה כופר על נפשותיכם ותלכו לאור הגדול? אם אמת הדבר אשר דברת מדוע תחשוך נפשך מן המות מלכת אחרי עמך אשר הם הלכו לאור הגדול?

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[63]

This passage expands considerably upon the Jewish afterlife doctrine embedded in the statement made by Josephus' fellows in *DEH* 3.16.1, recorded above. In it we find components of biblicization, theologization, and Judaization, which I will treat here in turn.

At a basic lexical level, the language used in this passage is the language of the Hebrew Bible,[64] just as we find everywhere else in *SY*. But that does not mean that Yosippon is here using Hebrew in a biblical way. The idea of dying "for" (על) the LORD, his people, or his Torah is not a scriptural one; in fact, the prepositional phrase על-יהוה (= על יי) in the Pentateuch always carries the connotation, ironically, of Israel's grumbling or standing *against* Yahweh.[65] The patriotic martyr's death here articulated in *SY* in not a feature of strictly biblical thought.[66] However, the notion of "death for the sanctification of God's name" (מוות על קידוש השם) does become a stock notion within the post-Crusade culture of medieval Jews in France and Germany in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.[67] Even if *SY*'s specific language is not as old as the Hebrew Bible,

63 Bowman (2023) 290; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 632–633; Flusser (1978) 312–313.

64 In addition to what is discussed below, note the biblical provenances for the following locutions: פעמים רבות (Psa 106:43; Eccl 7:22); ימות במלחמה (Deut 20:5–7). This latter passage was clearly in Yosippon's mind around this part of *SY*, given that Josephus' speech recorded in *SY* 65 (סה) includes a verbatim quote of Deut 20:3.

65 Num 16:7, 8, 11; 26:9; 27:3; cf. Deut 13:5; Psa 2:2. Even outside of this milieu, however, the phrase never uses the preposition על in the sense of "for, for the sake of, on behalf of," as here in *SY*, and usually refers to something done "against" the LORD (thought sometimes "before" or "to").

66 On suicide and martyrdom in the Hebrew Bible, see recently Cho (2022).

67 The phrase על קידוש השם is in fact a feature of the Jerusalem Talmud (y. *Sheviit* 4.2.6; *Sanhedrin* 3.5.11; *Kiddushin* 4.1.8). On its later development into martyr-esque meanings, see (e.g.) Raspe (2006) 153–154, with footnotes; Goldin (1997). The phrase becomes standard in texts like *Sefer Chasidim* (173.1: היה נהרג על קידוש השם; cf. 704.1), though it antedates them (see, e.g., Rashi on b. *Bava Batra* 10b). The medieval text of Jewish communal prayers, *Yizkor*, that emerged out of the Rhineland around 1100, also contains "A *Yizkor* for those

the ideas it is engaging are ancient, and they become more pronounced in the Middle Ages.[68] In this case, then, *SY*'s Hebrew marks a developmental point between biblical usage and later medieval (Ashkenazi) phraseology.[69]

The idea of the LORD's people being his "portion" (חלק יי) is to be found in the Bible,[70] though the conceptualization of apportioning "by lot" (בגורל) is a feature of the allotment of the Promised Land's geographic area among the tribes of Israel;[71] Yosippon's collocation of people-as-portion vis-à-vis Yahweh with the notion of בגורל is a novelty, correlating 1) the idea that death in battle occurs 'by chance' with 2) the biblical notion of allotting 'by chance' with 3) the biblical construct whereby people can be God's 'portion' (and vice-versa).[72]

The construction "the great light" (האור הגדול) is to be found in Isaiah 9:1 (9:2), there without the definite articles (אור גדול),[73] though its connection to any kind of afterlife experience is extra-biblical. (For his part, Yehuda ibn Mosconi [b. 1328] dubbed Josephus himself האור הגדול as a way to 'rehabilitate' Josephus into Judaism, as Ḥayim Hominer's 1967 edition of *SY* shows and as Saskia Dönitz has since pointed out.)[74] As with the notion of מוות על קידוש השם, the האור הגדול motif finds a parallel in a piece of Jewish tradition going back

---

that died for the Sanctification of God's name (יזכור' למתים על קידוש השם; *Yizkor* 7)," perhaps another link between *SY* and medieval Jewish liturgy. Cf. also *Midrash Lekach Tov* 20.6.3.

68 On the broader history of the idea, see Fuhrmann/Grundmann (2012); Lenzen (1995).

69 This fits with the fact that *SY* was also a mid-point in terms of literary structure between ancient (particularly from Palestine—note the Yerushalmi reference above) and high medieval Jewish literature: Marcus (2018) 77.

70 Deut 32:9: "For the LORD's portion is His people; Jacob is the allotment of His inheritance" (כי חלק יהוה עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו).

71 Num 26:55a: "But the land shall be divided by lot" (אך-בגורל יחלק את-הארץ), or perhaps, "Only by lot shall the land be divided." Cf. Num 33:54; 34:13; 36:2; Josh 14:2.

72 I.e., for the Levite, "the LORD is his inheritance" (Deut 10:9); cf. Deut 12:12; 14:29; 18:1; Josh 18:7. In Jer 10:16 the LORD is "the portion of Jacob" (חלק יעקב).

73 Isa 9:1 (9:2): "The people who walk in darkness will see a great light; those who live in a dark land, the light will shine on them." This passage is, of course, famous for its application within the early Jesus movement: see Matt 4:16a. Could it be that this passage's manifest popularity within Christianity prompted Yosippon to borrow its language here to suggest that Jews, not Christians, were privy to this "Great Light" (*mutatis mutandi* switching its meaning from historical appearance [of Jesus] to post-mortem experience)? I might also cf. here Psa 139:12; Eccl 12:2.

74 See Hominer (1967) 34; Dönitz (2013) 96: "Vor dem Hintergrund der rabbinischen Auffassung von Josephus als Verräter versucht Mosqoni demnach, ein positives Bild von Josephus zu zeichnen. Er nennt in Anlehnung an den Ehrentitel ashkenazischer Gelehrter האור הגדול ("das große Licht") und eine frommen Mann, dessen Taten von Gott geleitet wurden. Aif diese Weise rehabilitiert er den bei den Rabbinen un Ungnade gefallenen hellenistischen Autor."

to the Middle Ages, namely the "Prayer of Mercy" (אל מלא רחמים), first said on behalf of Jewish martyrs in the Crusades.[75] The phrase החושך המחשיך, however, is never to be found in the Hebrew Bible.[76] The light and dark language of this passage is more a theological construct, to which we return below.

The language of 'shame covering you' (תכסך בושה) appears to be borrowed from Obadiah 1:10,[77] as noted by Bowman, and the וכלמתך which Yosippon tacks onto this statement draws upon a common synonym for 'shame' or 'disgrace' (כלמה), though the suffixed form in which it appears here in *SY* is only replicated in Chapter 16 of the Book of Ezekiel.[78] Similarly, the prepositionalized construction בשקר is peculiar to the Book of Jeremiah within the Hebrew Bible,[79] while the (often adverbial or adjectival) noun שקר is quite common in itself.

The idea of making atonement for the individual soul—כפר (ל)נפש—is a feature of the Pentateuch's law code and is mentioned as such in Exodus (30:12;

---

75 Nulman (1993) 64. This prayer, traditionally recited at Ashkenazic funeral services and elsewhere, expresses a wish for rest "upon the wings of God's presence [lit. "the Shekinah"] in the heights, holy, pure, and shining like the brightness of heaven" (על כנפי השכינה במעלות קדושים וטהורים כזוהר הרקיע מזהירים). This would not be the only piece of medieval Jewish liturgy with which *SY* is associated. My thanks to René Bloch for encouraging me to explore this parallel.

76 The Hiphil participle of חשך (מחשיך) only ever appears at Job 38:2, where it is used figuratively ("to darken counsel"). We should note that oblique references to darkness in the prophetic corpus by their very ambiguity could comprise fodder for reading "darkness" into ideas of the afterlife: see, e.g., Isa 5:30; 13:10; Jer 13:16; Ezek 30:18; Amos 5:8; 8:9; Mic 3:6. This last verse, though connoting no afterlife theme, fits with a larger thematic trend that the Jewish Scriptures have in talking about exile as darkness, and it is possible that certain New Testament authors associated darkness with exile metaphorically. If so, Mic 3:6 could have served as a Christian 'proof-text' (in Matthew, e.g.) for polemically construing the period separating the Book of Malachi from the Gospel of Matthew—sometimes called the 'intertestamental period,' or a period of 'darkness' or 'silence,' from the Christian perspective. See Rapinchuk (1996) 67, 96. The passage certainly sits at the center of "the notion that prophets/prophecy ended in Judaism in the early Second Temple period," which arguably "occupied the minds of reflective Jews and Christians since the late centuries B.C.E." Cook (2011) 3, 5.

77 Obad 1:10 (to Edom): "Because of violence to your brother Jacob, shame will cover you (תכסך בושה), and you will be eliminated forever."

78 Ezek 16:52(×2),54,63.

79 It appears in Jer 3:10; 5:31; 13:25; 20:6; 23:14; 29:9. This is another testament to the fact that Jeremiah was among the more influential biblical books for *SY*'s Hebrew usage. Incidentally, did this usage die with Jeremiah? It is worth noting that בשקר never appears among the Dead Sea Scrolls, whereas שקר itself, as in the Hebrew Bible, is common (this is true of both biblical and non-biblical texts); Abegg/Bowley/Cook (2003) 2.939; Abegg/Bowley/Cook (2010) 2.688.

cf. 30:15), Numbers (35:31), and Proverbs (13:8). Of course, these passages contain no hint that such an atonement could be effected by waging war or dying in battle; close to the opposite, in fact: Numbers 35:31 legislates that "you shall not accept a ransom for the life of a murderer who is condemned to death, but he must be put to death" (cf. Job 5:20). So whence did Yosippon dream up this notion? We return to this question below.

The language of delivering (חשך) the soul (נפש) from death (מן המות) can be found in the Jewish Scriptures, clustered in the poetic and sapiential portions of the Khetuvim, though it is not particularly well represented.[80] (Incidentally, the idea also appears in the Christian New Testament.)[81] That is to say, Yosippon is not using stock biblical phraseology per se in using תחשוך נפשך מן המות, but is borrowing language that the Hebrew Bible dances around by means of several separate verbs and constructions.[82]

So much for the biblicity of Yosippon's Hebrew in this passage. The passage's theologization is even more notable. *DEH* only has scattered parallels to the portion of *SY* cited above. Yet, as we saw, Ps-Hegesippus does provide the inspiration for the first few questions in this part of the speech, first by placing Josephus' conversation partners where the *lex diuina* was, and second by having them ask where the *Deus Hebraeorum* was, "who teaches the righteous to have contempt of death" (*qui docet iustos mortis contemtum habere*). Notably, Yosippon's loose adaptation of this second question moves God's grammatical position in the sentence from subject (*Deus … docet*) to object (איך נוכל לאהוב את אלהינו: "how can we love our God?"). Hereafter, we find a substantial amount of 'God-talk' in *SY* that is simply non-existent in *DEH*, yet in which Yahweh is never an actor, but rather a passive feature of what is said: it is *his* covenant (בריתו) and *his* name (שמו) for which *his* servants (עבדיו) die; people who die in

80 Psa 78:50: "He leveled a path for His anger; he did not spare their souls from death (לא-חשך ממות נפשם), but turned their lives over to the plague." Cf. Prov 24:11: "Rescue those who are being taken away to death, and those who are staggering to the slaughter, hold back!" (הצל לקחים למות ומטים להרג אם-תחשוך).

81 Jam 5:20: "… let him know that the one who has turned a sinner from the error of his way will save his soul from death (σώσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου/*salvabit animam eius a morte*) and cover a multitude of sins."

82 In Job 33:18, "death" replaces "the pit," for example: "He keeps his soul back from the pit (יחשך נפשו מני-שחת), and his life from perishing by the spear." In Josh 2:13, הציל (Hiph. נצל) replaces חשוך: "… and spare my father and my mother, and my brothers and my sisters, and all who belong to them, and save our lives from death (והצלתם את-נפשתינו ממות)." So also Psa 33:19: "To rescue their soul from death (להציל ממות נפשם), and to keep them alive in famine"; Psa 56:14a (56:13a): "For you have saved my soul from death (כי הצלת נפשי ממות), indeed my feet from stumbling …" (Psa 116:8a is identical in phrasing). Cf. Psa 89:49 (89:48).

battle "for the LORD" (על יי) and "for his people" (עמו) and "for his Torah" (תורתו) merit being "the LORD's portion" (חלק יי); Josephus claimed to have sacrificed himself "for the people of the LORD" (בעד עם יי) and promised a blessed eternity to those who died for "the LORD's sanctuary" (מקדש יי) and his Torah (תורתו). Later, near the end of the speech, Josephus' fellows call his contemplated capitulation "the shame of the LORD's people" (חרפת עם יי). The LORD looms large in this discourse; yet He never commands a verb.

How are we to measure the non-agency of the LORD, whom Yosippon has the speakers mention many times in this speech, against the clear agency attributed to a deity whom Ps-Hegesippus mentions only once? Does the Christian historian here imagine an active God, the later Jewish author a passive one? Instead, I think it could be helpful here to recall the tendency towards abstraction within late antique Christian theology, as well as the comparatively pragmatic, more relational theology voiced here by *SY* and cultivated already within the Pentateuch especially and the Hebrew Scriptures writ large. This frames the question not in terms of 'active God versus passive God' but in terms of the spectrum between invisible, transcendent deity and relational, immanent one. What I am calling Yosippon's 'theologization' of his source sometimes results in giving God a greater role in the narrative. But not always; and not here. Here we find instead an implicitly approachable God, engagement with whom can take on various forms. Josephus' comrades, the speakers, and Josephus himself, the listener, already relate to God as part of his people and as keepers of his covenant, observers of his Torah, and custodians of his sanctuary. Beyond this, they can actively engage the LORD (and the use of God's proper name, יי, is significant) by both loving (אהב) and dying for (מות על) him; and sometimes, these Jewish soldiers posit, these amount to the same thing. And this notion brings us to what I am calling 'Judaization' in this passage.

Compared to what we find in *DEH*, I suggest that *SY* 'Judaizes' the above passage—that is, emphasizes and augments its essential Jewishness (as its author understands it)—in several ways. First, by forefronting the significance of the תורה in the minds and mouths of Josephus' imagined interlocutors via its fourfold mention, Yosippon colors the motivations of these Jewish speakers and the machinations of their argument in native Jewish hues. Second, by expanding the Jewish doctrine of the afterlife and its dualistic framework of '(great) light' vs. '(darkening) darkness,' Yosippon further underscores the emic quality of this conversation between its Jewish speakers and listeners. By design or not, this up-playing of in-group categories and concepts cannot help but act as a signpost to the reader: you either 'speak the language' of the speech here in this passage, or you do not. Even if a (theoretical) Christian reader was familiar with the meaning of "Torah" (which lacks a good Indo-European cognate) and

the light/darkness dichotomy as a feature of the hereafter, this passage is no universalist manifesto—it is a thoroughly and unavoidably *Jewish* discussion, notably more so than anything that appears in *DEH*. The reception of *SY*'s use of the notion bears this out.[83]

It is fair to ask where Yosippon got his notion of "the Great light" and the light-and-dark topography of life-after-death.[84] It is not impossible that Yosippon was spurred to develop this ideology by way of the oblique reference to *lumen seruitutis* in *DEH* 3.16.1, nearby a fuller discussion of the afterlife, though I do not think this particularly likely.[85] It also seems plausible that Yosippon will have been influenced, however (in)directly, by the several prominent light-and-darkness conceptual frameworks that developed within post-biblical Judaism from the Second Temple Period onward;[86] this list would include the apocalyptic light/darkness dualism well-known from pseudepigraphical works like the Enochic texts,[87] and the similarly eschatologically-oriented light-vs-dark paradigm associated with Qumran texts like the War Scroll (1QM),[88] the Com-

83 On the reception of *SY*'s motif of "(great) light" in connection with afterlife and/or martyrdom, see Dönitz (2013) 154 (on Abraham Ibn Ezra and Psa 36:10, 49:20), 191 (on Menaḥem bi-Rabbi Makhir), and more extensively 250–253.

84 See generally Flusser (1980) 110–111.

85 *DEH* 3.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 212): "And I dare say that you desire to grasp at that *light of servitude* that rests in another's power?" (*Et carpere desideras lumen istud, ausim dicere, seruitutis quod in aliena potestate est*?). What, after all, is *lumen seruitutis*? In Classical Latin, especially poetry, *lumen* could mean not only "light" but also "light of life," or even just "life"; *L&S* ad loc. (citing Plautus, Lucretius, Ovid); Dwyer (1931) 74, citing Vergil and Ovid. Just before this, Ps-Heg has his speakers mention the realm above (*superna*), also dubbed *illa regio paradisi*, a place *ubi pias animas deus sacrauit*, but this hardly explains *SY*'s expansion.

86 Ideas about light and darkness also populated medieval Jewish discussions. Later versions of *SY* that contain the *Ma'aseh Alexandros*, the story of Alexander the Great based on Pseudo-Callisthenes, refer to a "place of darkness" (מקום חושך) where a portion of the Ten Lost Tribes live near the Rechabites; in the 1475 Mantua edition (shorter Recension B) of *SY*, this becomes "mountains of darkness" (הרי חשך); cf. *Bamidbar Rabbah* 15; Nikolsky (2004) 38.

87 1 Enoch 38.4; 45.4; 50.1; 58.2–6 *et alibi*. 2 Enoch 65.9–10 mentions "a great light" that the righteous will possess in the afterlife (the "great age"), in contrast to the darkness of the judged; 2 Baruch 48.50 also mentions "a great light" that the righteous will receive in the next world: Sigvartsen (2019) 170, 222, also 127. Cf. Dan 12:2–3; Psa Sol 3.12; 5.5, 15.

88 See the juxtaposition of "your great light" (אור גודלכה) and the "sons of darkness" (בני חושך) *inter alia* at 1QM XIV 17; the dark side of this contrast is filled out more fully in 4Q491 (4QM[a]) frag 8–10 I 14–15 as "the dark places of Abbadon" (אבדוני שאול) and "the places of destruction of Sheol" (מחשכי אב״נים), carrying afterlife implications. García Martínez/Tigchelaar (1999) 136–137, 974–975. Cf. 4Q462 frag 1 10; 1QM I 11.

munity Rule (1QS),[89] and the Damascus Document (CD-A).[90] Rabbinic literature, for its part, occasionally mentions a "great light" vis-à-vis Gen 1:16,[91] and also develops afterlife beliefs to some extent, but the two are never put together; still, it is unlikely that Yosippon will have been totally unaware of such intra-Jewish developments. Most probably, I think, Yosippon drew upon ideas of the afterlife current in his time,[92] potentially influenced by the "great light" mentioned in Isaiah 9:1 and sometimes read to reflect Genesis 1:16,[93] and imagined an afterworld comprised of the twin poles of האור הגדול and החושך המחשיך that could plausibly be placed into the mouths of his narrative's first-century characters.[94] The framework is certainly vague enough to be believable, but

89 See *inter alia* 1QS III 17–IV 1 and the general creation of 'light' and 'dark' domains, populated by polarized groups, within the Community Rule (this passage belongs to a section usually called "The Treatise of the Two Spirits"). Contrast this to 4Q392 1 5, which casts divine light as "the most perfect light (אורתום), and all darkness rests in his presence," but does not join 1QS in its light = good, dark = evil distinction per se; see Nitzan (2012) 292; Kister (2005). See also 1QH^a XXI 13–16; XVIII 28–30, which Kister compares to 1 Enoch 58.1–6 and 2 Enoch 65.8–10. Dimant (2017) 153 explains how the Qumran sectarian literature recreates light as a "concrete expression of goodness" and not a metaphor, with implications for eternal life.

90 The general interest in light/dark dualism at Qumran is attested by the high incidence of the terms אור and חושך among the "non-biblical" scrolls: Abegg/Bowley/Cook (2003) 1.17–19, 257. Cf. the phrase חושך בחושך in 4Q299 30 3, and the phrase "eternal light" (אור עלום) in 4Q418 69 ii 14 and Isa 60:19–20 (compared to אור עולמים in 1QS IV 8 and 1QM XVII 6).

91 E.g., b. *Chullin* 60b records Rabbi Shimon ben Pazzi teasing out (read: creating) an apparent contradiction between "the two great lights" (שני המאורות הגדולים) of creation, i.e. "the large light, and the small light" (המאור הגדול ... המאור הקטן).

92 Grundmann (2009) cites eleventh-century traditions where Jewish communities talked about "the great light" as part of the martyr's afterlife, and suggests that in Yosippon's time there existed in southern Italy a messianic context for reading the great-light-martyrdom motif (79). If so, these Jews shared an ideology with Christian tradition (Matt 4:16).

93 Isa 9:1 (9:2): "The people who walk in darkness will see a great light (העם ההלכים בחשך ראו אור גדול); those who live in a dark land, the light will shine on them." Gen 1:16: "God made two great lights (שני המארת הגדלים), the greater light (המאור הגדל) to govern the day, and the lesser light to govern the night; he made the stars also." See *Midrash Tanchuma*, Noach 3.7–8 (and 3.3), in which "the great light [mentioned in Isa 9:1] alludes to the light on the first day of creation (אור גדול, אור שנברא ביום ראשון), which the Holy One, blessed be He, reserved for those who devote themselves to the study of the Oral Law day and night"; trans. Berman (1996) 44. Flusser (1978) 301n26 already cited Isa 9:1 as the inspiration for this phrase in *SY*, mentioning 2 Baruch 48.50 and 2 Enoch 65.10 (i.e. "Slavonic Enoch"), and also Baer (1949) 192n19; translated in Bowman (2023) 278n6.

94 A broader survey of 'light' and 'dark' in Jewish sources, from the earliest and ever thereafter, would be an undertaking of impossible proportions. Suffice it to say that notions

perhaps more importantly, it represents notions of post-mortem existence that had been fermenting for many centuries and that found renewed vigor in the Medieval Era,[95] already in Yosippon's time and even more so in the High Middle Ages following the First Crusade.[96] In general, the afterlife ideas voiced by *SY* here and elsewhere,[97] which have garnered significant scholarly interest over the years,[98] are both *au courant* and ancient,[99] comfortably couched in

---

of light associated with divinity, and opposing notions of darkness, exist from very early on and are rarely absent from the literature of any pre-modern Jewish eras or cultures of which I know.

95 Notably, the classic essay on early rabbinic notions of the afterlife—Lieberman (1965)—mentions very little in terms of light/dark ideologies, stating only that the rabbis had topographic ideas about where the second heaven was vis-à-vis the sun and planets and where Gehenna and/or the "Mountains of Darkness" lay, whether above the *Rak'ia* (the second heaven) or at the ends of the earth, i.e. Africa (497–498). See *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 7.

96 The Crusader Chronicles that exist in Hebrew (and Latin) from the twelfth century onward report martyrs experiencing light-after-death in the Garden of Eden "in the great luminous speculum eternally" and "in the light of life," e.g., compared to the underworld pit reserved for their enemies. See Chazan (1987) 253–254, 260, 262, 268, 281–282 and Eidelberg (1977) 31, 37–38, 44, 56–57. These texts even refer to "the great light" mentioned in *SY*: see Chazan (1987) 263; Eidelberg (1977) 40–41. There is a good chance that any given text from this later era will have known and/or been influenced by the language of *SY*, making this more a 'reception' than a 'source' question. This is all discussed at length in Shepkaru (2002). Ramban on Deut 16:20 speaks of God as "the higher justice, this being the great light hidden for the righteous for the time to come" (צדק עליון והוא האור הגדול הצפון לצדיקים לעתיד לבא)—also referring to this as "the world to come" (עולם הבא)—thus associating "the great life" with the eschaton/afterlife.

97 Neuman (1950) 662 noticed that the characters in *SY* 67 (סז) and elsewhere repeatedly refer to heaven in terms of light. Indeed, already in *SY* 65 (סה) the phrase האור הגדול qua afterlife destination appears. The term then appears 3× in *SY* 67 (סז) and 4× in *SY* 89 (פט). In other words, the phrase is always associated in *SY* with a) Jewish warriors dying b) for God c) in battle, which is why scholars have treated it as denoting an ideology resembling crusader-martyrdom thinking: Grundmann (2009) 67; Nisse (2017) 37–39.

98 Bay (2022b) 46–47; Nisse (2017) 22; Baron (1952) 193–194, 419; Neuman (1950) 658–664.

99 A classic study on Yosippon being a product of his time (an important hermeneutical assumption for *SY*) is Flusser (1953), though Zunz (1832) 149 had already made the point based upon similar arguments (place-names, vocabulary, etc.). Notably, Neuman (1950) 658–659 sees in *SY*'s "religious ideas" in particular a complete lack of any trace of Talmudic thinking yet a real proximity "to the general trend of Jewish thought," more so than in Josephus' *BJ* (to which he problematically compares *SY* in this essay). More specifically, Neuman finds the afterlife language present in *SY* 67 (סז) "more characteristically Jewish" than what one finds in Josephus (660), continuing: "It would appear that the Hebrew author is more concerned with the fate of the soul after death than was Josephus" (661).

a language reminiscent of 'deep tradition' (i.e. the Hebrew Bible and its pre-medieval interpretation).[100]

Finally, the martial aspect of this part of the speech in *SY* 67 (סז) is heavily Judaized. The idea of fighting and dying for God, and the concept of the atoning battlefield demise, are couched in the unmistakable terms of a Jewish afterlife theology. Yet these ideas strike the modern reader as those quintessentially 'Christian' ideologies that fueled the Crusades and financed those medieval endeavors with expendable Christian bodies (or as notions to be associated with Islamic *jihad*). This is, at least, how they struck David Flusser, who posited that, even though Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus may be read to have suggested a correlation between holy-war dying and world-to-come rewards, Yosippon must have come by a fuller notion of this doctrine from his Christian peers who were warring against Muslim invaders.[101] He cites the eternal rewards promised by Pope Leo IV (847–855) and the philosophy of death-in-holy-war atonement operationalized by Pope John VIII (872–882) as possible (probable?) influences upon *SY* in this regard. Yet Yosippon already had a much older inspiration for situating the noble death and the afterlife within a wartime context in the Book of 2 Maccabees, something which Ruth Nisse has noticed more recently.[102] Moreover, the afterlife motif within the speeches after Jotapata was already built into *SY*'s source, *DEH*, as mentioned above, as it was already present in Josephus' *Jewish War* (3.374–375). That is, the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism already allowed for the kind of afterlife discourse we find in *SY* 67 (סז). No doubt Yosippon will have known, and will likely have been influenced by, a rich cluster of afterlife traditions to which contemporary scholarship is barely privy and which spanned from a millennium before *SY*'s writing up through the author's

100 The light/dark binary is a fundamental component of the Classical Hebrew-Jewish worldview, as old as Gen 1:4–5 (cf. Job 26:10; 38:19; Isa 45:7; Dan 2:22; Mic 7:8) and implicated in God's presence (Job 29:3; Psa 18:28; 112:4; 139:11–12; Isa 42:16), even carrying eschatological implications vis-à-vis its association with "the day of the LORD" (יום יהוה) in Amos 5:18, 20. Cf. Psa 105:28a (said of God): "He sent darkness and made it dark" (שלח חשך ויחשך), also found in 11Q5 I 3.

101 See Flusser (1978) 312–313, and Bowman (2023) 290, who condenses and translates Flusser's footnotes.

102 Nisse (2017) 36: "*Yosippon* reinvents martyrdom itself as a kind of holy war, influenced, as Flusser suggests, by the indulgence granted by the ninth-century popes Leo IV and John VIII to Christians who died fighting the Muslim forces in Europe. Martyrdom becomes a focus of the text, beginning with the events of 2 Maccabees: the murder of the elderly Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons, all of whom refuse to eat pork at King Antiochus's order …" *SY* will later equate the warriors of Masada with Eleazar. See also Baer (1949) 193.

own time. But, as with Yosippon's "great light" philosophy, positing a definite source for his noble crusader-like martyr death ideology has not been possible as of yet.[103]

---

103 The figure of the "Zealot" (**קנאי**, from the Greek ζηλωτής, transliterated into Latin as *zelotes*)—a figure sporadically associated with ideas of dying for God, for piety, for the Temple, or for the Jewish people—does not appear in *SY* per se, though it does in *SY*'s sources. The ζηλωταί loom large in Josephus' explanation for the Temple's destruction and the causes of the Roman-Jewish War. Bowman (2023) 76n11 records the note made by Flusser (1978) 79n50–51 to the effect that Mattathias' speech in *SY* 16 (**טז**) does not emphasize the zeal of Phinehas, 'the original zealot' (see Num 25:6–13), but generalizes **קנא** there. In 1Macc 2:50, Mattathias tells his sons to "be zealous for the law" (ζηλώσατε τῷ νόμῳ/*aemulatores estote legis*) and then imputes both Phinehas (2:54) and Elijah (2:58) with having "burned with zeal" (ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον = *zelando zelum* [2:54] or *zelat zelum* [2:58])—the doubling here represents a Semiticism transferred into the Indo-European register of Greek and Latin. However, in *SY* 16 (**טז**) we find the heaviest concentration of **קנא**-language in all of *SY* in the same part of the speech, but Phinehas' 'zeal' is not isolated: "When Mattathias' days drew near to death he summoned his five sons and he strengthened them and encouraged them and said to them: 'My sons, I know that right now great battles are begun in the land of Judah, concerning which I have appealed to the Lord God to fight on our side. And now, my sons, **be zealous with zeal** for your God, and **zeal** for his holiness, and **zeal** for his people, and fight and do not shrink away from death, for if you die amidst your battles you will be welcomed with your fathers and you will be with them in their destined lot. Because all of our fathers who **were zealous with a zeal** for God, God gave to them glory and grace. Did not Phineas, our father, for this reason win a covenant of salt? Likewise the rest of our fathers who **were zealous** for the Lord received their wages from the Lord'" (ויקרבו ימי מתתיהו למות ויקרא את חמשה בניו ויחזקם ויאמצם ויאמר להם: בניי אני ידעתי כי עתה יתגרון מלחמות גדולות בארץ יהודה על אשר עוררני יי אלהים להלחם בעד עמנו. ועתה בניי **קנאו קנאת** אלהיכם **וקנאת** מקדשו **וקנאת** עמו ונלחמתם ולא תגורו מן המות כי אם תמותו במלחמתכם תקובלו עם אבותיכם ותהיו עמהם בגורל חלקם. כי כל אבותינו אשר **קנאו קנאת** אלהים נתן להם אלהים כבוד וחן. הלא פינחס אבינו על זאת קיבל ברית מלח? ושאר אבותינו אשר **קנאו** ליי קיבלו שכרם מאת יי); Bowman (2023) 75–76; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 182–183; Flusser (1978) 78–79. This passage contains fully 1/7 of the 42 uses of the verb **קנא** in *SY*. The only other chapter with more uses of the verb (1/6 of the total), though more widely spaced, is *SY* 54 (**נד**), where Antipater is described by Herod in a hearing before Varus as having conspired against his brothers Aristobulus and Alexander "because of the jealousy by which he envied them" (בקנאתו אשר קנאם). Antipater counters by saying explaining his brothers' actions as having been motivated "by the jealousy by which they envied me" (בעבור הקנאה אשר קנאוני). Later, Herod proclaims his woes because "jealousy has been stirred up against me" (התעוררה הקנאה עלי) and because "I made space for those who envied me and my dominion" (נתתי מקום למקנאיי וממשלה). Later, Antipater returns again to self-defense, explaining how he acted in filial piety even though he saw "those who envied me" (מקנאיי) settings traps for him. The verb is also attributed to: Vandals fighting in battle (*SY* 2 [**ב**]); God, jealous for the sacred vessels of his Temple (ויקנא לכליו ... אלהינו; *SY* 3 [**ג**] ×2) or his people (ויקנא יי לעמו; *SY* 18 [**יח**]); Persian leaders who were jealous of Daniel (ויקנאו בדניאל; *SY* 4 [**ד**]); Daniel's enemies who had failed to defeat him, whom Daniel recalls as

Back to our main point: the 'light-vs-dark afterlife' aspect of this speech, and the Crusader-esque (and *jihad*-esque) notion of 'dying for God' in battle, both help frame our central question of Josephus' configuration in this passage. Josephus, after all, is the one quoted as having said (אמר) that death in battle for God's sanctuary and Torah would lead one "into the Great light" (לאור הגדול).[104] Josephus thus appears as a charismatic leader who possesses both

---

having attacked him "in their zeal by which they were zealous for their idols" (בקנאתם אשר קנאו לפסיליהם; *SY* 6 [ו]); Mattathias, before his speech recorded above, who is said to have "been zealous for his God" (יקנא לאלהיו; *SY* 16 [טז]); Judah the Maccabee, who in *SY* 24 (כד) marches to Nicanor "in the anger of his face and in great zeal" (בחרי אף ובקנאה גדולה); Hyrcanus, who, enraged, "put on zeal" (ילבש קנאה) in response to the torturing of his mother in *SY* 27 (כז); Aristobulus I, "jealous of his mother and brothers" (היה מקנא את אמו ואת אחיו) vis-à-vis governing authority in *SY* 31 (לא); Herod, who is said to have acted out of jealousy (מקנאה) in *SY* 44 (מד); Herod's would-be assassins, described as having attacked him after becoming jealous/envious/zealous (ויקנאו) in *SY* 49 (מט); Shlomith's son, accused by King Herod's secretary, Nicholas, in *SY* 56 (נו) of attempting to "arouse envy against Archelaus" (תעורר קנאה על ארקילאוס); the Judean soldiers, who at the Battle of Jotapata, recorded in *SY* 66 (סו), proclaim, "we shall die as one in zeal for the sanctuary of our God" (נמותה יחד בקנאת מקדש אלהינו); the "good and faithful men" (אנשי האמונה והיושר) in Jerusalem who rise up against the "sons of Belial" (בני הבליעל) and burn with zeal "for the LORD God" (ויקנאו העם ליי האלהים) in *SY* 69 (סט)—later it is stated, "great was the zeal of the people" (רבה קנאת העם) against those fomenting unrest (אליהם); "kings and rulers of the earth" (מלכים ורוזני ארץ) who are said by Josephus in his speech at *SY* 76 (עו) to have envied the Jerusalem Temple (קנאו בו); four Judean youths (ארבעה מבחורי היהודים) who, spurred on by the exploits of the rebel leader John, "were zealous … and were filled with zeal for the Temple of the LORD" (ויקנאו … וימלאו קנאה על היכל יי) and who fought with hearts filled with "zeal, anger, fury, and rage" (וימלא לב ארבעת הבחורים קנאה וכעס וחימה וזעם) in *SY* 80 (פ); and Titus' Roman soldiers in *SY* 83 (פג), envious (or emulous) of the martial exploits of the soldier Sabino. In *SY* 37 (לז), Gabinius' redistricting of Judea is said to have been done in order to "quell zeal" (להעביר קנאה), i.e. quiet civil unrest; in *SY* 51 (נא), קנאה itself is a subject, when one reads that "jealousy did not cease from Herod's house" (ולא שקטה הקנאה מבית אירודיס); in *SY* 65 (סה), Josephus exhorts his troops, "be zealous for God" (וקנאתם לאלהים) and, later, after a certain Eleazar died bravely in battle, two other young men (Netira and Philppus) saw that Eleazar had won renown in his death (ימת בשם טוב) and thus burned with zeal themselves (ויקנאו); in Josephus' speech to the Judeans in Jerusalem at *SY* 78 (עח), he lists קנאה as one of the things present in Jerusalem/the Temple, pictured as God's house, that precipitated the divinity's departure therefrom. On the Zealots in general, see Hengel (1976); this identity is wrapped up in an intricate and changing web of ideas surrounding jealousy and envy across Classical, Jewish, and Christian tradition, one which is rarely rightly understood in the scholarship, but which is beautifully and comprehensively treated in Anthony Ellis' forthcoming book project(s), on which see already Ellis (2023); it is to Anthony that I owe the inspiration for this footnote.

104 The reference is to a speech Josephus makes after his election to one of the three Judean

religious and military authority and whose men take his word on such matters as gospel truth. This portrait coincides with the three features of the speech of Josephus' comrades sussed out above: 1) as Yosippon *biblicizes* this address he couches the character of Josephus, his words, and his actions in the familiar argot of the Jewish Bible; 2) as Yosippon *theologizes* the oration, Josephus shines more brightly in proximity to divinity, becoming, unlike in *DEH*, a character who both enjoys a relationship to the deity and encourages this among his people; 3) as Yosippon *Judaizes* the harangue, the things that are being talked about, the words said, and indeed the entire world presented to *SY*'s reader become ubiquitously Jewish in perspective in a way that is not true of *DEH* 3.16.1.

This last point brings us again to the correlation between Josephus and Jewishness in this address. The linguistic idiosyncrasies that comprise the improvement of *SY* 67 (סז) upon *DEH* 3.16.1 render Josephus a more active and formidable character while simultaneously involving the broader Jewish populace, and by proxy the Jewish reader, in the debate. Intensified reference to the Jewish Bible, Jewish theology, and Jewish cultural assumptions all contribute to this rhetorical dynamic. We could add to this certain singular literary features of the speech, such as direct quotes (attributed to Josephus) embedded within a direct quote (by Josephus' comrades) or the dispersed repetition of key themes ("Torah," "God," "people," "great light," "death") within a short passage. All of this contributes to a speech in *SY* 67 (סז) that, when read against its source, points to an underwriting of Hellenistic Judaism in language, conceptual universe,

---

generalships in *SY* 65 (סה): "And he commanded the people, saying: 'Hear O Israel, today you are joining in battle with your enemies. Do not let your heart be faint. Do not fear and do not panic and do not be in dread before them and do not shrink back from death. Rather, let your heart be strengthened and encouraged to fight on behalf of your people and your land, lest you be exiled from her, and fight for the sanctuary of the LORD, lest it be desecrated with the defilement of gentiles. For death in battle is better than life in exile. And when you are arrayed in battle and you see that one of your heroes has fallen slain, be zealous for God, saying: "Let us choose death over life so that your war will succeed" and [exhorting] to die for the LORD our God and for His covenant together so that you shall proceed into the great light'" (ויצו העם לאמר: שמע ישראל אתם קרבים היום למלחמה על אויביכם. אל ירך לבבכם אל תערצו ואל תיראו ואל תחפזו מפניהם ואל תגורו מן המות. כי יחזק ויאמץ לבבכם להלחם בעד עמכם ובעד אדמתכם לבלתי גלות מעליה ולהלחם בעד מקדש יי לבלתי יטמא בטומאת הגוים. כי טוב מות במלחמה מחיים בגולה. והיה בעורככם המלחמה וראיתם כי נפל חלל מגיבוריכם וקנאתם לאלהים לאמר: נבחרה מות מחיים למען תצליח מלחמתכם ולמות על יי אלהינו ועל בריתו יחד כי תלכון אל האור הגדול.); Bowman (2023) 278; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 604–605; Flusser (1978) 300–301. The first part of this quote, from שמע to מפניהם, is a verbatim quote of Deut 20:3: Flusser (1978) 300n20; Bowman (2023) 278.

and self-presentation in a way that overwrites Roman Christianity in its shift in focus and the material it excludes.[105]

That Josephus is 'centered' in this first speech of *SY* 67 (סז) is obvious. Already in Ps-Hegesippus, and even in Josephus' *Jewish War*, Josephus stands as both subject-matter and addressee of this speech, its object and indirect object, as it were. Yet, at Yosippon's hands, the centrality of Josephus in the passage gives way to what can only be called a celebration of Josephus. We already saw in the quote-within-a-quote above how Josephus' remembered words remind *SY*'s reader of his credentials: "I am Josephus, priest and messiah of war!" (אני יוסף כהן משוח מלחמה!).[106] The final lines of Josephus' fellow soldiers' address begins thus:

> But to this day you have been a mighty man over all the gentiles in war; for when they hear report of you, they tremble and become sick for fear of you.
>
> ואולם עד היום הזה הייתה גיבור על כל הגוים במלחמה!? כי בשמעם שמעך רגזו וחלו מאימתך.
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[107]

Here, identified as a גיבור, the "mighty man" figure of the Hebrew Bible, Josephus' stature is again underlined; this is another moniker that he shares with, among other heroes, Judah the Maccabee.[108] He is also cast as being "over" the "Gentiles" in war. Reference to הגוים, an emic term for an etic entity, further

105 As noted above, the focus of *DEH* 3.16.1 is on the Roman perspective. This may be shown in several ways: for one, by the fixation upon quasi-technical terminology from Roman Latinity: *libertas*, mentioned 4× in *DEH* 3.16.1, but not stressed in *SY* 67 (סז); note here Neuman (1950) 650: "Political freedom, national sovereignty, had no lure or glamor for Josippon. He professed alternately, sorrow, pity and indignation at those who were inspired by the hope and dream of liberty to give their lives in its cause and to place in jeopardy all they held dear, their beloved ones, their nation, and most precious of all, the national shrine, the Sanctuary of the God of Israel." That is, "Jewish history, he convinced himself, set no high value on national independence." Neuman's claim as an overall description of *SY* is debatable, but it helps contextualize the omission of core ideas like *libertas* while translating Ps-Heg's Latin in passages like the one at hand. It should be noted that, in the same vein, Grundmann (2009) 77 follows Shlomo Shepkaru in arguing that the Masada narrative in *SY* 89 (פט) turned nationalistic motives for suicide into fully religious ones.

106 Or, if one wants to read משוח in its proper adjectival sense, "I am a priest anointed for battle!"

107 Bowman (2023) 290; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 632–633; Flusser (1978) 313.

108 However, Judah is only ever described as being "*like* a mighty man" (כגיבור), at *SY* 17 (יז). See Bay (2022c).

'Judaizes' the speech and associates Josephus even more closely with Jewish characters/readers: inasmuch as Josephus stands among the minority of the binary Jewish worldview, in which one is always either a Jew (the few) or a gentile (the many), his heroism maps onto Jewishness, in this case literarily 'overshadowing' the gentile other. This stature makes it all the more incongruous when Josephus' fellow soldiers effectively call him a little girl.

What follows are the final lines of the speech of Josephus' fellow soldiers in the Jotapata cave:

> And now are you giving yourself over to be captured by the hand of the Romans, just like one of the slave girls? Is it not your reproach and your shame and a reproach to the people of the LORD that a prince of the King and a priest and a messiah like you should be bound in gentile chains?" And further they said: "All those who see you alive from this day forward will say: 'Is this not the man who gave over his city and his warriors (mighty men) and the troops of his army, as well as the remainder of his people, to death, and yet saved his own life so that he might live?' "

> ועתה תתן את נפשך להלכד ביד רומנים כאחת השפחות הנחרפות? הלא חרפתך ובושתך היא וחרפת עם יי כי שר מלך וכהן ומשוח כמוך יאסר בכבלי הגוים!? ועוד יאמרו: כל רואיך חי למן היום הזה והלאה לאמר: הלא זה האיש אשר מסר עירו וגיבוריו וחיל גדודיו ויתר עמו למות וימלט נפשו לבדו לחיות?
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[109]

The insinuation of the reproach (בושה) and shame (חרפה) that Josephus would bring upon himself by surrendering to the Romans, and the more insulting, gendered suggestion that such behavior would resemble that of a young woman, concubine, or maid, or little girl (שפחה),[110] hardly conceals the heroic

109 Bowman (2023) 290–291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 632–635; Flusser (1978) 313.

110 Bowman (2023) 290 translates אחת השפחות הנחרפות as "one of the wretched maidservants," reading נחרפות as a passive adjective stemming from חרפה ("reproach"). But the root verb behind that noun, חרף, has a Niphal form, used once in the Hebrew Bible, in fact at the first place the verb appears in the canon: Lev 19:20a reads: "Now if a man has sexual relations with a woman who is a slave-girl acquired for a man (שפחה נחרפת לאיש) …" In this case, נחרפת can mean "acquired" in the sense that a maidservant of concubine is acquired, or, perhaps, as a woman is 'acquired' by rapine in wartime and thereby assigned to a particular man. Because of how close this biblical phrase is to the language of *SY*, I have translated the latter as rendering an orthographically irregular version of this biblical phrase.

persona of Josephus in this passage. Identified as משוח and כהן and שר מלך,[111] this passage lauds Josephus even as its speakers chastise his putative course of action, as if the narrative speakers were not quite able to get their point across as their words are recorded by and filtered through a narrator that is determined to exalt this heroic character. The point of their speech does come across, and it matches what one finds in *DEH* 3.16.1 and in Josephus' *Jewish War*: Josephus' comrades think that surrender would indicate despicable cowardice. But the veil of idealization that surrounds Josephus here—through which his interlocutors cannot penetrate, constrained as they are to the storyline of another—, which is itself thoroughly biblicized, theologized, and Judaized, as shown in the footnotes above, points once again to the function of Josephus in this passage, a function that is in fact made more powerful by the thought of his possible surrender: he is the ideal Hellenistic-Jewish hero, standing as a microcosm of Jewishness over and above gentiles (literally, sometimes) and representative of a shift in focus and values that has occurred between *DEH* 3.16.1 and *SY* 67 (סז). Ps-Hegesippus, we should note, does not mention "gentiles" here (being one himself) nor the laudatory labels attached to Josephus the narrative character. It is Yosippon, committed to painting a picture in which the Jews of later Second Temple history stand as formidable foes to their Roman enemies, that foregrounds the heroic Josephus in this speech as the scion of an age-old Jewishness marked by its commitment to its Torah, its Temple, and its God, within which capitulation to the גוים or the רומנים is unthinkable.

Or is it? We will discover Josephus' answer to this question in the next chapter. First, we must step back and look briefly at some more ancient *exempla* that Josephus' conversation partners bring to bear on their argument a bit earlier in their speech.

3 Exegeting Moses and Aaron between Divine Chastisement and Self-Sacrifice

Above we have treated together two sections of the speech in *DEH* 3.16 and its parallel in *SY* 67 (סז) that deal with Josephus himself. This has allowed us to isolate *SY*'s portrayal and rhetorical use of Josephus vis-à-vis that of *DEH*. Yet the section of these speeches that comes in between these two portions is equally interesting, and just as important for our purposes. In the 'middle' section of

111 The phrase "prince of the king" likely comes from Jer 39:3, which twice mentions "the princes of the king of Babylon" (שרי מלך בבל).

their oration, then, Josephus' comrades-in-arms marshal five *exempla* from the Hebrew Bible to support their rhetorical point that surrender to the Romans is totally unacceptable. The first two *exempla* mentioned are Moses and Aaron, the dynamic duo that stands center stage throughout most of the Pentateuch.

In Ps-Hegesippus, it is not so much Moses who is mentioned, but his *doctrina*, alongside a brief mention of Aaron. Both mentions take the form of rhetorical questions:

> Where is the teaching of Moses, who asked that he might be erased from the heavenly book, lest he outlive the people of the Lord? Where is Aaron, who stood in the middle between the living and the dead, lest death consume the living people with a savage contagion?
>
> *Vbi est doctrina Moysi, qui se de libro caelesti deleri petebat, ne plebi domini superuiueret? Vbi est Aaron, qui inter uiuos ac mortuos medius stetit, ne mors uiuentem populum saeuo contagio depasceretur?*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.16.1[112]

The questions are pointed, and their biblical intertexts ostensibly obvious not only to the Jewish speakers and listener in the narrative, but also to any Jewish or Christian reader of the text: namely, Exod 32:32 and Num 16:48 (17:13).[113] Yosippon's articulation of these hypothetical questions is a bit digressive, beginning with a more active Moses:

---

112 Ussani (1932) 211. Manuscript *B* (Bern Burgerbibliothek 180) makes Moses' statement more intense, whether intentionally or not, by omitting "*de libro*," in which case Moses "asked that he be deleted from heaven" (!).

113 At Exod 32:31–32, the LORD has threatened to exterminate the Israelites following the Golden Calf incident, to which Moses says: "Then Moses returned to the LORD and said, 'Oh, this people has committed a great sin, and they have made a god of gold for themselves! But now, if You will forgive their sin, very well; but if not, please wipe me out from Your book which You have written (*dele me de libro tuo quem scripsisti*/ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἧς ἔγραψας/מחני נא מספרך אשר כתבת)!'" (I cite the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin because *SY* used the Hebrew, *DEH* used the Greek, and both were probably aware of the Latin tradition[s]). Cf. Deut 9:14. At Num 16:48 (17:13), the Israelites have begun to grumble against Moses and Aaron about the lethal aftermath of the rebellions of Dathan, Abiram, and Korah (16:1–40). The LORD sends a plague among the people as punishment, after which Aaron, on Moses' command, carries his censer into the midst of the people to make atonement, the plague having already begun: "And he took his stand between the living and the dead, so that the plague was brought to a halt" (*et stans inter mortuos ac viventes pro populo deprecatus est et plaga cessavit*/καὶ ἔστη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις/ויעמד בין-המתים ובין החיים ותעצר המגפה).

> Where is the word of Moses that he spoke before God: 'If you destroy them, blot me out from your book that you have written'? Where is Aaron, who stood between the dead and the living, standing firm like a mighty man before the angel, and he was handed over unto death for the sake of his people lest they fall in the plague?
>
> איה דבר משה אשר אמר לפני אלהים: אם תכלה אותם מחני נא מספרך [אשר כתבתה]. ואיה אהרן אשר עמד בין המתים ובין החיים ויתיצב כגיבור לפני המלאך וימסר למות על עמו לבלתי נפול במגפה?
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[114]

While Yosippon is closer to Ps-Hegesippus here than in many other passages, the changes are significant. I will suggest that these changes reflect a kind of 'heroizing exegesis' on Yosippon's part. *SY* adds biblical language and details to these allusions (biblicization), shifts the place of divinity within the passage (theologization), and in general intensifies the relief in which Moses and Aaron, these two biblical heroes, stand in the passage (Judaization).

As mentioned above, the first thing one notices in this passage is that Moses is not only the possessive modifier of a noun—he is still that—but also an actor who "spoke" (אמר). This shift accompanies another: no longer do we have "the Lord" (*dominus*) as a simple genitive modifier of *plebs*, but instead we have "God" (אלהים) as the indirect object before whom (לפני) Moses spoke. And another subtle shift accompanies these two: in *DEH*, the term *doctrina* must refer to the pedagogical example set by Moses in the mediatory action mentioned in this passage, and/or perhaps to his having recorded it qua biblical author. Alternatively, דבר is overtly identified as the content of Moses' speech—it is literally "what he said" (אשר אמר). The distinction conjures the binary of written versus oral Torah, and it fits with the proclivity of *DEH* to stress conceptual realities, and the penchant of *SY* to prioritize practical realities, noted elsewhere in this study. Our Christian-Latin author has his speakers recall the amorphous 'instruction' of Moses, our Jewish-Hebrew author something that Moses said.

This 'concepts-vs-precepts' dichotomy fits with the quotation next attributed to Moses, distinguishing the indirect paraphrase proffered by Ps-Hegesippus from the direct biblical quotation put forth by Yosippon (as above, a

114 Bowman (2023) 289; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 630–631; Flusser (1978) 312. I have adopted the reading of manuscript א (and ד) in omitting the definite article -ה from אלהים. Note that manuscripts ד and ק read "Moses our prophet" (משה נביאנו). Flusser (1980) 323.

quote within a quote). The conditional אם תכלה אותם does not appear in Exod 32:32, while מחני נא מספרך is a verbatim citation.[115] The final two words of the quote, which I have placed in brackets, mirror the final two words of Exod 32:32 (אשר כתבת) but are *not* represented in *DEH*. However, they are also absent from the manuscript containing what is arguably one of the best/earliest *SY* texts: א (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Urbanati ebr. 52), along with ד (the Rothschild Miscellany).[116] Later copyists, we may surmise, filled in Moses' quote with the biblical formula, doing their part to cover further the casual periphrasis of *DEH* with the Hebrew veneer of a strict biblicism. Here, therefore, we can see a seam that exists between the earliest version of *SY*, constraining itself more or less to what it found in its Latin source, and the later agglomerations that rendered *SY* an "open text."[117] However, again, even the minimalist reading of this passage in *SY* shows an overt switching of Ps-Hegesippus' paraphrasing to the explicit language of the Jewish Scriptures.

This is not the only textual seam to appear between codices in this passage. Moving to the Aaron *exemplum* from Num 16:48 (17:13), we find that while Ps-Hegesippus has his narrative speakers recall that Aaron stood "between the living and the dead" (*inter uiuos ac mortuos*)—and Ussani records no variants here—all of the biblical traditions, beginning with and based on the Hebrew, reverse the order, recording Aaron has having stood "between the dead and the living" (*inter mortuos ac viventes*/μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων/בין-המתים ובין החיים).[118] Which reading would we expect to find in *SY*? The reading

115 The idea of a heavenly book written by God is widespread in the ancient Jewish and Christian traditions, and came often to be associated with apocalyptic frameworks; see Baynes (2012); cf. Bay (2023) 245.

116 ד = Jerusalem, Museum Bezalel, Rothschild Miscellanea 24.

117 On this designation, see *inter alia* Dönitz (2013) 19; Ta-Shma (1993). Here is how Bowman (2011) 244 describes it: "In the eleventh century a number of hack interpreters interpolated a series of tales and expansions into the terse and beautifully crafted tenth-century *Sepher Yosippon*. Like other pieces of Hebrew prose, *Sepher Yosippon* was treated as a midrash, that is, an 'open text,' to be continuously expanded at the whim of the copyist; incidentally, the book suffered from that designation and is dismissed in recent times by numerous Talmudists, literary scholars, and historians as a children's book, as evidenced in the vocalized edition that recently appeared in Jerusalem."

118 We should remember, however, that Ussani (1932) 211 records variants from only ten of the over two hundred extant *DEH* manuscripts and fragments, albeit from the most important; thus, it is possible that *DEH* manuscripts with a reverse order exist. Likewise, none of the critical texts of the respective Bibles records a reversed-order variant here, but I would be uncomfortable concluding therefore that there certainly exist no HB manuscripts reading בין החיים ובין-המתים, or LXX manuscripts reading μέσον τῶν ζώντων καὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων, or Vulgate (or OL) readings of *inter viventes ac mortuos*. It should be noted that *DEH* repeats this verbiage of this biblical paraphrase at 3.17.1 and 5.2.1, and that this

given in the quote above, represented by the best and the majority of manuscripts, mirrors the biblical ordering: בין המתים ובין החיים. However, manuscripts י and ד, both of which belong to Flusser's "original version" (הנוסח המקורי),[119] i.e. "Recension A," contain the reverse reading: בין החיים ובין המתים.[120] In other words, the earliest scribes who copied *SY* disagreed amongst themselves, consciously or not, as to whether this line should repeat the Latin statement recorded in *DEH* 3.16.1 or the canonical verbiage from Num 17:13 in the Hebrew Scriptures. Most of these copyists, and perhaps even the very first one, chose the Bible over Ps-Hegesippus. Scriptural tradition against (polemical) Christian historian: perhaps it was not much of a choice.

More interesting within the Aaron example here is a line added by *SY* upon which the manuscripts do not disagree, which finds Aaron "standing firm like a mighty man before the angel" (יתיצב כגיבור לפני המלאך). This depiction of Aaron as a "mighty man" (or, per Bowman, "hero") classes him with other heavyweight protagonists in *SY*, including Judah the Maccabee, who is described in exactly the same way (כגיבור) at *SY* 17 (יז). It also helps frame the figure of Josephus, described as a גיבור in this speech as we discussed above, as exuding a biblical heroism. In *SY*, biblical (Aaron), 'parabiblical' (Judah), and later figures (Josephus) are portrayed in more heroic terms than one finds in the broader foregoing tradition or in Ps-Hegesippus. More puzzling is the mention of Aaron's having stood before an angel (מלאך). Where did this tradition come from, and what does it mean?

In the reference to Num 16:48 in the speech of *DEH* 3.16.1, there is no reference to an angel, as Chiara Somenzi has noted. She noted this because, while the biblical allusion in *DEH*, which appears "più parafrasato che citato testualmente," does seem to be a "esito dell'esegesi del testo," it does not join the broader interpretive milieu that personified the cause of death in Num 16:48 (17:13) (as, alternately, *confractio*, *lues*, *mors*, *plaga*, *quassatio*, *vastatio*, θραῦσις, ὁ κολάζων, ὁ ὀλεθρεύων, מגפה, מות, מותנא).[121] Yosippon's mention of an angel came from elsewhere. The notion that God's מלאך should wreak the punitive divine wrath allotted to God's disobedient people is far from unknown in the

ordering (*inter vivos et mortuos*) Ps-Heg shares with Ambrose *Off*. 2.11; *Expl. Ps*. 39.8; *Epist. extra coll*. 14.51,56 (*inter viventes morientesque*); cf. *Epist*. 5.5, *Tob*. 20.76, and see Somenzi (2009) 78–85.

119 Flusser (1980) 254.

120 Flusser (1980) 323. Manuscript י = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d 11. Dönitz (2024) 205 locates ד within "Ashkenazic A" and י in "Transition to Recension B"; cf. 185–192.

121 Somenzi (2009) 80–81: "Non c'è traccia invece della tradizione di una personificazione della forza della morte attestata in scritti diversi." Cf. *Targum Onqelos*, Num 17.13; Wisdom 18.22, 25; 1 Cor 10:10.

Jewish Scriptures. However, when it comes to Num 16:48 (17:13), the idea of an angel harks only back to 4Macc 7:11 (first- or second-century CE), where "father Aaron" (ὁ πατὴρ Ααρων) is recalled as having "defeated the fiery angel" (τὸν ἐμπυριστὴν ἐνίκησεν ἄγγελον) with his censer. It re-appears in (Rufinus' translation of) Origen's *Homilies on Numbers* (9.5.3), where the destroyer in that passage is referred to as *angelus ille vastator*.[122] The same tradition is reflected in Jewish Aramaic texts: in line with 4Macc 7:11, *Targum Ps-Jonathan* (Num 17:12) calls that which Aaron had to mitigate a "fiery destruction" (קצף מחבלא), and this entity appears to be identified with one of five destroying angels (מלאכיא מחבליא) sent by Yahweh to destroy Israel in the same Targum at Deut 9:19.[123] Along the same lines, Ernest Clarke records two different marginal readings from *Targum Neofiti* that change "destruction" (מחבלה) to "destroyer" in the same passage.[124] More obliquely, the Babylonian Talmud in one place records a tradition whereby the "angel of death" (מלאך המות) had given Moses knowledge of how to stop the plague before the Num 16:48 (17:13) incident came about, which would explain the efficacy of Moses' instructions to Aaron to stay the emergency.[125]

All of this is to say that Jewish and Christian traditions from long before *SY*'s initial writing associated the Num 16:48 (17:13) debacle with an (destroying) angel. Yosippon could have picked up the tradition from *either* the Latin Christian *or* the Hebrew-Aramaic Jewish exegetical milieu. He might have known it from both. But whatever the case, the literary effect of this addition is, like the כגבור qualifier, to make the Jewish ur-hero Aaron even more impressive as an *exemplum* brought forward in the argument of Josephus' fellows' speech.

Overall, the creative expansion and reworking of *DEH* 3.16.1 that *SY* effects upon Moses' and Aaron's short citations in *SY* 67 (סז) implies a few things.

---

122 Somenzi (2009) 81n103.

123 *Targum Ps-Jonathan* (Deut 9:19): "At that very time five angels were sent forth from the LORD, destroyers to destroy Israel: Anger, Wrath, Ire, Destruction, and Rage" (בי היא זמנא אשתלחון מן קדם יי חמשתי מלאכיא מחבליא לחבלא ית ישראל אף וחמה וקצף ומשחית וחרון). Note that the Targum uses the divine epithet יי, like *SY*. Clarke (1998) 32 (with n. 22).

124 Clarke (1995) 100; Macho (1974) 162–163.

125 b. *Shabbat* 89a: "And even the Angel of Death gave him something, as Moses told Aaron how to stop the plague, as it is stated: 'And he placed the incense, and he atoned for the people.' And the verse says: 'And he stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stopped.' If it were not that the Angel of Death told him this remedy, would he have known it?" (אף מלאך המות מסר לו דבר, שנאמר: ויתן את הקטרת ויכפר על העם, ואומר: ויעמד בין המתים ובין החיים וגו'"—אי לאו דאמר ליה מי הוה ידע?).

The subtle prioritization of the Hebrew Bible over Ps-Hegesippus' biblical allusions exalts the former authority over the latter, betrays Yosippon's deep biblical knowledge, and subtly identifies text and author as belonging to the Jewish milieu over and against the Latin Christian tradition that constitutes its primary textual base here. The discernible highlighting and heroization of Moses and Aaron suggest that Yosippon was interested in how these figures were remembered and presented, and was interested in presenting them well. At the same time, the text of *SY* remains clearly indebted to *DEH*, not least in its use of rhetorical form: the embellished doublet of questions—"Where is …? Where is …?" (*ubi est … ubi est …*/… איה … איה)—is a characteristic feature of Ps-Hegesippus' Latin, now become a characteristic feature of Yosippon's Hebrew.[126] Continuity and change are both at work in Yosippon's retooling of Ps-Hegesippus' use of biblical characters in this oration.

4 Saul, Jonathan, David: Fated Warriors and Prophetic Kings

After Moses and Aaron, and before returning their gaze to Josephus himself, his comrades bring up three of the biblical figures who seem *a priori* likely to be popular among soldiers: Saul, Jonathan, and David. If ancient Jewish troops had favorite biblical characters, surely these three were among them. This may have been what Ps-Hegesippus was thinking when he had his speakers mention them here. And no doubt Yosippon too appreciated how fitting these *exempla* were for such speakers in such a speech. This is how *SY* records their mention:

> Where are our kings, Saul and Jonathan, his son, who fought on behalf of the people of the LORD and died for the LORD and for his people? Was not Saul able to live and be saved? Yet he did not delight in life but rather chose death over life as he saw that his army had been routed in battle. For this reason, he did not separate himself from his brothers, neither he nor his son Jonathan, beloved and beautiful. Remember now the righteousness of David, messiah of the LORD, who said: 'Let now your hand be against me and the house of my father, for I have sinned and I have acted perversely; but these sheep, what have they done?'

126 This structure of rhetorical question appears again at *DEH* 5.2.1 (and elsewhere), where Moses and Aaron also feature as rhetorical *exempla*; see Bay (2020); Bay (2018).

ואיה מלכינו שאול ויהונתן בנו אשר נלחמו בעד עם יי וימותו על יי ועל עמו? הלא יכול שאול לחיות ולהמלט?! ולא חפץ בחיים כי אם בחר מות מחיים כאשר ראה כי נגף עמו במלחמה. על כן לא נפרד מאחיו גם הוא גם יהונתן בנו הנאהבים והנעימים. כור נא את צדקת דוד משיח יי אשר אמר: תהי נא ידך בי ובבית אבי כי אנכי חטאתי ואנכי העויתי! ואלה הצאן מה עשו?

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[127]

When we compare this to its source, we find a subtext very present in Ps-Hegesippus' version that Yosippon has completely erased:

> Where is the spirit of King Saul and Jonathan, devoted to the fatherland, and that death assumed bravely on behalf of the citizens and sought for the sake of glory? The son challenged the father by his example, the father did not abandon his son when faced with the prospect of death. He [Saul], while it was in his power to remain alive, preferred to be killed rather than triumph over by the enemy. He commanded his armor-bearer, saying: 'Strike me down, lest these uncircumcised men come and strike me and make sport of me.' Because his armor-bearer was terrified, he transfixed himself on this sword, in a manner worthy of one whom David would vindicate by the prophetic spirit—because a man of Amalekite race had boasted falsely about his death and thought to diminish the glory of a man who had removed himself from the foreigner [or enemy], so that he falsely claimed that Saul had been killed by him—for he was still worthy whom the prophet had so praised, saying: 'Saul and Jonathan, most beautiful and beloved of all, they were inseparable in their life and were not separated in death, they were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.' And David himself, when he saw the people struck by the angel, willed that the heavenly vengeance be turned toward himself, lest he be saved while the people perished.
>
> *Vbi est regis Saul et Ionathae deuotus patriae animus et mors illa pro ciuibus suscepta fortiter, gloriose expetita? Filius patrem exemplo inuitauit, pater filium mortis proposito non dereliquit. Qui cum posset uiuere, maluit se interfici quam ab hoste triumphari. Hortabatur armigerum suum dicens: percute me, ne ueniant incircumcisi isti et percutiant me et deludant me. Quia armiger timuit, ipse se gladio transuerberauit, dignus quem Dauid spiritu prophetico uindicaret, quia se de genere Amalechita de eius morte falso iactauerat et gloriam uiri, qui se ipse hosti exemerat, inminuendam putauit, ut a se interfectum mentiretur, dignus etiam quem tantus laudaret propheta dicens: Saul et Ionathas speciosi et carissimi inseparabiles in uita*

127 Bowman (2023) 289–290; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 630–633; Flusser (1978) 312.

> *sua et in morte non sunt separati, super aquilas leuiores, super leones potentiores. Ipse quoque David, cum populum percuti ab angelo uideret, in se uoluit caelestem deriuari uindictam, ne pereunte populo reseruaretur.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.16.1[128]

The first line of Ps-Hegesippus' version already reveals a substantial chasm between the Latin and Hebrew versions of this portion of the speech. Apart from the typical penchant of *DEH* to have his speakers mention figurative realities (*animus*, *deuotus*) rather than people themselves, here Ps-Hegesippus betrays his own cultural location and authorial interests by articulating this speech in stereotypical Romans terms: notions of *deuotio*, *patria*, *mors pro ciuibus*, *fortitudo*, and *gloriosus* battlefield behavior reveal the Classical mind behind *DEH*'s author.[129]

The language of this part of the speech in Yosippon is largely determined by its source, yet it takes the Roman patriotic ideal in a Jewish-theological direction: *mors pro ciuibus*, an archetypal Roman ideal, becomes death על יי and על עמו, no longer death "for the people" but rather "for the people *of Yahweh*." Likewise, it is not a patriotic ideal that sets Saul and Jonathan apart as paradigms (*deuotus patriae*), but rather pious action (נלחמו בעד עם יי). The tendency of Ps-Hegesippus toward abstractions and of Yosippon away from them sharpens the divide between the Roman-Christian ethic and the Jewish one. But of course, this is not the major distinction that separates Ps-Hegesippus' and Yosippon's renditions of this passage.

The most obvious discrepancy between this portion of *DEH* 3.16.1 and *SY* 67 (סז) is the detailed discussion of King Saul's death totally dropped from *SY*'s version. The Latin text here exudes the mechanics of Roman exemplarity as a particular type of discourse especially endemic to ancient Greco-Roman culture.[130] Ps-Hegesippus stresses the virtue-building dynamics of the father-son relationship and the agonistic nature of wartime prowess before introducing the fateful account of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths (1Sam 31). He takes time to recount the racialized reasoning behind Saul's decision to commit suicide. At first, this might seem like just the sort of the passage that Yosippon *would* reiterate, maybe even expand. The dichotomy between Jews and gentiles (the *incircumcisi*), the presentation of Saul as "worthy" (*dignus*) in his death, the recollection of how David (*propheta*) eulogized and lionized (literally) Saul and

128 Ussani (1932) 211.

129 See Bay (2023) 243–249, with notes and bibliography.

130 The primary argument of Bay (2023) is that *DEH* engages such a discourse constantly in its use of biblical figures.

Jonathan (2 Sam 1:23)—these seem like the types of statements that Yosippon *does* like to adopt from his Latin source.[131] But what the reader may not know at this point is that Josephus will decimate this argument particularly brutally in his rebuttal. There we will find Saul painted in the most unflattering light possible. Yosippon therefore saves his speakers from making an untenable argument at this point. It may well have been that Yosippon the author agreed with the argument of Josephus the character, according to whom King Saul was a good example of how *not* to die, not of a heroic, patriotic death. Finally, Yosippon likely felt that he had more stake in the game than did Ps-Hegesippus when it came to the moral framing of ancient Israelite heroes. Unlike Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon was trying to present a vision of a noble, strong, laudable Jewish people whose lineage traced back into Early Antiquity; it may be for this reason that he was not inspired to allow Josephus' interlocutors to bring up the biblical details of King Saul's dubious death.

A similar brand of cover-up appears to characterize Yosippon's presentation of David in this passage. Ps-Hegesippus has no qualms about repeating some of the details of what may have been the single lowest point in King David's royal career, when his ill-informed census of Israel invited God's deadly wrath upon the people David was supposed to protect and represent (2 Sam 24; 1 Chr 21). In *DEH*, Josephus' counterparts recall how David witnessed the Israelite *populus* being "struck by the angel" (*percuti ab angelo*)—and Yosippon would have known well that it was "the angel of the LORD" (מלאך יהוה), or "the destroying angel" (מלאך המשחית), who did this (2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:15)[132]—and how he mitigated the "heavenly vengeance" (*caelestis uindicta*) and how the people were perishing (*pereunte populo*). *SY* does not mention these details, preferring to skip over the unsavory details of divine judgment striking God's people because of the action of just one person—perhaps this struck too close to home when viewing the 70 CE destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple from a Jewish covenantal perspective. What *SY* does include is a verbatim quotation of David's words on the occasion, which mollified God's anger. Yosippon chooses the wording of 2 Sam 24:17 over that of 1 Chr 21:17, and he flips the two halves of the quoted statement.[133] In other words, this mention of David in

131 Note that David is a *propheta* in *DEH*, but משוח in *SY*.

132 We might note the odd balance between *SY*'s omission of the angel mentioned by *DEH* here and *SY*'s insertion of the angel not mentioned by *DEH* in the Num 16:48 (17:13) episode involving Aaron, discussed above.

133 1Sam 24:17 reads: תהי נא ידך בי ובבית אבי (b אנכי חטאתי ואנכי העויתי ואלה הצאן מה עשו (a. *SY* simply places b) before a). There is a curiosity in Yosippon's scriptural splicing here: if one shaves אנ from אנכי ("I") one is left with כי ("for, because"), which cannot logically

SY clearly alludes to the same biblical episode as harkened in *DEH*, yet the traditionary memory manufactured by the two texts is quite discriminable: in Ps-Hegesippus, the speakers recall the punitive, vindictive, catastrophic aftermath of David's biblical census, while Yosippon leaves all the dramatic details aside, focusing instead on the redemptive and expiatory petition of Israel's messiah. The same history, we see, can have two meanings, depending upon what one chooses to emphasize.[134]

As with the Moses and Aaron *exempla*, so with Saul, Jonathan, and David, Yosippon uses his Bible to correct and rewrite the speech of *DEH* 3.16.1 in *SY* 67 (סז) such that the proto-Jewish heroes of the Scriptures come off looking better than they had at the hands of their late-ancient Christian handler. For the present study, such changes help illustrate *SY*'s inclinations toward biblicization, theologization, and Judaization in numerous ways, while also proffering a methodological pointer that validates the approach of the present chapter: the biblical characters mentioned within the speeches of *SY* prove to be revealing aspects of *SY*'s authorial interests and literary agenda, inasmuch as the subtle changes to which they are beholden and which tend to cluster around passages in which they appear speak directly to one of the key analytical questions of this entire book: how exactly does *SY* make use of *DEH* and what does this tell us about the former as a product of early medieval Jewish culture and interests?

5 Conclusion: Jewishness, Jotapata, and Josephus the War Messiah +

In the first part of *SY* 67 (סז), we have seen the beginning of what I have dubbed 'negotiating Jewishness.' By this I mean that Josephus' comrades and Josephus himself here enter into a discussion that is fundamentally concerned with what being Jewish (or 'Judean') means in their particular circumstances: surrounded by the uncircumcised Romans and faced with several choices, one of which (for some) was bowing to clemency. But this conversation is not significant only to the intra-narrative characters, but also to the extra-narrative reader: what

come directly after a verb of speaking like אמר, with which *SY* introduces the quote. Did Yosippon switch the two sides of the sentence so as to preserve כי from the biblical quotation? If so, did his Hebrew Bible have אנכי or something else? The change may signal some deft literary work at the hands of an adept user of biblical Hebrew.

134 Therefore, this distinction between *DEH* and *SY* serves as a microcosm for this book's overall argument that these texts present two different, competing versions of the same history.

would Jewish identity recommend in such straits? Within this discussion, the exaltation of the character of Josephus lifts the national Jewish character, as it were, to noble heights—a rising tide raises all boats. By virtue of his being war messiah and a famous, brave general who taught patriotism and piety, Josephus comes to embody a particular view of the Jewish people, what might be termed the 'heroic' view. At the same time, Josephus' priestliness and the divine nature of his commissions imputes a special religiosity to his people and a divine sanction to their cause. This is underlined, furthermore, by references to Torah and the discussion about loving and dying for God. Within their side of the argument, then, Josephus' comrades in a way attempt to draw Josephus back into the portrait of Jewish nobility painted by their rhetoric. Here Josephus rejoins Moses, Aaron, David, Saul, Jonathan.

The characters discussed in the speech made by Josephus' fellow soldiers in the first part of *SY* 67 (סז) tell us things about the shape of *SY* as a work compared to the mold provided by *DEH*. *SY* presents Jewish characters, whether from the first century (Josephus) or from many centuries earlier (Moses, Aaron, Saul, Jonathan, David), in a more positive light than does *DEH*. *SY* knows and will use the Hebrew Bible as a more authoritative tool for effecting biblical remembrance than the allusions found in his Latin source material. *SY* is comfortable cutting or adding to or changing *DEH* at will, and tends to do so with particular frequency when it comes to quotations attributed to particular characters, the syntactical framing of persons under discussion (e.g. making them into the subject of sentences where they are not in the Latin), and mentions of God. Taking these tendencies in hand, we can state clearly and concisely how the passage discussed in the present chapter reveals a negotiation of Jewishness taking place between *DEH* and *SY*. That is, it is not just the narrative's characters who are negotiating Jewishness, nor is it only the author of *SY* negotiating Jewishness with his readers; in addition, *SY* is addressing his own ancient interlocutor, Ps-Hegesippus, so as to redress what was to him a less acceptable, more Roman-leaning depiction of Jewish history, character, and action.

In *DEH*, Jewishness per se appears remote, as the passage's language and topics of discussion constitute commonplaces of ancient *Roman* culture; in *SY*, every part of the speech examined so far places the discourse firmly within the world of Judaica. Enthusiasm for nationalism and patriotism in *DEH* give way to covenantal and religious ideology in *SY*. In *DEH*, Josephus' moral status is questionable; in *SY*, Josephus is a rock-star. In *DEH*, the five biblical personalities mentioned are largely passive (Moses, Saul, and Jonathan are introduced in the genitive), and low-points in Israelite history are remembered in detail; in *SY*, scriptural figures are more prominently framed and more laudably described than in *DEH*, and low-points in Israelite history are forgotten or transformed. In

SY, Jewish history, Jewish behavior, and Jewish ideals are structured in part by these reinvigorated characters mentioned by Josephus' interlocutors. *Romanitas* fades to the background (to say nothing of *Christianitas*) as a biblicized, theologized, and Judaized recasting of *DEH* 3.16.1 takes shape within the Hebrew prose of *SY* 67 (סז), underwriting, as it does so, a vision of Jewishness informed by the ideals and world of Hellenistic Judaism (transformed over the course of the first millennium CE), and overwriting, at the same time, the undertones of Christian thought and discourse lurking beneath the surface of *DEH*'s Latin.

So much for the first half of the twin speeches following the Battle of Jotapata. Next, Josephus is given the opportunity to talk back, as it were. In Josephus' speech, we will find a very different answer to the question of whether surrender to the Romans can ever be an excusable, even preferable, course of action. This answer will be more pragmatic, perhaps more resigned. Viewed alongside the speech examined in this chapter, the two speeches of *DEH* 3.16.1 // *SY* 67 (סז) will reveal themselves as a contest of 'the fatalist versus the fanatics.'

CHAPTER 3

Negotiating Jewishness, Part 2: *De Excidio* 3.17 and *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)

In this chapter, we are going to break what filmmakers call the "180-degree rule." This is no problem, as we are not dealing in film. In film production, scenes involving two conversing parties always show those parties from the same side. The angle of the shot respects what is called the "180 degree line" or "imaginary line" or "action line" or "axis of action"—"an imaginary line drawn through the shooting location, roughly where all of the main action occurs."[1] In other words, the camera is set up such that the two parties are always viewed in the same position, one on the right the other on the left, and the shot will never swivel around such that these positions are reversed. The point of this video production law is to "help maintain lines of attention and screen direction from shot to shot," since "the audience relies upon these lines to receive and maintain spatial cues."

In *DEH* 3.16–17 and *SY* 67 (סז), we have a two-party 'scene' in which words are spoken from one 'side' to the other, and then vice-versa. To observe the cinematic mandate mentioned above in the context of reading this literary episode might mean viewing it from this *de facto* angle: as Josephus' comrades speak to him in the cave (the portion of the passage discussed in the last chapter), and then as Josephus responds to their words (the portion discussed in this chapter), one looks back and forth from one speaker(s) to the other(s) and apprises what is said in terms of the relationship between the two speaking parties. At the most basic level, this is how we apprehend fiction (and what else is the account with which we are dealing?). Yet this is not how we are approaching the Jotapata speech scene. Instead of staying in front of the 180 degree line, we are transgressing that line to get *behind* the two characters, as it were, by examining the variegated sources of their speeches as they appear in *SY* 67 (סז); *under* the speaking parties, inasmuch as we want to know how *SY* is construing and constructing the characters and dialogue being re-written in this chapter from those manifold sources; and, perhaps, *above* the speakers, as we want to gain a bird's-eye view of this narrative scene and its conceptual content within *SY* as a larger work and within the even broader scope of the Josephus tradition

1 Bowen/Thompson (2013) 151.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-005
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

writ large. We thus break the 180-degree rule, in this chapter as we did in the last, because we are not assuming the mantle of 'viewers' of this scene, but as inspectors of its production. As such, we walk with impunity behind, in front of, over, and through the "axis of action" in an attempt to understand as fully as possible the mechanics of the scene under observation as a way of getting at its meaning.

Now let us bring this metaphor to life.

Structurally, this chapter will follow the sequence of Josephus' speech as laid down in both *DEH* 3.17 and *SY* 67 (סז),[2] because in this case this progression presents us with a natural and convenient set of rubrics for tracing the key distinctions between Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon that embody the latter's biblicization, theologization, and Judaization of the former. Josephus' first set of statements as articulated in *DEH* 3.17 versus *SY* 67 (סז) illustrate two discrete theological anthropologies, or embodied ontologies, that Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively place into Josephus' mouth. Josephus' next set of arguments in each text briefly use Abraham and Moses to realize idealized visions of death in action, wherein pious role models of extreme old age are literally called by God to die before they do so. This gives way to Job, who becomes the speech's poster-child for posing hard questions about life and death when life does not seem worth living. This *exemplum* issues into a more explicit and extended discussion on Josephus' part about suicide and nobility in war, which eventually enlists the biblical warrior-trio of Saul, Jonathan, and David within its rhetorical agenda, before including the example of Aaron from Numbers 16 as well. In these portions of his speech, as the reader will have guessed based on the preceding chapter, Josephus is refuting the example-based claims of his interlocutors by challenging their inferences from and interpretations of biblical storylines.

In the latter part of his speech, in both *DEH* 3.17 and *SY* 67 (סז) Josephus continues a point-by-point refutation of the arguments he has heard, dismantling the case for suicide with zoological analogies, the metaphor of the ship and steersman, and the slave-master metaphor. Finally, we find Yosippon jettisoning some of the more interesting parts of the rear-end of Josephus' speech in *DEH* 3.17—a reference to the biblical Adam as anti-suicide *exemplum*, an ethnographic comparison of suicide punishments across cultures—and skipping straight to Josephus' ending prayer and closing arguments. In all of this, we find significant curtailing and alteration between *DEH* 3.17—which contains 1,714 Latin words—and *SY* 67 (סז), which weighs in at only 1,000 Hebrew

2 See Ps-Heg's source text in Josephus' *Jewish War* 3.361–382.

words. In particular, this chapter shows how comfortable Yosippon was completely cutting material from *DEH*, while giving us a deeper look into how able and ready Yosippon was to correct the biblical references made by his Christian source: by filling in details, changing grammar and syntax so as to reframe subjects and objects, and employing more overt biblical language in Josephus' speech, and by referencing a number of biblical passages that have no correlate in *DEH* 3.17, this latter portion of *SY* 67 (סז) encapsulates the extent to which Yosippon saw his source material as material that needed to be rewritten, even as it further supports this study's overarching thesis.

1 Theology, Anthropology, Ontology: God and Humans according to Josephus

The first three lines of Josephus' discourse as it appears in *SY* 67 (סז) each reveal a new angle of Yosippon's modification of *DEH* 3.17. These preface and give way to two distinct theological anthropologies and ontologies, conspicuously placed into Josephus' mouth by our late ancient Christian author and our medieval Jewish one respectively. Josephus' opening statement according to Ps-Hegesippus' retelling begins with two rhetorical questions:

> To this [the speech of his comrades] Josephus replied: "And who would want to be a survivor of so much death? Who would elect to become an heir of suffering?"
>
> *Ad haec Iosephus refert: 'Et quis uelit esse tantae mortis superstes? Quis eligat fieri heres doloris?'*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[3]

This presentation of Josephus' response, with its implication that *obviously* Josephus did not *want* to live after what had occurred (the Roman defeat and killing of the Judeans at Jotapata), immediately frames it as argumentative. These leading rhetorical questions, both of which have a negative focus, whether death (*mors*) or pain (*dolor*), contrast with Josephus in Yosippon:

> And Josephus answered and said to them: "Truly, I know that what you say is just, and who would take pleasure in this life?"

3 Ussani (1932) 212. See Bay (2023) 250–254 for a translation of *DEH* 3.17 in its entirety.

ויען יוסף ויאמר אליהם: אמנם ידעתי כי צדק תדברון. ומי יחפוץ בחיים האלה?

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[4]

In Yosippon, Josephus does not focus on the negative (death, pain)—both terms are conspicuously absent—but concentrates instead on the agreement between himself and his interlocutors. To say that his comrades have spoken justly (צדק) is not only a disarming tactic, but also implies to the reader that neither of the (Jewish) perspectives being voiced by the parties in this discussion is unreasonable, which is not something the reader gets from the beginning of *DEH* 3.17 (nor, indeed, from the earliest Greek version in Josephus' own *Jewish War*).[5] In *SY* 67 (סז), Josephus brings his listeners and the work's readers onto a level plane.

The second line of Josephus' response expresses a counterfactual wish to depart this mortal life along with reference to the body, the life-death spectrum, and God, who puts these things together. Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus at first continue his line of rhetorical questioning:

> Who would not want his soul to be set free from this body of death, if it were allowed? But it is not allowed to set free except to the one who has bound [it].
>
> *Quis animam suam nolit ex isto corpore mortis si liceat absolui? Sed non licet soluere nisi ei qui ligauerit.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[6]

In *DEH*, Josephus appears to be universalizing the point applicable to his present predicament: 'would who not want to be free of this body?' (Or, conversely, 'who would *want* to keep living in this body?') The statement reveals two things about the Latin text's author: first, the author is presumably a Chris-

4 Bowman (2023) 291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 634–635; Flusser (1978) 313.

5 Josephus' own version of his words (*BJ* 3.361–362) is quite distinct from both *DEH* and *SY*, both in its narrative presentation and in its opening rhetorical gamut: "Josephus, fearing an assault, and holding that it would be a betrayal of God's commands, should he die before delivering his message, proceeded, in this emergency, to reason philosophically with them: 'Why, comrades,' said he, 'this thirst for our own blood? Why set asunder such fond companions as soul and body?'" (Δείσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ προδοσίαν ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, εἰ προαποθάνοι τῆς διαγγελίας, ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης· "τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον," ἔφη, "σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἑταῖροι, φονῶμεν; ἢ τί τὰ φίλτατα διαστασιάζομεν, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν;"). See Thackeray (1927) 104–107, who describes Josephus' discourse on suicide here as a "harangue."

6 Ussani (1932) 212; Bay (2023) 250–254.

tian, as the phrase *ex isto corpore mortis … absolui* seems an unmistakable allusion to the language of Paul, who in Romans 7:24 asks: "Who will set me free from this body of death?"[7] Second, the author's language seems to have a (Neo-) Platonic bent to it, which Josephus' subsequent discourse will tend to confirm. The notion that the *anima* exists within the *corpora*, to which it has been 'bound' (*ligare*) and from which it can be 'loosed' (*soluere*), is a hallmark of Neoplatonic philosophy, and is no stranger to Christian Late Antiquity,[8] though it must be admitted that in and of itself the notion generally aligns with many worldviews, however carefully constructed or explicitly 'philosophical,' that existed around the ancient Mediterranean. In any case, the application of the language of Rom 7:24 to a Neoplatonic conceptual framework is a novel move.

Contra *DEH*, the Josephus of *SY* articulates his next line in explicitly first-person, and thus specific, terms—any universalization of the question has disappeared:

> But that God would call my soul and take it away to himself. For he is the one who puts my breath within me.
>
> ומי יתן ויקרא אלוה את נפשי ויקחנה אליו! כי הוא הנותן נשמתי בי.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[9]

At first blush, the personalization of Josephus' statement is what distinguishes *SY* from *DEH*. Not only does Josephus switch from an anonymous 'whoever' (*quis*) to discussing his own soul (נפשי), he also imputes to God a more personal, active role in the process of death: God "calls" (קרא) and "takes to himself" (לקח אליו) the individual soul,[10] just as he "gives" (נתן) spirit to each per-

---

7 Rom 7:24: τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου/*quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius*. It may be that the interrogative nature of Paul's quotation prompted Ps-Heg to cast his sentence as a question as well.

8 See Kenney (2021) 174–175, 177 on the Neoplatonic 'soul' as a feature of Christian thought in Late Antiquity. More fully see, with bibliography, Martens (2015). Origen developed an early and one of the most extensive accounts of the human soul-within-the-body, in some conversation with Platonic thought. Some, however, see Origen's schema as heavily biblical and decidedly non-, even anti-Platonic: so Edwards (2002).

9 Bowman (2023) 291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 634–635; Flusser (1978) 313–314. The Latin's present-less-vivid conditional clause (*quis … nolit … si liceat*) is mirrored here by the Semitic idiom מי יתן, which characterizes its apodosis "as a distant wish"; see Garr (2006) 70.

10 Note that the verbiage "take to oneself" (usually לקח + לו) is what the Hebrew Bible uses to describe a man's taking of a wife (cf. Gen 4:19 onward), which may underscore the intimacy of the image here.

son. Another discrepancy of note is that Yosippon does not name the body as the locus of the self, as Ps-Hegesippus does, nor does he locate the divine infusion of animate existence to the past like the Latin (*ligauerit*). God is by implication he who *presently* "gives" breath to the creature, an affirmation of the semi-formal biblical epithet of God "the one who gives" (הנותן).[11] While the reader might be tempted to read these lines of *SY* as simply carrying over *DEH*'s Latin into Hebrew, the above-noted peculiarities actually display a worldview, encapsulated within a short statement, that has been domesticated for a Jewish context by means of theological reframing and the insertion of biblical language and concepts. Rather than the soul being an entity bound in the past (by God) to the body and awaiting release, we find the human person portrayed as possessor of a soul (נפש), to be called by/gathered to God in the future and at present being provided by him with breath (נשמה).

Josephus' third line in *SY* is brief: "Who will release what he [God] confines?"[12] A rhetorical question; answer: nobody. An equally laconic line appears in *DEH*'s Latin, which this Hebrew statement might be read to replace: "The soul is conjoined to the body by a bond of nature."[13] Both lines immediately precede an ensuing discussion about God's authority over life, breath, body, spirit, etc. And the lines themselves are telling, presaging the divergent perspectives soon to be exposed, and reinforcing the dichotomy we noticed before: while *DEH* envisages a soul previously placed in the body, *SY* imagines a personal soul that God is actively maintaining. This divergence, moreover, could be linked to 'competing' Christian and Jewish source-material: Steven Bowman's translation identifies Job 12:14 as the font of *SY*'s language here,[14] while Vin-

---

11 The participial moniker is sometimes attached to divine titles: האל הנותן (Psa 18:47); יהוה הנותן (Isa 43:16; Jer 31:35); יהוה אלהינו הנתן (Jer 5:24). Elsewhere it stands in as a substantive for God, as at Job 5:10; Psa 144:10; Isa 40:23 (cf. Job 35:10; Psa 136:25; 146:7; 147:9).

12 כי מי יפתח בעד אשר יסגור?. Bowman (2023) 291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 634–635; Flusser (1978) 314.

13 *naturae uinculo coniuncta est anima corpori*. Ussani (1932) 212; Bay (2023) 250.

14 Bowman (2023) 291. Job 12:14b reads: "He [God] binds [upon] a man, and there is no release [or: freeing onself]" (יסגר על-איש ולא יפתח). It is not necessary that Yosippon here be building upon a specific notion related in this verse; he could simply be borrowing Job's language, as he does elsewhere. However, given that the remainder of Josephus' speech will draw further upon not just the language but the sense of several passages from Job, it is not impossible. My opinion is that here Yosippon is sourcing specific language from this verse in Job while keeping in mind larger themes and concepts from that book. However, one could read *SY*'s verbiage to be picking up the syntactical content of Job 12:14b, perhaps as a way of conveying the idea found in his Latin-Christian source via biblical Hebrew; in

cenzo Ussani's edition of *DEH* marks Matt 16:19 (and 18:18) as inspiration of Ps-Hegesippus' language.[15] In any case, this dichotomy, I suggest, betrays a faint fault-line between a Christian/Platonic vision of the person supplemented by the notion of *natura*, and a Jewish/Scriptural anthropology bolstered by the concept of נשמה.

The following portion of Josephus' discourse in *DEH* and *SY* respectively bears this thesis out. The Latin text continues:

> Who is the author[ity] of nature except the omnipotent God? Who would dare to divide this our soul and body and thus destroy a companionship which is pleasing to God? If someone should, without the permission of his lord, remove the chains placed on his hands by his master's command, will he not be condemned as having injured his master with a serious injustice? We are God's possession, we owe [our] service to God; as servants we expect commands, as those chained we retain our chains, as those who have been entrusted we guard our good deposit. We should not refuse the gift of this life which he has given to us, we ought not decline the heavenly gift. If you reject those things given by men, you are insulting: how much more ought we to preserve what we have accepted from our God? Just as we have accepted from him what we are, so also we ought to exist for his sake so long as he desires. For either one is the act of an ungrateful person, either to depart more quickly than he desires or to live longer than the one who himself gave life has willed.
>
> *Quis auctor naturae nisi omnipotens deus? Quis hoc animae et corporis nostri deo placitum contubernium interrumpere ac dissociare audeat? Si quis inposita*

---

this case, God's 'binding of/upon a man' would be tantamount to the *uinculum naturae* said in *DEH* to have encased the *anima* within the *corpus*, and לא יפתח could correspond to the Latin's *non licet soluere*.

15 Ussani (1932) 212. Matt 16:19 (Jesus speaking): "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever you bind (δήσῃς/*ligaueris*) on earth shall have been bound (ἔσται δεδεμένον/*erit ligatum*) in heaven, and whatever you loose (λύσῃς/*solueris*) on earth shall have been loosed (ἔσται λελυμένον/*erit solutum*) in heaven." The same language appears in Matt 18:18. One can see why Ussani saw the language of Matthew here in *DEH* 3.17, but it seems only to be vocabulary that Ps-Heg is picking up on, if anything. This purely lexical borrowing is part of the reason I think that *SY* in its parallel passage is simply lifting its lexicon, not its meaning, from Job 12:14b. Both Ps-Heg and Yosippon were capable, creative, and often-playful utilizers of their respective Scriptures (see Bay 2023; Bowman 2011). It is not difficult to imagine Yosippon having discerned in this passage of *DEH* a bit of biblical 'Christianese' and countering this by picking up some language from one of his own favorite sources of distinctively-Jewish, Hebrew jargon (the Book of Job).

> *manibus suis praecepto erili uincula sine arbitrio domini sui detrahat, nonne is graui pulsasse iniuria suum dominum condemnabitur? Dei possessio sumus, deo seruitium debemus; quasi serui expectemus imperia, quasi uincti reseruemus uincula, quasi fideles bonum depositum custodiamus. Non recusemus uitae istius munus quod dedit nobis, non refugiamus donum caeleste. Si hominis data reicias, contumeliosus es: quanto magis seruare debemus quod a deo nostro accepimus? Ab ipso itaque accepimus quod sumus, ipsius quoque debet esse ut quamdiu uelit simus. Vtrumque enim ingrati est et citius discedere quam uelit et diutius uiuere quam uoluerit ipse, qui uitam donavit.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[16]

By identifying *deus* as *auctor naturae* Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus solidify the nature-divinity connection, which is totally absent from Yosippon's account. We also find here in *DEH* several other key terms and concepts that *SY* will omit. These include the idea of the human person as God's *possessio*, reinforcing the slave-to-God metaphor, which *DEH* accentuates far more than does *SY* with its references to master (*dominus*) and servants (*serui*), servitude (*seruitium*), and commands (*imperia*); the idea of life-as-gift and the associated spectrum of (un)gratefulness denoted by 'gift' nouns (*munus*, *donum*), verbs of giving and receiving (*dare*, *accipere*, *donare*), and the telling adjective *ingratus* ("ungrateful"); and, again, the notion of chains (*uincula*) and being chained (*uinctus*) as an *anima* within a *corpus*. All of these emphases in *DEH* will be either barely present in or completely omitted from *SY*'s rendition.

This portion of Josephus' speech in *SY* is thus, characteristically, quite a bit shorter than its Latin predecessor:

> Is it not he who binds and looses? For He is the Living God. And he breathes into our bodies the breath of life and makes us to live so that we are alive before Him. He it is who deposited the spirit of life within us, and he confines it. So now, how could we loose that which God has bound? Do you not know that this soul is a deposit from the LORD, and we are servants, and he has given it to us? If we should cast it away when he has not demanded it, will not the anger of his face burn against us? And we will be cursed so as not to find rest with Abraham, our Father.
>
> הלא הוא המסגיר והפותח? כי הוא אלהים חיים. ויפח בגוויתנו נשמת חיים ויחיינו להיות חיים לפניו. והוא הפקיד רוח חיים בקרבנו ויסגור בעדה. ועתה הנוכל לפתוח בעד אשר סגר האלהים?

16 Ussani (1932) 212–213; Bay (2023) 250.

הלא ידעתם כי הנפש הזאת פקדון הוא מאת יי ואנחנו עבדיו והוא נתנה לנו? אם נשליכנה בלא עת הידרשה הלא יחר אפו בנו? והיינו זעומים לבלתי מצוא מנוח עם אברהם אבינו.

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[17]

The first feature to notice in *SY* here is the preponderance of 'binding' (סגר) and 'loosing' (פתח) language. As noted above, *DEH* has Josephus speak of binding (*ligare*) and loosing (*soluere*) just before this, possibly lifting language from the Gospel of Matthew, but in this section of *DEH* such language is not used at all. *SY* has adopted this language and put it to greater use than its Latin source had, employing the סגר root three times and the פתח root twice. Yet this verbiage used in regard to human persons seems here in *SY* to be a novelty within the history of Hebrew literature—in no previous Hebrew text can I find סגר and פתח used to describe God's installation of the "spirit of life" (רוח חיים) into the human person, which is to say "into our bodies" (בגוויתנו—the term גויה for "body" being a rare word in the Hebrew Bible).[18] It therefore seems highly likely that Yosippon is drawing upon Josephus' dictum in *DEH*: *non licet soluere nisi ei qui ligauerit*. But not only does Yosippon take this idea further than Ps-Hegesippus (quantitatively per vocabulary), he also populates it with the biblical-Jewish concepts of the "spirit of life" (רוח חיים) and the "breath of life" (נשמת חיים).[19] What is happening between *DEH* and *SY* in this part of Josephus' speech?

---

17 Bowman (2023) 291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 634–635; Flusser (1978) 314. A potentially important codicological point emerges here: *SY*'s line—ועתה הנוכל לפתוח בעד אשר סגר האלהים?—seems to correspond roughly to *DEH*'s line—*quis hoc animae et corporis nostri deo placitum contubernium interrumpere ac dissociare audeat?* If so, the textual variant which Ussani (1932) 213 only records for ms *A* (= Codex Augiensis 82, 9th cent., Karlesruhe Landesbibliothek), namely *ualeat* in place of *audeat*, could be significant, especially given that manuscript's early date. Unlike *audeo*, the verb *ualeo* is semantically cognate to the verb יכל ("to be able"). Was Yosippon reading a *DEH* manuscript with this variant?

18 The term גויה appears only thirteen times in the Hebrew Scriptures, can refer to 'body' or 'corpse/carcass,' and can describe both humans and animals. It only appears in Genesis, Judges, 1Samuel, 1Chronicles, Nehemiah, Psalms, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Nahum. The term does not remain rare in the Jewish tradition, as the several hundred instances already in the Mishnah and Talmud attest.

19 The phrase רוח חיים appears in Gen 6:17; 7:15 to refer to all animals generally, qualified in 7:22 as "all that having the breath-spirit of life in their nostrils" (כל אשר נשמת-רוח חיים באפיו). The phrase נשמת חיים recalls God's creation of humanity (i.e., Adam) in Gen 2:7: "Then the Lord God formed the man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים), and the man became a living person (נפש חיה)." Isa 2:22a describes man (האדם) as "he whose breath is in his nostrils" (אשר נשמה באפו). These phrases fit nicely with God as אלהים חיים, a phrase used here by Yosippon

What I think is happening here is that Yosippon has taken several significant lexical-conceptual cues from Ps-Hegesippus—'binding and loosing' language, the notion of the soul as "deposit" (*depositum*/פקדון)[20] which can be given away or lost or refused or thrown back (*detraho*, *recuso*, *refugio*, *reicio*/השליך = Hiph. שלך) by its possessor (or requested [דרש] by its lender; cf. Job 27:8), the metaphor of humans as servants or slaves (*serui*/עבדים) of God—and has articulated them by means of biblical idiom such that they are not recognizable as products of a non-Jewish mind translated into a Jewish framework. This is not to say that such notions are alien to the Jewish Scriptures,[21] nor that Yosippon would have been unfamiliar with them apart from his reading of *DEH*. Rather, it seems that *DEH* gave impetus to Yosippon to put these concepts together in the context of Josephus' speech at *SY* 67 (סז).

One way in which *SY* renders this etic combination of concepts as emic is by drawing upon the theological anthropology present in the Book of Job, a favorite canonical source of Yosippon's. Consider the following passages:

> Job 10:12: Life and lovingkindness you have put in me, and your care guards my spirit.[22]
>
> חיים וחסד עשית עמדי ופקדתך שמרה רוחי׃

---

and found in Deut 5:26; 1Sam 17:26, 36; Jer 10:10; 23:36. Cf. the shorter אל חי at Josh 3:10; Psa 42:2; 84:2, and אלהים חי at 2Kgs 19:4, 16; Isa 37:4, 17, and the Aramaic equivalent אלהא חיא at Dan 6:20, 26 (the former verse containing a further parallel to the current portion of *SY* 67 [סז], inasmuch as Daniel is called the slave [עבד] of this "living God").

20 The term פקדון is very rare in the Hebrew Bible, referring to a deposit left in trust in Lev 6:2, 4 (MT 5:21, 23), but to grain stored up as security against famine in Gen 41:36. The word becomes common and important in rabbinic literature.

21 For the example, the label of humans as "servants of God" is common enough throughout Jewish tradition, beginning in the Hebrew Bible. But there the phrase applies to Israel in particular (as especially codified throughout Exodus, but see also Ezra 5:11; Psa 113:1; 134:1; 135:1) or to a faithful subset of Israelites (2Kgs 9:7; 10:23; Isa 54:17; Dan 3:26; cf. Gen 50:17, which illustrates how the phrase operated as a commonplace idiom in the Ancient Near East). The expansion of this idea to all of humanity being slaves qua creatures is harder to deduce directly from the Jewish Bible, but resonates with passages like Exod 19:5; Job 41:11; Psa 50:10–12; cf. Gen 14:19,22. (And indeed, the later chapters of Job are where one finds the most extensive exposition of this general idea in the Bible.) However, Yosippon's move in this direction likely reflects the complex of ideas presented in *DEH* 3.17, including the labelling of humans as God's *possessiones* and the emphasis upon the slave/master relationship.

22 Cf. Job 10:8–11, which recounts God's intimate creation of the human individual.

Job 27:3: For as long as my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils …

כי-כל-עוד נשמתי בי ורוח אלוה באפי׃

Job 32:8 But spirit is within mankind, and breath from the almighty gives them insight.

אכן רוח- היא באנוש ונשמת שדי תבינם׃

Job 33:4 The spirit of God has made me, and the breath of the almighty gives me life.

רוח-אל עשתני ונשמת שדי תחיני׃

In line with a broader theological anthropology of the Jewish Scriptures, these passages from Job—and others like them[23]—paint a picture of life (חיים), breath (נשמה), spirit (רוח), and soul (נפש) as carefully created, collocated, and maintained by an immanent-and-omnipotent God. We have already seen that Yosippon may have drawn upon Job 12:14 for the language of סגר and פתח,[24] also to be found in the enigmatic dictum of Isa 22:22,[25] and both *DEH* and *SY* will deploy a smattering of lines from Job later on, as we shall see. We may thus

23 Cf. Job 34:14–15: "If he [God] were to determine to do so, if he were to gather his spirit and his breath (רוחי ונשמתו) to himself, humanity would perish altogether, and mankind would return to dust." These verses underline the scriptural idea of divine possession of the entire human person, especially its sentient aspects: spirit and breath appear here not as 'items' that God puts on 'loan,' but as traits that he extends to his creatures without relinquishing them himself.

24 It should be noted that, in so doing, Yosippon was pioneering new paths within the history of Jewish biblical interpretation. Rabbinic references to Job 12:14—see *Genesis Rabbah* 91.1; *Midrash Tanchuma Buber* Lev 7.15; Friedeman (2021) 462—never come close to applying this passage to God's encapsulation of the human personality. A creative exegete might put the passage into conversation with Gen 2:21b, where God "closed up" (יסגר) the flesh of Adam's side after extracting the raw material for creating Eve. Proximate to Gen 2:7, this entire chapter would likely have been in view to any Jewish author (like Yosippon) writing about the mechanics of human bodies and their creation and vivification by God. We may note that the Vulgate's Latin rendering of the verbs in Job 12:14 (*cluso*, *aperio*) does not match the verbs for 'binding and loosing' found in *DEH* 3.17.1.

25 In Isa 22 God is prophesying through Isaiah that he will establish Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah (whom he also calls "my servant") as leader in Jerusalem. At 22:22 he states: "Then I will put the key of the house of David on his shoulder; when he opens, no one will shut;

hypothesize that in this portion of Josephus' speech Yosippon has constructed a Jewish-Scriptural anthropology informed by the theological formulations of Job, maintaining the thrust of Josephus' speech as found in *DEH* 3.17 while bringing its heavily-truncated content into line with a more Jewish vision of the human person vis-à-vis divinity.

The incongruity between *SY* 67 (סז) and *DEH* 3.17 in the above portion of Josephus' speech is not absolute. Both authors impute to Josephus a theological anthropology that depicts a multifaceted creature beholden to God's absolute authority. And both texts are here recognizable as descendants of Josephus' original Greek statements in the *Jewish War*.[26] Yet the tenors of Josephus' respective iterations of these ideas among the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew traditions diverge. We have noted that Yosippon drops a good deal of the emphases and imagery to be found in *DEH*, and that Yosippon's language and overall concept here seems to be informed by biblical formulations (both specific passages and broader frameworks). The same is true of Ps-Hegesippus, just with a different Bible. We noted Ps-Hegesippus' possible borrowing from the Gospel of Matthew in the above passage, and before that his allusion to the "body of death" idiom of Rom 7:24. To this we may add 2 Tim 1:14: "Protect, through the Holy Spirit who dwells within us, the good deposit which has been entrusted to

---

when he shuts, no one will open (ופתח ואין סגר וסגר ואין פתח)." This language, tantalizingly close to that employed in *SY* 67 (סז), is applied directly to Jesus Christ by the author of Rev 3:7.

26 The portion of *DEH* 3.17 quoted above corresponds to a healthy portion of Josephus' speech in *BJ* (i.e. *BJ* 3.369–375), which casts humans' "mortal bodies" (σώματα θνητά/*corpora mortalia*) as being "composed of perishable matter" (ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται/*ex caduca materia fabricata*), but posits that "the soul lives forever, immortal; it is a portion of the Deity housed in our bodies" (ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται/*anima uero semper inmortalis est; deique particula in corporibus conlocata*), also calling the soul a "deposit" (παρακαταθήκη/*depositum*). Josephus further plays on the slave/master metaphor and cites "the law of nature" (ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος/*lex naturae*) as dictating against suicide, before delving into heavenly and underworldly afterlives, only the latter of which is available to suicides; Greek and English from Thackeray (1927–1928) 108–109; Latin from Codex Sang. 627, St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek (9th cent.) ff. 127–128. Similar discussions are to be found a generation earlier in Philo's *On Abraham* 258–259, where Abraham is said after Sarah's death to have recognized that "death is not the extinction of the soul but its separation and detachment from the body and its return to the place whence it came; and it came, as was shown in the story of creation, from God" (τὸν θάνατον … μὴ σβέσιν ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ χωρισμὸν καὶ διάζευξιν ἀπὸ σώματος, ὅθεν ἦλθεν ἀπιούσης· ἦλθε δέ, ὡς ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ δεδήλωται, παρὰ θεοῦ), also considering the soul a παρακαταθήκη that is received back by nature (φύσις), which is here equated with God. Philo's work may well have been known to Josephus and/or Ps-Heg, and it is not impossible that Yosippon was familiar with the Latin *BJ*.

you."[27] From this charge of Paul to Timothy, Ps-Hegesippus has borrowed the language of 'guarding the good deposit,' as we can see by comparing the first three word's in the Vulgate of 2 Tim 1:14 (*bonum depositum custodi*) with Josephus' language in *DEH* 3.17 (*bonum depositum custodiamus*).[28] Ps-Hegesippus is inserting New Testament language into a naturalistic framework in which a bond or chain of nature conjoins body and soul (*naturae uinculo coniuncta est anima corpori*) and in which *deus* is the *auctor naturae* who effects this. Mark, moreover, that while this conceptualization is 'biblical' and 'Christian,' it could also be called 'Platonic' and was in fact not unusual in the ancient Latin imagination writ large. Vergil, for example, saw a human as *anima* + *corpus* and recognized the place of *natura* and/or *deus* in the operation of human life.[29] The theological anthropology that Ps-Hegesippus places into Josephus' mouth at *DEH* 3.17.1 embodies his persona as a Classical-and-Christian thinker quite in step with the later Roman world.[30]

If we read the above passages as somehow signaling our respective authors' ideas about the human person, we must conclude that they illustrate significant disparities between how Yosippon and Ps-Hegesippus negotiated anthropology vis-à-vis theology. More to the point, we can see in the changes that *SY* 67 (סז) makes to *DEH* 3.17.1 a microcosm of this book's larger argument: 1) we have noticed *SY*'s biblicization of *DEH* in its use of biblical language to recast human essence through the mouthpiece of Josephus; 2) we can see theologization at work as *SY* shifts God's place in the schema by neglecting his proximity to *natura* and his possession of human beings, instead accentuating God's covenantal character by the mention of his covenant name (יי) and via a subtle personalization of the dynamics described in the passage;[31] 3) we may discern

27 τὴν καλὴν παρακαταθήκην φύλαξον διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν.

28 *bonum depositum* also features in two of the four major text traditions representing the Old Latin in Frede (1975–1982) 683, with the variants *bonam commendationem*, *bonum conmendatum*, and *bonum conmissum* also attested. The erstwhile addition of *fidei* to the phrase, "good deposit of faith," is interesting given the substantive use of [*quasi*] *fideles* attached to *custodiamus* in *DEH* 3.17.1. However, the language of 'faith' (πίστις/*fides*) is immediately available to the reader of this passage at 2 Tim 1:13.

29 Hahn (1961) 195: "The dual nature of man—his composition of *corpus* and *anima*—is clearly recognized by Vergil"; cf. esp. 201n42 with Vergil *Aen*. 11.118.

30 The Classicism and Christianity that characterize Ps-Heg are core features of much recent scholarship on *DEH*, for example Bay (2023); Bay (2021a); Bay (2020); Bay (2018); Somenzi (2009); Sehlmeyer (2009) 196, 202–203, 219–222, 293n64; Estève (1987); Bell (1987); Bell (1980); Bell (1977). The Classical character of Ps-Heg as author and *DEH* as work are among the most foundational conclusions that scholarship on *DEH* has agreed upon to date.

31 For example, articulating God as the active agent who gives the 'deposit' of life/soul/breath to humans in terms of 'us' (הוא נתנה לנו).

a Judaization of the Latin source-text inasmuch as the portions of Christian Scripture and ancient Platonism discernible within *DEH* 3.17.1 give way to firmly Jewish ideas and concepts in *SY* 67 (סז) based largely in the Hebrew Scriptures. Again, none of this is to say that the contents of Josephus' speech in *DEH* vis-à-vis *SY* are incommensurate here—far from it: both would have been eminently recognizable and largely palatable to the pre-modern Jewish and/or Christian mind in general. Yet the changes wrought by Yosippon are substantial. We must thus recognize *both* Yosippon's creativity in counter-writing the beginning of the speech of *DEH* 3.17.1 *and* the native proximity of the basic assumptions and outlooks espoused by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon alike.[32]

We will return to a fuller discussion of the 'Platonic' elements in *DEH* and *SY* further below. Before that, we take our cue from the last line of the quotation from *SY* given above, a line not present in *DEH*. There Yosippon has Josephus argue that, if he and his comrades were to commit suicide, they would thereby render themselves "abominable" or "cursed" (זעומים),[33] unable to find "rest" (מנוח) with Abraham, their father.[34] Here Yosippon combines biblical terms with post-biblical afterlife concepts. And at the core of this collocation is Abraham, who is mentioned here alongside Moses in both *DEH* 3.17 and *SY* 67 (סז). It is to the depiction of these two figures that we now turn.

---

32 This should be unsurprising for two authors who both inhabited the proto-European world (i.e., 'Western' Antiquity) and drew upon the same tradition and biblical canon to a large extent.

33 This is an interesting word choice for Yosippon. The term זעם can mean "be indignant" or "be abominable," and it is first used in the biblical canon at Num 23:7–8 when Balak, King of Moab, seeks to enlist Balaam to "curse Jacob for me, and *xxx* Israel" (ארה-לי יעקב ולכה זעמה ישראל). Balaam responds: "How can I curse whom God has not cursed, and how can I *xxx* whom the LORD has not *xxx*ed?" (מה אקב לא קבה אל ומה אזעם לא זעם יהוה). Balaam shifts terms (from ארר to נקב for "curse") and does not really clarify the term זעם, which is representative of its other biblical uses. See, e.g., Psa 7:11: "God is a righteous judge, and God *xxx*es every day" (אלהים שופט צדיק ואל זעם בכל-יום). Cf. Prov 22:14; 24:24; 25:23; Isa 66:14; Dan 11:30; Mic 6:10; Zech 1:12; Mal 1:4. Rinngren (1980) 108 speaks of a "certain shift of meaning" and also suggests that the term is probably associated with "fire and flaming anger" at Isa 66:14, and generally with God's judgement-or-salvation, which fits with the context of *SY* 67 (סז) and the implication of God's anger burning (יחר אפו) in Josephus' previous statement.

34 This added identification of speaker and hearers with "our father Abraham" (אברהם אבינו) constitutes another layer of Judaization in this passage. The term מנוח has a particular biblical imagery, informed in the first case by Gen 8:9: when Noah releases the dove to find dry ground, it returns to him because it did not find rest (ולא-מצאה היונה מנוח). Lam 1:3 also uses this construction in describing Judah in exile and servitude: "she dwells among the heathen, and she finds no rest (לא מצאה מנוח)."

2 Saints and Scriptures against Suicide: Abraham and Moses as Paradigms of a Good Death

In *DEH*, Josephus follows the portion of his speech treated above with a brief follow-up argument centered on a particularly poignant pair of Hebrew *exempla*:

> Do you think that Abraham so hastened long ago? Do you think that Moses ascended Abarim before it was said to him, 'ascend onto Mt. Abarim'? Rather, it was said to him, 'ascend,' and [then] he ascended, and died. Like a good servant he awaited the command of his lord.
>
> *Numquid ante festinauit Abraham? Numquid ante ascendit Abarim Moyses quam diceretur ei: ascende in montem Abarim? Sed dictum est ascende, et ascendit et mortuus est. Quasi bonus seruulus expectauit domini praeceptum.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[35]

As Ps-Hegesippus scripts it, Josephus' reinforcement of his rebuttal via Abraham and Moses is to-the-point: neither long-lived patriarch hastened to die, but both (Moses explicitly, Abraham implicitly) waited for the divine mandate to depart this life (Gen 15:15; 25:7–8; Deut 31:14,16; 32:48–34:8). Moses' identification as God's *seruulus* jibes with the master/slave metaphor employed just previously in Josephus' speech. Why these *exempla* are appropriate here, i.e. why Abraham and/or Moses might have wanted to hasten their own deaths, is not a subject that is broached. The argument instead hinges upon an ideal: a long life consummating in a divinely-orchestrated death.

In Yosippon's rewriting of this passage, we find a number of the typical changes to which we are by now becoming accustomed:

> Our father Abraham did not proceed to God when he had not called him, did he? Was he not summoned beforehand, and afterwards proceeded thus? And is it not done thus for all the righteous? Did God not call Moses his chosen one beforehand and say to him, 'Go up onto Mt. Abarim,' and then he went up? And he would not have gone up had he not been called. Thus a man cannot return his soul if he has not required it from him.

35 Ussani (1932) 213; Bay (2023) 250.

הלא אברהם אבינו לא הלך אל האלהים בלא קריאה? הלא לפנים נקרא ואחר כן הלך? וכן נעשה לכל הצדיקים? הלא לפנים קרא האלהים למשה בחירו ויאמר אליו: עלה אל הר העברים ואז עלה? ולא עלה אם לא נקרא. וכן לא יוכל אדם להשלים נפשו אם לא תדרש מעמו.

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[36]

By referring to Abraham as "our father" (אבינו) and to Moses as God's "chosen" (בחירו) we again see the emic perspective of Yosippon as it further Judaizes Josephus' words; this Jewish author scripting a Jewish speaker before Jewish listeners imagines in-group identity-signaling that the earlier Christian author did not. Another distinctively Jewish feature of *SY*'s rendition may be his saying that not just Moses, but *Abraham* was summoned before death and only then went into the hereafter. No such tradition exists in the biblical text, unless one wants to infer it from Gen 15:15.[37] But it does in later Jewish literature. For example, the *Testament of Abraham* 16–20 includes a long, drawn-out call in which God sends Death to fetch Abraham and the latter forestalls and demurs for a long time.[38] Does *SY* have some extra-canonical tradition in mind, applied here to bring Abraham's example more in line with that of Moses? Is he making his own creative addition to Jewish tradition? This remains an open question.

Another subtle shift Yosippon makes here is to universalize the principle putatively embodied by Abraham and Moses, extending it to all "the righteous" (הצדיקים). The argument is that "the righteous" await and accept death like their long-lived predecessors, they do not pursue and effect it. This argument is reinforced by the clarifying note Yosippon adds to the Moses illustration by stating that Moses would not have ascended if not called. Finally, this argument is stated much more bluntly in the last sentence of *SY* 67 (סז) than in that of *DEH* 3.17. In place of the metaphor of the servant waiting on his master applied to Moses, Yosippon has Josephus state an explicit lesson applicable to every per-

36 Bowman (2023) 291; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 634–637; Flusser (1978) 314. Manuscripts ד and ק qualify Mt. Abarim as Mt. Nebo: העברים הזה הר נבו. Flusser (1980) 323.

37 In Gen 15:15 the LORD says to Abraham, *long* before his death: "As for you, you shall go to your fathers in peace; you shall be buried in a good old age."

38 See the text and commentary in Allison (2003) 319–412. Compare *Jubilees* 21.1, where Abraham claims not to know the day of his death (a claim ascribed to Isaac in Gen 27:2). Many mentions of Abraham's death in Jewish literature, while idealizing when and how he died, remain quite vague; see, e.g., b. *Sotah* 5a, which implies that "our father Abraham" (אברהם אבינו) "was gathered in his proper time" (נאסף בזמנו).

son (אדם) using the strong verb יכל ("to be able, to be allowed"). If anything, Josephus' stance against suicide is even clearer and starker in *SY* than in earlier iterations of this speech.[39]

In rewriting the Abraham and Moses examples from Josephus' speech, Yosippon's identification of speaker/hearer with the biblical patriarchs and implication that Josephus and his comrades (could) belong to הצדיקים portray a narrative speech that reads as more personalized and applicable to a Jewish audience than did *DEH*'s version. The final line of the section furthermore concretizes the takeaway of these *exempla*: rather than being left with the laudable and imitable waiting action of Moses, because of which Ps-Hegesippus had described Moses as *bonus*, the reader is presented with a clear principle: 'you cannot make an end to your life if it is not asked for.'[40] Next, we will witness the biblicization of an already Bible-based portion of Josephus' speech in *DEH* 3.17, as Yosippon applies his native biblical knowledge to some familiar citations of Scripture.

---

39 As mentioned in the last chapter, this greater weight of the anti-suicide argument here prompted Mintz (1984) 88 to suggest that *SY* hereby configured suicide to be antithetical to Judaism, but cf. Bowman (1995).

40 On the phrase להשלים נפשו: The term שלם is a rare and ostensibly late term that only ever appears in Aramaic in the Jewish Scriptures (Ezra 5:16; 7:19; Dan 5:26). The phrase used by Yosippon becomes common in the half-millennium after *SY*'s writing. Interestingly, it also appears in *Midrash Tanchuma Buber* Deut 6.2. There God summons Moses to die in the words of Deut 31:14, and Moses asks a series of rhetorical questions in objection (this reflects in some ways the tradition of Moses' arguing about his death found in the *Historia Augusta* 25.2.4 [in the *Vita Divi Claudii*]). As God and Moses parry back and forth on the issue, eventually God recalls Abraham: "He said to him: 'Consider Abraham, who sanctified my name in the world, but died'" (א"ל הרי אברהם שקידש את שמי בעולם ומת; from Townsend [2003]). The debate continues, with Moses eventually relenting and saying: "Sovereign of the world, up to now the breath of life was in me, but now here is my soul given over to you" (רבונו של עולם עד עכשיו בקשתי חיים, ועכשיו הרי נפשי נתונה לך), which is equated with his having "resigned his soul to death" (וכיון שהשלים נפשו למיתה). The parallels between this chapter of the *Midrash Tanchuma* and this portion of *SY* 67 (סז) are striking, yet the latter's content has been largely pre-dictated by *DEH* 3.17.1. Given the fact that even the *Historia Augusta*'s author knew of traditions wherein a very old Moses contested his own divinely-appointed time to die, we may surmise that between Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval Period a relatively diffuse tradition existed, known to Jews and Christians and others, that used Moses and/or Abraham as models for negotiating death at the end of a long life.

3 Saints and Scriptures against Suicide: The Case of Job

Following the examples of Abraham and Moses, both of whom died at a very old age, Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus mention another biblical personality who died at extreme old age: that is, the namesake of the Book of Job.[41] Yet unlike Abraham at least, the Bible actually records Job as having wanted to die before he did.[42] So Josephus says

> It was Job himself who had said: 'Let that day perish on which I was born,' yet beset with wounds and sufferings he did not break the chains of this life, but asked that he might be set free, saying: 'why is it that light is given amidst bitterness, and life to suffering souls?' And certainly he praises death when he states: 'death is rest to a man;' nevertheless he did not seize it but requested it, as it is written: 'I shake through all my limbs, and because I am irreverent, why am I not dead? Why did I not fall from my mother's belly into the grave? Is not my lifetime brief? Send me away to rest a little.'
>
> *Ipse Iob qui dixit: pereat dies illa in qua natus sum, tamen in uulneribus et doloribus positus uitae huius uincula non disrumpebat, sed ut liberaretur rogabat dicens: ut quid datum est in amaritudine lumen, uita autem in doloribus animas? Laudabat utique mortem cum diceret: mors uiro requies, tamen non praeripiebat sed postulabat ut scriptum est: concutior omnibus membris et quia sum impius quare non sum mortuus? Cur de uentre matris non in sepulchrum decidi aut numquid breue tempus uitae meae? Dimitte me requiescere paululum.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[43]

41 According to Job 42:16–17 Job died at 140 years of age, "an old man, full of days."

42 This is not entirely true of Moses. At Num 11:15, the Israelites, while in the wilderness following their Exodus from Egypt, have been weeping because of their plight in lacking certain foods. On hearing this weeping, "the LORD's anger blazed and Moses was displeased" (11:10). Moses proceeds to confront the LORD, suggesting that, since the LORD called the Israelites out of Egypt and had before that established them as a people, they were his responsibility. Yet now the people seemed to be starving, and Moses claims to be unable to 'carry the burden' of the people (11:14). He then says: "If this is how you are going to treat me, please kill me dead, if I have found favor in your eyes, that I may not see my wretchedness" (ואם-ככה את-עשה לי הרגני נא הרג אם-מצאתי חן בעיניך ואל-אראה ברעתי). This statement is very similar to certain things that Job says in the Book of Job.

43 Ussani (1932) 213–214; Bay (2023) 250.

In Yosippon's rendering, this becomes:

> But see now, learn from Job. For when he says, 'Let the day perish on which I was born,' he is unable to strangle himself and die or listen to the voice of his wife, who was saying to him, 'Curse God and die.' He was even patient in spirit through the grievous boils and malignant plague that plagued him until his breath was required from him, and he returned it when asked. For truly, he asked for his soul to die, but by the hand of the LORD and not by his own hand. For did he not say, 'They wait for death and it comes not'? And he did not die until his end came.

> ועתה למדו נא מאיוב. כי באמרו: יאבד יום אולד בו הלא יכול להחנק ולמות או לשמוע בקול אשתו באמרה אליו: ברך אלהים ומת. אך האריך רוח בשחין רע ובנגע הממארת אשר הונגע בה עד אשר נדרשה נשמתו מקרבו וישלימנה בקריאה. אמנם כי שאל נפשו למות אך מיד יי ולא מידו. הלא הוא אמר: המחכים למות ואיננו ולא מת עד אשר בא קצו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[44]

Ps-Hegesippus' version of this portion of speech quotes Job 3:3a, 3:20, 3:23, and a smattering of statements jumbling up Job 9:28–29 and 10:18–20.[45] So able is Yosippon to pull proof-texts from the Book of Job that *SY* 67 (סז) presents a

---

44 Bowman (2023) 291–292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 636–637; Flusser (1978) 314–315. The phrase "patient in spirit" (ארך-רוח) is to be found in Eccl 7:8. The specific phrase "grievous boils" (בשחין רע) is found in Job 2:7 (and Deut 28:35; cf. Exod 9:10; Lev 13:18, 20; Deut 28:27). The term נגע is never used in Job, but appears overwhelmingly in Leviticus (in 46 different verses, 34 in Chapter 13 alone), and also rarely in Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah. The "malignant plague" (נגע הממארת) is equated with "leprosy" (צרעת) in Lev 13:51 (in the statement: צרעת ממארת הנגע), as Bowman notes. 'Asking for one's soul to die' is a Hebrew idiom attested at, e.g., 1 Kgs 19:4; Jon 4:8. In the final line, the reading תדרש implicates God as 'requirer,' while mss נ and י have נדרש (thus "is sought" instead of "he seeks"); cf. Psa 10:13b. See Flusser (1980) 323. The addition of ולמות after להחנק is not well-attested in *SY* mss: it is omitted by נ, י, ת, ms ק has ולהמית את נפשו ("and put his soul to death"), and ms ד reads ולהמית עצמו ("and put his bone to death"). This last reading sounds awkward, but we may remember that הסטן challenged God to strike (into) Job's "bone and his flesh" (אל-עצמי ואל-בשרו) in Job 2:5. The addition of החנק is odd, though it admits of no textual variation per Flusser. The term is extremely rare in the Hebrew Bible, being used in Nah 2:13 as a Piel participle describing a lion "strangling" (מחנק) its prey, and in 2 Sam 17:23 in the Niphal to relate how Ahithophel "strangled himself" or "hanged himself" (ויחנק). See Clines (1996) 3.277; both 'strangling' and 'choking' are apparently attested later on as well: see Sokoloff (1990) 209; Sokoloff (2002) 474. 2 Sam 17:23 may have informed *SY*, as this verb is followed directly by וימת ("and he died"), similar to the line in *SY*.

45 See Ussani (1932) 213–214; see the treatment in Bay (2023) 254–255.

completely novel cluster of references, only keeping in step with *DEH* 3.17 in its quotation of Job 3:3. Yosippon cites Job's brief interchange with his wife in Job 2:9–10 by quoting her words at 2:9b,[46] mentions the "grievous boils" described in Job 2:7, alludes obliquely to Job's death (when he 'returned' his soul), and quotes Job 3:21a. The latter follows up immediately on a verse quoted in *DEH* (Job 3:20), so one can see here the Hebrew author interacting with his Latin foil.

As it happens, the biblical theme with which both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon are in this section interacting, the 'death wish,' has just recently received its first monographic treatment at the hands of Hanne Løland Levinson. Her book *The Death Wish in the Hebrew Bible* contextualizes each such biblical utterance locally, ultimately arguing that "death wishes embody powerful, multifaceted rhetorical strategies."[47] What the passages under study at present show is that these rhetorical strategies were also leveraged many centuries later, by very heterogenous authors with idiosyncratic perspectives, to talk about the place of human volition and action in the process of death and dying. What these passages also show, however, is a conceptual continuity across numerous biblical 'death wishes.' *DEH* and *SY* cite portions of Job and, as we will see, a related sentiment recorded in Psa 142:7 [141:8], but they could just as easily have used Moses' expression of a wish to die in Num 11:15, or Jonah's cognate requests in Jon 4:3 and 4:8–9.[48] These passages also show biblical saints asking to die, implying an unwillingness to make this happen themselves. Of course, these wishes of Moses and Jonah do not present these protagonists in their best light, making them less attractive as rhetorical *exempla*. In any case, both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon agree upon Job as the biblical precedent *par excellence* to place in Josephus' mouth in this passage.

Returning to our texts: what the above-quoted passages show about *SY* brooks careful consideration. There is no reason to assume that *SY*'s readers would have been privy to *DEH*'s text, so the changes that Yosippon makes to Josephus' speech in this passage are not on display for all readers to see. Nor, for that matter, do the changes he makes here challenge or substantively alter

46 As Bowman (2023) 291n7 notes, Job's wife actually recommends that Job "bless (ברך) God and die," though "bless" has long been interpreted as a euphemism. Lier (2018) argues for retaining "bless" in translating Job 2:9.

47 Levinson (2021). The content chapter titles (see vii) of the work make clear the study's overall structure of argument: Chapter 2 ("Death Wish as Negotiation Strategy"); Chapter 3 ("Death Wish in Despair and Anger"); Chapter 4 ("Wishing Away One's Birth"); Chapter 5 ("Death Wishes as Wishful Thinking").

48 All of these passages are treated at length in Levinson (2021), as can be seen in the index: for Num 11:15, see 162; for Jonah 4:3–9, see 165; for Job, see 165–166. Psa 142 [141] does not appear in the index.

the message conveyed by Josephus in *DEH* 3.17.1. Yet our medieval Jewish author elected to rewrite Josephus' speech in *SY* 67 (סז) by making effectively the same points but using unprecedented passages from the Book of Job. Was this to constitute a (largely invisible) statement of independence? I would prefer to read it tentatively as the product of an author who presumes to engage, translate, transmit, and indeed improve upon a source-text. In this case, the source-text is a Christian writing that has itself presumed to wield a portion of what to Yosippon's mind were the *Jewish* Scriptures creatively and piecemeal within a scripted historiographical speech. I can imagine Yosippon reading this and thinking that he could script that speech better, he who after all shared an in-group status with Josephus the historical character, his interlocutors at Jotapata, and indeed the group that had initially cultivated and maintained the Book of Job within its corpus of sacred Scriptures.[49] Naturally, then, he would re-articulate Josephus' point as an author eminently qualified to do so (more so, perhaps, than his Christian predecessor). Even where Yosippon's biblicization of *DEH* is not overtly polemical, I suggest that it points to this author's ability with his medieval narrative, his interest and facility in the creative utilization of the Jewish Scriptures, and an unknowable incentive to change, respond to, perhaps compete with Ps-Hegesippus for the role of narrator of end of Second Temple history.

Yosippon's 'improvements' upon *DEH* do not always appear when we might expect them, however. Following the Job example, both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon have Josephus mention "another saint" (*alius sanctus*/חסיד אחר),[50] whom he quotes:

---

49 Job himself, of course, is not identified as a "Hebrew" or "Israelite" or anything close.

50 Here the Hebrew stands clearly as a translation of the Latin. Elsewhere in *SY*, however, the term חסיד (pl. חסידים) has other connotations. The term first appears in the prayer of Ezra, Nehemiah, Mordecai, and Joshua in *SY* 7 (ז), where the four pray to God to inspire the King of Persia to restore the Jews to Jerusalem and rebuild its Temple, so that they might "offer up burnt offerings as did our pious ancestors before you (אבותינו החסידים לפניך)." Cf. *SY* 9 (ט), where in Mordecai's prayer he asks that God let Haman be entrapped "in the snare that he laid for the feet of your pious ones" (ברשת אשר טמן לרגלי חסידיך). Most notably, between *SY* 10 (י) and *SY* 18 (יח) Yosippon refers to a "congregation of the Hasidim" (עדת החסידים) no less than twelve times. In *SY* 10 (י), as Bowman (2023) 53n10 observes, the phrase translates what *LAJ* 11.306 calls "the elders of the Jerusalemites" (*Hierosolimorum seniors*; *AJ* 11.306 has οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι). Bowman also points out, following Flusser (1980) 141, that this retrojects the Hasidim known from the Hasmonean period back to the age of Alexander. (But we should recall here the continuity of חסידים that is built in, as it were, to the Jewish tradition.) In *SY* 19 (יט) Judah begins his campaign with soldiers chosen "from among the warriors of the Hasidim" (מכל גיבורי החסידים), and in *SY* 24 (כד), where גיבורי החסידים are also mentioned, we find the wicked priest Alcimus reminding Demetrius how Judah ben Mattathias had been conquering "with the

And another saint says: 'Release my soul from prison.' He petitions to leave, he asks to be liberated of this body as from a prison. For no one of the saints takes

---

Judeans that are called Hasidim" (ועמו יהודים הנקראים חסידים), yet here Yosippon is simply reiterating a line from 2 Macc 14:6, where "those who are called the Assidaei among the Jews" (*ipsi qui dicuntur Assidaei Iudaeorum*) are implicated in Judah's rebellions (Yosippon is paraphrasing this discussion and scene). Also in *SY* 24 (כד) we find a certain Rasius described as "the elder of the Hasidim who was tested in the days of Antiochus the Cruel and was found perfect. For he received [or: 'chose'] blows and torments in abundance, and he was called a father to the Jews and was a judge in Jerusalem" (הישיש מן החסידים אשר בוחן בימי אנטיוכוס האכזר ונמצא שלם. כי קיבל עליו מכות ויסורין הרבה ונקרא אב ליהודים ושופט בירושלם.); Bowman (2023) 98; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 228–231; Flusser (1978) 104. As Flusser notes, 2 Macc 14:37 describes Rasius as *quidam de senioribus ab Ierosolymis … uir amator ciuitatis, et bene audiens: qui pro affect pater Iudaeorum appellebatur*. Bowman (2023) 98n4 highlights the phrase בוחן … ונמצא שלם as "the author's flowery phrase (from *Avoth de Rabbi Natan*) for one who dies for *Kiddush hashem*," comparing Eleazar, the head priestly translator of the Septuagint in *SY* 12 (יב) who is described as "the Eleazar that was tested in the days of Antiochus and was killed for the Lord his God" (הוא אלעזר אשר בוחן בימי אנטיוכוס ונהרג על יי אלהיו) and Ḥoni, who in *SY* 35 (לה) is described just before his 'martyr's' death as "a righteous man and beloved of his God, who was tested and found perfect" (איש צדיק ואהוב לאלהיו אשר בוחן ונמצא שלם [איש ושמו חוני]). Bowman appears to be referring to two places in *Avot de Rabbi Natan* 33.2 (לג.ב) where "our father Abraham" is said to have been "found perfect" (נמצא שלם); see Schechter (1887) 94–95. Since this text's date is unknown, it is possible that *SY* was borrowing this language, or vice-versa, or that the texts simply belong to the same socio-historical and cultural milieu. Only at these three places is the form בוחן found in *SY*. Cf. the footnote of Flusser's rendered at Bowman (2023) 66n2. In *SY* 27 (כז), where we read about John Hyrcanus' reaction to seeing his one remaining brother and his mother being tortured by Ptolemy, son of Abubus and governor of Jericho: "He grew furious when he remembered the pious one (החסיד), and he had compassion when he saw his saintly mother (אמו הקדושה)." Bowman (2023) 107; Flusser (1978) 112. Here החסיד stands in apposition to הקדושה, and Bowman's translation, cited here, is telling of the proximity between these ideas (one could also translate "saintly one" and "holy mother"). The most significant move Yosippon makes is to equate the Hasidim, whether fully or partially, with the Essenes; "Yosippon was the first to believe that the name 'Essene' was nothing more than a foreign form of the Hebrew term 'Hasidim'" according to Flusser (1980) 141, 176–177; cf. Flusser (1980) 211 and Flusser (1978) 142 on the הגיבורים מגיבורי הצדוקים והחסידים mentioned in *SY* 34 (לד). This is an extremely important observation within Jewish tradition that has been picked up more recently only rarely, e.g. by Bowman (2023) 53n10 and Cohen (2021) 288n26; the latter should be consulted on the Jewish sects, especially the Pharisees, in *SY* generally. For an example see *SY* 31 (לא), where Judah, called an Essene in *AJ* 13.311, *LAJ* 13.311, and *DEH* 1.6.3, is described as one of the חסידים. In general, then, *SY* uses חסיד(ה)(ים) with and without the definite article to refer to a simple characteristic—as with Jonathan the priest, described as צדיק וחסיד in *SY* 59 (נט)—and to a group or groups, and such people are referred to in *SY*'s Latin sources by at least four different terms: *Asidaei*, *Esseni*, *sancti*, *seniores*. Overall, by my count חסידים are mentioned 46× in *SY*, the singular חסיד 5×. My thanks to Katharina Heyden for encouraging me to pursue this avenue of inquiry, and to Anthony Ellis for further discussing it with me.

this for himself, no one snatches [his own life] prematurely. If 'to die is gain,' then it is robbery to seize it before it is expected, if 'to live is good,' it is sacrilege to refuse it before it is demanded back.

Alius quoque sanctus dicit: educ de custodia animam meam. Petit euadere, petit ex hoc corpore quasi de quodam liberari carcere. Nullus tamen sanctorum sibi ipse usurpat, nullus praeripit. Si lucrum est mori, furtum est usurpare ante expectatum, si bonum est uiuere, sacrilegium est repudiare antequam reposcatur.

De Excidio 3.17.1[51]

And another pious one said: 'Release my soul from prison,' for he knew that the soul is a prisoner. And who will release it, except God, who imprisoned it? He has given, and he will take away.

וגם חסיד אחר אמר: הוציאה ממסגר נפשי כי ידע כי הנפש סגורה היא. ומי יפתח בעדה בלעדי אלהים אשר סגר עליה? הוא נתנה והוא יקחנה.

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[52]

Here we find what I consider a combination of expected emendations and unexpected non-emendations in *SY*, though in every case the change or lack of change was, of course, possible. To begin with, the leading quote in both texts is from Psa 142:7 [141:8].[53] Psalm 142 is a Psalm of David.[54] Yet Yosippon does not correct Ps-Hegesippus' anonymizing *alius sanctus* to דוד, as we might expect him to, instead simply translating the Latin moniker into Hebrew.[55] However, it should be noted that two *SY* manuscripts (נ, ת) replace חסיד אחר with החסיד, the definite article perhaps signaling חסיד as a kind of title of King David ("the pious one").[56] Yet even if Yosippon does not correct outright Ps-Hegesippus'

51 Ussani (1932) 214; Bay (2023) 250.

52 Bowman (2023) 292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 636–637; Flusser (1978) 315.

53 The Latin of *DEH*—*educ de custodia animam meam*—matches verbatim the Latin of Psa 141:8a in Jerome's LXX Psalter, but not his Hebrew Psalter (which has *educ de carcere animam meam*); see Weber (1983) 1.946–947. The Hebrew of *SY*—הוציאה ממסגר נפשי—matches Psa 142:7a exactly (and basically the Hebrew of 11QPsalms as well, at 11Q5 XXV 4: הוצא ממסגר נפשי; see Sanders [1967] 82). *DEH*'s affinity for the LXX Psalter versus the Hebrew Psalter of Jerome may speak to its date: Jerome completed the later between 390 and 405 CE, whereas his LXX Psalter appeared a decade or so earlier.

54 Thus Bowman (2023) 292 has "another pious one [i.e., David] said:" in his translation.

55 David is identified as the psalm's author in Vulg Psa 141:1a (*eruditio David cum esset in spelunca oratio*) and MT Psa 142:1a (משכיל לדוד בהיותו במערה תפלה).

56 Ussani (1980) 323. Also, mss י and ק read simply חסיד ("a pious man/person"), perhaps anonymizing but perhaps universalizing the short quotation (i.e., 'a pious man [charac-

attribution of this quotation—there is no absolute reason to assume that Yosippon knew Psa 142 as a Davidic Psalm[57]—he does manage *DEH*'s interpretation thereof by omitting any Hebrew correlate to the Latin's *ex corpore* language; unlike Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon is not attached to the Platonic dualism present in *DEH* 3.17.1.[58] At least not in this portion of the passage.

If Yosippon's non-correction of *DEH*'s assignation of Psa 142 to *alius sanctus* is unexpected, what *is* arguably to be expected is Yosippon's alteration of Ps-Hegesippus' next line. In its follow-up to the Psa 142 [141] quote, *DEH*'s script contains a play on Phil 1:21. That verse reads (in the words of Paul) "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain" (ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος/*mihi enim vivere Christus est et mori lucrum*).[59] Josephus' double if/then

---

teristically] says this:'). The term חסיד is particularly to be associated with the Psalms in the Hebrew Bible. Psa 149:1 already refers to a "congregation of Hasidim" (קהל חסידים), and 149:5 makes this 'group' sound a lot like a generic 'holy ones' or 'pious ones' or 'saints,' hence the many English Bible versions that translate the term "saints" in these passages. In Psa 50:5a God himself refers to "*my* Hasidim" (חסידי); cf. Psa 4:3a with Mic 7:2a. The term can also have an adjectival sense akin to 'merciful,' as 2 Sam 22:6a // Psa 18:25a suggest, and these passages also point to the etymological origins of the term in proximity to the verb ("be merciful, show mercy") and noun ("lovingkindness") forms of חסד; cf. Psa 12:2; 32:6. Psa 43:1a records a prayer for protection "from a nation that is not pious" (מגוי לא-חסיד). In Psa 86:2a the psalmist asks for his soul to be preserved כי-חסיד אני (sometimes translated "for I am holy"), but in Jer 3:12 the same phrase appears in the LORD's mouth (there usually translated "for I am merciful"), possibly adding a bit of ambiguity to the term's precise meaning. In *SY* 17 (יז)—a chapter which employs the phrase עדת החסידים five times—the author refers to Judah the Maccabee avenging "the blood of the Hasidim that Philip shed" (דמי החסידים אשר שפך פיליפוס). The phrase דמי החסידים is used again in *SY* 18 (יח), and I would posit that this phraseology draws inspiration from biblical passages like Psa 116:15—"Precious in the sight of the LORD is the death of his godly ones" (יקר בעיני יהוה המותה לחסידיו)—and perhaps Psa 72:14, where, in reference to the "poor and needy" (דל ואביון; 72:13), it is said of God that "their blood will be precious in his eyes" (ייקר דמם בעיניו); cf. the "blood of the righteous" (דם צדיקים) mentioned in Lam 4:13b. Such biblical language also had an impact on the authors of many New Testament texts: see esp. Rev 16:6, 17:6, and 18:24 (all of which reference the blood of saints: αἷμα ἁγίων/*sanguis sanctorum*), and also Matt 23:30, 35; Luke 11:50–51; Acts 22:20.

57 We lack an ancient attestation of Davidic authorship, as the opening of Psa 142 as it appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls—in 11Q5 [i.e. 11QPs[a]]—is missing. See comprehensively Flint (1997) 78, 112, 140, 159, 174, 187, 192–193, 195, 254. *Genesis Rabbah* 34.1 introduces Psa 142:7 without authorial citation.

58 On the Platonic nature of Ps-Heg's interpretive usage here (and elsewhere), see Somenzi (2009) 96–100, who traces this interpretive tradition through Origen, Jerome, Augustine, and others.

59 Augustine uses Phil 1:23–24 in his discussion of Psa 141:8 at *Enarr. in Ps. CXLI* 17 (see Somenzi [2009] 98–99), and thus Ps-Heg may be working out of a particular Christian interpretive tradition in conjuring the language of Philippians 1 at this juncture.

binary in *DEH* 3.17.1—*Si lucrum est mori … si bonum est uiuere …*—effectively repeats this verse in reverse order, replacing *Christus* with *bonus*—the realist writer Ps-Hegesippus' was not about to place in the mouth of the historical Josephus the idea that "to live is Christ."[60] (No such variant for *Christus* exists in the manuscript traditions of the Greek New Testament, the Vulgate, or the Vetus Latina.) While it is impossible to state for sure that Yosippon recognized this portion of *DEH* 3.17.1 as a play on a New Testament passage, the fact that he replaced it with a well-known dictum of the Jewish Scriptures hints that he might have.[61] Nor is that dictum completely random, but it continues the speech's sustained engagement with the Book of Job: Josephus' statement that "he has given and he will take away" (הוא נתנה והוא יקחנה) draws upon Job 1:21b, where Job's pious reaction to his sudden loss is recorded in these words: "the LORD has given and the LORD has taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD" (יהוה נתן ויהוה לקח יהי שם יהוה מברך).

While Yosippon effectively matches Ps-Hegesippus word-for-word in introducing and quoting Psa 142:7 [141:8], in following up that quotation he deletes the New Testament passage placed into Josephus' mouth by Ps-Hegesippus in preference of a reworked maxim from the Book of Job. This aspect of *SY*'s biblicization of *DEH* shows the Christian Bible being effaced from the narrative and replaced with a pious apothegm that is ostensibly familiar, more appropriate, and more palatable to *SY*'s medieval Jewish readership than a quip from the (apostate) apostle Paul.

4 A Virtuous End: The Virtues of Death between Ps-Hegesippus and *Sefer Yosippon*

In the next short section of Josephus' speech, before he comes to his next set of biblical *exempla*, treated below, Josephus makes some qualifying points in his argument. He states that he wants to die, is ready to give his life, but only at the hand of the Romans, whether in battle or by way of betrayal. The alternative—self-killing—he cannot condone. In Ps-Hegesippus' version of this argument, Josephus appears as a rhetorician in front of a Roman court of law, using terms

60 In scripting his narrative speeches for Jewish characters, Ps-Heg will use language from the Christian Bible, but will generally not place overtly Christian statements into the mouth of, e.g., Josephus.

61 It strikes me as likely that Yosippon, familiar with the Vulgate and much other Latin Christian literature, will have recognized such language himself or at least had proximate colleagues who would have.

of honor, nobility, and patriotism native to that context. He agrees with his interlocutors that it is *gloriosum* to be killed in battle (*in bello mori*) and that "it is good to die in battle for one's country and for one's citizens" (*bonum pro ciuibus in bello mori*).[62] This kind of death Josephus welcomes, offering himself—literally, his neck—according to the 'law of war' (*belli lege offero iugulum*).[63] The alternative, however, Josephus roundly eschews.

Josephus begins his brief tirade against suicide with a rhetorical exclamation: "O that they would deceive me" (*Vtinam fallant!*). Josephus claims to covet death at Roman hands. But autothanasia, he avers, is a crime (*latrocinium*), a wicked thing (*scelus*). These negative nouns characterize this short paragraph of Josephus' discourse in *DEH* 3.17.1, appearing six times in the space of nine Latin sentences. Ps-Hegesippus, therefore, articulates via Josephus a rhetorical Roman response to suicide, focusing on the negative and elevating the alternative: a noble death, a good death, in battle, for king and country. In *SY*, things deviate a bit.

One other thing Josephus mentions in Ps-Hegesippus' version is God. Josephus states that he would happily give his neck to the sword of the Romans, "to whom God has given victory over us and to whom God has handed us over in judgment because of our sins" (*quibus de nobis deus uictoriam dedit, quibus propter peccata nostra nos adiudicauit*). In *SY* 67 (סז) God is also mentioned twice, but his place in the structure of the argument has changed entirely. There, Josephus tells his comrades that "it is glorious and honorable [precious] in God's judgment should we die at our appointed time by God's hand" (כי כבוד ויקר הוא במשפט האלהים אם נמות בעת פקודתנו ביד אלוה), or by an enemy's hand in battle.[64] Yosippon has picked up Ps-Hegesippus' *gloriosum* with כבוד, but restructures the sentiment so that it centers on God: God is the one who passes judgement on the quality of when and how these Jewish soldiers die as well as the one who ultimately brings about these deaths. No longer the language of the Roman lawcourt, in *SY* Josephus' speech takes on the tenor of Jewish religious debate with its own particular legal and covenantal resonances. This impression is confirmed by *SY*'s dropping of the idea of dying for one's country or fellow citizens, retaining only the notion of "dying at one's task or in battle" (למות בקץ פקודתו או במלחמתו).[65]

---

62 See Ussani (1932) 214 for Latin and Bay (2023) 251 for English.

63 The *lex* so referenced seems to be the norm according to which one offers one's neck to be cut by one's enemy upon being defeated on the field.

64 Bowman (2023) 292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 636–639; Flusser (1978) 315.

65 To die thusly is "good and pleasant" (טוב ונעים), says Josephus, the former term (טוב) perhaps picking up the *bonum* that appears twice to describe death in the parallel lines of *DEH* 3.17.1.

These features of Josephus' discourse on dying in *SY*—emphasis upon divinity before country and God's valuation of mode of death as gravitational center—align *SY*'s text once again with one of the most notable products of the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism: the discourse of martyrdom. As several scholars have noted, and as can be easily seen from a quick glance at *SY*'s coverage of Hasmonean history, Yosippon was quite interested in displaying the nobility and vitality of Jewishness inherent in the early Jewish martyrdom scenes such as those of Eleazar in *SY* 14 (יד) and the Maccabean mother and her seven sons in *SY* 15 (טו) killed under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Some of these chapters have things in common with *SY* 67 (סז); for example, *SY* 15 (טו) also touches on the theme of God's ownership of souls and his recalling them to himself, in addition to other afterlife themes.[66] But what is notable

66 Before the second son dies, he says to the king: "Listen to me, you who are so cruel to [God's] creatures. Our souls, which you are now taking—did you give them? Are you able to bind them up in your garments? Behold, they are proceeding to God, who gave them, and into the light that is with the Lord. And we shall yet live long lives without termination or end, when he raises the dead of his people and the slain among his servants" (שמע אלי אכזר אשר על הבריות! הנפשותינו אלה אשר תקח אתה נתתם? התוכל לצרור אותם בבגדיך? הנה המה הולכים אל האלהים אשר נתנם ואל האור אשר עם יי. ועוד נחיה חיים ארוכים אשר אין בה סוף וקץ בהקיצו את מתי עמו ואת הרוגי עבדיו). See Bowman (2023) 68; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 170–171; Flusser (1978) 71. Indeed, all the of martyrs' responses in this chapter are worth putting into conversation with this part of Josephus' speech in *SY* 67 (סז) vis-à-vis notions of postmortem existence. The third son speaks of hoping for glory (כבוד) and mercy (חן) from heaven (מן השמים), affirming that God "will give us the wages of our labors" (והוא יתן לנו שכר פעולתנו). The fourth son posits that "We shall die for the Lord, and he will bring us back to life [or 'return and bring us to life'], yet for you there will never be resurrection or life" (נמות על יי והוא ישוב ויחיינו כי לך עוד לא תהיה תקומה וחיים). It is difficult not to detect Christian notions within some of these ideas. The Maccabean mother, speaking over the corpses of her first six slain sons, states: "My sons, O my sons. I know not how you were formed in my belly; for neither spirit nor soul did I give to you. Nor did I bring you forth from my belly, nor did I rear and raise you. Your flesh, which is sacrificed, God gave it to you, and all your bones he formed. He wove the sinews and covered them with flesh and made hair grow. And he breathed into your mouths the soul of living breath. All this you have given up for his sake. And he shall give them back to you and make new your bodies. And he will give the wages for your labors, and blessed are you on account of all these things, my sons" (בניי בניי לא ידעתי איך נוצרתם בבטני וגם רוח הנשמה לא נתתי בכם אנכי. וגם אני לא הוצאתי אתכם מבטני וגם לא גידלתי ולא רוממתי אתכם. ובשרכם אשר נזבחה אלהים נתנה לכם וכל עצמותיכם הוא בנה. וארג את הגידים וכיסה עור מלמעלה והצמיח שערות. ויפח באפיכם נשמת רוח חיים. וכל זאת נתתם בעבורו. והוא ישיב אותם לכם ויחדש גולמיכם. ויתן את שכר פעולתכם ואשריכם על כל זאת בניי). To her seventh son, before his death, she says: "Would that it were given for you to see now the place where your brothers are and the grandeur of their honor before the Lord. Go, my son, and join your brothers, and you will share in their allotment of honor. And I will be with you there and will rejoice with you as on the day of your wedding. And I will be with you in the allotment of your righteousness" (ומי יתן וראית עתה את מקום אחיך ואת גדולת תפארתם לפני יי. לך בני ודבוק באחיך ותהיה בגורל תפארתם. ואני אבוא עמכם שמה ואשמחה עמכם

in *SY* 67 (סז) are the virtue adjectives that Yosippon has Josephus attach to a good death: he calls death at work or in battle "good" (טוב) and "pleasant"

כביום חתונתכם. ואהיה עמכם בגורל צדקתכם). The seventh son himself conflates afterlife ideas with notions of national and political destiny: "For us he shall yet make to live and adorn and exalt above every nation. But you who have conspired to do thus, to stretch out a hand against his servants, better for you if you had not been born, nor come forth from the filth of the stupid woman who bore this buffoon Antiochus, who has brought such evil upon himself. For to us you have done only good" (כי אותנו עוד יחיה ויפאר וירומם על כל גוי. ואתה אשר זדתה לעשות כן ולשלוח יד בעבדיו טוב לך אשר לא נולדת ולא יצאתה מטינוף איולת אשר ילדה כסיל הזה אנטיוכוס אשר הרע לעשות לנפשו. כי לנו הטיבות). Note the trope of death as good (טוב) here, and the apparent refraction of Matt 26:24 // Mark 14:21, where Jesus says of the one who is to betray the 'Son of Man,' i.e. Judas Iscariot, "it would have been better for him if he had not been born" (*SY*'s טוב לך אשר לא נולדת reads like a Hebrew translation of καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη or *bonum ei si non esset natus*, transposed from third- to second-person). The rest of the seventh son's diatribe runs: "And if we suffer a little and bear these troubles in this world, behold, we are going to eternal life and to light everlasting in which there is no darkness and to a life in which there is no death. But you, an abomination before all creatures and abhorrent to our God: when our God wreaks vengeance upon you, you will die an unnatural death amid great afflictions and descend into Sheol under [the ground], into the darkness of hell, where there is no life and no light but only darkness and shadows. And there is no rest there or relief, but only torment and oppression, fire and brimstone; this is your portion from the LORD and your lot from our God, O man of blood and man of Belial. And our God will have mercy upon His people. Until now he has exhibited his anger, but from here on he will no longer be wrathful at his people, for he is sorry for all that he has done to us at first. For [though] he has acted in truth and righteousness and we have acted wickedly, yet he will once again have mercy on us and will raise us to eternal life" (ואם מעט אנחנו נסבול ונשא המכאובות האלה בעולם הזה הנה אנחנו הולכים לחיי עולם ולאור עולמים אשר אין בו חושך וחיים אשר אין בה מות. ואתה פיגול על כל הבריות ומתועב לאלהינו: בעשותו בך נקמה אלהינו תמות בנגעים גדולים מוות משונה ותרד לשאול תחתית במחשכת תפתה אשר אין שם לא חיים ולא אור כי אם חושך וצלמות. ואין שם מרגוע והנחה כי אם צרה וצוקה ואש וגופרית. זה חלקך מאת יי וגורלך מאת אלהינו איש הדמים ואיש הבליעל. ואלהינו ירחם על עמו. ועד הנה היתה חמתו ומעתה לא יוסיף לקצוף על עמו כי ניחם על כל אשר עשה לנו תחילה. כי באמת ובצדקה עשה ואנחנו הרשענו והוא ישוב וירחמנו ויחיינו חיי עולם). See the notes on Bowman (2023) 70. For the rare word פיגול ("abomination"), cf. Lev 7:18; 19:7; Isa 65:4; Ezek 4:14. The erstwhile synonym תעב appears 22× across Deuteronomy (2×), 1Kings (1×), 1Chronicles (1×), Job (4×), Psalms (6×), Isaiah (2×), Ezekiel (2×), Amos (1×), and Micah (1×). The term תפתה ("place of fire") is a nebulous *hapax legomenon* at Isa 30:33. The phrase צרה וצוקה recalls Isa 30:6: ארץ צרה וצוקה ("land of trouble and anguish"). Brimstone and fire (גפרית ואש) are what the LORD rained down on Sodom and Gomorrah in judgment at Gen 19:24 (cf. Deut 29:23; Luke 17:29). The entities also appear together in a variant reading (with אש) of Job 18:15; Psa 11:6 ("[God] will rain coals of fire upon the wicked, and brimstone and burning wind will be the portion of their cup," ימטר על-רשעים פחים אש וגפרית ורוח זלעפות מנת כוסם); Isa 30:33 (cf. 34:9); Ezek 38:22; cf. Rev 9:17–18; 14:10; 19:20; 20:10; 21:8. The phrase חיי עולם conjures Dan 12:2: "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the ground will awake, these to everlasting life (לחיי עולם), but the others to disgrace and everlasting contempt (לחרפות לדראון עולם)." I guess that several of these passages are in view here. The afterlife motifs at work across *SY* are worthy of study in their own right.

(נעים),[67] death in God's time "glorious" (כבוד) and "honorable" or "precious" (יקר),[68] and to those who die fighting against their enemies he says God will "reckon it as righteousness" (צדקה תחשב לנו).[69] Josephus posits that no one will "speak for" (יליץ בעד) or "justify" (יצדיק) those who take their own lives, that their "righteousness" (צדקה) and "hope" (תקוות) will be lost,[70] thus further implying that these things *can* be claimed by those whose death is negotiated rightly. In *SY*, Josephus and company have a deep philosophy of dying well that is firmly connected to God; in *DEH*, God had simply been the one who was said to have handed the Jews over to the Romans.

This final point is not something that Yosippon misses, nor something with which he disagrees. In fact, in *SY* 67 (סז) Josephus is even more explicit about the covenantal mechanics of the Jews' defeat at Jotapata: musing over the fact that "we were not righteous enough to subdue them in battle" (לא צדקנו להכניעם במלחמה),[71] Josephus explains, "for it was due to our sins that they subdued us" (כי בעווֹנינו הכניעונו). This Deuteronomistic articulation of national fortune is important. The authors Josephus, Ps-Hegesippus, and Yosippon all agree that the Roman defeat of the Jews was God's response to Jewish disobedience. But for Ps-Hegesippus, the Christian author, this disobedience was embodied in the Jewish rejection of Jesus Christ (*DEH* Prol 1; 5.2.1; 5.32.1), whereas for the Jewish historians Josephus and Yosippon this disobedience (עווֹנינו) was a momentary and more generic breach of faith committed by a wayward people toward a God who would nevertheless never give up on them. Civil infighting and ritual impurity in first-century Judea were the explanation for the outcome of the Roman-Jewish War. From the Jewish perspective, no break between God and his people was permanent. By putting the above lines into Josephus' mouth at Jotapata, Yosippon imbues his narrative, which is a narrative of the Roman defeat of the Jews, with a sense of temporariness. At the same time, he explicitly signals God's relationship with the Jewish characters within his narrative.

---

67 The Hebrew word נעים ("pleasant, sweet") is highly poetic, only appearing in 2 Samuel, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and Song of Songs within the Hebrew Bible. It is associated with death in 2 Sam 1:23, where David, mourning Saul and Jonathan, sings that they "were lovely and **pleasant** in their lives, and in **death** they were not divided" (הנאהבים **והנעימם** בחייהם **ובמותם** לא נפרדו). This passage will have been on Yosippon's mind, as it comes to the fore in the next section of Josephus' speech.

68 The idea that death could be יקר הוא במשפט האלהים recalls Psa 116:15: "Precious in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his saints" (יקר בעיני יהוה המותה לחסידיו).

69 This statement picks up the language of Gen 15:6, where "[Abraham] believed the Lord, and he reckoned it to him as righteousness" (והאמן ביהוה ויחשבה לו צדקה).

70 Cf. the language of "the righteous" (צדיקים) + "hope" (תקוה) in Prov 10:28 and 11:23.

71 Bowman (2023) 292 mistakenly translates this "But even if we were righteous to subdue them in battle."

This portion of Josephus' speech witnesses a transformation between *DEH* and *SY*. What had previously been a Romanesque diatribe against suicide and for patriotism becomes at Yosippon's hands a Jewish theological disquisition on the virtues of a good death. Josephus and his comrades contemplate death in terms of virtue ethics, in terms that paint them in the noble colors of ancient ancestral culture heroes. As Josephus' speech is rewritten, the narrative's characters are reformed, and a literary combination of theologization, Judaization, and biblicization once again defines the evolution of *DEH* into Hebrew.

5 King Saul the Suicide: A Negative Example and Josephus' Exemplary Reversal

In *DEH* 3.17.1, Josephus next brings forward King Saul as an example. You will recall that his comrades previously mentioned Saul (in *DEH* 3.16.1) as one whose "spirit," devoted to the *patria* like his son Jonathan's, was to set an example for Josephus, encouraging him not to shy away from self-killing. Josephus turns this argument on its head, agreeing that Saul is indeed a *uerum exemplum* for the issue at hand, but as an example of a *rex* who was situated "against the divine will" (*aduersus uoluntatem diuinam*) and who "deserved God's enmity" (*offensam meruit dei*). In particular, Josephus argues that Saul was

> An excellent example of a man to whom the favor of God was wanting. And therefore he desired to die, because he had hitherto not been able to live. Yet this same man desired that his comrade should kill him, but the latter thought it a crime and thus refused to offer this assistance. Therefore not the use of counsel but the absence of assistance made it so that he turned his sword against himself. If he did it out of fear, lest he make himself a laughingstock, then how do you praise what comes from fear? If he was not afraid, then why did he elect another [to do it] at first? I fear neither that the Romans will laugh at me nor that they will deceive me. Only Saul thus killed himself, not Jonathan, nor anyone else in our scriptures. And why marvel that he was able to kill himself who was even able to kill his own son?
>
> *Egregium exemplum uiri cui defuit dei gratia. Et tamen uoluit mori, quia iam non poterat uiuere. Voluit tamen et ipse ut eum socius occideret, sed ille scelus putauit, recusauit ministerium. Non ergo usus consilio sed destitutus ministerio fecit, ut ipse gladium in se conuerteret. Si timens fecit ne sibi inluderetur, quid laudas quod timoris est? Si non timuit, cur primo aliud elegit? Ego nec inludentes Romanos*

> *timeo nec mentientes. Saul tantum se solus peremit, non Ionatha, non quisquam alius in nostris scripturis. Quid mirum si potuit se perimere, qui potuit etiam filium occidere?*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[72]

There is much going on in Josephus' argument in *DEH*, but its basic contours are uncomplicated. Saul lacked divine *gratia*, and came to desire death as one who had been "unable to live" ('his life to the fullest,' or something similar). He killed himself because no one else would do it, fearing to become the object of sport for the enemy forces. Thus, Saul's suicide is only a negative example, and no wonder, Josephus adds, as he proved capable of killing his own son.[73] This line of Josephus' argument in *DEH* presumes considerably upon the reader's knowledge of 1 Samuel (or 1 Kingdoms/1 Reigns). In *SY* 67 (סז), we find the same argument simplified and clarified by alternate, more specific references to the biblical story.

Yosippon has less interest in rhetorical flourish than his Roman-Latin predecessor, and thus has Josephus forego discussion of what kind of *exemplum* Saul is, moving instead to apply Saul's actions immediately to the situation in which he and his comrades found themselves:

> And if any man from among us were to put himself to death, he would be reckoned as one who destroys himself, just as King Saul did, whom you have praised. For he would not have been made king over Israel if not for their desire, for they said: 'Give us a king and let him rule over us.' For this reason God departed from him: because he did not fully follow after the Lord. On account of this the Lord anointed David over his people while Saul was still alive. Therefore he [Saul] chose death, as he was not able to live—and I should imitate this? For out of his faintness of heart he did this thing, for he said: 'Lest these uncircumcised come and abuse me.' So now, understand and know that he did not take pity on his own son, so how could he take pity on himself?
>
> ואם ימית אדם ממנו את נפשו יחשב משחית נפשו כאשר עשה המלך שאול אשר היללתם בו. כי לא נמלך על ישראל כי אם מרצונם כי אמרו: תנה לנו מלך וימלוך עלינו. על כן סר האלהים מעליו כי לא מלא אחרי יי. בעבור זאת משח יי את דוד על עמו בעוד שאול חי. לכן בחר מות

72 Ussani (1932) 215 (the above-cited lines are on 214); Bay (2023) 251.

73 In 1 Sam 20:33, Jonathan has just asked his father Saul why he is hell-bent on killing David, asking what David has done to deserve this (20:32b). In response, "Saul hurled his spear at him in order to strike and kill him" (20:33a); this convinced Jonathan that his father was intent on killing David, something he had not previously believed (20:2).

כי לא יוכל לחיות ואני כן אדמה? כי ממורך לבבו עשה זאת כי אמר: פן יבאו הערלים האלה והתעללו בי. ועתה התבוננו ודעו כי לא חמל על בנו ועל נפשו איככה יחמול?

Sefer Yosippon 67 (סז)[74]

Where Ps-Hegesippus had made Josephus spend most of this section inquiring rhetorically after Saul's motives in suicide, concluding that only Saul in all of the Jewish Scriptures ever committed suicide, Yosippon has Josephus stick more strictly to the biblical details attending Saul's ill-fated reign. For one thing, in *SY* 67 (סז) Josephus quotes verbatim the words of the Israelites in 1Sam 8:6, when they demand that the prophet Samuel appoint a king over them.[75] Further, Yosippon's Josephus is much more specific about exactly why God abandoned Saul: because of Saul's infamous lack of complete obedience, catalogued in 1Sam 15 (but Yosippon borrows language from elsewhere in the Bible to articulate this reference).[76] Ps-Hegesippus had merely recalled that Saul had "earned the enmity of God." Both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon have Josephus recall that David was anointed while Saul was still alive (1Sam 16:13), but only *SY* 67 (סז) names David, and in his role as the historical Jewish messiah par excellence. Yosippon's recollection of Saul's legacy is more strictly scriptural in its language and details, and contains hints of biblicization, theologization, and Judaization.[77]

---

74 Bowman (2023) 292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 638–639; Flusser (1978) 315–316. The phrase "weakness of heart" (מורך לבב) is found only one place in the Hebrew Bible, namely Lev 26:36, where God vows to send weakness of heart into the Israelites if and when they forsake his covenant.

75 With a slight difference: where *SY* 67 (סז) has תנה לנו מלך **וימלוך עלינו**, 1Sam 8:6b has תנה לנו מלך **ושפטנו** ("give us a king **and let him *judge* us**").

76 The phrase "[not] to follow the LORD fully" (מלא אחרי יי [לא]) stands in for מלא ללכת אחרי יי; see Gesenius (2013) 677. The phrase is used positively in the Jewish Scriptures to describe those who exhibited remarkable obedience to divine commands, particularly Caleb (Num 14:24; Deut 1:36; Josh 14:8–9, 14) and Joshua (Num 32:12), and is used negatively to mark out departure from God's will by the Israelites generally (Num 32:11) or by individuals like Solomon (1Kgs 11:6). It is not used to describe Saul, but ostensibly corresponds to 1Sam 15:11a, where the LORD tells Samuel that Saul "has turned back from following me and has not carried out my commands" (שב מאחרי ואת-דברי לא הקים), for which *BHS* records no textual variants. The phrase "God departed from upon him [Saul]" (סר האלהים מעליו) picks up the language of Judg 16:20, where Samson, having had his hair cut in his sleep, "did not know that the LORD had departed from upon him" (לא ידע כי יהוה **סר מעליו**). In 1Sam 16:14a we read that "the spirit of the LORD had departed from Saul" (ורוח יהוה סרה מעם שאול), and in 1Sam 18:12 that "the LORD … had departed from Saul" (יהוה … מעם שאול סר), close to Yosippon's language but for the prepositional phrase + direct-object marker (מעם instead of מעליו).

77 Biblicization appears in the use of the biblical terminology, phraseology, and narrative

Where *SY*, unlike *DEH*, has David mentioned by name in the above passage, it also omits, also unlike *DEH*, mention by name of Saul's son, Jonathan. In *SY*, Jonathan becomes even more of an afterthought, the unnamed object of Saul's lack of pity (לא חמל), as he also appears in *DEH*, apparently an allusion to 1Sam 14:43–45, where Saul orders the death of Jonathan ill-advisedly, or perhaps to 1Sam 20:33, where Saul tried unsuccessfully to kill Jonathan with a spear. Both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon presume that their readers will be familiar with the biblical backstories to Josephus' words.

One more addition by Yosippon that should be mentioned is the quotation he adds to the story of Saul's death, mentioned already in *DEH*, where Saul commands his armor-bearer to kill him. In 1Sam 31:4 Saul tells his armor-bearer: "Draw your sword and pierce me through with it, lest these uncircumcised come and pierce me through and abuse me (פן-יבואו הערלים האלה ודקרני והתעללו-בי)." Yosippon has Josephus repeat the second part of this line directly, although omitting the "and pierce me through" (ודקרני) part, which in any case could have been a case of dittography on the part of a biblical scribe at some point (or, indeed, a case of haplography on the part of Yosippon as he read or remembered the passage).[78] This reference to the place of Gentiles within the scene of Saul's suicide might not have occurred to the Christian author Ps-Hegesippus, ostensibly uncircumcised himself,[79] but might well have been the story's crucial detail in the mind of our early-medieval Jewish historian. Nor does Yosippon deign to mention the armor-bearer. Whether accidentally or intentionally, in re-orienting the story of Saul's suicide as recalled within Josephus' oration, *SY* 67 (סז) reminds the reader of the Jew/Gentile, circumcised/uncircumcised divide, and of the weighty historical events that hinged upon the importance and potency of this limen of ritual purity.

---

content beyond what is found in *DEH* 3.17.1; theologization appears in the transformation of God as a passive figure (appearing in the genitive *dei* or as an abstract adjective: *diuina*[*m*]) into a much more present, more active deity as "God" (האלהים) who "departs from Saul" and as "Yahweh" (יי), who anointed David; Judaization appears in the explicit references to God's historical interactions with the Israelites, and in particular to the references to David qua messiah anointed "over his [God's] people" (על עמו), a mundane yet significant reminder to the Jewish reader of whose ancestors are under discussion in Josephus' speech.

78 When Saul tells his sword bearer "draw your sword and pierce me through with it" (שלף חרבך **ודקרני**), the command "run me through" (דקרני) takes a form that is indistinguishable from his statement in the ensuing statement, "lest these uncircumcised … run me through (**ודקרני**)," in the absence of pointing.

79 Several scholars have posited the rather unlikely (in my opinion) argument that Ps-Heg was a Jewish convert: see Mras (1960) xxxiii–xxxv, followed by Wittig (1906), Callu (1987), and Estève (1987); cf. Bay (2023) 19.

6 Aaron against Suicide: Between the Living and the Dead

In the brief passage following the Saul *exemplum* we find the insertion of one of Ps-Hegesippus' favorite passages: Num 16:48 (MT 17:13).[80] Once again here we find Yosippon making some of his usual departures from *DEH*. In the latter, the Aaron *exemplum* is about Aaron's *uirtus*, described as a lack of *temeritas* and a lack of *timor*: Aaron "did not fear death" (*mortem non timuit*) and therefore "stood between the living and the dead" (*inter uiuos et mortuos stetit*).[81] Yosippon trades in Ps-Hegesippus' abstract terms of analysis for a more inductive approach, turning once more to the biblical narrative itself:

> And why did Aaron stand between the dead and the living? Was it not to hold back the plague? For this reason he stood before the angel so as to turn away the pestilence from upon his people.
>
> ולמה עמד אהרן בין המתים ובין החיים? הלא למען עצור המגיפה? על כן עמד לפני המלאך להסיר הנגף מעל עמו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[82]

In *DEH* 3.17.1, Aaron is said to have repulsed death "with his body" (*eam corpore suo reppulit*) rather than bringing it upon himself (*non enim mortem sibi intulit*). In *SY* 67 (סז), Aaron's body is not mentioned, nor is his vicarious 'absorption' of death aimed at the Israelites, nor is the "serpent" to whom Aaron is said to have been an obstacle in *DEH* (*et serpenti in omnes obstaculo fuit*). It is difficult to tell whether the latter is a Christian reference to the Devil or a conflation of Num 16 with Num 21, where the LORD sends fiery serpents among the people, which must be stayed by Moses' hand (Num 21:6–7). In any case, such a referent finds no place in *SY*.

---

80 This passage is mentioned at *DEH* 3.16.1, 3.17.1, and 5.2.1.

81 For *DEH*, and by proxy for *SY*, the biblical passage used to render Aaron an example here is accidentally intriguing, because the Scriptures contain a story about Aaron that fits precisely with Josephus' theme up to this point: in Num 20:23–29, the LORD commands Moses to tell Aaron to go up onto Mt. Hor, after having transferred his priestly authority to his son Eleazar, and die there. And this is precisely what happens. Yet Ps-Heg chooses to go another direction with the Aaron *exemplum*, for reasons at which we can only guess.

82 Bowman (2023) 292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 638–639; Flusser (1978) 316. In line with *DEH* 3.17.1, and against the biblical sentence order, manuscripts ד and ר read that Aaron stood "between the living and the dead" (בין החיים ובין המתים) instead of "between the dead and the living."

What we do find in *SY* is Josephus being a bit clearer about exactly what Aaron did in Num 16:48 (MT 17:13). Rather than Aaron vaguely staving off "death" (*mors*), in *SY* Aaron is said to have held back "the plague" (המגיפה), also called "the pestilence" (הנגף). The former is the term used in MT Num 17:13 along with a different form of the verb עצר ("to restrain, check, stop, halt"),[83] and the latter, rarer term—used seven time in the Hebrew Bible, compared to מגפה's twenty-six—describes the same affliction at MT Num 17:11–12.[84] The fact that Yosippon picks up both terms evinces real interest in, as well as knowledge of, this scriptural passage. But what about Josephus' statement that Aaron had stood before "*the angel* [of the LORD]" (המלאך) in order to ward off the plague? This detail does not appear in the biblical pericope, where wrath (קצף) in the form of plague (נגף) was said to have "gone out from the LORD" (יצא ... מלפני יהוה; Num 16:46b [MT 17:11]). Whence the angel?

Unfortunately, no definite answer to this question is forthcoming from the several possible text traditions. It is possible that an unreported variant was present in a Hebrew Bible text known to Yosippon.[85] Or perhaps Yosippon was privy to the obscure Latin legacy buried deep in the Benedictine Vulgate tradition of the Wisdom of Solomon,[86] wherein Aaron's mediation is made before the *angelus vastator*.[87] Maybe, on the other hand, this detail in *SY* was

83 The Hebrew of MT Num 17:13 reads: ויעמד בין-המתים ובין החיים ותעצר המגפה.

84 The term also appears at Exod 12:13 (×3); 30:12; Num 8:19; Josh 22:17; Isa 8:14.

85 For example, מלאך יהוה in place of מלפני יהוה in MT Num 17:11b.

86 Wis 18:20–25 does not even name Aaron, nor does it mention an angel, as it recapitulates the scene from Num 16 [MT 17]. Both, however, could be inferred: "But the experience of death touched the righteous also, and a plague came upon the multitude in the wilderness, but the divine anger did not long continue. For a blameless man hastened to act as their champion, bringing the weapon of his own ministry, prayer and propitiation by incense; he withstood the wrath and set an end to the disaster, showing that he was your attendant. He overcame the bitter anger, not by bodily strength, nor by force of arms, but by his word he subdued the chastiser (τὸν κολάζοντα ὑπέταξεν/*uexatorem subjecit*), calling to mind the oaths and covenants given to the fathers. For when the dead had already fallen on one another in heaps, he intervened, held back the anger and cut off its way to the living. For on his full-length robe the whole world was depicted, and the glories of the fathers were engraved on the four rows of stones, and your majesty was represented on the diadem on his head. From these the destroyer (εἶξεν ὁ ὀλεθρεύων/*cessit qui exterminabat*) withdrew; these he feared, for merely the experience of anger was enough." Trans. NETS.

87 Capitula XVI in a number of codices of the Wisdom of Solomon (= [Book of] Wisdom)—namely "Series C," which contain Ben Sira and Wisdom alone, on which see Thiele (1977) 142–145—reads: *De Moysi et interitu primogenitorum Egipti* (*18, 5^b*) ***et de Aaron quomodo in castris angelo se obiecerit vastatori*** (*18, 21*) *et de Egiptiis submerses in mare et transit Israhelis et de columna nubis* (*19, 1*) *et cuturnicibus* (*19, 11*). One manuscript (F) reads *angelos obiecent*. See Gasquet (1949) 15; cf. Thiele (1977) 562.

informed by a Jewish tradition that implicated an angel in Aaron's mediation in MT Num 17, such as that recorded in b. *Shabbat* 89a.[88] It is also possible that Yosippon would have known other popular Latin Christian traditions that placed an angel at that scene, as does Augustine's sermon *On Censers* (*De Thuribulis*).[89] But in fact, none of this is strictly necessary (though none of it seems highly improbable), because the boundary between God and 'his angel' as agents within scriptural history has never been impassable to biblical interpreters. At times it appears a mere formality.[90] What seems most likely is that Yosippon the author simply understood the plague of MT Num 17 to have been effected by God's מלאך, probably a naturalized and mundane component of the hermeneutical tradition to which he was heir, and thus mentions the מלאך here and earlier in *SY* 67 (סז), as already mentioned in Chapter 2.

Finally, both *DEH* and *SY* have Josephus compare himself to Aaron in the end, in both cases arguing that his willingness to die, demonstrated by his fighting the Romans *and* his surrendering to them, rendered Josephus a chip off the old priestly block, as it were. Yet even here we may note some telling disparaties. In *DEH* 3.17 we find a more overtly rhetorical tenor coming through in Josephus' argument, as his words come to be (the reader must imagine) joined by bodily gestures: "I am not Aaron, but I am not inferior to him—Look! I hold out my hands; let them strike them as they will" (*Non ego quidem Aaron sed tamen non degener ab eo en offero manus, feriant ut uolent*).[91] Gesticulation presumably enhances his sincerity and the force of his claims. Thus, the exclamatory interjection *en* turns Josephus' speech into an impassioned performance.[92] This performative aspect of the discourse is missing, or at least less pronounced, in *SY*.[93] What we do find in *SY* is a more direct signaling of Josephus' actual

88 Here, the angel of death (מלאך המות) told Moses how to stop the plague, who related this to Aaron, precipitating Aaron's action. Cf. in the same vein *Midrash Aggadah* Num 17.12.1; *Midrash Tanchuma* Tetzaveh 15.4–6 also implicates "the angel" (המלאך) in the scene.

89 Augustine *Sermon* 30.2 (PL 39:1804) begins: *Aaron typus Christi mediatoris*. ***Quid Angelus vastator expavit****. Hortatur ergo Moyses pontificem magnum, ut offerat incensum in castris, et exoret pro populo. Iam enim, inquit, vastari populus coepit. In spiritu videbat Moyses quae gerebantur.* [*Abiit ergo Aaron, ut offerret incensum pro populo, et stetit inter vivos et mortuos; et mitigates est furor Dei*].

90 This is fairly well known. For example, in Gen 16:9–11, "the angel of the LORD" is the figure who appears and speaks to Hagar, yet in 16:13 "she called the name of the LORD who spoke to her, 'You are a God who sees me.'" So also at Gen 22:11, 15 versus 22:14 within the Akedah narrative.

91 Ussani (1932) 215; Bay (2023) 251.

92 But note that *en* is omitted in ms *H* = Codex Leidensis Voss. Lat. Fol. 17 (10th cent.).

93 One could read ועתה to be doing similar work to *en*, but such force is by no means clear.

Aaronic lineage: "Now, I myself am not Aaron, but I *am* one of his sons" (ועתה אנכי אינני אהרן כי אם אחד מבניו אנכי). Once again we find Yosippon playing up Josephus' persona, here by emphasizing his descent from the original Israelite high priest.[94] And while one could perhaps read this as picking up on the language of the Latin—reading *non degener ab eo* as something like "I am not *not* descended from him"—Yosippon's Hebrew is in any case more explicit.[95] It is best to read this as one of many places in which *SY*'s narrative lionizes Josephus by aligning him more closely with the biblical heroes mentioned in his speeches.

This second mention of Aaron in *SY* 67 (סז), the first by Josephus qua speaker, once again highlights Yosippon's authorial independence, biblical knowledge, and perhaps his interest in, if not correcting his Christian source, at least improving upon the Latin's less-than-literal adherence to biblical details. The language and precision in Yosippon's presentation of MT Num 17:13 in this passage further enriches the complexity of biblicization taking place in the transition from *DEH* to *SY*.

7 Wisdom, Philosophy, and Suicide: The Latter Part of Josephus' Argument

The latter part of Josephus' speech in *SY* 67 (סז) departs from the method of the first part, characterized by listing sequential biblical *exempla* as instruments of argument. Now he casts his net more widely, combining self-reflection and a retrospective of the recent past with a number of metaphors, analogies, and illustrations that may be said largely to belong to the broad tradition(s) of wisdom and/or philosophy. He looks at the animal world, deploys the famous ship/steersman metaphor, and dips his toes into the waters of mild pre-modern

94 On Josephus' priestly lineage, see his *Vita* 1ff., and we may note that this pedigree is also denoted in a great many of the printed editions of *SY*, whose cover pages routinely list the qualities and identity-markers of the famous author Josephus = Joseph ben Gurion. To take just one example, the 1546 edition of *SY* printed by Christoph Forschauer in Zurich has a cover page that begins thus: יוסיפון: זה הספר הנכבד חברו איש אלהים גבור חיל משוח מלחמה כהן לאל עליון הנקרא יוסף בן גוריון ("Yosippon: This is the book of the honorable Hebrew man of God, mighty warrior, war messiah, [and] priest to God Most High who is called Joseph ben Gurion").

95 Some of the best manuscripts of *DEH* would be harder to read thus, however. Mss *B* (Codex Bernensis 180) and *Z* (Codex Vesontionensis 833) read *degeberabo* instead of *degener ab eo* by collapsing the spaces (that may well not have been present in their *Vorlagen*).

misogyny before ending in a performative prayer. Here we will take a more sweeping approach to comparing *SY* and *DEH*, selecting the most interesting and telling correspondences between the Hebrew and Latin texts while accounting as best we can for the entirety of this expansive latter part of Josephus' argument in the footnotes. I proceed here according to the sequence of the passage itself, not only in an attempt to capture some of the flow of Josephus' argument in the latter part of *DEH* 3.17 and *SY* 67 (סז), but also so that the reader can follow the present argument through the passage.

The beginning of the rest of Josephus' speech illustrates Yosippon's penchant to detail, dramatize, and personalize the statements Josephus makes, editing significantly the Latin oratory recorded in *DEH* 3.17 and cutting out certain portions of it altogether. Immediately after the Aaron *exemplum*, in *SY* Josephus makes this statement:

> But if my soul shrank from the thrusts of my enemies, in this you would know that I was fainthearted because of my great wickedness; nevertheless, I will stand fast before them like a professional soldier who does not retreat before lethal weapons.

> ועתה אם תחת נפשי ממדקרות אויביי בזאת תדעון כי רך לבב אני מרוב רשעותי. אך אתיצב לפניהם כאיש חיל אשר לא יסוב פניו מכלי מות.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[96]

This statement diverges considerably from what Josephus says in *DEH* 3.17, where Josephus discusses his fear of death within an 'if/then' paradigm that ends up being more about the Romans than anything.[97] Yosippon highlights

96 Bowman (2023) 292; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 640–641; Flusser (1978) 316. The verb נחת (here in the form תחת) is post-biblical, meaning something like "sinking, letting down (the arms), fall, defeat"; Bresslau (1875) 375. The term used for "thrusts" (מדקרות) is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible, appearing only at Prov 12:18a: "There is one who speaks rashly like thrusts of a sword (כמדקרות חרב), but the tongue of the wise brings healing." The phrase for "fainthearted" (רך לבב) is a rare biblical construction appearing at Deut 20:8 and 2 Chr 13:7.

97 Bay (2023) 251; Ussani (1932) 215: "If I am capable of fearing their hands, then I am worthy to perish by my own hands. If they spare an adversary, why may I not spare myself? If you ask why they would want to spare me: even among the enemy they admire virtue. For so great is the esteem for virtue, that it often takes delight even in an enemy" (*Si possum eorum manus timere, dignus sum qui manibus peream meis. Si parcunt illi aduersario, cur ego non parcam mihi? Si quaeritis cur parcere uelint, et in hoste uirtutem mirantur. Tanta est enim uirtutis gratia, ut frequenter etiam hostem delectet*).

Josephus as a person, even allowing him to articulate his own weakness,[98] while simultaneously elevating him as a איש חיל ("strong man [of war]")[99] who shrinks not before implements of mortality (כלי מות).[100] Not for the first time in the speeches of *SY* 67 (סז) we find Josephus being lauded *and* presented as a more rounded narrative character, full of virtue, strength, and humanity. In the same vein, in the following line he recalls how he mustered for battle against the Romans "like a mighty man" (כגיבור), a sentiment that finds no precedent in the Latin source.[101] We also find the greater emphasis upon the Romans and the echoes of Roman rhetoric that are present in *DEH* dulled as these speeches pass from Latin into Hebrew.[102]

Shortly hereafter we encounter a striking re-biblicization in *SY* 67 (סז). In *DEH* 3.17.1, Josephus moves into a discourse revolving around *libertas*, *seruitus*, and the virtues involved in apprehending death. He states that his interlocutors have argued that "to die for freedom" (*mori pro libertate*) is "pleasant" (*suaue*), and he responds that "to live in freedom" (*uiuere cum libertate*) is "sweet" (*dulce*). This leads into a discourse about fear and servitude and a gendered evaluation of the fear of death. Josephus asks: "For who does not know that it is a feminine freedom (*femina libertas*) and female fear

98 Jewish tradition had and has a healthy legacy of heroic figures who admit their own faults, something largely embodied in the person of David (and Job) in the Hebrew Bible. Yet when these two characters use the construction רשעותי, they only ever do so in the negative or the subjunctive. David avers that "I have *not* wickedly [departed] from my God" (לא רשעתי מאלהי) in 2 Sam 22:22 // Psa 18:21, and Job states ambivalently that "If I am wicked (אם-רשעתי), woe to me! But if I am righteous, I dare not lift up my head" (Job 10:15a).

99 The moniker איש-חיל (often denoting a plurality, with -כל), its plural form (אנשי-חיל), and its cousins (e.g. גבור חיל; בן-חיל) are used throughout the Jewish Scriptures' historical books to refer to 'mighty men' or 'men of valour' who accomplish great feats. See Judg 3:29; 1 Sam 31:12; 2 Sam 24:9; 1 Kgs 1:42; 1 Chr 10:12; 11:22; 26:8; and cf. Judg 20:44, 46; Ruth 2:1 (איש גבור חיל); 1 Sam 9:1; 14:52; 2 Kgs 5:1; 6:15; 7:6; 2 Chr 13:3. Such monikers also describe Joseph ben Gurion on many printed editions of *SY*, as with כהן, mentioned above.

100 This phrase appears in Psa 7:13a.

101 The precise construction כגבור appears also in Job 16:14; Psa 19:5; 78:65; Isa 42:13; Jer 14:9; 20:11; 50:9; Zech 10:7. Note that *SY* also has Josephus add details to frame his character: Josephus recalls that he held Jotapata "for forty-eight days" (ארבעים ושמונה ימים), a detail nowhere present in the Latin, which merely has Josephus refer to his "long-lasting blockage" (*diuturna obsidione*).

102 The short, choppy, often two-part sentences and wealth of rhetorical questions in passages like that quoted directly above, along with a more Roman-centric subject matter, illustrate the very different cultural and historical interests that Ps-Heg carried to his writing as opposed to Yosippon.

(*muliebris formido*) to want to die so as not to be killed?"[103] Josephus argues that "trembling women" (*pauidae mulieres*) tend to "throw themselves headlong" (*solent se praecipitio dare*) when danger approaches, in contradistinction to the ideal of "the unyielding man" (*uir patiens*). All of this talk eventually prompts Josephus to bring forward some scriptural support for his statements. He says:

> For it has been written that 'the souls of the effeminate will hunger,' [souls] which are hungry because they have not the nourishment of virtue, and for that reason they hasten toward death before it is time. For, not yet filled with the food of spiritual grace, he is asking for violence against itself, since it is written that 'the mouth of the imprudent invites death.' And again Scripture says: 'and he who does not care for himself in his tasks is the brother of him who destroys himself.' Therefore whoever strikes himself down is condemned.
>
> *Denique scriptum est quia animae effeminatorum esurient quae cibum utique uirtutis non habentes esuriunt, ideoque ad mortem ante tempus festinant. Neque enim repletus cibo gratiae spiritalis sibi ipse manus inrogat, cum scriptum sit quia os inprudentis mortem invocat. Et iterum scriptura dicit: et qui non curat se ipsum in operibus suis, frater est eius qui se ipsum exterminat. Condemnatur ergo qui se ipse percusserit.*
>
> *De Excidio* 3.17.1[104]

Here the Josephus of *DEH* draws upon the Old Testament wisdom tradition to undergird his argument that one should 1) not shrink from death or 2) take one's own life. His first citation, *animae effeminatorum esurient*, is a direct quote from the Latin Bible: Prov 18:8b.[105] His next quotation is from two verses earlier in Prov 18:6b, and in this case the quote corresponds with the Old Latin and not the Vulgate.[106] In between these two quotations, Ps-Hegesippus seems to have snuck some New Testament language into Josephus' mouth with the phrase *repletus cibo gratiae spiritalis*, which resonates with

103 Bay (2023) 252; Ussani (1932) 216: *Quis enim ignorat femineae libertatis esse et muliebris formidinis, ne moriare, mori uelle*? Codex Bern Burgerbibliothek 180 (9th cent.) reads *femineae inbecillitatis* for *femineae libertatis*!

104 Ussani (1932) 216; Bay (2023) 252.

105 The Vulgate and Vetus Latina both have *animae autem effeminatorum esurient*: Sabatier (1751) 325. Cf. LXX Prov 19:15a.

106 Sabatier (1751) 325 has for the Vulgate *& os eius jurgia provocat* ("and his mouth invites quarrels") and for the Vetus Latina *& os audax mortem invocat* ("and the mouth of the arrogant invites death"). Josephus' quote in *DEH* 3.17.1 is an exact repetition of neither.

1 Cor 10:3.[107] Finally, Josephus quotes Prov 18:9 from the Septuagint.[108] Drawing on the wisdom of Proverbs, Ps-Hegesippus constructs for Josephus a seemingly airtight argument against suicide and/or fear of death.[109]

Interestingly, Yosippon does not follow Ps-Hegesippus in his foray into sapiential literature. At least, not precisely. In the corresponding section of *SY* 67 (סז), Josephus begins by saying that, while he is not unwilling to die with his comrades, "it is good to be free and live! Thus, death is good in its time, while life is good in its time" (אך טוב להיות חופשים ולחיות! כי טוב המות בעתו וטוב החיים בעתו). Here Josephus seems to be recalling Qohelet (= Ecclesiastes), which posited that "there is an appointed time for everything" (לכל זמן ועת; Eccl 3:1a) including "a time to give birth and a time to die (ועת למות)" (Eccl 3:2a).[110] Indeed, just after this Josephus will directly mention a "time for death" (עת המות) and a "time for life" (עת החיים), stating that fleeing from battle during the former would cause one to be thought faint of heart (רך לבב יחשב) and would result in disgrace (חרפה תהיה לו), while choosing to die during the latter would make one to be thought foolish (אולת תחשב לו).[111] This language resonates strongly with the biblical sapiential tradition.[112] In this section, then, instead of allowing his Latin

---

107 Vulg 1 Cor 10:3–4a: *et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt* ("and all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink").

108 Prov 18:9 does not have an attested Vetus Latina version according to Sabatier (1751) 325, but Vulg Prov 18:9 is not identical to the quote in *DEH* 3.17.1: *qui mollis & dissolutus est in opera suo, frater est sua opera dissipantis*. The Vulgate only speaks of one who "squanders" or "scatters" his work (*dissipantis*) and says nothing about "destroying." The LXX is the apparent basis of Ps-Heg's quote: "He who does not cure himself in his labors is akin to him who injures himself" (ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἀδελφός ἐστιν τοῦ λυμαινομένου ἑαυτόν). The plural τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ corresponds to *operibus suis* in *DEH* 3.17.1, and the idea of self-care (*curat se*) through that work, and self-harm, are only present in the LXX. The MT calls the one who is slack in his work "brother to a master of destruction" (אח הוא לבעל משחית); on the בעל construct state in Proverbs, see Hurvitz (1985). This means that Yosippon, who evinces no knowledge of Greek, would likely not have easily recognized the biblical reference being made here.

109 This passage carries the greatest density of biblical quotation formulas in all of *DEH*, with *scriptum est quia* followed by *scriptum sit quia* followed by *iterum scriptura dicit*.

110 Cf. Eccl 3:11a: "He [God] has made everything appropriate in its time" (את-הכל עשה יפה בעתו).

111 Or, more literally, "would attribute foolishness to him."

112 The common biblical notion of "disgrace" (חרפה) is not concentrated in the wisdom books but in the Psalms, where it appears nine times, though it is present in Prov 18:3b. In contrast, the notion of folly or foolishness (אולת) is arguably *the* defining idea of the Book of Proverbs, the only place it appears in the Hebrew Bible: see Prov 12:23; 13:16; 14:17–18, 24, 29; 15:2, 14, 21; 16:22; 18:13; 19:3; 22:15; 24:9. This makes it a veritable certainty that Yosippon is here alluding to/drawing upon the concepts/language of Proverbs.

Christian source to dictate which scriptural wisdom texts Josephus would have pulled out of his hat in this situation, Yosippon rescripts Josephus' engagement with the Bible's wisdom books, replacing Proverbs with Ecclesiastes.[113]

In the immediately proceeding lines Yosippon perceptibly rewrites Josephus' continued disquisition against suicide as it continues with an analogy and a metaphor: the analogy likens humans to wild animals, which do not commit suicide,[114] while the metaphor conceives of the individual as a shipmaster, who is held blameworthy should he intentionally crash his ship.[115] In neither

113 Yosippon also rewrites Ps-Heg's gendered discourse, listing four different ways that the "foolishness of women" (איוולת הנשים) might operate when death was approaching: they could 1) die from fright, 2) jump from a city wall, 3) strangle (themselves?), or 4) stab themselves. This he contrasts to how the "man of valor" (והאיש הגיבור) faces death.

114 One difference between *DEH* 3.17.1 and *SY* 67 (סז) here that is difficult to miss consists in *DEH*'s twofold reference to a "law of nature" (*lex naturae*), which explains why animals always act in the interest of self-preservation. Reference to this "law" is completely dropped in *SY*, where Josephus simply says "Behold the animals" (ראו את החיות) to introduce the analogy. Incidentally, Ps-Heg has picked up this "law of nature" language from the Greek of Josephus' *War* itself, on which see Bay (2022e). Note that *SY* also names lions (האריות) along with "all the woodland animals" (כל חייתו יער) as those creatures that exemplify the point, whereas *DEH* only refers generically to "wild animals" (*ferae*) as representatives of "every kind of living being" (*omnia genera animantium*). "All the woodland animals" (כל-חיתו-יער) is biblical language, found in Psa 104:20b (cf. Hos 2:12). A more interesting intertext is Mic 5:7 (5:8), which reads: "The remnant of Jacob will be among the nations, among many peoples, like a lion among the animals of the forest (כאריה בבהמות יער), like a young lion among flocks of sheep, which, if he passes through, tramples and tears, and there is no one who can rescue." This passage is interesting because, while it uses a different word for animals than does *SY*, the content of the passage evokes an Israel powerful among the nations, which may have been on Yosippon's mind as a minority, Jewish author in the early European (read: Christian) Middle Ages. Chazan (2006) 1 opens with a reminder that "the small Jewish settlements in western Christendom," in places like Italy, were a very small portion of a world Jewry much better represented "in the Muslim sphere, stretching from Mesopotamia westward through the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean Sea, across North Africa, and over into the Iberian Peninsula." Chazan avers, perhaps in overstatement, that, to an "observer viewing world Jewry around the year 1000," the Jews of western Europe "would hardly have seemed worthy of serious attention."

115 The shipmaster metaphor is one unit in *SY* 67 (סז), with 47 Hebrew words, whereas *DEH* 3.17.1 breaks the passage up into two sections of 21 Latin words each separated by a few more general comments. Ps-Heg has Josephus state that "we persecute" a shipmaster (*gubernator*) who steers his commissioned vessel into a rock, and thus asks rhetorically: "do we extinguish with iron the captaincy of our own body, commissioned to us, and assent to intentional shipwreck?" (*nos commissum nobis nostri corporis gubernaculum ferro extinguimus et uoluntario naufragio addicimus?*). Later, Josephus says that the *gubernator* will take a ship into the waves (*nauem fluctibus mergat*) in order to avoid an impending *tempestas* ("storm"). Yosippon begins as he did with the animal analogy: "Look to the shipmaster (ראו את רב החובל). Why should he suffer the storm (ישא את הסער) and

case does *SY* exude radical alterations of Josephus' speech as given in *DEH*.[116] The most significant alterations that Yosippon makes to the Latin speech come in the form of massive shortening at the end of the oration. This is accompanied by some significant changes among the last portions of Josephus' speech as reported by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively.

In *DEH* 3.17.1, after the second section of Josephus' shipmaster metaphor, he makes a few more general points about the problematics of suicide before transitioning to a lengthy disquisition about the soul as a deposit that God makes within the human body:[117]

> The omnipotent God has given us the ultimate treasure, enclosed in this vessel of clay, and he has committed to us the sealed [container] for guarding, until it may please him to demand it back. Is it not a crime in either case, either to return the deposit when not requested by the one who gave it or to refuse the request? If the violation of a human deposit carries the price of reproach, how much more the violation of God's deposit? The soul is the deposit of God in this body, a soul which should not be capable of its own death. For it is not bound by any chain of death, but it appears to effect death when it is loosed from the body and is severed from the companion assigned to it. Therefore why would we seek death before the deposit is sought and return our soul as if it were useless to us and

---

keep watch through the night and stay on the lookout day and night and battle against the waves if not to save his ship (מלט את ספינתו)? If willingly (בחפץ נפשו) he were to draw near to the sea's breakers (משברי הים) and to the rocks so as to be smashed apart (להשבר), what would they say of him? Would they not say about him: 'Behold, a wicked scoundrel (איש הבליעל) who destroys his ship (משחית את ספינתו) and loses his men?'" The language Yosippon uses to rewrite this discourse heavily reflects the language of the Book of Jonah: see Jon 1:6 (רב החבל), 1:12 (הסער, "the storm"), 1:5 (ספינה, "ship," a *hapax legomenon* in the whole Hebrew Bible), 2:4 (2:3: משבריך, "your breakers"; cf. Psa 42:7), 1:4 (להשבר); cf. Isa 48:18b (גלי הים); Zech 10:11 (בים גלים); Jon 2:3; Prov 31:13 (בחפץ, "willingly"); Psa 93:4 (משברי-ים); Prov 6:32, 18:9, 28:24 (משחית).

116 Between the animal and shipmaster passages Josephus' speech in *SY* 67 (סז) has no break—one example leads directly into the next. In *DEH* 3.17.1, they are separated by a few short, supplementary statements typical of Ps-Heg's parallelistic rhetorical style: Josephus asks what is "as sweet as life" (*tam dulce quam uita*) and what "as inimical as death" (*tam inimicum quam mors*), compares one who preserves his life to its "defender" (*patronus*) and one who would end it as its "ambusher" (*insidiator*), asks how his comrades could consider doing that for which "we utter curses against others" (*in aliis exsecramur*), and wonders how what is considered a "punishment" (*poena*) for others—i.e. death—could be accepted by them as a "gift" (*gratia*). These questions draw somewhat upon the original Greek speech of Josephus' *BJ*.

117 Immediately before this quote Josephus is made to ask incredulously how he could think to "violate the sanctity of the deposit [of the soul]" (*uiolari depositi religionem*).

shut it out of our abode and return our body to the earth without its elegance and beauty? Why do we not await the command to depart hence?

Deus omnipotens thesaurum nobis optimum dedit atque inclusum in hoc uase fictili et consignatum commisit nobis custodiendum, quoad ipsi placeat reposcere. Nonne in utroque crimen est uel reicere depositum non reposcente qui dederit uel reposcenti negare? Si hominis depositum uiolare [*poena*] *infamiae est, quanto magis uiolare depositum dei? Depositum dei anima est in hoc corpore, anima quae mortis istius capax non sit. Non enim ullo mortis uinculo adstringitur atque inligatur, sed uidetur mortem operari, cum soluitur corpore atque a commisso sibi contubernio seiungitur. Cur igitur ante repetitum depositum mortem inrogamus et animam quasi inutilem nobis remittimus atque e domo nostra excludimus et corpus sine decore et gratia sui in terram resoluimus? Cur exeundi hinc praeceptum non expectamus?*

De Excidio 3.17.1[118]

One gets the impression of escalating intensity in this portion of Josephus' speech. Moving away from analogy and metaphor, Josephus now addresses the fact of the sacredness of the human soul (*anima*) as a trust placed in the body (*corpus*). This argument has direct application for Josephus and the men standing around him in the narrative. Interestingly, Ps-Hegesippus' version of this portion of the address unmistakably engages with New Testament language and ideas: the notion of a *thesaurus* enclosed in a "jar of clay" (*uase fictili*) is borrowed from Paul's statement in 2 Cor 4:7,[119] and the language of "working death" (*mortem operari*) appears to pick up its phraseology from 2 Cor 7:10.[120] Combining ideas from these verses with the blatantly Platonic framework of the soul-within-the-body, the argument in this section of Josephus' speech reads like an amalgamation of Christian and Classical philosophy.

This amalgamation does not survive the trip from Latin into Hebrew. Yosippon's reiteration of this part of Josephus' speech is quite a departure from the Latin:

---

118 Ussani (1932) 215; Bay (2023) 252–253.

119 2 Cor 4:7: "But we have this treasure in earthen containers (ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν/*habemus autem thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus*), so that the extraordinary greatness of the power will be of God and not from ourselves." Ps-Heg's language is close to that of the Vulgate.

120 2 Cor 7:10: "For the sorrow that is according to the will of God produces a repentance without regret, leading to salvation, but the sorrow of the world produces death (θάνατον κατεργάζεται/*mortem operatur*)." Ussani (1932) 217 marks both of these passages as probable inspirations of Ps-Heg's Latin here.

> And the king, were he to hand over his precious possessions to his overseers, would they not preserve them until they handed back his possessions? He would require them from their hand, then they would return them to him. But if they got rid of his vessels before he required them from their hand, would they not provoke him to anger and he be furious with them? And if a man should come before the king before the end of his watch, would he [the king] not rebuke him and say to him: 'Why have you come?' But all souls belong to God; he has given them in his lovingkindness, and he will take them at his pleasure when they have fulfilled their end, then the soul will go to its rest. But if the soul should come before its time, he would not accept it, nor would it find rest, because all of its days it would wander and roam, since it had been banished before its appointed end.

> והמלך אם יפקיד כלי מחמדיו לפקידים אשר לו הלא ישמרו אותם עד פקדו את כליו? וידרשם מידם אז ישיבום לו. ואם המה ישליכו כליו טרם ידרשם מידם הלא יבעיסוהו ויחר אפו בהם? ואם יבא אדם לפני המלך בלא עת משמרתו הלא יגער בו ויאמר לו: למה זה באת? וכל הנפשות לאלהים המה; והוא נתנם בחסדו והוא יקחם ברצונו בעת מלאת קצם אז תלך הנפש אל מנוחתה. ואם תבוא הנפש בלא עת קצה לא יקבלנה, וגם מנוח לא תמצא כי כל ימיה תנוע ותנוד כי נגרשה בלא עת קיצה.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 67 (סז)[121]

Unlike Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon has Josephus move into a new analogy/metaphor, wherein God is likened to the king, but only after the fact. All the Christian language of 'clay vessels' and the Platonic vernacular of embodied souls are gone, replaced by a much more concrete imagery wherein, by implication, human life or "souls" (נפשות) are presented as God's (i.e., 'the king's') property, loaned for a particular purpose for a particular period of time (known only to the lender). This new version of Josephus' speech hinges now upon ideas endemic to the Hebrew Bible: the soul (הנפש) finding rest (מנוח),[122] the lovingkindness (חסד) of God as the one who gives (נתן) and takes away

121 Bowman (2023) 293–294; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 640–641; Flusser (1978) 316.

122 See Psa 116:7a: "Return, my soul, to your rest" (שובי נפשי למנוחיכי). Cf. conversely Deut 28:65. Jesus' statement in Matt 11:29b that "you shall find rest for your souls" (καὶ εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν/*et invenietis requiem animabus vestris*), aimed at those who will take up his 'yoke,' probably used this same terminology, judging by the extant ancient Semitic rendering of his words in the Peshitta's Syriac of Matt 11:29's final phrase (ܘܬܫܟܚܘܢ ܢܝܚܐ ܠܢܦܫܬܟܘܢ). It is worth noting that *SY*'s author would probably have been familiar with this NT passage as well.

(לקח),[123] one's appointed time(s) (עת),[124] and the "end" or "border" (קץ)—perhaps "purpose"—of life, which can be fulfilled (מלא) or not.[125]

It would be reasonable to hypothesize that the changes Yosippon has made here reflect a simple, conscious step away from the Platonic and Christian notions that comprise Josephus' argument in the same place in *DEH* 3.17.1. It would be natural for an author like the person who penned *SY* to rescript such sentiments into the categories and words familiar to the reader of the Hebrew Bible. But such an apparent agenda could also be simply a reflection of Yosippon's *de facto* usage of biblical Hebrew as it is able to convey notions present in the Latin of *DEH*. Thus, once again, the argument here is about the *effect* of the changes *SY* makes to *DEH*, not the *intention* of *SY*'s anonymous author. In any case, the changes made render, as we have seen above, an argument that has been biblicized and theologized, linguistically and conceptually, in many ways. God as presented in the two versions of Josephus' statements retains the same role as owner, giver, and taker of souls. Yet the soul itself takes on a new level of agency in *SY*.

At the end of the passage in *DEH* 3.17.1 quoted above, Josephus equates suicide to 'returning the soul' (*remitto* + *anima*) and 'shutting it out of [our] abode' (*excludo e domo*)—i.e., the body—thus rendering the *terra*-bound *corpus* as *sine decore et gratia*. The soul is conceived of as an object within a shell of the self that can be moved in various ways. In *SY* 67 (סז), on the other hand, the soul is afforded a more personal presence. There the נפש is discussed as an agent itself, an actor that may come (בא) to God, that may or may not 'find rest' (מצא מנוח), that has a lifespan (ימי), that my end up wandering and roaming (נוע),[126] having been banished (נגרש).[127] In Yosip-

123 God's חסד is too familiar a biblical trope to bear explication (Psa 25:10; 33:5b; 62:12a; 89:14b; etc.). For the LORD as the giver and the taker-away, see again Job 1:21b.

124 Eccl 3:1–10.

125 This final phrase uses biblical terms and combines the ideas of "endpoint" and/or "purpose" of life with קץ ("end, border, limit") and the idiom of life(span) or purpose fulfillment with מלא (often with ימי); see Gen 25:24; 29:21; 50:3; Exod 23:26; Lev 8:33; 12:4; Job 15:32 etc. This collocation is rare in the Hebrew Bible, but the ideas appear together, e.g., in Lam 4:18b: "Our end drew near, our days were finished, for our end had come" (קרב קצינו מלאו ימינו כי-בא קצינו).

126 The verb נוע can also mean "quiver, waver, wave, tremble, totter, stagger," while נוד can carry similar connotations of "shake, move to and for, wander, flutter." The appearance of the two terms together comes from Isa 24:20, whose language Yosippon may have been drawing upon here: "The earth trembles (נוע תנוע) like a heavy drinker and sways (והתנודדה) like a hut, for its wrongdoing is heavy upon it, and it will fall, never to rise again."

127 Cf. Isa 57:20; Amos 8:8; Jon 2:4.

pon's reworking of Ps-Hegesippus' wording, the soul becomes a subject of its own. Why might this be, and what does it do to this section of Josephus' speech?

8 Conclusion: Concept and Authority between *DEH* and *SY*

One way to answer this question is broadly: painting in broad strokes, Yosippon's rewriting of soulic ontology and pre- and post-corporeal existence in this latter part of *SY* 67 (סז) wrests the narrative's *de facto* worldview away from the Christian notions of *SY*'s source and presents a more Jewish idea of such realities in line with the language and concepts of the Tanakh. Such changes might have been spurred by Yosippon's consideration of his readers, who presumably would have had respectively idiosyncratic ideas about soul, body, and existence compared to their early medieval Christian contemporaries. They might have reflected Yosippon's own objections to perceived notes of Christian, Roman, (Neo)Platonic, and/or Stoic thinking in *DEH*. It is not impossible, however, that *SY* in rewriting Josephus' speech in *SY* 67 (סז) was simply trying to render in adequate Hebrew the ideas he encountered in his Latin source. But whether or not Yosippon intended to counter Ps-Hegesippus, his rewriting of this speech by Josephus revaluates a great many concepts present in that oration, including but not limited to notions of embodiment, divine sovereignty, and the ethics of dying. In every case, these things become more domesticated to a Jewish worldview and, presumably, more agreeable to a Jewish reader. Thus does this chapter, like the others in this study, illustrate how *SY* takes Jewish history back for the Jews in the Early Middle Ages, whatever its author's intentions.

We have also seen once again in this chapter how this reclamation project plays upon the Bible and God, as well as Jewish identity and being: biblicization, theologization, Judaization. As Yosippon cuts allusions to the Christian Bible from his historiographical speeches and adds new, sometimes 'better,' allusions to Hebrew Bible language—many of which changes involve the Deity and his involvement in human affairs—we gain the angle we first set out to find in this chapter in breaking the 180-degree rule. Certainly the speeches in *DEH* 3.16–17 and *SY* 67 (סז) are interesting in and of themselves; reading the dialogue purely as literature, without an appreciation of sources and background, in itself provides valuable fodder for thinking about suicide, nobility, war, life and death, and more. But in breaking the 180-degree rule, we have come to a much deeper appreciation of how Josephus' speech and that of his comrades changed in the journey from Latin into Hebrew between the fourth and tenth

centuries. In the next two chapters, we continue on-theme by assessing further speeches made by the narrative character Josephus himself. There, however, Josephus will not be talking about suicide, but about the politics and ethics of resistance versus surrender, freedom versus slavery, and—most critically—ancestral dignity versus present exigency.

CHAPTER 4

Addressing the Jews, Part 1: *De Excidio* 5.15 and *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)

Perhaps the most significant speech that Josephus records himself as having made during his entire career comes at the cusp of Jerusalem's final decline. In *BJ* 5.362–419 Josephus relates a long speech that he made to his fellow Jews holed up behind Jerusalem's walls. The speech is recorded as having been delivered just before the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and thus it is one of the final things said, according to Josephus and his successors, before the beginning of the downfall. Titus had bid Josephus to speak, and in his native tongue no less, in one last effort to dissuade the Jews from continued resistance to Rome. Josephus' speech does solicit surrender from a few (*BJ* 5.420–422). But in the end, some Jews still resisted. Jerusalem still fell. This ending makes this Josephus' final major oration all the more tragic.

Josephus' speech actually reads like two speeches, whose first and second parts have their own discrete emphases. These parts are separated by a brief reaction to Josephus by his listeners, one famous for plaguing public speakers: he was mocked and had things thrown at him (*BJ* 5.375). In *BJ*, the first part of Josephus' speech occurs in indirect discourse (5.362–374). In *DEH*, and subsequently in *SY*, both parts of Josephus' speech appear entirely in direct discourse and are expanded considerably. Yet by this point we do not expect *SY* to mirror *DEH* exactly in such a passage. And so it does not. Rather, between Josephus' speech as related in *DEH* 5.15–16 and its reworking in *SY* 78 (עח), we see a transformation, sometimes radical, sometimes subtle, that renders Josephus' speech a new oration. This newfound speech contains some suggestive uses of scriptural language and allusions (biblicization), an exaggerated use of God-language (theologization), and a distinctly emic tone that assumes a Jewish intra-narrative speaker and audience, along with associated in-group values and categories, and by proxy a Jewish author and readership as well (Judaization).

This chapter addresses the first part of Josephus' speech as it appears in *DEH* 5.15.1 and as rescripted in *SY* 78 (עח). The argument of this first portion of Josephus' address is easy enough to summarize. Here, in fact, is where Josephus makes most thoroughly an argument for which he has become famous: namely, he argues that God is on the side of the Romans, as evidenced by their having conquered the entire habitable world. As a consequence, Josephus argues

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-006
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

that resistance is not only futile, but self-harming for the Jews, sure to result in their own, their city's, and their Temple's destruction. Josephus recommends the expediency of surrender rather than the futility of fighting. To add historical and traditionary weight to his point, in *DEH* 5.15.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) Josephus harks back to the Jews' ancestors to show that they had made similar decisions in their history.[1] The Hebrews of old had been wise enough to choose submission and servitude, when necessary, instead of allowing themselves to be eradicated by more powerful foes. Josephus even cites the natural world itself, in the form of hierarchies among animals, to prove his point.[2] In the end, Josephus' argument is straightforward: historically, existentially, logically, continued resistance to the Romans would be a foolhardy and futile path to take.

The context of *DEH* 5.15–16 // *SY* 78 (עח) is important. As with *BJ*, the speech depicted in these chapters constitutes the one place where Josephus addresses the Jews *tout court*, at the Romans' behest, to argue *against* continued resistance to Rome. It also contains the most broad-reaching survey of Jewish history to be found in *SY* (or *DEH*). Inasmuch as it contains lengthy, critical summary analysis of the Hebrews' and/or Jews' relations with various foreign nations across many centuries, this one oration proved fertile ground for Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively to create through Josephus their respective outlines of action and consequence within Jewish history. It also provided the perfect context for Yosippon to rework traditions appropriated by Ps-Hegesippus and to leverage them in distinct rhetorical directions. As we will see, *SY* 78 (עח) constitutes a particularly poignant iteration of Yosippon's narrative-rhetorical interests and historiographical ideology, which grows out of a radical transformation of *SY*'s most important Latin, Christian source (*DEH*). *SY* 78 (עח) powerfully illustrates *SY*'s capacity to overwrite the rhetoric of its Latin sources in order to celebrate Jewish heroism, elevate Jewish identity and culture, and reframe the story of Jerusalem's downfall, here by rescripting one of the most important orations that anticipated that event.

1 To Tear down or to Build up? Josephus as Prophet

In any public speaking event a primary question concerns what the speaker is trying to do. On the face of it, Josephus' speech to the Jews before the walls

1 A few of these ancestral exempla were already mentioned in this context in Josephus' *BJ*, but the Latin of *DEH* and by proxy the Hebrew of *SY* go far beyond the Greek original.

2 Josephus' discussion of zoological *exempla* in *DEH* 5.15.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) are not treated here, but comprise the subject of a forthcoming study.

of Jerusalem is an attempt to keep them back from a path to destruction. To fight the Roman army is to die, and Josephus aims to forestall this action so as to avoid its consequence. But in what tone does he do so? Does his message sound like 'Stop fighting and surrender, or you deserve what you get, you idiots,' or does it have more a ring of 'Stop fighting and surrender, so as to save yourselves, brothers'? The same basic advice can take on very different forms. Just so, at the beginning of Josephus' speech in *DEH* we detect a discursive tenor quite other than what we will find in *SY*.

At the beginning of *DEH* 5.15.1, Josephus begins his address to his fellow countrymen like this:

> It was human nature, O Hebrews, to fight stubbornly before the matter had come to an end, while you still thought yourselves to have the upper hand because of your location and the benefits of knowing the geography …
>
> *Fuerit, Hebraei, humani ingenii contendere pertinaciter, antequam res ad supremum ueniret, dum putatis uos loco et notae regionis subsidiis fore superiores …*
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[3]

Characteristically, the Josephus of *DEH* speaks here in stark Roman military terms. 'It made sense for you locals ("Hebrews") to resist ardently at first, because you understandably thought you had the home-field advantage.' Interestingly, no similar sentiment appears in Josephus' own *BJ*. More interesting is how *SY* begins its version of Josephus' speech:

> Then Josephus called out in a great voice and said: "Listen to me, all you Hebrews, and I will speak in your hearing what will be for your good." And Josephus continued to speak to the people and said: "At first it was good for you to fight, even as you are fighting now, before this evil came upon you, when your cities were still standing and your land was full of people, before you lost your strong men to war."
>
> ויקרא יוסף בקול גדול ויאמר: שמעו אלי כל העברים ואדברה באזניכם את אשר ייטב לכם. ויען יוסף לדבר אל העם לאמר: נאה היה לכם בתחילה להלחם כאשר אתם נלחמים עתה בטרם תבוא בכם הרעה הזאת בהיות עריכם עומדות וארצכם מלאה עם לפני אבודכם גיבוריכם במלחמה.
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[4]

3 Ussani (1932) 318. The speech spans 318–323; see Bay (2023) 272–273.

4 Bowman (2023) 333–334 (333–342 for entire chapter); Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 724–725 (722–749 for entire chapter); Flusser (1978) 357 (356–370 for entire chapter).

The first thing to stand out is Josephus' preface. Rather than getting right down to business, in *SY* Josephus begins with a prophet's call that resonates with the covenant language of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, two of Yosippon's favorite intertexts.[5] The prophetic posture of Josephus' address is further underscored by his calling out "in a great voice" (בקול גדול), an idiom often used to describe God's own voice (Deut 5:22; 1Sam 7:10; Ezek 9:1)[6] or that of a prophet (Ezek 11:13), and his command "listen to me" (שמעו אלי), reminiscent of the Book of Isaiah (46:3, 12; 48:12; 51:1, 7).[7] This first point whereby *SY* distinguishes itself from *DEH* reframes all of the ensuing speech as another kind of exchange. Rather than a straightforward discussion of wartime logic with the opening concession that the Jews' actions were understandable up to that point, *SY*'s Josephus addresses his in-group as an insider, donning the garb of a prophet of Israel who will instruct God's people in the way that they should go. In *SY*, Josephus is there to help.

How this affects how one apprehends Josephus' speech may be framed in the anthropological categories of emic ('in-group') and etic ('out-group'). In *DEH*, Josephus addresses his fellow *Hebraei* like a teacher, grading their past work and now recommending that they drop the course. Moreover, inasmuch as his terminology and argumentation resonate the Latin idiom of Roman political-historiographical discourse, in *DEH* the Jew Josephus is made to speak as an outsider: his speech simply sounds Roman, which in the late antique context of *DEH*'s writing usually meant 'Christian.' Though the intra-narrative speaker Josephus is clearly Jewish, in *DEH* his speech has an etic ring, as if Ps-Hegesippus is addressing these historicized Jews through the mouth of his fictionalized Josephus.[8] Contrast this with *SY*, whose Hebrew already couches this

5 Particularly poignant and obvious are correlations between divinely-sent instruction and its intended purpose for God's people: "that it may go well with you" (ייטב לך/לכם). See Deut 6:18; 12:28; Jer 7:23. Cf. different phrasings of the same idea in, e.g., Deut 8:16 (להיטבך); 10:13 (לטוב לך); also 30:9.

6 In terms of narrative context, however, the introduction to Josephus' speech has the most in common with 2Chr 32:18; cf. Isa 36:13.

7 It is not impossible that Josephus' call in *SY*, "listen to me, all you Hebrews" (שמעו אלי כל **העברים**), is a play on the orthographically-similar call in Isa 46:12: "listen to me, all you who are brave of heart" (שמעו אלי **אבירי** לב).

8 Something which ancient historians, including Josephus, are known to have done: Rajak (2002) 80: "Above all, it is the speeches ascribed to protagonists in the history which allow an ancient author to comment personally on events." Thus, in Josephus, "the speeches are a vehicle for his thoughts." For a similar comment, see Baron (1972) 427n123. However, one must be careful not to assume that everything in any given speech represents the ideas of a given author; great care in methodology is needed if such a suggestion is not to lead to pure guesswork in interpreting authorial ideas within historiographical speeches.

speech in a Jewish thought-world, and which here has Josephus begin with a statement found nowhere in *DEH*. The Josephus of *SY* is more of an insider than he is in *DEH*.[9] The emic address of *SY* 78 (עח) begins in the biblical vernacular of prophetic instruction: God's people are called to listen as the forthcoming prescriptions promise an auspicious future. Not that *SY* softens all the force of Josephus' speech as found in *DEH*—Josephus will still charge his countrymen with persisting "stupidly" (באולת) and "not according to knowledge" (לא בדעת), at least in some manuscripts[10]—but the distinction between the rebuke of a friend and stranger is night and day:[11] "faithful are the wounds of a friend" (Prov 27:6a).

One could argue that *SY*'s specific listing of the ills that had come upon the Jews in their fight against Rome, a detail completely absent from Josephus' speech in *DEH*, jibes with the more personal, familiar approach of Josephus in *SY* more generally. By remarking upon the loss of cities (ערי), people (עם), and warriors (גיבוריכם במלחמה) in Judea, *SY* infuses Josephus' call with a *pathos* simply absent from *DEH*, the latter taking the comparatively impersonal tack

9 The fact that Josephus speaks to the Jews in Hebrew/Aramaic (*patrio sermone* in *DEH* 5.14.5, עברית in *SY* 78 [עח]) makes it clear that he is speaking to his own, yet the Latin, Christian overtones of the speech of *DEH* 5.15–16 in a way robs the speech of its native tenor, which indeed was not even represented in Josephus' original Greek version in *BJ*.

10 Interestingly, Flusser (1980) 333 records three important manuscripts (נ, א, ת) as omitting completely the line in *SY* that paraphrases Josephus' jibe from *DEH*: namely, "But you make war with them stupidly and not according to knowledge, for you have taken courage in your hearts to oppose them, yet you do not understand that you are prolonging misfortune among yourselves until it destroys the holy Temple" (ואתם נלחמים עמם באולת ולא בדעת כי נשאכם לבבכם לעוז למולם ולא ידעתם כי תאריך בכם הרעה עד אשר יהרס היכל הקודש). Is it coincidence that the line of Josephus' speech that comes closest to insult is omitted in so much of the Hebrew manuscript tradition, perhaps even its earliest strain? The omission could be due to a homeoarchy by the earliest scribe, who might have skipped over this sentence beginning ואתם straight to the next sentence, which begins ועתה (though this lead-word is missing in נ and ת). We should note here that the same three manuscripts apparently do the same thing one line later, omitting a considerable sentence, both in size and content—פן ינתצו ועל ההיכל פן יהרס ועל המקדש פן ינתש ועל השלמים ועל עולות התמיד—by skipping, apparently, from פן to a much later פן.

11 Indeed, the intimate second-person nature of Josephus' charge of stupidity here in *SY*, compared to the impersonal note in the parallel statement in *DEH* 5.15.1 to the effect that "the improvident minds of men hold to error like this in favorable circumstances" (*sed tamen habent hunc lapsum inprouidae mentes hominum in rebus secundis*), is harsher towards the addressees, but this need not imply any kind of alienation. When Josephus suggests that his countrymen are warring against Rome out of אולת, he is enlisting a term found almost exclusively in the Book of Proverbs (12:23; 13:16; 14:17, 18, 24, 29; 15:2, 14, 21; 16:22; 18:13; 19:3; 22:15; 24:9); but cf. Psa 38:6. The phrase לא בדעת also resonates with wisdom literature: Job 34:35; 36:12; Prov 29:7.

of mentioning the "fate of war" (*euentus belli*) as "generally unstable" (*plenum dubius*) and the related notion of "chance" or, literally, the "throwing of the dice" (*sortio*). The beginning of Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח), compared to *DEH* 5.15.1, bespeaks a more intra-Jewish perspective and a simultaneous amelioration of the speech's stark subject and sharp edges. Nor is this feature of *SY* 78 (עח) restricted to its opening lines.

Just a few more sentences into *SY* 78 (עח) we find another notable alteration made to *DEH* 5.15.1. In the latter, Josephus charges his listeners with having deserted the "cultivation of piety" (*cultus pietatis*). Josephus describes how those who preserve the Temple (i.e. priests, and perhaps Levites) still want to keep it cordoned off from fighting and bloodshed. *SY* 78 (עח), while keeping Josephus on-message, shifts focus from the priests to the people by having Josephus make a statement nowhere present in the *DEH* version:

> We have broken faith with him, for which reason he has withdrawn from us, for we have made war in the midst of his Temple and we kill his high priests and his saints and we shed much innocent blood in the midst of his house.
>
> ומעלנו בו על כן סר מעלינו כי נלחמנו בתוך היכלו ונהרוג את כהניו ואת קדושיו ונשפוך דם נקי לרוב בקרב ביתו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[12]

In making this statement, Yosippon changes significantly the tone of Josephus' speech from what is found in *DEH*: there, a few lines earlier, Josephus had been made to say that "now even God himself has deserted you" (*iam enim uos et deus ipse deseruit*). *SY* blunts the impact of this blanket statement by making it intelligible in terms of Jewish theology and self-understanding. The language of Josephus' statement in *SY* communicates a kind of Jewish internalization from the get-go. Josephus' leading verb מעל ("to break faith, act treacherously, act unfaithfully") epitomizes the Jewish covenant mindset. As early as Lev 5:15 the Hebrew Bible prescribes how one of God's people should respond if that person "acts unfaithfully and sins unintentionally against the LORD's holy things" (נפש כי-**תמעל מעל** וחטאה בשגגה מקדשי יהוה).[13] The verb is also the typical action

12 Bowman (2023) 334, who begins his translation of this passage: "For this, He has turned away from us …," apparently missing the initial phrase (ומעלנו בו); the 1cp verb (מעלנו) looks just like the prepositional phrase + suffix מעלינו (without the *yod*) that comes just five words later, which may explain Bowman's translation. Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 724–725; Flusser (1978) 357.

13 Cf. 2 Chr 29:19, where the "trespass" also involves the holy vessels associated with the Temple.

word describing marital infidelity (with the same construction as used here in *SY* 78: בו + מעל),[14] and as such contributes to the Jewish Scripture's covenantal infrastructure wherein God and Israel are to relate to one another as man and wife, i.e. within a marriage agreement.[15] Josephus the prophet thus reinforces the covenantal framework for his address already established in the first words out of his mouth, and then plays further on that trope. Josephus explains that he (i.e., the LORD God) "has withdrawn from us" (סר מעלינו), reiterating the core cause-and-effect logic of Deuteronomistic historiology: when God's people are faithful to him, they prosper; when they disobey, disaster strikes. By having Josephus make this statement up front, *SY* 78 (עח) casts the situation in new light: the discussion is not about military-political decision-making—it is about the ברית-יהוה, the covenant of Yahweh.

The covenantal idea is not absent from *DEH* 5.15–16, but it is nowhere near as explicit and prominent there as it is in *SY* 78 (עח). This more emic orientation becomes more conspicuous as Josephus' speech progresses. After listing the extent of Roman domination and then turning to the Jews' own posture toward the Romans, in *DEH* 5.15.1 Josephus says:

> But you respond that you would rather die than give up your liberty. When, O Jews, has this way of thinking gone well for you, or when with the Hebrews was expedient servitude not preferred to useless liberty?
>
> *Sed refertis mori praestare quam libertatem amittere. Quando ista uobis, Iudaei, successit sententia, aut quando apud Hebraeos utilis seruitus libertati inutili non praelata?*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[16]

The same line of Josephus in *SY* 78 (עח) is similar yet distinct:

> But now while you are saying: 'We will die and will not accept the yoke of the nations upon us'—inquire now of the days of your earliest forefathers who went before you, whether they were free with no masters or whether the yoke was removed from upon them.

---

14 Num 5:12 legislates for when "any man's wife goes astray and is unfaithful to him (ומעלה בו מעל)."

15 The verb's covenantal meaning is clear from, e.g., Josh 22:22; 1 Chr 9:1; Ezra 9:2, 4; 10:6; Ezek 17:20; 39:26.

16 Bay (2023) 272; Ussani (1932) 320.

ועתה באומרכם: נמות ולא נשא עול הגוים עלינו שאלו נא מימי אבותיכם הראשונים אשר היו לפנינו אם היו חופשים בלא אדונים או נפרק מעליהם עול.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[17]

Several things could be said about *SY*'s adaptation of *DEH*'s version of this line—its language rings biblical, it uses direct rather than indirect discourse, it speaks in concrete terms rather than abstractions like *libertas* and *seruitus*.[18] But perhaps the most salient divergence between the two texts here comes in their respective presentations of *how the contemporary Jews being addressed relate to the figures of sacred ancient history*. For his part, Ps-Hegesippus implies a dichotomy between the *Iudaei*, the group he is addressing, and the *Hebraei*, a group comprising not only the ancestors of the Jews but also the heroes of what was by the time of *DEH*'s writing the **Christian** Bible. Jews and Hebrews, it seems, are distinct in *DEH*. In *SY*, this simply is not so. There, in fact, neither moniker is used. Josephus merely addressees "you all" and "your forefathers" (אבותיכם). No ethnonym is needed; everyone knows who is who and it is simply assumed that speaker, listeners, and the third group mentioned all belong to the same people.

Even when *SY* does not replace *DEH*'s "they/them" with "us," he sometimes replaces it with "you all," still lending a more personal, congenial, and prophetic feel to Josephus' address. Thus, in his survey of nations, the Josephus of *DEH* notes that God had given power, after the Egyptians, to the Jews in the course of history (*deum … dedisse potentiam … Iudaeis*); *SY*, on the other hand, has Josephus recall that God "remained with you" (יהי עמכם) and "was with you and your king" (היה עמכם ועם מלככם). Rather than the they/you dichotomy represented by the *Iudaei* and *Hebraei* as found in *DEH*, *SY* merges mentions of the Jews into the first- or second-person plural, "us" or "y'all" as it were. So again, after listing Jacob, Joseph, and Benjamin as examples of the wisdom of submitting to servitude when expedient, as discussed below, *DEH* continues by saying that "their descendants" (*hereditas eorum*) served in Egypt until called out by Moses.[19] In

17 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359.

18 The difference goes further still. In *DEH*, what is stated is a *preference* for death and that which is unbearable is articulated in terms of *loss* of a *desirable* possession, namely *libertas*. In *SY*, we find a statement of fact denoting not preference but existential plight: "we will die" (נמות). Moreover, there that which is (now literally) unbearable is not the loss of positive liberty, but the gain of a *negative*, slavery ("the yoke of the nations"). The interpretive question, then, is: what is the difference between saying "we would *rather* die than **lose** *liberty*" and saying "we *will* die and *will not* **accept** *slavery*?" I leave this as an open question worth pondering.

19 This is not to suggest that *DEH* 5.15.1 does not ever have Josephus refer to these biblical

SY, on the contrary, we read that "*your* forefathers (אבותיכם) were slaves until Moses came and led them out into liberty." Not always, but often, *SY* rescripts Josephus' speech toward a more intra-group discourse. What Ps-Hegesippus has conceptually rent apart Yosippon mends back together, re-establishing the link between biblical predecessors and Jewish successors, between the ancient Hebrews and the latter-day Jews.

Yosippon's intra-Jewish perspective is, as we would expect, more sympathetic toward and positive about the Jews and their ancestors as presented in Josephus' speech. For example, this is how Ps-Hegesippus introduces the Jews' time in and subsequent escape from Egypt:

> … there [in Egypt] their descendants [i.e. those of Jacob, Joseph, Benjamin], when summoned by Moses, nevertheless desired to remain. Thus, even to your ancestors hard service was not so disagreeable that it was not preferred to dangers. Therefore you served the Egyptians—and would that it were only that one time! But not only then were you in servitude, when you preferred the nourishment of extreme servitude to the food which was rained from heaven, but also thereafter, conquered and captured you descended into Egypt when you fled from the Assyrians.
>
> *ibi hereditas eorum, cum uocaretur a Moyse, tamen haerere desiderabat. Sic patribus uestris etiam dura seruitus non displicebat ut periculis anteferretur. Seruistis ergo Aegyptiis atque utinam semel! Sed non solum tunc seruistis, quando caelestis escae pluuiis alimoniam seruitutis extremae praeferebatis, sed etiam postea uicti atque captiui descendistis in Aegyptum cum Assyrios refugeretis.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[20]

Ps-Hegesippus forefronts the biblical detail that the Israelites had not wanted to leave Egypt and, by their own admission, did so under duress (Exod 14:11–12). From this he has Josephus conclude that the ancient Israelites preferred even hard service to mortal danger. Moreover, Josephus notes that the Israelites had served Egypt more than once, that they had desired to go back to Egypt while wandering in the desert (Exod 16:23; cf. 17:3), and that they again willingly subju-

---

figures as "your ancestors," speaking to his Jewish listeners. Indeed, he does so immediately after the quote above, referring to the same figures (Jacob, Joseph, Benjamin) as "your fathers" (*patres uestri*) and even going so far as to say that, inasmuch as the ancient Israelites served Egypt, *you* (i.e. his first-century Jewish listeners) served Egypt (*seruistis ergo Aegyptiis*) (!).

20 Bay (2023) 273; Ussani (1932) 320.

gated themselves to Egypt when threatened by the Assyrian Empire (2 Kgs 18:21; cf. Isa 30–31; 36:6, 9). The Egyptian experience becomes a powerhouse charging Josephus' point: the Jews' ancestors frequently elected slavery to annihilation. Given the force of this portion of Josephus' speech in *DEH*, it is notable that only one of the above-mentioned items appears in the same portion of *SY*'s version of the speech. There Josephus merely says:

> For your forefathers were slaves until Moses came and led them out into liberty according to the word of God. And they had served Egypt twice. They also served the kings of Assyria for a long time, …
>
> כי אבותיכם היו עבדים עד אשר בא משה והוציאם לחופשים בדבר אלהים. ותעבדו את מצרים פעמיים. ותעבדו את מלכי אשור ימים רבים …
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[21]

Not only does *SY*'s Josephus mention that the Israelites were led out of Egypt by Moses "according to the word of God," as discussed further below, he also omits the details of *DEH*'s version, preferring only to mention the "twice" (פעמיים) that Israel had served Egypt. There is no mention of their desire to remain in Egypt, of their wilderness rebellions, of their resorting to Egypt again under threat from the Assyrians. Both versions of Josephus' speech tell the same overall story and cover the same periods of history (or myth or collective memory), but the selective nature of *SY*'s version makes it distinctive. It seems unlikely that *SY*'s more positive depiction, which omits to mention several biblical episodes that reflect poorly upon the ancient Israelites, is an accident. Instead, it strikes one as a mild historiographical whitewashing designed to cast a more positive light on the ancestors of the Jews, and by proxy the Jews themselves.

A bit later in the speech we perceive from a new angle the in-group nature of Josephus' discourse in *SY*. After listing the ancient political powers that Rome had subjugated in historical sequence, Josephus concocts a brilliant argument: he suggests that the Jews' ancestors had never really been free (remember that he is talking to a group of Jewish rebels claiming to fight for their ancestral liberty). For when they had been heirs of freedom, they chose traditional kingship over freedom-via-theocracy.[22] In *DEH*, Josephus puts it like this:

---

21 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359–360.

22 While not immediately relevant to these passages, we may note in passing that Josephus is the literary figure responsible for the Greek term "theocracy," θεοκρατία (*CA* 2.165). The Latin is *diuina res publica*; see Boysen (1898) 109.

> But I ask you: when were you who now refuse servitude ever free? When then have you been free? Or at what time did you who were under a king hold power over others? You used to have God as your king, but you repudiated his kingship under whom alone you had [ever] been free. You preferred to serve men. Why have you dismissed the testimonies of your fathers, oh stiff-necked people just like your fathers? You elected a king whose name was Saul.
>
> *Sed quaero quando fueritis liberi qui nunc seruitutem recusatis? Quando ergo liberi fuistis? Vel cum aliis dominaremini qui sub rege eratis? Habebatis regem deum, repudiastis regnum ipsius, sub quo solo eratis liberi. Voluistis seruire hominibus. Cur patrum reuellitis testamenta, hereditas et patres contumax? Elegistis regem cui nomen Saul.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[23]

SY both softens and shifts these statements in subtle yet significant ways:

> Tell me, now, when were your fathers free? Is it not the case that from the day you came up out of Egypt until the day when Saul, son of Kish, was made king over you, you were free, because the Lord was your king? But you rejected the Lord your king from being king over you! For you chose for yourselves a man to rule as king, just like all the nations. And from then until this day you have been slaves, for you served Saul and the rest of [your] kings.
>
> הגידו נא לי מתי היו אבותיכם חופשים! הלא מיום צאתם ממצרים ועד יום מלוך שאול בן קיש הייתם חופשים כי יי היה מלככם?! ותמאסו את יי מלככם מהיות מלך עליכם! כי בחרתם לכם אדם למלוך ככל הגוים. ומאז ועד היום הזה הייתם לעבדים כי עבדתם את שאול ואת יתר המלכים.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[24]

The first thing we might note is some traditional language added by Yosippon: the mention of "your fathers," the framing of the ancient Israelites' brief 'period of freedom' as the time of the desert wanderings between the Egyptian Exodus and Saul's coronation, the insertion of Saul's patronymic.[25] Similarly, the charge of rejecting God as king is slightly altered between *DEH* and *SY* such that the

23 Bay (2023) 273; Ussani (1932) 321.

24 Bowman (2023) 336; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 730–731; Flusser (1978) 361.

25 The patronymic identifier for Saul, שאול בן-קיש, appears rarely, only in 1Sam (10:21) and 1Chr (12:1; 26:28).

latter paraphrases 1Samuel 8:7b.[26] More significant, perhaps, is the insertion of a biblical phrase into the subsequent accusation in *SY* 78 (עח): "you chose for yourselves a man to rule as king, *just like all the nations* (ככל הגוים)." This correlation between early Israelite kingship and "all the nations" appears at 1Sam 8:5b, where the elders of Israel demand of the prophet Samuel: "Now appoint us a king to judge us like all the nations" (עתה שימה-לנו מלך לשפטנו ככל-הגוים; cf. 1Sam 8:20). Yosippon's insertion of this historical explanatory clause into Josephus' recollection of the ancient Israelites' bid for kingship has at least one clear effect: to double down on the distinction between Israel (i.e. אבותיכם) and הגוים, "the nations" or "the Gentiles," but also to remind the reader that Israel was a peer to the great ancient peoples. For Ps-Hegesippus, the only point is that even in turning to kingship the ancient *Hebraei* did not truly enjoy *libertas*. For Yosippon, the point is richer: in turning their backs on theocratic liberty, the Jews' ancestors became subjects of royal rule just like the other nations. This reinforces Josephus' argument by demonstrating that the Israelites had chosen to be like all the Gentile nations once; so why should they now reject being like all the other nations in bowing to Rome? Inserting this line simultaneously reminds the reader of *SY* that the Jews' ancestors were *not* like the other nations, or at least they were not supposed to be, but also that they did become like them in important ways. In theory, if not in practice, the Jews were always to be distinguished from others, but Yosippon's interest in communicating longstanding Jewish nobility and clout by propping up their proximity to mighty nations complicates this notion.

2 Sanctifying Josephan Oratory: The Temple and the LORD

Related to the more in-group, 'prophetic' nature of Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח) compared to *DEH* 5.15.1 is *SY*'s distinctive treatment of the Divinity and the Jerusalem Temple. By now we should be ready to find an exaggerated presence of God and the Temple in *SY* compared to parallel passages in *DEH*.[27] And this is what we find in *SY* 78 (עח). There, the effect of Josephus' speech is enhanced in ways that not only underscore its more 'emic' tenor, outlined above, but which

26 1Sam 8:7: "And the LORD said to Samuel, 'Listen to the voice of the people regarding all that they say to you, because they have not rejected you, but they have rejected me from being king over them (אתי מאסו ממלך עליהם).'"

27 Neuman (1950) 650–651, although ignorant that *SY* was using *DEH* and not *BJ* (to which he compares it), still notes the emphasis upon the Temple, and the concomitant *de*emphasis of "political freedom" and "national sovereignty" in *SY* as represented in this speech.

also present the reader with a fuller idea of the significance of what has happened to Jerusalem, to the Temple, and to the Jews thus far in the course of *SY*'s history.

First, an overview: the Latin *Deus* ("God") appears twenty-four times in *DEH* 5.15–16.[28] (In this section we treat *DEH* 5.15.1 and 5.16.1 together, because *SY* 78 (עח) represents Yosippon's adaptation of both and we are surveying language that spans that chapter.) By my count, this means that these two chapters contain over 17% of the mentions of *Deus* in that work.[29] The adjective "divine" (*diuinus,-a,-um*) also appears seven times between the chapters,[30] and *dominus* ("Lord") is thrice used to refer to God in 5.16.1.[31] Josephus' speech(es) in *DEH* 5.15–16 contain the densest section of God-language in all of *DEH*. But this is a drop in the bucket compared to what we find in *SY* 78 (עח). There, *SY*'s special moniker for Yahweh, the double-*yod* (יי), appears thirty-six times alone, more than all of the Latin God-terms found in *DEH*'s version of the passage combined.[32] In addition, the Hebrew term אלהים ("God") appears thirteen times, often in a construct with יי (e.g., "the LORD our God"). In other words, Yosippon found in *DEH* 5.15–16 a speech/passage especially redolent of reference to divinity, and in *SY* 78 (עח) compounded that theme even further. Framed as it is within in-group prophetic covenant language reminiscent of Deuteronomy, this preponderance of mentions of God further recreates Josephus' oration as a mediation between the LORD God and his special covenant people. The ways in which God is discussed in *SY* 78 (עח), as compared to *DEH* 5.15–16, bear this out. Here, in step with this chapter's focus, I show this while only treating the

28 Five times in *DEH* 5.15.1 (1× in nominative, 4× in accusative), nineteen times in 5.16.1 (1× in nominative, 10× in genitive, 6× in dative, 2× in accusative).

29 The terms appear at these frequencies across *DEH*: *deus* = 29×; *dei* = 57×; *deo* = 29×; *deum* = 22×. The only other passage in *DEH* with a comparable density of the term is, predictably, the twin speeches by Josephus' Jewish comrades and himself in 3.16–17 after the Battle of Jotapata. There *Deus* appears some sixteen times, mostly in 3.17 (*deus* = 4×; *dei* = 6×; *deo* = 3×; *deum* = 1×), though 3.16 has *deus* twice. These two sets of speeches have much in common: each distill major themes of the work; they contain the largest two collections of biblical *exempla* to appear in *DEH*; and each contains some of the highest concentration of *Deus*-language in *DEH*.

30 2× in 5.15.1, 5× in 5.16.1, out of 46× across the entire work (about 15% of all usages appear in *DEH* 5.15–16).

31 Here Ps-Heg betrays the Latin theological argot of early Christian literature; Dwyer (1931) 34.

32 This is not counting the divine terms to be found at the beginning of *SY* 78 (עח), corresponding to *DEH* 5.14. However, note I am not counting here Latin pronouns that refer to God in *DEH* 5.15–16.

mentions of God found in *DEH* 5.15.1 (not 5.16.1) and their parallels—or not—in *SY* 78 (עח).

The very first mention of God (*Deus*) in *DEH* 5.15.1 comes when Josephus states: "Even now God himself has deserted you, because you have deserted the cultivation of piety."[33] The statement carries the tit-for-tat assumption of Deuteronomistic historiography: you abandoned God, now he has abandoned you. But Yosippon does not repeat this statement, which in *DEH* comes amidst the description of the Temple's desecration (see below). Instead, Yosippon has Josephus make a rather different remark, and not until the end of his list of the ways in which the Temple had been defaced. He says that these things had happened "for we have sinned against the LORD, the God of this Temple" (כי אנחנו חטאנו ליי אלהי ההיכל הזה).[34] The deity is no longer "God" but "the LORD," and is now not the subject of a verb ("he deserted") but rather the indirect object ("*we* sinned *against* him"). And, importantly, in *SY* Josephus does not say that God has abandoned the Jews. He will come to this point in short order—just a few lines later, in fact—but it is telling that Yosippon does not have Josephus lead with this proclamation the way he does in *DEH* 5.15.1. This shift in how Josephus first mentions God in his speech bespeaks the new, Jewish theological perspective under construction in *SY*.

The more Jewish theology of Yosippon, reinforcing the more covenantal ring of Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח) (as discussed above), can emerge in subtle ways. For example, the next mention of God in *DEH* 5.15.1 occurs with an adjectification and then nominalization and then grammatical relativization of the divine name: after asking rhetorically whether "divine aid and help" (*praesidium … diuinum … auxilium*) should be expected by the Jews, Josephus implies a negative answer, stating that the one who (*qui*) was defending the Jews had gone over to the Romans, the same one whom (*quem*) the Jews used to worship, but had now offended, and whom the Romans revered.[35] Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus explain the Jews' plight without mentioning God by name. In *SY* 78 (עח), the same thing is said, but in different words:

---

33 Bay (2023) 272; Ussani (1932) 319: *Iam enim uos et deus ipse deseruit, quia uos pietatis cultum deseruistis.*

34 "We have sinned against the LORD" is a classical communal confession formula: Deut 1:41; Jer 3:25; 8:14. Four manuscripts (נ, א, ר, ת) add ישראל after אלהי, i.e. "the God of Israel [and] of this Temple." Flusser (1980) 333.

35 *DEH* 5.15.1 (Ussani [1932] 319) "Or is divine protection and help expected from the inner places? Rather, the one who was defending us has gone over to the enemy, because the one whom we used to worship the Romans have revered, but we have offended" (*An praesidium speratur diuinum atque auxilium de penetralibus? Sed qui nos defendebat ad hostem migrauit, quoniam quem nos colebamus Romani uenerantur, nos offendimus*).

> But if you say, 'We trust in our God,' he is not with us, for he has turned aside to help our enemies because they honor his great name and stand in awe before him. But we have broken faith with him.
>
> ואם תאמרו: נבטח באלהינו איננו עמנו כי סר לעזרת אויבינו כי הם כיבדו שמו הגדול ויראו ממנו. ואנחנו מעלנו בו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[36]

SY turns Josephus' mention of "divine help and aid" into a mention of God (אלהים) himself.[37] Not only that, he is mentioned as "our God" (אלהינו)—in *SY*, God is still the God of the Jews. Further still, there may be room in the gap between the Latin of *DEH* and the Hebrew of *SY* here to detect a slight softening of Josephus' point: Yosippon omits the detail that God "*was* helping us" (*defendebat*), and the saying that God "is not with us" and "has turned aside to help our enemies" might be read as a temporary state of affairs, less definitive than the divine and past-tense 'switch' posited in *DEH*.[38] This is reinforced by subsequent mention of God's having "turned aside from" (סר) others within history (see below). Either way, the God of *SY* here is a personal God (inasmuch as "we trust in him") and the overtly Jewish God, where God is not even mentioned per se in Ps-Hegesippus' Latin. The shift between how *DEH* and *SY* present the Divinity in this speech is subtle, but it is there.

Similar subtlety attends Josephus' depiction of divine agency between *DEH* and *SY*. Immediately after the statement quoted above, in both versions Josephus makes a programmatic announcement about God's relationship with the world's political powers, both at present and throughout history. In *DEH* 5.15.1, Josephus says that "God is with them," that is, the Romans, and then notes that "God has given power in turn to diverse peoples," which issues in a survey of those historical empires (Egypt, Assyria, Persia, etc.).[39] Similarly, in *SY*

36 Bowman (2023) 334; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 726–727; Flusser (1978) 358.

37 Stemberger (1983) 152 sees this passage as indicative of the adaptation technique of *SY* 78 (עח) as a whole: "Voll übernimmt Josippon auch die Rede des Josephus vor der belagerten Stadt, wonach Gott zu den Feinden übergegangen ist, die seine Namen fürchten" (citing also *SY* 79 [עט], 84 [פד], and 87 [פז]).

38 *DEH*'s verbiage, where Josephus says that God "has migrated" (*migrauit*) to the enemy, seems less permanent than the Hebrew סר ("to turn aside"), and may carry the unstated Christian conviction that God had indeed made such a migration historically, from the Jews, his former people, to the Christians (/Romans?), his new people.

39 *DEH* 5.15.1 (Ussani [1932] 319): "For who does not know that God is with them, who have subjected all places to themselves except for those that are untraversable due to excessive heat or cold and therefore lie outside of the Roman *imperium* because by the same token

78 (עח) Josephus says that "God is with them"—again, the Romans—and that God has given all nations and sovereignty into their hands. Both versions of the speech mention God (*deus*/האלהים) twice here. But hereafter, as the versions each survey the list of divinely-sanctioned superpowers in ancient history, a notable difference emerges. In *DEH* 5.15.1, following the two programmatic *deus*-statements, Josephus only imputes three distinct verbs to God: he "had been a helper" (*auxiliatorem fuisse*) to the Assyrians and the Persians, switched sides so as to continue (*conuersum … persuerare*) with the Romans, and eventually yielded (*cessisse*) universal rule to them.[40] In Yosippon's slightly longer version of this historical survey, God is far more active:

> Is not the current government to rule until the end of their allotted time? Is it not **he** who **makes them rule**, **he** who **helps** them? And **he is** with them, for their aid, all the days of their appointed time. Do you not know that **he was** from the first with Egypt, when **he made them rule** over all the nations? Then, afterwards, yes, **he left off** from the people of Egypt and **remained** with you. And **he made you rule** over great nations, for **he was** with you and with your king. Just so, after this **he left off** from you and **gave** the sovereignty into the hand of the Babylonians, then Assyria, then Persia, and **he was** with them for their aid, for they are all the work of his hands. But now **he has abandoned** them and his assistance resides with the Romans. And **he has been** with them as a support for many years. And **he made them rule** over the peoples who formerly ruled over them. But now, what gives you the right to make war with the rulers of the peoples, who unlocked the secret of the paths to India and every island of the sea, the Great Sea, Oceanus, which is a passage to India and all the remote regions of the East, …

---

they lie outside of the customary boundaries of civilization? God had given power by turn to diverse peoples …" (*Quis autem ignorat cum illis esse deum, qui sibi omnia subiecerunt nisi quae nimio aestu aut gelu inuia sunt, et ideo extra Romanum imperium quia eadem extra usum humanum? Diuersis populis deum per uices dedisse potentiam …*).

40 *DEH* 5.15.1 (Ussani [1932] 319): [God gave power] "at first to the Egyptians, thereafter to the Jews, and no one denies that he had been a helper to the Assyrians and even to the Persians, and thereafter he switched over to the Romans to continue with them; at last, he yielded universal rule to them, with every land given into their possession. What have you to do with the conquerors of the whole earth, to whom the secrets of the sea and the far reaches of India lie bare?" (*primo Aegyptiis, post Iudaeis, Assyriis quoque et Persis auxiliatorem fuisse nullus negat, postea conuersum ad Romanos cum his perseuerare; denique cessisse illis uniuersa regna, omnem terram in possessionem datam. Quid uobis cum uictoribus uniuersae terrae, quibus secreta oceani et extrema Indiae patent?*). *SY* has the same list of powers, but adds the Chaldeans (Babylonians) between Egypt and Assyria.

הלא עת ממשלה הוא למשול לקץ גורלם? הלא **הוא המשילם והוא עזרם**? **והוא** עמהם בעזרתם כל ימי גורלם. הלא ידעתם כי בתחילה **היה** עם מצרים **וימשילם** בכל הגוים? ואחרי כן **סר** מעם מצרים **ויהי** עמכם. **וימשילכם** על גוים רבים כי **היה** עמכם ועם מלככם. אחרי כן **סר** מעליכם **ויתן** הממשלה ביד הכשדים ואשור ופרס **ויהי** עמם בעזרתם כי מעשה ידיו כולם. ועתה **עזב** אותם ותהי עזרתו עם רומנים. **והוא** עמהם לעזרה מרוב שנים. **וימשילם** על העמים אשר משלו בהם מלפנים. ועתה מה לכם להלחם עם מושלי העמים אשר פתחו סוד מעברות הודו וכל איי הים הגדול ים אוקיינוס אשר מעבר להודו וכל ירכתי מזרח, ...

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[41]

SY 78 (עח), in contradistinction to *DEH* 5.15.1, has Josephus project a deity whose personal activity on the stage of history is considerable. No fewer than fourteen verbs are attributed to God in *SY* here (granted, many of them copulas), nearly four times as many as in the parallel portion of *DEH*. Additionally, right in the middle of the speech, *SY* has Josephus remark of the nations that "they are all the work of his hands," a biblical formula (Job 34:19b) that nods to divine sovereignty over human affairs.[42] Compared to Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon's theology of history, articulated here through the mouth of Josephus, is much heavier on the theology.

More obvious manifestations of *SY*'s theologization of its source come in passing mentions of God in Josephus' speech that have no precedent in *DEH*. Recounting the many subjugations of the Jews' ancestors across history, in *DEH* Josephus merely mentions that the Israelites were "summoned by Moses" (*uocaretur a Moyse*) to come up out of Egypt; in *SY*, Josephus avers that Moses led them to freedom "according to the word of God" (בדבר אלהים). Where in *DEH* Josephus recalls simply that "you also served the Macedonians" (*seruistis etiam Machedonibus*), *SY* remembers that "the LORD saved you" (יושע יי אתכם) from the Macedonians (by the hands of the Hasmoneans, on which see below). Finally, in a part of the speech summarizing the historical move from captivity

41 Bowman (2023) 334; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 726–727; Flusser (1978) 358. Here I am counting verbs of being, implied or stated, with prepositions (i.e. "to be with") as action verbs. Note also that the reference to "[God's] assistance" (עזרתו) picks up the impersonal language of the earlier portion of the speech in *DEH* 5.15.1 (*praesidium ... diuinum ... auxilium*), though well after the fact. The Hiphil form of משל repeated several times here is reminiscent of Psa 8:7a and Dan 11:39; see Gesenius (2013) ad loc. Dan 11:39 should likely be understood as a foundational verse/chapter for this passage, in that its use of והמשילם involves the idea of God allotting political rule to peoples in turn and includes a rare biblical mention of the Kittim (11:30).

42 Job 34:19 reads: [God] "shows no partiality to the prominent, nor regards the rich as above the poor, since they are all the work of his hands" (אשר לא-נשא פני שרים ולא נכר-שוע לפני-דל כי-מעשה ידיו כלם).

under the Persians in the later-sixth century BCE to alliance with Rome in the first century CE, the Josephus of *DEH* says:

> So that I may pass over the captivities quickly: Cyrus returned most of the Jews to their lands and their sacred things. But your forefathers, when they were being worn down by onerous wars with the Persians—however renowned they were due to the triumphs of the Maccabees—chose for themselves a Roman alliance.
>
> *Vt transiliam captiuitates, Cyrus plerosque terris suis Iudaeos et sacris suis reddidit. Sed patres uestri, cum Persarum proeliis grauibus adtererentur, quamuis Machabaeorum triumphis nobiles, elegerunt sibi Romanam societatem.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[43]

The chronological mechanics of this statement are jarring, as Josephus moves seamlessly from Cyrus and the Persians to the age of the Maccabees (mid-second century BCE) to the era of Roman hegemony. Important for us, however, is that in *DEH* this is pure political history: the Jews had striven and won and lost in turn in the arena of international relations through the ages. In *SY*, however, the covenant is remembered, and the LORD credited with military victory:

> And how good was Cyrus, king of Persia, who returned your captives to your land. Not you only did he allow to return, but also all the vessels of your holy service he allowed to return with you, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness. But after his death the kings of Macedon arose over you and oppressed you with a hard yoke. But the LORD stirred up his priests, the sons of the Hasmoneans, to deliver you from their hand. And he magnified your name, and you became friends and allies to the Romans, and you increased your love in your hearts [for one another] for many years.
>
> ומה טוב היה כורש מלך פרס אשר השיב שבותכם אל ארצכם. ולא אתכם לבדכם השיב כי אם את כל כלי עבודת מקדשכם השיב עמכם ותחשב לו לצדקה. ואחרי מותו קמו עליכם מלכי מקדון וילחצו אתכם בעול קשה. ויער יי את כהניו בני חשמוניי להושיעכם מידם. ויגדל שמכם ותהיו חברים ועמיתים לרומנים ותגדל אהבתכם בלבבכם שנים רבות.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[44]

43 Ussani (1932) 322; Bay (2023) 273.

44 Bowman (2023) 336; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 730–733; Flusser (1978) 361.

If one did not know any better, one would think that Yosippon were having Josephus recount a completely different history than had Ps-Hegesippus. Unlike *DEH*, *SY* paints an explicitly positive portrait of Cyrus in line with his brief biblical presentation.[45] Unlike *DEH*, *SY* provides a context for the period of Maccabean greatness following the oppression of Alexander the Great's successors, here dubbed "the kings of Macedon." Most importantly for our purposes, *SY* (predictably) emphasizes the deliverance of the Hasmonean dynasty—discussed more fully below—and in so doing posits that "the LORD raised up" (ויער יי) the Hasmoneans as his vehicle of salvation. While *DEH* vaguely mentions Maccabean nobility in briefest terms, *SY* provides a short exposition of *divine* deliverance. In a similar vein, though God is not named, Cyrus' move to return the Jews to their land receives divine approbation in *SY*: "and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." Here Josephus is made to put Cyrus on par with Abram (Gen 15:6b) and Phinehas (Psa 106:31a), to both of whom praise is attributed for their faithfulness with this same Hebrew formula; and the one who imputes (חשב) such righteousness (צדקה) is the LORD (יהוה; Gen 15:6). In rewriting Josephus' speech before the walls of Jerusalem, we find *SY* imagining God as an active historical agent where *DEH* had scripted a more political, though not *un*theological, history.

In general, as we have seen above, the shift in God-language from *DEH* to *SY* is characterized by a change from the impersonal "God" (*deus*) to the personal "Yahweh" (יי) and by an intensification of divine presence in Josephus' presentation of the pre-Jewish past. Sometimes *SY* inserts divine agency into Josephus' speech where nothing in *DEH*'s version precipitates this. Elsewhere *SY* has Josephus simply mention God more than he does in *DEH*. For example, at one point in his speech Josephus plays briefly upon the biblical proscriptions and prescriptions for Israelite kingship found in passages like Deuteronomy 17:14–20 and 1Samuel 8:10–18 (mentioned above).[46] In *DEH*, Josephus charges that "you used to have God as your king, but you repudiated his kingship" (*habebatis regem deum, repudiastis regnum ipsius*). In *SY*, Josephus asks his listeners whether they did not used to be free, "because God was your king" (כי יי היה מלככם)? Indeed, in a variant version of that question which may indeed constitute the original reading, Josephus goes even further by suggesting that "the king of kings had been king" (מלך מלכי המלכים) over you.[47] Josephus con-

45 See 2 Chr 36:22–23; Ezra; Isa 44:28; 45:1.

46 It is appropriate here to cross-reference Deut 28:36 and 33:5.

47 Manuscripts נ, א, and ת read: "Is it not the case that … you were free … because the LORD was your king, and there was no tyrant among you, but rather the king of kings ruled as king (מלככם ולא היה שולט בכם כי אם מלך מלכי המלכים)?" See Flusser (1980) 333.

tinues: "but you rejected the LORD your king from being king over you" (ותמאסו את יי מלככם מהיות מלך עליכם). It is true that the conceptual content of the Latin and Hebrew is virtually identical, and one could argue that the incongruity in vocabulary and the mention of God only once in *DEH* versus twice in *SY* has to do as much with Latin versus Hebrew grammar/syntax as anything else: Ps-Hegesippus' Latin here is characteristically laconic and balanced (verb + object + qualifier), and there is nothing unusual about Yosippon's Hebrew. Still, in line with my overall argument in this section, I submit that it is not incidental that *SY* mentions not אלהים, but יי here, and not once, like *DEH*, but twice. There is a strong if subtle emphasis upon divine agency in *SY*'s version of the speech, and upon the personal and national character of the divine identity. Reading our respective authors' viewpoints into Josephus' words, we might say that, for Ps-Hegesippus, the God of history *used to be* the God of the Jews, whereas for Yosippon the God of the Jews *is* the God of history.

Turning to the place of the Temple in Josephus' speech, let us compare how *DEH* and *SY* respectively script Josephus' words. In *DEH*, Josephus at first bids his listeners to spare the shrines (*arae*), altars (*altaria*), and "one-time house of heaven" (*domicilium quondam caeleste*)—telling language, coming as it does ultimately from a Christian author.[48] *SY*, on the other hand, has Josephus plead to "turn aside" (חוסו)[49] and "spare" (חמלו) the altars (המזבחות), the Temple (ההיכל), and the sanctuary (המקדש), adding to this the peace offerings (השלמים) and the daily sacrifices (עולות התמיד). By mentioning more and more intimate portions of Jerusalem's sacred precincts and the more specific tenets of its associated rituals, *SY*'s Josephus appears a more concerned and knowledgeable party, and *SY* itself presents the reader with more of an insider's perspective. Just as telling is the pastness of Josephus' perspective in *DEH*'s version of this speech: in addition to qualifying 'God's house' (i.e. the Temple) as "former" (*quondam*), *DEH* inserts at this point the statement that God has already deserted (*deseruit*) the Jews because of their abandoning *pietas*, a statement which *SY* here omits (see above), preferring to rearrange the statement itself and place it elsewhere in the speech. In the same vein, *DEH* has Josephus speak in the perfect tense—"we *have carried* (*pertulimus*) war into the middle of the Temple"—and then the present: armed men "stand around" (*circumsistunt*) what used to be the Temple's sacred fires, *right now*. According to *DEH*'s Josephus, it seems, the damage has been done. But compare this perspective to Josephus' verbiage in *SY*: there Josephus seeks to aver damage to the altars

48 The perhaps earliest manuscripts of *DEH*, i.e. M^2, omits the first phrase (*aris parcite*); Ussani (1932) 319.

49 One could also read the verb חסה here to mean "have hope." See Gesenius (2013) 376.

"lest they be shattered" (פן ינתצו), and to the Temple "lest it be destroyed" (פן יהרס), and to the sanctuary "lest it be removed" (פן ינתש), and to the waters and daily sacrifices "lest they be stopped" (פן ישבותו), and to the fire "lest it be extinguished" (פן תכבה). If in *DEH* Josephus' statements are descriptive, in *SY* they are preventative. Things do not have to go this way. I suggest that here, again, we find *SY* conveying a more sympathetic view of events through Josephus-as-mouthpiece, a Jewish take on a Jewish scene. This fits well with Josephus' summation of his exhortation in *SY* 78 (עח): "for we have sinned against the Lord, the God of this Temple."

Another Temple-adjacent aspect of the speech's Judaization comes immediately hereafter, where *SY* inserts another line with no clear antecedent in *DEH*: "look: the Gentiles, your enemies, have pity on the Temple of the Lord and on the house of his holiness, so as not to make it a wilderness."[50] By making explicit reference to the "Gentiles" or "the nations" (הגוים), *SY* inserts a realistic reminder to the reader as to the particular us-them paradigm assumed by the parties involved in this scene. This is further reinforced from the other side when Josephus mentions God's priests (כהניו) and his saints or "holy ones" (קדושיו) whom he charges the Jews with having killed in Temple precincts. Referring not only to the "Temple of the Lord" (היכל יי) but also to the "house of his holiness" (בית מקדשו)—another name for the exact same thing—further undergirds the specificity of this moment's narrative components: a Jew, addressing Jews, about the Jewish Temple, and the Jewish God, in reference to immanent non-Jews. If these features of this scenario are discernible in *DEH*, they are painfully obvious in *SY*, made more explicit, more detailed, and more significant by an interested Jewish author. All in all, *SY* 78 (עח) makes Josephus' speech much more God-centric—divine agency and ownership undergird the strong intra-Jewish flavor of *SY*'s version of the speech.

3 Shifting Heroes between *De Excidio* and *Sefer Yosippon*

One of the most prominent aspects of this speech is Josephus' employment of biblical figures as rhetorical *exempla* to drive home his points. This is true of the speech as found in *BJ*, but *DEH* 5.15–16 mentions a much longer list of scriptural examples than its Greek source. In turn, *SY* lists this longer series of Bible heroes. *DEH* 5.15.1 contains far fewer scriptural *exempla* than 5.16.1, to which

50 Bowman (2023) 334; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 724–725; Flusser (1978) 357: והנה הגוים אויביכם חומלים על היכל יי ועל בית מקדשו לבלתי תת אותו שממה.

we turn in the next chapter. But the *exempla* of *DEH* 5.15.1 are made more interesting by the fact that they lack any precedent at all in *BJ*. When it comes to comparing *DEH* to *SY*, there are a few telling differences between the presentation of Hebrew heroes in *DEH* 5.15.1 and what we find in the corresponding speech of *SY* 78 (עח), differences that help fill out our picture of how *SY* modifies its source.

The first person Josephus mentions in both speeches is Jacob. In *DEH*, Jacob is introduced as "[the] patriarch" (*patriarcha*) who led the *Hebrews* (*Hebraei*) into Egypt. In *SY*, Jacob is simply "our father" (אבינו), with no mention of the Hebrews. *SY* subtly undercuts the distinction, mentioned above, that *DEH* makes between Jews and Hebrews at precisely this point in the speech. Interestingly, the subsequent biblical hero mentioned, Jacob's son Judah, speaks directly to the moniker "Jew" or "Judean":

> There was Judah, that noble stock of the Jews, who gave his name to the people …
>
> *Ibi Iudas ille nobilis Iudaeorum prosapia, qui nomen populo dedit …*
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[51]

Yosippon expands quite a bit upon Ps-Hegesippus' laconic mention of Judah:

> Was not the name Judah honored among the sons of Jeshurun such that we are called, according to his name, 'Jews?' For who was able to subjugate him, he being both respected and great? Yet he turned his back and served Egypt so that he would not die by famine.
>
> הלא שם היה יהודה הנכבד בבני ישורון אשר נקראינו על שמו יהודים? כי מי יוכל להכניעו והוא היה יקר וגדול? אך נטה שכמו ויעבוד את מצרים לבלתי מות ברעב.
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[52]

In both versions of the speech, the point that Jacob and Judah both make is that they, noble ancestors, condescended to serve Egypt so as to survive.[53] But

51 Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 272–273.

52 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359.

53 "Jeshurun," it should be noted, is a poetic name for Jacob or Israel found in Deut 32:15; 33:5, 26; Isa 44:2. By now we should expect to find the idiosyncratic language of Deuteronomy (or Isaiah) built into *SY*'s prose. It is noteworthy that the rare nomenclature of ישורון is present in Jewish Late Antiquity. The name is attested on several Samaritan inscriptions from 1) a clay lamp from Caesarea, 2) a building stone from Emmaus-Nicopolis, 3) an

it may be significant that Yosippon takes care to lionize the name of the Jews (יהודים), suggesting that the label itself was (is) honored, respected, and great, like its namesake.[54] In a few quick sentences, *SY* contradicts the Hebrew/Jew distinction suggested by *DEH*. The change suggests Yosippon's interest in plastering over any defamation of the group to which both narrative speaker and listeners, in addition to the author himself, belong. Yosippon's brief extension of the description of Judah's career from what is found in *DEH* adds to this impression. In *DEH*, Josephus simply notes that Judah was "there" (*ibi*), i.e. in Egypt. In *SY*, Josephus asks an important rhetorical question: who could subjugate (להכניע) the respected (יקר) and great (גדול) Judah? No one, that's who. He returned to Egypt of his own volition. While this point is also a necessary part of Josephus' rhetoric in *DEH*, by making it explicit *SY* accentuates Judah's freedom and significance, which then reflects upon his eponymous progeny. The proximity of the adjectives makes the correlation inescapable. The Judah of *SY* here was a force to be reckoned with, a historical agent, not someone who just happened to be "there" in Egypt; it is no coincidence that the forebear of the later "Judah-people" is thus elevated by Yosippon. Finally, *SY*'s discussion of Jacob, Judah, and the proto-history of the Jews is not only overtly positive and expansive; it is also, once again, more emic—Josephus discusses what "we are called" (נקראינו), a departure from the implicit third-person perspective of Ps-Hegesippus. In recreating these oratorical remarks about Jacob and Judah, Yosippon restructures for the reader not only the narrative context of Josephus' speech itself, but also the underlying issues of history and identity, here inextricably linked, to which it alludes.

Two of Judah's brothers, Joseph and Benjamin, are also mentioned by Josephus here. The shift between these figures' depictions in *DEH* and their depictions in *SY* is subtle. Ps-Hegesippus emphasizes Joseph's prominent leadership position in Egypt (cf. Gen 41–50):

> There [in Egypt] Joseph, lofty with his chariot and horses, chose to submit himself to the power of another so that he might sustain them rather than to return them to the liberty of their distinctive origin.

---

amulet from Sichem (Nablus), 4) another amulet from Damascus. All four of these items bear a line from Deut 33:26a—אין כאל ישרון ("There is no one like the God of Jeshurun")—and all date probably to the fourth or fifth century CE; Ben-Zvi (1961).

54 The moniker יהודים appears only in a few texts of the Hebrew Bible: Esther (2:5; 3:4; 4:7; 8:1, 7, 13; 9:15, 18), Jeremiah (36:14, 21, 23; 43:9; 52:28, 30), and Zechariah (8:23). Similarly, the term "Jew/Judean" (יהוד) appears only in two, late texts: Ezra 7:14; Dan 2:25; 5:13; 6:13.

> *ibi Ioseph curru sublimis et equis subicere se in potestate maluit ut aleret suos quam ad originis propriae libertatem redire.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[55]

Yosippon does not highlight Joseph's exalted status as Pharaoh's right hand. Instead, we find:

> There [in Egypt] was Joseph, the handsome gentleman who endured servitude in the household of pharaoh so that the household of his father might live. Even if Joseph wanted to return to the land of Canaan, who was able to bring us back there?
>
> ושם היה יוסף יפה אישים אשר סבל עבודת בית פרעה למען חיות בית אביו. לו חפץ יוסף לשוב אל ארץ כנען מי היה יכול להשיבנו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[56]

Why is the Joseph of *DEH* 5.15.1 so different from the Joseph of *SY* 78 (עח)? One explanation could be that it is possible to apprehend the Joseph of Ps-Hegesippus in a less-than-flattering light. If Joseph was riding "on high" on chariots and horses, was it a sacrifice to remain thus? Could that count as servitude? Moreover, stressing Joseph's Egyptian position reminds the biblically-literate reader of the disconnect between Joseph and Judaism, as it were: Joseph's career was almost totally associated with Egypt, a far cry both conceptually and geographically from the "distinctive" (*propria*) origins of his family.[57] This may be why Yosippon chooses to ignore Joseph's status and instead to concentrate on another feature for which he was known: his good looks. Gen 39:6b notes that "Joseph was handsome in form and handsome in appearance" (ויהי יוסף יפה-תאר ויפה מראה), and both ancient and modern commentators have found significance in Joseph's physical attractiveness.[58] What import Yosippon might see in Joseph's beauty is difficult to tell. Perhaps it is simply a matter of replac-

55 Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 273.

56 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359.

57 This line of thinking might also prompt us to recall that Joseph's brief appearance in *SY* 2 (ב) had him initially in Hebron, where he was burying his father, after which he came back to Egypt, a captured Zepho in tow. But this transregionality of Joseph could be read in multiple ways, as emphasizing Joseph's ties to Egypt or, alternately, to the Holy Land (Hebron). See discussion below.

58 See Kugel (1997), 443–444; Philo *Jos.* 40; T. Jos. 18.4; T. Sim. 5.1; Josephus *AJ* 2.9. The theme of Joseph's beauty is also prominent in *Joseph and Aseneth*, discussed yet underemphasized by Hollander (1998) 251.

ing something overtly *Egyptian* about Joseph's persona with something that is not moored to his time there, indeed, which might well be associated with his genetic, familial, i.e. 'racial' background—his mother's beauty was described in the same terms as his (Gen 29:17), as Maren Niehoff points out.[59] Or perhaps Yosippon is here drawing upon his source's source, that is Josephus himself, whose *AJ* makes a great deal of Joseph's physical features, probably in response to Greek literary expectations.[60] Whatever the reason, *SY* replaces Joseph the Egyptian leader found in *DEH* with Joseph the proto-Jewish adonis.[61]

Further, Yosippon adds through Josephus a rhetorical question to the effect that, if Joseph had wanted to return to Canaan, who could have brought the Israelites back there? This question shows Yosippon's exegetical imagination at work. Ps-Hegesippus apparently never even thought of that eventuality. He implies that Joseph had a choice, either to sustain his people in Egypt or return them to their native land, and that he self-sacrificially chose the former course: he subjected himself to the power of another (*subicere se in potestate*). Yosippon thought Joseph's handsomeness a better point to emphasize than his clout, and apparently thought that Joseph really lacked the option of leaving Egypt. Recall that in Chapter 2 (ב), *SY* records Joseph as having temporarily left Egypt to bury his father at Hebron, at which time Joseph apparently controlled a significant military force (יד). What is imagined in *SY* 78 (עח) is probably, and not unrealistically, that Joseph did not have the wherewithal to safely transport and securely settle his own people (i.e. large family network) outside Egyptian juris-

---

59 Niehoff (1992) 32 (with n. 64); cf. Josephus *AJ* 1.288.

60 Feldman (1992) 388–390 suggests that Josephus, in emphasizing Joseph's handsomeness, was playing to Greco-Roman norms which his readers would have assumed and which are reflected in works like Homer's *Iliad* (22.370), Plato's *Republic* (7.535A 11–12) and *Phaedrus* (279), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (1.79.10), to name a few (cf. Apuleius *Flor.* 15). See also Whitmarsh (2007) 83 and 94n24.

61 The handsome Jewish hero is a trope that Yosippon quite enjoys: Antigonus in *SY* 31 (לא): והיה הבחור יפה תואר מאד ויפה מראה ויתמהו כל העם על מראהו ועל יופיו ("The youth was very good looking and handsome in appearance, and all the people were amazed at his appearance and at his good looks"); Aristobulus II in *SY* 34 (לד): יפה תואר ובידיו חזק וברגליו קל ("a handsome youth, strong of hand and light of foot"); Aristobulus II in *SY* 37 (לז): איש יקר וגיבור ורחב ידים ויפה עינים ויפה תואר ("a rare man and a mighty man and open-handed with piercing eyes and attractive in appearance"); Aristobulus III in *SY* 45 (מה): יפה תואר ויפה מראה ("very good looking and handsome in appearance"). Language here is pulled from Gen 41:18 + 1Sam 25:3 (ויפת תאר); Gen 41:19 (תאר מאד); Gen 43:33 (ויתמהו); 1Sam 16:12 (והוא אדמוני עם-**יפה עינים** וטוב ראי), David's introduction to the biblical storyline, and Song 1:15 + 4:1 (יפה עיניך). Cf. *Jubilees* 39:5; cf. also Gen 29:17: ועיני לאה רכות ורחל היתה יפת-תאר ויפת מראה ("Leah's eyes were weak, but Rachel was beautiful in form and beautiful in appearance"). The biblical phrase רחב[ת] ידים is used of topography, not persons (Gen 34:21; Judg 18:10; 1Chr 4:40; Neh 7:4; Psa 104:25; Isa 22:18; 33:21).

diction, nor would he necessarily have been given leave to do. All of his power was tied to the Egyptian hierarchy. This makes the Joseph *exemplum* in *SY* 78 (עח) actually the core of a different historical lesson than what is found in *DEH* 5.15.1. The latter suggests that Joseph, powerful though he may have been, preferred to be subject to power in Egypt and to survive (with his people) than to move elsewhere and perhaps not survive.[62] *SY* 78 (עח), on the other hand, insinuates that Joseph could not have returned his people to 'their' land even if he had wanted to (aside from the fact that they did not really have a land at this point). Joseph's choice was not a preference based upon expedience, but a resignation to necessity, a very different kind of decision indeed. If we read the Joseph example this way, then *SY* subtly transvalues the Hebrew hero, and thus Yosippon's Josephus thereby counsels his comrades to surrender not because it is the better option, but because there really is no choice to be made.[63]

Another barely-perceptible shift comes in the presentation of Benjamin, Joseph's younger (and only full) brother. Here *SY* 78 (עח) recalls Benjamin's example in much the same terms as *DEH* 5.15.1, but not in the exact same terms:

> there [in Egypt] Benjamin, detained by his true sibling through a pious fraud, agreed to this trickery, because there was no reproach in serving those who were more powerful, …
>
> *ibi Beniamin pia fraude germani retentus consensit dolo, quia non erat crimen seruire potentioribus, …*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[64]

> And there was Benjamin, who returned to the household of Joseph by cruel deceit. For he [Joseph] laid service upon him [Benjamin], and in all this he [Benjamin] did not err, but rather he bent his shoulder to serve, for it is no disgrace to man to serve someone who is greater than we.

62 The aversion to versus risk of danger qua driving ethic may be inferred from the statement of Josephus in the following sentence, which bases its argument expressly on the Joseph *exemplum*, and others (with *sic*): "Thus, even to your ancestors hard service was not so disagreeable that it was not preferred to dangers" (*Sic patribus uestris etiam dura seruitus non displicebat ut periculis anteferretur*); *DEH* 5.15.1; Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 273.

63 Either argument fits with the speech's overall position, though the latter might be seen to preserve a modicum more of the dignity of the one choosing between servitude and 'freedom.'

64 Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 273.

ושם בנימן אשר הושב אל בית יוסף באכזריות מרמה. כי נטה עליו לעבוד ועל כל זאת לא חטא רק נטה שכמו לעבוד כי אין חרפה לאדם לעבוד לגדול ממנו.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[65]

Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon agree that Benjamin willingly returned to Egypt when deceived by Joseph (Gen 44), and that his doing so teaches the lesson that serving one's superior(s) is no disgrace (*non erat crimen* = אין חרפה). *SY* adds to this the explicit statement that "in all this Benjamin did not err" (ועל כל זאת לא חטא), i.e. in his inclination to submit to authority under the circumstances. The reader of the Hebrew Bible may recognize this phraseology as that which describes and exonerates the blameless Bible hero Job. At Job 1:22 and 2:10, after Job famously responds to his immense existential tragedy by giving glory to God, it is written that "in all this he did not err" (בכל-זאת לא-חטא). By specifying that Benjamin did not "err" (or "sin") in submitting to authority, *SY*'s Josephus adds a personal and defining edge to the behavior being recommended, which also implies its opposite. Failure to capitulate to the Romans is not just an ill-conceived departure from ancestral precedent, as in *DEH*; in *SY*, such failure to give way to necessity is sin.

The next biblical hero to receive sustained attention in Josephus' speech is King David. Here, interestingly, we find Ps-Hegesippus saying a bit more about Israel's most famous king, while Yosippon mentions him in one sentence only. Emphasis upon the figure of David in *DEH* is unsurprising—David is Ps-Hegesippus' favorite Hebrew hero[66]—but his relative *de*-emphasis in *SY* seems odd. At the same time, an interesting departure occurs in *SY* that may be the result of misreading *DEH*'s Latin, or an intentional alteration. In *DEH*, immediately after mentioning Saul's reign (discussed above), Josephus says:

> When [Saul] was killed, the Palestinian [Philistine] people ruled over you. After a time David entered into kingship over the entire people, and he was certainly a milder master but a master nonetheless. And before David gave rest to the race, even he himself still imposed a king.

65 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359. The Hebrew phrase "pronominal suffix + נטה על" amounts to 'making someone an offer they can't refuse,' i.e. rendering something incumbent upon another, whether good or bad (see 1Chr 21:10; Ezra 9:9; MT Psa 21:12b; Isa 14:26). Literally meaning something like "extending to/upon," this interpersonal usage of this spatial verb is relatively rare.

66 See Bay (2023) 185–218, 329; Bay (2021a).

> *Occiso illo, Palestinus uobis populus imperitauit. Successit post tempora Dauid in totius populi regnum, mitior quidem dominus sed dominus tamen. Et priusquam requiesceret Dauid genti tamen et ipse regem inposuit.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[67]

Yosippon does not mention Philistine rule and gives David short shrift:

> After the death of Saul you served David, the great king who ruled over all the nations that were around you.
>
> ואחרי מות שאול עבדתם דוד המלך הגדול אשר משל בכל הגוים אשר סביבותיכם.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[68]

Neither Ps-Hegesippus' mention of the Philistines, nor Yosippon's omission of that detail, offers easy explanation.[69] But we can say more about the two authors' presentations of David's dominance. When Ps-Hegesippus says that David assumed the *regnum* over the entire people (*totius populi*), this seems to me to be a reference to the entire people *of Israel* (2 Sam 8:15). The detail relates to a note in 2 Samuel 5:5, which splits David's forty-year reign into two eras: "At Hebron he reigned over Judah for seven years and six months, and in Jerusalem he reigned for thirty-three years **over all Israel and Judah**." In the context of *DEH* 5.15.1, David's reign over a unified people stands in contrast to the "split-in-two kingdom" (*scissum in duo regnum*) over which Solomon originally and

67 Ussani (1932) 321; Bay (2023) 193, 273; cf. Bay (2021a) 29–30.

68 Bowman (2023) 336; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 730–731; Flusser (1978) 361.

69 It could be that Ps-Heg is here simply exercising his common practice of including certain minute details from the biblical record into portions of his narrative, especially its speeches. This mention of the Philistines could be designed to demonstrate biblical mastery and/or add an entertaining detail. In any case, the move is interpretive, as the pertinent portions of the biblical record (1 Sam 31:7–2 Sam 8:1 // 1 Chr 10:7–18:1) do not paint a picture of the Philistines having subdued Israel but rather constant war between the Philistines and Israel as David raised the latter to regional dominance. The closest they come is in short sayings to the effect that David has 'rescued Israel from the hand of the Philistines' or the like. By the same token, it is not shocking that Yosippon would omit mention of the Philistines as lords over Israel given the ambiguity of that biblical-historical period: it is easy to see how a reader of the Hebrew Bible would see the time of David's rise as just that, a period of David slowly conquering the Philistines rather than one of him reversing the scales of power against a people who had previously definitively ruled over (remember *DEH*'s *imperitauit*) Israel. Thus, the easiest explanation for *SY*'s omitting this detail he found in *DEH* was that, in the author's mind, it wasn't true.

then a succession of tyrants presided.[70] Yosippon's mention of David's reign is shorter, and different.

In *SY*, David is remembered as the ruler of "all the nations that were around you" (כל הגוים אשר סביבותיכם), i.e. of nations other than the Jews('s ancestors) themselves.[71] Perhaps this is a slight yet understandable misreading of *totius populi*, understanding "all the people (in the area)" rather than "the entire people (of the Jews)." Or perhaps Yosippon refers here to 2 Sam 8:1–14, which surveys the nations around Israel that David subdued.[72] If Ps-Hegesippus can bring biblical minutia to bear in Josephus' speech, so can Yosippon. But the difference between these two versions of Josephus' mention of David is not minute. While in *DEH* Josephus remembers David as the king of Israel, in *SY* David is a ruler of peoples, conqueror of surrounding nations, a world figure. This recalls the international significance imputed to King David in *SY* 2 (ב).[73] Yosippon celebrates the extra-local power of King David even while shortening the oratorical space afforded him within Josephus' speech.

The presentation of Bible heroes in *SY* 78 (עח) constitutes a biblicization of *DEH* 5.15.1 inasmuch as the details that Yosippon adds or changes in introducing these figures are based in a knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. But this biblicization is in fact not constrained to the strictly biblical figures discussed above. Earlier in the speech, as Josephus surveys the extent of Roman dominion, Yosippon found in his source a description of the Saxon race as that which

70 *DEH* 5.15.1 (Ussani [1932] 321–322): "From Solomon it was rent back into two kingdoms and [his] inheritance was divided by a long succession of tyranny" (*A Solomone rursus scissum in duo regnum et diuisa per longam seriem dominationis hereditas*).

71 Recall *SY*'s tendency to insert "the nations" (הגוים) vis-à-vis the Jews into this speech as a means of recalling or reinforcing identity borders.

72 *SY* 78 (עח) also mentions the split with Solomon (Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 730–731; Flusser [1978] 361): "After his death you served Solomon, his son. After the death of Solomon the kingdom was rent in two for many years until it was that the Babylonian kings came and exiled you from your land" (ואחרי מותו עבדתם את שלמה בנו. ואחרי מות שלמה נקרעה המלכות עד רוב שנים עד אשר באו מלכי כשדים ויגלו אתכם מעל אדמתכם). Note that *DEH* 5.15.1 does not mention the Babylonians kings here. Is *SY*'s mention of them a way of covering over Israelite failure to maintain a unified kingdom? Is it a way of suggesting causality between the split between Israel and Judah following Solomon and the consequences of subjugation and deportation under Babylon?

73 In *SY* 2 (ב) we are told that David smote Aram and Edom in the days of Romulus, after which "Hadarezer and his sons fled and came to the Kittim" and ended up founding Sorrento and Albano. Fear of David prompted Romulus to build a wall "around all the buildings of the kings who reigned before him," thus establishing Rome (that is, in *SY* the threat posed by King David was the proximate cause of Rome's founding!). The Romans then "lived in fear all the days of David" and "Romulus waged many wars, and there was a treaty between him and David." Translations from Bowman (2023) 13.

is "held to be the mightiest race of men and surpasses others."[74] *SY* shifts this description to say:

> Its [Saxony's] inhabitants are a great people, and are reckoned as giants by the height of their stature and men of war and mighty men among all who have existed before …
>
> ויושביה עם גדול ורם כענקים גובהי קומה ואנשי מלחמה וגיבורים בכל אשר היו.
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[75]

The collocation of the phrases עם גדול and רם כענקים is not a simple Hebrew translation of the adjectives *validissimus* and *praestans* but rather an obvious adoption of language from the early chapters of Deuteronomy. In his final sermon to the people of Israel, Moses commands the people to go into the promised land and dispossess a people greater than they, "a people great and tall, the sons of the Anakim (עם-גדול ורם בני ענקים), whom you know and of whom you have heard it said, 'Who can stand against the sons of Anak?'" (Deut 9:2).[76] Ps-Hegesippus' Romanized Christian ethnography becomes in Yosippon's hands a distinctively biblical ethnography, as the Saxons are described in terms of the fabled peoples of scriptural antiquity. The same dynamic is present in Yosippon's mention of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles.[77] It is not just the heroes of

---

74 *DEH* 5.15.1: *Validissimum genus hominum perhibetur et praestans ceteris*; Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 272.

75 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 359, and see 359n47 on this ethnographic description of the Saxons vis-à-vis political developments across the tenth century.

76 The cognate description עם גדול ורב ורם כענקים appears in Deut 2:10 and 2:21; cf. also 1:28. The phrase "man/men of war" (איש/אנשי מלחמה) is also unmissably biblical language (Exod 15:3; Josh 17:1; Judg 20:17; 1 Sam 17:33; 2 Sam 17:8; 1 Chr 12:38; 2 Chr 8:9; Ezek 39:20).

77 *SY* 78 (עח) refers to "Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, a mighty Macedonian man" (פירו בן אכילי גיבור מקדוניאה) among its list of historical powers that had submitted to Rome. *DEH* 5.15.1 does not call Pyrrhus "mighty" and introduces him rather differently. It is true that the introductory construction (father's name + בן + name) is the *de facto* and thus unremarkable way to introduce a person in Hebrew prose, and that the construct (place of origin + גיבור) is not unprecedented in the Jewish Scriptures—though the only case I can find is 2 Chr 28:7, which introduces "Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim" (זכרי גבור אפרים). Still, the fact that Yosippon goes out of his way to identify Pyrrhus (superfluously) as a גיבור, and consequently that he is introduced within the biblical formula "x, son of y," points to a biblicization which in this case improves upon and elevates the Jews' peers as historical subduees of Rome. This makes Pyrrhus more interesting, and further elevates the Macedonians, which Yosippon is interested in doing because it was Macedon that the famous

the Hebrew Bible who are reflected in *SY*'s reworking of *DEH* 5.15.1, but even some of its more obscure figures like the 'sons of Anak.'

4 Hellenism, Hasmoneans, and the Rise of the 'Kittim'

One of the major theses in this Book is that *Sefer Yosippon* 'underwrites' a vision of Jewish identity/history informed by the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism, which is to say that Yosippon isolates, plays up, and thereby reinforces certain aspects of originally-Hellenistic Jewish discourse that frame Jewish history and identity in a distinctive, and overwhelmingly positive, light. Within Hellenistic-Jewish literary history, the Hasmoneans/Maccabees constitute the prototypical embodiment of this ideology. As warriors, priests, kings, and messiahs who represented Jewish strength and virtue amidst an encroaching Gentile culture—making their characterization in Hellenistic terms a bit ironic—these second- and first-century BCE heroes embody the religious and national strength which *SY* typically joins Hellenistic Jewish authors in imputing to the Jews. Sometimes, Yosippon taps these historic figures themselves as rhetorical means of doing this. Thus, in Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח), we find the Hasmoneans coming up in places where they are not mentioned in *DEH* 5.15.1. We also find their nobility exaggerated in places where *SY* does follow *DEH*.

After mentioning the Israelites' willing subjugation to Egypt (discussed above), Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus pass through in quick succession a series of historical submissions to political authority that characterize ancient Israel's history:

> You also served the Macedonians, and you furthermore served the Assyrians through many seasons over the years, and that servitude was agreeable (lit. 'sweet'). You have served the Persians, the Seleucids, the 'Palestinians' (Canaanites), yet you find the Romans alone to be unendurable for you, whom they themselves served to whom you have been servants.
>
> *Seruistis etiam Machedonibus, seruistis etiam Assyriis per multa annorum curricula, et dulcis illa seruitus erat. Seruistis Persis Seleuciensibus Palestinis, solos Romanos uobis graues putatis, quibus et illi seruiunt quibus uos seruiebatis.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[78]

Hasmonean heroes checked; cf. the importance of Macedon(ians) in *SY* 9 (ט), the story of Esther and Mordecai.

78 Ussani (1932) 320; Bay (2023) 273.

Ps-Hegesippus, again in a place with no parallel in the short Greek passage in Josephus' *BJ*, has Josephus the narrative character use Israel's successive periods of non-autonomy to justify their submission to Rome now. His argument makes it seem silly for them not to. This is how Yosippon scripts the same portion of Josephus' speech:

> You also served the kings of Assyria for many days, and also the kings of Persia enslaved you with a very agreeable servitude. Then, after this, the kings of Macedon enslaved you with a severe and aggressive servitude until that precious family, the sons of the Hasmoneans arose and the LORD saved you by their hands from the hands of Macedon. So now, how is it a disgrace to you to bend your neck and serve the Kittim?

> ותעבדו את מלכי אשור ימים רבים וגם את מלכי פרס עבדתם עבודה מתוקה מאד. ואחר כן עבדתם מלכי מקדון בעבודה קשה ונמרצת עד אשר קמה משפחת היקרים בני חשמונים ויושע יי אתכם על ידיהם מידי מקדון. ועתה אי זה חרפה היא לכם בנטותכם עורף לעבוד את כתים?
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[79]

In this passage we see a beautiful example of Yosippon's creative redactional hand at work to make space for what he apparently saw as critical additional content. He takes as a jump-off point Josephus' statement in *DEH* that *seruitus* to the Assyrians was "sweet" (*dulcis*) to the Jews. Yosippon, changing things up, has Josephus parallel the Jews' "very agreeable servitude" (עבודה מתוקה מאד) of the Persians to the "severe and aggressive servitude" (עבודה קשה ונמרצת) suffered under "the kings of Macedon," i.e. the Seleucids. The rule of these kings is isolated and identified as particularly heinous in *SY*, whereas the reign of the Seleucids is noted without commentary in *DEH*. But the reign of the Seleucids (often dated 312–363 BCE), and particularly the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE), comprised a defining historical moment for the Jewish authors of the Hellenistic period and, a millennium later, for Yosippon as well. Thus Yosippon is unwilling to pass over the Seleucids as just one more in a long line of rulers, much less the heroic Judean leaders who successfully resisted them.

The language with which *SY* has Josephus mention the Hasmoneans is rife with the markers of approbation. On the more tacit side of things, the verb used to introduce the "sons of the Hasmoneans"—i.e., their clan "arose" (קמה)—is already strongly reminiscent of a noteworthy aspect of Jewish tradition: namely, one part of the so-called "judges cycle" that characterizes the biblical

79 Bowman (2023) 335; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–729; Flusser (1978) 360.

Book of Judges, which hinges upon the verb קום ("to arise").[80] In this cycle, 1) Israel abandons fidelity to the LORD and worships other Gods, in response to which 2) the LORD punishes Israel by raising up harsh lords over them in the form of Midianites or another nearby powerhouse, which eventually leads to 3) Israel repenting and calling on the LORD for help as they suffer mistreatment at the hands of their military/political superiors, so that finally 4) the LORD "raises up" (יקם) a "judge" or deliverer to bring the people out of bondage and into a place of power/autonomy again.[81] Then the cycle starts over. It is to this line of Judges that biblical heroes like Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson belong.[82] When *SY* notes that the sons of the Hasmoneans arose and that "the LORD delivered" (יי יושע) the Jews by their hand, he is employing biblical language and motifs that align the Hasmoneans with Israel's great saviors of old.[83] And here we see hints of the rhetorical proclivities traced out in each of the sections above: this presentation reinforces the in-group covenantal framework of Josephus' speech, includes a gratuitous mention of the LORD's action in Israel's history, and points to Yosippon's propensity for reshaping (or, here, creating anew) Jewish heroes within Josephus' speech. In a way, this presentation of the Hasmoneans epitomizes *SY*'s penchant to Judaize, theologize, and biblicize as illustrated in Josephus' speech of *SY* 78 (עח).

Another dead giveaway that Yosippon is having Josephus treat the Hasmoneans in the mode of panegyric comes with the description משפחת היקרים בני חשמונים. The rare Hebrew term יקר ("precious, rare, honorable, dear") carries both emic and honorific undertones—the described is 1a) valuable 1b) *to us*—and can be classed within the semantic range of Classical Hebrew's weightiest and most conventional laudatory term, כבוד ("glory").[84] By having Josephus use

80 However, while here the active, Qal form of the verb ("to arise") appears, the Book of Judges makes God the agent of the Hiphil ("to raise up" on behalf of …). See Brown/Driver/Briggs (1996) 878–879 (*BDB* s.v. קום Hiph. 3).

81 The cycle is outlined in Judg 2:11–23 as an explanation for why Israel did not come in and possess the land the way they had been poised to in the canonically-previous Book of Joshua. At Judges 2:11–23 it is stated that Israel would characteristically depart from the LORD and serve "the Baals" and "Ashteroth," after which the LORD would come heavy upon them, and "Then the LORD raised up (ויקם) judges who saved them (ויושיעום) from the hands of those who plundered them" (2:16), precipitating the continued cycle.

82 N.b.—these "heroes" are also tragic and pathetic, complicated characters rather than caricatured protagonists.

83 The verbs קום and ישע constitute the core of a Deuteronomic motif within the Book of Judges (i.e. the "judges cycle"): see O'Connell (1996) 41.

84 See both terms' parallel use in *SY* 67 (סז); see generally Burton (2017) 309. Aristobulus II is described as *inter alia* יקר in *SY* 37 (לז), a term often conveying exceptionality or rarity, like the word of the LORD in the days of Samuel's youth (1Sam 3:1). It can also convey

this particular term, Yosippon likely betrays his own posture toward the Hasmoneans as a Jewish author who honors, celebrates, and upholds this important family as a mainstay of his theory of historical Jewish valor. In any case, the structural work that the Hasmoneans do in Josephus' speech in *SY* is as important as their lionization. Their mention transforms the history of the Jews' ancestors, one of sequential servitudes to foreign powers, into a history of servitude *and freedom*. Now, the Jews' ancestors are portrayed as falling in and out of prominence throughout their history, as happens with all nations. Sometimes they capitulated; but sometimes, they resisted. The treatment of the Hasmoneans in *SY* 78 (עח) signals Yosippon's commitment to a fundamentally Hellenistic vision of Judaism, in which the Jews' political and military achievements, especially the great victories within their illustrious history, define them. The rise of the Hasmoneans in *SY* 78 (עח) marks the centrality of Hellenism to Yosippon's historiographical vision, i.e. *SY*'s possession of the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism.

Concomitant with the introduction of the Hasmoneans into Josephus' speech is the mention of the Kittim (כתים). Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus list the Jews' overlords in history up to the narrative's present time, thus ending with the Romans (*Romani*). But Yosippon does not have Josephus discuss the Jews' present predicament as one in which they should bow to the "Romans" (רומנים), though previous to this in the speech he had discussed the Romans as such. Instead, though *SY*'s Josephus is clearly referring to Rome, here he speaks

---

the costliness of certain items, reflecting the economic principle of scarcity. The term is often used to describe precious stones (אבנים יקרות)—so also in *SY*—, and sometimes conceptual realities (Psa 116:15, describing the death of God's חסידים, for which cf. *SY* 67 [סז]; Prov 3:15). The term is rarely used of persons in the Hebrew Bible: see Lam 4:2 (of the בני ציון); Psa 45:10a (where the בנות מלכים are יקרות); cf. Prov 6:26 (with נפש); 17:27 (with רוח). Yosippon uses the adjective to describe persons also at *SY* 43 (מג), where Antigonus promises to gift the King of Persia with gold and 800 women, described as "the most precious in Judah" (והיקרות אשר ביהודה); later the same chapter recalls how he "sought to give all the beautiful and precious women from among us (הנשים היפות והיקרות מעמינו) to the King of Persia" and thereby "did great evil and sinned against God." In *SY* 48 (מח), the death of Herod's second wife, Mariamme I, is recorded thus: "Thus, the queen spurned death like her family, the Hasmoneans, and she showed to all the dignity of her family and the greatness of her ancestors (ותראה לכל **יקר** משפחתה ואת גדולת אבותיה). She bared her neck to the sword …" The term יקר modifies משפחתה several times: 3× in *SY* 51 (נא); 1× in *SY* 52 (נב); 2× in *SY* 54 (נד). Herod describes his son Antipater as יקר in his accusation in *SY* 54 (נד), and near the end of that chapter Nicholas describes Herod's other sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, as בנים היקרים. In general, then, *SY*'s use of יקר mirrors multiple senses of its use in the Hebrew Bible, but expands its application to persons, in large part vis-à-vis the Hasmonean line and/or the Herodian family.

in terms of the Kittim. Why? As George Brooke explains, "the designation Kittim … is a scriptural term that refers predominantly in various contexts to those associated with the Mediterranean coastlands,"[85] though it later became associated with the Romans, or Seleucids, imperial powers and erstwhile enemies of the Jews.[86] The term is rare and ambivalent in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 10:4; Num 24:24; 1 Chr 1:7; Dan 11:30), and slightly more common and less ambiguous among the Dead Sea Scrolls. There the term "occurs in two or more forms of the *War Scroll* (1QM; 4Q285; 4Q491; 4Q492), and in four of the pesharim (1QpHab; 1QpPs; 4QIsa^a; 4QpNah), as well as in a couple of other very fragmentary manuscripts."[87] In *SY*, "Kittim" is manifestly a reference to the Romans, as becomes clear in *SY* 2 (ב). Yet Yosippon fuses the Kittim with Edom/Esau/Seir, the Jewish enemy *par excellence* particularly beloved of rabbinic tradition, by placing Esau's grandson Zepho among the Kittim as a founding figure of pre-Romulean Roman history.[88] Gerson Cohen, in his classic article on "Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought," posited that Yosippon "was much enamored of his country and its lore" yet had "highly ambivalent feelings about the Roman-Jewish conflict."[89] Therefore his "ethnographic introduction"—i.e. especially his linking of Edom with the Kittim in *SY* 2 (ב)—was signposting that "his first loyalties were to his own ethnic group."[90]

Yosippon's theorizing about the Kittim, and less so his use of the term for the Romans,[91] though he knew and also often used the term רומנים, constitutes an apologetic biblicization and Judaization of his history.[92] By appropriating the

85 Brooke (2015) 19.

86 Dan 11:30 has been a historical *crux interpretum* for the meaning of "Kittim," which came to mean "Romans/Rome" only in Roman times, but previously had meant (in Dan 11:30) "Cyprus," preserving knowledge of an invasion by Antiochus IV Epiphanes during the Sixth Syrian War; for this argument, see Scolnic/Davis (2015).

87 Brooke (2015) 19. The term is more prominent in certain texts; it appears in the extant portions of 1QpHab no fewer than nine times. In places the term is not a clear reference to Rome: for example, 1QM I 2 refers to "the Kittim of Ashur" (כתיי אשור), and then a few lines later (1QM I 4) to "the Kittim in Egypt" (הכתיים במצרים), with lacunae in between (see García Martínez/Tigchelaar [1999] 112–113).

88 Cohen (1967) 42–43, stating that, "thus, [the Romans'] culture is an Edomite one."

89 Cohen (1967) 43. But note that Jewish postures toward the Kittim were already ambivalent, comprising both negative and positive orientations, at Qumran: Brooke (2015) 28–30.

90 And "a tacit reply to the Christian polemic he heard round about him." Cohen (1967) 43.

91 By my count, the term כתים appears thirty-four times in *SY*, but only in seven different chapters: 1× in *SY* 1 (א), 22× in *SY* 2 (ב), 4× in *SY* 66 (סו), 3× in *SY* 74 (עד), 2× in *SY* 77 (עז), 1× in *SY* 79 (עט), and 1× in *SY* 83 (פג). The Kittim are infrequently mentioned in *SY*, and only appear more than a few times per chapter in *SY* 2 (ב).

92 One with major consequences for subsequent historiography and discourse: Cohen (1967) 44 ff.

language of ancient Jewish apocalyptic and eschatology—for it was in such literary contexts that the term כתים arose—and by tacitly including and supporting a widespread Talmudic ideology, Yosippon framed Rome as the prototypical and eternal enemy of the Jews. Thus, while Josephus' recommendation in his speech is that the Jews capitulate to this age-old nemesis, a bit of a departure from rabbinic fantasies of Rome's eventual downfall, his use of classical Jewish parlance fortifies his Hellenized portrayal of militarily mighty Jews who historically had to do with formidable foes. My argument is that the use of the term כתים here by Yosippon, which Josephus will repeat three times in quick succession, gives the speech a heavy-on-the-tradition, quasi-nationalistic ring and implies a worldview denoting a perennial Judeo-centric legacy within the arena of historical international relations.[93] *DEH* 5.15.1, which only ever speaks of "Romans," lacks this feature.

Again historical Jewish prominence and virtue comes on display when Josephus surveys Israel's ancient relationships with kings. He begins by noting the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon—discussed above—and then moves on to Cyrus and eventually to the Jews' interactions with the Seleucids and Romans. In both *DEH* and *SY*, Josephus here stresses that the Jews' ancestors *chose* alliance with Rome and that they demonstrably preferred kingship (or even tyranny) to priestly rule. But *SY* goes far beyond its Latin source in up-playing Jewish prominence and underscoring the significance of the Hasmoneans. In *DEH*, Josephus says:

> But your forefathers, when they were being worn down by onerous wars with the Persians [the Seleucids]—however renowned they were due to the triumphs of the Maccabees—chose for themselves a Roman alliance. Holy Scripture recognizes the covenants of many embassies. You who were slaves of the Persians were made friends of the Romans. But again you preferred to have a tyrant than a high priest, to whom the people could submit; when the harshness of your tyrants had become intolerable, with Herod dead and Archelaus defeated, you asked to come under a Roman emperor.
>
> *Sed patres uestri, cum Persarum proeliis grauibus adtererentur, quamuis Machabaeorum triumphis nobiles, elegerunt sibi Romanam societatem. Tenet scriptura diuina multarum pacta legationum. Facti estis Romanorum amici qui Persarum*

93 Brooke (2015) 29–31 noted that the term as used at Qumran "gives priority to tradition and stereotype over precise contemporary historical concerns" but stresses the term's utility within sectarian discourses vis-à-vis postcolonial contexts. I suggest that the same traditional, flexible nature of the term applies for *SY*.

> *serui fuistis. Sed rursus maluistis regem habere quam sacerdotum principem, cui populus obtemperaret; cum saeuitia uestrorum regum esset intolerabilis, defuncto Herode, pulso Archelao, sub Caesare esse Romano postulauistis.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.15.1[94]

The slant of Josephus' rhetoric here is clear. His point is that the Jews' ancestors chose both 1) foreign alliances and 2) the political system of kingship when those options presented themselves. His evidence for this is nothing less than *sacra scriptura*.[95] In making this argument, he all but pastes over the one-time prominence of the *Machabaei* by implying that their victories did little to curb the Jewish proclivity for foreign aid and kingly rule. In *SY*, the Maccabees (there the Hasmoneans) are a much more important piece to the puzzle:

> But after his death the kings of Macedon [the Seleucids] arose over you and oppressed you with a hard yoke. But the LORD stirred up his priests, the sons of the Hasmoneans, to deliver you from their hand. And they made your name great, and you became friends and allies to the Romans, and you increased the love in your heart for many years. But after this you trespassed against the priests of the LORD, the sons of the Hasmoneans, and you chose for yourselves a man from among you. And his name was Herod. His yoke was heavy upon you. Then Herod died, and Archelaeus ruled over you. And his yoke was severe upon you. But you trespassed against him and said: 'Because we will no longer serve the kings of Judah [i.e. Judea], we will instead serve the kings of the Romans.'
>
> ואחרי מותו קמו עליכם מלכי מקדון וילחצו אתכם בעול קשה. ויער יי את כהניו בני חשמוניי להושיעכם מידם. ויגדל שמכם ותהיו חברים ועמיתים לרומנים ותגדל אהבתכם בלבבכם שנים רבות. ואחרי כן פשעתם בכהני יי בני חשמוניי ותבחרו לכם איש מעמכם. ושמו אירודיס. המכביד עולו עליכם. וימת אירודיס וימלוך עליכם ארקילאוס. ויקשה עולו עליכם. ותפשעו בו ותאמרו: כי לא נעבוד עוד מלכי יהודה כי נעבוד את מלכי רומנים.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[96]

Note the way that *SY* changes Josephus' first point as found in *DEH*. Now, instead of suggesting that the Jews, hard-pressed by the Seleucids, chose a Roman alliance *despite* the Maccabean uprisings, Josephus relates a different

94 Ussani (1932) 322; Bay (2023) 273–274.

95 It is not clear to me whether Ps-Heg is here implicitly including the Books of the Maccabees within the category of *scriptura*. It is certainly possible.

96 Bowman (2023) 336; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 728–731; Flusser (1978) 361–362.

story: when the Seleucids oppressed the Jews,[97] the LORD delivered them by means of the Maccabees/Hasmoneans. Then the Jews rebelled against the Hasmoneans, and by proxy the LORD, by electing Herod as a (Roman puppet) king. *DEH* and *SY* have Josephus narrate the same series of historical events; but they tell two very different stories.

The highlight of Yosippon's version of this story is the "sons of the Hasmoneans" (בני חשמוניי), the LORD's own priests (כהניו) whom he raised up for the salvation of his people (ויער יי את ... להושיעכם). This focus jibes with the in-group/covenantal tenor of Josephus' speech in *SY* overall, with Yosippon's tendency to emphasize the agency of the LORD in history, and with his proclivity to play up particular historical/biblical heroes, all of which were discussed above. In place of Ps-Hegesippus' in-passing mention of the Maccabees, Yosippon here makes the LORD the primary actor in Josephus' recounted history, accentuates the Hasmoneans as his chosen vessel of salvation, and thus rewrites the history of the Jews' entry into relations with Rome. This reframes the Jews as the object of divine protection and the collective reservoir of historical heroes. Jewish identity is far more substantial in *SY*'s version of the speech here. This becomes explicit when Josephus recalls how the Hasmoneans "made your name great" (יגדל שמכם). In fact, the correlation of that statement and the following statements that "you became friends and allies to the Romans" (ותהיו חברים ועמיתים לרומנים) and "increased the love in your hearts" (ותגדל אהבתכם בלבבכם)[98] affords much more intentionality and agency to the Jews than we find in *DEH*. As occurs much earlier in *SY* in Chapter 2 (ב), the Jews here are presented as political equals to the Romans, friends and allies with 'love in their hearts' for their partners.[99] All of these dynamics are replayed in the second part of the speech. There the Jews' decision for kingship (in Herod) is theologized, heroized, and covenantalized—they "**trespassed**" (פשע) against the **Hasmoneans**, the **LORD's** chosen priests—though its outcome is the same as in *DEH*: suffering under Herod's savagery (*saeuitia*), or yoke (עול). Finally, Yosip-

97 Note *SY*'s preference for the biblical parlance of the "yoke" (עול) to describe imperial relations. Incidentally, this framing of the "kings of Macedon" positions them as oppressors looming over the Jews, whereas Ps-Heg essentially casts them as equals by referring to the "burdensome battles" (*proelia grauia*) by which the Jews were "ground down" (*adtererentur*) by the Seleucids. This makes sense if Yosippon's goal is to highlight the extent of the LORD's Hasmonean salvation.

98 Compare the language of Gen 19:19, which puts גדל (תגדל) together with חסד—"you have magnified your compassion," says Abraham to the LORD. Cf. the collocation of לבבך and אהבה in Deut 30:6.

99 Cf. *SY* 21 (כא), especially the letter sent by the Romans to Judah Maccabee, and Börner-Klein (2010).

pon once more levels the playing field in rewriting this speech: Josephus depicts the Jews' turning to Rome as their opting for one set of kings (מלכי רומנים) over another (מלכי יהודה). Once again, the Jews are presented as equivalent to Rome, a powerful ancient people who foolishly opted for kingly rather than priestly rule, and foreign rather than local kings.[100]

Above we noted *SY*'s use of the term יהודים, "Jews" or "Judeans," to refer to the descendants of Jacob who took their name from Judah. This word-choice is not necessarily incidental. It could constitute further evidence of a self-understanding based in Hellenistic, and in particular Hasmonean, Judean history.[101] As David Goodblatt has shown from documentary and numismatic evidence, the Hasmonean state preferred to refer to itself in terms of Judea(n), in contradistinction not only to earlier Hebrew usage but also to later predilections, e.g. that employed in the second revolt of Bar Kochba in 132–135 CE, which adopted the "elevated" literary lexicon of "(house of) Israel."[102] *SY*, of course, uses the latter language as well. But might an emphasis upon the Jews of its narrative as יהודים, attested in this passage and elsewhere and standing in contradiction to its source's rather anti-Jewish distinction between *Iudaei* and *Hebraei*, further suggest that Yosippon bases his Jewish self-understanding and narrative self-presentation in terms particularly resonant of Hasmonean history, albeit a millennium after the fact? Perhaps.

One of the major differences between *SY* 78 (עח) and *DEH* 5.15.1 is the former's emphasis upon the Hasmoneans as historical heroes. This emphasis carries with it a consequent Hellenization of historicized Jewish identity: the Jews are largely framed with reference to their history following the 'Persian period' and preceding the Roman period (i.e. the period that witnessed the Maccabean Revolt) and are characterized with values and virtues which may be linked to that period: military significance, political power, and cultural independence.

---

100 Berthelot (2021) 217 notes this combination of criticism and elevation of the Jews in Josephus (*BJ* 6.42–44), which aligns with *SY*'s return to Josephus' motif—pasted over by *DEH*—of saddling a particular group of 'bad' Jews (הפריצים) with a kind of inherent ignobility while exalting the Jews generally; see Börner-Klein (2010) 230.

101 It is interesting to note that one manuscript of *SY* (ת) appears to distinguish between the Judeans and other "people" who are present when Titus and Josephus are standing before Jerusalem's walls. In that manuscript, when Titus speaks peace (שלום) "into the ears" of those in Jerusalem, he does so **באזני העם** והיהודים. See Flusser (1980) 332. On Titus' clemency toward Judea and the Jewish Temple in *SY* 78 (עח), see Stemberger (1983) 152. Did this scribe imagine other, non-Judean peoples present as part of Titus' audience? Did he imagine that only some of those in Jerusalem counted as היהודים per se? Or is the redundancy merely literary?

102 Goodblatt (1998).

The mention of the Kittim in *SY*'s version of Josephus' speech tends to highlight the same aspects of Jewish history, while proffering a particular conventionality of language that recalls the paradigmatic 'Others' of Jewish tradition. In all this, *SY* 78 (עח) underwrites Hellenistic Judaism by going far beyond (and in many cases correcting) its Latin Christian source in emphasizing Jewish power and agency within the crux (Hellenistic) era of its history. The Hasmoneans and the Kittim stand in *SY* 78 (עח) as testament to the Jews being an enduring, noteworthy people, a force to be reckoned with by 'Macedon,' Rome, and anyone else who might be interested.

5 Conclusion: Underwriting, Overwriting, and the Spirit of Hellenistic Judaism

Comparing *SY* 78(עח) to *DEH* 5.15.1 illustrates some of the larger arguments of this book. In these chapters we see in a scripted speech of Josephus how *SY* biblicizes, theologizes, and Judaizes his work while underwriting a Hellenistic-Jewish vision of history and overwriting the Latin Christianization of that history in *DEH*. Josephus' depiction qua speaker in *SY* 78 (עח) presents a prophet speaking to his own people, more so than we see in *DEH*. The intensity and activity of divinity in history is played up in Yosippon's version of this speech. *SY* changes slightly the way that Josephus presents the Bible heroes mentioned in *DEH* 5.15.1 in ways that suggest an interested author-editor, and the treatment of the Hasmoneans and the Kittim in the speech further underscore Yosippon's commitment to a portrayal of the Jews as politically, militarily, and internationally significant, divinely blessed, and descendants resembling their biblical ancestors of old. In other words, *SY* 78 (עח) illustrates that and how *SY* is imbued with the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism, revealing how Yosippon sanctions a view of Jewish history-and-identity built upon the mores of Hellenistic Judaism while overwriting the Christian, Roman take on the Jews and Jewish history set forth in *DEH*.

As much as the first part of *SY* 78 (עח), corresponding to *DEH* 5.15.1, embodies core changes that occur in Yosippon's adaptation of *DEH*, sometimes subtle and sometimes obvious, that point in a discernible ideological direction, we will find the same kinds of tendencies in Yosippon's treatment of the new and longer 'part two' of this speech set forth in *DEH* 5.16.1 and represented in the latter part of *SY* 78 (עח). This speech contains an even longer list of biblical *exempla* placed into Josephus' mouth. It is to this speech that the next chapter turns.

CHAPTER 5

Addressing the Jews, Part 2: *De Excidio* 5.16 and *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)

Josephus' speech to the Jews in Jerusalem—the one that appears in *DEH* 5.15.1 and the first part of *SY* 78 (עח) and which was discussed in the last chapter—did not work. The only thing it earned Josephus was a hearty round of imprecation and some attempted bodily harm:

> And it happened that as Josephus spoke in the hearing of the people who were upon the walls of Jerusalem in these words they lifted up their voice and cursed him and damned him from upon the walls, and they shot many arrows at him so as to kill him.

> ויהי כדבר יוסף באזני העם אשר על חומת ירושלם כדברים האלה וישאו את קולם ויחרפו אותו ויקללוהו מעל החומה ויורו אליו חצים הרבה להמיתו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[1]

This negative response prompts Josephus to change tack. Since the Jews occupying Jerusalem refuse to listen to "reason" or "counsel" (*ratio*/עצה), we are told that Josephus turns to admonishing them "from the testimonies of the Scriptures" (*testimoniis scripturarum*/מדברי הספר). Josephus' second speech, that is, is an extended argument based upon *exempla*, a long string of historical, ancestral examples drawn from the Jewish Bible. Literarily what this means is that the Hebrew of the second part of *SY* 78 (עח), its Latin source in *DEH* 5.16.1, and for that matter the Greek original in *BJ* 5.376–419 contain the densest, most extensive set of references to and interpretations of Scripture in each of these three respective works. For our purposes, this speech constitutes one of the

1 Bowman (2023) 337; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 734–735; Flusser (1978) 363. Here *SY*'s Hebrew follows closely the Latin from the end of *DEH* 5.15.1: *Haec cum diceret Iosephus, conuiciabantur de muro, maledicebant utilia suadenti. Plerique etiam iaculabantur sagittas, si possent eum morte adfligere. At ille, quia ratione non flectebat indomitos, scripturarum quoque conuenientes testimoniis arbitrabatur, maxime quia dicebant deum templi sui praesidio non defuturum* ("When Josephus had said these things, they [the Jews] reviled him from the wall, they cursed the one who was urging expedience. Furthermore, many of them shot arrows in case they might be able to wound him mortally"); Ussani (1932) 323; Bay (2023) 274.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-007
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

most interesting passages in either *DEH* or *SY* and, not coincidentally, it constitutes fertile ground for comparing these works along the trajectories adopted in this study.

This chapter examines how *SY* deals with the plethora of biblical *exempla* pumped into Josephus' speech before the walls of Jerusalem by Ps-Hegesippus in *DEH* 5.16.1. Most of these scriptural recollections do not appear in the Greek text of *BJ*. Together, the biblical stories Josephus is made to tell serve to support his multifaceted argument that the Jews should not resist Rome with arms because this had never worked for them or their ancestors and because the Scriptures show at every turn that reliance upon God, not upon military strength, is where success lies. In *DEH*, this rhetorical romp through biblical history is full of creative exegetical moves, some subtle anti-Jewish implications, and some likewise subtle Christianizations. In *SY* we find a radical reworking of Ps-Hegesippus' rendition of the speech. The sacred stories remembered by Josephus in the Latin and Hebrew versions of this speech are more or less the same ones, familiar to the reader of the Old Testament or Tanakh. Yet the details of the stories and how they are framed point to fundamentally unlike ideological worlds, hermeneutical frameworks, and rhetorical systems. In this chapter I show how *SY* reframes the Bible stories recalled by 'Josephus' in *DEH* 5.16.1 via the complementary editorial exercises of omission, addition, and alteration. What *SY* adds to, subtracts from, and changes in these famous biblical scenes shows in new ways how *SY* Judaizes, biblicizes, and theologizes its Christian source.

Together, we can talk about the alterations that appear between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) as constitutive of a practice of 'fixing.' Perhaps you are familiar with the language of 'rewritten Bible' and 'rewritten Scripture'; this is 'rewritten Josephus.'[2] In rewriting the snapshots of biblical history that comprise Josephus' script, Yosippon eliminates Christian elements introduced by Ps-Hegesippus, brings the details of episodes more in line with their canonical versions, rescripts the somewhat detached tone of *DEH*'s version to a more in-group (i.e. Jewish) tenor, plays up God's role as an active participant in events, and often—though not always—shifts the valence of the exemplary biblical stories placed into Josephus' mouth by Ps-Hegesippus. Below I tease out a selection of scriptural episodes and details mentioned by Josephus in *DEH* 5.16.1 and/or *SY* 78 (עח), likening Yosippon's various modes of departure from his

2 Indeed, this is 'rewritten Josephus' on two levels, inasmuch as it is Josephus' Greek text that is being reworked *and* a speech purportedly delivered by Josephus himself. On "rewritten Bible" and "rewritten Scripture," see Zahn (2011) 112, tracing the former term back to Geza Vermes in 1961 and explaining how the latter often came to replace it in scholarship in the early 2000s.

source to the actions involved in the editing process of the modern medium of film. Here is how Lori Coleman and Diana Friedberg describe the place of the editor's cut in contemporary film:

> Viewing the editor's cut is a very important screening for the editor. It is the time for him to view the film as a fresh audience—letting the scenes wash over him as if he were viewing the movie for the first time. On another level, he must at the same time identify the problem areas. He must decide where to add or delete music, where to start scenes with stock shots, how to transition between scenes better, where to add dissolves, where to jump cut, what to trim or expand, and a multitude of other fixes that occur to him during this virgin viewing.[3]

I dare say it takes little imagination to see how this description of what a modern film editor does maps onto what Yosippon was doing with his major source, *DEH*. Indeed, a quick look at the glossary of any guide to film editing will reveal a collection of modern-day terms and phrases that find apt analogies in Yosippon's reworked production in *SY* 78 (עח).[4] Like his contemporary cinematic counterparts, Yosippon had many decisions to make when looking at his rough material, and these decisions manifested themselves in alterations. In our case, Yosippon's alterations are made to a script, Josephus' script. By juxtaposing the notable cuts, additions, and transformations that Yosippon makes to his 'original' we come to appreciate anew how much agency, ownership, and aesthetic attention our Hebrew author wields over his literary creation. Part of my point in using the film-editing metaphor in this chapter is to lead us to a fuller cognizance of how interested and invested Yosippon was in his scribal enterprise—he was not just translating or copying history—and, in turn, how radical a transformation really obtains between the medieval Hebrew *SY* and its late antique Latin source.

The selection of transformations between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) treated here is not meant to convey an ironclad set of rules taxonomizing *SY*'s rework-

3 Coleman/Friedberg (2010) 73.

4 For example: Josephus' speech in *DEH* 5.16.1/*SY* 78 (עח) resembles a literary version of a "montage sequence"; we could talk about some of *SY*'s return to biblical details in terms of "modality"; certain of the stories introduced side-by-side in the speech resemble a "graphic match"; the 'zooming' in and out in Josephus' speech, whereby he alternates between discussing particular individuals and episodes and then broad sweeps of historical periods, plays upon "distance of framing"; the jarring switches between time periods sometimes broached by Josephus mirror what the film industry calls "bridging shots"; and Josephus' speech could be said to end with "closure." These and many more applicable terms are defined in the glossary of de Valk/Arnold (2013).

ing of its source in this passage, much less to pronounce the author's intent in making these changes; rather, this selection illustrates the many and multifarious ways in which Yosippon was capable of redirecting his source material to novel, never-fully-explicable, yet nevertheless intriguing effect. First we examine the leading *exempla* of Josephus' speech—Abraham, Sarah, and Pharaoh—en bloc, as a way of illustrating the extent to which *SY* reworks *DEH* and presaging some characteristics of that *Bearbeitung* to be touched upon later. Thereafter, I organize the changes *SY* makes to its source-text into three further subsections: 1) omissions, 2) additions, and 3) changes.

1 Abraham, Sarah, and Pharaoh: Genesis 12 (and 20) between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח)

Josephus begins 'part 2' of his speech before the walls of Jerusalem on the offensive by addressing his listeners as "impudent people" (*temarii*/סוררים).[5] He then foreshadows the type of arguments he is to make by charging them: "Remember your father who brought you here" (זכרו את אביכם אשר הוליך אתכם).[6] This refers to the quintessential forefather, Abraham. Here is how Josephus depicts his response to adversity in *SY*:

> Abraham: with what did he overcome pharaoh and overpower him so as to take back his wife, with sword or with prayer? Was it not by his prayer that he called and cried out to the Lord? And he overcame pharaoh, but not by war—rather, he sought the face of the Lord, and was strengthened. So he returned his wife to him pure and undefiled. For Abraham was laying down at rest, but pharaoh was compelled by his sufferings and by great torments. And likewise with Sarah,

5 It may be telling that this form of address appears thrice here in *DEH* but only twice in *SY*.

6 *SY*'s source for articulating this question is *DEH* 5.16.1: "Remind me … how your forefathers conquered their enemies" (*Recordamini … quomodo patres uestri hostes suos uicerint*), which is inspired by *BJ* 5.378: "Will you not recall your fathers' superhuman exploits and what mighty wars this holy place has quelled for us in the days of old?" (οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε πατέρων ἔργα δαιμόνια, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους ἡμῖν πάλαι πολέμους καθεῖλεν;). The phrasing of this signal to ancestral exemplarity in *SY* 78 (עח) is perhaps closer to the ultimate inspiration for this mode of thinking in this context, i.e. Moses' words in Deut 32:7: "Remember the days of old, consider the years of all generations. Ask your father and he will inform you, your elders, and they will tell you" (זכר ימות עולם בינו שנות דור-ודור שאל אביך ויגדך זקניך ויאמרו לך). Within *SY*'s version of the speech we find not only the line quoted above, but reference later on to the "former days" (ימי עולם). No doubt Yosippon will have had Deut 32:7 in mind when repackaging the content from its Latin source in this speech.

> Abraham's wife, whom pharaoh coveted and took so as to do shameful things and to expose her mysteries, yet he was not allowed, for the LORD did not give to him according to his desire to do all of this. And on account of the fact that he had wanted badly to uncover her body, he adorned her with great delight in silver and gold and precious stones. While Abraham was still sitting in his own residence, relying upon the LORD, behold—Sarah arrived, decked out with gold and silver and adorned with every kind of precious thing, with her modesty pure and undefiled.

> הוא אברהם במה נצח את פרעה ויכניעהו בקחתו את אשתו בחרב או בתפילה? הלא בתפילתו אשר קרא ויצעק אל יי. וינצח את פרעה ולא במלחמה כי חלה את פני יי ויעוז. וישב לו את אשתו טהורה ולא מחוללת. כי אברהם היה שוכב במנוח ופרעה היה מתמרץ במכאוביו ובנגעים גדולים. וגם שרה אשת אברהם אשר חמד אותה פרעה ויקחינה למען עשות נבלה ולגלות את מסתריה ולא נעזר כי לא נתן יי מאוויו לעשות כל זאת. ותחת אשר ביקש לגלות את בשרה הרבה להלבישנה ברוב חמדה בכסף ובזהב ואבני יקרה. ואברהם עודינו יושב בביתו בהשענו על יי והנה שרה באה מלובשת זהב וכסף מעוטרת בכל מיני מחמדים וגם בכישרון צניעותיה טהורה ולא מחוללת.

> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[7]

At first glance, this exemplary story is unremarkable. This is indeed a fair summary of Abraham's encounter with Pharaoh in Gen 12:10–20. Aside from the fact that Abraham and Sarah are still Abram and Sarai at this point in Genesis' narrative, Josephus' recollection of the story here reflects well its biblical ur-source. But when we look at *SY*'s more immediate source, the same tale as related in *DEH* 5.16.1, things change. There we find a very disparate tale told. In Ps-Hegesippus' version, the episode of Gen 12:10–20 is conflated with the similar episode of Gen 20.[8] In both stories, Abra(ha)m passes his wife off as his sister so as to avoid imagined peril, which leads to her being taken into the monarch's harem (Pharaoh and Abimelech respectively). In both cases, God intimidates the monarch into returning Sarah to her husband, her chastity preserved. But the details of the two narratives diverge considerably, and the pericope of Gen 20 is much longer and more elaborate than its earlier counterpart.

In *SY* 78 (עח), as quoted above, we therefore encounter a Hebrew script that has shaved a number of details from its Latin inspiration. This is something that the reader of *SY* would never know if he or she were not apprised of *DEH*'s version. Many of the items omitted by *SY* consist precisely in details that *DEH*

7 Bowman (2023) 337; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 734–735; Flusser (1978) 363.

8 For a full analysis of this episode in *DEH* 5.16.1, see Bay (2023) 283–285, 290–294 and Bay (2021b) 41–47.

borrowed from Gen 20 and conflated with the Abraham-Sarah-Pharaoh narrative of Gen 12:10–20. Some of these omissions are subtle. *SY* mentions that Abraham "was laying down at rest" (היה שוכב במנוח) while Pharaoh was suffering divinely-sent torments designed to compel him into releasing Sarah.[9] *DEH* had referred to God in this scenario as "the defender who is able to conquer someone who is sleeping" (*defensor … qui dormientem euinceret*) and explicitly stated that "Abraham was sleeping while Pharaoh was being tormented" (*dormiebat Abraham et torquebatur Pharao*), presumably imagining the scene from Gen 20:3 ff. where "God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night."[10] We can see that Ps-Hegesippus had Gen 20 partially in mind because his Josephus states that Pharaoh "added gold and silver to Sarah's purity, *so that he might disavow any knowing complicity in the crime*" and, more striking still, that "he asked father Abraham that he might pray to the Lord on behalf of his family, *for his house had become barren*."[11] These details correspond to Abimelech's claim to innocence in Gen 20:4–5, his reprisal of silver in 20:16, and Abraham's praying away his family's barrenness in 20:17–18. None of these details exist in Gen 12, and none appear in *SY* 78 (עח).[12]

In a more syntactical register, we can identify in *SY* a revaluation of the episode's characters by the verbs and verb voices attributed to them. In *DEH* 5.16.1, after Abraham entered (*penetrauit*) Egypt and saw (*uideret*) his wife's chastity threatened, he did three things: "abstained from violence" (*bello abstinuit*), "assumed" (*adsumsit*) the weapons of pious prayer, and "turned to" (*adhibuit*) God as his defender. In *SY* 78 (עח), Abraham "overcame" (נצח) Pharaoh and "overpowered him so as to take back his wife" (יכניעהו בקחתו את אשתו). By prayer he "called and cried out" (קרא ויצעק) to the LORD and thereby "overcame" (ינצח) and "was strengthened" (יעוז).[13] In *SY*, Abraham is far more

9 Note also that *SY* exaggerates Pharaoh's torments more than *DEH*: in *DEH* 5.16.1, Abraham slept "while Pharaoh was being tormented" (*torquebatur Pharao*); in *SY* 78 (עח), "Pharaoh was compelled by his sufferings and by great torments" (פרעה היה מתמרץ במכאוביו ובנגעים גדולים).

10 Gen 20:3a: ויבא אלהים אל-אבימלך בחלום הלילה.

11 *DEH* 5.16.1: *Addit aurum et argentum ad Sarrae pudorem, ut condemnaret uoluntatem facinoris expertem. Rogabat patrem Abraham ut pro sua familia ad dominum deprecaretur; erat enim infecunda domus eius*. Ussani (1932) 324; Bay (2023) 284.

12 *SY* 78 (עח) likewise totally omits the final line of the sequence in *DEH* 5.16.1: "Sarah returned wealthier with her honor restored, Abraham came back holier, who had given a remedy of sterility as remuneration for his wife's purity" (*Remeat Sarra ditior saluo pudore, reuertit Abraham sanctior, qui coniugalis pudicitiae remunerationem sterilitatis remedio conpensauisset*). Ussani (1932) 324; Bay (2023) 284–285.

13 Note the intensification implied by the sequential move from Qal to Piel verbs through the passage.

potent a figure than is in *DEH*. While in both versions of the story he commendably seeks God's favor in adverse circumstances, in *SY* he is active victor, in *DEH* passive recipient. Could this shift point among other things to a distinction Yosippon sees between Christian and Jewish modes of interpreting the religiosity of scriptural figures?[14] If so, this might be read as a subtle dig of resistance aimed at medieval Christian cultural hegemony tucked deep within a Jewish work of Hebrew prose. Whether any reader was ever designed to pick up on this shift is another question. In a similar vein, it may be significant that Yosippon omits any metaphorical instrumentalization of prayer here: where *DEH* has Abraham picking up "the weapons of pious prayer" (*orationis piae arma*), a discernible nod to the Christian weaponization of prayer developed in the New Testament (2 Cor 6:7; 10:4) and on full display throughout *DEH* 5.16.1,[15] *SY* merely casts prayer as an alternative to sword.[16]

14 Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Bible has ever tended toward spiritualization, abstraction, and idealization, and Rabbinic thought (e.g.) developed "a highly sophisticated system of interpretation based on uncovering and expanding the primary concrete meaning" *without* engaging this broader Christian movement characteristic "of Western thought"; Handelman (1982) 19. See generally on this point Levenson (1993) 33–61.

15 See Bay (2022a) 296–299.

16 However, shortly later, when *SY* reworks *DEH*'s discussion of King Hezekiah's response to the Assyrian king Sennacherib (cf. 2 Kgs 19; Isa 37), the Christian spiritual-warfare metaphor seems to survive its Latin-to-Hebrew, Christian-to-Jewish adaptation: *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 326; Bay [2023] 285–286) reads: "King Hezekiah, when the people of the Jewish race had been confronted by the Assyrians, and when taunts were hurled against God by the voice of Rabsheka at the order of King Sennacherib, whereby he [Hezekiah] had gathered that ultimate destructions were being threatened against the people, did not pay credence to these insinuations by returning words for words or weapons for weapons, but, rising up, he clothed himself with a covering as with a sword, covered his head with ashes for a helmet, and fashioned prayer into a javelin" (*Ezechias rex, infuso Assyriorum populo genti Iudaeae cum uoce Rapsacis, imperio Sennacherim regis, quae in deum iacerentur conuicia, quae populo quam suprema exitia denuntiarentur satis conperisset, insinuantibus non uerba uerbis nec arma armis referenda credidit, sed exsurgens cilicio se sicut scuto induit, pro galea cinere caput texit, pro iaculis orationem intorsit*). *SY* 78 (עח) (Bowman [2023] 338; Flusser [1978] 365; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 738–739) reads similarly: "And in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came and reviled the Temple of the LORD and when the malice of his heart and his pride waxed strong, with what was he humbled? Not by battle, but rather by prayer. For Hezekiah arose and adorned himself with the ornament of prayer, for in place of a shield he donned sackcloth, and in place of a helmet ashes, and in place of arrows prayers, and his prayer ascended into a place into which an arrow could not ascend" (ובימי חזקיהו מלך יהודה בבוא סנחריב מלך אשור ויחרף את מקדש יי ובהיגבר זדון לבו וגאוותו במה הושפל? לא במלחמה כי אם בתפילה. כי קם חזקיהו ויעדה עדי תפילה כי תחת המגן לבש שק ותחת הכובע אפר ותחת החיצים תפילות ותעלה התפילה במקום אשר לא יעלה שם חץ). If one reads the preposition תחת here as being identical to Ps-Heg's *pro*, then Yosippon is saying the exact same thing. But this

The figure of Sarah presents an even more interesting case. In both texts she is objectified and sexualized. But in *DEH*, she remains in the background: first "her chastity [as Abraham's wife] was abducted" (*abductae coniugis captiua pudicitia*), then she "returned" (*rediit*). And after Pharaoh added silver and gold to her "purity" (*pudor*) she "came back" (*remeat*) both "wealthier" (*ditior*) and with her "honor restored" (*saluo pudore*). In the middle of this, Ps-Hegesippus notes that "Sarah was afraid and Pharaoh denied the accusation" (*metuebat Sarra et Pharao crimen negabat*), i.e. of having defiled Abraham's wife. Here again *DEH* conflates Gen 12:10–20 with Gen 20, recalling the scene of Abimelech's midnight meeting with God, and seems briefly to imagine a bedroom scene with Sarah and 'Pharaoh' side-by-side.[17] If so, of what was Sarah afraid: the presence of God, Pharaoh's wrath, or her own part in the affair? *SY* 78 (עח) tells the story quite differently but, somewhat surprisingly, over-objectifies and hyper-sexualizes the beloved matriarch.

While Sarah's fate within Pharaoh's household is mostly implicit in *DEH* (and in both Gen 12 and 20, for that matter), in *SY* things get explicit: Pharaoh "coveted" (חמד) and "took" (יקח) Sarah and planned to do "shameful things" (למען עשות נבלה) with or to her,[18] i.e. "to expose her mysteries" (לגלות את מסתריה). More overtly still, Yosippon's Josephus avers: "he had wanted badly to uncover her body" (ביקש לגלות את בשרה הרבה).[19] In *SY* 78 (עח), Pharaoh's imagined desires are graphically portrayed and, interestingly given the fact that *SY* omits the additions from Gen 20 included by Ps-Hegesippus, seem perhaps to have

---

ought not necessarily surprise us, as there is no reason to assume that Yosippon would reject outright the metaphorical weaponization of prayer, piety, humility, etc., though he seems to reject the overtly Christian expression of these ideas as found in the Abraham narrative mentioned above. We should remember that the Hebrew Bible itself spiritualized warfare in a way when Isa 59:17 described the LORD thus: "He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation on his head; he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and wrapped himself in zeal as a cloak" (וילבש צדקה כשרין וכובע ישועה בראשו וילבש בגדי נקם תלבשת ויעט כמעיל קנאה).

17 In Gen 12 Pharaoh never talks to God nor denies anything. In Gen 20:4–5 Abimelech explicitly denies the accusation—God had said to him: "You are a dead man because of the woman whom you have taken, for she is married" (20:3)—and it turns out that he had indeed not touched her (20:6). Abimelech repeats his innocence publicly at Gen 20:9, implicating Abraham as the guilty party, a detail which the tradition tends to forget.

18 The compound of עשה + נבלה with the modifier בישראל—"to do a shameful thing in Israel"—is a quasi-technical phrase that usually refers to sexual infidelity (adultery/whoring), as in Gen 34:7, Deut 22:21, Jer 29:23, but which can also refer more broadly to covenant-breaking, as with the sin of Achan in Josh 7 (see 7:15). Cf. more obliquely Job 42:8.

19 Or, perhaps, "had wanted to uncover her nakedness all the way."

been inspired by Gen 20.[20] But the main point to be gleaned here is just how much of a sex object Sarah becomes at Yosippon's hands. Moreover, she is a much more passive figure there: while Sarah is given three active verbs by Ps-Hegesippus (*rediit*, *metuebat*, *remeat*), in *SY* she only acts once, when at the end of the scene "she arrived" (באה) back to Abraham. What are we to make of this change? Is the outrageous idea of Sarah's rape highlighted to play up the gravity of her miraculous salvation by the LORD? Or is this addition aimed at entertainment value, a kind of medieval equivalent to the gratuitous sex scene in contemporary film? We need not choose between these options, though it should be noted that both the milieu of Hellenistic Judaism of which Yosippon is a latter-day embodiment and the early medieval literary context in which *SY* will have been situated *de facto* exhibited a penchant for the aesthetic rhetoric of the risqué.[21] Whatever the reasons, Yosippon's Sarah, like his Abraham, like his reimagining of this scene in general within Josephus' speech, differs dramatically from the Latin version of *DEH*.

SY 78 (עח) departs from *DEH* 5.16.1 in depicting Josephus' oratorical use of the Abraham-Sarah-Pharaoh episode both by omission and by addition. The changes Yosippon makes bespeak a creative, capable author who feels free to

20 Nothing is said of Sarah's fate in Pharaoh's household in Gen 12, whereas in Gen 20 her being taken (20:2) is marked as problematic because of her married status (20:3). The reader is also told that Abimelech "had not come near her" (לא קרב אליה; 20:4) and God tells Abimelech that "I did not let you touch her" (לא-נתתיך לנגע אליה; 20:6), both indirect allusions to what had been going to happen to Sarah. *SY*'s explicit additions are more akin to Gen 20 than Gen 12 in this way. Further, when *SY* 78 (עח) has Josephus say that "yet [Pharaoh] was not allowed, for the LORD did not give to him according to his desire to do all this" (ולא נעזר כי לא נתן יי מאוויו לעשות כל זאת), the imputation of the verb "allow" (נתן) to God with the qualifying infinitive (לנגע or לעשות) suggests that Yosippon may have had the Gen 20 scene in mind when imagining how 'Pharaoh's' carnal plans were divinely foiled.

21 Consider, for example, the exciting and highly-sexed narrative of Susanna, the Hellenistic addition to the Book of Daniel which hinges upon a heroine's sexual objectification and endangerment; see Loader (2011) 214–235, esp. 233 (and see other sections of this study in support of my point more broadly). For medieval sexuality in literature things are more complicated, for while sex is common in medieval literature, it often takes the form of "bawdy tales" involving everyday folk of lower social status, none of which describes the scene here with Sarah. See Harvey (2021), which also reassesses modern stereotypes vis-à-vis medieval sexuality. My point here, however, is simply that Yosippon's cultural milieu will have appreciated the sexually risqué significantly, which could easily explain his penchant to hypersexualize such a scene, which after all does nothing to desacralize the episode. We should also add here that it was not just Hellenistic Jewish and medieval readers who apparently enjoyed the sexing of narrative scenes—Ps-Heg's late antique readers also went in for such things, a conclusion we may base upon the reworking of a sordid and steamy affair from Josephus' *AJ* in *DEH* 2.4, on which now see MacRae (2021).

rewrite historical recollections of his own Scriptures independently of his late antique Christian source. They also bespeak a particular form of piety akin to trends in *SY* we have seen before—the LORD (יי) is named four times in this scene in *SY* 78 (עח), compared to three diverse divine namings in *DEH* (*deus* [*timor dei*], *defensor …*, *dominus*). *SY*'s biblical poetics are likewise, as usual, on display. Yet the changes *SY* makes to the depiction of Sarah here, and the unmistakable way in which it 'fixes' Josephus' *exemplum* so as to undo the conflation of Gen 12 and 20—something Yosippon might have seen as impious, or ignorant, or lazy—point to a creative transformation of sources well beyond a simple schema.[22] *SY*'s transformation of *DEH* is not *simply* a matter of Judaization, biblicization, and theologization, the tri-fold ideological schema which the present study seeks to identify in *SY*'s use of *DEH*; rather, it is a wider and much more dynamic phenomenon.

2 Trimming the Tape: Tracking Omissions between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח)

Another angle from which we may view this multifaceted phenomenon is by paying attention to material from *DEH* that does not make the final cut for inclusion into *SY*. Here I am borrowing again language from the film industry, during the production stage of which the various segments of a film (scenes) are cut or trimmed, either to conform to a certain length or for myriad other reasons.[23] Analogy between this practice and that of *SY* as author is apt, for the latter, not unlike a film director, routinely leaves aside portions of his material-in-hand in order to realize the final product he wants. And, as it turns out, there is much we can learn about Yosippon by tracking his omissions through the latter part of *SY* 78 (עח).

Some of *SY*'s excisions seem unexceptional. That is, at times *SY* 78 (עח) leaves out material present in *DEH* 5.16.1 whose exclusion seems practical, purely aesthetic, or even accidental. Thus, for example, just after the Abraham episode above, where Ps-Hegesippus mentions the rescue of Lot by Abraham's

22 It should also be noted that this represents a rare case in which an oratorical *exemplum* appearing within *DEH* and *SY* uses more Hebrew words in *SY* than Latin words in *DEH* (the Hebrew of *SY* uses 111 Hebrew words for this passage, whereas *DEH* uses 109 Latin words). This further signals Yosippon's interest in the passage.

23 On this analogy, the present study is akin to a 'director's cut' or special edition of a film that includes behind-the-scenes details, deleted scenes, actor interviews, and other extra-cinematic content.

318 troops (Gen 14:13–16), *SY* mentions the 318 troops, but not the rescue of Lot.[24] Lot's mention adds little to the story; perhaps because he constitutes an insignificant detail, or a distraction, or a detail so obvious to the biblically-literate reader that his name need not be mentioned, *SY* cuts him from Josephus' script. Easy come, easy go.

Perhaps more significant are the omissions in *SY* that bespeak the excision of material that was or sounded Christian to the author. Above we noted how Yosippon eschewed language denoting the weaponization of prayer in the Abraham-Sarah-Pharaoh saga. Another Christian metaphor dropped by Yosippon appears shortly thereafter. At the end of a short mention of Joshua and his feat in felling the walls of Jericho (Josh 6), the Josephus of *DEH* notes how everyone in that city was slain by the besieging Israelites "except those whom the faith of Rahab, the worthy prostitute, preserved from the destruction of that famous city" (*nisi quos Raab bonae meretricis fides a memoratae urbis excidio defendit*). The collocation of Rahab and *fides* here conjures the Vulgate rendering of Heb 11:31: "By faith the prostitute Rahab (*fide Raab meretrix*) did not perish along with those who were disobedient, after she had welcomed the spies in peace." Inasmuch as Yosippon was familiar with the Latin Christian Scriptures, it seems unlikely that he would have missed the allusion to this passage, relatively famous (at least among Christians). I believe this explains *SY*'s presentation of Rahab sans any equivalent 'faith' language:

> Moreover, when he [Joshua] devoted it [Jericho] to destruction there remained alive not one soul within it except Rahab the noble prostitute and all who fled into her house.

---

24 Compare *DEH* 5.16.1: "But what shall I say of his son Isaac? He, likewise trusting in his paternal protection against the insolence of a powerful neighbor, did not lead forth an army arrayed for battle, though he certainly had a strong force of 318 domestic servants, which had overcome five kings in war, come away with the spoils, **and restored the captive Lot to his uncle Abraham**" (*Quid de filio eius Isaac loquar? Is quoque patrio fretus munimine aduersus finitimi potentis insolentiam non armatas produxit acies, et certe habebat CCCXVIII uernaculorum ualidam manum, quae reges V bello superauerat, spoliis exuerat, **captiuum Loth Abrahae patruo restituerat***) (Ussani [1932] 324; Bay [2023] 285) to *SY* 78 (עח): "And what shall we say of Isaac, his son? When the king of the Philistines strove with him there were with him three hundred eighteen young men of his father's who had struck down five kings. And many of those were with him from the servants of his own household, and there was also sufficient bravery within him to make war with the Philistines" (ומה נאמר ביצחק בנו? בגרש אותו מלך פלשתים היו עמו שלש מאות ושמונה עשרה חניכי אביו אשר הכו חמשת המלכים. ורבים מאלה היו עמו מעבדי ביתו וגם גבורה היתה לו להלחם בפלשתים) (Bowman [2023] 337; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 734–737; Flusser [1978] 364).

וגם בהחרימו אותה לא חיה כל נשמה בתוכה בלתי רחב הזונה הטובה וכל הנמלטים אל ביתה.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[25]

Yosippon's calling Rahab a "noble prostitute" (הזונה הטובה) is a verbatim translation of Ps-Hegesippus' introduction of her as *bona meretrix*. Yet by making her the object of a verb rather than rendering her 'faith' the subject of a verb,[26] as Ps-Hegesippus had, Yosippon avoids unnecessary Christianized language in her mention. And once again: regardless of the author's *intent*, it is a fact that *SY* 78 (עח) hereby comes to lack conspicuous 'Christianese' within this portion of Josephus' scripted speech.

Along the very same lines, a few sentences earlier in this passage Yosippon had found Joshua himself introduced in Christianese:

> Joshua Naue, the very disciple and successor of Moses, learned of these arms, **which are not of the flesh but are mighty in God**, …
>
> *Didicit haec arma,* ***quae sunt non carnalia sed fortia deo****, Moysi discipulus atque successor idem Iesus Naue, …*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.16.1[27]

The bolded portion of this passage is a quotation of 2 Cor 10:4, where Paul had stated: "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not wage battle according to the flesh, for the weapons (τὰ ὅπλα/*arma*) of our warfare are not of the flesh, but divinely powerful (οὐ σαρκικὰ ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ/*non carnalia sed potentia*

25 Bowman (2023) 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 736–739; Flusser (1978) 365.

26 Cf. the same subjectifying quasi-personification of Rahab's "faith" in Theodoret of Cyrrhus *Interp. Heb.* 11 (PG 82:765).

27 Ussani (1932) 325; Bay (2023) 285. The passage continues: "… he, as an imitator and colleague of his master, turned back the waters of the Jordan, and the same man, when he beheld the impenetrable walls of the city of Jericho, commanded the priests to play their trumpets and the people to rejoice" (*qui imitator et subpar magistri Iordanis aquas conuertit retrorsum idemque cum inexpugnabiles Hiericho urbis muros uideret, sacerdotes tuba canere iussit iubilare populum*). Now note that *SY* 78 (עח) omits mention of the Jordan River miracle (Josh 3) and simply refers to Joshua's crossing the river whilst *not* a formidable military presence, thereby transvaluing this passage's message once again by means of omission: "Do you not know that even as Joshua, the servant of Moses, crossed the Jordan he was not a mighty man in war? With what did he level the walls of Jericho? Was it not by his prayer and by the blast of the trumpets of the priests of the LORD, who were blowing the shofars?" (הידעתם כי כאשר עבר יהושע משרת משה את הירדן הלא היה גיבור למלחמה? במה המם חומות יריחו? הלא בתפילתו ובתרועת כהני יי אשר היו תוקעים בשופרות) (Bowman [2023] 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 736–737; Flusser [1978] 365).

Deo) for the destruction of fortresses."[28] That is to say that Ps-Hegesippus has here snuck an overtly Christian metaphor into Josephus' speech, one particularly representative of a Christian Late Antiquity in which the spiritual warfare of ascetics and monastics became a cultural commonplace, and one that likely would have been easily recognized and appreciated by Yosippon's early medieval (Christian) peers.[29] *SY*'s total omission of this half-sentence may be read as yet another rejection-by-omission of Christian language, Scripture, and ideology.

Other apophatic alterations in *SY* 78 (עח) eliminate stories contained in *DEH* 5.16.1 that do not reflect well upon the general Israelite-Jewish tradition. For example, Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus mention how the priest Eli neglected the administration of *sacra religio* (cf. 1Sam 2:27–36) as a way of marking the transition and downward national-religious trajectory between the time of the Judges and the new age beginning with the prophet Samuel.[30] In contrast, *SY* 78 (עח) omits completely any mention of this unfortunate stain on the nation's past.[31] It may also be to avoid national embarrassment that Yosippon neglects to include a line about Gideon that appears later in the speech of *DEH* 5.16.1. After mentioning Moses and Joshua, and before continuing on to Samson, Ps-Hegesippus adds: "and Gideon conquered after he had tested his combatants with water" (*uicit et Gedeon cum in aqua dimicaturos probasset*). Yosippon, by contrast, moves straight to Samson. Perhaps this is because Gideon's absurd water-testing episode (Judg 7:4–8) recalls a comical victory on the part of a blundering judge; we will see below that *SY* totally changes how Gideon's victories are presented by Josephus at another point, likewise suggesting that Yosippon, like the rabbis, had little appreciation for the hapless judge "Jerubbaal" (Judg 7:1a). But whatever the reason, Yosippon is happy to cut here yet another line of Josephus' speech from *DEH* 5.16.1.

---

28 Ps-Heg was likely quoting the Greek, but his Latin ends up almost exactly like the Vulgate.

29 The spiritual warfare ideas baptized by Paul in 2Cor 10 were foundational for medieval monasticism: Smith (2011).

30 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 325; Bay [2023] 285): "The administration of *sacra religio* had been neglected by Eli the priest, the divine orders were abandoned" (*Intermissa erat sacrae cura religionis Heli sacerdotis neglegentia, diuina imperia deserebantur*). This separates the mention of Gideon (Judg 7) and the mention of the Philistines' capture of the Ark of the Covenant (1Sam 4) within Josephus' speech.

31 In a similar vein, when later on Ps-Heg has Josephus recall Asa's ordeal of 2Chr 14 and *DEH* 5.16.1 recalls how "certainly he was a man strong in faith, if only he had persevered to the end" (*bonus profecto fide, si usque ad finem perseuerasset*), *SY* 78 (עח) completely omits this detail and replaces it with a mention of how God delivered Judah on that occasion. Here again Yosippon pastes over criticisms aimed at biblical heroes which he found in his Latin source.

Another kind of omission can be seen when Josephus in *SY* 78 (עח) comes to several stories regarding the prophet Elisha: namely, the story of the kings in the desert from 2 Kgs 3 and the story of the Arameans' siege against the King of Israel in Samaria from 2 Kgs 6–7. Here Yosippon renders what in *DEH* 5.16.1 occupies the space of 315 Latin words in just 78 Hebrew ones. I have argued elsewhere that Ps-Hegesippus has a particular interest in the prophet Elisha and that the narrative space that he affords Elisha narratives within *DEH* reflects a particular penchant for that prophet.[32] So what interest might Yosippon have in *not* including all the details that Ps-Hegesippus does regarding these stories? Some clues emerge as one examines what *SY* omits.

First of all, in *DEH* 5.16.1 Josephus introduces the first of the two Elisha stories as "the (affair) of the five kings" (*de quinque regibus*), which begins with these kings going to war "without consulting the Lord" (*inconsulto domino*). As a result, as they passed through the desert "lack of water began to afflict grievously and to torment both themselves and their horses with thirst."[33] Because of this suffering, Josephus states: "Necessity constrained them to right the foregone duty. For the king of Israel had been negligent regarding the worship of God."[34] The recollection of this story in *DEH* highlights the impiety and shortcomings of the ancient Israelites, embodied in their leadership. The gratuitous doubling of the verbs describing the kings' suffering by thirst (*adflictare*, *uexare*), the addition of the adverb (*uehementer*), the attribution of suffering to men *and horses*, and the (again) hyperbolic doubling in reference to "foregone (religious) duty" (*praetermissum officium*) **and** "negligence in the worship of God" (*neglegens circa dei cultum*) all accrue to a picture of massive religious failure within ancient Israel. We should note that Ps-Hegesippus takes significant interpretive license in making these statements: in the biblical narrative the kings' lack of water is mentioned only briefly (2 Kgs 3:9b), and they are never blamed outright for going to war 'without consulting the Lord.' Therefore, when in *SY* 78 (עח) Josephus mentions nothing of the kings' impiety nor exaggerates their sufferings in the wilderness, not only is Yosippon biblicizing his narrative (by excising extra-biblical details found in *DEH*), he is also, as with Ps-Hegesippus' mention of the priest Eli discussed above, removing a historical pockmark from the virtuosity and religiosity of ancient Israel (and Judah) and

32 Bay (2022a) 219–240.

33 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 326; Bay [2023] 285): *aquae inopia uehementer adflictare coeperat, ipsos quoque et equos eorum sitis uexare.*

34 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 326; Bay [2023] 286): *Necessitas praetermissum officium reparari coegit. Erat enim rex Israhel neglegens circa dei cultum.*

its leadership.[35] While Yosippon, like his Christian source, emphasizes the efficacy of the prophet Elisha and reiterates the lesson that weapons (כלי מלחמה) and bravery (גבורה) avail naught of themselves, he refuses to repeat the extra-biblical details of *DEH* that cast the ancient Israelite (and Judahite) king(s) in the worst possible light.

At the same time, Yosippon here omits a number of more benign details of the story as well. Where Ps-Hegesippus expatiates upon the encounter between the prophet Elisha and the beleaguered monarchs, Yosippon has Josephus keep things short and sweet: "Was it not by the prayer of Elisha that water came forth for them in the wilderness, and a stream in the desert?"[36] Yet even as Yosippon here exercises his editorial prerogative to cut material, his brief replacement text echoes a biblical poetics that enlists a rare term for wilderness (ישימון) that recalls God's provision for his people in desolate places[37] and plays upon the futuristic utopia of Israel's redemption imagined in Isa 35 and 43.[38] In the very next line of *SY* 78 (עח) the very same thing happens again: where Ps-Hegesippus provides an expansive account of Elisha's salvific action during Samaria's siege by the Arameans, Yosippon's Josephus has much less to say:

> And it was also by the prayer of Elisha, when Aram made war upon Samaria, that God made to be heard in the ears of the Arameans a sound of chariot and horsemen, and all the camp of Aram fled, for the sound of a shaken leaf chased them.

---

35 In mentioning "the king of Israel and the king of Judah and the king of Edom" (ומלך יהודה ומלך ישראל ומלך אדום) as the protagonists of the episode, *SY* 78 (עח) reiterates exactly the characters involved according to the biblical narrative (2 Kgs 3:9a, though the king of Israel is mentioned first there), unlike the "five kings" of *DEH* 5.16.1, which is wrong any way one wants to slice it.

36 Bowman (2023) 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 738–739; Flusser (1978) 365: הלא בתפילת אלישע יצאו להם מים במדבר ונחל בישימון? Several mss (ד ,ק) contain a notably different reading here: "Did not Elisha, the man of God, implore the face of God, and he made the valley to fill with water and rain and wind, and they did not see it" (הלא אלישע איש האלהים חלה את פני יי וימלא הנחל מים וגשם ורוח לא נראו). The author of this (probably later) recension is, like other editors of *SY*, basing himself here on biblical details (see 2 Kgs 3:17). In general, significant variants appear in the ms tradition here; see Flusser (1980) 335.

37 Deut 32:10; Psa 68:8; 78:40; 106:14; 107:4; Isa 43:19–20; see Gesenius (2013) 508.

38 *SY*'s mention of "water in the wilderness" (מים במדבר) seems to play upon the only two instances of that construction (though with the words reversed) in the Jewish Scriptures: Isa 35:6: "Then those who limp will leap like a deer, / And the tongue of those who cannot speak will shout for joy. / For waters will burst forth in the wilderness, / And streams in the desert (ונחלים בערבה / **כי-נבקעו במדבר מים**)," and Isa 43:20 "The animals of the field will glorify Me, / The jackals and the ostriches, / Because I have given waters in the wilderness / And rivers in the desert, / To give drink to My chosen people (**נהרות** /להשקות עמי בחירי **כי-נתתי במדבר מים** / **בישימן**)."

וגם בתפילת אלישע בהלחם ארם על שומרון הלא השמיע האל באוזני ארם קול רכב ופרשים וינס כל מחנה ארם כי רדף אותם קול עלה נדף.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[39]

As before, a long story in *DEH* 5.16.1 becomes one short line in *SY* 78 (עח) and, as before, Yosippon inserts some allusive biblical language into his version of Josephus' Scripture-remembered: the idea of "the sound of a driven leaf" (קול עלה נדף) chasing (רדף) someone is a deft reversal of a covenantal curse actually aimed at Israel in Lev 26:36.[40] What is in the Torah a warning against faithlessness to Israel becomes for Yosippon a way for Josephus cleverly to remember the divinely-wrought fear cast upon Aram during God's deliverance of his people in 2 Kgs 7.[41] As he rewrites this portion of Josephus' speech, Yosippon is not taking a step away from the Bible—he is taking a step away from *DEH*, and from the interpretive proclivities that that Christian text evinces (accentuating Israel's faithlessness, adding details to biblical accounts, and explaining biblical stories which Yosippon likely considered it unnecessary to explain).[42]

In the same 'cleansing' vein, further on in the speech Yosippon's Josephus omits unflattering references to King Saul, whom Ps-Hegesippus remembers "was conquered, because he did not observe the precepts of God,"[43] and Josiah, whose fateful encounter with the Egyptian King Neco (2 Kgs 23; 2 Chr 35) struck a blow both devastating and unnecessary to Judah,[44] and Zedekiah, who

39 Bowman (2023) 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 365. The best (i.e. earliest) reading of this passage is probably slightly shorter: see Flusser (1980) 335.

40 There God says to Israel through Moses: "As for those among you who are left, I will also bring despair into their hearts in the lands of their enemies. And the sound of a scattered leaf will chase them (ורדף אתם קול עלה נדף), and even when no one is pursuing they will flee as though from the sword, and they will fall."

41 There it is actually "a sound of chariots, a sound of horses, the sound of a great army" (קול רכב קול סוס קול חיל גדול) that the Lord uses to disrupt the Arameans (2 Kgs 7:6).

42 Ps-Heg's late antique audience, ostensibly comprised of Christians but perhaps non-Christians as well, will not, I think, have been assumed to have had as thorough a knowledge of the Old Testament as Yosippon would have assumed for his Jewish readers vis-à-vis their Hebrew Bible.

43 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 328; Bay [2023] 287): *At uero Saul uictus est, quia dei praecepta non custodiuit*. Ps-Heg's change to the passive *uictus est* in this series of victories mostly described with the active *uicit* signals a slight change of content in the speech (note also that Moses' victory over Amalek is not described in *DEH* 5.16.1 with *uicit Moyses* but rather with *uictus Amalech*, in this case apparently only for purposes of aesthetic variety). Saul thus joins Amalek as a biblical personality who is not a 'winner' but the opposite: a loser, someone who was 'won against.'

44 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 328; Bay [2023] 287): "Josiah was wounded, because he went forth against the enemy contrary to the command [of the Lord]—holy in other regards, he was

ignored the prophet Jeremiah and resisted Babylon, a move that resulted in the sacking of Jerusalem and the mass deportation of the Jews (2 Kgs 25; 2 Chr 36; Jer 52). The erasure of this last story, which takes up a good deal of space in *DEH* 5.16.1 (52 Latin words), is highly significant, as this speech of Josephus' marks a crux within a narrative *about the potential sacking of Jerusalem and devastation of its Jewish inhabitants*. It is also one of the few ancestral *exempla* mentioned not only in *DEH* 5.16.1 but also in the Greek source-text of Josephus' *BJ* (5.391–393).[45] It would seem that for Yosippon the Zedekiah episode hit a little too close to home to be included in the oration;[46] thus *SY* 78 (עח) also erases the brief mention hereafter of how the people ignored the prophet Isaiah and his warnings not to flee to Egypt (see Isa 30–31), resulting in the further bifurcation of Judea's ancient residents. Yosippon has no interest in allowing Josephus to dredge up these failures within *his* narrative.

A systematic omission of details occurs in *SY* 78 (עח) when, halfway through his speech, Josephus backs up to take another run at Jewish history in an effort to show that, not divine chastisement, but intra-Jewish error, strife, and treachery has plagued and still plagues the Jews and Jerusalem. In Josephus' own Greek iteration of this speech (*BJ* 5.394 ff.), more recent, Roman Era Jewish history is the explicit referent: he mentions the Jewish resistance to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (160s BCE) followed by the foibles of Aristobulus, Hyrcanus, Antigonus, Herod.[47] In *DEH* 5.16.1, things change: there we find mention of the Assyrian captivity (late-eighth century BCE), the restoration under Cyrus and Darius (sixth century BCE), and generally the old-time relations between the Israelites/Judahites and the Babylonians and Persians. While staying true to Josephus' original theme, Ps-Hegesippus changes the historical scope and details used to discuss it. Given the interest shown by Josephus and

---

snatched away lest he behold the captivity which was owed to our sins" (*uulneratus Iosias, quia contra imperium in hostem processit, sanctus cetera et ideo raptus ne captiuitatem nostris debitam peccatis uideret*). See 2 Kgs 23:28–30 and 2 Chr 35:20–24 for a description of how Josiah was injured in battle because he went forth against Neco contrary to the command of the LORD. See Bay (2023) 283–317 for a discussion of the episode in *DEH* 5.16.1.

45 The Zedekiah *exemplum* is also mentioned in *DEH* 5.22.1 // *SY* 81 (פא), here with no Josephan precedent (though perhaps drawing upon Josephus' speech in *BJ* 6.104–106 re: Jeconiah).

46 Or perhaps, because a discussion of Zedekiah would also feature in *SY* 81 (פא), following *DEH* 5.22.1—and there in a fuller historical context alongside King Jeconiah—Yosippon thought it superfluous here.

47 For the argument that this passage reveals the influence of the Book of Daniel on Josephus' understanding of history, see Mason (1994), who argues that this passage "at last breaks through to the Danielic substratum of Josephus' outlook in the *War*" (182).

Ps-Hegesippus in these *exempla*, one is surprised to find in *SY* 78 (עח) an almost total erasure of historical particulars from this part of the speech:

> Thus all the evil that has befallen us from the former days has come upon us by our own hands. Thus the LORD our God is just in all things, and his judgments upright. Thus our enemies have not done us harm so much as we ourselves have harmed our own lives. For the nations that seized all our treasures and the vessels of our sacred service have kept them unblemished until the time appointed for them to bring them back. But we have contaminated them by our iniquity and with innocent blood which we have shed in the middle of the Temple of the LORD our God. But also in our exile into the lands of the nations we have sought the LORD and we have studied the precepts of the Torah and we have taught them to the nations, to do them. But now look at us—living on our own territory, but our own evil has divided us and turned a man against his brother. For this reason we have forgotten the words of the Torah and its precepts. For the diaspora community increased its fear of the LORD and his Torah, but flattery has removed the Torah from our midst and has hardened our hearts against the fear of the LORD.
>
> כי כל הרעה אשר באתנו מימי עולם מידינו היתה בנו. כי צדיק הוא יי אלהינו על כל וישרים משפטיו. כי לא הריעו לנו אויבים כאשר הרענו אנו לנפשותינו. כי הגוים אשר לקחו את כל מחמדינו ואת כלי מקדשנו הושיבום בטהרה עד זמן אשר השיבום. ואנו טמאנו אותם במעלינו ובדם נקי אשר שפכנו בקרב היכל יי אלהינו. וגם בגלותנו אל ארצות הגוים דרשנו את יי ונלמוד את חוקות התורה ונלמדם אל הגוים לעשותם. ועתה הננו יושבים על אדמתינו ויחלק לבנו ותהפך רעתינו איש באחיו. על כן שכחנו את דברי התורה ואת חוקותיה. כי הגלות הוסיפה יראת יי ותורתו והמחלוקת השביתה את התורה מקרבנו ותקשיח את לבינו מיראת יי.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[48]

In Yosippon's version of this passage we find the typical additions of mention of "the LORD" and "the LORD our God," but even more prominent is the complete historical flattening of the principles under discussion. No longer present are the Seleucid Empire and Rome (Josephus) or the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians (Ps-Hegesippus). This passage now, in its new and improved *SY* version, has a timeless quality that seeks to explain the Jews' panchronic fortunes

48 Bowman (2023) 339–340; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 742–743; Flusser (1978) 367. The first line in this passage Neuman (1950) 651n38 (cf. 653n44) takes as representative of *SY*'s overall tendency to lay responsibility for Jerusalem's and the Temple's fate at the feet of the Jewish rebels (likening this to Josephus' own tendency in *BJ* 3.472–484, 5.257, 6.34–35, blithely clueless to the fact that it was Ps-Heg's perspectives with which *SY* was most directly interacting).

in terms of their own actions—it was *these* that determined how they fared in their interactions with the nations (הגוים). *SY*'s Josephus is arguably more direct than his persona in either *BJ* or *DEH* in saddling the Jews themselves with responsibility for their predicament: it is the Jews' own evil (רעתינו) and "flattery" (המחלוקת) that has caused them to lose the teaching and precepts of the Torah and the concomitant fear of the LORD.[49]

At first glance, the hyperbolic presentation of collective Jewish guilt here might seem an odd feature of *SY*. Why would Yosippon spend so much time accentuating the socio-religious ills of the historical Jews? Elsewhere he curtails the articulation of such blaming;[50] and haven't we just been noticing how

49 "Evil" (רע) and "flattery of the tongue" (מחלקת לשון) are both used to the describe the strange woman or seductress of Prov 6:24.

50 After comparing Jerusalem to a defiled household that God, its householder, has fled in disgust, Josephus goes on in *DEH* 5.16.1 to exclaim: "Whose eyes are able to behold this, whose sense able to bear it, whose souls able to endure it? O people harder than rocks, more unbending than iron, who amidst such portents of human affairs are still fighting amongst yourselves as though toward some emulation of virtue from wickedness and, what is worse, you yourselves are tearing down your country and are increasing its ruin. Now at last, turn back, at last return to your senses, judge and see the beauty of the country which you are handing over" (*Qui istud oculi spectare, qui sensus perpeti, qui tolerare animus potest? O saxis duriores, ferro rigidiores, qui in tantis rerum humanarum prodigiis adhuc inter uos tamquam ad uirtutis aemulationem de scelere certatis et quod est grauius uos ipsi patriam destruitis atque eius augetis ruinas. Conuertimini aliquando, aliquando resipiscite, iudicate et uidete pulchritudinem patriae quam prodidistis*) (Ussani [1932] 332; Bay [2023] 289). *SY* 78 (עח) shortens this diatribe to "But you harden your heart like iron! For you are watching the demise of our people and the destruction of the city of our joy, and there is no hope. But you, you continue to revolt, and thus there is no mercy for you" (ואתם מקשים לבבכם כברזל. כי תראו אובדן עמנו וחורבן קרית משושנו ואין תקווה. ואתם תוסיפו סרה כי אין לכם חמלה.); Bowman (2023) 341; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 748–749; Flusser (1978) 369. *SY* 78 (עח) has Josephus refer to the communal "you-all's heart" [לבבכם] several times in this speech, recalling the covenantal/prophetic passages of the Bible where this usage appears in Numbers (×1), Deuteronomy (×7), Joshua (×3), 1 Samuel (×4), 1 Kings (×2), 1 Chronicles (×1), Psalms (×5), Jeremiah (×4), Joel (×2), and Haggai (×4). Returning to our comparison, Yosippon reduces the mineralogical analogy by half, omitting the *saxis duriores* quip and repeating only *ferro rigidiores*, albeit in the biblical language of Jer 3:7b ("The entire house of Israel certainly is hard-headed and **hard-hearted**" [חזקי-מצח וקשי-**לב**]); the more usual biblical phrasing with קשה refers to Israel as "a stick necked people" (עם-קשה-ערף)—Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13—and uses the verb כבד to describe the hardening of the corporate heart (1 Sam 6:6a: ולמה תכבדו את-לבבכם), so it seems that Yosippon has more or less replace neck (ערף) with heart (לב) in the classic "stick-necked formula" ('stiff-hearted'). More to the point, Yosippon cuts Ps-Heg's lengthy fixation upon the Jews' guilt and instead places the focus outside of the people themselves, referring to their lack of תקווה and the חמלה which does not remain for them. Yosippon has little patience for repeating Ps-Heg's lengthy expatiations upon the Jews'

SY deletes historical framings that cast unflattering light on the Israelite-Jewish collective? I think a clue comes in the absence of details in this portion of Josephus' speech a la Yosippon. The elimination of historical referents from Josephus' comments renders this paragraph a perpetual manifesto for Jewish existence amidst adversity: immoral behavior ("evil") and improper motivations ("flattery") can explain the absence of Torah observance and piety among the Jews in general, whether those of the Diaspora or those in the Holy Land, and this in turn can explain the adverse circumstances in which any historical group of Jews, understood as covenant community, may find itself. It is a framework for all time. And the classical Jewish way to restore said religiosity and law-following comes in communal repentance. Indeed, congregational confession of and mourning over collective failure and sin stands out like a ritual thread coursing through the Hebrew/Israelite/Jewish past. In the biblical record, not only is such confession and covenant returning prescribed in the Pentateuch (Lev 26:40; Deut 30:2), it is normalized in the Israelite experience from the wilderness wanderings (e.g., Num 21:7a) to the dramatic reforms initiated by Ezra (Ezra 9:5–10:1; Neh 9:2).[51] Nor was this practice imagined to have ceased with the events recorded in the Tanakh: the *Community Rule* mandates communal confession as a *sine qua non* of the covenant congregation imagined in that text:

> *Blank* The priests shall recite the just deeds of God in his mighty works, 22 and they shall proclaim all his merciful favours towards Israel. And the levites shall recite 23 the iniquities (עוונות) of the children of Israel, all their blameworthy offences and their sins (כול פשעי אשמתם והטאתם) during the dominion of 24 Belial. [And al]l those who enter the covenant shall confess (מודים) after them and they shall say: "We have acted sinfully, 25 we have [trans]gressed, we have [si]nned, we have committed evil (אנו הרשענו [חט]שענו [פ] ... נעוינו), we and our

unfeeling stubbornness (a quintessential anti-Jewish stereotype among late ancient and medieval Christians; cf. *DEH* 2.12.1). Interestingly, in Josephus' own iteration of this call (*BJ* 5.415–417), he overtly states that salvation is still available for his Jewish audience: "Yet a way of salvation is still left you, if you will: and the Deity is easily reconciled to such as confess and repent. Oh! iron-hearted men (σιδήρειοι), fling away your weapons, take compassion on your country even now tottering to its fall, turn round and behold the beauty of what you are betraying: what a city! what a temple! what countless nations' gifts! Against these would any man direct the flames? Is there any who wishes that these should be no more?"

51 Neh 9:2 seems to provide the paradigmatic instance: "The descendants of Israel separated themselves from all foreigners, and they stood and confessed their sins and the wrongdoings of their fathers."

> [fa]thers before us, inasmuch as we walk 26 [...] truth and just [...] his judgment upon us and upon o[ur] fathers;"
>
> *Community Rule* (1QS I 21–26)[52]

This is not to say that Yosippon knew the *Community Rule* or a text like it (though he may have done). It is to say that corporate admission of guilt and the connection of that guilt to current circumstances was something that Yosippon would have found easily and prominently within the long Jewish tradition, something that remained an active element of Jewish congregational life after the penning of the texts of the Hebrew Bible.

For that reason, I argue that we should not read the emphasis upon Jewish guilt at this point in Josephus' speech as something that clashes with Yosippon's overall rhetoric. Far from it. This aspect of *SY* 78 (עח)'s rewrite of *DEH* 5.16.1 can be read as a part of what I am in this book calling *SY*'s Judaization of its Latin source: in turning Josephus' reference to Jewish responsibility into a microcosm for universal Jewish experience by eliminating its reference to epoch-specific details (and by referencing Torah observance, mentioning God's covenant name several times, etc.), Yosippon transforms this section of Josephus' speech into an ostensible expression of perennial Jewish truth not only applied to the situation in 70 CE, occupied by the narrative character Josephus and his Jewish comrades, but also intelligible to *SY*'s early medieval readership. In Josephus' mouth and under Yosippon's hand, the exigencies of diaspora, the Temple's despoiling, and civil war are explained with the conceptual tools of Torah observance and social unity (and their lack) in a way likely to be understandable and applicable to Jews of other generations, not just those of 70 CE Jerusalem. In transforming a portion of *DEH* 5.16.1 by way of omission, *SY* 78 (עח) renders Josephus' speech a story about Jewish readers themselves, an age-old, self-referential adage cut from the cloth of the Roman-Jewish War.

When *SY* 78 (עח) does allow Josephus to return to historical referents, these are the Roman-era figures mentioned in the Greek of Josephus' own original *BJ* 5.394–403 and then repackaged for *DEH* 5.16.1. But even here, Yosippon paves his own path. After marking that Hyrcanus and Aristobulus first brought the Romans into Jerusalem, he remembers how Herod "brought the Roman generals Antonius and Sosius into Jerusalem ... in his war with the sons of the Hasmoneans" (הביא אנטוניאוס וסוסיאוס שרי רומנים על ירושלם ... בהלחמו עם בני החשמונים).[53] The Hasmoneans as a group are not mentioned here in *BJ* or *DEH*,

52 Martínez/Tigchelaar (1999) 70–71.

53 Bowman (2023) 340; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 744–745; Flusser (1978) 367.

but an insertion of *SY*—we already saw in the last chapter how important these ancestral heroes are to Yosippon's articulation of Roman-era Jewish history. Moreover, when Josephus here is made to mention Nero, he does not state, as he does in *DEH*, simply that "you [Jews] despised Nero" (*spreuistis Neronem*), but instead says: "Did you not revolt against Nero Caesar on account of the wrong that [he did] to you?" (הלא מרדתם בנירוס קיסר על אשר הרע לכם?). In *SY*, the Jews' resistance to Nero is at least theoretically justified. They did not just despise Nero; they resisted him, *for a reason*. Then Ps-Hegesippus mentions Vespasian's *pietas* as a reason the Jews should have already and should now submit to his yoke. *SY* conspicuously omits mention of Vespasian's piety, referring only to his might (גבורתו) and his compassion (וחמלתו) as reasons to capitulate to him. Once again, then, this part of Josephus' speech in *SY*, largely characterized by suggestive omissions, rescripts the oration into an address that lionizes (Hasmoneans) and justifies (with Nero) Jewish action, while downplaying pious intentions on the part of the Romans (Vespasian). In this way, Josephus' speech in *SY* is, unsurprisingly yet no less markedly, more 'pro-Jewish' than what we find in *DEH* or even in the earlier *BJ*.[54]

Across Josephus' entire speech of *SY* 78 (עח), a comparison of *SY*'s Hebrew text to its Latin source reveals numerous sporadic omissions. These omissions can usually be readily interpreted by taking into account some basic aspects of Yosippon's perspective: he is a Jewish author writing to Jews who has inherited and operates within a Christian-dominated (Latin) literary culture yet whose loyalties resonate strongly with the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism. When Yosippon decides that material from the script of *DEH* 5.16.1 does not make the final cut, he is acting like an executive editor of history. As such, he is recreating from his own perspective and for his own early medieval Jewish audience a history that fits better his conception of and values concerning the Jews, the Bible, and God, among other things.

3 Adding to the Scene: Assessing Additions between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78

As with its omissions, so also the additions made in *SY* 78 (עח) to *DEH* 5.16.1 run the gamut from major, unmistakable augmentation to brief, trace details

54 In the latter portion of this section, *BJ* (5.400–403) is much more direct and explicit about the Jews' sins and shortcomings than either *DEH* or *SY*, though Yosippon very possibly did not know this version of the oration.

clipped onto material already provided by Ps-Hegesippus' Latin. And again, not only the scale but also the nature of these additions sets *SY* 78 (עח) apart from its source.

Some additions of *SY* 78 (עח) insert God into Josephus' speech where he is not mentioned in the version of *DEH* 5.16.1. By this point in this study such a feature of *SY* should be unsurprising. We already noted some added God language above in the Abraham-Sarah-Pharaoh scene. During Isaac's brief mention thereafter, where Ps-Hegesippus merely implies the details of Gen 26:26–33 in recounting how Isaac's neighbors and erstwhile enemies later asked him for a truce,[55] Yosippon not only correctly identifies Isaac's adversaries as "Philistines" (פלשתים) but also explains their motivation for coming to terms with the patriarch: "they perceived that the hand of the LORD was with him" (ראותם כי יד יי עמו). The story as recounted by *SY*'s Josephus resurrects several biblical details,[56] most importantly the fact that Isaac's special relationship with the LORD explained his success. This addition of the divinity into Josephus' speech is paradigmatic of how Yosippon uses God as part of his strategy of rewriting: adding God into the equation reminds the reader of the constant divine presence among the ancestors of the Jews and reinforces the fact of God's closeness to his chosen people. This, of course, is not a fact that the Christian author of *DEH* would have disputed, as he would have understood himself and his Christian comrades to have been the true inheritors of that legacy, but it is significant that the Jewish author of *SY* evidently thought it important enough to emphasize with numerous additions of God into a speech like that in *SY* 78 (עח).[57]

---

55 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 324; Bay [2023] 285): "Those who had threatened extermination came as suppliants, those who had not been willing to be neighbors demanded a truce" (*Venerunt rogantes qui exterminandum denuntiauerant, poposcerunt amicitiam qui finitimum non ferebant*).

56 See the mention of the Philistines of Gen 26, i.e. Abimelech, Ahuzzath his advisor, and Phicol his general, as well as the fact that these interlocutors of Isaac ask for a treaty precisely because, they explain to Isaac in Gen 26:28–29, "the LORD has been with you" (היה יהוה עמך) and thus "you are now the blessed of the LORD" (אתה עתה ברוך יהוה). *SY*'s addition of God language here has several functions, one of which is to bring Josephus' recollection of this scene into more biblically-accurate relief.

57 In addition to what is listed in the text below, later on in the speech, where *DEH* 5.16.1 has Josephus bewailing the Jews' apparent lack of feeling towards the Temple's destruction, *SY* 78 (עח) characteristically turns a mention of the Temple (*templum*) into one of "the Temple of the LORD" (היכל יי) and emphasizes not only the Godness of the Temple but also its historical-traditional pedigree: compare the words of *DEH* to those of *SY* here in Josephus' speech: "What a city, what a Temple, what habitations of holy things and interiors of sacred things, what works of the prophets are being eviscerated by your hands" (*Quae*

Most of the subsequent additions of God language in *SY* 78 (עח) serve the same purpose, and for that reason Josephus' long string of ancestral *exempla* is labeled as illustrating "the lovingkindnesses of the LORD" (חסדי יי). Thus, in *SY* "the LORD assisted" Jacob (עזרו יי) by the latter's prayer, which *DEH* 5.16.1 never says. Moses is introduced as a "man of God" (איש האלהים), which in *DEH* he never is. In recounting the Jericho episode, Yosippon turns the priests (*sacerdotes*) of *DEH* into "the priests of the LORD" (כהני יי). In recalling Gideon's story, he notes that Gideon "poured out before the LORD" (שפך לפני יי) his supplication, which Ps-Hegesippus again never mentions. Later, Yosippon has Josephus recall King Asa of Judah and his encounter with the Ethiopians (Cushites) who vastly outnumbered him (2 Chr 14);[58] while *DEH* refers impersonally to Asa's *fides* and mentions God (*deus*) only once, likewise impersonally, *SY* states that Asa "prayed to the LORD" (יתפלל אל יי) and "pleaded with him" (ויעתר לו), going even so far to paraphrase Asa's prayer—"We do not know what we should do, but our eyes are upon you" (ואנחנו לא נדע מה נעשה כי עליך עינינו)[59]—before remembering how "the LORD attended to the voice of his prayer" (יקשב יי בקול תפילתו) and delivered Judah.[60] This highly biblicized, highly valorizing recollection of Asa's interface with Yahweh shows Yosippon's biblicization, Judaization,

---

urbs, quod templum, quae sanctorum domicilia sacrorumque penetralia, quae prophetarum opera uestris manibus euiscerantur) (Ussani [1932] 332; Bay [2023] 289) versus "For thus it appears that you with your own hand have destroyed the Temple, for all this evil has come from your hand. For you sparked the fire upon the buildings of **the Temple of the LORD**, **which the magnificent kings and the prophets and the holy ones built for the name of the LORD**, but you have destroyed it with your own hand" (כי תגרו את השריפה על בניין **היכל יי אשר בנו המלכים היקרים והנביאים הקדושים לשם יי** ואתם בידכם תשחיתו אותו) (Bowman [2023] 341; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 748–749; Flusser [1978] 369).

58 2 Chr 14:8–9 puts the contest at 280,000 (Judah) against 1,000,000 + 300 chariots (Ethiopians).

59 Asa's prayer at 2 Chr 14:11 is quite different: "Then Asa called to the LORD his God and said, 'LORD, there is no one besides You to help in the battle between the powerful and those who have no strength; help us, LORD our God, for we trust in You, and in Your name have come against this multitude. LORD, You are our God; do not let man prevail against You.'" There is no overlap between Asa's prayer here and in *SY* 78 (עח); indeed, even the prayer formulae differ: יתפלל אל יי (*SY* 78 [עח]) versus ויקרא אסא אל-יהוה (2 Chr 14:11a). Instead, here Yosippon has lifted part of the prayer made by King Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 20:12, as Judah/Jerusalem was being attacked by "Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir" (20:10); his prayer was: "Our God, will You not judge them? For we are powerless before this great multitude that is coming against us; nor do we know what to do, but our eyes are on You" (ואנחנו לא נדע מה-נעשה כי עליך עינינו). By exchanging the prayer of one Judahite king for another within the Chronicler's history, Yosippon shows himself an adept in biblical phraseology and betrays a midrashic imagination wherein figures and type-scenes were interchangeable and virtually equivalent.

60 *SY* 78 (עח) also has Josephus reference the critical biblical denouement of the episode,

and theologization all at work together at a single point in Josephus' speech at which *SY* 78 (עח) again improves upon *DEH* 5.16.1. Yosippon's insertion of the Lord into Josephus' speech at many points shifts the emphasis of each particular passage and creates the overall impression of a greater piety on Josephus' part.[61] The Josephus of *SY* 78 (עח) is much more of a theologian than the Josephus of *DEH* 5.16.1 or even that of *BJ* 5.376–419.

Occasionally, Yosippon will expand a scene that is only mentioned briefly in *DEH* 5.16.1, much as Ps-Hegesippus had done vis-à-vis Josephus' Greek text in an earlier epoch of this chain of Josephan reception. Thus, for example, just after mentioning Moses' prayerful defeat of Amalek (Exod 17), in *DEH* Josephus adds, "Joshua conquered when he stopped the sun" (*uicit Iesus Naue cum solem statueret*), before immediately proceeding to discuss Gideon, Samson, and others. Yet Yosippon has Josephus camp out on the striking scene from Josh 10:

> And the prayer of Joshua stopped the sun at Gibeon to the effect that evening time became afternoon, and the camp of Israel prevailed over their foes. Had it not been for his prayer, which turned the sun back, the night would have divided Israel from its foes.
>
> ותפילת יהושע הדמימה את השמש בגבעון עד אשר נהפך עת ערב לצהרים ויגברו מחנה ישראל על צריהם. ולולי תפלתו אשר השיב את השמש אחור היה הלילה מבדיל בין ישראל ובין צריהם.
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[62]

---

where the Lord "struck down thousands upon thousands [i.e. one million] of the Cushites" (יך מכושים אלף אלפים) at Asa's behest, which *DEH* 5.16.1 does not mention at all.

61 Consider one more example: near the end of the speech, in *DEH* 5.16.1 (and *BJ* 5.418–419) Josephus bids his audience have mercy, if not on themselves, then at least on their families, children, wives, parents, etc., as these will certainly become victims of the atrocities of war. However, in *SY* 78 (עח) Josephus' exhortation begins differently: "But even if there is no mercy for yourselves, have mercy upon the Temple of the Lord, upon your sons and your daughters and your wives and your infants, lest they proceed into captivity" (ואם אין לכם חמלה על היכל יי חמלו על בניכם ובנותיכם ונשיכם וטפכם פן ילכו בשבי). Yosippon imputes to Josephus a Temple-based piety that takes precedence even over filial piety.

62 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 366. Using only a modicum of the same terminology (namely, the verb דמם), this passage paraphrases and changes portions of Josh 10:12–14. There, one reads Joshua "spoke to the Lord" (ידבר יהושע ליהוה), though he actually addresses the sun: שמש בגבעון דום (10:12; still, we read at 10:14 that "the Lord listened to the voice of a man"); then "the sun stood still (וידם השמש), until the nation avenged (יקם) themselves on their enemies" (10:13a).

Where Ps-Hegesippus includes only the briefest mention of the famous scene where the sun stood still for Joshua, Yosippon 1) specifies that Joshua's feat was effected by prayer (cf. Josh 10:12), 2) names Gibeon as the place where this occurred, 3) explains the temporal dynamics of the miracle (cf. Josh 10:13b), 4) connects Joshua's victory to the camp of Israel writ large (cf. Josh 10:15), and 5) explains the logic of the miracle against the alternate outcomes of that event. *SY*'s expansion of this episode celebrates the piety, military might, and noble victory of Israel under its most celebrated martial leader. Here, I suggest, the Jewish author Yosippon capitalizes upon an all-but-passed-over mention of Joshua in *DEH* 5.16.1 to play up the nobility, strength, and divine blessedness that characterized the ancient Israelites, the ancestors of the Jews. In Joshua at Gibeon Yosippon founds an essence of Jewishness, transplanting the sparse foliage planted in his literary source.

A less overtly ideological, but still noteworthy way in which Yosippon adds things to Josephus' speech is by filling in biblical details—names, place-names, numbers, events—that Ps-Hegesippus glosses over (or simply assumes as common knowledge). This occurs with most of the biblical episodes mentioned in *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח), and these need not all be listed here (indeed, we discuss most elsewhere in this chapter). But consider the following case: in *DEH*, sandwiched between the *exempla* of King Asa and King Saul, Josephus remembers that "a woman also, who preserved faith in God, conquered in arms" (*Vicit et mulier armis quae fidem deo reseruauit*). As I have suggested elsewhere,[63] such a sparse statement leaves itself open to interpretation: could this be the judge Deborah (Judg 4–5), or the woman Jael (Judg 4:17–22; 5:6,24), or the eponymous heroine of the Book of Judith? The latter two seem particularly apt, as both Jael and Judith are said to have used weapons themselves (Judg 4:21; Jud 13:8), and thus Ussani marks the reference as Judith in his edition.[64] But Yosippon, whose Hebrew Bible had no Judith (though Yosippon, familiar with the Apocrypha, will have known the text), goes in the other direction. *SY* 78 (עח) alters the anonymity of the referenced female in *DEH*, identifying the woman as the famous female judge of Judg 4–5: "And Deborah with her prayer worked salvation for Israel, and many women stood strong in prayer and kept them alive unto salvation" (ודבורה בתפילתה נעשתה ישועה בישראל ורוב נשים עמדו בתפילה ותחיין לישועה).[65] *SY* does more than just add a name to a faceless female from *DEH*: Yosippon uses the opportunity to include in Josephus' speech the entire class of pious heroines from Israel's national history—indeed, these are liter-

63 See Bay (2023) 303–304.

64 Ussani (1932) 328.

65 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 366.

ally Israel's female "saviors" (viz. the ישועה-language).[66] Was the Jewish author of *SY* a medieval feminist? At the very he least allows for a strong womanly presence within the Jews' own salvation history (and, once again, *SY* transvalues the primary principle at the center of Josephus' discourse from faith [*fides*], as in *DEH*, to prayer [תפילה]).

4 Switching the Script: Measuring Transformations between *DEH* 5.16 and *SY* 78 (עח)

In addition to cutting and adding, Yosippon inevitably changes material found in his Latin source, sometimes dramatically, much as a film editor will do, thereby placing his stamp of approval, and his own defining tenor or style, upon the finished work. To begin to appreciate the various levels and methods of change that appear between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח), let us begin with Josephus' mention of the patriarch Jacob as an *exemplum* early on in the speech. According to Ps-Hegesippus, Josephus introduces this example by saying:

> I shudder to enumerate how many miracles occurred among the fathers. The holy Jacob relinquished his paternal inheritance when his brother Esau threatened him with parricide; he deserted his parents and was alone, carrying with him only prayer as a provision for his journey and, by his merit, in foreign places, when he feared the designs of his brother and had sought the fellowship and aid of men, he encountered an assembly of angels. Guided, as he says, to the Fortress of God, he wrestled with the Lord and, as Scripture says, he prevailed over God, who considered himself unequal to men.
>
> *Contremesco tanta patrum recensere mirabilia. Iacob sanctus Esau fratre parricidium minitante patriam reliquit, parentes deseruit solius secum orationis ferens uiaticum, meritoque in peregrinis locis cum fratris metueret insidias, et hominum comitatu auxilioque egeret, inuenit angelorum concilium. Perductus, ut ait, ad Castra dei, conluctatus est domino et, sicut dicit scriptura, praeualuit deo, qui imparem se hominibus arbitrabatur.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.16.1[67]

66 We may note here also the prominent role given to the Maccabean mother-martyr in *SY* 15 (טו), in addition to other female figures in *SY*.

67 Ussani (1932) 324; Bay (2023) 285.

Compare this to the very similar yet in many ways distinct way that Josephus broaches the same subject according to Yosippon:

> For who is able to recount the loving-kindnesses of the LORD and his wonders which he performed with our fathers? Our father Jacob, when he fled before Esau his brother, did not take anything with him except his staff. His provision for his journey was his prayer, which also comprised his instruments of war. And by his prayer the LORD assisted him in his going and in his coming, and he wrestled with the angel and overcame him.

> כי מי יוכל לספר את חסדי יי ונפלאותיו אשר עשה עם אבותינו? יעקב אבינו בברחו מפני עשו אחיו לא נשא עמו דבר בלתי מקלו. וצידה לדרך היא היתה תפילתו (וגם כלי מלחמתו). ובתפילתו עזרו יי בלכתו ובשובו ויאבק עם המלאך ויוכל לו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[68]

First we should note that the agency imputed to the LORD in the first and last sentences of *SY*'s version is lacking in *DEH* 5.16.1: there divinity is nowhere in view in the first sentence, and in the last God only appears as the modifier of a noun (*castra **dei***) and the (dative) object of verbs (*conluctatus est domino*; *praeualuit deo*). Once again the active, and praiseworthy, God shines forth from *SY*'s narrative when we compare it to its Latin source. Nor should we miss the much closer connection implied between God (introduced with his covenant name יי and imputed with his characteristic חסד)[69] and his people in *SY* here, where God *performs* miracles *for* his people, rather than *mirabilia* simply occurring.

Equally striking is the way in which *SY* presents the Jacob story.[70] In addition to mentioning Jacob's staff and "implements of war," which Ps-Hegesippus does not, *SY* takes a step back from stating overtly that Jacob wrestled *with the Lord* (*dominus*) and prevailed *over God* (*deus*). Instead Jacob wrestled and overcame *the angel* (המלאך). Neither Ps-Hegesippus' nor Yosippon's treatment of the episode in Josephus' mouth conforms strictly to the biblical details of Gen 32:24–32. There Jacob wrestles with a "man" (איש/ἄνθρωπος/*uir*; Gen 32:24), and only later is it stated, and rather obliquely at that, that Jacob strove "with

68 Bowman (2023) 337; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 736–737; Flusser (1978) 364.

69 In referring to the חסדי יי at precisely this point in his speech, *SY*'s Josephus is actually enacting the famous prescription of Psalm 89:1: "I will sing of the loving-kindnesses of the LORD forever (חסדי יהוה עולם אשירה); to all generations I will make your faithfulness known with my mouth." Cf. Isa 63:7.

70 This story receives some expansive extensions in mss ק and ד; Flusser (1980) 334–335.

God and men" (and prevailed).[71] Yosippon, it would seem, is engaging with Hos 12:4a, where the prophet says of Jacob: "Yes, he wrestled with (the) angel and prevailed."[72] Equally likely, however, is that *SY* here depends upon another Jewish text: Josephus' own *Jewish Antiquities* 1.331–333 (in Latin), which initially calls Jacob's opponent a "phantom" or "specter" (*uisio quaedam*, from the Greek φάντασμα) but then goes on to specify this figure as "(an) angel of God" (*angelus dei*).[73] (Rabbinic tradition also identified Jacob's wrestling partner with an angel, in particular Esau's guardian angel.)[74] Either way, Yosippon refuses, like his Jewish forebears, to make the potentially ludicrous and certainly sacrilegious statement that Jacob had wrestled with God himself, had bested Yahweh. Ps-Hegesippus, on the other hand, appears unabashed to report Jacob's physical outstripping of the divinity. Did Yosippon view such an implication as (typical) Christian exegetical insolence?

The treatment of Jacob's Gen 32 encounter in *DEH* 5.16.1 itself departs from the most famous exegesis of this episode within late antique Latinate Christianity. Augustine, in his *City of God*, had interpreted Jacob's opponent as a type of Christ (*typus Christi*) which allegorically prefigured the Jews' *apparent* triumph over Christ at his crucifixion.[75] This was in line with the tendency of Christians

---

71 Gen 32:28: "Then [the unidentified man] said, 'Your name shall no longer be Jacob, but Israel; for you have contended with God and with men, and have prevailed (כי-שרית עם-אלהים ועם-אנשים ותוכל).'" *DEH*'s use of two verbs here, for "wrestled" and "prevailed," comes closer to the Gen 32 story overall, and this verse in particular. Angels in the Pentateuch "can be recognized as divine and/or human … they are morphologically (am-) bivalent, manifesting properties of the two worlds they straddle"; Garr (2003) 69.

72 וישר אל-מלאך ויכל. Note, however, that Hosea does not here include the definite article—rather, Jacob literally "wrestled with *an* angel"—and thus Yosippon may be implying here that it was "the angel of the Lord" with which Jacob wrestled. N.b.: "the angel of God" (מלאך האלהים/ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ/*angelus dei*) appears in the previous chapter, at Gen 31:11.

73 Josephus' Greek refers to this figure as θεῖος ἄγγελος (*AJ* 1.332) and then as ἄγγελος θεοῦ (1.333). N.b.: he Latin could be read to imply the article, and Yosippon knew the Latin *AJ*.

74 See *Gen. Rab*. 77.3, on Gen 32:25: "Rabbi Chama bar Chanina said, 'He was the ministering angel of Esau'" (רבי חמא ברבי חנינא אמר שרו של עשו היה), later cited by Rashi (*Comm. Gen*. 32:25). The notion that Jacob *and* Esau both had guardian angels appears already in the Book of Jubilees (35.17). Further on the interpretive possibilities of Jacob's encounter at Jabbok in Gen 32, and the associations between Esau and divinity therein, see Anderson (2016) 35–38 and Rees (2013) 176 ff.

75 Augustine *Civ. Dei* 16.39 (LCL 415: 182–183): "For Jacob's victory over the angel, naturally in accordance with his will, for the sake of the symbolic portrayal of the mystery, points to the passion of Christ, where the Jews seemed to prevail over him" (*Nam quod ei praeualuit Iacob, utique uolenti ut mysterium figuraret, significat passionem Christi, ubi uisi sunt ei praeualere Iudaei*). Note that Augustine and Ps-Heg share their vocabulary for Jacob's wrestling (*conluctatus* in *DEH*, *luctatus* in *Civ. Dei*) and his prevailing (*praeualuit*).

in Late Antiquity to see angels that appeared bodily within the Old Testament narrative as ancient appearances of Christ.[76] Ps-Hegesippus, while cognizant of many of the broader Christian discourses in Late Antiquity, was more historian than theologian.[77] Perhaps because of his particular authorial preferences (as historian) and generic constraints (within historiography), and perhaps influenced by the rather striking familiarity with divinity that ancient Christians sometime assumed, Ps-Hegesippus had no problem stating as biblical history that Jacob had wrestled with God (Christ?) and won. Yosippon's unwillingness to follow his source down this road could reflect a (Jewish) response to a (Christian) narrative that presumed too much, a historical-theological impropriety in Josephus' mouth found in Ps-Hegesippus' narrative. In terms of effect, in any case, the presentation of Jacob's Jabbok encounter in *SY* 78 (עח) presents a more set-apart (read: holy) God, and by proxy a moderately less impressive feat on the part of the patriarch.

The following series of stories Josephus is made to mention involve Moses. This portion of the oration is more extensive than the previous, and here we find alterations taking place between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) whose reasons are less obvious than with the Jacob-Jabbok story. But the changes are impossible to miss. When Ps-Hegesippus introduces Moses he has Josephus ask the rhetorical question of what Moses did to counter (*aduersum*) 1) the king of Egypt (*rex Aegyptiorum*), 2) his army (*exercitumque*), and 3) his snakes (*dracones eius*) other than lift up "a lone branch" (*sola uirga*). The assumed answer is 'nothing.' After this Josephus in *DEH* utters a song-like line over/about the branch, beginning "o mighty branch" (*o potens uirga*), which reads like a continuation of Moses' famous song from Exod 15:1–18.[78] Moses' introduction in *SY* goes elsewhere. There Josephus asks his audience this question: "But what shall I say to you of Moses, our shepherd, the man of God?"[79] Yosip-

76 See firstly Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, then Muehlberger (2013) 58–88, esp. 74–76 (*et alibi*), whose discussion deals at length with a number of Ps-Heg's late-fourth century Christian peers, like Athanasius, Basil, Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa, etc. Cf. Augustine *Enchir*. 59 vis-à-vis the materiality of angelic bodies, mentioned in Muehlberger (2008) 5–6.

77 See Bay (2021c). The widespread spiritualization and allegorization of this passage among early Christian interpreters is well and briefly represented in Sheridan (2002) 218–224.

78 *DEH* 5.16.1 (Ussani [1932] 325; Bay [2023] 285): "O mighty branch, which hid the sky with clouds, which inundated the earth with rain, which dried up the sea of its waves!" (*O potens uirga quae caelum tenebris obduxerit, terram imbribus inundauerit, siccauerit mare fluctibus!*).

79 *SY* 78 (עח): ומה נאמר לכם על משה רועינו איש האלהים? (Bowman [2023] 337; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 736–737; Flusser [1978] 364).

pon stresses Moses' relationship with the people of Israel—he is an ancient hero that belongs to *Jewish* ("our") heritage—and gives him a title that resonates with biblical and later Jewish tradition: איש האלהים.[80] Yosippon also summarizes Moses' career rather distinctively.[81] He, like Ps-Hegesippus, mentions Pharaoh and his army, but *SY* marks prayer *and* the "staff of God" (בתפילה ובמטה האלהים) as Moses' means of victory (*DEH* mentions prayer [*oratio*] too, just shortly hereafter), and states regarding said staff that "with it [Moses] subdued the pride of pharaoh and his magicians, and with it he struck the Egyptians with ten plagues."[82] By substituting magicians for snakes and explicitly recalling the ten plagues, things to which *DEH* 5.16.1 only alludes, *SY* 78 (עח) may be read as a scrupulous inheritor of biblical tradition. Where Ps-Hegesippus prefers the creative insinuation of biblical details, Yosippon opts for directness.

But there are times where Yosippon's directness in presenting a biblical story in Josephus' speech almost seems to gloss over details of the scriptural narrative. For example, consider how Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus mention Gideon's feat of Judg 7:

> In a similar vein, Gideon selected three hundred men for war, whom he commanded to carry forth not weapons, but mysteries: to hold jugs full of water in their left hands, torches in their right. The enemies, overwhelmed by such a sight, fled from there and a victory accrued to the Hebrews.

---

80 The moniker "man of God" is first imputed to Moses in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; 1Chr 23:14; 2Chr 30:16; Ezra 3:2; Psa 90:1) and speaks to Moses' mediatory capacity as deliverer of the covenant *from* God *to* Israel. It is later applied to mysterious unknown figures, sometimes apparently angelic (Judg 13:6, 8) and sometimes prophetic (1Sam 9:10, eventually revealed as Samuel; 2Chr 25:7 ff.); to named but otherwise unknown prophets (Shemaiah at 1Kgs 12:22; Iddo at 13:4–31; cf. Jer 35:4); and also to more famous figures like Elijah (e.g. 1Kgs 17:18), Elisha (from 2Kgs 4:16), David (2Chr 8:14; Neh 12:24, 36). The term seems to carry a special connotation of prophetic or spiritual power stemming from sustained proximity to God (confirmed by Maybaum [1883] 8–9 [with note 2]). Moses becomes enshrined as איש האלהים in rabbinic literature, as witness *Sifrei Deuteronomy*, which also numbers the biblical figures identified as "the man of God" at ten (*Sif. Dev.* 342): 1) Moses; 2) Elkanah; 3) Samuel; 4) David; 5) Shemaiah; 6) Iddo; 7) Elijah; 8) Elisha; 9) Micah; 10) Amos. Harris (1889) 141n2 states that "the Massorah gives eleven" men so identified.

81 And indeed, the way that *SY* summarizes Moses' career here is itself a matter of uncertainty given the diversity within the manuscript tradition: see Flusser (1980) 335.

82 *SY* 78 (עח): בו הכניע גאון פרעה וחרטומיו ובו הכה את מצרים בעשר מכות. (Bowman [2023] 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber [2010] 736–737; Flusser [1978] 364).

> *Gedeon quoque CCC uiros ad bellum elegit, eosdemque non arma praeferre sed mysteria praecepit, in manu laeua hydrias aquae plenas tenere, in dextera faces. Qua specie perculsi hostes fugere ilico atque ad Hebraeos uictoria peruenit.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.16.1[83]

Compare this to what we find in Yosippon:

> Do you not know that Gideon's prayer supported him when he arose with three hundred men and struck the entire multitude of Midian and Amalek and the sons of the East? Were it not for his prayer and his supplication which he poured out before the LORD, of what account were three hundred men against Midian and Amalek, a people great and as numerous as the sand of the sea?
>
> הלא ידעתם כי תפילת גדעון עמדה לו בקומו עם שלש מאות איש ויך את כל המון מדין ועמלק ובני קדם? לולי תפלתו ותחינתו אשר שפך לפני יי מה היו נחשבים שלש מאות איש נוכח מדין ועמלק עם עצום ורב כחול הים?
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[84]

Ps-Hegesippus' presentation of the Gideon story centers on the miraculous nature of Gideon's feat (accomplished via *mysteria*) and thus imputes a passive role to the episode's Hebrew heroes: literally, victory *came to* the Hebrews (*ad Hebraeos uictoria peruenit*). Yosippon's iteration of this tradition is markedly independent. Not only does he explicitly mention Gideon's prayer, he also names Gideon's enemies twice, adds "the sons of the East" to those whom Gideon conquered, and describes these foes—whom *DEH* only ever refers to as *hostes*—as "a people great and numerous as the sand of the sea." All of these details seem to derive from a statement in the Book of Judges:

> Now the Midianites, the Amalekites, and all the sons of the east were lying in the valley as numerous as locusts; and their camels were without number, as numerous as the sand of the sea.
>
> ומדין ועמלק וכל-בני-קדם נפלים בעמק כארבה לרב ולגמליהם אין מספר כחול שעל-שפת הים לרב.
>
> Judges 7:12

83 Ussani (1932) 325; Bowman (2023) 285.

84 Bowman (2023) 338; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 738–739; Flusser (1978) 364.

What *SY*'s borrowing shows is something we have seen before: even as the author brings Josephus' mention of biblical stories more into line with *certain* biblical details, here including phraseology strongly resonant of the Hebrew Bible's vernacular in general, this correction makes the Jews' ancestors more active, more impressive, and more formidable than one would deduce from their presentation in *DEH*. Yet this biblicization and Judaization of *SY*'s Latin source also covers over the miraculous, unlikely, and indeed largely passive means by which Gideon defeated Midian and Amalek according to Judg 7; the fact that Gideon's farcical victory is described in detail by Ps-Hegesippus indicates the intentionality of the change that Yosippon has made. While the Christian *DEH* is happy to report a Gideon tradition where Hebrew victory is largely accidental and borderline ridiculous,[85] the Jewish *SY* may be understood as refurbishing the reputation of the author's ancestors by having Josephus remember Gideon as a pious warrior who, by prayer, conquered a massive eastern foe.[86] Gideon was not ridiculous.

Another judge whom Yosippon has Josephus recall differently than Ps-Hegesippus does is Samson. Where *DEH* 5.16.1 has Josephus remark in a quick list of *exempla* that "and even Samson [conquered] when he preserved his hair untouched" (*Samson etiam* [*uicit*] *cum adhuc intaminatum crinem seruaret*), *SY* 78 (עח) places the emphasis elsewhere: "And likewise Samson, before he erred, his prayer was his strength, even though after he erred he fell like any other man."[87] In *SY*, Samson's short introduction reads like a summary of his rise-and-fall career. And we see something else here as well: Yosippon's presentation of Samson's strength (גבורה) as "his prayer" (תפילתו) epitomizes *SY*'s emphasis within the short-order list of *exempla* that appear in this part of Josephus' speech. Each of the figures mentioned—Moses, Joshua, Samson

85 In Judg 7, Gideon's army is reduced by divine dictate from a force of 22,000 to 10,000 (7:2–3) and then down to a force of 300, the latter having been selected by whether they lapped water "like a dog" or brought their hands to their mouths when drinking from a stream (7:4–8). The way that Gideon and this miniscule force then conquer the enemy is by hiding torches inside of jars and then breaking their jars all at the same time while standing around the enemy camp at night; the Midianites then fell into confusion and more or less slaughtered each other, with the various Israelite factions chasing and picking off the fleeing remnants and stragglers (7:19–25). The story evokes little bravery or nobility on the part of Gideon and his men; the opposite, rather.

86 It should not be missed here that Josephus himself had presented Gideon more favorably than do the Jewish Scriptures in his own rewriting of the Judg 7:24–8:35 in *AJ* 5.227–232: see Begg (2008). But we should also mark that Gideon was for Josephus, as for the rabbis later, "one of the least important biblical figures"; Feldman (1998a) 163–176, esp. 164.

87 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 366: וגם שמשון בטרם יחטא תפילתו היתה לו לגבורה וכאשר חטא נפל כאחד האדם.

(and then Saul, David, Asa, Deborah, Amaziah)—is portrayed in prayer, in line with the focus on prayer in this part of the oration (in both *DEH* and *SY*). However, Ps-Hegesippus' version of this list, where prayer is certainly part of the picture, centers on victory: in *DEH* 5.16.1, we find Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samson, Samuel, David, Asa, and an unnamed mother (*mulier*) all described as having conquered—the list is punctuated by sentences that each begin with *uicit* ("he/she conquered"). The dissimilarity is subtle but present: while Ps-Hegesippus uses Josephus to portray a list of Bible heroes as victorious, Yosippon makes the same list a bit more about prayer in itself, a bit less about outcome. Perhaps this deviation reflects the respective socio-political situations of our two authors, with Ps-Hegesippus part of a Christian majority and a sharer in cultural hegemony within the later Roman (i.e. early Christian) Empire and Yosippon a member of the minority Jewish milieu, whose 'power' in the early Middle Ages was often largely a conceptual, religious, which is to say 'soft,' power.[88]

Within the above-mentioned list of *exempla*, one particularly notable change comes when Yosippon replaces a brief mention of Samuel in *DEH* 5.16.1 with a comment about Saul. Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus remark: "and Samuel conquered, but only when he had thought to establish a stone [for his] Helper."[89] This is a reference to 1Sam 7:12, where Samuel sets up a stone (אבן/λίθον/*lapis*) as a means of ensuring the LORD's help (?) against the Philistines, or perhaps to mark geographical boundaries. For unknown reasons—perhaps because Samuel did not pray in this scenario—Yosippon has Josephus recall someone else entirely:

> So also Saul, chosen of the LORD. When he set his path in integrity, his prayer was his might and his strength, but when he sinned God departed from him.
>
> וכן שאול בחיר יי. בהיותו בתום דרכיו היתה לו תפילתו לעוז ולגבורה וכאשר חטא סר האלהים מעליו.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[90]

88 But this is *not* to say 'no power'—the issue is more complicated; see Wisse (2007). Biale (1986) 58–86 conceives of Jewish power in the Middle Ages in terms of Jewish connections and relationships with dominant political powers and systems, a kind of adaptive 'sharing in power' practiced by a would-be marginal group.

89 Bay (2023) 287; Ussani (1932) 327: *uicit et Samuel, sed cum adiutorem lapidem figere proposuisset*.

90 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 366. Arguably the oldest (and in many ways best) ms of *SY* (i.e. א) describes Saul not as the "chosen of the LORD" but as the "anointed of the LORD" (משיח יי). Flusser (1980) 335. Note also how

Inasmuch as Samuel and Saul were active during the same period of biblical history, the switch here is not as shocking as it might be. And in fact, it lines up with what we noted above regarding Samson: Yosippon emphasizes the prayer of biblical heroes while Ps-Hegesippus had highlighted their victories. In fact, Yosippon seems to have switched with Samson to a distinctive exemplary motif which he then carries further: both Samson and Saul are said to have had prayer as their strength, and each is said to have lost that strength when he "erred" or "sinned" (חטא). Yosippon bends Josephus' script to his will. He is not constrained by the precedent set by Ps-Hegesippus in any given instance. He has his own literary agenda.

One place at which a change by Yosippon is thoroughly predictable comes when Ps-Hegesippus' Josephus mentions King David thusly:

> David triumphed when he had united in marriage by the prophetic mysteries with Bathsheba—that is, 'Daughter of the Sabbath'—, and he even prevailed in civil war, because he shunned its introduction and did not instigate it. For nothing is more abominable in civil war than one who was capable of instigating it.
>
> *Triumphauit Dauid cum Bersabeam hoc est filiam Sabbati suo coniugio propheticis mysteriis copulauisset, uicit etiam bello ciuili, quod refugiebat inlatum, non inferebat. Nihil enim bello ciuili foedius nisi solus qui potuit inferre.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.16.1[91]

We already noticed once before how when Ps-Hegesippus' language of *mysteria* emerges Yosippon is quick to change the script. Here this is all the more to be expected given that Ps-Hegesippus, via Josephus, goes in for a rare, if somewhat ambivalent, allegorical interpretation of his Old Testament. David's Bathsheba foible can count as a "win" (*uicit*) **only** by means of some clever typological hermeneutics for which late ancient Christians were notorious.[92] Yet Yosippon does retain *DEH*'s comment about David's laudable avoidance of civil war:

> David from his youth to the end of his days did not fail in strength, for he was assisted by his prayer. Nor did he take pleasure in going to war with his brothers and with the sons of his people. For this reason he was strengthened against

---

Yosippon picks up the Hebrew Bible's idea that God was with but then left Saul (1Sam 18:12b).

91 Ussani (1932) 328; Bay (2023) 287.

92 See Bay (2021a) 30–34; cf. Bay (2023) 195–196.

his enemies, because it was loathsome to him to stretch out a hand against his brothers. And fear of him was upon all the nations.

ודוד מילדותו ועד אחרית ימיו לא נפל מגבורה כי בתפילתו היה נעזר. ולא חפץ להלחם באחיו ובבני עמו. על כן הגביר על צריו כי במאסו לשלוח יד באחיו. היה מוראו על כל הגוים.
Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[93]

Understandably uninterested in the Christian interpretive moves necessary to render the Bathsheba affair doctrinally useful,[94] Yosippon turns the first part of this David passage into a summary of his life, which is, again, presented as characterized not so much by victory as by prayer. We may also note how after describing David's reticence to fight against his kin Yosippon adds a final line about David's formidable reputation among the *goyim*. This should be read in concert with *SY* 2 (ב), where it is stated that the great Roman fountainhead Romulus "was extremely afraid of David" (וייראו רומולוס יראה גדולה מפני דוד) and that the Romans as a people "were greatly afraid all David's days" (וייראו יראה גדולה כל ימי דוד).[95] As with Joshua, so Yosippon plays up David's international military might. In *SY* David represents the noble ancestral spirit of the Jews, which the nations of old had reason to fear.

Equally striking, and likewise linked to ideologies emergent in *SY* 2 (ב), is the alteration that Yosippon makes to Josephus' discussion about Amaziah in *DEH* 5.16.1. Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus mention Amaziah in between recollections of Josiah and Zedekiah:

---

93 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 740–741; Flusser (1978) 366.

94 It is reasonable to suppose that Yosippon did not share with Ps-Heg the understanding, perhaps grounded in David's Christological identification, that his Bathsheba saga was not a foible but something positive. He may well have considered such creative Christian exegesis irresponsible, avoiding clear but unpleasant conclusions by means of whitewashing or 'spin.' The biblical narrative is clear that such a misstep cost David his son (2 Sam 12:14; cf. 12:1–23), and Jewish exegesis had not forgotten this (see, e.g., *Sif. Dev*. 26).

95 See Stemberger (1983) 149, who compares "die Gründung Roms als Reaktion auf Aktivitäten Davids" to the "rabbinischen Erzählung … wonach bei der Heirat Salomos mit der Tochter Pharao Gabriel das Schilfrohr einpflanzte, aus dem schließlich Rom entstand," which he discusses at 118 (and see n. 231). See *Sif. Dev*. 52 (trans. Silverstein): "They said: On the day that Solomon wed Pharaoh's daughter, Gavriel descended and stuck a reed in the sea, which raised a sandbank upon which was built the great city of Rome. And on the day when Yeravam set up the two calves, Ramilo and Romolo and his son built two cities in Rome" (אמרו: ביום שנתחתן שלמה עם בת פרעה—ירד גבריאל נעץ קנה בים והעלה שרטון ועליו נבנה כרך של רומי. וביום שהעמיד ירבעם ב׳ עגלים עמד רמוס ורומולוס ובנו ב׳ כרכין ברומי:). Cf. the same story referenced in b. *Shabbat* 56b. Unlike these Talmudic traditions, however, as Stemberger notes, *SY* does not tie David's Rome connection to Israel's sin and God's judgment of it.

> Just as Amaziah had done before with a partnership formed from a broken alliance. For he had been warned by a man of God to dismiss those whom he had hired into an alliance of war with a hundred talents of silver, if he wanted to prevail. To him, demurring to let go such a sizeable sum, the prophet responded that the Lord had much more from which he could again restore his silver to him. Relying upon this, he called off the mercenaries he had summoned and he conquered with fewer troops, lest the credit for such a victory should in fact not be attributed to God; but on that very spot the victor offered sacrifices to the same idols which he had captured, as if he had conquered by the beneficence of those whom he had brought back with the captured plunder.
>
> *sicut ante Amessiam, consortium degeneris societatis. Denique et ab homine dei monitus erat, ut illos quos ad belli societatem centum argenti talentis conduxerat dimitteret, si uellet uincere. Cui dubitanti quod tantum pretii amissurus foret, respondit propheta, quod haberet dominus plura unde etiam argentum eidem restitueret, quo fretum conductis renuntiasse auxiliis, uicisse cum paucioribus, ne ipsum quidem deo tantae uictoriae mercedem soluisse, sed ipsis ilico simulacris quae uictor ceperat detulisse sacrificia, quasi eorum beneficio uicerit quae in praedam captiuitatis redegerat.*
>
> *De Excidio* 5.16.1[96]

The reference here is to Amaziah's actions in 2 Chr 25 (cf. 2 Kgs 14), where Amaziah at first dismisses foreign mercenaries he has hired in line with a prophetic warning, but after success in battle falls into idolatry by sacrificing to idols captured in that battle. Ps-Hegesippus' treatment of the event is actually quite detailed. Here is what we find in *SY*:

> Or do you not know what Amaziah, king of Judah, did when he was at war with Edom? For he struck them with the edge of the sword and he brought back home from them 10,000 with their gods. And he came to Jerusalem and set up the idols which he had taken from Edom and sacrificed and poured out offerings to them and said: 'Thus you have delivered me and by your help I have captured Edom.' For this reason he was captured like a fox in his war with Joash, king of Israel.
>
> הידעתם מה עשה אמציהו מלך יהודה בהלחמו באדום? כי הכה אותם לפי חרב ויביא מהם עשרת אלפים בשביה עם אלהיהם. ויבא ירושלם ויצב האלילים אשר לקח מאדום ויזבח וינסך

96 Ussani (1932) 328; Bay (2023) 287.

להם ויאמר: כי אתם הושעתם אותי ובעבורכם לכדתי את אדום. על כן נלכד כשועל בהלחמו עם יואש מלך ישראל.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[97]

Amaziah's name and the details of the scene are enough to make clear that Josephus in *SY* is referencing the same scene mentioned in *DEH* 5.16.1. Yet the emphasis is not even close to the same. Yosippon does not mention the prophet who warned Amaziah against using mercenaries (2 Chr 25:7), but in fact plays up Amaziah's failures, numbering the idols he returned from war with and describing him not only as sacrificing to said idols (*detulisse sacrificia* = יזבח) but also "pouring out offerings" (ינסך) to them. In *SY*, Amaziah did not just break bad; he broke *really* bad. *SY* 78 (עח) also includes the detail that this failure of Amaziah's led to his subsequent defeat by Joash, in line with the biblical narrative (2 Chr 25:17–28; 2 Kgs 14:8–14). Like Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon at this point in Josephus' speech turns from good examples to bad ones, from role models to anti-heroes; yet Yosippon's switch is even more blatant than Ps-Hegesippus', exaggerating the negative associations of Amaziah's latter rule.

At the same time, Yosippon mentions Amaziah's enemy—Edom—three times in this short passage, a detail not once mentioned in *DEH*. Why? I suggest that it is for the same reason that Yosippon used a grandson of Esau, namely Zepho ben Eliphaz,[98] to portray one of the primary antagonists in his miniature 'Aeneid' in *SY* 2 (ב). Esau, or Edom, was a "sobriquet … that Jews had long attached to the persecuting Roman Empire and its Church."[99] Joshua Holo has shown how Yosippon in particular "worked hard" to validate the rabbinic "ethnography of Rome" as descended from Esau.[100] For Yosippon, then, Esau or Edom represents not only the quintessential adversary of Jacob/Israel in the biblical record, but also typological precursors to the Jews' greater, later enemy, Rome and/or Christianity. Edom/Esau is the archetypal enemy in Yosippon's mind.[101] I posit that for this reason it was irresistible for Yosippon to pass up an opportunity to mention how Israel had beaten Edom. Writing under the Christian yoke of the Early Middle Ages in the historic homeland of the Romans (southern Italy), the author of *SY* could hardly pass by a mention in Josephus'

97 Bowman (2023) 339; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 742–743; Flusser (1978) 366–367.

98 See Sela (1992).

99 Bowman (2011) 235–236.

100 Holo (2011) 924; see also Stemberger (1983) 148–149.

101 This does not negate the connection that *SY* is attempting to forge between the Jews and Romans in Antiquity; rather, it simply admits the historical reality of their being erstwhile enemies, and perhaps contributes to levelling Judea and Rome out as adversarial equals, an idea already present in Josephus' mind in the first century (*BJ* 1.7–9).

speech that conjured a time when Israel had pummeled its perennial foe to the tune of ten thousand Edomites slain (2 Kgs 14:7).[102] Read this way, the addition of Edom to the Amaziah *exemplum* reveals an underlying aspect of Yosippon's perspective: the desire to subtly speak back to the archetypal adversary by finding within the Jews' ancestry moments of historical victory over its eternal enemy.[103]

Smaller changes throughout Josephus' speech in *SY* represent a subtler form of transformation. Thus, when recalling how the Ark of the Covenant was captured by the Philistines and restored without warfare (1 Sam 4), Ps-Hegesippus refers simply to "the Hebrews" (*Hebraei*), whereas Yosippon speaks in terms of "our fathers" (אבותינו).[104] Similarly, at several places within the speech where Ps-Hegesippus uses the third-person language of *Iudaei* Yosippon restricts his discussion to the more immediate, in-group language of "you" and "us."[105] Even more tellingly, when later on in *DEH* Josephus says that "God has determined to oppose the Jews" (*deum Iudaeis aduersari certum est*), in *SY* he says only that "the LORD is not among us" (אין יי בקרבנו); the message is now internalized for the Jews, and seems slightly less catastrophic. And again, when in *DEH* Josephus states, "No wonder that divine favor has departed from the Jews" (*Nec*

102 I.e. "Sons of Seir," as in the parallel passage of 2 Chr 25:11.

103 In his article outlining "Esau as a Symbol in Early Medieval Thought," Gershon D. Cohen (1967) imputed similar designs to the rabbis as they leveraged the eschatological impulses of apocalyptic's potential to effect a "midrashic equation" whereby "Rome was identified with the Biblical Edom, and every name connected in Scripture with Esau was applied to the city of Romulus and the empire of the Caesars" (20). Now, I do not want to overstate things by saying that this ideology is crystal clear here in this short passage of *SY* 78 (עח). But imagine for a moment a reader fully conversant with the midrashic outlook described by Cohen: would the triple mention of Edom within the Amaziah story not make that episode much more meaningful, and allusive, a node of in-group Jewish meaning hidden within Josephus' long speech?

104 Interestingly, Yosippon's Hebrew here matches Josephus' own Greek, when the latter recorded himself as having said (at *BJ* 5.387): "God's leadership it was that brought our fathers (πατράσιν ἡμετέροις; Lat. *parentibus*) this triumph." Yet Yosippon here is not following *BJ*, which he might not have known; rather, both Jewish authors seem naturally and independently to gravitate to this language in this context. At the end of the subsequent sequence of Elisha episodes, both *DEH* and *SY* will have Josephus speak of "our fathers" (*nostri patres*/אבותינו), though in *DEH* they are given a passive role ("Thus did the holy prophet [Elisha] … dispel both thirst and fear from our fathers") while in *SY* they are active ("for by prayer our fathers always prevailed"). Also, importantly, this final line does not appear at all in some of the best manuscripts (ת, א, נ). It may be that Flusser retained the line in his primary text precisely because in its absence *SY* contains no parallel statement to that stated here in *DEH*.

105 For example in the section where he mentions the guilt of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and Herod for letting the Romans into Jerusalem, discussed above.

mirum est si recessit a Iudaeis diuina gratia),[106] in *SY* he says, "But now, do not be amazed at my words when I say to you that the LORD is not among us" (ועתה אל תתמהו מדברי באמרי לכם כי אין יי בקרבינו).[107] In *DEH*, the Jews are discussed (by Josephus) as 'them,' in *SY* as 'us.' (Also, God's abandonment of the Jews is a past-tense reality in *DEH*, but a present-tense temporary reality in *SY*.) In terms of identity language, represented by choice of pronouns and ethnonyms, Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח) retains a Jewish flavor which *DEH* 5.16.1 largely lacks, perhaps simply as a result of its being penned by a non-Jewish author.

One of the more aesthetically-oriented alterations made in *SY* 78 (עח) comes in a section of the speech where Josephus defends his own actions during the war. His argument here is that since he had capitulated to Vespasian, his Jewish countrymen, far less odious to the Roman than Josephus, ought to as well. In *DEH* 5.16.1 this portion of the address runs like this:

> For how would he who spared Josephus not have spared you? For to whom ought he to have been more hostile than to me? Who erected greater bulwarks against the Romans? Who wanted all the more zealously to fight on behalf of his country after a decision for war seemed good to you? Certainly I did not approve of initiating wars, but once it was begun I did not desert it. The ashes which have covered the fighting which took place in the city of Jotapata bear witness to this, that I did not desist from war until after the ruin of this city; that I hid myself as long as I was able in the sepulchre of an overturned city; that I preferred starvation than to hand myself over to the Romans; that I sought to flee to you but was apprehended, not having come out willingly; that I preferred to perish with my men, but Caesar spared me; that I preferred to be further endangered with you, not because I approved this plan, but because I elected to share in danger with you.
>
> *Sed quomodo uobis non parceret qui pepercit Iosepho? Cui enim infestior esse quam mihi debuit? Quis maiora aduersum Romanos munimenta extruxit? Quis studiosius pro patria decernendum putauit, postquam uobis belli complacita condicio est? Bellorum quidem initia non probabam, sed suscepta non deserebam. Testantur hoc Iotapatae urbis quae bellantem adhuc texerunt fauillae, bello non destitisse ⟨me⟩ nisi post eius ciuitatis ruinas, delituisse ⟨me⟩ quoad potui in illo euersae*

106 This statement could, in fact, be read as the Christian author's assessment of the theological component of Jewish history generally just as much as Josephus' own statement about God's having abandoned the Jews at this particular historical juncture.

107 This is quite different from what a Hebrew rendition of *DEH*'s Latin might look like, as witness Flusser (1978) 369n225, who translates the Latin: חסד האל עזב את היהודים.

urbis sepulchro, praetulisse ⟨me⟩ famem ne Romanis me traderem, quaesisse ⟨me⟩ ueniendi ad uos effugia sed deprehensum, non sponte egressum, maluisse ⟨me⟩ perire cum meis sed pepercisse Caesarem, optasse ⟨me⟩ uobiscum potius periclitari, non quo probarem consilium, sed quo eligerem periculi uobiscum consortium.

De Excidio 5.16.1[108]

In Yosippon's re-rendering of this passage we find both some characteristic changes and some novel and notable modifications:

But to whom was there more license to do ill, given all the wrong that I did to him? For who loosed his sword and his spear more than I, for I incited war against them in the first place and I injured many of them, but I did not do all of this from the desire of my soul. For I also knew that it was not right for me to make war with him. But then I saw that you took counsel together to wage war against them. Thus you sent me to wage war, and I waged war with all my heart. But you know how I waged war for the sake of the city of Jotapata! Did I not with all my might garner strength to stand in battle on behalf of my people and on behalf of the city until rocks from the catapult and arrows covered me and fire encircled me? But I continued to stand strong. And now, behold, I am in their hand, but they have not repaid me according to the injury which I did to them, but as if [I had done] good. And many times previously when I sought to escape to you the Romans captured me and would not allow me to do so.

כי למי היה נאה להרע כי אם על כל הרעה אשר עשיתי לו? כי מי הריק חרבו וחניתו יותר ממני כי אני התגרתי בם מלחמה תחילה ואשחית מהם רבים כי לא עשיתי כל זאת מחפץ נפשי. כי גם אני ידעתי כי לא היה נאה לי להלחם עמו. אך בראותי כי נועצתם כולכם יחד להלחם בהם. ותשלחו אותי למלחמה ונלחמתי בכל לבבי. ואתם ידעתם איך נלחמתי בעד העיר יודפת! הלא בכל מאדי התחזקתי לעמוד במלחמתי בעד עמי ובעד העיר עד אשר כיסוני אבני הקלע והחיצים והקיפני האש. ואני בעודיני מתאמץ. ועתה הנני בידם ולא גמלוני כרעה אשר עשיתי להם כי אם טובה. ופעמים הרבה ביקשתי להמלט אליכם טרם ילכדוני רומנים ולא יכולתי.

Sefer Yosippon 78 (עח)[109]

This passage is important because it showcases how Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively deal with the martial career of Josephus, the Jewish general-turned-historian who in some ways epitomizes the Jewish resistance to Rome. I submit that, while both *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) present Josephus as a

108 Ussani (1932) 330; Bay (2023) 288.

109 Bowman (2023) 340; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 744–745; Flusser (1978) 368.

courageous yet reluctant warrior who embodies the wisdom of the present (surrender to Rome) without having surrendered his legitimacy as a proponent of Judea, Yosippon presents his work's namesake in a more personal way than had Ps-Hegesippus. Here in *SY* 78 (עח), Josephus the general becomes a more rounded character than in *DEH* 5.16.1, which makes him a more interesting and appealing figure for the early medieval Jewish reader.[110]

The change of Josephus' portrayal between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) here is not subtle. In the former he begins by noting the bulwarks (*munimenta*) he erected against the Romans and his zealous desire to fight as a patriot (*studiosius pro patria decernendum putauit*). These claims are noble, but vague. In *SY*, on the other hand, Josephus begins by recalling how he "loosed his sword and spear" (הריק חרבו וחניתו) and how when he incited war he "injured many of [the Romans]" (אשחית מהם רבים). The Josephus of *SY* is a general who was on the front lines, who entered the fray, weapons in hand, and personally beat down numerous Roman soldiers. Likewise, Yosippon has Josephus state that he fortified his position at Jotapata with all his might (בכל מאדי התחזקתי) and stood firm in the face of catapult stones (אבני הקלע) and arrows (החיצים) and fire (האש) from every direction. Certainly, in *DEH*, Josephus here casts himself as having been a brave warrior general. But in *SY* he resembles a Hollywood action hero: weapons in hand, he slew enemies all around while dodging missiles from every direction. For Yosippon, Josephus did not just wage war—he "waged it with all [his] heart" (ונלחמתי בכל לבבי). Yosippon earlier constructed a similarly exaggerated portrayal of Judah the Maccabee.[111] Josephus, then, like the famous Hasmonean warrior, embodies a literary feature of *SY*'s narrative: the Jewish heroes of history appear larger than life, their exploits more graphic, and thus more engaging and impressive, than what we find in Yosippon's Latin sources.[112]

But Josephus is not the only character whose role is played up in this part of the speech. The Jews in Jerusalem whom Josephus is addressing are also imputed a greater agency. In the parallel portion of *DEH* here, Josephus' Jewish listeners are the subjects of no action. Josephus recounted how war "seemed good to you" (*uobis complacita est*) and how he sought to flee "to you" (*ad uos*) and chose to undergo danger "with you" (*uobiscum*), but Josephus' speech

110 It is worth mentioning that the century in which *SY* was likely written, i.e. the tenth century, also witnessed an uptick of "more 'heroic' accounts of battle" (a la Homer) in Byzantine historiography: Sinclair (2012).

111 Bay (2021c).

112 In the case of Judah the Maccabee's history, the Latin source is the Vulgate version of 1Maccabees.

revolves entirely around himself. His is the only character that controls a verb. But in *SY*, Josephus remembers how "you all took council together" (נועצתם כולכם יחד) to declare war, how "you sent me to wage war" (תשלחו אותי למלחמה), and he avers of his military exploits that "you all know them" (אתם ידעתם). This fuller presentation of Jerusalem's Jews alongside Josephus creates a more action-packed remembrance and constructs more active Jewish characters. On the one hand, I submit that this constitutes another aspect of Yosippon's Judaization of the narrative: Josephus and his Jewish countrymen are presented as more active and individualized historical people. On the other hand, I imagine that such a portrayal, taken together with the more vivid historiography of *SY*'s narrative in general, points to the author's interest in producing a lively, aesthetically appealing narrative for his early medieval reading audience.[113] Such an audience will have inherited the centuries-old literary traditions which imbued readerly expectations with rhetorical concepts like *enargeia*, the classical notion, often associated with historiography, of placing a scene vividly before an audience's eyes.[114] In *SY* 78 (עח), it is not just that Josephus and the Jews are given more active roles in history; it is also that the reader is treated to a more interesting and satisfying narrative, all of which may accrue to the work's rhetorical success.

Perhaps the most poignant alterations between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח) come in a section of Josephus' speech where he likens God to an honorable householder and the Jewish Jerusalem to a household that has become impure as the result of iniquity. This analogy goes back to Josephus' own statements recorded in *BJ* 5.413–417. Josephus' version of these words is harsh enough, and Ps-Hegesippus had little to do to make this passage a damning diatribe against the Jewish people:

> No wonder that divine favor has departed from the Jews, who hid so many shameful things within their walls. To be sure, a good man will flee his home and desert his house, full of horror, if he learns that some crime has been committed in it—he refuses to be associated with a dishonorable household, and he

113 On early Medieval/Byzantine historiography as "a genre of entertainment," see Neville (2016) 269–270. Given *SY*'s niche literary identity as Hebrew, Jewish historiography in a period where that was essentially novel, we must not too easily map truisms regarding Latin or Greek literature of its day onto it as a text. At the same time, Yosippon will have shared a literary and cultural world with the non-Jewish Latin (and Greek?) authors of his age.

114 On a 'pragmatic' approach to *enargeia*, one that views language "as a communicative instrument" and which treats reported speech in particular, and in early medieval literature at that (East Slavic hagiography and sermons), see Lunde (2004).

abhors the iniquities of those who abide there; and shall we doubt concerning the highest and immaculate God, that he would abhor contact with such shameful things, and that he would turn away from such death-dealing enormities, lest he be delayed within the marketplaces of murderers, he who commanded that Dathan and Abiram be separated from the innocent, because they had challenged Moses and Aaron for claiming the priestly office, lest either their stain contaminate the pious by their proximity to the innocent or their punishment engulf them.

Nec mirum est si recessit a Iudaeis diuina gratia, quos tanta flagitia circumuallarunt. An uero bonus uir plenum horroris refugit diuersorium et domum suam deserit, si quid in ea commissum sceleris agnouerit, declinat indignae habitationis consortia, execratur conuersantium iniquitates: et dubitamus de summo et immaculato deo, quod abhorreat tantorum contagia flagitiorum, et funestorum scelerum auersetur atrocitatem, nec demoretur in parricidarum conciliabulis, qui Dathan et Abiron, quia Moysen et Aaron praeripiendo sacerdotii munere lacessiuerant, separari ab innoxiis praecepit, ne pios aut macula contaminaret de consortio noxiorum aut poena inuolueret?

De Excidio 5.16.1[115]

Compare this to Yosippon's version:

But now, do not be amazed at my words when I say to you that the LORD is not among us. Inquire now, and look, and know: who is the man that sees in his house every day strife and quarreling and jealousy and rivalry and grief and does not flee and depart from the midst of his house so that he may find peace? But now [consider] the LORD our God who was in our midst through our observance of his Torah and his commandments. But even as we have abandoned his Torah and have contaminated his Temple and have shed in the midst of His House the blood of the righteous so he has given over his Temple for the spreading out of the slain and for the doing of every abomination to increase. For this reason he has departed from us. For his glory cannot dwell there in a place of defilement and exclusion as in a holy place. We have desecrated His Holy Place and we have defiled His Temple, so how could his glory dwell with us? Did he not speak to us in the desert concerning Korah and Dathan and Abiram, 'separate these men from the midst of the congregation,' because he did not want the good to be joined together with the bad, nor the righteousness with the wicked, among the sons of

115 Ussani (1932) 331; Bay (2023) 289.

> Adam? And he is the true God! So how could his glory dwell there in the midst of a people who is sinning and murdering?
>
> ועתה אל תתמהו מדבריי באמרי לכם כי אין יי בקרבינו. שאלו נא וראו ודעו מי האיש אשר יראה בביתו בכל יום ריב ומדון וקנאה ותחרות וכעס ולא יברח ויסור מתוך ביתו למען ימצא מנוח. ועתה יי אלהינו אשר היה בקרבינו בשומרנו תורתו ומצותיו. וכאשר זנחנו תורתו ונטמא היכלו ונשפוך בקרב ביתו דם צדיקים ונתן היכלו משטח חללים ונרבה לעשות כל תועבות. על כן סר מעלינו. כי לא ישכון שם כבודו במקום טומאה ונידה כי אם במקום קדוש. ואנחנו חיללנו מקדשו וטימאינו את היכלו ואיך יהיה כבודו עמנו? הלא הוא אמר לנו במדבר על קרח ודתן ואבירם: הבדלו מתוך העדה הזאת, כי לא חפץ להתחבר טוב עם רע ולא צדיק עם רשע בבני אדם. והוא אלהים אמת! ואיך ישכון שם כבודו בקרב עדת חטאים ורוצחים?
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 78 (עח)[116]

At 124 Hebrew words versus 88 Latin words, already the length of *SY*'s version of this passage stands out. But word-count is hardly the most importance disparity here. Consider just the first sentence of each version of Josephus' speech. In *DEH*, God's departure from the Jews is presented with a certain finality via the perfect: divine grace "*has departed*" (*recessit*). In *SY*, on the other hand, the implied copula insinuates the Lord's present-tense absence: he "*is not among us*" (אין בקרבינו). The asymmetry is significant. For Ps-Hegesippus, Josephus is here voicing what by his time had become a standard, now pluperfect Christian truth: God *had abandoned* the Jews. But for Yosippon, God's absence is a present-tense reality not unusual in Israel's history; in fact, Deut 31:17 had predicted and prescribed a formula for Israel to use when they, having forsaken the covenant, were suffering on account of divine anger and abandonment: "Is it not because our God is not among us that these evils have found us?" (הלא על כי-אין אלהי בקרבי מצאוני הרעות האלה?). But of course, God had always returned. In *SY* 78 (עח), in other words, God's absence among the Jews of Jerusalem as mentioned in Josephus' speech is an expected, if lamentable, yet by no means permanent state of affairs. This presentation completely flips the script of *DEH*, where Josephus' mention of divine abandonment of the Jews stands as a microcosm of the work's overall perspective. Thus does the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism override the essence of Christian supersessionism.

This variance in viewpoints between Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon plays out in other ways in this portion of Josephus' speech. For one, Josephus again dons the mantle of the prophet as he speaks to the Jews in *SY*, beginning his discourse with the mandate: "Inquire now, and look, and know" (שאלו נא וראו

116 Bowman (2023) 341; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 746–747; Flusser (1978) 369.

ודעו).[117] Nothing like this appears in *DEH*, because Ps-Hegesippus is arguably uninterested in the ethical and pedagogical development negotiated between the Jew Josephus and his Jewish audience. Second, note how our two authors present the Jews' foibles. Ps-Hegesippus refers to "so many shameful things" (*tanta flagitia*) and "crime" (*scelus*) that make Jerusalem a "dishonorable household" (*indigna habitatio*) full of "iniquities" (*iniquitates*); in response, God is "full of horror" (*plenum horroris*) and "refuses to be associated with" (*declinat consortia*) and "abhors" (*execratur*) his household, Jerusalem, and its inhabitants, the Jews. In *DEH*, the Jews of this time are presented as being just about as bad as they could be, and their moral failings criminal, shameful, horrible, and execrable. When Yosippon first has Josephus breach the subject, the Jewish 'household' seems to be plagued by a series of relatively less-serious social infelicities: strife (ריב), quarreling (מדון), jealousy (קנאה), rivalry (תחרות), grief (בעס). Beholding these things, God the householder is imagined as departing "so that he may find peace" (למען ימצא מנוח). Instead of being disgusted, shocked, and repelled by a bombardment of unholy and criminal industry, in *SY* God appears as a harried head of household seeking to flee the bickering and unrest in his home. The moral failings imputed to the Jews smack most closely of the interpersonal shortcomings cautioned against throughout the Book of Proverbs.[118] While the Jews are by no means innocent in *SY*'s version of Josephus' speech here, their guilt does not at first carry the utterly terrible and permanently alienating weight that it seems to in *DEH*'s rendition.

This is not to say that guilt for heinous deeds is not imputed to the Jews in Yosippon's version of this speech here. It is. But its framing and delivery is nonidentical to what we find in *DEH*. Another of *SY*'s adaptations involves a Judaization of Josephus' speech which we have already seen above: namely, mention of Torah observance as covenant faithfulness. Josephus recalls that Yahweh had dwelt among the Jews "through our observance of his Torah and his commandments" (בשומרנו תורתו ומצותיו) and correlates the contamination of the Temple through murder with the fact that "we have abandoned his

117 Cf. the language of Jer 30:6a (שאל-נא וראו); similarly Hab 1:5; also 1 Kgs 20:7; 2 Kgs 5:7.

118 Paradigmatic passages are Prov 15:18: "A hot-tempered person stirs up strife (מדון); but the slow to anger calms a dispute (ריב)"; Prov 17:14: "The beginning of strife (מדון) is like letting out water, so abandon the quarrel (הריב) before it breaks out"; further on ריב see Prov 17:1; 26:17, 21; 30:33; also 25:9; on מדון see Prov 16:28; 22:10; 26:20; 28:25; 29:22; for קנאה see Prov 6:34; 14:30; 27:4. The term תחרות appears to be a rabbinic gloss that is used frequently to characterize strife within family or tribe (see Jastrow [1926] 1662). On בעס see Prov 17:25 "A foolish son is a grief (בעס) to his father, and bitterness to her who gave birth to him," though this term is more characteristic of the Book of Ecclesiastes (see 1:18; 7:3, 9; 11:10).

Torah" (זנחנו תורתו). Centering Torah observance insinuates a Deuteronomistic explanatory mechanism for understanding the Jews' current fate: it is a reference to the rulebook that names the failures of the narrative's first-century Jews and which promises divine departure as a result. Shortly thereafter, Josephus is recorded as citing a specific episode from the Torah, one most applicable to the situation at hand.

The judgment episode from Numbers 16 was a favorite of Ps-Hegesippus'.[119] In that biblical chapter the story is told of how certain ne'er-do-wells in ancient Israel, led by Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, challenged the authority of Moses and Aaron. This earns the rebels what the biblical author dubs a completely new form of death by way of judgment (Num 16:30): the earth itself opens up and the gaping maw of the ground swallows the men whole, together with their households and compatriots. Nor had the story lost its appeal for Christians by the time of *SY*'s writing: the so-called 'Byzantine octateuchs,' produced in the centuries following *SY*'s first appearance, present a series of ornate illustrations of this scene that testify to an ongoing (and longstanding) Christian fascination with it.[120] These illustrations, like Josephus' mention of the scene here in *DEH* 5.16.1, accentuate the role of Moses and Aaron. Interestingly, however, Yosippon does something original with the episode: instead of balancing the story's two 'bad guys' (Dathan and Abiram) with its two paradigmatic 'good guys' (Aaron and Moses)—thus creating a nice synthesis of exemplary pairs—Yosippon erases the names of Moses and Aaron from the script (unnecessary because every Jewish reader would know the story) and inserts a name that is noticeably missing from *DEH* 5.16.1: Korah. (Indeed, the chapter is usually remembered as 'the rebellion of Korah.') This completion of the set of antagonists from Numbers 16 biblicizes the passage by (re-)including a scriptural detail while simultaneously eliminating superfluous framing explanations (the interface with Aaron and Moses). This exclusive emphasis on the negative creates a foil against which Josephus, his listeners, and *SY*'s readers all can con-

119 Bay (2021d) 160–164; cf. Bay (2018) 112n21.

120 Codex Vat. gr. 747, 168^{r} (11th cent.); Codex Vat. gr. 746, 341^{v} (12th cent.); Codex Vatopedinus 602, 341^{v} (13th cent.). Concerning the Byzantine octateuchs: of these six unique and monumental works dating from ca. 1050–1300, five contain hundreds of images, placing them "among the most profusely illustrated books from the Byzantine world" brooking an "absence of comparative material" and testifying to intense interest in the portion of the Greek Jewish Scriptures—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth—that they transmit; Lowden (2010) 109. These manuscripts may trace back to an exemplar as early as the third century, and may thereafter have accrued Jewish, Christian, classical, and biblical sources/inspirations: Weitzmann/Bernabo (1999); see also Lowden (1992).

struct a notion of the collective Jewish self: Josephus remembers how God "spoke to us in the wilderness" (הוא אמר לנו במדבר) and commanded 'us' (the Jews) to separate the rebels from the midst of the congregation.[121] The Jewish 'we,' therefore, i.e. the implicit 'us' who survived the Numbers 16 ordeal, is construed as comprised of the survivors who effected such a separation and thus lived. In *SY*, as compared to *DEH*, there is much more of a hint that Josephus' tack here is to invite his readers to act like and thus to be(come) the innocent (whom Ps-Hegesippus calls the *innoxii*) of the Numbers 16 episode. The exclusively third-person language of the parallel statement of *DEH* makes no such allowance.

The overall point of this part of Josephus' speech is, of course, largely the same between *DEH* 5.16.1 and *SY* 78 (עח): because of the Jews' sacrilegious actions, God has ceased to dwell among them. But even with this shared central concern, Yosippon makes some telling modifications. In particular, the way *SY* has Josephus leave things with the Numbers 16 analogy leaves more room for the hope of restoration than what we find in *DEH*. Ps-Hegesippus has Josephus end his discussion of the episode with his statement about what God had commanded concerning Dathan's and Abiram's punishment: namely, that they be set apart (*separari*) "lest either their stain contaminate the pious by their proximity to the innocent or their punishment engulf them" (*ne pios aut macula contaminaret de consortio noxiorum aut poena inuolueret*). Yosippon goes his own route. He too explains the purpose of the rebels' separation from the congregation, yet he more explicitly states God's general intention in commanding that separation. (We should note here that this statement of divine motivation can be understood in multiple ways.)[122] He then ends by exclaiming והוא אלהים

121 The articulation of this command here in *SY* is a verbatim quotation of the first four words of Num 16:21.

122 Above, I have translated the penultimate sentence in this passage thus: "Did he not speak to us in the desert concerning Korah and Dathan and Abiram, 'separate these men from the midst of the congregation,' because he did not want the good to be joined together with the bad, nor the righteousness with the wicked, among the sons of Adam?" Cf. the translation of Bowman (2023) 341. The Hebrew appears in Flusser (1978) 369 like so: הלא הוא אמר לנו במדבר על קרח ודתן ואבירם: הבדלו מתוך העדה הזאת, כי לא חפץ להתחבר טוב עם רע ולא צדיק עם רשע בבני אדם. Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 746–747 have ever so slightly emended Flusser's Hebrew text: הלא הוא אמר לנו במדבר על קרח ודתן ואבירם: הבדלו מתוך העדה הזאת כי לא חפץ להתחבר טוב עם רע. ולא צדיק עם רשע בבני אדם. The eliminated comma after הזאת is a minor alteration, but the added period between רע and ולא is a major one, affecting the passage's sense. Here is their German translation: "Hat er nicht in der Wüste über Korach, Datan und Abiram zu uns gesagt: 'Entfernt euch aus der Mitte dieser Gemeinde, denn es findet keine Gefallen, wenn sich gut mit böse verbindet. Nicht sei der Gerechte mit dem Frevler bei den Menschen.'" The emergent interpretive questions are:

אמת! (“and he is the true God!”) before posing the crux question of how God’s glory (כבודו), which originally dwelt with the Israelites via the Tabernacle in the wilderness, could dwell amidst a congregation of sinners and murderers (עדת חטאים ורוצחים). The answer to this rhetorical question is that God’s glory could not do so. But by ending with this provocative question, the Josephus of *SY* leaves open the query’s flipside: if a congregation should again become one *without* ‘sinners and murderers,’ might not God’s glory be restored?[123] Once again, I suggest that here Josephus’ words are prophetic and pedagogical, a corrective which one can imagine his hearers learning from and responding to, whereas Ps-Hegesippus’ perspective is purely historical and ends with the descriptive treatment of what had happened to sinners in the Jews’ own ancestral past. In *DEH*, the die is cast, and no redemption remains for the Jews. The reworking of *SY* suggests otherwise.

---

1) Is the verb חפץ here an impersonal verb, as assumed by Börner-Klein/Zuber (“es findet keine Gefallen” = “it does no good” or “it is not pleasing/appropriate”), or is it a personal verb with God, the speaker in the previous clause, as its subject (“it did not please him” or “he was not pleased [to]”)? The latter seems implicated by the fact that in biblical Hebrew חפץ always or nearly always takes a subject, usually God but sometimes others (often “the king”), and by the proximity of this clause to the previous sentence, where God is the subject of another Qal perfect verb (אמר); in this case, כי correlates what God said (אמר) to what he intended (חפץ). We may also note canonically speaking that the verb חפץ is attributed to God two chapters earlier in Num 14:8. 2) Is the Hithpael verb להתחבר to be taken as active, reflexive, or passive? The latter is rarer, though not impossible; see generally, and with footnotes, Baden (2010). The answer to this question will inform whether its subject is understood to be God or the following substantives. Is it that “God did not desire to mix” or “God did not desire x and y to be mixed” or “God did not desire that x and y should mix themselves up?” 3) Finally, does the period inserted by Börner-Klein/Zuber belong? If it does, then the final line of the sentence is an apothegm stating the principle that good (people) and bad (people) ought not to mix. If it doesn’t, then the final line continues the previous thought in synthetic parallelism. No substantive textual variants point one way or the other here: Flusser (1980) 336. However, in any case *SY* does seem to be playing upon Gen 18:23, 25, where Abraham expresses incredulity that God would slay “the righteous with the wicked” (צדיק עם-רשע) and that “the righteous and the wicked be treated alike” (היה כצדיק כרשע). In Num 16 no such comment is made, but God simply identifies Korah, Dathan, and Abiram as “these wicked men” (האנשים הרשעים האלה; 16:26).

123 The 1510 Constantinople edition of *SY*, much expanded from its earlier versions, contains near its beginning an explicit hope for the building of the Third Temple and expounds the blessedness of the Jews who will be alive to see it: Neuman (1950) 645.

5 Conclusion: The Final Speech of Flavius Josephus—Director's Cut

DEH 5.16.1 turns Josephus' address to the Jews before the walls of Jerusalem, found in a shorter version in Josephus' own Greek *BJ*, into a lengthy recounting of biblical history and its paradigmatic heroes. The point of the oratorical exercise is to show that resistance to the Romans is not just futile, but also impious and out of line with the Jews' own ancestral tradition. In rewriting this speech in Hebrew, Yosippon implements numerous departures from and adaptations to his Latin source as a way of making the speech his own.[124] By categorizing *SY*'s adaptations of *DEH* 5.16.1 into additions, omissions, and changes, we gain a multifaceted perspective on the ways in which Yosippon departed from, improved upon, and interacted with his Latin source. These source-critical authorial engagements present Yosippon as not unlike a modern film editor, trimming, supplementing, and altering his artistic product in line with his own aesthetic proclivities and no doubt with an eye toward his audience and its knowledge and expectations. In Yosippon's hands, *DEH* 5.16.1 is alternatively reworked, turned into b-roll, or improved into what we see as the final Hebrew cut.

Within this editorial process, Yosippon shows us anew the ways, often subtle, by which he biblicizes, theologizes, and Judaizes his source material and Josephus' intra-narrative speeches. In Josephus' speech in *SY* 78 (עח), God is more present, the Jews more laudable, and the language and *exempla* more biblical (at least in certain ways) than is true of parallel passages in *DEH* 5.16.1. In Josephus' own original Greek *BJ* (5.361), and in Ps-Hegesippus' later Latin *DEH* (5.14.5), we are told that Josephus addressed the Jews in Jerusalem in 70 CE in his native language (τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ/*patrio sermone*),[125] i.e. in Hebrew or Aramaic. In *SY* 78 (עח), such an address finally finds literary realization in something like its native Semitic form, almost a millennium after the fact. Yet, in this early medieval version of Josephus' speech, we witness not only the *reclaiming* of Josephus' imagined words for a Jewish readership and worldview, but also the *restructuring* of Josephus' words as part of a literary project that was making ancient Second Temple Period Jewish history new for the Early Middle Ages (and, as it would turn out, beyond).

124 As noted by Stemberger (1983) 152.

125 The phrase *patrio sermone* in itself does not designate a language per se; the same phrase is used in *DEH* 5.9.1 to refer to the unnamed language of the Canaanites who initially founded the city of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 6

Lamenting Jewish History, Part 1: *De Excidio* 5.2 and *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)

This final set of chapters deals with two lengthy and important chapter-length passages in *DEH* and *SY* that are separated by several intervening chapters in each respective work. The intervening narrative includes, in fact, the chapters treated in Chapters 4 and 5 of the present work (that is, *DEH* 5.15–16 // *SY* 78 [עח]). But there are very good reasons for treating these final two chapter sets—*DEH* 5.2.1 // *SY* 73 (עג) and *DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא)—together. One is that *DEH* 5.2.1 and 5.22 are the only major speeches in that work that do not have (meaningful) antecedents in the Greek of *BJ*.[1] *DEH* 5.22 is a fully original creation of Ps-Hegesippus, corresponding to nothing in *BJ*, whereas *DEH* 5.2.1 is a massive expansion of a few short lines in *BJ* 5.19–20 into 1,350 Latin words comprising what is arguably the most ideologically-dense portion of *DEH* as a work.[2] These chapters in *DEH* and *SY* are also thematically related: both touch upon the themes of martyrdom/noble death, theodicy, freedom, piety, and the afterlife. Furthermore, both chapter sets utilize a number of *exempla* from the Jewish Scriptures (several of which overlap and are unique within *DEH*), and both seek to tie the 'fortunes of the Jews' writ large to the devastation being wrought upon Jerusalem in 70 CE. Overall, both *DEH* 5.2.1 // *SY* 73 (עג) and *DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא) constitute iterations of a kind of competition of lament, each pair presenting a Christian and a Jewish voice lending their own distinct intonations to proclamations of woe over the historical twilight of Jerusalem and its once-great Temple within competing historical speeches.

This chapter and the next will examine these *DEH*/*SY* chapter pairs as source- and reception-critical conversations, partially through the lens of "religious co-production."[3] This latter phrase refers to a model or theory or lens

1 As discussed by Bell (1977) 134 (cf. 33, 139, 153); cf. Bay (2023) 156–157, 165, 168.

2 This is the argument of Bay (2018), a dissertation dedicated fully to *DEH* 5.2. The author hopes to resurrect that project with a much fuller collection of textual data in a future monograph.

3 The lens of religious co-production would be appropriate for all of the chapters in this book—indeed, for the study of any part of *SY*. It is applied here to these chapters because of the particular relevance that may be derived from their having had Christian beginnings rather

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-008
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

recently developed by Katharina Heyden and David Nirenberg within the context of a project that joins the University of Bern, Switzerland to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.[4] As the phrase suggests, the lens of religious co-production emphasizes the "ongoing inter-dependence" of two or more of the three Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam). This chapter and the next will draw upon, confirm, and illustrate the value of religious co-production qua theory as a mechanism for explaining how *DEH* 5.2.1 and 5.22 and *SY* 73 (עג) and 81 (פא) all depend upon *both* Jewish *and* Christian perspectives and ideas, in addition to the Hebrew/Israelite proto-tradition to which both Christianity and Judaism have always claimed to be heirs.[5]

The present chapter begins with a look at the structure and mechanics of *SY* 73 (עג) vis-à-vis *DEH* 5.2.1.[6] We do this by tracking the omissions, additions, and alterations made by the Jewish author in the process of appropriating and revaluating the anti-Jewish vision of his Christian source as epitomized in this speech. This provides, among other things, a particularly graphic picture of the overwriting/underwriting—and, indeed, the 'writing *out*'—that is part of this study's primary thesis. We then take a close comparative look at the endings, or conclusions, of the lament over Jerusalem as scripted by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively. Throughout these sections we maintain a comparison between the Christian Latin terminology of *DEH* 5.2.1 and the Jewish Hebrew vocabulary of *SY* 73 (עג), revealing a more fundamental religious co-production at the semantic and linguistic level. We will also consider several rhetorical

---

than Jewish ones in that they originate with the author of *DEH* and not with Flavius Josephus himself.

4 The study that seems likely to codify the idea for future research, in which the basic idea is epitomized, is Heyden/Nirenberg (2025a); cf. Heyden/Nirenberg (2025b); Bay/Heyden/Nirenberg (2026). See coproduced-religions.org for a valuable collection of "Case Studies," "Source Studies," and other publications and videos.

5 Within a different frame, the study of *SY* and its influence can include Islam as well as Judaism and Christianity, as some of its early readers and copyists were Muslims. See recently (and briefly) Bay (2025c) and Binyam (2023), and generally Vollandt (2014); Binyam (2017) 48–59.

6 This chapter benefits not a little from the paper by Peter Lehnardt, "The Yosippon Source Challenge & the Lament over Jerusalem," presented on May 12, 2022 at the *Seeking Sefer Yosippon* conference organized by me and René Bloch within our subproject of the larger SNSF project, *Lege Iosephum! Ways of Reading Josephus in the Latin Middle Ages* (Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, René Bloch, Katharina Heyden). While I do not delve deeply into the as yet unresolved text-critical issues related to *SY* as I deal with *SY* 73 (עג), I note that Peter's work presages the next major step to be taken in *SY* studies, which he and Saskia Dönitz are poised to lead.

and stylistic idiosyncrasies of the two chapters, exploring how the evolution of this speech over half a millennium simultaneously erases and, *mutatis mutandis*, preserves 'original' intended meaning. At the end of the chapter, we draw together the findings of these sections to summarize how the lens of religious co-production helps us appreciate what it means to say that *SY* theologizes, Judaizes, and biblicizes its source material from *DEH* so as to overwrite the latter's historical-theological perspective while underwriting a rather different one, one that is nevertheless grounded ineluctably in that earlier, Christian perspective.

1 The Rhetoric of Structure: Omissions, Additions, and Alterations in *SY* 73 (עג)

Both *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) ultimately stem from a few short lines of the narrator's voice in Josephus' *BJ*, which John Marincola has aptly labeled "striking."[7] They run as follows:

> O most wretched city, what is this thing you have suffered at the hands of the Romans, who entered in to cleanse your native impurities with fire? For you were no longer the place of God, nor were you able to endure, having become a grave for the corpses of your household and having made the temple a civil war burial ground. Yet things might be able to improve again, if at some point you were to propitiate the God who has destroyed you. But it is the law of the writer to restrain emotions, since this is not the proper time for personal lamentations, but for the narration of events. And so I proceed through the deeds which followed from the insurrection.
>
> *Jewish War* 5.19–20[8]

The statement, in which the historian momentarily leaves his third person narrative to speak to Jerusalem itself, ushers in what might be called 'the beginning

7 Marincola (1997) 168.

8 Thackeray (1997a) 6–9: τί τηλικοῦτον, ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἵ σου τὰ ἐμφύλια μύση πυρὶ καθαροῦντες εἰσῆλθον; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἦς ἔτι χῶρος οὔτε μένειν ἐδύνασο, τάφος οἰκείων γενομένη σωμάτων καὶ πολέμου τὸν ναὸν ἐμφυλίου ποιήσασα πολυάνδριον· δύναιο δ' ἂν γενέσθαι πάλιν ἀμείνων, εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ. ἀλλὰ καθεκτέον γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς οὐκ ὀλοφυρμῶν οἰκείων ὁ καιρός, ἀλλ' ἀφηγήσεως πραγμάτων. δίειμι δὲ τὰ ἑξῆς ἔργα τῆς στάσεως. As noted in Bay (2018) 63, the superlative vocative τλημονεστάτη was identified by Feldman (1998b) 172 as a Homeric expression. See further Bay (2018) 63–64 and cf. the authorial address in *BJ* 1.9–11.

of the end' in the *Jewish War*: the following chapters delve into a sequence of vivid and intensive episodes recounting and illustrating the destruction of Jerusalem and downfall of the Jews in 70 CE. Yet, this five-sentence passage is barely a blip on the radar of the *War* compared to the expansive Latin reiteration that Ps-Hegesippus constructs three hundred years later. In the latter we find a proper oration beginning with either a question ("How have you been deceived, o city?"), or perhaps an exclamation ("O how you have been deceived, o city!")—that is, *Quomodo decepta es ciuitas*—that in any case extends Josephus' 75 Greek words to 1,350 Latin ones. No longer a brief departure from the narrative, in Ps-Hegesippus this passage is a central portion of the narrative's ideology distilled into one rhetorical address. In it, the author-narrator addresses Jerusalem and the Jews and seeks to explain the 70 CE destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Romans as a direct result of the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. As I argued in my dissertation, and as has been recognized elsewhere, this passage constitutes the ideological centerpoint of *DEH* as a work,[9] an argument which seems to find support in several features of the work's codicology as well.[10]

The centrality of Book 5, Chapter 2 for *DEH*'s historiographical agenda makes the chapter an obvious site for comparison with *SY*. What such a comparison reveals is a widely understood feature of *SY*'s treatment of its major Latin-Christian source, which is nevertheless rarely appreciated in detail or explained as more than a passing generality: namely, that *SY* excises Christian theological/ideological material from its narrative.[11] Even more than the alterations

9 See Bay (2023) 127–156; Bay (2020); Bay (2018); Dönitz (2016) 384–385; Bell (1977) 134 *et alibi*.

10 For example, in the right margin of a tenth-century manuscript of *DEH* (Paris BnF Lat. 12513, fol. 241)—that is, a Latin manuscript penned at just around the time that *SY* was written—this passage is given a kind of title: *epilogus lamentum pro hierusalem*. On a much larger scale, a different author/scribe, arguably writing at about the same time, saw *DEH* 5.2 as important enough to serve as the basis for what Amnon Lindner (1992) identifies as a Carolingian, anti-Jewish Easter Sermon (cf. Lindner 1989). The majority of this work is comprised of a block-quote of *DEH* 5.2 in its entirety. It has been called 'Pseudo-Ambrose,' the *Anacephalaeosis*, or the *Recapitulatio* (*desolationis hierosolimae, secundum egesippum christianissimum*, per the incipit of the ms mentioned below), appearing among Ambrose's *spuria* in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (PL 15:2205B–2218D); see further Bay (2023) 42–43. One early-twelfth-century manuscript, in which the *Anacephalaeosis* appears after some Easter Sermons of Augustine, has a heading at the top of both columns on the first page of the work (in two different scripts) reading: *In die sancto pasche ad prandium*; cf. Pollard (2015) 97.

11 Good overviews of the issue appear in numerous studies by Saskia Dönitz. Note, for exam-

and additions that Yosippon makes to the narrative content that it retains from *DEH*, the bald-faced omissions it makes of what can be inferred to be the latter's most crucial material suggest that *SY* is operating as a 'counter-history.'[12] As it summarily cuts material that its author deems unsuitable—and even more than that, no doubt, untrue—the speech in *SY* 73 (עג) illustrates as powerfully as anywhere in that work the 'overwriting,' as I have called it, that Yosippon undertakes of *DEH* in refashioning the latter's historical narrative.

One other thing to bear in mind when approaching these chapters is the fine contrariety between them concerning the positionality of the speaker's voice. As Josephus does in *BJ* 5.19–20,[13] Ps-Hegesippus leaves *DEH* 5.2.1 as an interesting kind of oration—unusual in third-person historiography—that is given in the second-person voice, addressed directly to Jerusalem (and, we may gather, the Jews).[14] The second-person address is familiar to the genre of oratory, and to drama, but is exceptional within history-writing, breaking as it were the objectivizing guise of the third wall. But in *SY*, this dynamic is not present. For there, Joseph ben Gurion—i.e. the historical person of Josephus—is credited with the speech. The chapter begins: "Joseph lamented this lamentation and said" (ויקונן

ple, Dönitz (2013) 7: "Beim Vergleich der lateinischen Quelle [i.e. *De Excidio*] mit dem hebräischen Text fällt auf, dass der Redaktor des *Sefer Yosippon* alle Stellen über Jesus und das Christentum getilgt hat. Auch Passagen, die die Juden negativ darstellen, wurden gestrichen. (...) In diesem Sinne bildet die Bearbeitung von *De excidio* im *Sefer Yosippon* einen Teil der fortwährend geführten Debatte zwischen Christen und Juden um die Interpretation der Tempelzerstörung und damit verbunden auch um die Rolle des auserwählten Volkes."

12 Funkenstein (1993; 1992) 36 defines counter-history as a particular genre since Antiquity, though he does not consider *SY* historiography (15) because it is not (what he considers standard) historiography, which is to say *contemporary* history-writing, as noted in Bay (2024) 371n12. Ruth Nisse, considering *SY* 2 (ב) in particular, has talked in terms of "counter-history or counter-epic"; Nisse (2024) 330. I have called *SY* "something between counter-history and alternative history"; Bay (2024) 371, 384. The idea of counter history has been applied to medieval Judaism by way of the *Toledot Yeshu* as well: Chazan (2004) 74–75.

13 This should not be taken to mean that *DEH*'s anonymous author expected the reader to read the speech as given by the narrator-author Josephus, as would have been true of *BJ* 5.19–20. For, while *DEH* was attributed to Josephus occasionally across the first half-millennium of its existence, *DEH* 5.2 is an example of a chapter that makes the attribution of that work to Josephus totally untenable, something which scarcely any reader could miss. On the issue of *DEH*'s attribution to Josephus, see Pollard (2015) and Bay (2025a).

14 The nature of this address is treated more fully in Bay (2018) 60–102 and Bay (2020) 171–173 and is mentioned in Bay (2023) 147, 156, 203.

יוסף את הקינה הזאת ויאמר). At this point the levels of confusion surrounding the speaker are not insignificant: Josephus had written the *Jewish War* and had recorded a kind of address of his own briefly in *BJ* 5.19–20; *DEH* had retained Josephus as a historical figure in its narrative, and as its primary historiographical source (*DEH* Prol 1; 2.12.1), and as an anonymous work was sometimes attributed to Josephus, yet gives the oration of *DEH* 5.2.1 in the unmistakably *Christian* voice of the unknown author; and *SY*, having already conflated the historian-general Joseph ben Mattityahu (= Josephus) with a certain Joseph ben Gorion by way of an ill-informed reading of *DEH* 3.3.2, attributes the speech of *SY* 73 (עג) to this collapsed figure of Joseph(us) ben Gurion, to whom *SY* as a work comes to be attributed, sometimes (by less careful readers) as the 'original Hebrew' version of Josephus' *Jewish War*. But, whatever the case, the fact is that in *SY* 73 (עג) the speech comes from a known narrative character, framing it less as a pronouncement made by the omnipotent narrator and more an incidental speech of a historical figure. It is thus not just the contents of the two speeches of *DEH* 5.2.1 versus *SY* 73 (עג) that differ, but also the framework of the oration itself.

I will begin here by analyzing *SY* 73 (עג) vis-à-vis *DEH* 5.22 from a macroscopic, quantitative, and, indeed, visual perspective. Whereas *DEH* 5.2.1 is 1,700% longer by word-count than its Greek source-text, *SY*'s Hebrew constitutes a substantial reduction from its Latin source, at 832 Hebrew words compared to 1,350 Latin ones. Even allowing for a generous contraction rate in Latin-to-Hebrew translation (say 20–30%), *SY*'s version of this address is notably curtailed: only 61% of the size of its source. This discrepancy is largely accounted for by five major omissions made by Yosippon in the process of recreating this oration, alongside short omissions at the beginning and end of the chapter. These major omissions appear in red in the illustration below, which provides a visualization of the omissions from the Latin text of *DEH* 5.2.1, listing the number of Latin words omitted in each section (conversely, the blue portions comprise parts of *DEH* 5.2.1 that are re-presented in *SY* 73 [עג]).

2 Rhetorical Erasure: The Major Omissions of *SY* 73 (עג)

As can be readily discerned, the omissions depicted in red in this image are not a few minor or brief omissions, but rather add up to over a third of chapter's text (527 Latin words = 39%). In what follows, I assess the content of these five substantial chunks of text omitted by Yosippon. By studying these apparently-objectionable portions of *DEH* 5.2.1, we gain a particular kind of insight into *SY* 73 (עג) and into *SY*'s redactional practices in general.

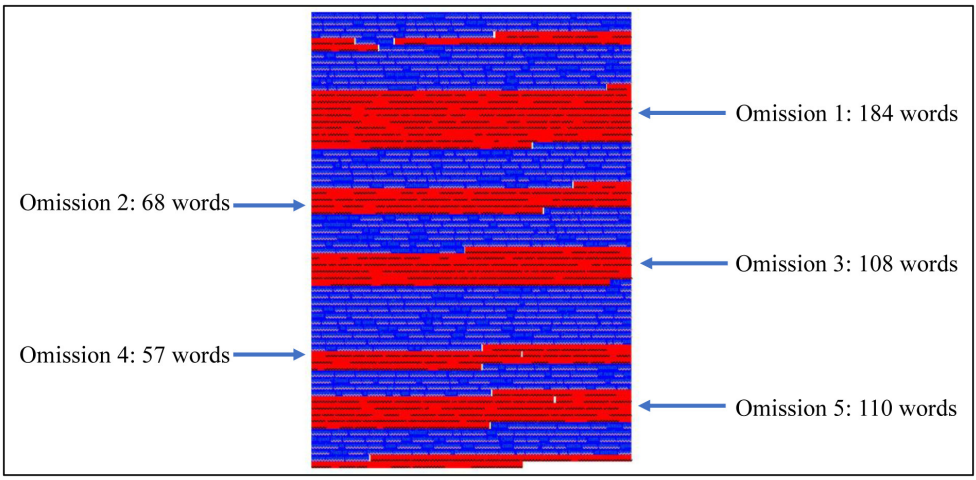

FIGURE 1 Visual representation of the Latin text of *DEH* 5.2.1 demarcating portions omitted in *SY* 73 (עג)—which appear in red—and portions included in *SY* 73 (עג), which appear in blue. The five 'major omissions' marked are marked by word-count of the 'deleted' Latin text, according to Ussani's edition.

Omission 1: The first omission, and the largest by far at 184 omitted Latin words, is also perhaps the most significant thematically. Here Ps-Hegesippus for the first time in the oration of *DEH* 5.2.1 directly correlates the suffering of Jerusalem and its (self-) destruction in 70 CE with the Jews' lack of—or, literally, "dead"—faith and their rejection of Jesus, the "Prince of Peace" (*praesul pacis*) and "Lord of Life" (*arbiter uitae*). The section reads:

> Therefore against you, Judea, are your own weapons turned; your speeches never profit you, because your faith is never alive; therefore against you has your people acted, because your faithlessness has been turned against you. What kind of remedy does one look for, where the author of the remedy is not accepted? What did you think would happen, when with your own hands you crucified your own well-being, with your own hands extinguished your life, with your own voices banished your advocate, amid your domestic disturbances killed your ally, but that you also would turn your hands against yourself? You have that which you sought, you have snatched from yourself the Prince of Peace, you have asked that the Lord of Life be put to death, to him you have preferred Barabbas, who had been sent to prison for having aroused rebellion among the people and for having committed murder. Therefore your well-being has abandoned you, peace has departed, serenity has ceased—rebellion has been given to you, destruction has been given. Understand that for you, today, Barabbas lives and Jesus has died.

> Therefore rebellion holds sway within you, peace has been buried, so that you perish at your own hands more cruelly than if you were to perish at the hands of others.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[15]

Here we find Ps-Hegesippus' polemical oratory at its finest, combining the novelty of addressing the Jews as a unit (*Iudaea*), a series of devastating rhetorical questions, and the historical facts of the Christian Gospels—wherein the Jews asked for Barabbas, rather than Jesus,[16] to be released by Pilate (Matt 27:16–26; Mark 15:7–15; Luke 23:18; John 18:40)—to explain, *for* the reader but *to* the Jews, why destruction has come upon what used to be the city of God.[17] This discourse is supported by several interconnected sets of themes and their attendant vocabularies: the Jews' collective lack of faith (with the phrase *fides tua nihil operatur* and the charge of Jewish *perfidia*);[18] the portrayal of Judea/Jerusalem/the Jewish collective as self-destructive or suicidal, with the repetition that its own *arma*, *populus*, *perfidia*, and *manus* had turned against it (*in te* or *aduersum te*);[19] the Jews as carriers of civic and socio-religious disease, signaled with reference to health terms (*remedium*, *salus*); Jerusalem as a place whose fortunes have flipped, signaled by the creative presentation of

15 Ussani (1932) 296–297: *Ideoque in te, Iudaea, arma tua uertuntur, orationes tuae nihil tibi prosunt, quia fides tua nihil operatur; ideo aduersum te factus est populus tuus, quia in te conuersa est perfidia tua. Quod remedium quaeritur, ubi auctor remedii non reconciliatur? Quid putabas futurum, cum tuis manibus salutare tuum crucifigeres, cum tuis manibus uitam tuam extingueres, cum tuis uocibus aduocatum tuum exterminares, tuis infestationibus auxiliatorem tuum interficeres, nisi ut in te quoque tuas iniceres manus? Habes quod petisti, eripuisti tibi praesulem pacis, petisti necari uitae arbitrum, concedi tibi Barabban, qui propter seditionem factam in ciuitate et homicidium missus fuerat in carcerem. Ideo salus abs te abscessit, pax abiit, quies destitit, data est tibi seditio, datum excidium. Agnosce tibi hodie Barabban uiuere, Iesum mortuum. Ideo in te regnat seditio, pax sepulta est, ut crudelius a tuis pereas quam si ab alienis perires. Quid tantum tibi, miserabilis ciuitas, Romanus suis armis, quantum populus tuus malorum inuexit? Vt Romanis pugnares, tui fecerunt. Pacem uolebant Romani, tu bellum indixisti. Quid causae erat ut fortiores lacesseres? Durum sane quod contra legem sacram templum gentilis intrauit, sed iam non erat dei templum*. See also Bay (2018) 74, 297–298. Cf. Bay (2023) 235–236n55.

16 See Bay (2018) 219–220, 235.

17 Indeed, the following lines, which do have a kind of parallel in *SY*—on which see below—charge that "you were not the city of God, nor were you able to be" (*Non eras dei ciuitas, nec esse poteras …*), citing civil war and domestic slaughter among the Jews/Judeans as the grounds for this claim.

18 The Jews' *perfidia* is mentioned 2×, and absent *fides* is referenced 3× across *DEH* 5.2.1.

19 See Bay (2018) 171 *et alibi*. The accusatory *in te* appears 6× in *DEH* 5.2.1, and *aduersum te* (*se*) 3×.

conceptual realities as metaphors presented in the form of lists (ostensibly for dramatic effect; thus, *salus abscessit, pax abiit, quies destitit, data est seditio*, etc.). All of this amounts to a rhetorical *tour de force* that adds insult to injury by not only observing and describing but also explaining and justifying how the Jews had come to the predicament in which they found themselves on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem.[20]

In this omitted portion, Ps-Hegesippus makes his first and most lengthy correlation between the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus and the downfall of Jerusalem and demise of the Jews. This is in fact the most lengthy passage dedicated to this topic in the entire work. By charging the Jews' with dead faith (*fides tua nihil operatur*) or simply with faithlessness (*perfidia*), Ps-Hegesippus taps an ideological *locus classicus* in ancient Christian anti-Jewish discourse. He then mentions a remedy (*remedium*) to the problem and its *auctor*, whom, he says, had been rejected.[21] At this point in the speech it still is not yet clear who this problem-solver might be. This is clarified in the following sentences, where Ps-Hegesippus names the "Prince of Peace" (*praesul pacis*) and "Lord of Life" (*arbiter uitae*) and claims that the Jews preferred Barabbas to this would-be remedy-bringer. The Jews, according to *DEH*, had rejected their only hope. It is only in the second part of this first major omitted section, however, that Jesus is named as such. Here the author-narrator posits that *for you* (*tibi*), that is, as it pertains to Jerusalem and the Jews, Barabbas lives and Jesus has died. This fact is then causally linked to the sedition-laden state of the narrative's present-day Jerusalem with an *ideo*. In fact, four *ideo* clauses provide the structure for this omitted passage, each linking the rejection of Jesus to Jerusalem's self-destruction.

Needless to say, this 184-word section of *DEH* 5.2.1 is a quintessential expression of Christian thinking about 'the end of Jewish history' in the late-Second Temple Period that would have been well-known and more or less standard by the Early Medieval Era in which *SY* was written.[22] Such an understanding has

20 This section of *DEH* 5.2.1 is quoted by Groves (2015) 37–38 within a discussion of *DEH*'s influence on Christian thought as it came to connect Jerusalem's destruction (by God) with the rejection of Jesus (by Jews). Groves notices that "Pseudo-Hegesippus was one of the first writers to link the destruction of Jerusalem explicitly with the death of Christ" (37).

21 On the metaphors contagion, sickness, and disease applied by Ps-Heg to the Jews, see Bay (2022f). On *remedium* in *DEH*, see Bay (2018) vii, 66, 150, 168, and esp. 280–283.

22 Already by Ps-Heg's time this way of thinking was standard. Bloch (2022) notes: "critiques of the temple were already common before 70 CE. But with the edifice's destruction, such critiques became an anchor of early Christian thinking and an anti-Jewish argument for centuries to come. (…) For Christian authors, such as Origen, Eusebius, and

never been accepted within the Jewish tradition. Any Jews who have historically accepted this will have been immediately reclassified as Christians. For *SY* to have retained this section of the oration found in *DEH* 5.2.1 is unthinkable, as it would have undone the internal logic of Yosippon's historical perspective. Yet *SY* does not allow the question driving this section to be lost; as we will see below, *SY* 73 (עג) still rebukes the Jews and muses over their self-wrought destruction. But the story of Jesus-and-Barabbas from the Gospels and the Christian understanding of Jesus as the Jews' would-have-been and should-have-been savior are not only alien to *SY*—such statements arguably constitute the reason that Yosippon felt the need to rewrite the history that he found in *DEH*. Thus does he drop this 184-word section of *DEH* 5.2.1.

Omission 2: In the second, 68-word portion of *DEH* 5.2.1 omitted from *SY* 73 (עג), Ps-Hegesippus likens the Jews to animals (*muta animalia*, to be specific), thus metaphorizing their 'beastly' lack of response to the overtures of the high priest Ananus, who had called the people to peace and away from idolatry.

> But what reason was there for the death of Ananus, except that he upbraided your populace because it did not rise up in defense of the Temple, because it insisted that liberty be betrayed, that virtue be abandoned, that the remains of the ancient rites be trampled, that the altars be polluted? He tried to dissuade the remaining populace from the use of insensible effigies and statues of marble that never perceive anything. For even speechless animals are accustomed to respond to a change in punishment, to recognize injury and, incited by its sting, to turn away from beatings. Therefore whoever is neither provoked by nor has learned to turn away from that which would do him harm, is like that which has no sense.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[23]

Ps-Hegesippus, Josephus's report on the fall of the temple in the Jewish War served as a prooftext for the divine punishment of the Jews. Had the temple not been destroyed, the early Christian community could not have distanced itself theologically from the Jewish religion so easily. It is probably safe to say that the development of Christianity as a world religion would not have taken flight as it did" (141–142). Suffice it to say that this theodical Christian understanding of the Temple's destruction was not an incidental part of early Christian thought, but an integral one. On *DEH*'s contribution to supersessionism and anti-Judaism within Christian intellectual history, see Bay (2021e).

23 Ussani (1932) 297–298: *Quae causa autem mortis Anano nisi quod increpauit populum tuum, quia non insurgeret pro templi defensione, quia expostulabat libertatem proditam, uirtutem desertam, calcatas ueterum sacrorum reliquias, commaculata altaria? Relinquendum adserebat populum, usu simulacrorum insensibilium et statuarum de marmore nihil iam sentientem. Muta enim animalia referre solent uel uindictae uicissitudinem, sentire iniuriam, incitari aculeo, declinare uerbera. Qui ergo nec excitatur nec declinare nouit quod noceat, similis est non sentientibus*. See also Bay (2018) 67, 123, 291–292. Cf. Bay (2023) 142.

Yosippon omits this line of questioning and the zoological comparison, though in this case he does partially replace it with a metaphor of his own.[24] Yet the omission itself is significant, inasmuch as the animal analogy is one of the more unflattering anti-Jewish devices deployed by Ps-Hegesippus,[25] even if such a tack has biblical precedent (e.g., Psa 32:9; Isa 1:3). Nor is *DEH* 5.2.1 the only place where such comparisons show up: they also feature, for example, in Titus' speech at *De Excidio* 5.41.2, where Titus has just heard report of the terrible 'Maria episode,' wherein the Jewish mother of a young child within a besieged Jerusalem had killed, cooked, and eaten her infant in a bout of insanity. There the Roman general likens the Jews to monsters and wild animals (*beluae et ferae*)—and to rock cliff faces—and there also *SY* includes the same speech in its narrative yet drops the unappealing analogy (see *SY* 86 [פו]).[26]

---

24 Parallel to this section in *SY* we find: "How has their understanding been reversed and flowed backwards and become like molten images that do not see or hear or understand? For all living things and creatures on earth fight those who fight them in order to be saved from their enemy's sword, but your sons have reversed [this], each man falling by the sword of his brother" (איך נהפכה בינתם! ותסוב אחור ויהיו כפסלי מסכה אשר לא יראו ולא ישמעו ולא יבינו. כי כל החיה וכל צאצאי הארץ נלחמים בלוחמיהם הקמים עליהם למען המלט מחרב אויביהם. ובנייך נהפכו לנפול איש בחרב אחיו). For בחרב אחיו cf. Amos 1:11; this was בחרב רעהו in at least three Recension A manuscripts (ד, י, ק), per Flusser (1980) 329. For the text see Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 341. Bowman (2023) 316n4 marks the first part of the first line as deriving from *DEH* 5.2.1, which *SY* "balances … with paraphrases of Psa 114:5 and Psa 115 (and prophetic parallels)." Psa 114:3b and 114:5b both mention how the Jordan river 'turned back' (סבב לאחור), harking the miracle of Josh 3:13–16. Psa 115 compares the omnipotent God (115:3) to idols, which *inter alia* cannot see (לא יראו; 115:5b) and cannot hear (לא ישמעו; 115:6a). Cf. Psa 135:16–17. Cf. also Isa 44:17, where the foolishness of a man forming and worshipping an image (פסל) is discussed, after which it is said of those who do such things that "they do not know, they do not understand (לא ידעו ולא יבינו) … they cannot see …" (44:18). In the Hebrew Bible, פסל and מסכה appear not infrequently together, but never in the apparent construct form used here in *SY*, but in apposition: פסל ומסכה, "graven and/or molten image" (Deut 27:15; Judg 17:3–4; 18:14; Nah 1:14; cf. in the plural 2 Chr 34:3–4). See further Judg 18:17–18; Isa 42:17; Hab 2:18. The zoological analogy here *SY* adapts similar statements made in *DEH* 5.2.1.

25 Such an analogy is far from unique to *DEH*. Benjamin Isaac (2004) locates across the ancient world "[a]ttempts to dehumanize foreigners, by claiming they are like animals … a familiar feature of racist hatred" (47). The subject as a trope is discussed throughout Isaac's *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (2004).

26 In *DEH* 5.41 (Ussani [1932] 384–385) Titus includes in his reaction to Maria's deed: "Certainly we have come for war, but we have not fought with men. Against the utter madness of monsters and wild animals, what sensible thing could I say? We have railed in judgment against all the sheer apathy of rocks. Wild animals care for their young, and likewise feed them when they are hungry, and while they feed on the bodies of other kinds of animals, they keep away from the corpses of animals like themselves. This is beyond the harshest thing imaginable, that a mother should devour the limbs to which she gave birth" (*Ad*

We see that it is not just the Christological, supersessionist content that Yosippon drops, but also gratuitous charges of Jewish stubbornness and animality. *SY*'s reworking of *DEH* here evinces an interest both in muting Christian theology and theodicy and in dampening any derogatory slant that this speech might be seen to have vis-à-vis the Jews. The Jews of first-century Jerusalem are in *SY* 73 (עג) not a bunch of stone-like and stubborn brutes but rather God's own people, temporarily strayed from the covenant, as we will see further below.

Omission 3: The third, and third largest (108-word), major chunk of *DEH* 5.2.1 dropped by *SY* 73 (עג) comprises a return to Ps-Hegesippus' Jesus-centric discourse concerning Jerusalem. The section reads:

> For how would she have been able to hold [onto] her peace who had repudiated the peace of God? Christ is the peace of God who made the two one. For this reason, from one people many have rightly been turned against themselves, because, divided, they did not want to follow Jesus, who was bringing harmony, but rather, united, they followed the divisive spirit of fury. Therefore you were receiving a

---

bellum quidem uenimus sed non cum hominibus dimicamus. Aduersus omnem rabiem beluarum ac ferarum, quid sensibilia loquar? Aduersus omnem rupium immanitatem decernimus. Diligunt ferae fetus suos, quos etiam in fame sua nutriunt, et quae alienis corporibus pascuntur, a consimilium ferarum abstinent cadaueribus. Hoc ultra omnem acerbitatem est, ut membra quae genuit mater uorarit). In Yosippon's iteration of this speech, these comparisons to animals and rocks are eliminated in favor of a more covenantal tenor, less denigrating and more constructive/hopeful. Yet, in rewriting Titus' reference to Abraham and the Akedah (the binding of Isaac from Gen 22), *SY* 86 (פו) does have Titus say: "And they have hardened their hearts like iron, for they say: 'We resemble our forefathers, who had hard hearts,' for Abraham, their forefather, had one son, and he did not remember his compassion for him but rather went up to slaughter him" (והקשו לבם כברזל כי יאמרו: נדמה לאבותינו אכזרי לבב כי אברהם אביהם היה לו בן אחד ולא נכמרו רחמיו עליו וילך לשוחטו.); Flusser (1978) 410; cf. Bowman (2023) 378 and Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 827–830. The first phrase used here for the hardening of hearts is not the Hebrew Bible's usual language, which generally uses a form of חזק + לב (Exod 7:13, 22; 8:19; 9:12, 35; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:8) or a form of כבד + לב (Exod 8:15, 32; 9:7, 34; 10:1), though the verb ("hardened") is used at Deut 2:30 in the phrase "for the LORD your God hardened his spirit and made his heart obstinate" (כי-הקשה יהוה אלהיך את-רוחו ואמץ את-לבבו), said of Sihon, King of Heshbon. Cf. 2 Chr 36:13, where Zedekiah "hardened his heart" (יאמץ את-לבבו) against the LORD and against Nebuchadnezzar. The simile with iron here (כברזל) is unexampled in the Jewish Scriptures; the closest it comes is in Jer 1:18, where the LORD tells the prophet that "I have made you today like a fortified city and like a pillar of iron (ולעמוד ברזל) and like walls of bronze against the whole land." Other passages that seem likely to me to have been in Yosippon's mind in penning this line for Titus in *SY* 86 (פו) include Lev 26:39–40 (concerning the confession of God's people of their wrongdoing *and that of their forefathers*). For the full texts of both *DEH* 5.41.2 and *SY* 86 (פו), and some discussion, see Bay (2022b) 84–91. Cf. Bay (2023) 100 on Titus' speech from *DEH* 5.41.2.

> just reward for your faithlessness, Jerusalem, when you destroyed your ramparts with your own hands, when you tore out your entrails with your own swords, so that the enemy had pity on you, and he spared you so that you might rage. For he saw that God fought against you and had engaged himself on behalf of the Romans, and how you were voluntarily inflicting betrayal upon yourself. And it was for this reason that the Romans preferred to be spectators rather than murderers, lest within the internal raging among your innards there should be seen a force of pollution rather than of strength.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[27]

Here the narrator asks Jerusalem/the Jews, by way of a formulaic rhetorical question characteristic of *DEH*,[28] how they possibly could have retained their peace while rejecting Christ, here referred to as the *pax dei*. The Jews' plight is consequently described as deserved (*merito*), because they followed the *diuidens spiritus furoris* rather than Jesus, and thus the destruction of the city and people is, Ps-Hegesippus says, "a just reward for your faithlessness" (*merces perfidiae tuae*). Here again we find the stereotypical Christian charge of Jewish *perfidia* and the direct connection between the Jewish rejection of Jesus and Jewish tragedy. Flouting the cardinal rule of all modern science, for Ps-Hegesippus correlation *does* equal causation.

Yosippon, for his part, retains not a single *yod* or *waw* of this passage. Small wonder. For not only does *SY* characteristically forego references to Jesus found

---

27 Ussani (1932) 298–299: *Quomodo enim pacem suam tenere poterat qui pacem dei repudiauit? Pax dei Christus est qui fecit utraque unum. Merito ergo ex uno populo plures aduersum se facti sunt, quia noluerunt sequi diuisa consociantem Iesum, sed secuti sunt coniuncta diuidentem furoris spiritum. Soluebas igitur, Hierusalem, mercedem perfidiae tuae, cum ipsa tuis manibus destrueres munimina tua, cum tuis mucronibus foderes uiscera tua, ita ut hostis misereretur, ut ille parceret tu saeuires. Videbat enim quod deus aduersum te pugnaret et Romanorum fungeretur partibus, ut ipsa tibi inferres uoluntariam proditionem. Et ideo spectatores malebant esse Romani quam percussores, ne furentibus tuis inter se uisceribus manum admouere contagionis magis quam fortitudinis aestimaretur*. See also Bay (2018) 69, 213, 291–292.

28 Cf. Bay (2018) 226. Recall that the oration at *DEH* 5.2.1 begins with the question to Jerusalem/the Jews: "How have you been deceived, o city, by your people?" (*Quomodo decepta es, ciuitas, populis tuis*). A bit further into the speech we find the question: "For how were you, who had become a domicile of death, a cave of criminals, a den of thieves, able to be the house of life?" (*Quomodo enim poteras uitae esse domicilium, quae eras mortis habitaculum, deuorsorium scelerum, latronum speleum?*). The same kind of question crops up in other speeches of *DEH*: at *DEH* 1.37.5 (Ussani [1932] 77) Herod's wife Mariamme asks him concerning Joseph, whom Herod had ordered to kill her: "How is he who is able to kill able to love?" (*Quomodo potest amare qui occidere potest?*). Cf. similar language in the speeches at *DEH* 1.44.8; 2.1.1; 2.9.1; 3.16–17; 5.16.1; 5.53.1.

in the text of *DEH*,[29] but once again the theological implications, and the tone, of this section for Yosippon no doubt misrepresent theological truth and historical accuracy (which are effectively the same thing). While Yosippon might agree with certain aspects of Ps-Hegesippus' accusations—the first-century Judeans' deservedness of judgment, their faithlessness to the covenant, their civil conflict (= *diuidens spiritus furoris*)—the addition of Christ and the implication that all hope for peace had passed do not fit within *SY*'s historical-theological vision.

Omission 4: In major omission number four, *SY* 73 (עג) neglects to repeat a play on another theme within the oration of *DEH* 5.2.1, namely a more extended discussion (57 words) of what it was like and what it meant for the Jews of 70 CE Jerusalem to survive the initial onslaught on the city:

> [The survivors of Jerusalem's 70 CE downfall lamented the fact that they had not died along with the others …] because of which they were to perish by means of a harsher punishment, in which they were 'preserved' so that they might see their ancestral customs dissolved along with the laws of nature, justice denied to the living, peace to the citizens, burial to the deceased, human and divine things equally to be spoiled and polluted together, with everything mixed, compassion to be a crime, cruelty to hold the place of *religio*; since they were to see with their own eyes a fortress within the Temple, war upon the threshold, a funeral procession among the altars, things which they had not believed were to occur as the prophets had forebode.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[30]

---

29 Nor were these omissions without their religious and political consequences. According to Zeldes (2024) 578–579, the earliest reference to *SY* in a Latin medieval source (Gerald of Wales' *De principis instructione liber* = *Book of the Instruction of the Prince*) takes great exception to the fact that the Jews possess *SY* and "deem it to be authentic"—i.e. "the book of their great historian [Josephus]"—"with the sole exception of the testimony about Christ, which they do not accept." This is a reference to the famous Testimonium Flavianum from Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (*AJ* 18.64–65), which does appear within "a layered textual processs" of "uneven contours and variant configurations" in some later versions of *SY* 58 (נח), beginning with the 1475 Mantua *editio princeps*: see Enrico Tuccinardi's article-in-progress, "From Lacuna to Conflation: Reconsidering the Textual History of the Sefer Yosippon Testimonium," whom I thank for sharing this early version of this study with me. Gerald (*De principis* 65–66) claims to have seen copies of *SY* in which it had been erased. See generally Zeldes (2024) 578–583. While the original *SY* did not contain the Testimonium, the author certainly knew it (from *DEH* 2.12.1, supplemented by chronology from *DEH* 2.5.2; cf. Bowman [2023] 247n2), and likely played on it in his version of the Paulina affair (*SY* 57 [נז], from *DEH* 2.3.4), after which Yosippon cites Luke 1:28: Bowman (2023) 248.

30 Ussani (1932) 299–300: … *quo duriore poena perirent, eoque seruatos ut uiderent cum patria*

Just before this, *SY* follows *DEH* in describing how the sweet scents of the Temple liturgy had given way to the stench of blood and fire. But the Hebrew text stops there. So, the question: why does *Yosippon* excise this lengthy extension of that description? Allow me to make a few suggestions.

First, in this section Ps-Hegesippus posits that the Jewish *patria* ("ancestral customs") have been dissolved (*solui*) along with the laws of nature (*leges naturae*). While one could read this as representing a temporal state of affairs, the late ancient Christian imagination would likely, I suggest, have apprehended such a statement as denoting something more absolute. Possibly Yosippon would have known this, and surely he would not have agreed with the statement that the Jewish *patria* had been permanently obliterated along with the Second Temple. More importantly, Ps-Hegesippus concocts here a detailed and summative catalogue of the various levels of meaning within Jerusalem's destruction, which he describes *in toto* as "things which [the Jews] had not believed were to occur as the prophets had forebode." This statement nods to the Christian retrospective commonplace whereby the rise of Christianity was seen to coincide chronologically and historically with the demise of the Jews, within which the destruction of the Second Temple came to be seen after the fact as both 1) linked to the rejection of Jesus and 2) prophetically foretold throughout the Jewish Scriptures. If Yosippon understood something similar in this passage, this could help explain why he did not care to repeat this portion of the oration. This is not to say that Yosippon will not have had room in his historical perspective for a healthy dose of prophetic, Deuteronomistic logic—he had; rather, it is to say that, when sourcing *DEH* 5.2.1 for his script of Josephus' speech at *SY* 73 (עג), the author of the work may have adjudged portions of the oration that smacked of Christian triumphalism as both unnecessary and unwanted in rewrite. If failure to believe God's prophets was a common charge within the broader Israelite-Jewish tradition, such a charge—and particularly its association with divine punishment (*poena*)—will still have been unflattering and particularly undesirable for a Jewish historian writing Jewish history to stress.

Omission 5: The fifth and final major omission between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) is preceded by a portrayal of how burial was not afforded to so many who had died in 70 CE Jerusalem. But this discussion, which Yosippon replicates in

---

simul solui etiam leges naturae, negari ius uiuentibus, pacem ciuibus, sepulturam defunctis, humana pariter atque diuina maculari ac pollui, permixta omnia, criminosam esse misericordiam, religionis loco haberi crudelitatem. Castrum in templo, bellum in limine, funus in altaribus, ea se spectare oculis quae prophetis denuntiantibus non credidissent futura. See also Bay (2018) 70, 152, 172n55, 293–294; cf. Bay (2023) 203–204.

his own language, soon gives way to a discussion (of 110 Latin words) that Yosippon does not repeat. This discussion concerns, once again, the link between a rejected Jesus and a besieged Jerusalem:

> What else could possibly have happened to these people, who did not accept the divine prophecies? They ridiculed the cries of the prophets, they trampled every divine law, they did not believe the things that would come to pass, who thus were to become those who hastened these things. For there had been an ancient and popular saying then that the city of Jerusalem and its holy things were going to perish by burning, when the insurrection of war should assail the Law and local forces defile the Temple of God. Surely they did not understand this. For how often has the House of God been cut to pieces, how often insurrection, how often siege, how often war! Yet never was this city completely undone, until the time when they crucified the Temple of God with native hands. And what that Temple is, let them hear: 'Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up again.' For what was this if not sacrilege, when they laid impious hands on the author of deliverance, when they stoned him, when they beat him, when they arrested him, when they slew him?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[31]

This portion of the address begins with the kind of rhetorical question typical of the anti-Jewish historiographical rhetoric that is strewn throughout *DEH*.[32] Yet the logic of such rhetoric is not necessarily and exclusively Christian. A Jewish historian like Yosippon might also have used divine chastisement to explain how civil violence and ritual impurity within Jerusalem led to subsequent misery and destruction there. There is nothing in Ps-Hegesippus' mention of *diuina oracula* that make it an obvious target for Yosippon's editorial axing.[33] Slightly

31 Ussani (1932) 300–301: *Quid illis aliud accidere poterat, qui diuina non recipiebant oracula? Inridebant prophetarum adnuntiationes, fas omne calcabant, non credebant futura, quae ut fierent ipsi adcelerauerunt. Erat enim sermo uetus et frequens tunc perituram urbem Hierusalem et sancta eius exurenda, cum seditio belli legem incesseret et domesticae manus templum dei contaminarent. Ne hoc quidem intellexerunt; quotiens enim excisa domus dei, quotiens seditio, quotiens obsidio, quotiens bellum! Numquam illa urbs periit, nisi quando uere templum dei domesticis manibus crucifixerunt. Et quod illud templum, audiant: soluite hoc templum et in triduo resuscitabo illud. Quid enim aliud nisi sacrilegium fuit, cum impias manus extenderent in auctorem salutis, cum lapidarent, cum uerberarent, cum corriperent, cum occiderent?* Cf. Bay (2018) 72, 242, 293–294.

32 On these kinds of rhetorical questions, see e.g. Bay (2018) 226. On *DEH*'s anti-Jewish rhetoric, see Bay (2021e); Somenzi (2009) 151–182; Mason (2003) 17–18.

33 Yosippon allows many similar statements to stand from other speeches against the Jews, including the others examined in the present study.

less acceptable for *SY*'s author, perhaps, was *DEH*'s reference to an ancient and popular saying (*sermo uetus et frequens*) which the Jews "did not understand" (*Ne hoc quidem intellexerunt*).[34] Here *DEH* 5.2.1 is repeating a statement made in Josephus' *Jewish War* (4.386–388), where the fulfillment of this prophecy is laid at the feet of the Zealots;[35] Ps-Hegesippus (characteristically) transfers that honor to the Jewish people on the whole.[36] By stating that the Jews did not understand the prophecies of their own tradition, and by removing the escape-valve of the Zealots as a scapegoat upon which to place responsibility for Jerusalem's destruction, *DEH* 5.2.1 underlines insistently the collective Jewish guilt for Jerusalem's 70 CE demise. Yet even this would not have been

34 Compare this statement to that in *DEH* Prol 1, in which Josephus is said not to have understood the cause of Jerusalem's downfall (*ipsius causam aerumnae non intellexit*). In *DEH*, Josephus and the Jews are linked, he the representative co-religionist who stands in for the Jewish collective, they the religious group that frames Josephus and helps explain, e.g., how he could be such a good historian yet so amiss in his (un-Christian) belief; see *DEH* Prol 1 and more fully at *DEH* 2.12.1, where Josephus' reference to Jesus in his Testimonium Flavianum (*AJ* 18.64–65) is cast as representative of the Jews' beliefs in general (*De quo ipsi Iudaei quoque testantur dicente Iosepho historiarum scriptore*). "If the Jews won't believe us," Ps-Heg says, "let them believe their own [historian]" (*Si nobis non credunt Iudaei, uel suis credant*). The passage then goes on to explain how Josephus got things right historically because he insisted on 'reporting the facts,' yet still somehow failed to rightly 'believe' those facts because of his hardness of heart and (characteristic Jewish) faithlessness (*Sed locutus est propter historiae fidem, quia fallere nefas putabat, non credidit propter duritiam cordis et perfidiae intentionem*). See Ussani (1932) 164.

35 Thackeray (1997b) 268–271: "Every human ordinance was trampled underfoot, every dictate of religion ridiculed by these men, who scoffed at the oracles of the prophets as impostors' fables. Yet those predictions of theirs contained much concerning virtue and vice, by the transgression of which the Zealots brought upon their country the fulfilment of the prophecies directed against it. For there was an ancient saying of inspired men that the city would be taken and the sanctuary burnt to the ground by right of war, whensoever it should be visited by sedition and native hands should be the first to defile God's sacred precincts. This saying the Zealots did not disbelieve; yet they lent themselves as instruments of its accomplishment" (κατεπατεῖτο μὲν οὖν πᾶς αὐτοῖς θεσμὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τοὺς τῶν προφητῶν χρησμοὺς ὥσπερ ἀγυρτικὰς λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον. πολλὰ δ' οὗτοι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας προεθέσπισαν, ἃ παραβάντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προφητείαν τέλους ἠξίωσαν. ἦν γὰρ δή τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν ἐνθέων τότε τὴν πόλιν ἁλώσεσθαι καὶ καταφλέξεσθαι τὸ ἁγιώτατον νόμῳ πολέμου, στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ καὶ χεῖρες οἰκεῖαι προμιάνωσι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος· οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνους αὑτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν).

36 We may also notice how Ps-Heg stacks the Jews' failures in this passage: first they fail to receive (*non recipiebant*) the divine oracles, then they fail to believe (*non credebant*) the coming fulfillment of prophecy, then they fail to understand (*ne … intellexerunt*) the popular saying foreshadowing Jerusalem's downfall. *DEH* 5.2.1 points to the failures of will, of belief, and of understanding, implicitly casing the Jews as hard-hearted (unwilling), unbelieving, and ignorant or dull.

dismissed *de facto* by Yosippon. Where Yosippon and Ps-Hegesippus really part ways, of course, is—as before—with the insertion of Jesus into the historical-theological calculus of the 70 CE destruction.

In leveling the charge that the Jews "crucified the Temple of God" (*templum dei crucifixerunt*), adding the subsequent explanation of "what the Temple is" with a quote from the Gospel of John 2:19,[37] Ps-Hegesippus once again produces a text that was never going to survive the redaction of *DEH*'s Latin into Hebrew by a Jewish author. In fact, here *DEH* 5.2.1 combines multiple claims that, from the Jewish perspective, are non-starters. The first, subordinate claim is the identification of Jesus with the *templum dei*. For Yosippon, as for most Jews throughout history, such an idea would have been perhaps the single most absurd tenet of Christian belief. This is then folded into the larger claim, repeated here for the third time within *DEH* 5.2.1, that Jesus' crucifixion stood in direct causal relation to Jerusalem's divinely-wrought downfall. Both of these claims are then made to support Ps-Hegesippus' argument for the finality of Jerusalem's destruction. Here we stumble upon a question worthy of brief consideration.

Josephus finished his *Jewish War* within a decade or so of the Jerusalem Temple's destruction. It is quite possible that he would have expected (at that point, at least) that the Temple was to be rebuilt in his or his children's lifetime.[38] Indeed, the only historical precedent for the Temple's destruction would seem to portend its eventual re-erection.[39] Scholars have spilled more than a little

37 John 2:19: "Jesus answered them [the Jews], 'Destroy this temple (λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον/*soluite templum hoc*), and in three days I will raise it up.'" It is fitting that here Ps-Heg is citing a passage in which Jesus has one of many famous run-ins with "the Jews" (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) in the Gospel of John, often reading as denoting a kind of nascent anti-Judaism within the early Jesus movement. In this passage, the Jews are in the middle of questioning and rejecting Jesus. Subsequent to Jesus' statement, these Jews misunderstand, reject, and mock the presumably incongruous statement, citing the length of time it had taken for that Temple to be built ("forty-six years" in 2:20). John 2:21 then clarifies: "But he was speaking about the temple of his body." On this passage as indicative of John's anti-Jewish polemic, and its Christian reception, see Frey (2021) 192–193. Cf. Matt 26:61, where Jesus is accused of having stated his intention to rebuild the Temple in three days, and Mark 14:58, where he is accused of having promised to "build another, without hands."

38 This is how it is put by Martin Goodman in an interview with J.J. Kimche on *The Podcast of Jewish Ideas* on June 6, 2024. (One unfortunate feature of this interview is that, in discussing *Sefer Yosippon*, Goodman says that *SY* was based on a Latin Christian **translation** of the *Jewish War*—*SY* is clearly based on *DEH*, and there is not clear evidence that its author knew the Latin translation of the *Jewish War* [= *LBJ*]—and he also suggests that we do not know where the conflation of Flavius Josephus with a certain "Joseph ben Gurion" comes from, when it fact we do [a confusion derived by *SY* from *DEH* 3.3.2]).

39 Den Hollander (2015) suggests that Josephus' linking of the Temple's first destruction (586

ink pondering over whether or not Josephus might have expected Jerusalem's Temple to be rebuilt.[40] By the fourth century, when *DEH* was penned, such a possibility would have seemed far more remote even to a pious devotee; and, of course, for Christians like Ps-Hegesippus, the Temple's 'staying down' was actually rather important for squaring history with theology.[41] For Christians like Ps-Hegesippus, the Jerusalem Temple's remaining rubble was the primary proof positive that God had rejected and punished the Jews because they had rejected and punished Jesus.[42] A physical Temple in ruins proved that Jesus, the *true* Temple, was who he said he was.[43] No wonder, then, that Christians became so agitated when the Temple's resurrection briefly seemed again to be a possibility

---

BCE) with the second in 70 CE—see *BJ* 6.250, 268–270—implied an expectation that God would restore and return to his chosen people, contra Tuval (2013) 188; he sees the same implication in the addition to Moses' speech in *AJ* 4.314 to the effect that, after the suffering of God's people, "the God who created you will give back to your citizens both your cities and your Temple; the loss of these will occur not once, but often" (cf. *AJ* 3.313).

40 Josephus is our only major source for perspectives of and changes within Judaism immediately after the Temple's destruction, as argued by Goodman (2012). Cf. Deines (2013) 210–213; Goodman (2007) 447–449; Rajak (2001a) 41. Van Henten (2015) sees "several passages in Josephus's *Antiquities* and *Against Apion*" that "imply that the Temple was still important after 70 CE," and thus suggests that "Josephus may have reckoned with the possibility that the Temple was going to be rebuilt if the Romans allowed for it." It is not clear whether Grojnowski (2023) 177–178 considers to what extent Jews might have expected a rebuilding, or not, when discussing how we "must not forget that by the time Josephus was writing *Life*, more than twenty years had passed since the destruction of the temple, enough time for a whole new generation of Judeans (both local and in the Diaspora) to grow up with an adjusted understanding of and connections to Jerusalem." Was twenty years a long time in such a frame, at least as it will have appeared in the minds of first-century Judeans? (It must be admitted that this is an interesting question which, however, can never be adequately answered, much like Grojnowski's questions about Josephus' authorial intention: "We must ask what Josephus wanted his audience to experience and remember from his *Life*.") It is also possible that there existed a Roman expectation that Jerusalem's Temple would be erected again: Rives (2005) 145–166. Klawans (2010) 306 sees it as probable, but not definite, that "Josephus … preceded the rabbis in hoping for a rebuilt temple that would closely resemble the one that was lost."

41 Jacobs (2003) is an excellent exposition of the idea that an *extant* 'destroyed Judaism' comprised part of the bedrock of late ancient Christian self-understanding.

42 Irshai (2009) 484 describes how, for the Bordeaux Pilgrim, "both the stone and the statues [of Jerusalem and the Temple mount] signify the consequences of the revengeful wrath of God on his people and his Temple, and its attendant humiliations." So also "not only the rejection of the Jews and the Christian conceptual appropriation of the most holy place the Temple Mount (and with it implicitly the entire city) are imprinted in the minds of the pilgrims and visitors but also a Christian understanding of the divine retributive action in history is both proven and vindicated" (485). Cf. Egeria's *Itinerary* as discussed by Jacobs (2003) 122.

43 It also fulfilled a Christian reading of prophecy that predicted the Jews' rejection and

during the Emperor Julian's brief reign from 361 to 363 CE.[44] While the Temple's permanent destroyed-ness was necessary for many versions of Christian theological historiography, apparently "the conviction that the Temple would stay destroyed forever was not shared by all Christians."[45]

With the advent of *SY*, we are no longer just several centuries but nearer to a millennium after the fact, and of course Jews held an alternative perspective on the Temple's destruction vis-à-vis the Christian commonplace. How would Yosippon and his Jewish comrades in southern Italy have viewed Jerusalem's 70 CE collapse? Was the question of the permanence of its destruction a live and relevant issue? The account of the Emperor Julian's (331–363; r. 361–363) attempted rebuild of the Jerusalem Temple, so generative for the indignant Christian historians of Late Antiquity, did not begin to appear in Hebrew chronicles until the sixteenth century,[46] though this says nothing as to whether Jews were affected by the initial event, or the story, earlier on—it is hard to imagine that such a program did not excite the hopes of Jews living during the short years of his reign. Further, there is evidence that some Jews who lived between the 70 CE destruction of Jerusalem and the writing of *SY* in the late-ninth or early-tenth century anticipated the Temple's reconstruction.[47] Such a hope, for example, was built into the eighteen daily benedictions prescribed

---

Jerusalem's destruction: see Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 8.3.392–393, cited in Irshai (2009) 486n54.

44 See, for example, John Chrysostom's vociferous attack on Emperor Julian and the Jews for the short-lived attempt to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple, which Chrysostom casts as a cooperative conspiracy between the two, in *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* 5.11.4–10. According to Wilken (1983) 128–160, Julian's attempted rebuild was central to Chrysostom's anti-Jewish apologetic. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 5.3; Rufinus of Aquileia, *Ecclesiastical History* 10.36; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Ecclesiastical History* 20.1; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.22.2. See Attali (2023) 9. On the sources for this event, mostly Christian accounts written in condemnatory overtones, see more briefly and recently Levenson (2004)—which is anticipated by Levenson (1990) to some extent—and at greater length (and age), Levenson (1980). Nor should we forget that Julian's abortive attempt at Temple reconstruction has been put forward as an exigency spurring the writing of *DEH*: see Bell (1977) 3, 207; Somenzi (2009) 10; Bay (2023) 22–23.

45 Attali (2023) 9.

46 Levenson (2004) 447–449.

47 For example, a Hebrew inscription dated between the fourth and seventh century etched on the Western Wall with part of Isa 66:14 ("You shall see and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones like grass …"), so interpreted in Attali (2023) 10; cf. Ben-Dov (1985) 218–223. Attali also notes that "The heavily Temple-based décor of Late Antique synagogues has also been interpreted as proof of Jewish hope of sacrificial restoration." Cf. Wilken (1992) 200. See further *Sifre Deuteronomy* 352, discussed in Mazeh (2020) 658 as cementing "the Temple's centrality within the Jewish national timeline: the past is when the Temple stood, the present is when the Temple lies in ruins, and the future is when the Temple will be

in the Babylonian Talmud (b. *Berakhot* 28b).[48] Given the centuries that had passed, however, it seems unlikely (though not impossible) that Yosippon will have brooked any real hope for the Temple's imminent reconstruction.[49] At the same time, it is difficult to imagine a Jew of his time not holding out *any* hope, if not expectation, of the Temple's eventual comeback. Never say never. What makes eminent sense is *SY*'s exclusion of the statement found in *DEH* 5.2.1 that equated Jesus with the Temple, cited Jesus as the reason for God's destroying the Temple, and stated that that destruction was permanent and irreversible. Even if Yosippon had been highly skeptical of the Jerusalem Temple's rising again, he could never have endorsed Ps-Hegesippus' statement to that effect, packaged as it was within a supersessionist, Christological theodicy.

There are several other, smaller omissions between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג), and the impulse behind the latter's jettisoning of these tends likewise to strike the reader as intuitive. For now, however, let us sum up this section, first by showing how the omissions in *SY* 73 (עג) above illustrate and support the primary arguments of this book, then touching upon how these omissions evidence a process of discursive religious co-production between Jews and Christians, suggesting that at least something like Heyden and Nirenberg's idea of co-production represents an elucidating lens for appreciating *SY* as a work both built upon and contradictory to Christian sources.

This study's primary contention is that *SY* theologizes, biblicizes, and Judaizes much of what it finds in *DEH*, resulting in a narrative much more conducive to a Jewish readership and outlook. In this section, we have beheld a kind of apophatic mirror of this phenomenon. We have seen that it is also in what Yosippon omits that we can discern implications for how the Bible, theology, and the Jews appear in the narrative. (Again, I take more of a reader-response approach, looking at what the final text of *SY* **is** compared to *DEH*, rather than guessing at Yosippon's intentions, however obvious they may seem.) Three of the five major omissions in *SY* 73 (עג) have explicitly to do with Jesus (numbers 1, 3, 5), and thus expressly articulate an exclusively *Christian* theology. In deleting these, then, Yosippon is doing a kind of theological work: the God of *SY*

rebuilt." Mazeh (659–660) also shows how the modifications of this passage in *Genesis Rabbah* (56.10; 65.23; 69.7) make more explicit divine agency in this future hope.

48 Pointed out by Attali (2023) 10.

49 I would stress the word "seems" in this sentence. I do not think it impossible that Yosippon possessed such a hope, whether as a seriously anticipated expectation or as a general tenet of Jewish piety. With the latter in mind: in the introduction to Abraham Conat's edition of *SY*, initially published in 1475, near the end of his paragraph-long overview of the narrative contents of *SY*, we find: "… and all that followed until the destruction of our Temple—let it be built and established quickly in our days, amen"; Bowman (2023) xiii.

has no connection to Jesus of Nazareth.[50] Additionally, some of the major omissions in *SY* 73 (עג)—three of five again, as it happens—touch upon Scripture, Christian and/or Jewish. As mentioned, *Omission 1*'s reference to the Barabbas scene hearkens a portion of the passion narrative present in all four canonical Gospels, and *Omission 5* quotes Jesus' own words from John 2:19; in deleting these passages, Yosippon scrubs his narrative of New Testament content. Moreover, the references to "what the prophets forebode" in *Omission 4* and to the "divine prophecies," "prophets," "divine law," and even perhaps the "ancient and popular saying" in *Omission 5* must be read as references to the Hebrew Bible, i.e. Ps-Hegesippus' Old Testament. While the use of Scripture and prophecy as a form of rebuke within internal Jewish discourse was never abnormal, Yosippon knew that *DEH*'s author was a Christian, and thus the use of these verses here would have appeared a bit more aggressive, a weaponization of the Bible, as it were. Perhaps this contributed to their exclusion. In any case, Yosippon's omissions also convey some Bible work *via negativa*, as they shift the way that the biblical text is brought to bear on the storyline and speeches that *SY* shares with *DEH*.

Finally, it must be admitted that the major passages omitted from *SY* 73 (עג) paint a uniformly unflattering picture of the Jews. *Omission 1* accuses the Jews of senseless violence and self-harm, drawing upon the stigma of civil war so powerful in the Roman world (and elsewhere). *Omission 2* charges the Jews with abandoning *libertas*, *uirtus*, and religious piety (represented by *sacrorum reliquiae*, *altaria*) before comparing them to the kind of dumb animals that not even a good beating can sway. *Omission 3* uses rhetorical devices to underline the superfluity of the Jews' rejection of *pax*, describing them as a people of *spiritus furoris diuidens* who received their just deserts. *Omission 4* pastes a cruel and inhumane veneer over the Jerusalem about-to-be-destroyed, where survivors of the initial onslaught witnessed the total dissolution of all rules, natural, human, and divine. *Omission 5* also plays upon the bite that a rhetorical question can carry, while also depicting the Jews as stupid and ignorant, in addition to impious. It would have been strange had Yosippon retained these portions of the speech at *SY* 73 (עג) // *DEH* 5.2.1. In excising them, Yosippon 'Judaizes' his work by thinning out the most unflattering, condemnatory, and

50 The omissions also have theological content that is not directly related to Christ. The punishment or just reward (*merces*) referenced in *Omission 3* would have been understood by any pre-modern reader as having been meted out by (a) God. So also with the *poena* referenced in *Omission 4*. Then, in *Omission 5*, the Temple is qualified as "of God" thrice. In removing these theological aspects of these sections, Yosippon disappears some of the more negative judgmental agency of God from this oration.

insulting portrayals of Jews put into the speaker's mouth. We can see how the major omissions of *SY* 73 (עג) could support a more positive, more Jewish take on the Temple's destruction (what I have called "underwriting") and could help contradict (or "overwrite") the Christian stereotypes of the Jews so common in the Latin West (and elsewhere). It is easy for the reader of *SY* 73 (עג) to see this speech as portraying Jerusalem's collapse as temporary, if tragic and deserved, covenant relations-as-usual between God and his people, whereas *DEH* 5.2.1 disallows such a notion. And part of this *SY*'s taking Jewish history back for the Jews meant cutting out unacceptable material from the storyline.

Other, smaller omissions appear in *SY* 73 (עג) as well.[51] These are more difficult to track, but they may also be rhetorically charged, and they contribute to an overall picture of discrepancy between Yosippon's version of the speech and that of his Latin source-text. But Yosippon was not only in the business of dropping content out of the Christian document from which he was working; he also adds material of his own when and where it suits him.

3 Rhetorical Creation: The Additions of *SY* 73 (עג)

Additions made to a transmitted or translated or paraphrased text are, almost by definition, the most natural place to look for evidence of the particular concerns or idiosyncrasies of a given work's author or scribe or translator. Just so, in *SY* passages where narrative material exists *that is not present in* SY*'s immediate source* presumably reflect areas of particular interest to Yosippon as a historian. In most places Yosippon simply follows, or often shortens or alters, his source material. Additions to the text must mark points at which Yosippon understands particular historical accounts or details to belong, yet which his

51 So, for example, in the latter portion of the speech, where *DEH* 5.2.1 quotes Psa 79:1–3 by way of lamenting the Temple's desecration and the unburied dead around it, left "as meals for the birds of heaven" (*escas uolatilibus caeli*) and "as meals for the birds, for the appetite of beasts" (*ad escam auium, bestiarum uoracitatem*). These references to cadavers left for scavenging animals are quotations of Psa 79:2: "They have given the dead bodies of your servants to the birds of the sky as food, the flesh of your godly ones to the animals of the earth" (Vulgate: *dederunt cadavera servorum tuorum escam volatilibus caeli carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae*). See more fully here Bay (2018) 115n34, 229n64. *SY* 73 (עג) does not mention birds and animals, retaining only Psa 79:1: "David said: 'Oh God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy Temple'" (דוד אמר: אלהים באו גוים בנחלתך טמאו את היכל קדשך). While this is a verbatim quote of the MT, it is interesting that Yosippon follows Ps-Heg in attributing the Psalm here to David, whereas the biblical tradition imputes it to Asaph. See further on Psa 79 here Bay (2023) 205–206 and Bay (2021a) 7–9.

source(s) failed to include for one reason or another. Their inclusion in *SY* thus clues us into aspects of Yosippon's interests, and the additions that we can track in *SY* 73 (עג) point directly to the dynamics of Judaization, theologization, and biblicization that we are tracking in this volume.

One somewhat subtle addition in *SY* 73 (עג) combines Judaization and an oblique biblicization, conjuring up something of the 'spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' that I have argued characterizes Yosippon's historiographical identity-concept. In the middle of *DEH* 5.2.1 we find one of the rhetorical queries so typical of this speech:

> And tell me, where is that liberty of yours, out of concern for which you once upon a time were not willing to cede to the Egyptians, nor to the Palestinians, nor to the Assyrians, nor afterwards to the Medes?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[52]

Ps-Hegesippus frames the historical resistance of the Jews' ancestors against the mighty kingdoms of the ancient Near East as being motivated by a desire or zeal (*studium*) for *libertas*. This is a very *Roman* way to think about what moved ancient peoples. Ps-Hegesippus, the narrator, is asking the Jews of 70 CE Jerusalem what freedom they currently have (answer: none) and remembering in sequence a kind of pastiche recalling the many bids for independence made by the ancient Israelites as recorded in Scripture.[53] The same question arises in the oration of *SY* 73 (עג). But it isn't the same. Not quite:

> Where is the pride of your might, Jerusalem, you who did not give your shoulder to the yoke of the nations? For you severed the yoke of Egypt and Midian and Philistia and Aram and Assyria and Babylon and Persia and Media.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[54]

---

52 Ussani (1932) 298: *Et reuera ubi est illa libertas tua, cuius studio quondam non Aegyptiis, non Palestinis, non Assyriis, postea non Medis cedendum aestimauisti?* Cf. Bay (2018) 68–69, 207, 291–292; Bay (2023) 145.

53 See Bay (2020) 196.

54 Bowman (2023) 317; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 342: איה גאון עוזך ירושלם אשר לא הטית שכמך לעול הגוים? ותגדעי את עול מצרים ומדין ופלישתים וארם ואשור וכשדים ופרס ומדי. The "pride of [one's] might" (גאון עוזך) is language for confidence in a state's self-sufficiency from the Book of Ezekiel. There it is applied to Gentile nations (7:24) and Egypt (30:6, 18), soon to be brought low (largely *because* of their pride) by God, but also, significantly, to Israel. Note, e.g., Ezek 24:21, part of a warning from the LORD through the prophet to Israel, "the rebellious house," at the very time that the King of Babylon had begun to lay siege to Jerusalem (24:2): "Speak to the house of Israel, 'This is what the Lord

Between *DEH* and *SY*, several things have changed: now the speaker addresses Jerusalem explicitly, with the vocative. Also, the question is now a shorter one followed by a statement. Also, now it is not the "liberty" enjoyed by the Jews' ancestors (the Hebrew for which could have been דרור)[55] under discussion, but their former עוז/עז ("strength, power, might"). This is a very *biblical* way to frame the question.[56] It also implies a picture of the Jews as a mighty ancient nation,

---

GOD says: "Behold, I am about to profane my sanctuary, the pride of your power (גאון עזכם), that which is precious in your eyes and the longing of your soul; and your sons and daughters whom you have left behind will fall by the sword."'" Surely this passage was in Yosippon's mind when he deployed this language in this oration. See a similar application to the inhabitants of Israel in Ezek 33:28. This phrase is particular to the Book of Ezekiel.

55 *SY* uses this term to translate *libertas*, e.g., at *SY* 71 (עא), where the rebel Simon, seeking to garner partners in crime as a way to expand his criminal enterprise, "Went throughout all the cities of Judah, calling out in the streets of the cities: 'Whoever among you is a slave seeking to be free (מי בכם עבד אשר יבקש להיות חפשי), whoever is a murderer seeking to be saved (מי רוצח אשר יבקש להמלט), whoever is oppressed seeking liberty (מי רצוץ אשר יבקש דרורו), whoever is stubborn and rebellious (סורר ומורה), let him come to me; let him throw off himself the yoke of the law!'" Bowman (2023) 307; Flusser (1978) 332; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 672–673. *SY,* characteristically putting into direct discourse what is indirect in *DEH*, is translating this final line of *DEH* 4.22.1: "This Simon, of an intemperate disposition, was unable to continue tolerating this [i.e. being restricted by lack of manpower to domestic crime, within the city] and quickly called to himself a force of many men, promising (*pollicens*) liberty to slaves (*seruis libertatem*), plunder to the free (*liberis praemia*), and payment to the destitute (*perditis remunerationem*)." Ussani (1932) 275. This call is said to have garnered Simon some 20,000 followers. The first phrase in the Hebrew and Latin versions above respectively would seem to match given Bowman's translation, but חפשי is an adjective, whereas the term דרור, found in the third phrase in *SY* for which the Hebrew is given above, is a noun corresponding to *libertas*, and it is very likely that it therefore corresponds to that term as found in *DEH* 4.22.1. It might also be noted that the phrases attributed to Simon that are original to *SY* could suggest a subtle dig at the figure of Jesus: the idea of "being saved" or "escaping" (cf. *animam suam salvare* in Vulg. Luke 17:33a), the additional call to the stubborn and rebellious, and the linking of Simon's summons to breaking free from the yoke of the law (cf. Matt 5:17 ff.)—in addition to the fact that Jesus is portrayed in the Gospels several times calling out to crowds (John 7:37; cf. Matt 15:10; Mark 7:14), and is also associated with 'freedom for the captives' (Luke 4:18), and, indeed, was killed by the Romans as if one of the many Judean rebels known across the first century CE (cf. Acts 21:38)—all these things make it possible to read this passage in *SY* as a coded critique. (Also, Jesus had a disciple called "Simon the Zealot"; Luke 6:15.) It may be worth noting that Justin (*Dialogue with Trypho* 108) represents the Jews as portraying Jesus as a "Galilean deceiver" who founded a "godless and lawless heresy" and proclaimed "lawless" doctrines. See Bowman (2010) for an example of possible digs aimed at Christian notions within *SY*.

56 Inasmuch as עז is a quintessential way to talk about might or strength in the Hebrew Bible, where the term is used to describe humans, God, animals, and more.

where Ps-Hegesippus' orientation around freedom could just as easily conjure a starting-point of oppression, of a people always seeking yet never quite attaining independence.

The addition made here in *SY* 73 (עג) to the material adapted from *DEH* 5.2.1 expands the list of ancient empires to which the Jews/Israelites are said to have been unwilling to submit. In fact, it doubles it, with Yosippon matching Ps-Hegesippus empire-for-empire with the *Aegyptii* (= מצרים), *Palestinae* (= פלישתים), *Assyriis* (= אשור), *and Medis* (= מדי) and adding onto this Midian (מדין) and Aram (ארם) and Babylon (כשדים) and Persia (פרס).[57] For the early medieval European reader, this list reads like a 'who's who' of the mighty kingdoms of Antiquity. By doubling the size of the list of the great powers with whom the Jews' ancestors had contended, Yosippon paints a much more impressive picture of the Jews as an ancient nation. Who else could claim the historical "might" to have challenged these mighty empires? Recall that one primary feature of what I am calling the "spirit of Hellenistic Judaism" is a marked tendency to integrate the Jews (and their ancestors) more fully within a pluralistic historical framework and to render themselves more impressive within that matrix. The addition made here by Yosippon accomplishes this as well, once more illustrating *SY*'s penchant to enlist historiography—and here, as so often, this simply means biblical details—to inscribe historical Jewish identity.

Several more minor additions appear in *SY* 73 (עג). At one point in the lamentation of *DEH* 5.2.1 the speaker describes how the High Priests Ananus and Jesus had been killed and left unburied within a war-torn Jerusalem. Ps-Hegesippus does not go into the reasons for these deaths.[58] But Yosippon includes a line: "For they did not fall because of the wickedness of their deeds, but only because they reproached your sons did they fall in your midst."[59] Yosippon takes time to

57 Flusser (1980) 329 does mark some variants here: only two Recension A mss (ד, י) have כשדים instead of בבל, and Flusser (1978) 342 follows the former; he follows more Recension A mss in retaining **פרס ומדי**, whereas the latter is missing from mss ב and ר, and ד and ק have פרס וגוים רבים ועצמים.

58 Indeed, why would he need to? No doubt Ps-Heg assumed (rightly) that the culpability for and meaning of such a travesty would be obvious from the context. However, the Latin of *DEH* does include something that the Hebrew of *SY* does not, describing how the priests lay "with their limbs removed and scattered throughout the whole city, so that a spectacle of ancient sanctity might be seen to mourn such an affront of the sacred name and such deformity of the once brilliant office (of priest)" (*membra laceri et tota dispersi urbe, ut deplorare ueteris sanctitatis species uideretur tantam sacri nominis contumeliam et speciosi quondam muneris deformitatem*); Ussani (1932) 297.

59 Bowman (2023) 316; Flusser (1978) 341; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 690–691: **כי לא נפלו** ברוע מעשיהם רק על אשר הוכיחו את בנייך על כן נפלו בקרבך.

clarify the mechanics of causality within the covenantal framework assumed of God's people. Why? One way of reading this addition is as Yosippon the author entering into the imagined social context of the Jerusalem this speech is addressing. Within this context, the reason for the deaths of these priests—deaths assumed to carry some kind of theodical significance—is a live question. From the emic (Jewish) perspective, unburdened by the supersessionist assumptions of Christian historiography, it makes more sense to clarify that, when two of God's functionaries have died, this was due not to their own flaws but to the depravity of those to whom they had been sent.

In the middle of the discussion about Ananus and Jesus, Yosippon, following Ps-Hegesippus, adds mention of the unjust killing and lack of burial afforded to a certain Zechariah.[60] The manifest point is that the Jews have unjustly killed numerous righteous leaders who had called them to repentance. To this discussion Yosippon adds an interesting note not to be found in *DEH*. His speaker says:

> The earth has not concealed his blood nor the blood of Ananias and Yehoshua until much blood has been shed to avenge them, like a flood of water from the blood of your young men and your warriors.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[61]

This addition enlists several scriptural echoes to contribute a kind of covenantal logic to this intra-narrative speech. That the earth has not 'concealed the blood' (ולא כסתה הארץ את דמו) of these slain holy men appears to realize the prophetic promise of Isaiah 26:21: "Behold, the Lord is coming out from his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity. And the earth will disclose the blood shed on it; the earth will conceal its slain no longer."[62]

---

60 Perhaps that of 2 Chr 24:19–22 and/or of Matt 23:35 // Luke 11:51, possibly conflated with other 'Zechariah' traditions associated with a prophet unjustly stoned or slain in the Temple.

61 Bowman (2023) 316; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 341: ולא כסתה הארץ את דמו ודם ענני ויהושע עד אשר נשפכו לנקמתם דמים רבים כשטף המים מדמי בחורייך וגיבורייך. The only part of *DEH* 5.2.1 that could possibly serve as a basis for or parallel to this passage is a laconic line following Ps-Heg's mention of *Zacharias*, where the speaker says: *Hic ergo sanguis illum lauat*, which I read as "therefore this blood bathes him," referring to the blood of Ananus and Jesus shed on the same spot so many years later (whether Ps-Heg is talking about the Zechariah mentioned by Jesus in the Gospels, i.e. the Old Testament prophet, or the Zechariah mentioned in Josephus *BJ* 4.334–344).

62 כי-הנה יהוה יצא ממקומו לפקד עון ישב-הארץ עליו וגלתה הארץ את-דמיה ולא-תכסה עוד על-הרוגיה. Cf. Gen 4:10, where the blood of the righteous slain calls to God from the ground.

Another specter apparently lurking in the literary background of this passage is Ezekiel 24, in which God speaks through the prophet of the day that Nebuchadnezzar began to besiege Jerusalem and its First Temple, discussing among other things blood, vengeance (נקם), and that which blood will and will not cover (כסה).[63] The overall force of the addition is to reframe the position of the Jewish people—as measured by the rubric of Jerusalem's well-being—vis-à-vis their God and in the insider terms of the Hebrew Bible, the classical codebook of the Jewish tradition. Judaization, theologization, and biblicization function as one.

Perhaps the single most important addition of *SY* 73 (עג) comes near the end of the chapter, just following a discussion of how burial was not afforded to the dead within Jerusalem, causing corpses to pile up like snowdrifts in the unhappy city. Immediately after this point in the oration we come to the final major passage of *DEH* 5.2.1, omitted from *SY* 73 (עג) and discussed above. In Yosippon's speech, this trenchant diatribe linking Jesus' former death with current Jewish suffering is absent; a brief statement touching on some of the same things—earlier prophecies, the reasons for Jerusalem's suffering—takes its place. This replacement (overwriting) can hardly be overemphasized, as it embodies *SY*'s ideological rewrite of *DEH* from a story of Jerusalem's destruction as divine revenge for Jesus' death, yet its tenor is non-polemical: Yosippon does not address the Christian view that his narrative rejects, but simply pastes over it, jettisoning the standard Christian story in the transition from Latin to Hebrew. The following statement reads like a manifesto distilling the essence of Yosippon's version of this speech. It reads:

---

63 Ezek 24 sets up an oracle on the "very day" that the King of Babylon laid siege to Jerusalem (24:2). The LORD propounds a parable to "the rebellious house" (24:3) which concerns meat for sacrifice, both by pot and by altar. Eventually, God says "woe to the bloody city," bloody because 'her pot has rust,' a metaphor connoting the ritual unreadiness and uncleanness of the city's ritual apparatus. Eventually the oracle states: "For her blood is in her midst; she placed it on the bare rock; she did not pour it on the ground without making a choice. So that it may cause wrath to come up to take vengeance (להעלות חמה לנקם נקם), I have put her blood on the bare rock, so that it will not be covered (לבלתי הכסות)" (24:7–8). This is followed by God's exclamation: "woe to the bloody city" (אוי עיר הדמים) in Ezek 24:9. The context of this chapter makes it as apt a text to inform this speech in *SY* 73 (עג) as any we might imagine. Another cross-reference: for the phrase 'much blood being shed' (נשפכו ... דמים רבים) in *SY* 73 (עג), compare 1Chr 22:8, where David recalls how the word of the LORD had come to him, saying "you have shed much blood (דם לרב שפכת) and waged great wars" and "have shed much blood on the earth" (דמים רבים שפכת ארצה) as an explanation for why David was not to be the one to build the house of the LORD. Cf. 2Kgs 21:16.

> All these things came upon them because they abandoned the instruction of the LORD and because they voided their covenant which they made with their fathers and because of the trespass which they committed against the LORD, God of their fathers, and they shed clean and righteous blood in the Temple of the LORD.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[64]

Here the reader of Yosippon finds the interpretive key to the chapter's whole speech and, indeed, to the whole work. It is a key deeply familiar from the Jewish scriptural legacy. The idea of "all these things" coming upon the people of the LORD when they abandon his תורה—the 'things' here being the curses promised to follow disobedience—is the historical nucleus of the Hebrew Bible's theology of history, which hinges upon the notion of ברית.[65] Casting such transgression as abandoning the way of the fathers, as trespass (מעל),[66] and as consisting in the shedding of innocent blood hits effectively all the hot-buttons of the Bible's Deuteronomistic historiography and socio-ethical prophecy. Every reader of the Hebrew Bible knows that this is precisely the set of things that cannot be done, for the God of that Bible will not tolerate them. By framing the speech *SY* 73 (עג) so overtly within the calculus of Jewish covenant, Yosippon reinforces for the Jewish reader the fact that Jerusalem's plight, so graphically lamented in this oration, is fully decipherable only within the logical system provided by the Jewish biblical tradition. In so doing, the text suggests the temporariness of the punishment described in that narrative. And Yosippon goes much further than his Jewish predecessor, the author Flavius Josephus, in doing this. While Josephus' *BJ* was trenchant enough to serve Christians as a narrative basis for inventing supersessionist theological historiography, *SY*'s insistence upon the indelible connection between Yahweh and the Jews in passages like the one above softens that bite.

Finally, while by this point in the speech—the penultimate line of Yosippon's version—the speaker has moved to the third-person voice, the dual mention of the fathers in this passage, and the naming of "the LORD, the God of their

---

64 Bowman (2023) 315; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 694–695; Flusser (1978) 343: כל זאת באתם על עזבם את תורת יי ועל הפרם את בריתו אשר כרת את אבותם ועל המעל אשר מעלו ביי אלהי אבותם וישפכו דם נקי וצדיק בהיכל יי. On the shedding of pure/righteous blood, cf. Psa 106:38; Lam 4:13. See variants in Flusser (1980) 329.

65 See Deut 4:30; 28:15, 45; 30:1; Josh 23:15; Jer 5:19; cf. Jer 7:13; 14:22; Ezek 16:30; 17:18 (where unfaithful Israel is the one who has 'done all these things').

66 The standard way to relate the committing of a perfidy, treachery, unfaithful action in the Jewish Scriptures is with the verb + noun construction מעל + מעל ("to commit a trespass").

fathers" (יי אלהי אבותם),[67] reasserts the longstanding bond between people and deity that stands as the traditionary backdrop to this discourse and to *SY*'s overall narrative. In *SY* 73 (עג), the lamented downfall of Jerusalem is one point on a long relational continuum, a low point admittedly, but not the point of no return that the Latin author of *DEH* understood it to be.

In addition to what we have seen above, one may find many more minor additions within *SY* 73 (עג) compared to *DEH* 5.2.1,[68] some of which are simply minor add-ons to changes made in the process of Latin-to-Hebrew adaptation.[69] We now turn to these changes themselves, which make up the majority of the Hebrew text of *SY* 73 (עג).

---

67 Cf. the language of Judg 2:12; also Exod 3:15, and ubiquitously in the Hebrew Bible.

68 A few of these additions stand in parts of the text that, in a synoptic comparison, would appear in the lacunae left by the large portions of *DEH* 5.2.1 omitted (the portions dealt with in the "omissions" section of this chapter, which all contain significant Christian and Jesus-centered content). These sections, moreover, often play on themes well represented within *DEH* 5.2.1 also. So, at one point we read in *SY* 73 (עג) with no direct and immediate parallel in *DEH* 5.2.1 (though using the typical form of the rhetorical question found in this speech): "Where is their great benevolence, because of which they buried their dead in honor? But now, behold, their slain and their dead lie upon the face of the ground and are not buried. For there is no peacetime in which to bury, for others come and slay them and they die without a grave" (ואיה גודל חסדם אשר היו קוברים מתיהם בכבוד? ועתה הנה חלליהם ומתיהם כיסו את פני הארץ ואין קובר. כי אין שלום לקוברים כי יבאו אחרים ויהרגום וימותו בלא קבר). See (2023) 317; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 342. For the idea of lying/being buried בכבוד, see Isa 14:18 (cf. Psa 149:5). The preposition פני is missing from the best manuscripts (נ, א, ת): Flusser (1980) 329.

69 For example, in the opening lines of *DEH* 5.2.1 the speaker references the blessings of God that once attended his people, when *inter alia* "waves of the sea would fight for you along with clefts in the earth and thunder from heaven" (*cum … militarent tibi fluctus maris, terrae hiatus, caeli fragores*). Ussani (1932) 295. For the biblically literate reader, these references are intelligible enough, being nods to divine provision recorded in the biblical books of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. But one must admit that in their Latin form these references are very succinct and rather hazy. In the Hebrew of *SY* 73 (עג), while the references are still made in passing, one at least gets complete sentences and fully-formed ideas: "Furthermore the waves of the sea fought against your pursuers and even the earth swallowed up those who troubled you so as to eradicate all those who stood against you. Moreover thunder from heaven destroyed your foes, and even the stars of heaven made war from their paths against your enemies" (וגם גלי הים נלחמו ברודפייך וגם הארץ בלעה את עוכרייך להכחיד את כל הקמים עלייך. וגם רעמי שמים היו משחיתים את צרייך וכוכבי השמים ממסילותם נלחמו באויביך). See Bowman (2023) 315; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 688–689; Flusser (1978) 339. Firstly, the mention of "pursuers" more fully portrays the divine protection afforded the Israelites during their crossing of the Red Sea in Exod 14:26–28. Likewise, the recollection of the earth swallowing "those who troubled you" is a fuller remembrance of Num 16:32, where the earth swallowed Dathan, Abiram, Korah et al who had stood against Moses and Aaron (though the term "troublers"—עוכרי—is not found in Numbers). Both of these stories, we should note, are recalled already within the Scriptures

4 Rhetorical Change: The Alterations of *SY* 73 (עג)

Some of the most significant differences between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) come in places where Yosippon retains some of what he found in his Latin source but changes it noticeably. One way to track such changes is at the level of vocabulary and phraseology. Such tracking affords a more fine-grained analysis of the ideological divergences between *DEH* and *SY*.

The short Greek address in Josephus' *Jewish War* (5.19) begins with the vocative ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, "o you most wretched city!" The two articulations of this statement in *DEH* and *SY* signal shifting perceptions of Jerusalem. The opening address in *DEH* 5.2.1 begins: *Quomodo decepta es, ciuitas, populis tuis, quibus quondam uidebaris beata* ("How have you been deceived, o city, by your people, to whom you once appeared blessed?").[70] By framing the Jerusalem of former times as 1) blessed and 2) recognized as such by its own people, Ps-Hegesippus heightens the pathos of the fall he is about to decry and implicates Jerusalem's people—the Jews—from the very first lines of the speech. Yosippon could have repeated this opening line, but did not. Instead, the beginning of *SY* 73 (עג) reads: עיר עמך אשר היתה מאושרה מכל המדינות? איכה נשחתה ("how has the city of your people been undone, which of all provinces used to be blessed?").[71] Rather than address the city in the vocative (apparently), Yosippon opts to put "city" in the third person, making the speech sound like it is addressed to God, and sounding not unlike similar questions put forth about Jerusalem in Isaiah and Lamentations.[72] Such echoes frame the Jews

---

themselves as exemplary tales (Exod 15:4–21; Psa 106:7–9; 136:15; Num 26:10; Deut 11:6; Psa 106:17). We should also note that Ps-Heg's distinctive presentation of them—with waves and earth as active agents—are distinct from the biblical telling and are followed by Yosippon here. The same kind of slightly-improved specificity applies to the thunderbolts mentioned in *SY*, רעם being a rare term in the Hebrew Bible that only appears in Job (26:14; 39:25), Psalms (77:19; 81:8; 104:7), and Isaiah (29:6), always in the singular and never with שמים(ה). As for the "stars of heaven," this language reflects the victory song of Deborah and Barak from Judg 5:20—"The stars fought from heaven, from their paths they fought against Sisera" (מן-שמים נלחמו הכוכבים ממסלותם נלחמו עם-סיסרא)—as noted by Bowman. Moving from improvements of extant references to actual additions not present in *DEH*, here *SY* provides a much fuller memory of ancient examples to start this speech.

70 Ussani (1932) 295, recording no variants. Cf. Bay (2023) 43; Bay (2020) 182; Bay (2018) 65, 162, 289–290; Bell (1977) 159. Cf. the language of Cicero *In Catilinam* 1.1 and the prophetic echoes mentioned in Bay (2018).

71 Bowman (2023) 315: "Hegesippus (*DEH* 5.2) keens over Jerusalem; the author's style from Lamentations."

72 See esp. Isa 1:21a: "How the faithful city has become a prostitute, she who was full of justice!" (איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמונה מלאתי משפט). Cf. the rhetorical איכה-questions at

more explicitly as God's covenant people than could be derived from *DEH* 5.2.1, in which case we see here a coalescence of theologization, biblicization, and Judaization. Perhaps more interesting are the terms in which Yosippon references Jerusalem, namely with the plural term מדינות.

The term מדינה, "province" (pl. מדינות), tends to appear among the later texts of the Hebrew Bible. In relation to Judea, the term stacks up in Persian-era texts like Ezra-Nehemiah and Esther (and also Daniel and Ecclesiastes), with Esther containing the lion's share by a massive proportion.[73] After all, what biblical authors would have understood Jerusalem and Judea as a "province?" Mostly, though not exclusively, it was writers of the Second Temple Era who knew Judea as a provincial portion of the Medio-Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Empires, and who, beginning in the Hellenistic era, may have apprehended Jerusalem in terms of a city-state. That is to say that the term מדינה becomes more prominent the later one looks within Classical Hebrew literature; it also becomes standard in Aramaic, as the example from the Book of Ezra suggests.[74] One finds the term not infrequently among the non-biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[75] My purpose in belaboring this point is this: I think that the presence of this term at the beginning of *SY* 73 (עג) tells us something about this text. Rather than talk about Jerusalem's or Judea's own residents' perceptions, as *DEH* 5.2.1 does, and rather than talking about Jerusalem's or Judea's blessedness among

---

Lam 1:1 (see below); 2:1; 4:1 (all *quomodo* questions in the Vulgate). We should note that the Vulgate of passages like Isa 1:21a (*quomodo facta est meretrix ciuitas fidelis plena iudicii*) is extremely likely to have influenced Ps-Heg's phrasing of his question at the beginning of *DEH* 5.2.1 (*quomodo decepta es, ciuitas …*). For a discussion of the biblical-prophetic inspiration of the language of *DEH* 5.2.1, which nevertheless misses this passage, see Bay (2018) 79–81.

73 The term appears 39× in Esther (!), 4× each in 1Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah, 2× each in Daniel and Qohelet, and 1× each in Lamentations and Ezekiel. The density of the term in Esther is indicated by passages like Est 8:9: "So the king's scribes were summoned at that time in the third month (that is, the month Sivan), on the twenty-third [day; and it was written in accordance with everything that Mordecai commanded the Jews, the satraps, the governors, and the officials of the provinces (שרי המדינות) which extended from India to Cush, 127 provinces, to every province (שבע ועשרים ומאה מדינה מדינה ומדינה) according to its script, and to every people according to their language, as well as to the Jews (ואל-היהודים) according to their script and their language."

74 See the Old Aramaic of Ezra 5:8: "May it be known to the king that we have gone to the province of Judah (ליהוד מדינתא), to the house of the great God which is being built with large stones, and beams are being laid in the walls; and this work is being performed with great care and is succeeding in their hands."

75 The term appears among the scrolls in Aramaic (e.g. 1 QapGen ar XX 27–28; 4Q246 I 4–5; cf. CTLevi ar, Cambridge Col. F 21) and in Hebrew (e.g. 4Q418 I 1–3).

the "nations" (הגוים), as Malachi 3:12 does,[76] Yosippon portrays Jerusalem in provincial terms, perhaps following the lead of Lamentations 1:1.[77] I suggest that this points to a conceptual framework that operates in terms that are historically, linguistically, and ideologically characteristic of Second Temple Judaism, perhaps especially Hellenistic Judaism.[78] *SY* 73 (ע״ג), then, retains the opening rhetorical question of *DEH* 5.2.1, yet turns this into a rather distinct question, addressed obliquely to God and concerning a city whose blessed past is imagined as having existed among other provinces.

One of the most notable features of *DEH* 5.2.1 comes at its beginning. The Latin text summons five heroes of the Hebrew Bible—Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David, Elisha.[79] It does this with the imperatives *exsurge* (twice) and *suscitare* (thrice). The narrator bids these figures behold the sorry state of the present Jerusalem and its people, evoking a comparison that clearly casts the first-century Jews in a negative light compared to their illustrious ancestors:

> Arise now, Moses, and behold your race and the inheritance of the people entrusted to you perishing by their own hands. Look upon this people of God, at whose advance the sea lay open for passage, for whose hunger heaven served sustenance, now confined where there is no sea, restrained without a Pharaoh, starved while the land is not barren. Arise, Aaron, you who once, when death was devouring the majority of the people because they had offended the omnipotent God, stood between the living and the dead, and death was stayed and clung to your body, which was thrown forward, nor was it able to become a contagion among the living. You too come forth, Joshua Naue, who leveled the impenetrable walls of Jericho by means of the trumpet of the aged priests, and behold the people to whom you subjugated foreigners, now themselves subjected to oppression. Come forth, David, accustomed to drive out the oppressive spirit with the sweet

76 Mal 3:12: "'All the nations will call you blessed (ואשרו אתכם כל-הגוים), for you will be a land of delight,' says the Lord of hosts." Cf. Isa 61:9.

77 Lam 1:1 casts Jerusalem as formerly prominent among the nations and among the provinces: "How lonely sits the city that once had many people! She has become like a widow, once great among the nations! She who was a princess among the provinces has become a forced laborer!" (**איכה** ישבה בדד **העיר** רבתי **עם חיתה** כאלמנה רבתי בגוים שרתי **במדינות** **חיתה** למס). Not without reason did Bell (1977) 170n82 cite Lam 1:1 (which begins *quomodo sedit sola ciuitas* …) as the probable inspiration of the first line of *DEH* 5.2.1; cf. Bay (2018) 79n44.

78 It was within the Hellenistic world of the Seleucids and Ptolemies, and eventually the Romans, that Jerusalem and Judea came to exist in their most consistently 'provincial' forms.

79 On this passage in *DEH*, see esp. Bay (2020); see also Bay (2018) 64–65, 84n55, 289–290; Bay (2023) 136.

> sound of the cithara, and behold in what manner fury holds sway and has decimated all the sweetness of your psalms to the senses of those being destroyed, and how each of the leaders would offer the entire people up to death, so that he wrests liberty for himself, [a people] for which you offered your very self to death. Come forth, Elisha, who introduced the enemy into Samaria and made him a friend. Through you the din of chariots, and the voice of horsemen, and the voice of strength resounded in the camp of the Syrians, and the foreigner fled, and the Jew evaded destruction.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[80]

Yosippon retains mention of each of these heroes, yet changes the ways in which they are mentioned noticeably. Here we will take each biblical *exemplum* in turn, examining in some detail the reconstruction of each within *SY* 73 (עג).

The portion of *SY* 73 (עג) calling forth Moses sets the tone for the kinds of alterations that are to come, outstripping its source-passage in *DEH* (59 Hebrew words to 39 Latin ones):

> Rise up now, Moses, and behold your people and the herd of your flock, over whom the LORD your God appointed you to shepherd in the integrity of your faithfulness. Wake up and see how they have turned their hands to their own

80 Ussani (1932) 295: *Exsurge nunc, Moyses, et uide gentem tuam et hereditatem populi tibi crediti perire manibus suis. Aspice populum illum dei, cui peruium gradienti mare patebat, cui esurienti escas caelum subministrabat, sine mari clausum, sine Pharaone obsessum, sine terrarum sterilitate ieiunum. Exsurge, Aaron, qui aliquando, cum propter offensam dei omnipotentis mors plurimos populi depasceretur, stetisti inter uiuentes ac mortuos, et mors stetit atque obiectu corporis tui haesit lues nec transire potuit ad contagionem uiuentium. Suscitare et tu, Iesu Naue, qui muros inexpugnabiles Hiericho sacerdotibus tuba canentibus conplanasti, et uide populum, cui exteros subiecisti, nunc eundem subiectum opprimi. Suscitare, Dauid, exasperantem spiritum citharae suauitate solitus excludere, et uide quemadmodum dominetur furor atque omnem suauitatem psalmorum tuorum ex perditorum sensibus aboleuerit, et unusquisque de principibus populum uniuersum ad mortem offerat, ut libertatem extorqueat, pro quo ipsum te morti offerebas. Suscitare, Helisee, qui hostem introduxisti in Samariam et amicum fecisti. Per te in castris Syriae quadrigarum increpuit fragor et uox equitum et uox uirtutis, fugit hostis, euasit obsidionem Iudaeus?* The series of *exsurge*'s here seems similar to a near-contemporary Latin Christian text, Prudentius' *Crowns of Martyrdom* 5.285–287: "*exsurge, martyr inclyte, exsurge securus tui, exsurge et almis coetibus*" ("Arise, martyr renowned; arise, and have no concern for thyself; arise and join our beneficent companies as our fellow"; Thomson [1953] 186–187). Yet *DEH*'s language should probably (also) be read as carrying a courtroom tenor, in which it might have been influenced by Cicero (see *Pro Cluentio* 61. 168; *Pro Flacco* 73; *Pro Plancio* 42.102), whose work Ps-Heg knew fairly well.

> destruction. Look now at the people of the LORD, before whom you lifted your staff and struck the sea, and the waters were dried up before them and they crossed through their midst on dry ground; and for whom, when they were hungry, you asked in supplication that food from heaven should nourish them; and when their souls were overwhelmed with thirst you drew water for them from the flinty rock.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[81]

Yosippon has his speaker (Joseph ben Gurion) summon up Moses with the Hebrew imperative (נא) עורה, a term he uses to conjure all of the other characters save Joshua.[82] This may be read as more or less a simple translation, though it is—as with virtually all of *SY*'s language—full of biblical resonances.[83] In asking Moses to behold the Jewish people's present state, the speaker in *SY* shifts the purely demographic terminology of *DEH* 5.2.1 (*gens*, *populus*) to the more intimate metaphor of husbandry familiar from the Jewish Scriptures, wherein the Jews are not just Moses' people (עם) but also the herd (עדר) of his flock (צאן).[84] One could imagine this metaphor helping to close any gap between the ancient Hebrew hero and his later Jewish 'descendants' that the Christian perspective of *DEH*'s Latin might have been read to imply.[85] We can also note

---

81 Bowman (2023) 315; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 688–689; Flusser (1978) 339–340: עורה נא משה וראה את עמך ואת עדר צאנך אשר הפקידך יי אלהיך עליהם לרעותם ביושר אמונתך. הקיצה וראה איך נהפכו ידם להשחית נפשם. הבט נא בעם יי אשר הרימותה את מטך ותך את הים. ויהיו מימיו לפניהם לחרבה ויעברו בתוכו ביבשה. ואשר שאלת בתחינתך ברעבונם להטריפם לחם מן השמים. ובעת צמאם בהתעטף נפשם הוצאת להם מים מצור החלמיש. My translation is self-conscious in its departure from Bowman here, who *inter alia* renders יי אלהיך as simply "God."

82 The order of the summonings in *DEH* and *SY* are the same, though *SY* is not totally consistent in how it translates the Latin imperatives. Here are the correspondences: Moses (*exsurge nunc* = עורה נא), Aaron (*exsurge* = עורה נא), Joshua (*suscitare* = הקיצה נא), David (*suscitare* = העירה והקיצה), Elisha (*suscitare* = עורה נא).

83 The Hebrew term עור can mean "awake" or "arise," and its (Qal masculine singular) imperative form עורה is found only in the Psalms, where it appears six times: 7:6; 44:23; 57:8 (×2); 59:4; 108:2. The doublet העירה והקיצה, used by *SY* to summon up David (with the Hiphil masculine singular imperative of both עור and קיץ), is the exact and unique phraseology of Psa 35:23. All of these terms are also evocative of lines from the 'Song of Deborah and Barak' in Judg 5:12: "Awake, awake, Deborah; awake, awake, sing a song! Arise, Barak, and lead away your captives, son of Abinoam (עורי עורי דבורה עורי עורי דברי-שיר קום ברק ושבה שביך בן-אבינעם)." See similarly the triple usage of עורי in Isa 51:9 and the double usage in Isa 52:1. The imperatives הקיצה and עורי appear side-by-side in Hab 2:19. Cf. Song 4:16; Zech 13:7.

84 Or, in terms of how the phrase עדרי-צאן is often translated, one could say "flock of his sheep." See Gen 29:2; Joel 1:18; Mic 5:8; cf. Jer 13:20; Mic 2:12.

85 No doubt both Ps-Heg and Yosippon will have been—albeit from different perspectives—

that *SY* not only retains *DEH*'s language of the "people of God" (*populum dei* = עם יי),[86] but also has the speaker remind Moses that "the LORD [his] God" (יי אלהיך) has appointed him to guide Israel as a shepherd in the "integrity of [his] faithfulness," reinforcing the husbandry metaphor and infusing it with theology (Judaization + theologization).

The most notable forms of biblicization within this Moses portion of this passage may be in its second half, where Yosippon briefly unpacks the stories so unceremoniously condensed within the tight grammar of Ps-Hegesippus' Latin. The curt Latin phrase *cui esurienti escas caelum subministrabat* becomes in *SY* 73 (עג) an 18-word vignette in which is recalled how Moses lifted his staff (מטה) and struck the sea,[87] which dried up for the Israelites, who then crossed "through the middle of it on dry ground" (בתוכו ביבשה).[88] The equally terse *cui esurienti escas caelum subministrabat* informs a lengthier recollection of how "you [Moses] asked in supplication that food from heaven should nourish [the Israelites]" (ואשר שאלת בתחינתך ברעבונם להטריפם לחם מן השמים).[89] This is all supplemented by a reference to the famous water from the rock (Exod 17) that was added to the bread from heaven (Exod 16) given to the Israelites; nor does Yosippon have his speaker explicitly state—as *DEH* does—the marked absence of these things among the Jews of Jerusalem at the time of the narrative present. Here we are reminded that subtraction, addition, and alteration all appear in conjunction within *SY* 73 (עג), even if in this present chapter we have subdivided these types of adaptation for expedience. And, as we have already seen with the Moses *exemplum*, these mechanics involve Judaization, theologization, and biblicization at various levels, all contributing to what is, among other things, a complex instance of religious co-production, as discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

---

sensitive to the ever-present, implicit competition between Jews and Christians for the right to claim the place of 'heirs' vis-à-vis Moses and other biblical heroes. This tension was present from the very beginning of the Jesus movement (see already Gal 3:7; Rom 4; Matt 3:9; Luke 3:8; John 8:39–40), endured through Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and has never disappeared, even when and where it has not occupied centerstage.

86 So far as I can tell, Yosippon here is using the more common biblical phrase—the עם-יהוה are referred to at least seven times (Judg 5:11, 13; 2 Sam 1:12; 6:21; 2 Kgs 9:6; Ezek 36:20; Zeph 2:10), whereas the "people of God" are referenced less frequently, perhaps only at Judg 20:2 (עם האלהים) and 2 Sam 14:13 (עם אלהים). Nb—Zeph 2:10 refers to "the people of the LORD **of hosts**" (עם יהוה צבאות).

87 Cf. Isa 37:23 for the second-person Hiphil form הרימותה.

88 This final phrase is a refrain in Exodus (14:22, 29; 15:19) and thereafter (Neh 9:11).

89 The phrase לחם מן-השמים comes from Exod 16:4.

Moving on to the treatment of Aaron: the original High Priest of Israel receives much shorter shrift in *SY* 73 (עג) than does his younger brother.[90] However, his persona is, if anything, more lofty. Compare the following passages in *DEH* and *SY* respectively:

> Arise, Aaron, you who once, when death was devouring the majority of the people because they had offended the omnipotent God, stood between the living and the dead, and death was stayed and the plague clung to your body, which was thrown forward, nor was it able to become a contagion among the living.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[91]

> Rise up now, Aaron, holy to the LORD, who took your stand like a mighty man before this people and met the destroyer so as to prevent it drawing near to the living, and it remained among its slain, but the living among your people it did not approach.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[92]

First consecrating him, as it were, as "holy to the LORD" (קדוש יי),[93] Yosippon likens Aaron's actions in Num 16—where Aaron 'stood in the gap' to stay a

90 Here *DEH*'s 33 Latin words yield only 27 Hebrew words.

91 Ussani (1932) 295: *Exsurge, Aaron, qui aliquando, cum propter offensam dei omnipotentis mors plurimos populi depasceretur, stetisti inter uiuentes ac mortuos, et mors stetit atque obiectu corporis tui haesit lues nec transire potuit ad contagionem uiuentium*. The term used for "plague" here (*lues*) is not to be found in Jerome's Vulgate, but is used by Ps-Heg's contemporaries, both Christian (Ambrose *In psalm.* 39.8) and non-Christian (Amm. Marc. 23.6.76); cf. Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 4.6.18–19: "Again, contagion (*contagium*) is from 'touching' (*contingere*), because it contaminates anyone it touches. The swellings (*inguen*) (i.e. of bubonic plague) are so called from their striking the groin (*inguen*). Pestilence is also called plague (*lues*), so called from destruction (*labes*) and distress (*luctus*), and it is so violent that there is no time to anticipate life or death, but weakness comes suddenly together with death"; Barney/Lewis/Beach/Berghof (2006) 110–111. See also *TLL* 7.1.1794–1795.

92 Bowman (2023) 315; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 688–689; Flusser (1978) 340: עורה נא אהרון קדוש יי אשר עמדת כגיבור לפני העם הזה. ותפגע במשחית לבלתי תתו ליקרב אל החיים. וישב אל חלליו ואל החיים אשר בעמך לא קרב. Yosippon does not employ the Hebrew terms for "plague" employed in Num 16, which are נגף (16:46–47) and מגפה (16:48–50), but instead uses משחית, which appears in other passages where a divinely-sent pestilence of some kind is evoked: Isa 54:16; Jer 22:7. The term appears as one of David's options of punishment for his apparent rebellion in 1 Chr 21:12—"a plague (דבר) in the land, and the angel of the LORD destroying (מלאך יהוה משחית) throughout the territory of Israel"—though it does not appear in the parallel passage of 2 Sam 24:13, which simply uses דבר.

93 This phrase (קדש ליהוה) was supposed to be engraved on a pure gold plate attached to Aaron's robe (Exod 28:36).

plague of divine wrath from consuming the people—to those of a "mighty man" (גיבור), the Hebrew Bible's *terminus classicus* for designating the warrior-hero.[94] So, even while *SY* largely retains the portrait of Aaron given in his summons, his portrayal highlights aspects of Aaron, the holy and the heroic, above and beyond anything present in its Latin source.

With Joshua we again come to a passage that is slightly longer in the Hebrew than in the Latin (31 to 23 words):

> You too come forth, Joshua Naue, who levelled the impenetrable walls of Jericho by means of the trumpet of the aged priests, and behold the people to whom you subjugated foreigners, now themselves subjected to oppression.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[95]

> Wake up now, Joshua, you who stunned the very heights of Jericho's walls by the sound of your shouting and the sound of the ram's horn of the priests of the LORD. Behold the people for whom you conquered many nations and mighty kings, and now they are destroying one another.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[96]

Here the modifications made by Yosippon could be termed modest. But they are there. By mentioning both the shout (קול תרועת) and the trumpeting (קל

94 This is a standard term for *SY*, meaning at its most basic simply "warrior" or "soldier"—the term is first used of Belshazzar's soldiers in *SY* 3 (ג)—though it is always used in sometimes striking ways to configure the might of biblical heroes. One of the primary figures to be cast as a גיבור in *SY* is Judah the Maccabee: see *SY* 17 (יז) and Bay (2022c) 665, 669, 672 *et passim*. *SY* 9 (ט), on the story of Esther, describes as "Benjaminite heroes" (גיבורי בנימן) those ancient Israelites who fought with King Saul against Amalek (1Sam 15), in describing the Benjaminite pedigree of Mordecai; see Bowman (2023) 45. *SY* 76 (עו) uses this term to describe the "King of Canaan" who originally founded Jerusalem: Bay (2022d) 293–294. The term can also have an adjectival force, and can apply to non-human beings; so, for example, in *SY* 5 (ה)—within *SY*'s retelling of the Bel and the Dragon story from the LXX additions to Daniel (Yosippon using the Latin)—the King of the Chaldeans says the following to Daniel about the dragon that Daniel is determined to destroy: "Is this not a living god, strong and powerful (הלא זה אלוה חי גיבור וחזק)? Who will face him to do him harm?" By my count, the term גיבור appears nearly 250× across *SY*.

95 Ussani (1932) 295–296: *Suscitare et tu, Iesu Naue, qui muros inexpugnabiles Hiericho sacerdotibus tuba canentibus conplanasti, et uide populum, cui exteros subiecisti, nunc eundem subiectum opprimi.*

96 Bowman (2023) 315; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 688–689; Flusser (1978) 340: הקיצה נא יהושע אשר הממתה מרום גובהי חומות יריחו בקול תרועתך ובקול שופרות כהני יי. וראה את העם אשר הורשת מלפניו גוים רבים ומלכים עצומים! ועתה אלה את אלה הם משחיתים. Note the use again of משחית at the end of this passage.

שופרות) of Joshua's felling of Jericho's walls,[97] Yosippon brings his version of the *exemplum* further in line with biblical details, while adding to the vividness of the remembered scene. By specifying the shofars as priestly, and the priests as "of the LORD," *SY* goes into more detail while implicating divine presence. Finally, the Israelites' ancient strength receives special emphasis in *SY* when, rather than Joshua being imputed with simply dominating "foreigners" (*exteri*), the Hebrew places him over "*many* nations and *mighty* kings" (גוים רבים ומלכים עצומים). The unmistakable point here is to elevate Joshua's ancient Israel by stressing the significance of those they defeated, even if this does not alter the point of the statement, which the passages in *DEH* and *SY* share (i.e., that the Jews of the narrative are an apple fallen far from the ancestral tree).

In *DEH* 5.2.1, when King David is called forth to behold Jerusalem with the other Bible heroes, the first thing mentioned has to do with the apotropaic effects of his music-making, recalling how his harp used to sooth Saul's "evil spirit" (1Sam 16:23):

> Come forth, David, accustomed to drive out the oppressive spirit with the sweet sound of the cithara, and behold in what manner fury holds sway and has decimated all the sweetness of your psalms to the senses of those being destroyed, and how each of the leaders would offer the entire people up to death, so that he wrests liberty for himself, [a people] for which you offered your very self to death.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[98]

97 My translation of these terms departs from Bowman (2023) 315—"the sound of your trumpeting and the sound of the rams' horns"—inasmuch as I understand the two sounds not to be referring to two different kinds of horn-sounds but rather to a shout on the one hand and the blowing of horns on the other, as in Josh 6:5: "It shall be that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn (קרן היובל), and when you hear the sound of the trumpet (קול השופר), all the people shall shout with a great shout (תרועה גדולה); and the wall of the city will fall down flat, and the people shall go up, every one straight ahead." Cf. Josh 6:20.

98 Ussani (1932) 296: *Suscitare, Dauid, exasperantem spiritum citharae suauitate solitus excludere, et uide quemadmodum dominetur furor atque omnem suauitatem psalmorum tuorum ex perditorum sensibus aboleuerit, et unusquisque de principibus populum uniuersum ad mortem offerat, ut libertatem extorqueat, pro quo ipsum te morti offerebas?* Cf. the reference to Solomon, son of David, as having special knowledge of and abilities with "natures of stones and the powers of roots and the effects of remedies" (*lapidum scire naturas potestatesque radicum effectusque curarum* [*non minus Salomone David filio*]) in the *Tripartite History* of Epiphanius-Cassiodorus (1.1.9), here following Sozomen's Greek *Ecclesiastical History*.

In contrast, the first thing that one notes of the parallel passage in *SY* 73 (עג) is that, while mention is made of David's musical abilities, their apotropaism is not in view:

> And you, David, what do you mean by sleeping?! Wake up and arise with your many lyres and harps to make music with holy melodies. And seek now the words of your songs, which have ceased from the mouths of this people because of their great evil. And behold their leaders, who have become to them their destruction! They are not like you, David, who gave your life on behalf of their life and said: 'Let your hand be against me and against my father's house, and do not destroy this people!'
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[99]

Yosippon begins with a rhetorical question that makes conjuring David a bit more lively and which introduces some *varietas* into the passage. It also evinces a creative instance of biblicization inasmuch as the question is a direct quote from Jonah 1:6.[100] There the prophet is awoken while sleeping in a boat about to be destroyed by a great storm; similarly here King David is awoken, this might be read to imply, in the midst of another great storm, in which the Jewish ship of state is similarly imperiled. Likewise creative is the expansion of David's musical repertoire in *SY*, who is credited only with a *cithara* in *DEH* yet who in *SY* is associated not only with both lyres (נבלי) as well as harps (כינורי),[101] but

---

99 Bowman (2023) 315–316; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 688–691; Flusser (1978) 340: ואתה דוד מה לך נרדם!? העירה והקיצה ברוב נבליך וכינוריך לשורר בזמירות הקודש. ודרוש נא את דברי נעימותיך אשר שבתו מפי העם הזה מרוב רעתם. וראה את שריהם אשר נהפכו להם למשחיתים! ולא כמוך דוד אשר נתתה נפשך תחת נפשם ותאמר: תהי נא ידך בי ובבית אבי ואל תשחת בעם הזה!

100 Jon 1:6: "The captain approached [Jonah] and said: 'How is it that you are sleeping (-מה לך נדרם)? Get up, call on your god. Perhaps *your* God will be concerned about us so that we will not perish.'" The sense of urgency and danger, and perhaps the theological component, might help frame the oration of *SY* 73 (עג) for the astute reader.

101 The נבל, which can mean "harp, lute, guitar" but which is also a polyvalent term in the Hebrew Bible (see *BDB* ad loc.), is overwhelmingly associated with King David in 1 Samuel, 1 Chronicles, and Psalms (cf. Amos 6:5). In the world created by the Hebrew Bible, the כנור is among the more ancient instruments, tracing back to Jubal (Gen 4:21), the apparent fountainhead of the musical tradition. This term is not ambiguous, always meaning "harp, lyre." The terms appear frequently together in lists of musical instruments (1 Sam 10:5; 2 Sam 6:5; 1 Chr 13:8; Isa 5:12; etc.), though sometimes just as a pair (1 Kgs 10:12; Psa 33:2; 92:3). Significantly, both terms are used with the imperative "awake" (עורה) in Psa 57:8 and 108:2, and both appear alongside "the sound of the shofar" (תקע שופר) in Psa 150:3—dense is the fabric of biblical language of which this part of *SY* is woven. In citing them as a pair and associating them with David, Yosippon introduces these instru-

with "many" (רוב) of these.[102] However, *SY*'s presentation of the chasm between David's time and that of 70 CE Jerusalem is not as poetic as that of *DEH*, where *furor* is said to be reigning and quashing the one-time sweetness of David's psalms. In a way this lessens the bite of condemnation inherent in this passage. But this does not mean that Yosippon shies away from passing judgment on the Jews in this speech.

An interesting shift between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) at this point involves the question of who is to blame for Jerusalem's present state of affairs (remember that this speech is delivered to a war-torn Jerusalem on the brink of its historic destruction by the Romans). By employing the common Classical idiom whereby civic discord is caused by superhuman entities often conceived of as divinities (e.g., the Greeks' Ἔρις = the Romans' *Discordia*), Ps-Hegesippus modifies without necessarily deleting Jewish responsibility. For who can withstand *Furor*? Yosippon is more direct: the absence of David's psalms from the mouths of the people of Jerusalem, a potent metaphor for a pious peace, is due to "their great evil" (רוב רעתם).[103] What are we to make of *SY* drilling down on Jewish guilt where *DEH* seems to reference it almost indirectly? Should it not be the Christian narrative of Ps-Hegesippus that evinces an anti-Jewish penchant? What we must remember here is the willingness that is present, at least latently, throughout the Jewish tradition to acknowledge the wrongdoing of God's people, and consequent divine discipline. We must also recall that, in *SY*, this oration is not a pronouncement of irreversible damnation, as it very much seems to be in *DEH*. Rather, Yosippon is, with theological and historical nuance, attempting to make sense of the Jewish revolt, the destruction of Jerusalem, the demise of the Temple. To do so, Yosippon interprets national calamity according to a rubric shared widely in the pre-modern world, wherein misfortune may be explained by human misbehavior provoking divine chastisement.[104]

---

ments into this speech in ways that would be highly familiar to the reader of the Hebrew Bible.

102 The term translated "melodies" here (זמירות) is relatively rare in the Hebrew Bible, and is never modified therein with הקודש.

103 This phrase evokes the fundamental, self-caused human problem as presented in the Jewish Scriptures. It was the "great evil of humanity" (רבה רעת האדם) that provoked the LORD to destroy the earth by flood (Gen 6:5), and it will likewise provoke his future judgment of the nations (Joel 3:13). "Great evil" can be cited as the direct cause of calamity (Job 22:5). Even the righteous experience רבות רעות ("many evils") in life (Psa 34:19), and what can be viewed as the mundane pointlessness of human labor is also רעה רבה (Eccl 2:21).

104 What is often called "Deuteronomistic theology"—the idea that God's people (= Israel) will experience blessings or curses nationally as they adhere or do not adhere to his covenant—is often discussed as a distinctively Hebrew/Jewish iteration of what is in fact a much larger set of assumptions that allowed premodern (especially ancient) historians

Yosippon's overall re-working of the David *exemplum* is characterized by greater explicitness. This seems to have to do partly with the laconic and allusive demeanor of Ps-Hegesippus' stylized Latin versus the more straightforward character of Yosippon's Classical-Hebrew prose-style, but partly with *SY*'s tendency to communicate more clearly than its source does about God, the Bible, and the Jews. For, in the latter half of the David passage as found in *DEH* 5.2.1, the biblical reference is indirect; only a reader highly conversant with the Old Testament Books of Kings and/or Chronicles would discern that here the narrator is signaling the episode in 2Sam 24 // 1Chr 21 where King David, instigated by divine and/or satanic forces (compare 2Sam 24:1 to 1Chr 21:1), takes a census of Israel and Judah, leading God to punish the people.[105] Once the divine plague-as-punishment had killed 70,000 Israelites, David successfully intercedes for the people, stating to God that it was he, not they, who had erred (2Sam 24:16–17; 1Chr 21:16–17). None of this is explained in *DEH* 5.2.1. All the reader gets is that the leaders (*principes*) of first-century Jerusalem are *unlike* King David: whereas they offer the people up to death (*populum uniuersum ad mortem offerat*), this is the precise thing that David was unwilling to countenance, leading him to 'offer his very self to death' (*pro quo ipsum te morti offerebas*). Yosippon is not quite so indirect. In *SY* 73 (עג), the speaker tells David that Jerusalem's leaders (שרי) are the destruction (משחית) of the people, in which they are not like David (לא כמוך). For David gave his life for theirs. To recall this, unlike Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon quotes the statement that David makes in 2Sam 24:17,[106] a more

---

to justify political and economic success, civic peace, imperialist movement, etc. on the basis of divine approbation and to explain the loss or opposite of these things in terms of divine displeasure. Certainly a particular brand of such thinking became common coin in the Jewish tradition and was readily subsumed within Christian historiographical thinking; so, e.g., Alison Salvesen (2018) 152–158 discusses how seventh-century Syrian thought mirrored the theological and theodical tendencies of earlier Deuteronomistic historiology. However, I think it helpful to remember that this general *kind* of thinking/writing about God and humans and history was far from unique to Jews and Christians in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

105 David is given three options as to what kind of divine chastisement he and the people will receive (2Sam 24:13 // 1Chr 21:12), of which he chooses the most short-lived (2Sam 24:14 // 1Chr 21:13).

106 The plea תהי נא ידך בי ובבית אבי is a verbatim quotation of part of 2Sam 24:17b // 1Chr 21:17b. The final addition to this in *SY*—ואל תשחת בעם הזה, "and do not destroy this people"—is Yosippon's own formula, drawn from the preceding verse in the biblical account: in 2Sam 24:16, before David even makes his plea we read that "When the angel extended his hand toward Jerusalem to destroy it (לשחתה), the LORD relented of the disaster and said to the angel who was destroying the people (למלאך המשחית בעם), 'It is

explicit engagement with the biblical intertext.[107] Now, it may be that both Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon assumed a biblical knowledge on the part of their readerships that allowed for some indirectness in referencing this *exemplum*—after all, Yosippon does not use a formula such as "as it is written in …"—but Yosippon's treatment suggests a desire to be clearer and more precise in its application of biblical stories to later Jewish history than its Latin source-text.

The Elisha *exemplum* is where Yosippon is most expansive vis-à-vis Ps-Hegesippus in his treatment of these five *exempla* or 'witnesses' conjured to behold Jerusalem's destruction, at least if we are measuring by word-count.[108] This is particularly interesting given Ps-Hegesippus' own manifest interest in Elisha.[109] Here are the passages side-by-side:

> Come forth, Elisha, who introduced the enemy into Samaria and made him a friend. Through you the din of chariots, and the voice of horsemen, and the voice of strength resounded in the camp of the Syrians, and the foreigner fled, and the Jew evaded destruction.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[110]

> Arise now, Elisha, you who drew the mighty Aramean army with your prayers and delivered it up to a fortified city. But you conquered it without sword and battle

---

enough! Now drop your hand!'" The syntax of 1Chr 21:15 is different but amounts to the same thing (in Chapter 2 I showed that *SY* 67 (סז) engages the 2Sam 24:17 version of this David's prayer). This creative rewrite of Yosippon's may be a discrete signal to the idea that God's punishment of his people is not ultimate, and that God, in his mercy, relents (cf. Num 32:15b).

107 Recall that in Chapter 2 we discussed how David's comrades at the Battle of Jotapata cited this same episode, and this same prayer of David, in *SY* 67 (סז), following *DEH* 3.16.1. This particular scene from David's career looms large in the exemplary literary worlds created by both Ps-Heg and Yosippon.

108 The 46 Hebrew words compared to 29 Latin ones render *DEH*'s version of the Elisha conjuring only 63% the size of that found in *SY*; only slightly less expansive is *SY*'s enlargement of the Moses *exemplum*, whose Latin version (39 words) is only 66% the length of *SY*'s Hebrew version (59 words).

109 See the argument in Bay (2023) 219–240 ("Chapter 7: Elisha, Disaster, and Extended Exemplarity").

110 Ussani (1932) 298: *Suscitare, Helisee, qui hostem introduxisti in Samariam et amicum fecisti. Per te in castris Syriae quadrigarum increpuit fragor et uox equitum et uox uirtutis, fugit hostis, euasit obsidionem Iudaeus*. Cf. Bay (2018) 64–65, 125, 289–290; Bay (2023) 136, 138, 144. Here, *uox uirtutis* should be understood as "the sound of an army" or "sound of military forces," what in 2Kgs 7:6 is rendered φωνὴν δυνάμεως μεγάλης/קול חיל גדול and which the Vulgate renders *sonitum … exercitus plurimi*.

> and struck them with temporary blindness and made dark the light of their eyes. And you converted their enemy into a friend. Thus war was waged by your prayer and there was heard in the camp of the Arameans a sound of horse and chariot and cavalry, so the Arameans and their battalions fled from before your prayer which you poured out on behalf of your people.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[111]

The most significant change in Yosippon's version of this oratorical *exemplum* comes in the first half, as the speaker (Joseph ben Gurion) details a biblical story only obliquely referenced by Ps-Hegesippus (as in the previous section on David, and as is typical in the biblical material mentioned in the speeches of *DEH* + *SY*). Nor is this detailing without rhetorical force. By replacing Ps-Hegesippus' simple *Samaria*(*m*) with "the mighty army of Aram" (חיל מחנה ארם), Yosippon highlights the prophetically-powered prowess of ancient Israelite diplomacy.[112] By remembering how Elisha had lured the Arameans into a fortified city (עיר מבצר),[113] *SY* taps into the narrative details of the episode being referenced (from 2 Kgs 6–7). And by recollecting Elisha's miraculous blinding of the Arameans through prayer, i.e. by his waging warfare without weapons,[114] and mentioning the diplomatic (rather than genocidal) outcome of this scenario, Yosippon reinforces Elisha's power by means of a kind of biblical poetics while also underlining the diplomatic fluency of the Jews' ancestors.[115]

---

111 Bowman (2023) 317; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 690–691; Flusser (1978) 340: עורה נא אלישע אשר משכתה בתפילתך חיל מחנה ארם ותביאהו אל עיר מבצר. ותמשול בו בלא חרב ומלחמה ותכם בסנווירים ותחשיך אור עיניהם. ותהפוך איבתם לאהבה. ואשר נלחמתה בתפילתך ותשמיע אל מחנה ארם קול סוס ורכב ופרשים וינוסו ארם וגדודיהם מפני תפילתך אשר שפכת בעד עמך.

112 Cf. 2 Kgs 7:5 and 7:16, where the army is referred to as simply מחנה ארם.

113 This is a biblical phrase (Num 32:36; Josh 19:35; 1 Sam 6:18; 2 Kgs 3:19; 10:2; Psa 108:10; Jer 1:18) that is, however, not used in this biblical story. The Arameans track down Elisha in Dothan (2 Kgs 6:13–14), after which he blinds them and tricks them into moving from that city "into Samaria" (שמרון).

114 The idea of conquering without sword or battle (משל + בלא חרב ומלחמה) is not derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, but seems likely to be *SY*'s rendition of the idea of "vittora senza armi" (*sine armis uincere*) that looms large in *DEH* 5.16.1 (and elsewhere) and which Ps-Heg shares with Ambrose; see Somenzi (2009) 110–115 and Bay (2023) 194, 283–314.

115 By "biblical poetics" I am here referring to the redundant phraseology used to describe Elisha's blinding of the Aramean army (2 Kgs 6:18). The 'striking with blindness' (נכה בסנורים) is language borrowed directly from 2 Kgs 6:18: "And when [the Arameans] came down to him, Elisha prayed to the LORD and said, 'Please strike this people with blindness (הך-נא את-הגוי-הזה בסנורים).' So he struck them with blindness (ויכם בסנורים) according to the word of Elisha." However, the more ornate 'darken the light of the eyes' (חשך אור עיני) is not a biblical formula, but rather an aesthetic addition, enhancing both the liter-

By showing that the ancient Israelites were able to make friends into enemies *from the position of power* (albeit at the point of a sword),[116] *SY* presents the Jews as a powerful ancient nation in an idiom (diplomacy, a preference for alliance over conflict) consonant with the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism.[117]

---

ary quality of *SY*'s narrative and the imagined rhetorical quality of Joseph ben Gurion's oration in this passage. This phrasing bears a blindingly obvious resemblance to the quintessential death-scene description in Homer's *Iliad*, where "black night" or "darkness" covering the eyes is "one of the ways the poet signals the death of a hero"; Morrison (1999) 129. Just so at *Il.* 4.457–462, where the first Trojan (Echepolus) to die at the hand of one of the besieging Achaeans—Achilles' good friend Antilochus—is struck and "darkness covered his eyes" (τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν). Compare the language of Prov 19:8 recycled later in *Midrash Tanchuma*, Noach 3.3, which describes how God has "enlightened the eyes" (מאיר עיניהם) of the masters of Talmud, "the learning of which [involves] considerable anguish, comparable to darkness itself"; trans. Berman (1996) 44.

116 This detail is nowhere in sight in *DEH* 5.2.1 but is integral to the biblical storyline: Elisha effectively delivers the Arameans on a silver platter to the King of Israel (2Kgs 6:20). When the latter asks the prophet whether he should kill these enemies of his, Elisha prescribes clemency (6:21–22); after a feast, the Arameans leave, "and the marauding bands of Arameans did not come again to the land of Israel" (6:23). The story delivers an exceptional—what a historian might call 'unrealistic'—moral punch, one that speaks to a political prowess within ancient Israel even more significant than military might.

117 Grainger (2017) argues for a distinctive set of practices through which the "great powers" of the Hellenistic Period—the Seleucids (Syria/Persia), the Ptolemies (Egypt), the Antigonids (Greece/Macedonia), and the Romans—sought in non-militant ways to "control and manage disputes, avoid wars, but also … score points and 'diplomatic triumphs'" (7). That similar values related to 'winning' at interstate relations without resorting to warfare and weapons were prevalent within Hellenistic Judaism may be reasonably conjectured based on, e.g., the relations between Joseph and the Arabs as related by Artapanus; the epistolary diplomatic correspondence between Sparta and Judea contained in 1Maccabees; and the cultural interface between Jews and Ptolemy Philadelphus which purportedly led to the creation of the Greek Jewish Scriptures; see Gruen (2016) 107 and 179, 153–166, and 414 respectively. At 414: "all agree that the celebrated saga recounted in the *Letter of Aristeas* comes from the pen of a Jewish author, a writer clearly at home in Ptolemaic Alexandria, familiar with the protocols of the court, even with the formulas of diplomatic correspondence—yet also deeply committed to the principles of Judaism and the faith of the fathers." In the Classical world of Greece and Rome, for all the respect and *gravitas* afforded to warfare, avoiding battle was also highly valued: Raaflaub (2007). Finally, much could be said about medieval ideas concerning diplomacy, but suffice it to say that a general respect existed for avoiding battle where possible, based to some extent on the authority of the fourth-century Latin *Military Institutions* (*De re militari*) by the Roman military theorist Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, whose influence upon strategic patterns in the Middle Ages was such that "European medievalists have sometimes called [these] 'Vegetian.'" Morillo (2020) 616–617. Cf. Jordanes *Getica* 28.141, which borrows language from another Old Testament story (Josh 9:15) to relate and praise "not trusting in arms" (*nec … fretus in armis*); Van Nuffelen/Van Hoof (2020) 141.

In the second half of the Elisha *exemplum*, Yosippon further details the story being referenced, but not in line with the biblical storyline *per se*. In this case, the vaguer phrasing of *DEH* 5.2.1—*Per te in castris Syriae quadrigarum increpuit fragor et uox equitum et uox uirtutis*—seems more appropriate, given that in 2 Kgs 7 we do not read of Elisha praying about anything; rather, Elisha prophesies a vague reversal of fortunes (7:1) and, after four outcast lepers happen upon a completely abandoned Aramean camp, the reader is told that "the Lord had made the army of the Arameans to hear a sound of chariots, a sound of horses, a sound of a great army" (7:6a).[118] Saying that this constituted war waged by Elisha's prayer, and that it was from this prayer that the Arameans fled, may be a delicate bit of midrash, perhaps carrying Elisha's 'prayer warrior' activity from 2 Kgs 6:17–18 into the subsequent chapter. It should be noted that this kind of creative improvement upon the biblical storyline, which as we have seen crops up often in *SY*'s reworking of the speeches of *DEH*, mirrors a very similar impulse detectable in Josephus' writings.[119]

So much for the 'conjuring' of *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג). As both versions of this oration begin by summoning five scriptural personalities to witness, be compared to, and pass judgment on the image of first-century Jerusalem, its Temple, and its Jew inhabitants undergoing civil dissolution, we behold a vision of simultaneous continuity and change. For, within the rhetorical superstructure built by Ps-Hegesippus and retained by Yosippon, we see at work in these passages mechanisms of biblicization, theologization, and Judaization that render *SY*'s versions more complete and agreeable to a Jewish point-of-view.

Just after the Elisha example mentioned above, and just before one of the major omissions treated earlier, we find parallel passages in *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) that epitomize some of the variabilities in viewpoint expressed by Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon respectively in this speech. In *DEH* we find a rhetorical question: "Where now are those blessings, where now those workings of saints?"[120] This question is followed by a kind of answer: "It is no wonder if they were deprived of works of the prophets, because they rejected the witness of the prophets."[121] Providing exegetical insight into how Ps-Hegesippus interprets the Elisha *exemplum* that precedes it (and the four *exempla* that pre-

118 ואדני השמיע את-מחנה ארם קול רכב קול סוס קול חיל גדול.

119 Just as Yosippon in this passage hypes up the portrait of Elisha that appears in Joseph ben Gurion's speech, so also Josephus modifies considerably his "portrait of Elisha" in the *Jewish Antiquities*; see Feldman (1994).

120 *Vbi nunc ista merita, ubi nunc istae operationes sanctorum?*

121 *Nec mirum si amiserunt prophetarum opera, quia negauerunt prophetarum arbitrum.*

ceded that), this passage may also reveal at a more fundamental level how Ps-Hegesippus understood the nature of the holy power once present among the Jews' ancestors but now absent from their midst: i.e., in terms of prophets and saints (*prophetae*, *sancti*) and the miraculous things that they did (*operationes*, *opera*).[122] Yosippon retains the general point of this passage while switching out its rhetorical vehicle. In *SY* 73 (עג), all we find in parallel to the passage just quoted is one sweeping rhetorical question: "But now, o shepherds of Israel, where is your prayer and your supplication which you will pour out on behalf of this people to deliver it from wrath and fury?"[123] Like Ps-Hegesippus, here Yosippon puts his finger on the interpretive thread that connects the five ancestral figures called forth from scriptural memory. Yet, even if the referents are the same (the ancient Israelites' prophets and their deeds), the focus is different. Now, instead of 'prophets and saints,' these figures are the "shepherds of Israel" (רועי ישראל), a relational and somewhat intimate way to refer to those famed for having mediated divine truth, blessing, and protection to God's people. This moniker, however, appears in the Hebrew Bible only in Ezekiel and Jeremiah, where God rebukes the 'shepherds' of his people for their negligence and evil deeds.[124] This passage in *SY* is therefore literarily and rhetorically appropriate

122 Indeed, in at least three of the *exempla* mentioned at the beginning of *DEH* 5.2.1, miraculous actions sit center-stage: 1) Moses' parting of the Red Sea and provision of manna and water from the rock, 2) Joshua's musical leveling of Jericho's walls, and 3) Elisha's miraculous domination of the Arameans. The other two examples put forth, Aaron's standing in the gap and David's self-sacrifice, hearken stories with miraculous elements but in which the main characters' actions do not constitute miracles *per se*.

123 ועתה רועי ישראל איה תפילתכם ותחינתכם אשר שפכתם בעד העם הזה להשיב מעליו חרון וזעם?

124 The exact phrase only appears in Ezek 34:2: "Son of man, prophesy against **the shepherds of Israel**. Prophesy and say to those shepherds, 'This is what the Lord GOD says: "Woe, **shepherds of Israel** who have been feeding themselves! Should the shepherds not feed the flock?"'" (בן-אדם הנבא על-**רועי ישראל** הנבא ואמרת אליהם לרעים כה אמר אדני יהוה הוי **רעי-ישראל** אשר היו רעים אותם הלוא הצאן ירעו הרעים). The self-serving versus people-serving motif is particularly resonant with the David *exemplum* discussed above (which also uses **צאן** to refer to God's people as a flock). Compare this to similar language in Jer 23:2: "Therefore this is what the LORD, the God of Israel says concerning **the shepherds who are tending my people** (על-הרעים הרעים את-עמי): 'You have scattered my flock (**את-צאני**) and driven them away, and have not been concerned about them; behold, I am going to call you to account for the evil of your deeds,' declares the LORD." This usage is not to be confused with God addressed as the "Shepherd of Israel" (רעה ישראל) in Psa 80:1; cf. Gen 49:24; Psa 78:71; Jer 31:10; Amos 3:12. The metaphor is picked up in the NT in Matt 2:6, as is the language of 1 Kgs 22:17 // 2 Chr 18:16—where the people of Israel are "like sheep that have no shepherd" (**כצאן אשר אין-להן רעה**)—in Matt 9:36 // Mark 6:34, where Jesus apprehends "the crowds" as "like sheep without a shepherd" (ὡσ[εἰ] πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα

in a way not true of the passage in *DEH*, for Yosippon plays upon a precise biblical trope: if disaster has struck God's people, look to the 'shepherds' of the people.

The other shift in focus here is from 'miraculous deeds' to prayer (תפלה) and supplication (תחנה). If Ps-Hegesippus casts the prophets as divinely-powered miracle workers, Yosippon depicts them as divinity-dependent communicators. Did Yosippon have a specific reason for effecting this shift in language? It is tempting to see *SY*'s phrasing here as reflecting 1 Kings 8; while תפלה and תחנה appear together not infrequently in Scripture—they are a kind of special term-pair—they most often co-occur in the speech that King Solomon gives upon dedicating the (first) Temple in Jerusalem to God (1 Kgs 8:22–53 // 2 Chr 6:12–39).[125] In this prayer Solomon asks, among other things, that God pay special attention to Jerusalem and its Temple, where he promised his name would dwell (1 Kgs 8:29 // 2 Chr 6:20); that He 'hear from heaven and forgive the sin of his people' when they erred, were defeated by their enemies, and then repented (1 Kgs 8:33–34 // 2 Chr 6:24–25); that He heal famine and plague that occurred there on the same terms (1 Kgs 8:37–39 // 2 Chr 6:28–30); and, finally, that God remember his special people when they sin against Him so that He hands them over to their enemies (1 Kgs 8:46–53 // 2 Chr 6:36–39).[126] Such an intertext could aptly justify the shift in *SY*'s version of this part of the speech. However, one might also imagine Yosippon's emphasis on prayer echoing the values of a Jewish practice and worldview that had been shaped by nearly a millennium of tradition within the post-Temple world.[127] *SY*'s axis of Jewish leaders, precatory practice, and covenant faithfulness (both divine and human) seems a much more compelling way to mourn a lack of Jewish community leadership than referencing the deeds and actions of ancient holy men, however fine the line between those two things might be. Nor are these options mutually exclusive.

ποιμένα/*sicut oves non habentes pastorem*). Yosippon knew all of these passages, I imagine, though his language is that of Ezek 34:2.

125 In addition to the below, the terms appear together in apposition in Psa 6:9; cf. Psa 55:1; Jer 36:7; 37:20; 42:2; Dan 9:20.

126 The set proper appears in 1 Kgs 8:38, 45, 49, 54 // 2 Chr 6:19, 29, 35, 39, and also in 1 Kgs 9:3a, where the LORD confirms receipt of Solomon's requests: "I have heard your prayer and your supplication" (שמעתי את-לפלתך ואת-תחנתך).

127 See Penner (2012) for a survey of scholarship on fixed daily prayer as something "instituted at Yavneh as a response to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple," a practice which "may have existed prior to 70 CE" but which as "established at this time was essentially different than anything that existed prior" (4). This does not give us anything like a clear picture of what prayer would have looked like for *SY*'s author; however, it does suggest that prayer may have become special and important to Jewish practice in a new way after the Temple's destruction, which could help explain why Yosippon makes the shift he does here.

But whatever the reasons for Yosippon's choice, this short line of the speech at *DEH* 5.2.1 // *SY* 73 (עג) changes forms between its Latin-Christian and Hebrew-Jewish articulations.

Another shift between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) comes in one of the many rhetorical questions that Ps-Hegesippus invented for this speech. About halfway through the Latin version of the speech, we find this extended rhetorical line of questioning:

> Where is that faith of the Maccabees, which once upon a time briefly overthrew the Babylonians, which put the Persians to flight, which turned the tables on Demetrius, which at the last overcame the arms, swords, and missiles of Antiochus through women and children and, out of respect for the nation's customs, preferred to be killed rather than to comply with the commands of the king? Where is the self-sacrifice of your ancestors, the most noble of all passions, because of which they offered themselves to death, not so much for the sake of their children or their wives but rather for the sake of the Temple?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[128]

This reference to a now-lost Maccabean *fides* alludes to narrative material found in the books of 1, 2, and/or 4 Maccabees (and, on the Christian side, Origen's *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*), as discussed by Chiara Somenzi.[129] The Hebrew version of this question scripted by Yosippon is in the same vein, yet only partially attributable to Ps-Hegesippus:

> Where is the courage of the Maccabees, the sons of the Hasmoneans, who prevailed in strength among a people few in number? And they exterminated the warriors of Babylon and decimated the army of Persia and slew Demetrius and Antiochus. And they filled the land with the corpses of the slain, for they preferred death to life and would not listen to sinners. They gave their souls up to

128 Ussani (1932) 298: *Vbi est illa Macchabaeorum fides, quae quondam in paucis fudit Babylonios, Persas fugauit, Demetrium perculit, ad postremum in paruulis et mulieribus Antiochi arma gladios incendiaque superauit et pro obseruatione patria mori maluit quam regis imperiis obtemperare? Vbi est illa deuotio patrum pulcherrima passionum omnium, qua se non pro liberis, non pro coniugibus magis quam pro templo dei morti offerebant?* Cf. Bay (2018) 69, 126, 208, 291–292; Bay (2023) 79n30, 145, 165.

129 Somenzi (2009) 114–115n272 suggests that this "probabile è il riferimento ai fatti narrati a I Mach 1,60 (condanna a morte delle che avevano fatto circoncidere i loro figli) o II Mach 6,10 e IV Mach 4,25 (donne con bambini al seno precipitate dale mura)." The reference to women and children suggests that at least 2 Macc 7 and 4 Macc are in view, though the reference is likely meant to capture the entire aura of the Maccabean legacy.

> death, not for the sake of their sons and daughters nor only for their own pleasure but for the sanctuary of the LORD, that it might not be polluted with their abominations.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[130]

To begin with, it is notable that Yosippon speaks not of the Maccabees' *fides* (a Hebrew parallel might have been אמונה),[131] but rather of their גבורה ("courage" or "strength" or "might"—Bowman has "heroism").[132] Yosippon trades in the religious lexicon of Latin Christianity for that of the Hebrew Jewish 'great man' tradition to describe Hellenistic Judaism's most famous heroes. *SY* also qualifies "the Maccabees" as the "sons of the Hasmoneans" (בני חשמוניי), thus engaging both historical monikers for this group of Judean rulers. Further, unlike Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon neglects to repeat that Antiochus was overcome by women and children, instead focusing on the military victories of the Hasmonean generals. Late antique Christians were, of course, seriously interested in the discourse of martyrdom and thus in the Maccabean mother as a prototype.[133] Yosippon was apparently also enamored of this heroine and her story—having dedicated a chapter of his work to it—but in this passage the

---

130 Bowman (2023) 317; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 342: איה גבורת המקווים בני חשמוניי אשר גברו חיל בעם מתי מספר? וישמידו את גיבורי בבל ויאבדו חיל פרס ויהרגו את דימיטריאוס ואת אנטיוכוס. וימלאו את הארץ מפגרי חללים כי בחרו מות מחיים ולא לשמוע לחטאים. וימסרו את נפשם למות לא בעבור בניהם ובנותיהם ולא על כלי חמדתם כי אם על מקדש יי לבלתי הטמא בשיקוציהם. See variants listed on Flusser (1980) 329. My translation is different from Bowman's, but the gist is the same. Bowman (2023) 317n5 follows Flusser in suggesting that the one variant recorded by Ussani (the spelling *macchaueorum* in M^2) led the author of *SY* to transliterate this term as "Mekavvim" ('to hope' for the salvation of Israel), explaining the spelling here rather than the "standardized" tenth-century Hebrew form of מכביי typically found in 1 Macc and *SY*. Also, Bowman (2023) 76n13 notes the variant form מקבי found in Yemenite manuscripts of *Megillat Antiochus*. Flusser (1953) argues that the term derives from מקוה.

131 Thus, "faith" or "faithfulness." To support this suggestion, note that the Latin *fides aret* ("faith withers") appears to be translated with חרבה האמונה elsewhere in *SY* 73 (עג). See below, and note *SY*'s mention of Moses' אמונה when he is summoned as an *exemplum* at the beginning of this passage.

132 Bowman (2023) 317. See Koehler/Baumgartner (1994) 172.

133 On the Maccabean mother in early Christianity, see Rajak (2014); Joslyn-Siemiatkoski (2009) 18–21, 68–71, 85–86, 115, 123, 125, 128, 134–136, 159, 164, 175, 179, 181, 203, 207. This story was not, however, under the sole purview of Christian inheritors. Two of the three Hebrew Crusade chronicles tell the story of a certain Rachel of Mainz who, rather clearly reflecting something of the Maccabean mother's tale from 2 Macc 7/4 Macc—perhaps with a bit of the Akedah (Gen 22) mixed in: namely, the *Mainz Anonymous Chronicle* (= *Narrative of the Old Persecutions*), written shortly after the First Crusade of 1096, and the Solomon bar Samson Chronicle (1141); see Cohen (2004) 106–129.

self-sacrifice he mentions describes those who "preferred death to life" and "would not listen to sinners"; these were not women and children, but the same בני חשמוניי who "filled the land with the corpses of the slain."[134] In making this change, *SY* takes a Christian portrayal of the Maccabees which emphasized strength in weakness—a distinctive Christian trope often attached to martyrology—and replaces it with Jewish portrayal of the Maccabees, which highlights strength in strength.[135] The Maccabees gave their lives on the battlefield, and not, *SY* reminds us, for their families or their own interests, but for the sake of the LORD's Temple (note the added possessive moniker—a subtle theologization). In this way the Hasmoneans mentioned here prefigure and mirror the final characters to appear in *SY*'s narrative, namely the Jewish rebels who will die at Masada. These heroic Jewish warriors, like their Maccabean forebears, die in battle (unlike what is reported by Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus), and they likewise are recorded as having done so for the sanctuary of the LORD.[136]

We may also mention among the changes *SY* 73 (עג) makes to *DEH* 5.2.1 a passage that reflects upon Jerusalem as previously, but no longer, God's dwelling place. This passage according to Ps-Hegesippus reads:

> Doubtless it was a hard thing that a gentile entered the temple against the sacred law, but already it was not the temple of God. You were not the city of God, nor were you able to be, because you were a tomb of the dead, particularly of those of your own people whom you yourself killed, and not those dropped by the enemy. For could you have been the house of life, who were the home of death, a lodging-place of wickedness, a cave of bandits?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[137]

The same passage as adapted by Yosippon appears thus:

---

134 On the Maccabean mother in *SY*, see *SY* 15 (יד) and van Henten (2024).

135 This is *not* to say, however, that Christian or Jewish martyrology was unified or internally consistent, or that the two could not overlap. They could and were mutually influential, as argued by Boyarin (1998).

136 After Eleazar's speech at Masada, *SY* 89 (פט) records all the Jews atop Masada as having died in battle against the Romans, of whom they killed many (ויהרגו מהם רבים), and Yosippon states that "they died on behalf of the LORD and on behalf of his sanctuary" (וימותו על יי ועל מקדשו).

137 Ussani (1932) 297: *Durum sane quod contra legem sacram templum gentilis intrauit, sed iam non erat dei templum. Non eras dei ciuitas, nec esse poteras, quia eras mortuorum sepulchrum et praesertim tuorum quos ipsa occideras, non quos ab hoste amiseras. Quomodo enim poteras uitae esse domicilium, quae eras mortis habitaculum, deuorsorium scelerum, latronum speleum?* Cf. Bay (2018) 67, 289–290.

> How you have changed, Abode of the Holy and Sanctuary of the Holy of Holies; you have become as a platform for the dead. Your dead have fallen within you. And you, Jerusalem, city of the LORD, you have changed into a stranger, like a city wherein was neither the LORD nor His holy Temple, for the holy Temple has become a den of murderers and a refuge for bandits.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[138]

Predictably, Yosippon first cuts the narrational supersessionism that *DEH* invented in the passage. The idea that the Jerusalem Temple was already "not the Temple of God" (*iam non erat dei templum*) by the historical point corresponding to this portion of the narrative would likely have raised an objection from Yosippon, and in any case Gentiles had not entered into the Temple at this point in the narrative. In getting rid of this line, *SY* does away with the third-person voice employed by Ps-Hegesippus—which could have read like an interpretive authorial intervention into the speech—, preferring to continue speaking to Jerusalem directly. *SY* thus exchanges the language of "temple of God" (*templum dei*) for the more specific, ornate, and aggrandizing language of "Abode of the Holy" (מעון הקודש) and "Sanctuary of the Holy of Holies" (ומקדש קודש הקדשים).[139] This redundant description accentuates the former glory of the Temple and underscores its covenantal significance by referencing its inner-

---

138 Bowman (2023) 316; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 690–691; Flusser (1978) 340–341: איך נהפכת מעון הקודש ומקדש קודש הקדשים! ותהי למשטח חללים וחלליך נפלו בך. ואת ירושלם עיר יי נהפכת לנכריה. כעיר אשר לא היה בה יי וגם היכל קדשו לא היה בתוכה. ויהפך היכל הקודש להיות מעון רוצחים ונוה פריצים. Note the capitalizations in Bowman's translation.

139 In the Hebrew Bible, the relatively rare phrase מעון הקודש refers initially, and perhaps always, to heaven as God's dwelling place (Deut 26:15; 2 Chr 30:27; Psa 68:5; Jer 25:30; Zech 2:13). The Jewish Scriptures habitually uses קדשים(ה) as a modifier of קדש(מ)(ים[ם]) in the typical Hebrew manner of doubling-as-intensifier (thus, "most holy"); see Exod 26:3–34; 29:37; 30:10, 29, 36; 40:10; Lev 2:3, 10; 6:17, 25, 29; 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13; 16:33; 21:22; 22:32; 24:9; 27:28; Num 4:19; 18:9–10; 1 Kgs 6:16; 7:50; 1 Chr 6:49; 23:13; 2 Chr 3:8; 4:22; 31:6, 14; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; Ezek 41:4; 42:13; 43:12; 44:13; 45:3; 48:12; Dan 9:24. More than anything in the Hebrew Bible, *SY*'s language here bears striking resemblance to a passage in the *Community Rule* (1QS VIII 8), which describes the elect community imagined by that text as God's sanctuary: "This (the Community) is the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone that does not *Blank* 8 /whose foundations/ shake or tremble from their place. *Blank* (It will be) the most holy dwelling (מעון קודש קודשים) 9 for Aaron with eternal knowledge of the covenant of justice and in order to offer a pleasant /aroma/; and it will be a house of perfection and truth in Israel 10 in order to establish {/…/} a covenant in compliance with the everlasting decrees." 1QS VIII 8–10 from García-Martínez/Tigchelaar (1999) 89–90 (// 4QS^{d} VI 2). Cf. 1QS X 12 // 4QS^{d} IX 13 // 4QHa frag. 7 I + 9 14–15, where God is referred to as מעון קודש, as well as 1QSb I 3; III 25; IV 25; 1QH^{a} XX 2; XXVI 10; 4Q471b frag. 1–3 1; 11QPs^{a} XXIV 4.

most, intimate chamber. By using biblical language (biblicization) to reframe the God's dwelling place (theologization), *SY* here reconstructs the imagined space occupied by the first-century Jews of the narrative who took care of and benefitted from that sacred space (Judaization).

Yosippon further alters this passage by omitting mention of the Jews having killed their own people within Jerusalem. Nor is Yosippon willing to say that Jerusalem was not, nor able to be, God's city, as Ps-Hegesippus does. While *SY* retains mention of the dead being stacked up within Jerusalem, saddling it with the visage of a tomb or graveyard, its version of this oration only says that Jerusalem became *like* (כ) a city bereft of the LORD (יי) and his Temple (היכל קדשו). *SY*'s retention of the vocative "city of the LORD" (ואת ירושלם עיר יי) when addressing Jerusalem, in fact, challenges the implications of *DEH* 5.2.1, according to which the significance of Jerusalem, its Temple, and the Jews was, strictly speaking, past tense (i.e., from the speaker's perspective). Once again, while Yosippon does not disagree with Ps-Hegesippus in casting 70 CE Jerusalem as experiencing a deserved punishment from God, neither does he allow his speaker to dismiss it as beyond redemption. In *SY* 73 (עג), if Jerusalem has changed itself into a "stranger" (נכריה),[140] presumably it can change itself back. Its status as a den of murderers (מעון רוצחים) and a refuge for bandits (נוה פריצים) need not necessarily be perennial.[141]

---

140 The biblical resonances here are several. First, this term conjures the Bible's legislation vis-à-vis the (ה)נכרי, which mandated different social, political, and economic norms for dealing with strangers as opposed to fellow Israelites (Exod 21:8; Deut 14:21; 15:3; 17:15; 23:20). Second, the term's feminine form, used here in *SY*, reminds one of the "foreign woman" of which the Book of Proverbs is so careful to warn its reader (2:16; 5:20; 6:24; 7:5; 23:27; 27:13). It may be that we should read this line in *SY* as "you have become like a foreign woman."

141 It is typical of *SY*'s poetics to shift triple-formulas in *DEH*—so here *mortis habitaculum* + *deuorsorium scelerum* + *latronum speleum* used to describe Jerusalem—into bipartite Hebrew formulae. Neither of these Hebrew phrases is present in the Hebrew Bible, and thus they are very likely Yosippon's own creation—or standard language in his time—designed to register the latter two Latin phrases (*SY* includes no cognate for *mortis habitaculum*, such a description for Jerusalem being perhaps too much for his sensibilities). However, Jer 7:11 uses the phrase "den of robbers" (המערת פרצים) to describe what the Temple has become (see 7:4), a likely inspiration for *SY*'s language here. Incidentally, this is the exact language that Jesus would have used when charging the money-changers in the Temple as having turned God's house, which was to "be called a house of prayer," into a den of robbers (σπήλαιον λῃστῶν/*spelunca latronum* in Mark 11:17 // Matt 21:13; note the similarity of the Vulgate's Latin to that of Ps-Heg in *DEH* 5.2.1). Van Henten (2015) 8 argues that this constitutes "Markan redaction" rather than an "authentic" act; but, whether real or imagined, the words of Jer 7:11 are certainly those of Jesus in that scene (LXX Jer 7:11 has σπήλαιον λῃστῶν, the Vulgate *spelunca latronum*).

Another interesting alteration shows up when the staff of Aaron the high priest is mentioned as a symbol of God's presence among and blessing upon the people. In Ps-Hegesippus we read:

> And previously the priestly staff blossomed even though cut off from its wooden root, but now faith withers and piety has been buried and all emulation of virtue is departed. It is no wonder if a people which has turned away from God and follows after the vile spirit of opposition has been divided against itself.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1[142]

The reference here is to a story in Numbers 17 in which the LORD orchestrates a contest between the twelve tribes of Israel to demonstrate which of them he had chosen as his mouthpiece among the people. Each tribe is directed to put forth a staff with its name on it, and Aaron's staff (representing the tribe of Levi) is made miraculously to bud (Num 17:8).[143] The New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews (9:4) also makes passing mention of this episode. Note the shifts in vocabulary in Yosippon's version of these lines:

> Where is the staff of God, the holy staff, which budded in the day of your delight? But now the buds of the staff have withered because faith has withered and the instruction come to naught. Where is the compassion of the holy people and their mercy for their brethren? How have they become so cruel?
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[144]

Yosippon does not specify the staff as that of Aaron like Ps-Hegesippus. However, he does not need to: not only will *SY*'s presumed reader know exactly what passage is alluded to here,[145] but Yosippon already mentioned Aaron's staff when summoning up the five scriptural heroes at the beginning of this oration

142 Ussani (1932) 298: *Ante et uirga sacerdotalis floruit recisa de siluestri radice, nunc et fides aret et sepulta est pietas et abiit omnis uirtutis aemulatio. Nec mirum si populus, qui a deo recessit et improbum contradictionis spiritum sequitur, in se ipsum diuisus est*. Cf. Bay (2018) 69, 208, 291–292.

143 "Now on the next day Moses went into the tent of the testimony; and behold, Aaron's staff (*uirgam Aaron*/מטה-אהרן) for the house of Levi had sprouted and produced buds and bloomed with blossoms (*turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores*/ויצא פרח ויצץ ציץ), and it yielded ripe almonds." See Bay (2018) 208n17.

144 Bowman (2023) 316; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 692–693; Flusser (1978) 342: איה מטה האלהים מטה הקודש אשר הפריח ביום שמחתך? ועתה חרבו פרחי המטה כי חרבה האמונה ואפסה התורה. ואיה רחמי עם הקודש וחמלתם על אחיהם? איך נהפכו ויהיו אכזרים?

145 However, we should not lose sight of the fact that *DEH*'s implied reader is *also* assumed by Ps-Heg to be conversant with the Old Testament. This is not to say that Ps-Heg 'had to'

(which *DEH* 5.2.1 does not do).[146] The subsequent changes effected within *SY* may be tracked in terms of vocabulary: First, Yosippon adds that (Aaron's) staff had budded "in the day of your delight" (יום שמחתך), a biblical phrase redolent of the 'good times' enjoyed by the ancient Israelites under God's blessing.[147] These were the golden days. Next, Yosippon partly drops, partly retains, and partly alters three concept-terms of Ps-Hegesippus', namely *fides*, *pietas*, and *aemulatio omnis uirtutis* (i.e., *uirtus*).

Yosippon only retains two of these concept words, drawing upon *DEH*'s poignant conceptual metaphor *fides aret* ("faith withers") to forge a purer, more visual metaphor: פרחי המט חרבו ("the buds of the staff have withered"). Yet Yosippon also translates Ps-Hegesippus' language of 'faith drying up,' "faith" or "faithfulness" being among the standard ways to translate אמונה.[148] Yet the

---

mention Aaron here whereas Yosippon could safely omit mention of him; neither author really 'had to,' but only Yosippon chose not to.

146 Aaron's staff, connected with the Temple because it was supposed to have been deposited within the Ark of the Covenant (Heb 9:4), looms large in *DEH* and therefore also in *SY*, figuring not only in *DEH* 5.2.1 // *SY* 73 (עג) but also the Temple description in *DEH* 5.9.4 // *SY* 76 (עו); see Bay (2022d) 293–294. Aaron's staff—or, rather, the מטה לוי with Aaron's name inscribed on it—is also implicated in discussions of Temple versus post-Temple Jewish ritual in *Midrash Tanchuma*, Bamidbar Rabbah 15 (cf. Terumah 11). Both the rod, המטה (of Moses), and "the staff of Aaron, with its almonds and flowers" (ומקלו של אהרן שקדיה ופרחיה) are included among the "things that were made and then hidden" (דברים העשויין וגנוזין אלו) in *Avot DeRabbi Natan* 41.12 (trans. Kasher); cf. Ginzberg (2003) 78; b. *Yoma* 52b. 1Kgs 8:9a says that at that time "[t]here was nothing in the ark except the two tablets of stone which Moses put there at Horeb." In ancient and early Medieval Jewish texts, there is no explicit tradition corresponding to Heb 9:4, according to which Aaron's staff was one of the contents of the Ark. In following its Christian source here, *SY* may become the first Jewish text to locate Aaron's staff, at one time, within the Ark of the Covenant.

147 Num 10:10; 2Chr 30:23; Est 9:17–18; Song 3:11 (referring to a wedding day). Cf. 1Chr 29:22; Ezra 6:22.

148 Perhaps most significantly in Hab 2:4: "Behold, as for the impudent one, his soul is not right within him; but the righteous one will live by faith (וצדיק באמונתו יהיה)." Defining πίστις (and *fides*) within early Christianity is a somewhat fraught endeavor, as both terms had standard meanings in the Classical world related to trustworthiness and faithfulness but came in Late Antiquity to be encumbered by the baggage of the Christian theological imagination, wherein "faith" came to mean many different things. See Morgan (2015). This standard Greco-Roman use of the term corresponds closely to its valence within biblical Hebrew: Gesenius (2013) 72; Koehler/Baumgartner (1994) 62–63. This same standard meaning in Hebrew seems to have continued in rabbinic literature, notwithstanding Marcus Jastrow's use of "faith" *inter alia* for both אמונה and אמנה: Jastrow (1950) 76–78. Back to Christianity: given the New Testament's socio-cultural context of writing—i.e., Hellenistic Judaism—one should not make the mistake of assuming that what would come to be understood as the *Christian* idea of faith was unique or did not exist before 'Christianity' emerged in the early centuries. Indeed, N.T. Wright's controversial reading of paradigmatic

greatest change in this passage comes when Yosippon replaces *pietas* and/or *uirtus* (and *aemulatio* thereof) with התורה. The Jewish author of *SY* doubtless understood the Torah to be the fountainhead of all piety and virtue, though he was also doubtless capable of translating *pietas* and *aemulatio uirtutis* into Hebrew equivalents had he so wanted.[149] The replacement of these ideas with the umbrella category of התורה signposts *SY*'s fundamentally Jewish (might we say halakhic?) orientation as a piece of historiography.

A final note to be made about the passages quoted above: Yosippon dampens the negative force of Ps-Hegesippus' conclusion about the absence of all these virtues in Jerusalem. For the Christian author, it is "no wonder" (*nec mirum*) that such a collective moral failing should have occurred among the generation of post-Jesus Jews, following what he calls the *spiritus contradictionis*, a statement whereby *DEH* essentializes the actions of the Jewish 'other' against whom he is polemicizing, thereby instantiating what is sometimes called the

---

uses of πίστις in the New Testament—most importantly, reading the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ as "faithfulness of Christ" instead of "faith in Christ" in passages like Gal 2:16, where it is said that "we may be justified ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ" (cf. Acts 20:21; 24:24; Rom 3:22; Gal 3:26; Phil 3:9; Col 1:4; 2:5)—arguably applies a 'more Jewish' lens to that term in context; see, e.g., Wright (2009) 117. Incidentally, *DEH* uses *fides* in two distinct ways throughout, sometimes reflecting the Classical usage and sometimes the more specialized Christian meaning.

149 *Virtus* usually translates כח in the Vulgate; *aemulatio* can translate קנאה (Song 8:6); *pietas* is less common: see Chapter 2, "The Idea of Piety," in Britton (2013) 22–40, which begins with a section on "Biblical piety" followed by a discussion of "Classical piety." Regarding the former, it is argued that "From the Hebrew scriptures, 'piety' can be used to translate either [יראת השמים] (fear of heaven) or [יראת יהוה] (fear of the Lord); it is also often used to translate the word [חסד] (steadfast love), which is descriptive of God's relationship to Israel as well as the ideal aspiration for humanity's relationship to God" (23), citing Hos 6:6, Prov 1:7, and Gen 20:11 (יראת אלהים); cf. Isa 11:2b. Cf. Gesenius (2013) ad loc, but note that the phrase יראת השמים does not appear in the Hebrew Bible (or the Dead Sea Scrolls, so far as I can tell), though it becomes a standard way to understand the teaching of the Torah within Jewish tradition: see b. *Berakhot* 33b; 28b (יראת שמים); cf. m. *Pirkei Avot* 1.4; 4.13 (מורא שמים). Britton also discusses the term θεοσέβεια in the LXX, and εὐσέβεια and δικαιοσύνη in the NT (with 1 Tim 4:7–8; Matt 5:10, 20; 6:1), before finishing with a summary of piety in rabbinic Hebrew: "… from rabbinic Hebrew, piety translates the word [חסדדות], which can have a relatively narrow or very full meaning. In its more restricted sense, *hasidut* is what the eleventh-century French Talmudist Rashi declared to be the absence of a violation of the commandments; or in its fuller connotation, it can imply what the thirteenth-century Spaniard Nahmanide insisted is a pious religious fervor which goes far beyond the observance of the letter of the Law." This final comment of Britton's on חסדדות (= Hasidism) applies only to a very late and very specific (Kabbalistic) form of rabbinic Judaism; his survey is helpful given its brevity, but must be taken with a grain of salt.

"fundamental attribution error."[150] Very different are these straits as described by Yosippon, who instead asks where the compassion (רחם) and mercy (חמל) had gone among the Jews of Jerusalem in 70 CE—still the "holy people" (עם הקודש), by the way—caught up as they were in civil strife and civic turmoil.[151]

We have marked a number of passages in terms of their theologization, biblicization, and Judaization, showing how this chapter pair supports this study's larger argument about *SY* and its sources. If we wanted to say more about theologization, we could mention how the high priests Ananus and Jesus (= Anani and Yehoshua), slain within the Jerusalem addressed in *SY* 73 (עג) // *DEH* 5.2.1, are treated somewhat dissimilarly by Yosippon and Ps-Hegesippus.[152] In terms of biblicization, there are other places in *SY* 73 (עג) at which we could mark distinctive 'improvements' of vocabulary and phrasing in the Hebrew text compared to its Latin source.[153] *SY*'s baseline literary register, remember,

---

150 "In social psychology, the fundamental attribution error (FAE) is a cognitive attribution bias in which observers underemphasize situational and environmental factors for the behavior of an actor while overemphasizing dispositional or personality factors." This is also sometimes called "correspondence bias" or the "attribution effect." See *Wikipedia*: "Fundamental attribution error" (revised 12 August 2024; accessed 17 October 2024).

151 The roots רחם and חמל sometimes appear together as parallel synonyms in the Hebrew Bible: Jer 13:14; 21:7.

152 In recounting how these High Priests had lay unburied within Jerusalem, *DEH* 5.2.1 feigns incredulity by stating that they "were held in honor even by foreigners" (*qui uenerationi etiam exteris fuerant*), whereas *SY* 73 (עג) Judaizes and aggrandizes this: "they were holy princes, honored among the people of the LORD, and the nations waited for them" (הם היו שרי קודש ונכבדים בעם יי ולאומים פניהם יחלו). See Bowman (2023) 316; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 690–691; Flusser (1978) 341. My translation here is partially inspired by a line from Isaiah 42's servant song, whose language I think may have influenced Yosippon's usage: Isa 42:4 reads "He will not be disheartened or crushed until he has established justice on the earth; and the coastlands will wait expectantly for his law (ולתורתו איים ייחילו)." Cf. in the same vein Isa 55:4: "Behold, I have made him a witness to the peoples (לאומים), a leader and commander for the peoples (לאמים)."

153 An admittedly mundane example comes when discussing the unburied High Priests Ananus and Jesus. In *DEH* 5.2.1 it is lamented how they were left "fodder for birds and food for dogs" (*escae uolatilium et deuoratio canum*); note the typical balanced pairing of Ps-Heg here. In *SY* 73 (עג) these priests "became food for the birds *of heaven* and dogs" (ויהיו מאכל לעוף **השמים** ולכלבים); Yosippon's phrasing, which loses the Latin doublet, reflects the quintessentially biblical way to talk about birds, beginning with Genesis (1:20, 26, 28, 30; 2:19–20; 6:7; 7:3, 23; 9:2) and continuing thereafter (Deut 28:26; 2 Sam 21:10; Job 12:7; 28:21; 35:11; Psa 104:12; Eccl 10:20; Jer 4:25; 9:10; Ezek 31:6, 13; 38:20; Hos 2:18; 4:3; 7:12; Zeph 1:3; 1 Kgs 14:11 references עוף השמים and כלבים in the context of corpses liable to animal consumption; cf. on the same theme 1 Sam 17:44, 46; 1 Kgs 16:4; 21:24; Jer 7:33; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; Ezek 29:5; 32:4). The most important biblical inspiration for this passage comes from the Psalm most often seen (often by Christians) as prophesying Jerusalem's 70 CE downfall. Psa 79:2 reads "They have given the dead bodies of your servants to the birds of the

is the Hebrew of the Jewish Scriptures.[154] As for Judaization: the recapturing of biblical language, the re-introduction of God and his actions into particular portions of this speech, and the reframing of the discourse such that the Jews' plight is less permanent—less unique—and the Jews' heroic ancestors more impressive than in *DEH*, these are only a few of the ways in which *SY* makes this chapter 'more Jewish' than what we find in the Latin text. Nor is this to suggest that these three categories of mine neatly explain any and all innovations of Yosippon—some changes that *SY* 73 (עג) introduces could be due to the author's *lack* of knowledge vis-à-vis Ps-Hegesippus; others could be incidental.[155] That is to say, there are myriad possible explanations for why a

---

sky as food, the flesh of your godly ones to the animals of the earth" (נתנו את-נבלת עבדיך מאכל לעוף השמים בשר חסידיך לחיתו-ארץ).

154 Cf. when Yosippon has Josephus lament how "the dead fill your open spaces and the living who remain in the city are counted as dead because their soul is weary from the scent of human corpses, and many died and many went crazy beyond any cure" (וחוצותייך מלאו מתים והחיים הנשארים בעיר נחשבים כמתים כי נקטה נפשם מריח נבלת האדם ורבים ימותו ורבים יחלו עד לאין מרפא). The language of their 'soul being weary' is borrowed from Job 10:1a (... נקטה נפשי). Bowman, without even trying to be exhaustive, notes in-line with his translation of this chapter phrases and vocabulary borrowed from Judg 5:20, Lam 2:19, Psa 114:5 and 115, Psa 79:1, Lev 19:18.

155 An example: the narrator of *DEH* 5.2.1, amidst the discussion of Ananus' and Jesus' murder within Jerusalem, relates how his Jewish listeners had "killed the prophets in the middle of your bosom, who stoned the saints of the Lord," including one "Zacharias" who "lay lifeless before the temple, unburied" (... *quae in medio sinu tuo occidebas prophetas, quae lapidabas sanctos domini. Ante templum Zacharias iacuit exanimis, iacuit inhumatus. Hic ergo sanguis illum lauat*). *SY* 73 (עג), for its part, charges that "your own hands brought upon you this calamity wherein priests of God and His prophets were killed within you: Zechariah was slaughtered in front of your Temple and lay without grave" (וידייך היו בך להביא עליך את כל הרעות האלה אשר נהרגו בתוככי כהני יי ונביאיו. ולפני היכלך נשחט זכריה. וישכב בלא קבר). Given that Ps-Heg mentions stoning and Yosippon does not, it is possible that Ps-Heg "knew the legends on the blood of Zachariah ... whereas the author [of *SY*] did not." Or so argues Bowman (2023) 317n3. It is not clear to me what traditions Bowman has in mind here, nor that his assumption is supportable. This portion of *DEH* 5.2.1, and the speech on the whole, seem to reflect the tenor and contents of Jesus' words in Matt 23:34–39. Jesus prophetically promises that God will send prophets and others to Jerusalem, whom they would reject and kill (23:34), "so that upon you will fall all of the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, whom you murdered between the temple and the altar" (23:35). A few lines later he calls: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and stone those who have been sent to her!" (23:37) and grieves that "Behold, your house is being left to you desolate!" (23:38). While Zechariah ben Berechiah is the eponymous prophet of the Book of Zechariah (Zech 1:1), the only Zechariah stoned in the Bible is Zechariah ben Jehoida, who is killed in the Temple courtyard for reprimanding Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chr 24:20–22). (2 Chr 24:19 reads: "Yet [God] sent prophets to them to bring them back to the LORD; and

historian might depart from a source text, and I am not trying to catalogue them all. However, this chapter has shown that, on the whole, prevailing patterns characterize most of the changes between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג), patterns that make use of what I call biblicization, Judaization, and theologization, that tend to underwrite a worldview reminiscent of Hellenistic Judaism and to overwrite (Latin) Christian assumptions, and that constitute, both in this chapter and across Yosippon's overall adaptation of *DEH*, the taking back of Jewish history for the Jewish perspective.

5 Inference and Interpretation: Contested Endings between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג)

Perhaps the single most important portion of *DEH* 5.2 is its ending. With the very end of 5.2.1 and the very short 5.2.2, the reader—or, as it were, listener and spectator—learns some very important things about how *DEH* understands the history it is writing:

> Now divine fire has truly consumed their holy things. For they were devastated by Babylon but were repaired thereafter, they were destroyed by Pompey and rebuilt again, but they have been thoroughly devastated, when Jesus came, and they have vanished, melted by the heat of the divine spirit.
>
> It has been suitable for us to begin our funeral by a somewhat fuller lamentation with some semblance of [our] ancestral solemnity, even so as to follow certain

---

they testified against them, but they would not listen.") Both Ps-Heg and Yosippon knew this tradition, and Yosippon probably also knew the tradition's recycling within Jesus' speech at Matt 23:35 and Luke 11:51. There is also a Zacharias who was, according to Josephus (*BJ* 4.334–344), killed within the Temple precincts and left unburied by the Zealots. On the intertwined traditions, cf. Bay (2018) 204–206. While Ps-Heg will have known this Josephan story, and Yosippon likely did not, it is not necessary for either version of the passage cited above, nor does it seem to be reflected there. While it is not impossible that the difference between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג) here is due to a discrepancy of traditionary knowledge, it is just as likely that Yosippon simply decided not to include the detail of stoning (e.g.) even though it was a tradition he knew about. Another example: in the first lines of the oration, Ps-Heg recalls how "angels" used to fight on behalf of Jerusalem/the Jews (i.e. their ancestors)—*pro te angeli dimicarent*—yet Yosippon prefers not to speak of angels per se, but rather of "holy armies" (אילי הקודש היו לוחמים בעדך את מלחמותייך). A real, if minor, difference, from which I can derive no real significance. The phrase אילי הקודש is not to be found in the Hebrew Bible, but compare the phrase מלאכי הקודש from the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD-A XV 17; 4Q289 frag. 1 5).

> funeral processions, and to satisfy the obligatory funeral rites according to the institutions of the ancestors. But let us come to the beginnings of the destruction of Jerusalem.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.2.1–2[156]

The single most important thing this passage tells us is that Ps-Hegesippus recognizes and anticipates the natural historical objection to the idea, put forward throughout *DEH*, that the Temple's destruction in 70 CE was permanent. (And of course, from the perspective of an author like Ps-Hegesippus, this destruction *needed* to be permanent for the theology and philosophy of the supersessionist model of Christian *historia Judaica* to work!) That objection would run like this: the first Temple in Jerusalem was sacked by Gentiles, but then it was rebuilt, and in fact it has been sacked since then; why would one not assume the same for this second Temple as well? Ps-Hegesippus' response to such a potential objection relies not upon logic, but upon intensity.

Ps-Hegesippus distinguishes the various destructions by contrasting the kinds of physics involved in each. The Temple's destruction by Nebuchadnezzar (587 BCE) and by Pompey (63 BCE) are presented in straightforward terms: the structure is devastated (*exusta*) then repaired (*reparata*), destroyed (*destructa*) then rebuilt (*reformata*).[157] Nothing unusual here. But the Temple's destruction by the Flavians in 70 CE was apparently subject to a kind of supernatural physics, such that the Temple was not destroyed but *melted* (*resoluta*) by a special kind of heat: that of the "divine spirit" (*spiritus diuini calore*). Thus, in the first line when Ps-Hegesippus says that the *ignis diuinus* consumed (*absumsit*) the *sancta* (holy things/places) of the Jews, we may rightly read the stress as falling upon the adverbs *tunc* and *uere* ('but *now* [as opposed to in the past] things were *really* destroyed'). Nor is it incidental that Jesus appears in the middle of this passage. From the Christian perspective, the earthly arrival of the Messiah changes everything; in this case, it means that Jerusalem's destruction by the Flavians was not like previous destructions, whether Babylonian or Roman—now God incarnate had been rejected by the people who were

156 Ussani (1932) 301: *Tunc uere sancta eorum absumsit ignis diuinus. Nam et exusta a Babyloniis reparata postea, destructa a Pompeio reformata iterum, sed penitus exusta, ubi Iesus uenit, et spiritus diuini calore resoluta uanuerunt. / Oportuit uberiore quadam deploratione praeire nos funus quoddam paternae sollemnitatis, et uelut quasdam exequias prosequi ac soluere iusta maiorum institutis. Sed ueniamus ad exordia obsidionis Hierusalem.?* Cf. Bay (2018) 72, 293–294. Pompey's sacking of Jerusalem (63 BCE) marked the end of the independent Judean state and Judea's beginning as a Roman province.

157 This kind of sequential pair, with *variatio* in the use of past participles, is characteristic of *DEH*'s Latin.

the object of such destruction. According to the end of *DEH* 5.2.1, the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE was categorically dissimilar, and disproportionate, to any destruction the city had previously experienced; supercharged by the otherworldly intensity of divinity, the flames that consumed the Temple under Vespasian and Titus carried with them a lethal finality, causing the holy relics they touched to vanish forever (*uanuerunt*).

In *DEH* 5.2.2, Ps-Hegesippus looks back and ties a bow on the great speech with which he began Book 5. He depicts the foregoing oration as a funeral oration, a fitting dirge to mourn the loss of the once-holy city and an obligation according to the *mos maiorum* (as a Christian, Ps-Hegesippus no doubt laid claim to the ancient Israelites as his rightful *maiores*).

The way that the speech of *DEH* 5.2 ends is difficult to envision within the Jewish imaginary constructed by *SY*. After all, other than the distinctively Christian understanding of Jesus' historical significance, what was there to say that Jerusalem's 70 CE destruction was qualitatively unlike all preceding ones? Also, recall that Yosippon imputes this speech to Josephus specifically, whereas Ps-Hegesippus has it in the narrator's voice—but could such an idea have passed Josephus' lips? By way of an answer, here is what we find at the end of Yosippon's version of this oration:

> For this reason [for violating God's Temple by committing murder inside it] our groanings have multiplied and the sound of our cries increased, bringing upon us grief to which nothing can be added, for there is no end to the evils which we have committed. So the LORD our God deferred his wrath, and we continued to act faithlessly; for this reason he has poured out upon us his fierce anger.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 73 (עג)[158]

Yosippon puts here into Josephus' mouth the appropriate response to a major national calamity, as validated by ancient Jewish tradition: namely, lament. And he recognizes the weight of the adverse circumstances *while admitting that they are due to communal sin and collective covenant breach*. The great confessional prayers of Ezra and Nehemiah throw the elements of this short pas-

158 Bowman (2023) 318; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 696–697; Flusser (1978) 343: על כן רבו אנחותינו ויגדל שאון בביינו להביא עלינו אבל אשר לא יסוף כי אין קץ לרעתנו אשר עשינו. ויי אלהינו האריך אפו ואנחנו יספנו למעול. על כן שפך עלינו חרון אפו. The term שאון ("din, tumult, noise") is not used thus with the noun בכי ("weeping") in the Jewish Scriptures, and the term is absent from at least two Recension A mss (ד, י): see Flusser (1980) 329. Another notable variant here is נהפך instead of שפך (recorded only for נ) in the final line. For the language of similar collective mourning scenes, cf. Judg 21:2; 2 Sam 13:36; Ezra 3:13.

sage of *SY* into relief: recognition of the people's sin, admission of God's long-suffering clemency, connection between continued disobedience and eventual travesty. The more critical inspirations for this finale, though, are from chapters like Lamentations 1, which use the very language found here to mourn the very same thing: havoc wrought upon Jerusalem, read retrospectively as recompense for her sins.[159] Nor can it be accidental that two of the biblical passages that employ the phrase חרון אפו (with the verb שפך) describe God's furious chastisement—following a period of forbearance—poured out upon his people (Psa 78:49) or even upon the foundations of Zion itself (Lam 4:11).[160]

In one sense, *SY*'s version of the end of this speech may imply greater affect than that of *DEH*, because it is the Jewish actor Joseph ben Gurion, speaking in the first person but on behalf his own past-tense people as viewed from the historian's omnipotent future, who confesses this communal sin. It is easier to describe the earned recompense of a third-person people than to admit the faults of a first-person collective. But *SY*'s version of this speech's ending is peculiar in another way, too: it does not underscore, or even suggest, the permanence of Jerusalem's destruction, let alone muse over the theological mechanics of the Temple's dissolution. Yosippon's speaker simply utters the standard covenant formula as applied to particular circumstances, like plugging integers into an algebraic equation.

The endings of *DEH* 5.2 and *SY* 73 (עג) are worlds apart. In *DEH*, this oration ends by hammering home how special the 70 CE destruction of Jerusalem was vis-à-vis all of its previous sackings, a historiographical application of Christian

159 Compare, for example, *SY*'s phrase רבו אנחותינו to the words put in Jerusalem's mouth in Lam 1:22 (the last verse of *that* chapter): "May all their wickedness come before You [they being the nations], and deal with them just as you have dealt with me for all my wrongdoings, for my groans are many (רבות אנחתי) and my heart is faint." Indeed, the term אנחה, "sighing, groaning"—a term that only ever appears in Job, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, providing a powerful hint as to its probable contextual valence—is, along with its verbal form אנח, a leitmotif of this chapter: we read in Lam 1:4 that, among other things, Zion's "priests groan" (כהניה נאנחים), and shortly thereafter (1:8) that "even she herself groans (גם-היא נאנחה) and turns away" and (1:11) that "all her people groan (כל-עמה נאנחים), seeking bread." Jerusalem is also made to say of her 'lovers'—the Gentile nations to whom she was wont to turn—that "they have heard that I groan (שמעו כי נאנחה); there is no one to comfort me" (1:21). Lamentations 1 accounts for a third of all incidences of אנח in the Hebrew Bible; surely this chapter was in the mind of Yosippon in rescripting this portion of the speech. Incidentally, the scriptural use of אנחה usually refers to the bearing of a burden whose source is clearly recognized as God.

160 Psa 78:49: "He sent his burning anger upon them (ישלח-בם חרון אפו), fury and indignation, a band of destroying angels"; Lam 4:11: "The LORD has expended his wrath, he has poured out his fierce anger (שפך חרון אפו); and he has kindled a fire in Zion, and it has consumed its foundations." Cf. Job 20:23.

supersessionism as blatant as could be. In *SY*, the speech ends in a way that is far less dramatic, but for all that far more appropriate for a Jewish author and readership, i.e. for an emic perspective on the end of Second Temple history. So here at the respective ends of these chapters we see one more example of the variance between *SY* and its major Latin source.

6 Co-Producing Religious History: *BJ* 5.19–20, *DEH* 5.2.1, and *SY* 73 (עג)

The speech examined in this chapter has a traceable backstory: a short piece of Jewish oratory (Josephus *BJ* 5.19–20) becomes the basis for a late antique Christian expansion (*DEH* 5.2.1–2), which in turn becomes the basis for an early medieval Jewish rewrite (*SY* 73 [עג]); as the oration moves from Greek to Latin to Hebrew, its configuration changes, whether radically or subtly, between Jewish then Christian then Jewish iterations. We may thus view *SY* 73 (עג) as having been 'co-produced' by Jews and Christians.

The core *idea* of this oration was 'originally' Jewish, inasmuch as the Jewish (or 'Judean,' but certainly not Christian) author Flavius Josephus first penned it. In its dramatic context, this lament over Jerusalem's downfall began as something voiced *by* a Jewish author-narrator *about* Jewish affairs *to* a Jewish audience (the imagined intra-narrative Jerusalem/Jews).[161] The Christian version of the speech in *DEH* 5.2.1 is therefore fundamentally dependent and derivative. However, we should note here that our historiological notions of 'originality' as connoting authenticity and of 'borrowedness' as inviting some kind of subsidiary evaluation are not philosophically unassailable sentiments; all ideas are inspired, and all language borrowed. Thus, to assume automatically that the version of the speech in *DEH* 5.2.1, or *SY* 73 (עג), was 'copied' or 'unoriginal' and therefore of secondary value betrays a basic misunderstanding of how literature is created, of what literature is.[162] This is not a discussion about the respective quality of the discrete versions of this speech. Rather, what is of interest

161 I take the intended audience of *BJ* to have included Romans and Jews/Judeans of various stripes.

162 *SY*, as well as *DEH*, has been treated as of tertiary value often in modern scholarship. Interestingly, Salo Baron (1964), who had little respect for *SY*, seems offended that the opposite valuation had been assumed by Moritz Steinschneider, who "considered this basic source of ancient Jewish history [i.e., Josephus' Greek writings] more as a background to its medieval paraphrase, the *Yosippon*, than as the work of the greatest Jewish historian before the nineteenth century" (310).

here is almost precisely the opposite, namely *the very co-produced nature of the lament over Jerusalem as it appears in SY* 73 (עג).

This ninth- or tenth-century iteration of this speech is, like Josephus' original version, a Jewish oration written by Jews and about Jewish things. However, unlike Josephus, Yosippon is writing explicitly *for Jews*, inasmuch as readers of Hebrew in early medieval southern Italy (as at most other times and places) were overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, Jewish, whereas the Greek idiom of Josephus' *Jewish War* was manifestly aimed at (Greek and) Roman readers used to the Hellenistic vernacular of the early Empire's literary elite.[163] However, from the perspective of co-production, the major point is that Yosippon's long version of this speech would not exist without the Christian version of it invented by Ps-Hegesippus. In fact, the latter may fairly be said to have invented the speech as a full discourse, inasmuch as it is merely a passing comment in *Jewish War* 5.19–20 but a full-blown address in *DEH* 5.2.1. The major idea behind the concept of religious co-production is that "Christianity, Islam, and Judaism have continuously formed, reformed, and transformed themselves by interacting with or thinking about one another."[164] The self-referential discourse present in *SY* 73 (עג) is put into the mouth of a Jewish speaker framed within Jewish history speaking about a Jewish topic, but the source for this speech is a Christian text, something of which Yosippon was well aware. The co-producedness of this speech is discernible not only in tracing its redaction history, but also in the massive structural incongruities that emerge in a side-by-side comparison of *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג), as we have seen in this chapter.

So what does this passage have to contribute overall to religious co-production as theory (or method)? For one thing, it demonstrates the polemical utility—i.e. the rhetorical lethality—of building upon literary edifices of the religious other to do '*contra* work'; inspired by Josephus' brief lament over the destroyed city that meant so much to him, Ps-Hegesippus was able to erect a veritable historical philosophy of Christian supersessionism. In this way late antique Christianity wielded the weapons of a (thus disarmed) Judaism against the Jews.[165] By the same token—though perhaps less aggressive inasmuch as

163 On Josephus' audience, with special attention to the conventions of speech-writing in Greek literature and historiography, see Almagor (2016) 111–117. More broadly on Josephus' Roman audience, see Mason (2016a; 2016b) in the same volume (*A Companion to Josephus*).

164 Heyden/Nirenberg (2025a). Cf. Heyden/Nirenberg (2025b) and Bay/Heyden/Nirenberg (2026) as ongoing expositions of this working theory.

165 Josephus' writings would not have been claimed by or important to the Jews of Ps-Heg's own time, at least so far as we know, though the author assumes the opposite (*DEH* Prol 1; 2.12.1).

it is not overtly attacking, or even addressing, Christianity—Yosippon could shave and reshape the Latin oration he found in *DEH* 5.2.1 to construct a reimagined version of what Josephus himself might have said were he to have given greater vent to his utterance. If we can talk about historiographical speeches as co-produced objects, we can say that such objects are particularly inclined to borrow parts from the religious Other, enhancing, it would seem, their discursive danger. Religious co-production, it turns out, is a contact sport.

A final comment: in applying the idea of religious co-production to the generic form of the religious dialogue (exemplified by Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*), Katharina Heyden has drawn upon "Martin Buber's insight that the *Ich* (the 'I') needs a *Du* (a 'you') to form itself but must transform that *Du* into a third person *es* (an 'it')."[166] Perhaps the same insight has application to the *SY* 73 (עג) and *DEH* 5.2.1 (and *BJ* 5.19–20). Consider the changes in voice and person that we noted above: Josephus qua narrator articulates his lament over Jerusalem as an *Ich* addressing a *Du* (or perhaps Zion should be a formal *Sie*). Ps-Hegesippus does the same thing, but at the end of *DEH* 5.2.1, as we saw in the previous section, he does indeed transform his *Du* into an *es*—Ps-Hegesippus ends with a statement about *their* city and Temple, i.e. that of the Jews. Yosippon does not do this, though in *SY* 73 (עג) it is not really an *Ich* but an *Er* (das heißt: Josephus) who speaks initially to Jerusalem as a *Du* (and perhaps to its Jews as an *Ihr*). For, at the end of *SY* 73 (עג), Yosippon's Josephus does the opposite of the alienating othering and objectification found in *DEH* 5.2.1 and discussed by Martin Buber and Katharina Heyden, bringing his *Du* into a collective *Wir*, thereby identifying with his narrative addressee(s) and combining the person and object central to Buber's thesis by stressing 'our groaning and suffering' under God's rightful wrath.[167] Can the groaning/suffering of a people be separated from that people like their city or Temple can? And, in any case, in *SY* 73 (עג) the *Du*/*Ihr* becomes not *es* (or *er* or *sie*) but *Wir*, the *Ich* thereby consuming rather than distancing and objectifying its addressee.[168]

This is not just rhetorical riposte, but discursive recapturing: between *DEH* 5.2.1 and *SY* 73 (עג), the Josephan lament over Jerusalem is changed from a deconstructive, negative tool of anti-Judaism into a constructive, positive tool

166 See Heyden (2022), complicating the process of religious co-production through dialogue as "both morally compromising and ethically promising."

167 See Smith in Buber (1937) vi.

168 One cannot, I think, help but see Yosippon's own perspective bleeding through the narrative character of "Joseph(us)," who delivers the speech of *SY* 73 (עג), perhaps assimilating to his source tradition, in which the narrator—who even in *DEH* might be read as Josephus—delivers this lament over Jerusalem.

of 're-Judaism,' helping Yosippon recapture, once again, something of the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism for a new Jewish age.

7 Conclusion: The Lament over Jerusalem, the Same yet Different

There is a reason that this chapter is the longest in this book. The speech of *DEH* 5.2.1 is one of the longest orations in that work, containing its ideological center-mass. The speech of *SY* 73 (עג) is unquestionably built on this Latin text, being indeed at times a translation thereof, yet it differs markedly from its Christian source. The omissions, additions, and alternations made by Yosippon in this chapter help to underline aspects of the theologization, Judaization, and biblicization already pointed out in earlier chapters that characterize the relationship between *SY* and *DEH*. At the same time, a comparison of these chapters brings new features to the surface, such as the Yosippon's unapologetic erasure of Christian and Christological arguments presented by Ps-Hegesippus. The overt Christian theologization of *DEH* 5.2.1, and the marked absence of such content in that speech's Hebraized version, furthermore render this chapter pair a natural contribution to discussions about religious co-production, even as the theory of co-production helps throw into sharper relief the contours of some of the competitive dynamics endemic to *SY* (and also to *DEH*) that this book seeks to demonstrate and explain. The next chapter, which treats another chapter pair, will illustrate similar phenomena of religious co-production discernible in *SY*. But there, we move from a speech that had a minimal Josephan original to one that had none whatsoever, and we also move from a speech made (at least in *DEH*) by an author/narrator to a city—with a focus on the collective—to a speech made by a different character, an unlucky actor within first-century Jerusalem, with more focus placed on the individual and the family unit.

CHAPTER 7

Lamenting Jewish History, Part 2: *De Excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)

The final set of chapters to be studied here—*DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא)—contain a distinctive speech.[1] For one thing, this speech is the only major speech that appears in *DEH* yet has no precedent whatsoever in the Greek text of Josephus' *BJ*.[2] This oration is therefore a part of the Josephus tradition that enters that tradition through Ps-Hegesippus; thus, it exists only in *DEH* and *SY*. This speech is also noteworthy for the creative ways in which it uses *exempla* from the Hebrew Bible, and for its discourse around martyrdom.[3] Inasmuch as martyr discourses emerged from the Judeo-Christian matrix of Antiquity, and inasmuch as the use of biblical figures to reason about history and religion and identity was a stock feature of both Judaism and Christianity from their inceptions (wherever one locates these), this chapter marks particularly apt territory on which to deploy the analytical tools provided by the idea of religious co-production.

This chapter first presents the narrative context for the speech of *DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא), nestled deep in the drama surrounding Jerusalem's disintegration in its final days as the home of the Jewish Temple. Then follow three sections dealing respectively with how theologization, biblicization, and Judaization function in *SY*'s reworking of this speech. In sum, the first section shows that God's much greater prominence in *SY*'s version of this chapter suggests a narrative context in which God is much more present than what one finds in the earlier Latin Christian narrative; the second that Yosippon's use of biblical terms and phrases colors the chapter in scriptural tones not present in *DEH*; and the third that *SY*'s reworking of the *exempla* and the discussion of death and martyrdom at the end of Amitai's speech provides a moral evaluation of this episode quite unequal—and more amenable to a Jewish perspective—to what Ps-Hegesippus had scripted.[4] A final section provides space for thinking through this speech's distinctive features as an exercise in co-production.

1 This chapter reworks and expands the material of Bay (2024).

2 Noted by Bell (1977) 33, 134, 139, 153, 219.

3 Bay (2023) 157–184.

4 The Jewish priest figure in the center of this story is called Matthias by *DEH* and Amitai by *SY*. Here it is interesting to consult the almost comical discussion of Zeitlin (1963) 283, who discusses the name within an attempted debunking of the medieval dating of *SY* in preference for a third- or fourth-century dating.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-009
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

1 Simon/Simeon, Matthias/Amitai, and and the Narrative Context of *DEH* 5.22 // *SY* 81 (פא)

In Book 4 of Josephus' *BJ*, and in the corresponding sections of *DEH* and *SY*, one reads of civil war in Judea and Rome respectively. The infamous 'Year of the Four Emperors' in Rome parallels devolutions to the East as the Judean rebel John moves from his hometown of Gischala to Jerusalem, there to wreak havoc and tyrannize the populace. At a loss, the surviving Judean elite, represented by the high priest Amitai, eventually allow Simon bar Giora into Jerusalem in hopes that he will be able to put a stop to John's reign of terror. This turns out to be a mistake. As has been known to happen amidst the chaos of civil strife, the supposed solution presents an even greater problem, as Simon (Simeon in *SY*) proceeds to slaughter those fellow Judeans that he perceives to be in his way.[5] Most notably, he summarily passes judgment upon Matthias (Amitai in *SY*), sentencing both him and his four sons to death on charges of 'treason'—some of Simeon's supporters report that Amitai is seeking to defect to the Romans outside the city walls. One of Amitai's sons escapes, while the others are caught.

Before the hammer of injustice falls on Amitai and his sons, he makes a final humane plea to his persecutor: he asks that he not be killed last, lest he behold the deaths of his sons before dying himself. His request is denied. Nor is Amitai allowed a final embrace. However, his character is allowed by Ps-Hegesippus, and then by Yosippon, to deliver a lengthy monologue before he dies. In setting the Latin and Hebrew versions of this speech side-by-side, we gain a glimpse of how theologization, biblicization, and Judaization all emerge as features of *SY*'s rendering. In this chapter, the sections are arranged explicitly in those terms.

2 More God: Theologization by the Numbers

In *DEH* 5.22.1, God is mentioned infrequently.[6] Three of the five times divinity is invoked in this chapter, *deus* simply functions as a genitive (*dei*) modifying either *populus* (thus, "the people of God," which occurs twice) or *altaria* ("the

5 See Josephus *BJ* 4.527–532, 574–576, 6.114; Mason (2016) 19. On Matthias' speech in *DEH* 5.22.1, see briefly Bell (1977) 154–156.

6 *DEH* 5.22.1–3 is translated in Bay (2023) 158–164. *SY* 81 (פא) is translated in Bowman (2023) 351–356.

altars of God," which appears once).[7] Beyond this, Matthias once addresses God in the vocative as *Deus*,[8] and *dominus* appears denoting God as "Lord" as a genitive modifying *sacerdotes* ("priests of the Lord").[9] While God is no doubt in the background of the scene and of Matthias' speech—whether in terms of the narrative's logic itself, the author's imagination, or the worldview implied by Matthias' discourse—Ps-Hegesippus has not produced a deity-soaked chapter in *DEH* 5.22.1. Not so with Yosippon.

In *SY* 81 (פא), the divinity is mentioned a whopping thirty-four times,[10] thirty of which consist in Yosippon's special shortened Tetragrammaton (*SY*'s peculiar Digrammaton)[11] and the other four of which are the standard God-terms

7 Comparing him unfavorably to the Romans, said here to have allowed the Jews to observe their holy days, Matthias levels the charge at Simon that "you throughout the same holy days have extinguished the altars of God by the final destruction of our city and by the blood of the priests" (*tu per ipsos sacrorum dies altaria dei supremo urbis excidio, sacerdotum quoque sanguine restinguebas*), here repeating a trope endemic to *DEH*, namely that of the *supremum excidium* = 'ultimate destruction' of the *urbs* of Jerusalem, that is never repeated as such in *SY* so far as I can tell. Later in the speech, Matthias twice recalls the ancient Israelites as the *populus dei*, though in the first instance this phrase, placed into the mouth of an imagined Saul in some afterlife social reality, this is qualified as *ille quondam populus dei*, which I have translated elsewhere as "that one-time people of God," conveying a thinly-veiled supersessionary perspective on God's ancient people. See Bay (2023) 160–162; Ussani (1932) 348, 351–352.

8 At one point Matthias prays: "Highest God, let not Simon be overthrown among the flocks of the guilty with their children. Let him as a captive see what he has wrought" (*Summe deus, ne inter noxiorum greges sternatur Simon cum liberis suis. Spectet captiuus quae intulit*). N.b. *liberi* could refer to children or free men/associates here. Also, Ussani (1932) 353 records, but does not opt for, the reading of *innoxiorum* in place of *noxiorum* attested in the oldest ms of *DEH* (= *M*) and one of the best (= *B*); this would change the sentence to "let him not be overthrown among the flocks of the innocent." Either way, the idea seems to be that Matthias hopes that Simon's death will not occur within an early mass slaughter, but that he will live to see the errors of his ways as the city he helped destroy falls down around him.

9 Matthias recalls how Simon "not only spurred on the slaughter of innumerable citizens on the Sabbath but also caused the very priests of the Lord to have their throats cut on all the divine and solemn days of sacred festival" (*non solum sabbato caedes ciuium innumeras agitauerit, sed et ipsos sacerdotes domini numeniis et omnibus sanctis festae celebritatis diebus iugulari coegerit*). The Latin phrase *sacerdotes domini* appears frequently in the Vulgate for כהנים ליהוה *et sim*: 1 Sam 1:3; 22:17, 21; 2 Chr 13:9; 26:17; Isa 61:6; *et cetera*.

10 The counts given in Bay (2024) 376–377 are erroneous, only accounting for seventeen of the thirty uses of יי.

11 *SY* will also use the scriptural Digrammaton for God, אל, as mentioned in the following sentence above. And it should be noted that the divine name fluctuates throughout the *SY* manuscript tradition, as Saskia Dönitz reminded me at some point in personal conversation.

אלהים (used thrice) and אל (used once).[12] As in *DEH* 5.22.1, in *SY* 81 (פא) God is rarely mentioned as an agent, instead having his monikers attached to the holy landscape, people, and calendar of Jerusalem. The extent to which this is done in Amitai's Hebrew speech as opposed to Matthias' Latin one is more than notable—it conveys a constant and relentless insistence as to the deity-saturated nature of Jerusalem, the Temple, the Jews, their rites, their holy days. As I have put it elsewhere: "It is not … that God is overtly active across this passage, but rather that the loaded language of 'Godness' … landscapes the episode's narrative terrain."[13] While the language of *DEH* 5.22.1 might allow the reader to glide past references to the divinity, the reader of *SY* 81 (פא) has no such option, being bombarded throughout Amitai's oration with reminders of whose story and people and place this is. In emphasizing this connection between God and Jerusalem and the Jews, theologization in this passage functions as a form of Judaization as well.

The Jerusalem Temple is referred to as the "Temple of the Lord" (היכל יי) seven times in *SY* 81 (פא),[14] in five instances of which Amitai refers to the *burn-*

12 The end of *SY* 81 (פא) reads: "It happened while Simeon was smiting these righteous ones that eleven nobles of Jerusalem, well born, passed by and saw how these righteous ones were being killed, and they said to one another: 'How long will God (האל) look upon the wickedness of Simeon that he is doing in this place and remain silent and not seek the blood of the righteous and the pious from his hand?' This conversation was heard and related to Simeon; he killed them too on that day." Bowman (2023) 356. When used thus with the definite article, the Bible generally has the singular אל ("God") in reference to Yahweh modified by noun, i.e. "God of X" (see Gen 31:13; 46:3; Psa 68:19–20), or by an adjective, as in Deut 7:9: "He is God, the *faithful* God" (הוא האלהים האל הנאמן); cf. Deut 10:17; Neh 1:5; 9:32; Jer 32:18 and Dan 9:4 have "the great God," האל הגדול, a not uncommon formula. Exceptions to this 'modification' rule come in the poetic literature of 2 Samuel (22:31, 33, 48), Job (8:3), the Psalms (18:30, 32, 47, which are parallels to the 2 Samuel passages, and 68:20; 77:14). At Psa 85:8 and Isa 42:5 this form is combined with the Tetragrammaton (האל יהוה). It is interesting that Yosippon only uses this short, most generic divine moniker at the end of the narrative, describing the words of unspecified men in the city, whereas Amitai always uses God's covenant name(s). Also, note that *DEH* 5.22.3 does not allow the final men whom Simon is described as killing to say anything; we read only that "eleven further men were seized" (*praeoccupantur etiam undecim uiri*) on charges of conspiracy because they were "moved by the atrocity of his crime" (*commoti scelerum eius atrocitate*), which led one of them, Judas, to mount a tower and signal to the Romans, earning him and his comrades a swift death, the chapter ending with the line: "And their bodies were thrown headlong from the wall" (*corpora quoque eorum de muro praecipitata*). Bay (2023) 164; Ussani (1932) 354. Note that the end of *DEH* 5.22, i.e the short sections of 5.22.2 and 5.22.3, have rough precedents in Josephus' *BJ* 5.531 and 5.534–540 respectively: Ussani (1932) 353–354.

13 Bay (2024) 377.

14 Bay (2024) 376 is short, counting only four times.

ing of said Temple (and six refer to its destruction). Speaking to Simeon, he recalls how "even Titus commanded his army and warned them lest they set fire to the Temple of the Lord," whereas "you [Simeon] with your own hand set a fire in the Temple of the Lord."[15] A few lines later, Amitai states: "Simeon, I thank you for killing me before my eyes should see the burning of the Temple of the Lord."[16] He then wishes that "just as I shall not see the burning of the Temple of the Lord, so I might not witness the blood of my sons spilling upon the earth before my eyes."[17] Toward the end, Amitai consoles himself: "I have not seen the burning of the Temple of the Lord."[18] Yosippon here establishes a stock formula and uses it to provide structure and balance to a thematic portion of Amitai's speech. In fact, this particular portion of Amitai's speech is so loaded with God language that it is impossible to escape the impression that the scene is taking place within the distinctive haunts of the God being referred to: between the first and the last instances of the היכל יי that were just discussed, Amitai recalls that Simeon fought John of Gischala "on a day holy to the Lord" (ביום חג יי); he remembers that Titus had granted the Jews reprieve from warfare on that day, but charges that "you profaned the celebration of the Lord with your fighting in the midst of the Temple" (ואתה חיללת את חג יי בהילחמך בקרב ההיכל); he includes in this that "you [Simeon] shed the blood of the priests of the Lord and extinguished the perpetual flame with their blood" (ותשפוך דמי כהני יי ותכבה אש התמיד בדמם); and, finally, it is here that Amitai mentions the "vengeance of the Lord" (נקמת יי)[19] that is causing Simeon to bring him down to Sheol (see discussion below). In this brief 142-word section of this 1,614-word passage we find a significant proportion of Amitai's mentions of the Lord (יי). This density of usage within a small block of text introduces Yahweh's destructive judgment as well as the setting of that judgment's application, the place where the Temple and the priests and the

15 *SY* 81 (פא): וגם טיטוס היה מצוה את עמו ומתרה בהם לבלתי שלוח אש בהיכל יי ואתה בידך שלחת אש בהיכל יי. Bowman (2023) 352; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 768–769; Flusser (1978) 379.

16 *SY* 81 (פא): ועתה שמעון אודך כי תהרגני בטרם תראינה עיניי שריפת היכל יי. Bowman (2023) 352; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 768–769; Flusser (1978) 380.

17 *SY* 81 (פא): ועתה מי יתן והיה כאשר לא אראה שריפת היכל יי כן לא אראה את דמי בניי לעיניי נשפכים ארצה. Bowman (2023) 352; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 768–769; Flusser (1978) 380.

18 *SY* 81 (פא): ולא ראיתי שריפת היכל יי. Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 776–777; Flusser (1978) 384.

19 The phrase "vengeance of the Lord" (נקמת יהוה) is a construction from the Book of Jeremiah, particularly Chapters 50 and 51 (50:15, 28; 51:11)—several lexical idiosyncrasies of this chapter of *SY* resonate with Jeremiah's language; cf. Num 31:3. The phrase נקמת יי appears only here in all of *SY*, though נקמה ("vengeance") is itself not rare in *SY*.

religious calendrical tempo are all "of the LORD," a framing notably and predictably absent from the parallel portion of Matthias/Amitai's speech in *DEH* 5.22.1.[20]

The other dense section of God language in *SY* 81 (פא) merges the phenomena I am calling theologization with what I am calling Judaization (discussed in its own section below). Toward the end of his speech, Amitai speaks to his sons and imagines what will happen to them in the afterlife. He envisions a scenario in which the biblical King Saul approaches him, and Saul's son Jonathan the sons of Amitai. He imagines what would happen "if Saul should meet me and ask about the people of the LORD" (יפגשני שאול וישאלני על עם יי). Here Yosippon uses Amitai to establish, or reinforce, a continuity between the ancient Israelites and the latter-day Jews, both of whom count as עם יי. In so doing, *SY* erases a critical phrase that appears in the Latin of the parallel texts in *DEH* 5.22.1; there Matthias imagines Saul asking him "about *that one-time* people of God" (*ille quondam populus dei*)—the distancing indefinite pronoun *ille* and the temporally suggestive *quondam* ('once,' 'used to be') fit with Ps-Hegesippus' Christian imaginary, in which the Jews' ancestors indeed *used to be* God's chosen people. Yet, for the Jewish Yosippon the genetic kin-

20 The parallel portion of Matthias' speech in *DEH* 5.22.1 is much choppier, sounding like a stylized law-court scene comparing Titus and the Romans, who acted mercifully and piously, to Simon, who has committed sacrilege and savagery at every turn: "The enemy offered peace from outside the walls, you introduced battle inside the walls; he desired to put an end to the siege, you sped up the assault. He held back fire from our city, you threw flames onto the very pediments of the Temple. He offered a cessation of hostilities in view of our sacraments, you throughout the same holy days have extinguished the altars of God by the final destruction of our city and by the blood of the priests. They besieged the walls, you the Temple" (*Hostis extra muros pacem offerebat, tu intra muros proeliabaris, ille obsidionem uolebat soluere, tu expugnationem adproperabas. Ille prohibebat incendia nostrae urbis, tu flammas in ipsa templi iaciebas fastigia. Ille nostrorum contuitu sacramentorum indutias dabat, tu per ipsos sacrorum dies altaria dei supremo urbis excidio, sacerdotum quoque sanguine restinguebas. Ille muros, tu templum obsederas*). See Bay (2023) 160 and Ussani (1932) 348. In line with the first Latin sentence given above, *SY* 81 (פא) has כי כיתים הכו מעט מחוץ לעיר. ואתה הרביתה להכות בקרב העיר ("Whereas the Kittim smote but a few outside the city, you killed many inside the city"). Bowman (2023) 352n2 claims that "The author's MS apparently had *paucos* (few) instead of *pacem* (peace); *DEH* is more positive toward the Romans." While the latter statement is valid, and while *SY*'s reference to the Romans certainly connote more of culpability than does *DEH*'s, such a Latin variant need not have been in *SY*'s source (though it might have been). This would involve a necessary restructuring of the Latin beyond this simple term—not evidenced in Ussani's apparatus—and does not allow for Yosippon's authorial creativity as the potential cause of this shift in the text, which I think just as likely as a Latin variant. That said, the vast majority of known Latin mss of *DEH* have yet to be collated.

ship between the first-century (or tenth-century) Jews and those whom Saul would have considered "the people of the LORD" will have been axiomatic, the two groups being for all intents and purposes coterminous: the Israelites and the Jews are two chronologically-distinguished riffs on the same divinely-connected social continuum. This confraternity is underlined a few lines later when Amitai instructs his sons how to answer "the righteous ones who precede you, choosing death with the people of the LORD rather than living in shame in gentile uncleanness."[21] Again, right after this, Yosippon has Amitai think about how "Jeconiah, if he were to hear of it, would cry out greatly over the fact that Simeon is ruling over the people of the LORD"[22]—again, the identity of the עם יי implicitly connects Jeconiah's time with later eras—and about how Jeconiah did better than Zedekiah, the latter of whom he remembers for having "strengthened his heart so as to dispute the fierce wrath of the LORD" (ויאמץ לבו נוכח חרון אף יי),[23] for not being subdued until after "the Temple of the LORD was destroyed" (ולא נכנע עד אשר נפרץ היכל יי) and "the people of the LORD went into captivity" (וילך עם יי בשבי). In the middle of all of this, Amitai recalls how Jeconiah surrendered himself and his household to exile so that "the sanctuary of the LORD" (מקדש יי) not be destroyed, assuming captivity "for the sake of the Temple of the LORD and the holy city" (בגלל היכל יי ועיר הקודש). Here again we have a section containing a fifth or so of the uses of יי in this chapter, yet here instead of architecture and ritual features, as above, the emphasis is upon racial/ethnic/national identity: the civil turmoil and destruction being narrated by this point in *SY* is in the Hebrew narrative attached to the "people of the LORD," a distinct people that has existed since the biblical age(s). Amitai and his sons, the ancient heroes (and non-heroes) whom he imagines—even Simeon himself—all belong to this special group, designated in this portion of *SY* 81 (פא) by their proximity to the God who stands above and behind the entire storyline, including the tragic scene in which Amitai and his sons are here involved.

Toward the end of Amitai's speech, he combines references to God's Temple and God's people with statements made to and about God himself. Just after his sons have been slain and just before he is, Amitai opines that "it is better for us to die than to see the city of the LORD (עיר יי) as though it were a grave and her

21 *SY* 81 (פא): וכה תאמרון לצדיקים אשר הלכו לפניכם ויבחרו מות על עם יי מהיות בחרפה בטומאת הגוים. Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 772–773; Flusser (1978) 382.

22 *SY* 81 (פא): והיה אם ישמע יכניהו את הדברים האלה יאנח מאד כי שמעון מושל בעם יי. Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 774–775; Flusser (1978) 383.

23 Bowman (2023) 354 omits to translate נוכח and חרון in this passage, terms which can be idiomatically omitted but which should, I think, be accounted for in translation.

crowd slaughtered in her midst."[24] We then read that "Amitai cried out to the LORD (ויצעק אל יי)[25] and said: 'I beseech thee, o LORD God exalted and terrible (יי אלהי הנשגב והנורא),[26] do not kill Simeon amidst the flock of your pasture.'"[27] Amitai fantasizes about Simeon being culled from the herd, killed only after being separated from God's covenant people, and his prayer to God continues into a small paragraph before he moves on.[28] After giving thanks for not having to see "the burning of the Temple of the LORD" before he dies, as discussed above, Amitai moves from considering future potential to past counter-factual, lamenting the fact that he did not fight against Simeon as he had the Romans so as to stop Simeon's "cruelty brought upon the people of the LORD" (והייתי

24 *SY* 81 (פא): טוב לנו למות מראות עיר יי כמו קבר והמונה נשחטים בקרבה. Bowman (2023) 355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 774–775; Flusser (1978) 384.

25 This phrasing makes Amitai resemble Moses, who often "cried to the LORD" (ויצעק אל-יהוה), as at Exod 8:12; 15:25; 17:4; Num 12:13 (Moses is also the object of this formula as "the people," העם, cry to him: Num 11:2).

26 Compare the prayer of the unnamed Maccabean mother-martyr in *SY* 15 (טו), who addresses God thus: "Exalted God, eternal God" (אלהי הנשגב ואלהי עולם), as noted by van Henten (2024) 348, who also notes that Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 176 translate אלהי עולם as "Gott der Welt," whereas the phrase is known from Isa 40:28—this is a reminder that one must always look to the Hebrew Bible's language as a baseline gauge for *SY*'s Hebrew!

27 *SY* 81 (פא): ויצעק אמיתיי אל יי ויאמר: אנא יי אלהי הנשגב והנורא אל תמית שמעון בקרב עדר מרעיתך. Bowman (2023) 355 has, erroneously, "flock of your people"; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 776–777; Flusser (1978) 384. The form נשגב is applied to יהוה and to his name (שמו) in Isa 33:5 and Isa 12:4 respectively, and the Niphal form of ירא is frequently applied to God (see *BDB* ad loc), but their appearance together is not exampled in the biblical text. Jer 13:17 refers to the people of Israel as the עדר יהוה, whereas Psa 79:13a reads: "So we your people and the sheep of your pasture (ואנחנו עמך וצאן מרעיתך) will give thanks to you forever." Yosippon combines the language of these passages.

28 Following the quote given above, *SY* 81 (פא) continues: "Rather, kill him alone and separated, captured by these who seek his life, he and his sons together. Let his fate not be with Your portion [people], nor let his destiny be with the Temple of Your Sanctuary. Let him see his sons in their captors' hand, and afterward let him behold their death, then let him too die for the wickedness of his deeds and let his eyes look upon the exile and the captivity and let him pay with his life. Let Simeon know that my fate was better than his fate, for I was gathered with my sons, and my eyes did not behold exile, nor did my sons go into captivity, nor did I see the burning of God's Temple. Yet he will see all this with his eyes, and his soul will die languishing" (כי אם בדד ונבדל תמיתהו. ונלכד ביד מבקשי נפשו הוא ובניו יחד. ואל תתן גורלו עם נחלתך ולא יהיה חלקו בהיכל מקדשך. כי יראה את בניו ביד שוביהם ואחרי כן יראה מותם. ואז ימות גם הוא ברוע מעשיו. ותראינה עיניו הגלות והשביה אז ישלם את נפשו. וידע שמעון כי טוב היה גורלי מגורלו כי אני נאספתי עם בניי ולא ראתה עיני גלות ולא הלכו בניי בשבי. ולא ראיתי שריפת היכל יי. והוא יראה את כל אלה בעיניו וימות בדאבון נפשו). While the rest of this passage only mentions God once, in the phrase היכל יי, Amitai's addressee the deity looms large over this entire passage.

משבית את אכזריות שמעון מעם יי) and asking God to "judge and reprove."[29] Across all of these references to divinity late in Amitai's speech, only once is he following his Latin source-text, which has Matthias address God as *Summe Deus* when asking that Simon not be allowed to die among the crowd (whether of criminals or of God's people).

Throughout Amitai's speech, including the section on biblical *exempla* discussed below, God's name and presence is consistent. This colors the lens through which the reader apprehends the scene and Amitai's final oration—Hebrew readers encounter a discrepant story in *SY* 81 (פא) compared to what Latin readers of *DEH* 5.22 find. God's presence is assumed throughout this chapter, reinforcing an identification between the LORD and his city, his Temple, his people, his priests. Unlike *DEH* 5.22, *SY* 81 (פא) relates a narrative that occurred at, among, and to people and places that held a special place in God's heart. This theologization, furthermore, coincides at numerous points with the simultaneous biblicization and Judaization at work in this chapter of *SY*.

3 A New Biblicization: Scriptural Poetics and Historiographical Speech-Writing

The Hebrew version of this chapter in *SY* 81 (פא) draws upon a number of poignant terms, phrases, and ideas, which reveal the poetics of biblical language endemic to Yosippon's prose and help paint the moral landscape of the narrative's characters and action. This begins even before Amitai's speech begins.

In *DEH* 5.22.1, we read that Matthias "was accused of betrayal and suspected of conspiracy" (*insimulatum proditionis et suspectum consilii*), but we are not told by whom this was done.[30] *SY* 81 (פא) specifies: "At that time the sons of

29 The term Yosippon uses here for "cruelty" or "fierceness," i.e. אכזריות, is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Scriptures, appearing (apparently as an adjective) only in Prov 27:4: "Wrath is fierce (אכזריות חמה) and anger is a flood, but who can stand before jealousy?" Yosippon uses it five times in *SY* 81 (פא) to describe Simeon's cruelty, which he once compares to that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes when discussing the Maccabees (see below).

30 *DEH* 5.22.1 (Ussani [1932] 346) continues: "in his custom of being concerned for the common welfare and free of guile, he was believed to have suggested to a close friend … (…) Thus when an accusation arose against him that he had intentionally come to an accord with and sided with the Romans, it was commanded that he be seized along with his sons" (*quod in usum plebis sedulo et sine ulla fraude tamquam familiari crediderat insinuandum. Id alte inpressum aliquamdiu tenuit, nec iam se ut amico credidit …* (…) *Ergo insimulatum apud se quod cum Romanis studio congrueret et conueniret, rapi cum filiis iubet*). Ps-Heg

Belial came and reported to Simeon saying, 'Behold, Amitai the high priest, who brought you into this city, is seeking to defect to the Roman camp'" (בעת ההיא הלכו בני הבליעל ויספרו לשמעון לאמר: כי הנה אמיתיי הכהן הגדול אשר הביאך לעיר הזאת מבקש לצאת אל מחנה רומנים).[31] The phrase "sons of Belial" (בני הבליעל), deeply familiar to readers of the Hebrew Bible, therein routinely describes people who commit violence, evil, and sacrilege,[32] sometimes carrying under- or other-worldly connotations.[33] By employing this term in the first sentence of this chapter, Yosippon baptizes the following episodes into a distinctive biblical parlance redolent of a moral dualism.[34]

---

basically follows Josephus here, though Thackeray's translation thereof is misleading in implying that Simon is the subject of numerous active verbs, which in the Greek he is not: see *BJ* 5.30 (Thackeray [1928] 166–167): "And now he had him brought up, accused him of siding with the Romans, and, without even granting him an opportunity of defence, condemned him to death" (ἀχθέντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ κατηγορούμενον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν κατακρίνει μὲν θανάτῳ). Simon is the subject of exactly one verb (κατακρίνει), directed at the brought forward (ἀχθέντα) and accused (κατηγορούμενον) Matthias.

31 In *DEH* 5.22.1, Matthias is neither a high priest nor even a priest.

32 See Hogg (1927). This rather opaque term is not restricted to the Jewish Bible but appears in later literature like the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, often "as a name of Satan." In the Hebrew Bible, however, Hogg suggests that the term should "in no case … be treated as a proper name or merely transliterated" inasmuch as its "various interpretations" (as laid out in *BDB*) are "all based on its etymological meaning of 'worthlessness'" (58). See further the standard study of Thomas (1963). Cf. the conclusion of Emerton (2015) 100: "*b*^{e}*liyya'al* does not mean 'hell.'" Emerton thinks it possible that בליעל could mean שאול, but more probable that it means something like "destructiveness."

33 Otero (2011).

34 The phrase בני הבליעל appears often in *SY*; see *SY* 16 (יו), 65 (סח; twice), 69 (סט; no less than 10 ten times, remarkably, in reference to John of Gischala's followers), 71 (עא); the basically congruent phrase איש (ה)בליעל (pl. אנשי [ה]בליעל) is also frequent: see *SY* 4 (ד), 11 (יא), 15 (יח; thrice), 24 (כד), 30 (ל), 31 (לא), 41 (מא), 42 (מב), 60 (ס), 65 (סח), 67 (סז), 69 (סט; ×7—interestingly, the brigands in this passage are at first referred to as בני הבליעל [ten times], and only thereafter as אנשי הבליעל; that is, there is no overlap in the terminology in this passage, by far the densest collection of this phrasing in all of *SY*—what might account for this change?), 71 (עא). That *SY*'s author understands "Belial" (בליעל) as a pure adjective rather than a substantive is hinted at by the non-use of the construct ה- in many instances of the construction איש (ה)בליעל and is confirmed by his parallel use of בליעל and רע ("evil") in referring to "an evil and violent man" (איש רע ובליעל) in 41 (מא). Cf. the reference to "evil counselors and violent men" (יועצי הרשע ואנשי בליעל) in 53 (נג). "Evil people" (רעים) and אנשי בליעל are also paralleled in 60 (ס). Interestingly, John of Gischala, described as a איש הבליעל, stands alongside Simeon bar Giora, described as a **איש דמים ובן בליעל**, in 71 (עא). Simeon is the only individual identified in the singular as a בן בליעל in all of *SY*. Our passage, *SY* 81 (פא), is the last use the term בליעל in *SY*.

In a similar vein, Yosippon deploys implicit biblical analogy to moralize Simeon and his actions. In *DEH* 5.22.1, Matthias is the agent in the sentence relating the denial of his request to be killed before his sons: "But he [Matthias] did not obtain what piety itself would have demanded even if he had not asked" (*Non impetrauit quod ipsa pietas exigebat, etiamsi non rogaret*). In *SY* 81 (פא), Simeon is the active party: "But Simeon's heart was hardened and he did not listen to his [Amitai's] plea" (ויחזק לב שמעון ולא הקשיב תחינתו).[35] Here again Yosippon taps biblical language that might strike even the casual reader of the Jewish Scriptures as familiar. The 'hardening of the heart' (יחזק לב, and sometimes הכבד את-לב) is the quintessential faux pas of Pharaoh according to the Book the Exodus, throughout which one reads of how "Pharaoh hardened his heart" or "the heart of Pharaoh was hardened" against God's command delivered through Moses. A few passages in particular, e.g., Exod 7:22 and 8:19, describe Pharaoh's actions in language strikingly similar to Simeon's as relayed here in *SY*.[36] By his language, Yosippon transforms this episode into a Bible story, painting Simeon with a Pharaonic stubbornness reminiscent of the Jewish Scriptures' most famous arch-villain.

It is not just the narrative that frames the antagonists in this section with biblical language. Amitai's speech does as well. Toward the beginning of this speech, Amitai reflects upon his decision, foolish only in retrospect, to let Simeon into the city: "For I said, 'perhaps he will be of assistance to this city,' but he became for us a stumbling block and a snare to this entire city."[37] The phrase "stumbling block and snare" (למכשול ולמוקש) is reminiscent of Isa 8:14, where the prophet speaks of how the LORD will become a snare and a stumbling block to the unrighteous houses of Israel.[38] (Incidentally, this phrasing is also reminiscent of specifically Christian Scripture, i.e. the New Testament.)[39]

---

35 Cf. Psa 66:19 and Jer 23:18 for the form הקשיב.

36 Exod 7:22: "But the magicians of Egypt did the same with their secret arts; and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he did not listen to them (ויחזק לב-פרעה ולא-שמע אלהם), as the LORD had said." Exod 8:19: "Then the magicians said to Pharaoah, 'This is the finger of God.' But Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he did not listen to them (ויחזק לב-פרעה ולא-שמע אלהם), as the LORD had said."

37 *SY* 81 (פא); כי אמרתי אולי יהיה לעיר הזאת לעזרה והוא נהפך לנו למכשול ולמוקש ולכל העיר הזאת. Bowman (2023) 351; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 764–765; Flusser (1978) 378.

38 Isa 8:14: "Then He shall become a sanctuary; / But to both the houses of Israel, a stone to strike and a rock for stumbling (ולצור מכשול), / And a trap and a snare (למוקש) for the inhabitants of Jerusalem."

39 Rom 9:33: "Just as it is written, 'Behold, I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense (λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου/*lapidem offensionis et petram scandali*), and he who believes in him will not be disappointed.'" Cf. 1 Pet 2:7–8: "This precious value, then, is for you who believe; but for those who disbelieve, 'The stone which the builders

A few lines later Yosippon appears to draw inspiration from Jer 9:3, where the prophet laments that the dishonest inhabitants of Zion "proceed from evil to evil" (מרעה אל-רעה יצאו); similarly, Amitai regrets letting Simeon into the city as an augment to John of Gischala's reign of terror, stating that "Now, behold, they have continued to commit crime upon crime and evil upon evil" (והנה הוסיפו לפרוץ פרץ על פרץ ורעה על רעה). Amitai's entire discourse, as the rest of *SY*, is imbued with a biblical language almost never anticipated by Ps-Hegesippus' Latin text.[40] Above and beyond anything that occurs in *DEH* 5.22.1, in *SY* 81 (פא) even the bad boys are biblical.[41]

To a certain extent, the biblicity of this chapter of *SY* is due simply to the lasting impact of the Hebrew Bible's language upon post-biblical Hebrew usage. When Yosippon introduces Amitai's final speech with וירם אמיתיי את קולו ויאמר אל בניו ("and he lifted up his voice and said to his sons"), he is simply employing the standard poetics of speech previously established by scriptural narrative technique.[42] At times, the Hebrew of *SY* 81 (פא) contains biblical echoes whose

---

rejected, this became the very corner stone,' and 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense' (λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου/*lapis offensionis et petra scandali*); for they stumble because they are disobedient to the word, and to this they were also appointed." Both passages apply Old Testament prophecy to the metaphysical significance of Jesus.

40 Individual glosses also betray this, though they are less helpful for our analysis. For example, again toward the beginning of Amitai's lament, he states that "Now all the people who used to be free are crushed as slaves to him who rules over them as he wishes" (ועתה כל העם אשר היו חופשים נכבשו לו לעבדים לרדות בהם כרצונו הוא ויוחנן רעהו). The phrase כרצונו is particular to Daniel 11, the only place where it ever appears (twice: Dan 11:16, 36). Similarly, when Amitai late in his speech references the violence (חמס) of Simeon, this may have something of the ring of 'original violence' to it given how the pre-flood earth is described in Gen 6:11 as "filled with violence" (ותמלא הארץ חמס), prompting God to tell Noah in Gen 6:13 that "the end of all flesh has come before me **because** the earth is filled with violence through them (כי-מלאה הארץ חמס מפניהם)."

41 Indeed, in this speech the Hebrew of *SY* 81 (פא) carries lightly the gist conveyed by the Latin of *DEH* 5.22.1. The Latin and Hebrew versions of this speech share their basic themes and some of their points, but Yosippon takes a free hand in departing from his source. It is almost as if he knew that in this one speech the author of *DEH* had gone totally off-grid, inventing whole cloth a speech that had not existed in the previous Josephus-based narrative tradition surrounding this episode.

42 The Hebrew Bible usually uses the verb נשא ("to lift up") + קול to render "(s)he lifted up his/her voice," often accompanied by "and (s)he wept" (with the verb בכה), as in Gen 27:38; 29:11; 1Sam 24:16; 2Sam 3:32. Cf. Judg 9:7 (וישא קולו ויקרא ויאמר). However, the verb רום can also be used for the 'lifting' of the voice, as here in *SY*. So, for example, when Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph of her attempted rape in Gen 39:15, she tells her husband that "when [Joseph] heard that I lifted up my voice and cried (כי-הרימתי קולי ואקרא), he left his garment with me, and fled …" (as also in Gen 39:18). Elsewhere, certain forms of רום with קול as direct object can connote 'exalting one's voice against' another, i.e. prideful accu-

valence is ambivalent. When Amitai proclaims that "the sentence upon me should have been to be stoned with stones" (משפט היה לי להסקל באבנים), his reference to this practice of capital punishment resonates with legislation laid out in Deuteronomy,[43] but it is unclear what such resonance may be designed to do; perhaps this serves to remind the reader of the Jewish context of this pericope by reinforcing the Torah-centric nature of Amitai's thinking, a kind of Judaization. But this is speculation. At times, it is tempting to see in Yosippon's biblicization simply a kind of classical style adding a measure of lexical pizzazz to speech and narrative; toward the end of his speech and losing steam, Amitai remarks with regret: "Behold, now the vengeance of the LORD is falling upon my grey head, because by your hand I descend into the gloom of Sheol" (ועתה הנה נקמת יי תחול על שיבתי כי מידך ארדה ביגון שאולה).[44] In addition to tapping the fuzzy and gloomy biblical underworld of Sheol, *SY*'s phrasing here appears to have been borrowed from the famous patriarch Jacob in a statement he makes in Gen 42:38.[45] In general, Yosippon's Hebrew reflects that of the Hebrew Bible, whether by the accidents of that language's historical development, as a way of harnessing the classicizing glamor of biblical parlance, or for rhetorical or literary reasons not fully discernible to the (modern) reader.[46]

---

sation (2 Kgs 19:22; Isa 37:23), raising the voice in song (1 Chr 15:16; 2 Chr 5:13), or shouting, presumably loudly (Job 38:34; Isa 13:2; 40:9, there connoting joyful shouting; 58:1, there denoting trumpet-like shouts of rebuke; at Ezek 21:22 a battle-cry is meant). Indeed, רום can also function as an adjective, denoting the height, as it were, or the loudness of crying, shouting, weeping, etc. (see Ezra 3:12).

43 In Deut 13:10; 17:5; 22:21, 24, e.g., the command is given to "stone with stones" (סקל באבנים) trespassers of various moral taboos; cf. the same phrasing at Josh 7:25; 2 Sam 16:6, 13; 1 Kgs 21:13 and see Gesenius (2013) 901.

44 Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 768–769; Flusser (1978) 380; Bowman (2023) 352 translates שאול as "hell," unnecessarily in my opinion, in addition to rendering יי with "God."

45 In Gen 42:38, Jacob has just been informed that the Egyptian ruler (unbeknownst to him, his son Joseph) has required that his youngest son, Benjamin, be sent with his other sons to Egypt to prove the veracity of their previous statements about their family. This seems to conjure latent suspicions of Jacob's about Joseph's earlier disappearance—his brothers had sold him into slavery but told his father that some wild animal had killed him—and he fears to lose his youngest son, the only other son of Rachel. In Gen 42:38 he states: "But Jacob said, 'my son shall not go down with you; for your brother is dead, and he alone is left. If harm should befall him on the journey you are taking, then you will bring my gray hair down to Sheol in sorrow (והורדתם את-שיבתי ביעון שאולה).'" While Jacob may be exaggerating somewhat, his talk of 'going down to שאול' (with a form of ירד, "descend") and his mention of "my gray hair [or old age]" (שיבתי) solidify this passage, I would argue, as the inspiration for Amitai's speech here in *SY* 81 (פא).

46 Of course, at some level, all of the later reader's suppositions about intentions and inspiration are guesswork; all we can firmly remark upon is the impression of the text, its *apparent* rhetorical valence, but not its author's aim *per se*.

In addition to biblical phrasing and language, several other instances of which are marked in Bowman's 2023 translation,[47] *SY* 81 (פא) has occasion to reformat a series of hard-hitting biblical *exempla* mentioned by the story's protagonist (Matthias/Amitai). The first conjures the heroic Maccabean martyrs, the second the fated King Saul and his son Jonathan, the third Jeconiah and his son Zedekiah, kings in Judah who responded in sundry ways to the Babylonian threat against Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE. Rather than treat Yosippon's reworking of these *exempla* in this section, however, with them we move on to the next, on Judaization; for how these biblical *exempla* function within *SY* has everything to do with how the Jews in general, and one Jew in particular—Amitai—are depicted vis-à-vis divinity and history.

4 Judaizing Responsibility: Ideas of Martyrdom between Matthias and Amitai

In my book *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity*, I argued that *DEH* 5.22.1 may be read to contribute to a broad, superstructural discourse within that work which casts the Jews of the first century explicitly

47 In addition to (only one) of the biblical *exempla* discussed below (the Zedekiah *exemplum* from 2 Kgs 25:7), Bowman (2023) 354–355 marks Amitai's words as he addresses his sons—"Comfort yourselves, comfort yourselves, my sons (נחמו נחמו בני)"—as coming from Isa 40:1 (נחמו נחמו עמי יאמר אלהיכם). He also marks *SY*'s usage of Deut 28:65, discussed below, and he identifies Prov 3:11–12 as a passage inspiring part of Amitai's final lines: "Amitai said to the slayer: 'Hurry up, smite me while the blood of my sons is still damp upon the steel, before it dries, and let my blood mingle with my sons' blood; let it soothe me as medicine and as salve. Also smite me facing the Romans, for they will exact vengeance for me and be witnesses for me on such a day, for I was their enemy and not their ally. Would that I were Simeon's enemy at the beginning just as I was the Romans'! And would that I had fought against Simeon just as I fought against the Romans and had stopped Simeon's wickedness over God's people! Now, O Lord, inscrutable God who dwells on high, judge and reprove!' " (ויאמר אמיתיי אל המכה: מהר הכיני בעוד דמי בניי על הברזל לח ובטרם ייחרבו מעליו ויתערב דם בניי בדמי. ויהיה לי לתרופה ולמרח מנוחה. וגם הכיני לנוכח רומנים כי הם ינקמו נקמתי ויהיו לי לעדים כיום הזה כי הייתי להם לאויב ולא לאהוב. ומי יתנני בתחילה והייתי אויב לשמעון כאשר הייתי לרומנים! ומי יתן והייתי לוחם בשמעון כנלחמתי ברומנים! והייתי משבית את אכזריות שמעון מעם יי! ועתה יי אלהי הנשגב שוכן מרום שפוט והוכיח!). Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 776–777; Flusser (1978) 384. Amitai's final line here may be read to echo Prov 3:12a, where Yahweh is said to "discipline" (יוכיח) the one whom he loves (as a son in whom he delights), but I see no reason for positing that Prov 3:11 or 3:12 are behind Yosippon's Hebrew here, as opposed to, say, passages in which both verbs שפט and יכח are ascribed, in that order, to the LORD, as in both Isa 11:3 and 11:4. Cf. the use of both roots also in Job 22:4; 23:7; Isa 2:4; Mic 4:3; Hab 1:12.

as non-martyrs.[48] I made this argument on the basis of the one mention of *martyres* in all of *DEH*, where Matthias in *DEH* 5.22.1 tells his sons that "we suffer what the martyrs have suffered" yet qualifies this: he and his sons would suffer like the Maccabean martyrs had, yet not for as noble of reasons.[49] Then, in the middle of *DEH* (at 3.2), we find the one portion of that work where Christian actors appear: *DEH* 3.2.1 relates the martyrdoms of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome.[50] Taken together, the reader of *DEH* can ostensibly discern the 'real' first-century martyrs in the background of the narrative, whose central characters, the Jews, are made to die like martyrs but by Matthias' own admission are decidedly not. Naturally, *DEH* 3.2 is not repeated in *SY*, being passed over somewhere within the Nero narrative of *SY* 64 (סד).[51] But Yosippon does not stop there. In this section I will argue that Yosippon's rescripting of Amitai's self-described plight in *SY* 81 (פא) contributes to a portrayal of Jews on the eve of Jerusalem's destruction that is more positive, more nuanced, and more basically Jewish (read: emic) than what we find in *DEH* 5.22.1. While not overtly classing the Jews of Jerusalem in 70 CE as martyrs, Yosippon certainly has Amitai play upon discourses of martyrdom to frame Jewish death amidst Jerusalem's collapse. We begin with the biblical *exempla* mentioned above.

In both *DEH* 5.22.1 and *SY* 81 (פא), the middle of Matthias/Amitai's speech contains a moving moment where the doomed father mourns his impending death and, even more so, those of this sons. This leads to musing over the body-soul distinction, and over what awaits them all in the afterlife. Matthias/Amitai expresses the desire/intention to cover the corpses of his sons with his own corpse, and the desire to soak up, even lick up, their blood lest it be left for birds and wild beasts to consume. In any case, he maintains that even if Sim(e)on can separate their bodies, or corpses (*corpora*/פגרים),[52] he will not be able to separate their souls (*animae*/נשמות).[53] He then bids his sons to 'prepare the

48 Bay (2023) 157–184.

49 *DEH* 5.22.1: "Console yourselves, dear sons: we suffer what the martyrs have suffered—Simon has arranged it. That which the barbarian persecutor devised, the tyrant has decreed" (*patimur nos quod passi sunt martyres, Simon statuit. Quod persecutor barbarus inuenit, tyrannus praecepit*). See Bay (2023) 161; cf. Bay (2024).

50 This pericope, known as the *Passio Petri et Pauli* (*The Passion of Peter and Paul*), is related to the Apocryphal *Acts of Peter* and several late antique iterations thereof. See my translation/discussion in Burke (2023) 465–478.

51 Indeed, this chapter of *SY* draws upon several different sources to supplement the use of a broken series of portions of Books 2 and 3 of *DEH*; see the notes in Bowman (2023) 73–76.

52 The term פגר can refer to animal carcasses (Gen 15:11), but in the Hebrew Bible almost always denotes human corpses (*BDB* ad loc).

53 The Hebrew term נמשה, "breath" or "spirit" (*BDB* ad loc), only lies behind the Vulgate's usage of *anima* at 1 Kgs 15:29, where the evil king Baasha is reported as having struck down

way' for him, as he is to follow them into death. In *DEH* Matthias encourages them to go to their "abode" (*mansio*),[54] where they will then welcome him "into everlasting hospitality" (*diuturno hospitio*), finally stating: "Go on ahead, therefore, sons, treading that celestial path with a purer footprint" (*praecedite ergo, filii, mundiore supernum iter carpentes uestigio*). What is in *DEH* a rather pixelated post-mortem reality becomes in *SY* a more vivid and detailed place: Amitai tells his sons: "go and find a lodging-place for us for the rest of time" (לכו נא ומצאתם לנו מלון לאורך ימים).[55] While in *DEH* Matthias mentions the *mansio* only once, Amitai refers to this מלון—a term referring to an "inn" or "lodging-place" in the Hebrew Bible[56]—no fewer than eight times in this section. And the reason Amitai tells his sons to go first into this place is that they, in their innocence, will be accepted, which will not be the case, he thinks, for him.

Before moving on to the biblical *exemplum* that this discussion introduces, it is worth reiterating what has just happened in the speech: at the hands of *SY*'s Jewish author, the afterlives of the story's Jewish characters (Amitai and sons) become more stressed and more secure than what the Latin account implies. And, while the 'hospitality' imagined by Matthias according to *DEH* 5.22.1 is presented in abstract terms, in *SY* 81 (פא) Amitai tells his sons that "the men of the place will give you a fine lodging-place, for they will see that you are inno-

---

Jeroboam's entire household: "He did not leave Jeroboam anyone drawing breath (*non dimisit ne unam quidem animam*/לא-השאיר כל-נשמה ... עד-חשמדו), but he destroyed them." While the Hebrew term sometimes finds itself adjacent to terms more commonly translated with *anima*, such as נפש (e.g., in Gen 2:7, Josh 11:11), Jerome usually rendered the Hebrew נמשה with something like the Latin *spiraculum*. The latter could mean "sense of smell" (as in Tertullian *Coron.* 5), or, classically, even "breathing hole," but in Late Antiquity came simply to mean "breath"; see Lewis/Short (1879) 1742; Souter (1957) 384.

54 In the Vulgate, Jesus refers to the eternal domiciles prepared for his followers as *mansiones*. In John 14:2, Jesus says: "In my father's house are many rooms. If it were not so, I would have told you, because I am going there to prepare a place for you" (*in domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem vobis quia vado parare vobis locum*); cf. 14:23. Not just the use of *mansio*, but also the idea of 'preparing a place' strongly suggests that in this passage Ps-Heg is drawing upon a Latin version of John's Gospel. Just as Jesus goes to "prepare a place" for his followers, so Matthias tells his sons to go and "prepare the way" (*uiam parate*) for him. It is surprising that Ussani (1932) 350 does not pick up on these parallels, as he usually catches even the smallest biblical resonances in *DEH*.

55 The phrase לאורך ימים connotes divine blessedness and carries vague afterlife connotations in several Psalms (21:4; 91:16) and Proverbs (3:2, 16).

56 The term appears only in Genesis (42:27; 43:21), Exodus (4:24), Joshua (4:3, 8), 2 Kings (19:23), Isaiah (10:29; 37:24), and Jeremiah (9:1), and never carries afterlife connotations in the Hebrew Bible. See Smith (2015) 24.

cent" (אנשי המקום יתנו לכם מלון טוב כי יראו כי נקיים אתם). Far above and beyond what the author of his Latin source imagined, Yosippon conjures within the mind and mouth of Amitai a populated and (relatively) detailed hereafter for the doomed Judean and his ill-fated sons, with 'locals' (אנשי המקום) and 'neighbors' (שכינים)—he and his family are relocating to a new neighborhood. Does this discourse reveal something about Yosippon's own ideas of the afterlife? Is this evidence for ancient or early medieval Jewish ideas about heaven, eternity, and immortality? Not long after *SY* was written, Rabbi Joshua ben Levi would produce circa 1100 in Northern France a work, the *Vision of Heaven and Hell*, according to which "all Jews automatically gain entry to heaven whereas non-Jews are condemned a priori to hell."[57] While Yosippon no doubt had ideas about such things, one wonders if he is projecting these through Amitai, for the idea of the afterlife expressed here not only lacks non-generic details but, as we have seen, largely falls in line with what he found in his Christian source.[58] All we can say is that Yosippon plays up Amitai's discussion of the afterlife such that it is comparatively clearer in *SY* that these soon-to-be-departed Jews can be expected to find a מלון after death.

This afterlife discussion leads to Amitai enlisting the Maccabean martyrs in his oration. The versions of this *exemplum* as they appear in *DEH* and *SY* are worth quoting in full. Here is Matthias' articulation of it in the former:

> Go on ahead, therefore, sons, treading that celestial path with a purer footprint. So also the Maccabees went before their mother, but they [went] to reward, we to punishment. Nevertheless, that pious mother beheld her sons dying and also wallowing in their own blood, she saw them as brothers embracing each other in turn with natural affection, and she delighted in her triumph, which she obtained from the tyrant. Certainly the merits of those suffering were different, but the savageries of both of those who commanded them were the same. Antiochus contrived this with Persian barbarity, for to them belong the inventions of novel punishments, [a practice which] you have followed. Yet while he preserved the mother until last for the persuasion of the royal will, you have ordered that the father be preserved for the torment of paternal pain. Console yourselves, dear

57 Perry (2017) 212, who nevertheless points out that this idea is more or less unique, yet describes it as "a Jewish conceptualization of the afterlife that emerged at the beginning of the twelfth century in western Europe (France and Germany)"; this geographical and chronological placement notwithstanding, it is not impossible that *SY*'s author will have held or encountered similar ideas as a ninth- or tenth-century Italian Jew.

58 A notable departure is *SY*'s lack of parallel for *supernum iter*, "celestial path," whereby Ps-Heg betrays that he is thinking of something like 'heaven,' a hereafter in the sky, something which *SY*'s Amitai never suggests.

> sons: we suffer what the martyrs have suffered—Simon has arranged it. That which the barbarian persecutor devised, the tyrant has decreed. Therefore we march forward voluntarily, and we flee the assembly of brigands.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.22.1[59]

Similarly, but not the same, is Amitai's parallel discussion in *SY*:

> So now, my sons, go please; do not linger, for this is no new thing in the world; rather, it was done like this earlier in the days of the Hasmoneans, the woman who sent her seven sons before her. They went and prepared a resting place for themselves and their mother. For each embraced his brother before her and then they died for the LORD and for his covenant. And their mother watched opposite them and after this followed after her sons with great happiness. They were killed by the cruelties of Antiochus, and we, by Simeon's cruelties. Oh that we might be with them in one and the same resting place! And if we are unable to enter their resting place, then let us be their neighbors, for they died in their righteousness, and we shall die in our innocence.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[60]

Rather than point out every minute incongruity between these accounts, here I concentrate on what I am calling "Judaization," which in sum means that Yosippon's version of this *exemplum* renders it more familiar, palatable, and agreeable to a Jewish readership and for Jewish identity. To begin with, in

---

59 Bay (2023) 161; Ussani (1932) 320: *Praecedite ergo, filii, mundiore supernum iter carpentes uestigio. Et Macchabaei matrem praeuenerunt, sed illi ad praemium, nos ad supplicium. Spectauit tamen pia mater morientes filios et supra suorum se uolutantes sanguinem, uidit complectentes se inuicem fratres naturae necessitudine, et suo laetabatur triumpho, quem de tyranno consequebatur. Diuersa quidem patientum merita, sed eadem saeuitia utriusque praecipientis. Inuenit hoc Persica Antiochus immanitate, apud ipsos enim nouorum sunt commenta suppliciorum, tu secutus es. Ille tamen seruauit ultimam matrem ad persuasionem regiae uoluntatis, tu seruari iussisti patrem ad cruciatum paterni doloris. Consolamini uos, filii carissimi: patimur nos quod passi sunt martyres, Simon statuit. Quod persecutor barbarus inuenit, tyrannus praecepit. Proficiscamur igitur uolentes, et fugiamus conuentus latronum.*

60 Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 770–773; Flusser (1978) 382: ועתה בניי לכו נא ולא תתמהמהו כי לא חדשה זאת בעולם! כי נעשתה כזאת מלפנים בימי החשמונים האשה אשר שלחה שבעה בנים לפניה. וילכו ויכינו מלון להם ולאמם. כי לפניה היו מחבקים איש את אחיו וימותו על יי ועל בריתו. ואמם רואה ושומחת נוכחם ואחרי כן הלכה אחרי בניה ברוב שמחה. המה נהרגו באכזריות אנטיוכוס ואנחנו באכזריות שמעון. ומי יתן והיינו גם אנחנו עמהם במלון אחד! ואם לא נוכל לבוא אל מלונם נהיה להם לשכינים. כי המה מתו בצדקתם ואנחנו נמות בתומנו.

SY Amitai leads with an identification between their predicament and that of the Maccabean martyrs, the famous (originally unnamed) mother and her seven sons killed by Antiochus IV Epiphanes according to 2 Maccabees 7 and 4 Maccabees.[61] Yosippon also narrates this episode in *SY* 15 (טו), as recently analyzed by Jan Willem van Henten.[62] Rather than being some 'new' thing, Amitai casts the impending unjust murder of him and his sons as something that had been done 'just like this' (כזאת) in the past. The somewhat glaring omission in *SY* is of the qualifying statement one finds in Matthias' Latin speech to the effect that, while he and his sons might be suffering like the martyrs did, their destinations differ: the Maccabees went "to reward" (*ad praemium*), whereas Matthias and sons are going "to punishment" (*ad supplicium*). And again, later in the Latin version Matthias muses of how the merits of those suffering in each case, under Antiochus and Simeon respectively, were different (*diuersa quidem patientum merita*)—i.e., Matthias and sons are not noble and righteous like the

61 The version of the story from 2 Macc 7 was *SY*'s source for its version of the narrative: see Cohen (1953); Flusser (1978), 68–75; Cohen (1991); van Henten (2024) 349–353 undertakes a careful analysis sufficient to show that *SY* draws upon a Latin text of 2 Macc 7, either the Vulgate or a version of the Vetus Latina (see esp. 352). Notably, as in the later chapters of *SY* (like 81 [פא]), and in general in *DEH* and *SY*, in *SY* 15 (טו) more emphasis is placed on the speeches than on the action, per van Henten (2024) 348. Overall, van Henten's conclusion is that *SY* is very free in its use of 2 Macc 7—typical of *SY*—and may draw in places upon 4 Macc 9:17, 10:10, 11:11 and 17:11–16, 18:10, and 18:11–19 (see 353–354). He also notes parallels between *SY*'s version of the story and rabbinic accounts found in *inter alia b.* Gittin 57b, *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.16 (18b), *Pesiqta Rabbati* 43, *Seder Eliahu Rabbah* 28/30 (see 355–357). Van Henten also notices how deeply biblical is the lexicon and style of *SY* 15 (טו) (357–359).

62 Van Henten (2024), who reminds us that, while the Maccabean mother remains unnamed in Flusser's text of *SY* (i.e. in 'Recension A'), the later *SY* tradition has her name, Hannah, and is an early appearance of this name in Jewish tradition (346). The name ultimately derives, it seems, from 1 Sam 2:5, where the biblical Hannah says that "the barren one has born seven." See van Henten (2015b) 246. Van Henten also discusses how *SY* 15 (טו) is part of a "cluster of stories" which he identifies as *SY* 11 (יא) through *SY* 35 (לה), and which Dönitz (2011a) 956 had marked as *SY* 11 (יא) through *SY* 26 (כו). Interestingly, he then argues that "*Yosippon* 14–15 are clearly an integral part of the entire work of *Yosippon*, since there are two cross-references to them in other parts of *Yosippon*. *Yosippon* 12 refers to Eleazar being tested and killed in the days of Antiochus and in *Yosippon* 81 the high priest Amithai refers to the death of the mother and her seven sons by way of a contrast" (346–347). But of course, *SY* 81 (פא) exists within *SY* because *SY* follows *DEH*; thus, it was not clearly an overt choice of Yosippon's author to insert this later mention of the Maccabean martyrs where there otherwise would have been none; his source had already done so. This is not true of *SY* 12 (יב), which is another story. (*SY* 14 [יד] contains the story of Eleazar's death, the pious old man whose martyrdom precedes that of the mother and her sons in the Maccabean tradition.)

Maccabees; Yosippon fails to repeat this statement.[63] In Yosippon, the parallel between the Maccabean martyrs and these latter-day Jews is allowed to stand, ridding the original Christian version of this *exemplum* of its anti-Jewish bite.

Yosippon also rids this *exemplum* of its graphic details, perhaps because they distract from the perceived point, perhaps because they are distasteful (at least in this context).[64] Whatever the reason, the Hebrew version does not recall how the mother's sons were "wallowing in their own blood" (*se uolutantes sanguinem*) as does Ps-Hegesippus. Yosippon also rids the speech here of some concept-terms that would have been more important for Roman and/or Christian readers.[65] But what he adds is even more striking: in Amitai's speech, the Maccabean mother-martyr's sons are said to have "died for the LORD and for his covenant" (וימותו על יי ועל בריתו).[66] As mentioned in previous chapters, this is precisely that for which the brave Jewish soldiers atop Masada will die in *SY* 89 (פט), the work's final chapter,[67] and it is also how Saul and Jonathan died

63 Indeed, *SY* reinforces the similarities further by being explicit in saying that the mother sent her sons before her and that they went and prepared a מלון, which is precisely what Amitai is asking of his sons. This is not said as such in *DEH* 5.22.1. Moreover, the same emphasis appears in *SY* 15 (טו), where we find the "expectation that she would go with her sons to the place that God has prepared for them," which is precisely what happens; van Henten (2024) 348. Nor do the parallels stop there: the Maccabean mother "fell upon the corpses of her sons" (תפול על פגרי בניה), as we have already seen discussed by Amitai in *SY* 81 (פא).

64 That the gory details were deemed unacceptable *de facto* seems unlikely, as this story was popular in medieval Hebrew texts. A slightly later version is found in Abraham Ibn Daud's *Dorot 'Olam* (ca. 1160 CE), on which see Vehlow (2013) 146–149 and cf. Zeldes (2020) 3–4, 23–28, 33–35, 123–127. Zeldes and others have maintained that Ibn Daud's version comes from *SY*, as *Dorot 'Olam* draws heavily upon *SY*; however, van Henten (2024) 346n8 demurs, citing significant differences between the accounts in *SY* 15 (טו) and *Dorot 'Olam*.

65 For example, the idea of the mother's ordeal as a *triumphus*, the mention of *necessitudo naturae* between brothers, even the introduction of the mother as *pia mater*. The latter moniker is not paralleled in *SY* 81 (פא), but we might note that in the story of the Maccabean martyrs in *SY* 15 (טו) the mother is dubbed "their holy mother" (אמם הקדושה), with reference to the sons, and "the holy mother" (האם הקדושה), which is quite close to *pia mater*. See van Henten (2024) 348.

66 *SY*'s stylized presentation of martyrdom here and in other chapters touches on similar themes, leading scholars to classify it among the sources for martyrdom discourse available to medieval Jewish authors: Einbinder (1999) 206; Grossman (1999) 76 marks the "important place occupied by the Book of Josippon in the spiritual world of the ages of Ashkenaz and France," dubbing it a major contributor to the "spiritual image of the German communities" formed in the eleventh century who were "prepared … mentally for mass martyrdom" and "*active* martyrdom"; Bowman (1995) 32–36. See also Baron (1952) 193.

67 There, as mentioned in Chapter 6, it is said that the soldiers "died on behalf of the LORD and on behalf of his sanctuary" (וימותו על יי ועל מקדשו).

according to Josephus' comrades in their speech after Jotapata recorded in *SY* 67 (סז) and discussed in Chapter 2,[68] and it is how Josephus is said to have taught his troops to fight while campaigning in Galilee as per *SY* 65 (סה).[69] This addition therefore does some intra-textual work within *SY*, connecting Amitai's Maccabean *exemplum* here to the fuller scope of Jewish tradition, from King Saul through to Masada and presumably beyond, yet with a focus on the Jews of 66–73 CE.

Also, it is notable that Ps-Hegesippus evinces greater interest in ethnography, discussing the 'Persian' nature of Antiochus' tortures and the people's proclivity to such things generally.[70] But for Yosippon, the heroic and wrongly accused Jews are the only thing that matters. Amitai does not address Simeon

68 They ask Josephus: "Where are our kings, Saul and Jonathan, his son, who fought on behalf of the people of the LORD and died for the LORD and for his people?" (ואיה מלכינו שאול ויהונתן בנו אשר נלחמו בעד עם יי וימותו על יי ועל עמו?). Bowman (2023) 289–290; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 630–633; Flusser (1978) 312.

69 In *SY* 65 (סה), Josephus' preparations of the Judeans in Galilee for war against the Romans is described in glowing terms. At one point, an invigorating speech of Josephus is recorded, beginning with resonances of the Shema (Deut 20:3) and ending with an echo of Isa 9:1 (and general biblical tropes): "Hear O Israel, today you are about to join battle with your enemy. Let not your courage falter. Do not be in fear or in panic or in dread of them. Fear not death, but let your heart be strengthened and have courage to fight on behalf of your people and your land, lest you be exiled from her. Fight for the Sanctuary of the LORD, lest it be desecrated with the defilement of gentiles, for death in battle is better than life in exile. And when you are arrayed in battle and you see a casualty fall from among your mighty men, be zealous for God, saying: 'Let us choose death over life so that your war will succeed' and **die for the LORD our God and for His covenant together**, for thus you shall proceed to the Great Light" (שמע ישראל אתם קרבים היום למלחמה על אויביכם. אל ירך לבבכם אל תערצו ואל תיראו ואל תחפזו מפניהם ואל תגורו מן המות. כי יחזק ויאמץ לבככם להלחם בעד עמכם ובעד אדמתכם לבלתי גלות מעליה ולהלחם בעד מקדש יי לבלתי יטמא בטומאת הגוים. כי טוב מות במלחמה מחיים בגולה. והיה בעורככם המלחמה וראיתם כי נפל חלל מגיבוריכם וקנאתם לאלהים לאמר: נבחרה מות מחיים למען תצליח מלחמתכם **ולמות על יי אלהינו ועל בריתו יחד** כי תלכון אל האור הגדול). See Bowman (2023) 278; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 630–633; Flusser (1978) 312.

70 The portrayal of Persia or 'Persian-ness' in *SY* is a subject of some interest. In 2025 I explored the portrayal of Persia in *SY* 9 (ט), the chapter on the *res gestae* of Esther and Mordecai, in a paper at the European Association of Biblical Studies annual meeting—"Persia and the Jews: Ethnicity, Race, and Rhetoric in *Sefer Yosippon*"—organized by the research group PERSIAS: Perception and Reception of Persia among Jews in Antiquity, from Achaemenid to Sassanian Times. At the 2026 annual EABS meeting I will examine the depiction of Persia(ns) in *SY* 6 (ו), the story of Zerubbabel (parallel to Daniel and 3 Ezra), in another paper: "Ancient Persia for the Medieval Jew: *Sefer Yosippon*, Persia, and the Ezra-Nehemiah Traditionary Legacy." The papers will each subsequently appear in edited volumes. Thanks to Veronika Bachmann, Kristin Joachimsen, Jason Silverman, and Kristin De Troyer for motivating these intriguing research pursuits.

in the second person, as *DEH*'s Matthias does. More than that, Amitai's presentation of the Maccabean mother as dying not 'in triumph' but rather in terms of 'following after her sons with great joy' (הלכה אחרי בניה ברוב שמחה) forges a closer connection between her and Amitai, the latter of whom is by no means pursuing a triumph, but who is hoping to follow his sons in(to) happiness. In this *exemplum*, by stripping it of its conceptual ornamentation and stylized language, Yosippon renders it a more familiar story, one more friendly to Jewish identity and perspective, and one better integrated into the texture of *SY*'s overall narrative arc.

Immediately after this example, Amitai mentions another set of figures already familiar to the reader of Yosippon and equally firmly ensconced within Jewish collective memory: King Saul and his son Jonathan. Here is what appears in Ps-Hegesippus' version:

> Once we have departed safely into that everlasting home, if someone comes to us who may ask, 'how do things fare with that one-time people of God?,' what will we say to them, especially if, as is natural, Jonathan of untouched youth shall have come to you who are younger, and Saul, as is natural, to me, the sinner? What, I ask, shall we say, except that that people, the new elect Judah, whom the sea fled, for whom the sun stood still, for whom the Jordan stopped, that people, I say, to whom the tide was navigable, the air fertile, the land heavenly, [land] which was not, like this our land, imbued with the appearance of corruption but assumed the beauty of resurrection, now serves the Idumeans and is subject to Simon, the prince of thieves, and claims neither that slavery with security nor danger with freedom. What do we think they will say in response, they who elected to perish in war rather than outlive the liberty of their native country?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.22.1[71]

In this section of the speech it appears that Ps-Hegesippus is more interested in the heavenly setting of Matthias' imagination, as *SY*'s Amitai does not seem to envision as detailed a scenario nor to possess the same realist vision of what

71 Bay (2023) 161–162; Ussani (1932) 351: *Sane cum in illam domum perpetuam decesserimus, si qui ad nos uenerint qui requirant, quid agat ille quondam populus dei, quid illis respondebimus, maxime si uobis utpote iunioribus integer aeui Ionathas, mihi Saul utpote peccatori occurrerit? Quid, inquam, dicemus, nisi populum illum, Iuda nouellum dilectum, quem mare fugit, cui sol stetit, cessit Iordanes, populum illum, inquam, cui peruius fluctus fuit, aer fertilis, terra caelestis, quae non, ut nostra haec terra, speciem corruptionis induerit, sed resurrectionis gratiam adsumserit, seruire nunc Idumaeis et subiectum esse Simoni latronum principi, nec seruitutem ipsam habere securam nec periculum cum libertate? Quid ad haec responsuros putamus, qui elegerunt bello perire quam libertati patriae superuiuere?*

sociality would look like between Matthias/Amitai and his sons if confronted with Israel's fated first king and his progeny. Yosippon finds an innovative way for Amitai to begin:

> Be comforted, be comforted, my sons, and hurry please, and we shall get out of this swarm of murdering bandits! And should Jonathan, who was killed before his father, happen to meet you while you are on your journey and should Saul also meet me and ask me about the people of the LORD, you will say to Jonathan and I will recount to Saul that this people that you have known, before whom the waters of the sea were divided, the sun stopped on their behalf, and the Jordan flowed backward for their sake, the people who trod through the depths of the sea, and clouds dropped their food from above, the wilderness gave them its waters, and they were covered with [the] clouds of heaven, in place of their trustworthy shepherds, a swarm of bandits and murdering chiefs has lorded over them, Simeon, the bandit chief, and with him troops of Edom,[72] our slaves. Thus you shall speak to the righteous ones who preceded you, choosing death with the people of the LORD rather than living in shame in gentile uncleanness.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[73]

The opening address-formula of Amitai's speech, as noted by Bowman, comes from Isa 40:1. Notably absent from Yosippon's account is any equivalent to Ps-Hegesippus' "everlasting home" (*doma perpetua*) or the key term *libertas*, pitted here against *seruitus*. Neither the Christian obsession with the afterlife nor the Roman fixation upon freedom versus slavery were interesting enough to Yosippon to be retained within *SY*'s version of this portion of the speech. Yosippon's interests lie elsewhere.

---

72 Reference to אדום in the Hebrew text of *SY* may connote much more than the parallel *Idumaei* does in *DEH*, inasmuch as Edom/Esau was by the early Middle Ages already well established in various registers of Jewish discourse to refer to Rome and/or Christianity qua quintessential enemy of the Jews. See the discussion and sources discussed in the Introduction.

73 Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 772–773; Flusser (1978) 382: נחמו נחמו בני ומהרו נא ונלכה לנו מעל עדת הפריצים הרוצחים. והיה בלכתכם בדרך ופגש אתכם יונתן הנהרג לפני אביו וגם אני יפגשני שאול וישאלני על עם יי. ואמרתם אתם ליונתן ואני אספר לשאול כי: הנה העם אשר ידעת אשר נבקעו מי הים לפניהם וידום השמש בעבורם וינס הירדן אחור בגללם. העם אשר דרכו במצולות ים וירעיפו שחקים מאכלם ממעל. ותתן להם צייה מימיה ויתכסו בענני שמים. תחת רועיהם הנאמנים רדו בהם עדת פריצים ושרי רוצחים שמעון שר הפריצים ועמו גדודי אדום עבדינו. וכה תאמרון לצדיקים אשר הלכו לפניכם ויבחרו מות על עם יי מהיות בחרפה בטומאת הגוים.

One thing that occupies Yosippon's attention in this passage are the several mentioned biblical *exempla* themselves. Unlike in the Latin version, *SY*'s Hebrew text has Saul and Jonathan both mentioned twice, first as imagined speakers and then as imagined listeners (with ל).[74] This is a relatively minor thing for *SY* to do, but we may take this opportunity to comment upon Yosippon's apparent special interest in King Saul as an *exemplum*. It was natural for him to bring up Saul several times in the speeches of *SY* 67 (סז), discussed in our Chapters 2 and 3, and *SY* 78 (עח), discussed in our Chapters 4 and 5. In placing Saul in these speeches, Yosippon is following the script of his source text in *DEH* 3.16 + 3.17 and *DEH* 5.15 + 5.16 respectively.[75] So also in the present speech of *SY* 81 (פא), Yosippon follows *DEH* 5.22.1. Beyond this, however, Yosippon mentions Saul in several early chapters of his work, well before the portions of *SY* that depend upon *DEH*. In *SY* 8 (ח), which records *inter alia* the death of the Persian King Cyrus, Yosippon relates how Cyrus met his end at the hands of the Scythian Queen Thamyris, relying upon Orosius' *Seven Books of Histories Against the Pagans* (2.7).[76] In evaluating this demise, Yosippon writes:

> King Cyrus found the end of his life in battle in the land of Scythia. And this is no surprise, for Saul, messiah of the LORD, found the end of his life in battle, and so also Josiah, messiah of the LORD, ended his days in battle as well.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 8 (ח)[77]

---

74 A note on Bowman (2023) re: Saul: Bowman is inconsistent, in one chapter rendering the Hebrew "Shaul" (Ch. 67) and elsewhere writing "Saul" (as in Ch. 8, 9, 78). See Bowman (2023) 42, 45, 289–290, 292, 336, 339, 354.

75 In particular, recall in Chapter 5 that we pointed out how Yosippon replaced an example featuring Samuel with one featuring King Saul in *SY* 78 (עח), thereby rewriting a line from *DEH* 5.16.1.

76 See Bay (2025b). This is the only place where *SY* seems to draw upon Orosius.

77 Bowman (2023) 42; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 126–127 indent this summary as though it were a poem or a proverb; Flusser (1978) 47–48: והמלך כורש גבול חייו מצא במלחמה בארץ שיטים. ואין זה תימה כי שאול משיח יי גבול חייו במלחמה מצא וגם יאשיהו משיח יי במלחמה הוסגרו ימיו. In rendering יאשיהו משיח יי, I have preferred here the reading of ms א (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Urbanati ebr. 52), as opposed to that printed by Flusser and Börner-Klein/Zuber, both of which have ידיד יי (a reading found in mss ד and ת), translated by Bowman as "God's friend." Another variant here, attested by mss ב and ק, is יאשיהו הצדיק, "Josiah the righteous." Neither of the Hebrew euphemisms for dying employed here (גבול חייו מצא and הוסגרו ימיו) are attested in the Hebrew Bible or elsewhere in *SY*. One of the Genizah fragments (ג[20]) applies the latter phrase to King Saul and the former phrase to King Josiah, also replacing the phrase במלחמה with בחרב ("by [the] sword") in describing Saul's death and placing this passage earlier

Yosippon chooses the kingly *exempla* of Saul and Josiah, both of whom the Bible casts as dying in war,[78] to frame Cyrus' downfall as normal for monarchs.[79] Then, just after this in *SY* 9 (ט), Yosippon begins his account of the story of Esther and Mordecai in this way:

> Only in the days of Ahasuerus was the memory of Judah nearly lost from the entire realm of Persia through the hatred of one Amalekite named Haman, who stole the heart of King Ahasuerus. Ahasuerus gave Haman license to act as he wished throughout the kingdom, even to wipe out the memory of Judah from the entire Persian realm, because Mordecai, a Jew of the nobles of Benjamin, did not rise before him. These [nobles] were the patricians, Benjaminite heroes, who accompanied their king, Saul, on the field of Amalek and delivered Amalek a mighty and powerful blow all the way from Havilah unto Shur, a land of many days' journey. They slew more than five hundred thousand dead of the Amalekite people, all destroyed in King Saul's war against the Amalekite people; verily he slaughtered souls throughout the land of Amalek: men, women, and children, more than a hundred myriads in all. This is why this man, Haman, preserved a hatred against the Jews and especially against the tribe of Benjamin.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 9 (ט)[80]

---

in the chapter (though the chapter divisions come later). It may be worth noting that the Genizah reading בחרב הוסגרו ימיו is somewhat resonant of a construction (ה'סגרו לחרב) found in the Damascus Document (CD-A VII 13). Cf. also in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls: לגבול יומם in 4Q408 1 8; הסיג גבול חייהו ("has displaced the boundary of his life") in 4Q416 2 IV 6 and 4Q418 10 8 (= 4QInstruction); בגבול [חיי]ם ("at the frontier of life") in 1QH^{a} XV 14–15 (= *Hodayot*). Texts/translations from García Martínez/Tigchelaar (1999). I am elsewhere developing the argument that the Hebrew attested at Qumran and that found in *SY* are mutually illuminating. An early product of this inquiry came in a paper I presented at the International Society of Biblical Literature Meeting in Salzburg, Austria on July 19, 2022: "What Hath *Sefer Yosippon* to Do with the Dead Sea Scrolls? Post-biblical Hebrew and the Cultural Lexicon between Qumran and Yosef Ben Gurion."

78 See 1 Sam 31:4–6 // 1 Chr 10:4–6 and 2 Kgs 23:29 // 2 Chr 35:23–24 respectively.

79 One should note that Josiah is also a favorite *exemplum* of Ps-Heg, who is mentioned in the speeches of *DEH* 5.16.1 and 5.53.1 (twice).

80 Bowman (2023) 45; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 128–131; Flusser (1978) 48–49: רק בימי אחשורוש כמעט אבד זכר יהודה מכל ממשלת פרס באיבת עמלקי אחד ושמו המן. אשר גנב לב המלך אחשורוש ויתן לו ממשלה לעשות כרצונו בכל מלכותו ולהשמיד את זכר יהודה מכל ממשלת פרס על אשר לא קם מרדכי מלפניו איש יהודי מן הפרתמים אשר לבנימן. המה השועים גיבורי בנימן אשר באו עם מלכם שאול בשדה עמלקי ויכו את עמלק מכה רבה ועצומה מאד מחוילה בואכה שור ארץ מהלך ימים רבים. וישליכו ארצה ויתר מחמש מאות אלף פגרי מתים

For Yosippon, it is the political-demographic legacy of Saul's martial exploits that explains the story of Esther: the latter-day arch-villain was effectively created by the heroic king, the chip on Haman's shoulder an ancient legacy as though in some great epic drama. In addition to all of this, Saul may be in the background of a statement made in another speech, this time by Simon the Scythopolitan just before he kills his family and himself.[81] The overall takeaway of Yosippon's fondness of Saul for present purposes is this: while source-critical analysis explains Saul's emergence in Amitai's speech in *SY* 81 (פא), the reader of *SY* in particular has been by primed by this point to expect Saul's appearance as a favored and polyvalent biblical example. Saul is manifestly important in *SY*, and, to the modern scholarly gaze, it appears that Saul is even more important to Yosippon than he was to Ps-Hegesippus.

To return to *SY* 81 (פא) vis-à-vis *DEH* 5.22.1: where *DEH*'s Matthias makes allusive mentions of famous biblical episodes, *SY*'s Amitai makes more straightforward recollections: "the sea fled" (*mare fugit*) becomes "the *waters of* the sea were divided" (נבקעו מי הים);[82] "the tide was navigable to them" (*cui peruius fluctus fuit*) becomes "the people … trod through the depths of the sea" (… העם דרכו במצולות ים);[83] "fertile air" (*aer fertilis*) is specified as referring to "clouds"

בעם עמלק. כל אלה במלחמת המלך שאול בעם עמלק כילה. רק שפך נפשות בכל ארץ עמלק אנשים ונשים וטף על אלף אלפים עלה המנין. על כן שמר איבה האיש הזה אשר כתבנו המן בעם יהודה ועל כולם בשבט בנימן. Cf. the recent study by McDowell (2025), who argues that Mordecai's dream in *SY* 9 (ט) was "translated into Aramaic and appended to manuscripts of *Targum Sheni* to Esther," thus becoming the textual basis of the Aramaic *Dream of Mordecai*.

81 The final line in that speech is: "Now I will kill myself by my own hand like a murderer whom the Torah puts to death" (ואהרגה את נפשי בידי כרוצח אשר תמיתהו תורה). See *SY* 62 (סב), with the interesting note on Bowman (2023) 269 (and cf. Leviticus Rabbah 26:7; Genesis Rabbah 65:27).

82 *SY*'s version captures more of the vocabulary from the biblical story, in which a strong east wind from the LORD "turned the sea into dry land, and the waters were divided" (וישם את-הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים; Exod 14:21b).

83 This phrasing is actually a creative reworking by Yosippon. The plural term מצולות, "depths," only appears 11× in the Hebrew Bible. The only time it appears in the Red Sea narrative is at Exod 15:5; there it has *not* to do with Israel's passing through the depths of the sea, but rather with Pharaoh's Egyptian soldiers falling into said depths: "The deeps cover them; they have descended into the depths (במצולת) like a stone." The scene is recalled in Neh 9:11. By recalling how Israel "passed through" these depths, Yosippon reworks the language of the biblical story, drawing a subtle link between how the Israelites versus the Egyptians experienced the same lethal abyss: the same deeps that oversaw the destruction of the latter witnessed the former's safe passage. Cf. Psa 68:22b; Zech 10:11. In the Hebrew Bible, the מצולות refer to a space over which the LORD

(שחקים) that dropped food from above (ירעיפו ... מאכלם ממעל),[84] i.e. the manna from heaven recorded in Exod 16 and elsewhere;[85] and "heavenly land" (*terra caelestis*) is clarified as "the wilderness [that] gave them its waters" (תתן להם צייה מימיה).[86] *DEH*'s allusions require the reader to intuit the selection of stories

---

alone has power (Job 41:31; Psa 107:24); he alone it is who can cast therein (Ps 88:6) and save therefrom (Mic 7:19; Psa 69:2; cf. Psa 69:15). As for דרך, it is notable that this verb does not appear until well after the Book of Exodus within the Tanakh, first showing up at Num 24:17 (where, by the way, it does not mean "tread [upon/down]" as it sometimes does). This verb does not describe the escaping Israelites in the Exodus story. However, it is worth noting that Job 9:8 states that it is God alone (לבדו) who *inter alia* "tramples down the waves of the sea" (דורך על-במתי ים). Cf. Hab 3:15. Similarly, Isa 11:15 states that the LORD, having broken the Euphrates into seven streams, "will make people walk over [it] in sandals" (הדריך בנעלים). In sum, *SY*'s version of this speech applies a verb to the Israelites crossing the Red Sea that Scripture restricts to God's aquatic action.

84 The imagery of clouds "dripping" is not borrowed from the manna scenes in the Hebrew Bible. This language appears at Job 36:28, where it is stated that "clouds pour down" (יזלו שחקים) the rain distilled by God and "drip upon mankind abundantly" (ירעפו עלי אדם רב). Prov 3:20 states that "By [God's] knowledge the ocean depths were burst open, and the clouds drip with dew (שחקים ירפעו-טל)." Isa 45:8 reads: "Drip down, heavens, from above, and let the clouds pour down righteousness (הרעיפו שמים ממעל ושחקים יזלו-צדק); let the earth open up and salvation bear fruit, and righteousness sprout with it. I, the LORD, have created it." Yosippon is borrowing poetic language from the Bible's wisdom and prophetic literature and applying it to a new (and quite appropriate) context, producing an intertextualized *exemplum* of the manna episodes. And note that this creativity involves theologization (implicating God's power over nature in new intertextual combinations) and Judaization (thereby re-coloring typological scenarios in which the Jews' ancestors were central figures) along with biblicization (a creative reworking and deployment of biblical language and cross-references).

85 Exod 16:31–35; Num 11:6–9; Deut 8:3, 16; Josh 5:12; cf. Neh 9:20; Psa 78:24.

86 The term ציה most often means "dry [land]" or "drought" in the Hebrew Bible, its use being restricted to the poetic-sapiential books of Job and Psalms and the prophetic books (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Zepheniah). The term, which does not appear in the Exodus narrative (or any narratives proper in the Tanakh), generally denotes a *lack* of water (Job 24:19; Psa 63:1b). Yet God is credited with being able to "turn a wilderness into a pool of water, and a dry land int springs of water" (ישם מדבר לאגם-מים וארץ ציה למצאי מים; Psa 107:35). And indeed, God's provision of water from the rock to Israel in the wilderness (Exod 7:6; Num 20:8–11; cf. Deut 8:15; Neh 9:15), while not described in such terms in the narratives of Exodus or Numbers, *is* remembered with reference to ציה in Psa 105:41: "He opened the rock and water flowed out, it ran in the dry places like a river" (פתח צור ויזובו מים הלכו **בציות** נהר); cf. Psa 114:8; Isa 41:18; 48:21. By making ציה the subject of the verb נתן in Amitai's statement, *SY* not only plays with biblical cross-referencing but also adds a component of personification to the scene not present in the Bible's internal memory thereof.

signaled on the basis of a few words, while *SY*'s mentions thereof are straightforward, at least on the face of it. For *SY*'s recollections of these biblical scenes also redeploy key terms in these contexts, recycling biblical vocabulary to portray a more impressive and divinely saturated past for the ancient Israelites in the mouth of Amitai. Moreover, *SY* adds to this scriptural remembrance a detail lacking in *DEH*, namely that the Israelites were covered, or protected, "by [the] clouds of heaven" (בענני שמים).[87] This appears to refer to the "pillar of cloud" (עמוד ענן) or "cloud" (הענן) that followed and protected Israel in its wilderness wanderings.[88] While not using the Bible's precise language from these passages,[89] Yosippon draws upon the image of divine protection to reiterate how the ancestors of the Jews (Judaization) enjoyed a scripturally-codified past (biblicization) that witnessed direct and miraculous divine protection (theologization).

The final line of this portion of the speech in *SY*, also an addition over and above the Latin source, conjures up a couple of themes that offer new biblicizing, theologizing, and Judaizing colors to the passage. By referring to the "righteous ones" (צדיקים) or "saints" "who came before you," Yosippon signals the blessedness and divine sanction that sits upon *both his sons and the ancient Israelites whom he is imagining*, the two groups being connected by this phrasing. Both belong to the "people of the LORD" (עם יי), electing for death with whom exudes a pious patriotism (or a patriotic piety). By juxtaposing this route with the "shame" (חרפה) of living "in the uncleanness of the nations"

87 This phrase never appears in Hebrew in the Jewish Scriptures, but only in Aramaic: Dan 7:13 records part of a vision: "I kept looking in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven (עם-ענני שמיא) one like a son of man was coming, and he came up to the Ancient of Days, and was presented before him." Similar phrases draw upon totally different vocabulary, such as the "thick clouds of the sky" (עבי שחקים) mentioned in 2 Sam 22:12b; cf. Job 22:14; Psa 78:23. The Danielic phrase is also familiar from Jesus' passion narrative: in Matt 26:64 // Mark 14:62, Jesus tells the high priest that he would see the son of man "coming with the clouds of heaven" (ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ [Mk: μετὰ] τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Similarly, within the so-called Matthean Apocalypse, Jesus proclaims that "all the tribes of the earth" will see *inter alia* "the son of man coming on the clouds of the sky (ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) with power and great glory." (In all of these passage, the Vulgate has *cum nubibus caeli*.)

88 Exod 13:21–22; 14:19–20, 24; 40:37–38; Num 9:16–22; 10:11–12, 34 (ענן יהוה); 14:14; Deut 1:33; Neh 9:12, 19; Psa 78:14; 99:7; cf. Exod 16:10 ff.; 33:9.

89 Is Yosippon here tapping the apocalyptic phrasing of Daniel (or perhaps even, polemically, of Jesus in the Gospels), or is this simply standard Hebrew phrasing for him? This is one of myriad iterations of this question that may be lodged, but perhaps never answered, when reading *SY*.

(טומאת הגוים), Yosippon has Amitai underscore the racial and ethnic isolation that was always prescribed to separate God's people from 'the peoples.' Tending to confirm this implication is the fact that the phrase טומאת הגוים only ever appears in Scripture in Ezra 6:21,[90] one of the quintessential biblical passages arguing for the necessity of such separation. To the astute medieval Jewish reader, this passage may have served as a reminder of their communal holiness. In any case, Amitai's Hebrew version of this *exemplum* presents the Jews' forebearers as more closely associated with the divine, more impressive, and more clearly separate from the Gentiles than anything we find in *DEH*. Building upon the latter, let us note that the Saul/Jonathan *exemplum* as found in *SY* 81 (פא) carries somewhat contrastive ethical connotations over against what exist in *DEH* 5.22.1. For Ps-Hegesippus, these culture heroes died for the *libertas* of their *patria*—their valuation in *DEH* paints them as something like proto-Romans. For Yosippon, Saul and Jonathan died to maintain ritual purity, as survival would have meant living (immediately, at least) in the contaminating presence of גוים.[91] Nor should it be forgotten that such separateness was a central part of Saul's death story as related in 1 Samuel (31:4) and 1 Chronicles (10:4). To sum all of this up in other words: these *exempla* as presented by Matthias in *DEH* are written for the Roman Christian; as presented by Amitai in *SY*, they have been rewritten for Jews.

The next example given in the speech is familiar from the last chapter: here once again the Maccabean legacy is tapped within a character oration. Ps-Hegesippus has Matthias say:

> Further still, how will Mattathias, progenitor of the Maccabees, respond, he who preferred, in observance of the law, to die while resting on the sabbath than to live while fighting [on it], if he should hear how Simon not only stirred up incal-

90 "And the sons of Israel who returned from exile and all those who had separated themselves from the impurity of the nations of the land (מטמאת גוי-הארץ) to *join* them, to seek the LORD God of Israel, ate *the Passover*."

91 The concept of the גוי or גוים in Jewish thought has recently received renewed attention in Ophir/Rosen-Zvi (2018), who argue that the concept behind this term for the quintessential 'Other' vis-à-vis the Jew was pluriform from early on through the Second Temple Period, and that the idea of an undifferentiated binary, wherein גוי becomes the precise opposite of "Jew" (or "Israelite"), begins with the writings of Paul. Their argument for the diachronic development of the concept and term has not been uncontested; see the particularly fine review by Hayes (2020). In *SY*'s usage here, and across the work, the term carries a binary connotation: Israelites, Jews/Judeans are not גוים; Romans, Philistines (imagined here)—and everyone else—are.

> culable slaughters of citizens on the Sabbath but also caused the very priests of the Lord to have their throats cut on all the divine and solemn days of sacred festival?
>
> *De Excidio* 5.22.1[92]

This time, Yosippon's version of the *exemplum* is notably shorter than what is found in his Latin source-text. Amitai says:

> Also, in such words we shall relate to those righteous ones who died in the days of Mattityahu, the high priest, rather than make war on the Sabbath. For Simeon not only made war on the Sabbath, but on the Sabbath he killed the priests of the LORD within his Temple on the altar of his holiness.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[93]

What could account for the relative brevity of *SY*'s treatment of this example? Are not the Maccabees and the powerful paradigm of Jewishness that they convey of particular interest to our author? They are, but consider: *DEH*'s gerundive clause, *obseruando legem*, specifies that Mattathias' non-combatance on the Sabbath was due to Torah observance. What Jewish reader would need such an obvious explication?[94] On the other hand, Yosippon's reticence to reference Simon's "incalculable slaughters of citizens" (*caedes ciuium innumeras*), stating instead simply that Simeon "made war" (עשה מלחמה) on the Sabbath, plays down the defeat suffered by the famous father of the Maccabees. After

92 Bay (2023) 162; Ussani (1932) 351: *Quid etiam Mattathiam responsurum Macchabaeorum auctorem, qui maluit obseruando legem sabbato feriatus mori quam proeliatus uiuere, si audierit quomodo Simon non solum sabbato caedes ciuium innumeras agitauerit, sed et ipsos sacerdotes domini numeniis et omnibus sanctis festae celebritatis diebus iugulari coegerit?* The readings of Codex Cassellanus theol. Fol. 65. (6th–7th century; = *C*) and Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 170 (9th–10th cent.; = *V*), which both have *matthian* as opposed to some variant of *Mattathiam*, could be particularly confusing here inasmuch as it is *Matthias* who is speaking.

93 Bowman (2023) 354; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 772–773; Flusser (1978) 382–383: וגם כדברים האלה נספר לאלה הצדיקים אשר מתו בימי מתתיהו הכהן הגדול על אשר לא נלחמו בשבת. כי שמעון לא בלבד בשבת עשה מלחמה כי בשבת הרג כהני יי בתוך היכלו על מזבח קדשו.

94 In somewhat the same vein, by omitting to include any parallel to *feriatus*, Yosippon is again simply neglecting to state what any Jewish reader would already know: namely, that Mattathias and company did not make war on the Sabbath, and died for it, *because they were resting* (in observance of Torah). Indeed, Ps-Hegesippus might fairly be said not to have needed this addition per se, but in the construction of this sentence it contributes to a balance of typical parallel phrases (each consisting of participle + infinitive) separated by *quam* (i.e., *feriatus mori* and *proeliatus uiuere*).

all, for Amitai, as no doubt for Yosippon, Mattityahu's sacrificial passivity here is remembered as a win, not a loss.[95] In general, this passage gives the impression that Yosippon is opting to forego what can reasonably be considered embellishment on the part of the Latin text. Just so in the final portion of this passage, rather than a graphic description of throats being cut (*iugulari*) "on all the divine and solemn days of sacred festival" (*numeniis et omnibus sanctis festae celebritatis diebus*), Yosippon uses the basic verb for "killed" (הרג) and the much simpler temporal descriptor בשבת, "on the Sabbath." Is Yosippon trying to avoid the appearance of celebrating the repayment of death for righteousness in the case of Mattityahu? Whatever his reasons, the Hebrew author here produces a passage that makes its Latin source seem positively grandiloquent in comparison. The moral of the story remains constant across both versions of the *exemplum*, though Ps-Hegesippus' version is phrased as a rhetorical question, Yosippon's as a statement: how bad things have gotten, if a leader of the very same people of whom Mattathias/Mattityahu was a figurehead—i.e., the Jews—has slaughtered his own people, priests no less, on the very same holy day(s) on which his august ancestor refused to pick up a sword.

The final section of the example list given by Matthias/Amitai in his speech in *SY* 81 (פא)/*DEH* 5.22.1 contains a set pair of *exempla*, who are discussed at some length. As we shall see, these two examples, drawn from ancient Judah's line of kings, are particularly apt for this speech and for the narrative contexts of *SY* and *DEH* overall. *DEH*'s Matthias continues his oration thus:

> How much would Jeconiah groan were he to hear that Simon, who first overturned the city by seditions, violated that most ancient religion of the temple by the slaughter of citizens, who had assembled together so often, and that when he surrendered the city it had been stripped bare by fire, with all desiring to perish, for the city to be destroyed, for the temple to be burned, for the entire populace to be killed, lest even a trace be left for the occupying conqueror? How greatly, I say, will Jeconiah lament—granted that in a time of pressing evils he was not successful in his reign, yet he did better than his son? For the father preferred that he himself, rather than the country, be less happy, even if he was nevertheless all the more wretched for his piety. In that vein, having gone forth from the city he gave himself and his progeny over in slavery to the besieging Babylonians, lest he see the motherland overturned and the people of God taken captive.

95 Also, by using the same verb to describe what Mattityahu had *not* done and what Simeon *had* done בשבת, Yosippon articulates a more explicit, if disjunctive, parallel between the two.

> The son, since he feared for himself while facing the same kind of danger yet without the same kind of compassion, led both himself into exile and the city to destruction. Thus this latter man was a cause of bad fortune for the country, nor was he good luck to himself, who lost both his children and his eyes, whereas the former man was more prudent, who redeemed the captivity of the city with his own captivity. And thereafter his departure was instructive. For that one passed away older and within a kingdom, this one younger and in servitude, even though afterwards the Babylonian king established a royal throne for him hard by himself and conferred [on him] the first word in council, a solace amidst horrible calamity.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.22.1[96]

In this portion of the speech—likely inspired by a speech recorded in another point in the narrative of Josephus' *BJ*,[97] perhaps the Latin version of the Book of Lamentations,[98] and possibly Jeremiah 24[99]—Matthias alights upon two seem-

96 Bay (2023) 162; Ussani (1932) 351–352: *Quantum ingemescet Iechonias, cum audierit Simonem, qui seditionibus primo urbem euerterit, caede ciuium uiolauerit templi uetustam religionem, conuentum totiens ut sui deditione urbem exueret incendio, malle perire omnia, excidi urbem, templum exuri, plebem totam interfici, ne occupatae inclinet dominationis fastigium! Quantum, inquam, dolebit Iechonias, licet tempore malorum urguentium minus felix imperio, melior tamen filio. Pater enim sibi minus felix esse quam patriae, licet miserabiliter pie tamen, maluit. Itaque se cum sua prosapia egressus urbe Babyloniis obsidentibus in seruitium dedit, ne euersam patriam et populum dei captiuum uideret. Filius autem aerumna pari sed affectu inpari, dum sibi metuit, et se in exilium et urbem in excidium deduxit. Hic itaque infelix patriae nec sibi felix qui et liberos suos et oculos amisit, ille autem prudentior qui captiuitatem ciuium sua redemerit captiuitate. Denique exitus docuit. Iste in regno senior, ille iunior in seruitio defecit, quamuis ei postea thronum regium Babylonius rex iuxta se constituerit et consilii detulerit praerogatiuam, miserae solacia calamitatis.*

97 Josephus records a speech that he himself made to John of Gischala in *BJ* 6.104–106, in which he twice dubs Jeconiah a "good example" (καλὸν ὑπόδειγμα) as a leader who considered his city/country and his people before himself: Bay (2023) 169n113. The passage is discussed in Bay/van Henten (2024) 183–188.

98 The city of Jerusalem speaks in Lam 1:21: "They have heard that I groan; There is no one to comfort me, All my enemies have heard of my disaster; They are joyful that You have done *it*. Oh, that You would bring the day which You have proclaimed, So that they will become like me." The Vulgate renders the first line: *audierunt quia ingemesco ego* … The convergence of *ingemo* and *audio* suggest that this passage may have inspired Ps-Heg, a suggestion strengthened by the fact that Lamentations seems to be an inspiration for Ps-Heg elsewhere in *DEH* as well (esp. 5.2.1); see Bell (1977) 170n82; Bay (2018) 79, 83n53, 128n61, 129n63; Bay (2023) 54.

99 This chapter compares Jeconiah and his fellow exiles favorably (as "good figs"—Jer 24:2) to Zedekiah and his officials, the remaining remnant of Jerusalem, who are called "bad figs" (24:8).

ingly perfect biblical examples for bemoaning his plight.[100] Both kings mentioned here, the named Jeconiah (= Jehoachin) and the unnamed Zedekiah (whom Ps-Hegesippus calls Jeconiah's son [2 Chr 3:17], but who could have been his brother [2 Chr 36:10] or uncle [2 Kgs 24:17]), are known in the biblical record for having been deported from a besieged Jerusalem by the Babylonians under King Nebuchadnezzar[101] (events which occurred in 597 BCE and 587/6 BCE respectively).[102] Ps-Hegesippus has Matthias compare the two kings at some length, the major discrepancy being that Jeconiah accepted exile and was blessed for it (2 Kgs 25:27–29; Jer 52:31–33), whereas Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar—who had appointed him king in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:17; 2 Chr 36:10)—and was cursed in that the Babylonians "slaughtered the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, then put out Zedekiah's eyes and bound him in bronze shackles, and brought him to Babylon" (2 Kgs 25:7; cf. Jer 52:11).[103] Here we see the twofold applicability of Zedekiah's example: sons slain before his eyes *and* heir to a sacked Jerusalem for which he was responsible, this ancient king appears as a type foreshadowing Matthias' impending fate. Like Zedekiah, Matthias (rightly) expects the deaths of his sons to be the last thing he ever sees.[104]

---

100 It is interesting to consider the kind of picture painted of the afterlife by this *exemplum*: if Jeconiah can groan and be grieved in the hereafter, this may stand in some tension to the heavenly stereotype. However, Jesus' discussion of heaven and hell in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) likewise assumes the ability of those in heaven to be aware of and to respond to troubles outside of the heavenly realm, whether on earth or in Hades. Note that in this parable it is also an ancient biblical hero (Abraham) that is imagined to respond to present realities.

101 That is, Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605–562 BCE).

102 For Jeconiah's exile, see 2 Kgs 24:8–17; 2 Chr 36:10; Est 2:6; Jer 24:1; 27:20–21; 29:2; for Zedekiah's exile, see 2 Kgs 25:2–9; 2 Chr 36:11–21. Cf. the discussion in Bay (2023) 169–170.

103 The difference between their relative ages at the end is added in a somewhat superfluous note by Ps-Heg, referring to the fact that, while Zedekiah began his reign in Jerusalem at twenty-one and ruled there eleven years (2 Kgs 24:18; 2 Chr 36:11; Jer 52:1), making him thirty-two at his exile—cf. Jehoachim, who started at age eleven and reigned twenty-five years (2 Kgs 23:36; 2 Chr 36:5)—Jehoachin/Jeconiah begin reigning at eighteen years old (2 Kgs 24:8; 2 Chr 36:9) and reigned for only three months and ten days in Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:9; cf. 2 Kgs 24:8, which has only three months).

104 The next line after this in *DEH* 5.22.1 is "And finally now, my own lot—to die rather than live after the murder of my children—is more tolerable, since from it you may discern how cruel he is who would slaughter sons before the face of their father" (*Denique tolerabilior iam mea sors est post liberum necem mori quam uiuere, ut scias quam crudelis sit qui filios ante ora iugulet patris*). The language of slaying sons "before the face of a father" draws on Vergil *Aeneid* 2.663, as noted by Ussani (1932) 352. This passage speaks of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) in the same register as Jeconiah and Zedekiah here, which is to say vis-à-vis the slaying of sons before fathers: *iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus*

Yosippon puts the same *exempla* into the mouth of Amitai, with subtle changes that shift the valence of the stories here remembered:

> And were Jeconiah to hear these things, he would lament greatly that Simeon rules over the people of the LORD, and that because of him Jerusalem has been destroyed, and that on account of him the Temple has been burned. Jeconiah gave himself and his household over into exile without handing over the sanctuary of the LORD to be destroyed. Did not Jeconiah do better than Zedekiah, who for the sake of Temple of the LORD and the holy city accepted[105] going into captivity and exile lest the Babylonians raise a hand against Jerusalem? But Zedekiah persisted in his foolishness[106] and he betrayed his oath and strength-

---

/ *natum* ***ante ora patris****, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras* ("And now forward will Pyrrhus come, covered much in the blood of Priam; slew the son before the face of the father, who too slew the father before the altars"). In this, of course, Pyrrhus is conflated with his father, Achilles, who is the one who killed Priam's son Hector (Homer *Iliad* 22.247–366).

105 Per the phrase קיבל עליו ללכת בשבי ובגולה: the verb קבל is only ever used in the Hebrew Bible with the preposition על at Est 9:27, where the preposition is actually used three times to say that the "the Jews accepted upon themselves and upon their seed and upon all who joined themselves to them" (וקבלו היהודים עליהם ועל-זרעם ועל כל-הנלוים עליהם) the mandate to observe the two days of Purim in perpetuity (reading Q in preference of K in line with Bush [1996] 278–279). The equivalent Aramaic verb is never used within this preposition, appearing only in Dan 2:6, 5:31, 7:18. It most often means something like "receive, take" in the Jewish Scriptures, but not with this preposition; in later usage, testified by Hebrew and Aramaic texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, קבל + על comes to mean "lodge an accusation/complaint against"; see 1QapGen ar XX 14 (= Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon); 1Q28a I 11 (= Rule of the Congregation); 4Q202 II 25 (= 1 Enoch); 4Q203 8 10; 4Q530 6 I 4 (= Aramaic Book of Giants). This makes some sense given the term's etymology related to "counter, oppose, parallel"; Clark (1999) 223. However, the Babylonian Talmud uses the phrase in just the same way as does *SY* here, "to take upon" as a yoke, referring for example to taking on the yoke of studying Torah (b. *Bava Metzia* 84a: קביל עליה) or, when Rabbi Akiva is reciting the Shema while having his flesh raked with combs—a martyrdom scenario—he is thereby said to have been "accepting upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven" (והיה מקבל עליו עול מלכות שמים; b. *Berakhot* 61b; cf. m. *Berakhot* 2, of Rabbi Yehoshua ben Korḥa); cf. b. *Bava Metzia* 85a. The phrase can also mean simply "receive" in rabbinic literature (m. *Pirkei Avot* 5; m. *Berakhot* 2, of Rabbi Gamaliel; b. *Pesachim* 22b), as in the Hebrew Bible, and occasionally it means "lodge a complaint against" (b. *Arakhin* 16b). All of this is to say that קבל + על meaning "take upon" is a rather rabbinic phrase, and resonant of later, Aramaized Hebrew. *SY*'s use of it could reflect remembrance of this unique biblical verse, but it seems more likely that it is a reflection (rare, if so) of Yosippon's engagement, however direct, with the vocabulary and idiom of rabbinic literature.

106 In the Hebrew Bible, the term אולת ("foolishness") is only ever used in Psalms (38:5; 69:5) and Proverbs (5:23; 12:23; 13:16; 14:1, 8, 17–18, 24, 29; 15:2, 14, 21; 16:22, 17:12; 18:13; 19:3; 22:15; 24:9; 26:4–5, 11; 27:22), and never in this construction with חזק.

ened his heart against the fierce anger of the LORD,[107] and he did not humble himself until the Temple of the LORD was destroyed, the people of the LORD had gone into captivity, his sons were slaughtered before his eyes, and the Babylonians blinded his sight; then he too went into exile. The sorrow of Zedekiah was greater than the sorrow of Jeconiah and my own sorrow, for Zedekiah lived for a long time after his sons, while I go together with my sons; for this, my heart is comforted. And the king of the Babylonians, who took pity on Zedekiah, giving him provisions and honor after he had slaughtered his sons and blinded his eyes—would it not have been better for him to die, together with his sons, and not to live after them? But to his hurt, he had compassion upon him and did not kill him. So the compassion of the king of the Babylonians harmed him more than his cruelties, in that he let him live after his sons. For this reason the king of the Babylonians let him live, so as to intensify the burning of his heart that had begun on account of his sons.

Sefer Yosippon 81 (פא)[108]

The asymmetries between Yosippon's and Ps-Hegesippus' versions of this script are numerous, beginning with *SY*'s transformation of *DEH*'s opening rhetor-

107 Bowman (2023) 354 does not translate the adjective חרון ("fierce"). The phrase (חרון אף-יהוה) is a stock phrase in the Jewish Scriptures: Num 25:4; 32:14; 2 Chr 28:11; Jer 4:8; 25:37; 30:24; Zeph 2:2. Along the same lines, cf. 2 Chr 29:10; 30:8; Ezra 10:14; Job 20:23; Psa 78:49; Isa 13:13; Jer 4:26; 25:38; Lam 1:12; 4:11; Hos 11:9; Zeph 3:8. The phrase as used in Jer 4:8, 25:37, and 30:24 applies it directly to this Babylonian deportation of Judah as a manifestation of God's punitive wrath unleased on his people.

108 Bowman (2023) 354–355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 774–775; Flusser (1978) 383: והיה אם ישמע יכניהו את הדברים האלה יאנח מאד כי שמעון מושל בעם יי ולמענו נהרסה ירושלם ובעבורו נשרף ההיכל. ויכניהו הסגיר נפשו וביתו לגלות לבלתי תת מקדש יי ליהרס. הלא טוב עשה יכניהו מצדקיהו אשר בגלל היכל יי ועיר הקודש קיבל עליו ללכת בשבי ובגולה למען אשר לא ישלחו הכשדים יד בירושלם? וצדקיהו החזיק באולתו וימר את שבועתו ויאמץ לבו נוכח חרון אף יי. ולא נכנע עד אשר נפרץ היכל יי וילך עם יי בשבי. ובניו נשחטו לעיניו ואת עיניו עיוורו הכשדים. אז הלך גם הוא בגולה. ותגדל צרת צדקיהו מצרת יכניהו ומצרתי כי צדקיהו חייה אחרי בניו ימים רבים ואני הולך יחד עם בניי. על כן ינחם לבבי. ומלך כשדים אשר ריחם על צדקיהו ויכלכלהו ויכבדהו אחרי אשר שחט את בניו ועיוור את עיניו הלא טוב היה לו למות גם הוא עם בניו יחד ולא לחיות אחריהם? אך לרעתו ריחם עליו ולא המיתו. כי הרעו רחמי מלך כשדים מאכזריותיו על אשר חייהו אחרי בניו. על כן חייהו מלך כשדים למען יכבה חום לבבו אשר מתחיל על בניו. In the final line, I read מתחיל with the Cairo Genizah fragment (ג[19]) in place of יחם, which both editions and Bowman render. Bowman translates the final line: "therefore, the king of Casdim let him live so that the warmth of his heart that warmed up over his sons would die down." This reading is possible, and it may play upon the idea, articulated by Matthias toward the end of *DEH* 5.22.1, of letting wounds cool (*ut uulnus refrigeret*), i.e. killing quickly so that body heat diminishes.

ical question (*Quantum ingemescet …?*) into a statement (יאנח מאד).[109] For our purposes, the important irregularities are those that bear on the suffering (even martyrdom?) of Amitai, and of Jerusalem's inhabitants in general. The first thing we notice here is that *SY*'s Amitai articulates a more straightforward account of what has happened under Simeon's reign of terror. But there are reasons for thinking that this may go beyond a pragmatic avoidance of *DEH*'s flowery Latin. By stating simply that Simon is ruling over the people, Jerusalem has been destroyed, and the Temple has been burned, Yosippon's Amitai circumvents any explicit discussion of Simon's *seditiones*, his violation of the Temple *religio*, his slaughter of fellow Jews. It also dampens the vivid descriptions of *DEH*, with Jerusalem being simply "burned" (נשרף) rather than "stripped bare by fire" (*exueret incendio*). Indeed, Yosippon omits completely the redundant string at the end of *DEH*'s first line of this passage, which recounts the people's, city's, and Temple's destruction as somehow desired in the minds of the perishing populace (perhaps an objectionable idea for our Jewish author). Maybe Yosippon just naturally avoided Ps-Hegesippus' wordy Latin here in preference for simple Hebrew prose. Or maybe he wished to avoid unnecessary repetition of the ritual impurity and in-group violence that characterized 70 CE Jerusalem at this point. In any case, one of the effects of Yosippon's changes here is a speech that is less trenchantly negative right off the bat.

The impression that Yosippon might just be eschewing superfluous facts to get down to brass tacks is strengthened by some of the minutia that he omits. No mention is made in *SY* 81 (פא) of the diminished success—or, perhaps, the happiness or blessedness—of Jeconiah's reign (what Ps-Hegesippus refers to in the phrase *minus felix imperio*).[110] Nor does Yosippon allow Amitai to talk about King Jeconiah's thoughts and intentions, who "preferred," *DEH*'s Matthias tells us, "that he himself, rather than his country, be less happy" (*Pater enim sibi minus felix esse quam patriae … maluit*)—which piety earned him only misery, we learn (*licet miserabiliter pie tamen*). The speech in *SY* 81 (פא) only states that Jeconiah handed self (נפשו) and household (ביתו) over to preserve the Temple, thereby providing a great focus on the Temple in the Hebrew account. Yosippon appears interested in facts, not feelings. Yet editorial revisions come at a cost.

109 The opposite dynamic will occur below, where *DEH*'s comparison of Jeconiah and Zedekiah, given as a short indicative clause (*melior tamen filio*), gives way to the rhetorical question of *SY* (?… הלא טוב עשה יכניהו מצדקיהו).

110 Yosippon also ignores the preceding, contextualizing phrase: *tempore malorum urguentium*. It is a fair question whether *SY*'s more straightforward account aims to avoid more the ornate Latin phraseology of *DEH* or the latter's plethora of insignificant details.

By clarifying the Latin phraseology of Ps-Hegesippus, Yosippon produces a portion of speech here that is irreparably redundant: Amitai states that Jeconiah handed over himself and his house to the Babylonians so that the Temple could be spared, and in the next sentence says the very same thing. Infelicitous as this may be, however, it does allow Yosippon to pack this part of the speech with all the divers parts of God's place-on-earth that are in view here: in the first statement, Jeconiah is said to have self-sacrificed for the survival of God's sanctuary (מקדש), and the following sentence details how he acted so that the Temple (היכל) and the holy city (עיר הקודש), clarified as Jerusalem (ירושלם), might be spared. Is Yosippon here betraying a Hebrew engagement with the prized Latin concept of ancient Roman rhetoric and oratory, *varietas*?[111] Whatever the case, the clarity and linearity of this speech in *SY* 81 (פא) conduces to a clearer focus on the LORD, the people of the LORD, and the place of the LORD (recall that יי appears six times in this short section).

One notable feature of Ps-Hegesippus' version of this speech is that Zedekiah is not mentioned by name. Indeed, in all of *DEH* the unhappy king (*Sedecias*) is only ever named in 5.16.1.[112] Interesting, then, that—as mentioned in Chapter 5—Yosippon omits any reference to Zedekiah's legacy in that speech of Josephus (*SY* 78 [עח]), while here in *SY* 81 (פא) Yosippon does have Amitai name him. In the present context, naming Zedekiah is actually quite helpful, as the discussion of two different Judahite kings deported by the same Babylonian monarch could easily confuse. In fact, Yosippon himself is not immune to such confusion. A few lines later in this portion of the speech, Amitai will appear to confuse Jeconiah with Zedekiah, citing the latter as he on whom Nebuchadnezzar took pity, whereas this actually happened to the former.[113] Nevertheless, it appears as though Yosippon has something specific to say with or about Zedekiah, given that his treatment of this hapless ruler adds some details nowhere present in *DEH* 5.22.1.

---

111 See the study by Fitzgerald (2016), esp. 92–97 in this regard.

112 There the same episode of Zedekiah's reign is discussed at greater length, in concert with the prophet Jeremiah, as treated in Bay (2023) 205, 287, 306–308. There we find: "Zedekiah himself, amidst the then impending ruin of the fatherland, after he was met by the prophet Jeremiah while being hard pressed by the siege of the enemy so that he would not fear to leave the city—who believed that he would be victorious if he would submit to heavenly commands, or would become a captive if he decided to defend [the city]—cheated himself and his people by infidelity" (*Sedecias ipse incumbentibus iam patriae ruinis, per Hieremiam conuentus prophetam, cum hostili obsidione premeretur, ut urbem egredi non metueret, uictorem futurum si caelestibus imperiis obtemperaret, aut captiuum si defendendum putasset, infidelitate semet ipsum et suos decepit*); Ussani (1932) 328–329.

113 As noted by Bowman (2023) 235n4; for biblical references, see above.

One thing that *SY*'s Amitai adds in its version of this speech is a reference to Zedekiah's breaking (מור) of his oath (שבוע), i.e. the oath he would have sworn to Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chr 36:13).[114] This statement, whose language is also reminiscent of Psa 15:4, adds a tone of ethical evaluation to this passage.[115] Here again we see the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism cropping up in Yosippon's perspective, inasmuch as that Hellenistic spirit apprehends and gauges the place of God's people within a given historical context largely vis-à-vis their diplomatic relations with the major powers of the time. One also wonders whether such an evaluative expansion might not have been seen by Yosippon as having a kind of perennial applicability for God's people. In this light, Zedekiah's failure to "be humbled" (נכנע) before this led to disaster—language picked up from 2 Chr 36:12—gives this passage a didactic edge absent from *DEH*.[116] Unlike the Roman-Christian reader of that Latin text, the Jewish reader of *SY*'s biblically-saturated Hebrew text learns a particular lesson about history, humility, oaths, and the application of Deuteronomistic historiology to foreign relations, certainly ideas relevant and actionable for a marginalized and often-oppressed Jewish minority living in medieval western Europe (and elsewhere).

Yosippon's explicit discussion of Zedekiah's misfortune departs from what Ps-Hegesippus scripted in several ways. *SY*'s Amitai never mentions that Zedekiah resisted Nechuchadnezzar because he "feared for himself" (*sibi metuit*), nor that he lacked the kind of compassion that Jeconiah had exhibited (*affectu inpari*). Moreover, *DEH*'s description of Zedekiah's downfall casts him as an

114 Of course, in this Zedekiah betrayed both Nebuchadnezzar and God, we are told. Interestingly, the phrase **יאמץ לבו** is a quotation of part of 2 Chr 36:13: "He [Zedekiah] rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God (**אשר משביעו באלהים**). But he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart (**יקש את-ערפו ויאמץ את-לבבו**) against turning to the LORD God of Israel." Cf. Deut 2:30. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the phrase **לב** + **אמץ** can convey "taking heart" in a positive sense (Psa 27:14; 31:24), whereas "hardening one's heart" can take a form of the verbs **כבד** (Exod 8:15) or **חזק** (Exod 11:10).

115 Compare the phrase **ימר את שבועתו** to the general, sapiential-sounding dictum of Psa 15:4: "A despicable person is despised in his [God's] eyes, but he honors those who fear the LORD; he takes an oath to his own detriment and does not change (**נשבע להרע ולא ימר**)." Additionally, I would like to suggest the (admittedly remote) possibility that Yosippon may have been put in mind of Psa 15:4 by the Latin phrase he found in his source pertaining to Zedekiah, *nec sibi felix*, which half-resonates with the idea in this psalm of swearing to one's own hurt (נשבע להרע).

116 2 Chr 36:12: "He [Zedekiah] did evil in the sight of the LORD; he did not humble himself (**לו נכנע**) before Jeremiah the prophet who spoke for the LORD." It is this passage that informs my translation above, whereas Bowman (2023) 354 has what would otherwise be an equally acceptable translation for **לא נכנע עד** ("he was not subdued until …").

active agent: unlucky to his country (*infelix patriae*) and no more lucky to himself (*nec sibi felix*), "he lost his sons and his eyes" (*liberos suos et oculos amisit*). The active verb and the overall construction here suggest responsibility. In *SY* 81 (פא), Zedekiah's initial oath-breaking and hardness of heart connote activity, but after this Zedekiah becomes more passive: he "was humbled" (נכנע) after the Temple "was destroyed" (נפרץ) and God's people went into captivity (ילך עם יי בשבי); his sons "were slaughtered" (נשחטו) before his eyes and the Babylonians blinded his sight (את עיניו עיוורו). Only then is Zedekiah, active once again, said to have gone into exile (אז הלך גם הוא בגולה). We may further note within this that while *DEH*'s description of Zedekiah's calamity is articulated in civic and political terms—*et se in exilium et urbem in excidium deduxit* (note the balanced structure)—*SY*'s description thereof is *religious* and political: נפרץ היכל יי וילך עם יי בשבי.[117]

Most notably, whereas *DEH* has Matthias mention how the Babylonian king afforded many privileges to *Jeconiah* after his deportation, softening the blow of his defeat, *SY* refers to the Babylonians' kindness towards *Zedekiah*. Here Yosippon may just be misreading his source—the father-and-son discourse of *DEH* is a bit labyrinthine—but, even if so, the manifest point at the end of this *exemplum* as told in *SY* is unexampled: in *DEH*, Jeconiah is said to have received some *solacia* amidst his *calamitas*, while in *SY* Zedekiah is said to have suffered *more* for the Babylonians' mercies (and, explicitly, more than Jeconiah or Amitai).[118] His continued survival after the death of his sons is interpreted here as a kind of punishment. Ps-Hegesippus and Yosippon agree that these two kingly histories have parenetic valence; they do not agree on what that valence is. In *DEH*, Matthias presents Jeconiah as a model for kings of *how to respond when your city is threatened with destruction*: Jeconiah was prudent (*prudentior*) and redeemed (*redemerit*) the city out of captivity, for which reason his deportation (*exitus*) teaches the reader something (*docuit*). In *SY* the reader learns no such thing. Instead, the reader is invited to contemplate—with Amitai, the father about to lose his sons and his life—whether life or death is better once one's progeny has been obliterated. It would have been better for Zedekiah (טוב היה לו) to die after his sons' deaths, and the compassion (רחם) of the Babylonians, which preserved his life, was an evil (רעה) to him.[119] If this final example is an

117 This is not to deny any religiosity that was often attached to notions of civic belonging in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

118 Compare the language of ותגדל צרת צדקיהו מצרת יכניהו ומצרתי to that of the צרה גדולה experienced by God's people, returned from deportation, at the hands of oppressive foreign powers.

119 Here Yosippon seems to be playing upon the portion of the speech in *DEH* 5.22.1 that fol-

exercise in political philosophy and practical governance in *DEH* 5.22.1, in *SY* 81 (פא) it is a case study in moral philosophy, existential psychology, and trauma. The reader of Amitai's speech is left with a deep sense of pity, perhaps even sympathy, for what this man is about to suffer, and which he is here processing in his speech.

This returns us to the questions with which we framed this section. If in *DEH* Matthias is cast as explicitly *not* a martyr—perhaps therein as a representative of the Jews writ large—how is *SY*'s reworked version of him, i.e. Amitai, cast? Here we are comparing the final portions of Matthias'/Amitai's speech in *DEH* 5.22/*SY* 81 (פא). Each version of this speech connects the discussion of Zedekiah's plight and Mattias'/Amitai's final words with an aphorism:

> No honor can heal this wound except death alone, which can do away with the ability to feel, can remove remembrance.
>
> *De Excidio* 5.22.1[120]

---

lows immediately upon the Zedekiah *exemplum*, where Matthias says: "And finally now, my own lot—to die rather than live after the murder of my children—is more tolerable, since from it you may discern how cruel he is who would slaughter sons in the presence of their father. Yet his kingly gifts are worse than the wounds of piety. For either one ought not to have introduced such impieties in the first place, or should not have replaced them with such honors thereafter. As if any dignity could be retained after the loss of [one's] sons, or the slaughter of [one's] progeny be compensated for by the bestowal of any honor. Truly nothing, no dignity, could wash away such pain" (*Denique tolerabilior iam mea sors est post liberum necem mori quam uiuere, ut scias quam crudelis sit qui filios ante ora iugulet patris. Cuius etiam regalia munera deteriora sunt quam pietatis uulnera. Aut enim tam impia inferre primo non debuit, aut tam honorata postea substituere. Quasi quaeuis dignitas redimi possit filiorum amissione, aut compensari caedes subolis quouis usu honoris. Nulla profecto, nulla dignitas tantum dolorem ableuat*). Bay (2023) 163; Ussani (1932) 352. Matthias here conflates his own lot with that of Zedekiah, and his mention of *regalia munera* followed by the ambiguous *aut …aut …* sentence leaves the reader wondering who exactly is in view here: Zedekiah or Matthias? If the former, then this has to do with Nebuchadnezzar's cruelty, explaining that he ought not to have allowed Zedekiah to live after the deaths of his sons (this is how Yosippon took this section, it seems); if the latter, then this discussion applies lessons learned from the Zedekiah *exemplum* to Matthias, in which case it is not clear what "kingly gifts" Ps-Heg may have had in mind, nor what the subsequently mentioned *honora* refer to. Though the introduction to this section makes it seem like a consideration of Matthias' own plight, its denouement makes its referent vague. It is not surprising that *SY* seems to have confused Jeconiah and Zedekiah at one point in following this speech from *DEH* 5.22.1, nor that it simplifies this portion as an overt discussion of Zedekiah.

120 Bay (2023) 163; Ussani (1932) 352: *Nullus honos curat hoc uulnus nisi sola mors, quae sensum adimat, recordationem auferat*.

> There is no remedy for this pain except death; then the soul will rest from grief's sorrow.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[121]

After this, Matthias/Amitai tells his executioner to hurry up (*Festina ergo, percussor*/מהר הכיני). However, in *DEH* Matthias follows this up immediately with the opposite request—"wait!" (*remorare*)—as he beholds his sons, justifying this request by saying that he wants to make sure that none of his sons, "moved by immaturity of age, should fear death" (*ne quis aetatis forsitan inmaturitate turbatus mortem timeat*), which is impending for them. Matthias then turns to his sons with a final exhortation to the effect that it is a *beneficium* for them to die before witnessing "the captivity of the country" (*patriae capiuitas*). He says that it is easier for him to endure seeing his sons murdered than to see everyone in Jerusalem murdered, and the "burning of the country" (*patriae bustum*) and the entire city (*tota urbs*) of Jerusalem become a grave (*sepulchrum*). Ps-Hegesippus' speaker follows this up with another apothegm: "For the one who will have died will be more blessed than the one who is spared."[122] In *DEH*, Matthias' final words amount to a patriotic soliloquy: death is not to be feared; in this case, it is better.

Yosippon's Amitai omits almost all of this. The much shorter Hebrew version of this portion of the speech reads:

> Amitai cried out and said to the slayer: "Hurry up, strike me, while my sons are still moving their hands and feet in their death throes; perhaps we may die together. For it is better for us to die than to see the city of the LORD as though it were a grave and her crowd slaughtered in her midst."
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[123]

Yosippon is less concerned than Ps-Hegesippus with patriotism per se, being focused more on Jerusalem as Yahweh's city and on its people, God's people. Yosippon is more concerned with certain aesthetic aspects of this depiction of Jewish tragedy accompanying Jerusalem's demise. The picture of freshly-

---

121 Bowman (2023) 355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 774–775; Flusser (1978) 383: ואין תרופה למכאוב הזה כי אם המות. אז תשקוט הנפש מעצב יגונה.

122 Bay (2023) 163; Ussani (1932) 353: *Beatior tamen qui mortuus fuerit, quam reseruatus.*

123 Bowman (2023) 355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 774–775; Flusser (1978) 383–384: ויען אמיתיי ויאמר למכה: מהר הכיני בעוד בניי מניעים ידיהם ורגליהם בטרם ימותו. אולי נמותה יחד כי טוב לנו למות מראות עיר יי כמו קבר והמונה נשחטים בקרבה.

slain men still wiggling their extremities in their final moments of life is heart-wrenching, not to say brutally graphic. The scene so depicted shares certain similarities with the even more graphic scene involving the Maccabean mother and her seven sons—the Jewish martyrs *par excellence*—relayed in *SY* 15 (טו).[124] There we also read of hands and feet, but in that case these have been cut off of the first son, along with tongue and scalp, and placed into a copper cauldron.[125] We also find there the motif of a parent beholding sons who, having been effectively executed, do not die immediately: Antiochus orders the cauldron beneath the first son to be cooled, lest he die too quickly. Another connection between *SY* 15 (טו) and *SY* 81 (פא) is the theme of urging on an executioner. In the former, the second son tells his killers: "Hurry up with the sword! Hurry up with the fire!" (מהרו החרב ומהרו האש),[126] and Amitai tells his slayer to hurry up (מהר) thrice in his speech. Granted that *SY* 81 (פא) in two cases follows the Latin text of *DEH* 5.22. However, to return to the vivid grotesqueness of the portion of Amitai's speech just quoted, this points to a broader set of echoes that obtains in *SY* between the martyrdom of the Maccabean mother-and-sons and the killing of Amitai-and-sons here. Other echoes, as signaled above, include discussions of the afterlife.

It would be rash to conclude that all of these means that Yosippon is clearly and definitely presenting Amitai and his son as martyrs in *SY* 81 (פא). But it would be equally rash to dismiss too quickly the possibility of reading *SY* 81 (פא) in conversation with *SY* 15 (טו) and Jewish martyrology. The scenarios set forth in these two subnarratives are strikingly similar. I noted above how I argued in my previous book that comparing *DEH* 5.22.1 with *DEH* 3.2.1—the latter of which recounts the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul in the so-called *Passio Petri et Pauli*—frames *DEH* 5.22.1 vis-à-vis martyrdom within the entirety of *DEH* as a work. By putting these chapters together, one sees that Peter and Paul (i.e., Christians) were the *real* martyrs of the narrative's first-century landscape in *DEH*, whereas Matthias and sons were explicitly *not* martyrs in comparison. *SY*, of course, has no equivalent to *DEH* 3.2. Instead, *SY* 15 (טו) is the obvious intratextual parallel to *SY* 81 (פא), and the juxtaposition of these two chapters highlights remarkable continuity between Amitai and the Maccabean mother, and their respective broods. Thus, as I have argued in a more recent essay,[127] *SY* 81 (פא) redeems the figure of Matthias/Amitai from his treatment in *DEH*

124 For this chapter, again, see van Henten (2024).

125 Antiochus also orders that the second son have all his limbs severed.

126 The seventh son also asks King Antiochus why he is delaying his death.

127 Bay (2024).

5.22.1—and in this way *SY* 81 (פא) serves as a proxy for the entire work—making Amitai much more martyr-like than his predecessor, and the chapter's scene much more martyrological than its source-text.

By way of brief summary, my 2024 essay which in some (small) part underlays the present chapter recalls how Amitai's culpability in *SY* 81 (פא) is qualified considerably compared to how Matthias is treated in *DEH* 5.2.1. The most prominent feature of this qualification is that, in *SY*, Amitai recalls that *he was sent by the priests and all the people* [*in Jerusalem*] *to let Simeon into the city*.[128] Ps-Hegesippus had implicitly saddled Matthias with sole responsibility for Simon's advent. Similar alterations between the final portion of *DEH* 5.22.1 and that of *SY* 81 (פא) together produce a notable discrepancy between the Latin and Hebrew accounts,[129] the upshot of which is a less culpable and thus less deserving-of-death Amitai in *SY*. This is not to say that *SY* releases Amitai's character from any responsibility involving Jerusalem's downward spiral under Simeon—even the Maccabean martyrs of *SY* 15 (טו) acknowledge their faults[130]—but it is to say that *SY* 81 (פא) presents a picture of pre-destruction Jerusalem in 70 CE which, compared to what we find in *DEH* 5.22.1, relaxes the blame placed on non-sectarian/non-rebel Jews (like Amitai), emphasizes the religious (and social) aspects of the tragedy of Jerusalem's degradation (God's Temple, God's people, God's city), and infuses with new biblical language, detail, and precision this story of quasi-martyrdom.

5 Revenge of the Co-Produced: Identity, History, and Speech in *DEH* 5.22 and *SY* 81 (פא)

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, *DEH* 5.22.1 and *SY* 81 (פא) are somewhat unique in that the speech placed into Matthias' mouth there,

128 *SY* 81 (פא): "But indeed, I did not bring him into this city from my own love for him, but rather all the priests and the people sent me to bring him hither" (וגם אני לא הביאותיו אל העיר הזאת מאהבתי אותו כי כל הכהנים והעם שלחוני להביאו הנה). See Bay (2024) 380.

129 See the arguments in Bay (2024) 379–384.

130 The sixth son, before his death, is recorded as saying: "We know our faults, that we have sinned against the LORD, and now, we who have given our souls unto death as an atonement for our people, behold we shall die" (ידענו רשעינו כי חטאנו ליי. ועתה אנחנו אשר נתננו את נפשותינו למות בעד כפרת עמנו הנה אנחנו נמות). Bowman (2023) 68; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 170–173 place the final three words in a new line and, indeed, paragraph; Flusser (1978) 72.

originally by Ps-Hegesippus, is not based upon any precursor in the Greek text of Josephus. This means that, unlike most of *DEH*, this portion of it is Christian in conception, not an adaptation or reworking of originally 'Jewish' text.[131] Further, this renders any alterations that *SY* makes to this particular chapter not a 'reclamation' of Jewish narrative content—that is, as viewed from the modern scholarly God's-eye perspective, which can look at *BJ*, *DEH*, and *SY* side-by-side-by-side—but a response to, or perhaps appropriation of, originally Christian conceptual material.[132] Yosippon himself need not have appreciated this fine distinction, and he probably didn't; there is no good reason to think that Yosippon knew that *DEH* 5.22.1 was source-critically distinct from all of the other speeches in that work.[133] I only point it out here to signal the contingency and unpredictability of religious co-production of the kind that may be identified between texts like *DEH* and *SY*. While much of *DEH* constitutes Christian material built directly upon Jewish textual bases created by Josephus, portions of *DEH* are Christian creations bolted onto Josephus' original narrative superstructure like aftermarket parts. Viewing the *DEH*/*SY* axis, therefore, is not to view a linear story where a Christian text was formed on the basis of a Jewish text before itself becoming the source of a later Jewish text (which would then become the basis for other [Jewish and] Christian texts, and so on).[134] Rather, it is to view two attempts to write and valuate the same period of history from distinctive, competing

131 Certainly it is not unproblematic to refer to texts as 'Christian' and 'Jewish' in this way, but I use these terms here for the sake of convenience.

132 Cf. Heyden/Nirenberg (forthcoming), in which *SY* is treated vis-à-vis *DEH*, Josephus' *BJ*, and in conversation with other texts to talk about how Jewish, Christian, and Muslim thinking about Jerusalem's destruction were co-produced. The shaping of the discourse of Jerusalem's destruction in Christianity and Islam was indeed "in part based on Jewish voices." In this section we see the penetration of Christian ideas into even the very heart of such 'Jewish' discourses at work (i.e., Ps-Heg writes *into* and then becomes subsumed by Jewish histories on this topic).

133 Of course, Ps-Heg radically altered almost all of the speeches that he took over from Josephus' *BJ*, and many—such as *DEH* 5.2, from *BJ* 5.19–20—marks a massive expansion of its source text, to the point that it should be considered an effectively original text (Bay [2018]). But *DEH* 5.22.1 still stands alone as the only full-length speech in the work whose Latin is unexampled in the Greek source.

134 The Hebrew *SY* became the basis for numerous subsequent Christian traditions. One extended south from the Mediterranean, beginning with the Copto-Arabic *SY*, ostensibly produced in Alexandria, which underlay the later Ethiopic *Zena Ayhud*, produced in medieval Ethiopia. In Europe, the later recensions of *SY* were translated into Latin in 1541 (by Sebastian Münster) and 1707/1710 (by Friedrich Breithaupt), and into English in 1558 (by Peter Morwen). See the overview in Dönitz (2016) 386.

perspectives, within works that both draw upon a diverse range of sources, influences, and inspirations, irreducibly complex in aspect, and which conduce to constructions of religious identity that are mutually implicated and conceptually opposed. Inasmuch as *DEH* 5.22.1 and *SY* 81 (פא) mark the construction of competing intra-historiographical orations that carry clear implications for religious identity, these parallel chapters may serve as a *pars pro toto* for considering all of *DEH* and *SY* together through the lens of religious co-production.

Consider the opportunities that *DEH* 5.22.1 presented to Yosippon for imagining a more amenable identity for Jews at the time of Jerusalem's destruction. The chapter portrays an innocent priest being killed alongside his sons because he haplessly allowed a violent Jewish rebel, Simon bar Giora, into the Holy City. Already the content of this chapter threatens to return to the narrative of the Temple's destruction to its original, Josephan ethic, wherein the Jews, while not innocent, are not saddled with guilt for Jerusalem's downfall, but rather individual Jewish factions and sectarian leaders are to blame. Yosippon capitalizes upon this narrative moment by turning the Matthias of *DEH* 5.22.1 into an even more innocent, less blameworthy figure in *SY* 81 (פא), by *inter alia* more evenly distributing responsibility for Simeon's invitation into the city. But Yosippon goes far beyond this, as this chapter has shown. Compared to *DEH*, *SY* positively saturates this chapter with God's presence, attaching the divinity constantly to the people and places at stake. Further, we saw how *SY* imbued Amitai's speech with biblical parlance such that *SY* 81 (פא) sounds like a Bible story: biblical bad guys (the "sons of Belial"), an arch-enemy with a hard heart like Pharaoh, and echoes of scriptural prophecy help to present Amitai's fate as though a continuation of biblical history. Further still, we saw that Yosippon's transformation of the latter part of Amitai's speech, where a series of famous *exempla* are brought to the fore, clarified Amitai's position and actions vis-à-vis biblical and national history by comparing him to a series of famous father/son(s) groups: Saul-and-Jonathan, Mattathias-and-sons (the Hasmoneans/Maccabees), and Jeconiah/Zedekiah. These figures, of course, were also present in Ps-Hegesippus' Latin text (though Zedekiah is not named there), but *SY* reshapes their exemplary valence to paint a peculiar picture of Amitai, his people, and his plight.

Taking all of this in hand: inasmuch as Amitai may serve as a kind of proxy for the Jews of his day, *SY* 81 (פא) constitutes a reshaping of Jewish identity via a scripted speech that is both about history and situated within historiography. The first-century Jews, according to Yosippon, were more noble and less culpable than the 'image of the Jew' implied by *DEH*'s Matthias; they appear closer to God, more aligned with biblical history. In case the above leaves any doubt

about how singular *SY*'s figure of Amitai appears compared to *DEH*'s Matthias, let us consider briefly the very final components of his speech before he is slain atop his sons by Sim(e)on. The beginning of the end of Matthias'/Amitai's speech begins with an address to God, asking that God bring Sim(e)on to a just and miserable end only after he sees what he has wrought.[135] After this, Yosippon inserts a statement that does not have a clear precedent in *DEH*:

> Let Simeon know that my lot was better than his lot, for I was gathered with my sons, and my eyes did not see exile, and my sons did not go into captivity, and I

135 *DEH* 5.22.1: "'Highest God, let not Simon be dispersed with his children among the flocks of criminals. The prisoner should see what he has wrought; for, not least,' Matthias said, 'should he be able to bear what he was able to think up. Yet I do not request these things. Let him consider how grave a crime it is which he who endures it is unable to requite, even by oath, but if it is bitter vengeance, how savagely unthinkable a wickedness has been committed. Let him be what he prefers, a captive survivor of his country, because the mockeries of life are worse than the punishments of death. But now, let there be an end to words'" (*'Summe deus, ne inter noxiorum greges sternatur Simon cum liberis suis. Spectet captiuus quae intulit. Immo minime', inquit, 'nam quae potuit cogitare, potest ferre. Nec tamen ea inprecor. Consideret, quam graue nefas quod non potest uel uoto retorquere qui patitur, si acerba ultio, quam saeua commissi sceleris immanitas. Sit quod optat, patriae captiuus superstes, quia peiora sunt uitae ludibria quam mortis supplicia. Sed iam finis uerborum sit'*). Bay (2023) 163–164; Ussani (1932) 353. In line with this, and before the passage quoted in the main text here, *SY* 81 (פא) has: "Amitai cried out to the LORD and said: 'I beseech thee, O LORD God, incomprehensible and awesome, don't kill Simeon amid the flock of Your people. Rather, kill him alone and separated, captured by these who seek his life, he and his sons together. Let his fate not be with Your portion [people], nor let his destiny be with the Temple of Your Sanctuary. Let him see his sons in their captors' hand, and afterward let him behold their death, then let him too die for the wickedness of his deeds and let his eyes look upon the exile and the captivity and let him pay with his life'" (ויצעק אמיתיי אל יי ויאמר: אנא יי אלהי הנשגב והנורא אל תמית שמעון בקרב עדר מרעיתך כי אם בדד ונבדל תמיתהו. ונלכד ביד מבקשי נפשו הוא ובניו יחד. ואל תתן גורלו עם נחלתך ולא יהיה חלקו בהיכל מקדשך. כי יראה את בניו ביד שוביהם ואחרי כן יראה מותם. ואז ימות גם הוא ברוע מעשיו. ותראינה עיניו הגלות והשביה אז ישלם את נפשו). Bowman (2023) 355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 776–777; Flusser (1978) 384. Note how Platonic the deity appears in *DEH* compared to the equally exalted, but also covenant (יי) God addressed by Amitai in *SY*. For the final phrase in *SY* here, ישלם את נפשו, Bowman cites *SY* 14 (יד) and *SY* 18 (יח) as cross-references, but does not note the origin of this idea of 'paying with one's life,' which may be found in the Levitical code. Lev 24:18 reads: "But the one who takes the life of an animal shall make restitution, life for life" (ומכה נפש-בהמה ישלמנה נפש תחת נפש). Read in this light, Amitai's phrasing in *SY* carries a legal, even transactional tone, wherein Simeon's life should be forfeit on account of the lives he has ended.

> did not see the burning of the Temple of the LORD. Yet he will see all this with his eyes and will die in the despair of his soul.
>
> *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)[136]

Here Yosippon makes much more explicit an idea only vaguely present in Ps-Hegesippus' embellished Latin:[137] surviving the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple is worse than dying amidst that destruction. For Amitai, there are things worse than death, and things much more important.[138] Add to this the plea to God, made just before this in Amitai's speech, that Simeon's destiny (גורל) not be "in your holy Temple" (בהיכל מקדשך)[139]—a phrase reminiscent of the psalms, importantly Psa 79:1[140]—and the language of the last line of the quote above, noted by Bowman, which echoes Deut 28:65 (with "despair of soul").[141] By adding a biblicized eternal perspective and a final note of connection between Yahweh and his people, Yosippon speaks through Amitai of

---

136 Bowman (2023) 355; Börner-Klein/Zuber (2010) 776–777; Flusser (1978) 384: וידע שמעון כי טוב היה גורלי מגורלו כי אני נאספתי עם בניי ולא ראתה עיני גלות ולא הלכו בניי בשבי. ולא ראיתי שריפת היכל יי. והוא יראה את כל אלה בעיניו וימות בדאבון נפשו.

137 One can see Yosippon here playing upon the idea of the "lot" (*sors*/גורל) which he found in *DEH*. Ps-Heg has Mathias refer to the lot only once, when he says that "my lot is more tolerable" (*tolerabilior … mea sors*) in reference to the fact that he will die, rather than live, after his sons' deaths. Yosippon, conversely, has Amitai mention the lot thrice, first when he asks God not to place Simeon's lot among God's people (אל תתן גורלו עם נחלתך) and then when he wills that Simeon know that "my lot is better than his lot" (טוב היה גורלי מגורלו).

138 Consider, for example, Amitai's emphasis upon unity. Within the short space of 150 or so Hebrew words in this portion of *SY*, Amitai four times speaks of dying together with (יחד) his sons. Familial togetherness—and perhaps, implicitly, filial unity more broadly among the Jews—is more important to Amitai than death or life as such.

139 Bowman (2023) 355 translates this, a bit problematically in my view, "with the Temple of Your Sanctuary."

140 Psa 79:1 "God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple (טמאו את-היכל קדשך); they have laid Jerusalem in ruins." This psalm, concerned with Gentiles entering into the Jerusalem Temple, is particularly important for *DEH*, and for *SY*, as noted earlier in this chapter, in Chapter 6, and elsewhere. The phrase היכל מקדשך also appears in Psa 5:7; 65:4; 138:2; Jon 2:4, 7. Cf. Psa 11:4a (יהוה בהיכל קדשו); Ezek 41:21, 23; Hab 2:20. In a paper presented at the 2025 SBL annual meeting in Boston, entitled "Psalming *Sefer Yosippon*: An Early Medieval Afterlife of the Hebrew Psalms within Jewish Historiography," I used the term "psalming" to refer to *SY*'s tendency to apply language and imagery from the psalms throughout its narrative. Cf. the comment on David's purpose in composing Psa 145:12 by Shabbatai Donnolo in Starr (1939) 166.

141 Recounting what is in store for the Israelites if and when they abandon their covenant with Yahweh, Deut 28:65 reads: "Among those nations you will find no peace, and there will be no resting place for the sole of your foot; but there the LORD will give you a trembling heart, failing of eyes, and despair of soul (ודאבון נפש)."

Jerusalem's destruction as an event that it would be a curse to survive—far preferable would be a place 'in God's Holy Temple'—and as an event overseen by, not a vindictive deity, but a just and observant God. In this vein Amitai adds as his final words in Yosippon's account (another prayer with no parallel in *DEH*): "Now, O LORD, inscrutable God who dwells on high, judge and reprove!"[142]

The idea of religious co-production bids us attend to what exactly is happening here in *SY* 81 (פא). It is not that Yosippon will not have been capable of thinking up a figure who embodies the innocent Jews killed during Jerusalem's civil decomposition, nor that he would have been unable to shape such a figure's death and dying words so as to convey values endemic to the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism (bravery, piety, patriotism, all linked to exemplarity). But the fact is that our Jewish author did *not* come up with these ideas independently in writing out this chapter of his work. Rather, our author was actively adapting a Latin Christian text, a text that he well knew portrayed the Jews of 70 CE in an unflattering light. *SY* 81 (פא) is therefore a prime example of what Heyden and Nirenberg are talking about when they speak of people working within particular religious perspectives/identities forming their ideas of themselves, others, and the world in conversation with those of other religious perspectives/identities (i.e., "religious co-production"). In examining *SY*'s ancestry, part of that work's DNA is undeniably Christian.

How does this sit with the overall perspective of this book, i.e. that *SY* vis-à-vis *DEH* constitutes competitive historiography, or counter- or alternative-history? One thing it helps us appreciate is that even competing historiographies are not as mutually exclusive or hermetically sealed off from one another as they suggest. In this chapter and across this book, we have examined how conceptually independent *SY* seems from *DEH* in its shaping of historiographical oratory and how far Yosippon departs from his source in using history as an argument for a particular view of Jewishness-in-the-world. Yet we have done this within a comparative framework that necessarily reveals the significant extent to which *SY* is beholden to *DEH* for its historical and conceptual content. Both salvage mission and innovation, *SY* preserves and initiates in tandem.

142 *SY* 81 (פא): ועתה יי אלהי הנשגב שוכן מרום שפוט והוכיח. Bowman (2023) 355 signals Prov 3:11–12 in the text as an allusion here; Prov 3:12a reads: "For whom the LORD loves he disciplines" (כי את אשר יאהב יהוה יוכיח). However, I would locate more obvious inspirations or intertexts in those places where both the יכח and שפט roots show up together in Job (22:4; 23:7) and the prophetic books of Isaiah (2:4; 11:3–4), Micah (4:3), and Habakkuk (1:12). The usages in Job, of course, carry with them the connotations of innocent suffering and ultimate theodicy, whereas the prophetic passages all concern divine sovereignty and God's judgment over all nations and peoples.

Yet citation does not imply agreement, or even endorsement (something that politically- and religiously-charged trends of thought perennially tend to forget).[143] Indeed, *SY* is proof that an influential and counter-cultural history can base itself on a historical account whose defining perspectives it contradicts. Who is to say that such a tactic is not the most effective way to produce such a history? It certainly seems to have worked for Yosippon.

6 Conclusion: Rehabilitating Amitai, Reframing the Jews

Between *DEH* 5.22.1 and *SY* 81 (**פא**) we have once more witnessed the glaring differences contained within the larger structural continuities that connect our Hebrew Jewish text to its Latin Christian source. The two passages clearly relate the same scene and speech, but the two chapters are in many aspects of their narration worlds apart.[144] We have seen how, as the 1,813 Latin words of *DEH* 5.22 become 1,614 Hebrew words in *SY* 81 (**פא**), quantitative and qualitative distinctions emerge. Yosippon uses God's name(s) many times as often as Ps-Hegesippus does, uses the Bible in new and distinct ways, and works through Amitai to rehabilitate Jewish identity on the eve of Jerusalem's demise.

143 A familiar corollary to this problem in academia is the deeply problematic appeal to authority, wherein arguments are often adjudged immediately and *de facto* based upon those to whom they are attributed. The exact same thing occurs in the public sphere, and this unfortunate habit of public discourse has recently been magnified by social media. On politics and religion as areas in which human thinking betrays a particular tendency to motivated reasoning and non-rationality, see Jonathan Haidt's *The Righteous Mind* (2012), in this author's opinion one of the most important books of the twenty-first century thus far.

144 It is also possible that aspects of this passage shed light on the nebulous figure of *SY*'s anonymous author. In the very last lines of Amitai's speech, after he tells his executioner to "hurry up!" (מהר) for the second time, he follows relatively closely the line of Matthias from *DEH* in which he says: "Hurry up, executioner, while you still bear the sword stained by the blood of my sons, strike the father so that [his] wound may cool" (*Festina, carnifex, dum cruentatum sanguine filiorum gladium geris, percutere patrem ut uulnus refrigeret*). *SY*'s Amitai will add a brief line: "Hurry up, smite me while the blood of my sons is still damp upon the steel, before it dries, and let my sons' blood mingle with my blood; and **let this be to me for healing and a salve of rest**" (מהר הכיני בעוד דמי בניי על הברזל לח ובטרם ייחרבו מעליו ויתערב דם בניי בדמי. **ויהיה לי לתרופה ולמרח מנוחה**). The term תרופה appears once in the Hebrew Bible at Ezek 47:12 (more common is the related synonym מרפא, which appears in 2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Jer, Mal); Gesenius (2013) reckons that it refers to some kind of medicinal powder. The verb מרח is also a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible, appearing at Isa 38:21 to refer to a life-saving balm or ointment to be applied to boils. It is also just possible that למרח מנוחה should here be rendered "to give an odor of rest," as

The view from religious co-production helps us appreciate something that this study's structure assumes: the importance of scripted speeches within premodern historiography. In *SY* 81 (פא) and throughout the latter half of *SY*, we find Yosippon using speeches he found in his Latin source text to reshape the picture of Jerusalem's destruction and the Temple's downfall apprehended by his reader. These speeches are situated within historical contexts and without exception have their speakers address historical realities, and both of these modes of historiology have significant ramifications for the question of who the Jews of the later-first century CE were and how they are to be evaluated. It is largely through speeches, inherited from his Christian forebear, that Yosippon inscribes upon the story of late Second Temple Judaism an image of the Jewish people that is more positive and therefore (presumably) more acceptable to a Jewish readership than what one finds in *DEH*, which articulates a or the standard Christian reading of the Temple's destruction in Christianity, especially western, Latin, and/or European Christianity, at the dawn of the Middle Ages. Like Amitai, the Jews implicated by *SY* 81 (פא) and many other passages, i.e. those Jews who underwent but did not cause Jerusalem's destruction in 70 CE, remained the people of God in the place of God. The events of 70 CE did not amount to their erasure from history, as *DEH* may be read to suggest. Rather, the events of 70 CE merely illustrated, as with the destruction of many cities whose collapses were told and retold across premodern historiography, the theological dynamics of historical progress. Or so *SY* may be read to imply. Inasmuch as these ancient Jews are embodied in the figure of Amitai, they too could stand before a besieged Jerusalem—or perhaps, having been killed, above it, viewing it from 'God's Holy Temple'—and say "Now, O LORD, inscrutable God who dwells on high, judge and reprove!"

---

the Aramaic ריח appears in the exact same form (למרח) with such a connotation in 11Q18 fr. 18 1; consult Cook (2015) 223. Bowman (2023) 355 translates the underlined phrase "let it soothe me as medicine and as salve." As discussed in our introduction, scholars have long toyed with the idea that Yosippon may have been a physician: see *inter alia* Bowman (2023) xxi, 123; Flusser (1973); Lewy (1960); Lewy (1937–1938). *SY*'s superfluous use of these medical terms here could serve as evidence that our author was indeed a doctor.

CONCLUSION

After *Sefer Yosippon* and *De Excidio Hierosolymitano*

> *The Christian conception of history, as is well-known, fully denies to Judaism any history, in the higher sense of the word, since the loss of its national independence, an event which coincided with another of great importance to the Christian world. It scarcely grants Judaism a few lines and believes to have discharged its obligations as soon as it refers, in a meager footnote, to a few disparate facts of Jewish history in the margins of the annals of world history. The stylus of the world historian races cursorily over the martyrdom of Jewish history, as if he feared to arouse through these bloody recollections the conscience lulled to sleep by sophistry, as if he feared to conjure the spirits of vengeance through a loud word.* (…) *Furthermore, this habit of lowering Judaism into the grave, of issuing Jewish history a death certificate is also quite convenient; one thereby avoids the difficulty which would loom before any strictly Christian construction of world history. Thus, all the more urgent is the demand on us to vindicate the right of Jewish history, to present its tenacious and indestructible character, to prove that Jewish history reveals no Middle Ages in the pejorative sense of the word, that, in fact, the apparent state of death of Jewish history in the darkest days of the Middle Ages was merely an assumed disguise to escape from bloodthirsty brutality, or even a healthy, invigorating winter sleep, which fitted Judaism to enter into a daring, universal race against a more fortunate, younger opponent.*[1]

This paragraph from Heinrich Graetz's *Die Konstruktion der jüdischen Geschichte* (1846) represents one of the clarion calls of the nineteenth century's emergent *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Jewish history and Jewish cultural vitality must be wrested back from the dismissive purview of the Christian historiographical imagination. *SY* aligns with Graetz's mission on two levels. First, *SY* as a literary artifact reflects the kind of Jewish cultural vitality in the Early Middle Ages that a rewriting of Jewish history would wish to capture. Second, *SY* anticipates Graetz's ethic almost a thousand years before the fact. What Graetz speaks of as a "a daring, universal race against a more fortunate,

1 Graetz (1975) 93–94; see Vivanti (1990) 349 for a direct engagement with this passage in the context of a survey of Jewish history in Italy.

© 2026 THE AUTHOR(S) | HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.1163/9789004759114-010
This is an open access publication distributed under the terms of the CC 4.0 license BY-NC.

younger opponent" is precisely the kind of historiographical competition in which *SY* vis-à-vis *DEH* engages, as this book has shown. *DEH*'s narrative of the end of the Second Temple Period effects just the kind of denial of true history to Judaism that Graetz laments—in fact, *DEH* represents one of the earliest and most forceful articulations of this Christian practice. One of the primary takeaways of this study is that *SY* may be read as taking Jewish history back for the Jews in the Early Middle Ages, what Graetz calls 'vindicating the right of Jewish history.'

This book has supported this argument by painting in fine details rather than broad strokes. It has shown, in particular, that *SY*'s use of God (theologization), scriptural texts (biblicization), and particular markers of Jewish identity and culture (Judaization) constitute three pervasive mechanisms whereby *SY* changes and adapts *DEH* in a process of ideological recreation—*SY* and *DEH* relate the same history, with the same characters, events, and episodes, but they are at the same time polar opposites; attention to the dynamics of theologization, biblicization, and Judaization at work in *SY* bear this out. In conclusion, I expand upon several aspects of this study that have broader relevance for how we understand *SY* as a text, the historiographical contest in which it participates, and the literary-historical context that *SY* helps us construct as a unique piece of Jewish history-writing from the Early Middle Ages.

1 *Sefer Yosippon* and the Spirit of Hellenistic Judaism

If I am right in maintaining that *SY* does something like 'resurrect the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism' in its portrayal of Jewish identity-in-history, then the so-called 'Hebrew renaissance' which *SY* either emerged within or anticipated (depending upon when and where one identifies it)[2] is not the only renaissance of Jewish culture in which it participated. Nor should a revival of Hebrew and a revivified Hellenistic-Jewish cultural impulse be seen as competing propositions; they are not.[3] Rather, along with being a testament to a medieval return

2 Certain indications of a 'Hebrew renaissance' may be dated to around the time *SY* was written (9th/10th cent.), for example evidence for a more widespread Hebrew literature in Europe, Egypt, and the Middle East (legal, narrative, etc.) than attested in previous centuries, the construction of the Hebrew Bible's Masorah, the appearance of texts like and related to *SY* (the Alexander literature), an increased incidence of Hebrew inscriptions on Jewish graves, and more. Yet scholars will also sometimes speak of a Hebrew renaissance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in the latter case, *SY* is a highly influential and widely-known contributor to the phenomenon from its beginnings.

3 Consider, for example, 1Maccabees, which was first written in Hebrew yet which accompa-

to (classical/classicizing) Hebrew as a literary language for Jews, *SY* is also witness to a retrospective cultural gaze that looked back to the glories of Jews and Judaism in the Hellenistic world for inspiration, edification, and perhaps even models of behavior and virtue. It is impossible to imagine *SY*'s reinvention of heroic paragons like King David, Moses and Aaron, the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob), and later champions like the Maccabees *not* representing an area of keen interest and conviction for both the author of *SY* and its readers, whether real or imagined. Inasmuch as this study has surveyed historiographical speeches in which Yosippon effects such reboots, shifting the presentation of biblical and post-biblical heroes away from *DEH*'s Christianized, Romanized interests to more recognizably Jewish ones, it evidences a *Zeitgeist* that perhaps existed around the time and place of *SY*'s genesis, which is to say in early medieval southern Italy or thereabouts.

If the ideas, impulses, stories, language, figures of Hellenistic Judaism did indeed come to enjoy renewed emphasis among European Jews in the Early Middle Ages—and *SY* shows that they did—this paints a picture of a less-insular Jewish cultural imagination which, indeed, may well have interfaced with the cultural capital of Christianity (in the writings of Josephus, the Apocrypha, etc.) more than has generally been appreciated, and which may have been less aligned with rabbinic Judaism and its literature than scholars have been wont to assume. In any case, *SY* itself is—unless it represents a complete singularity in its time—evidence of overt Jewish engagement with Christian texts and culture *and* the milieu and legacy of Hellenistic Judaism to which Christian culture had theretofore laid claim, with apparent success. But one thing that *SY* shows is that the Christian tradition was not necessarily the heir apparent of the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism; our author, Yosippon, might well have considered it to be the heir presumptive.

2 *Sefer Yosippon* and the Reversal of Christian Supersessionism

Inasmuch as *SY* engaged in a direct interface with the Christian historiograph-

nied an expression of Jewish viewpoint and identity influenced by and in direct conversation with the Hellensitic world in which the author and characters of that work lived. Note also that "Hebrew enjoyed a certain, albeit short, revival" during the Bar-Kochba revolt in 134–138 CE, another moment of Jewish history fueled by and played out within a world whose Judaisms were often deeply imbued with Hellenic thoughts, language, and concepts; Rosén (1995) 15.

ical project, whose DNA had always been what may be called 'anti-Jewish,' it represents the first directed and effective challenge to Christian supersessionism that we have on record. By 'directed' I mean that *SY* takes aim at one of the Christian tradition's earliest, lengthiest, and punchiest articulations of the Jews as losers—and the Christians, implicitly there, as winners—upon the theologized stage of history. While contemporary scholarship may not always recognize *DEH*'s centrality to the Christian tradition of anti-Judaism, Yosippon apparently did. And so he rewrote the story, hamstringing its theological polemic by erasing its sharpest edges and blunting all the others. By the time *SY* was finished, there existed a new, alternative history of Jerusalem's destruction that did *not* write the Jews out of history and present their first-century fortunes as irreversible damnation. A new story now existed, a competing history, which framed the ancient Jews as noble and powerful, liable to the same fluctuations of fortune to which all are privy, but no less commendable than the Romans beside whom they witnessed the Temple's burning and Jerusalem's collapse. *SY* took Jewish history back for the Jews in the Early Middle Ages. That such an argument was understated, which is to say largely implicit, does nothing to lessen its efficacy; but it does mean that *SY*'s reversal of Christian historiographical supersessionism can only be fully appreciated by a close examination of *SY* vis-à-vis its major Christian source, *DEH*, which is what the present study provides.

In saying that *SY*'s challenge to Christian supersessionism was 'effective' I do not mean that it immediately changed everyone's mind on the matter. Of course not. In fact, one might be forgiven for assuming that the way that *SY* relates the events lead up to 70 CE already by its time of writing comprised a commonplace assumption among the Jewish minority in western Europe (and perhaps elsewhere). However, with *SY* such a view of things came to have a place in the world. The text existed. And it endured. It was 'effective' inasmuch as *SY* enjoyed astounding popularity and perennial influence among Jews, eventually becoming known and important among Christian readers and thinkers as well.[4] We should stop to appreciate this impact, and to consider whether or not it would have seemed likely at the time. *SY* was, after all, written by and for a minority culture, in a language that only the *Jewish* literati utilized (or could utilize). Its author cannot have anticipated an overnight bestseller. Yet this is more or less what he got, and the afterlives of *SY*—as discussed more fully in the introductory chapters, and in most of the recent scholarship

4 See briefly Goodman (2019) 56–58; Zeldes (2020); Zeldes (2024); first and foremost, see Dönitz (2013).

on this text—thus testify to an overturning (or, as I have put it, 'overwriting') of Christian supersessionism stemming from early medieval Judaism. A final observation here, whether it be taken as a lesson or not, is this: as we have been at pains to point out in this study, *SY*'s overwriting of Christian historiographical supersessionism was in practice profoundly understated. *SY* does not speak *to* Christians or Christianity in any sense; this is a Hebrew text whose basis in Latin Christian literature may well have been totally unknown to its readers. Nor does *SY* talk about Christians or Christianity … at all. Rather, the radical reversal catalyzed by *SY* was, in its incipient stages, simply an in-group discourse, an emic corrective of the assumptions of a hegemonic out-group whose history was perceived as erroneous by Yosippon and his readers. But *SY* was fated to become much, much more.

3 *Sefer Yosippon* and Historiography in the Medieval World

One could, and (some)one probably should, write a book about all of the contributions that *SY* makes to our understanding of historiography, especially Jewish historiography, in the Early Middle Ages. Here, however, I would only like to point out one thing. The subject matter of *SY* challenges contemporary ideas about historiography, and thus bids us take care to avoid anachronism in applying those ideas as assumptions when approaching early medieval Jewish historiography, for example. That is, *SY* was written about events the most recent of which occurred over eight hundred years before its time of writing. Yosippon was, quite literally, writing *ancient history*. Yet that history appears to have had real relevance to Yosippon the author, and *SY*'s reception shows that the text's readers likewise appreciated it. Thus, while scholars like Funkenstein and Yerushalmi, as discussed in the first two chapters, stand in for a modern scholarly milieu that has tended to treat *SY* as something other than historiography—folklore or children's literature, for example—such a perspective fails to do justice to the world into which *SY* was birthed. Granted that we are largely left to imagine that world, but the point remains that *SY* appears to have represented a kind of history that was esteemed and appreciated in tenth-century Italy. In *SY*'s milieu, 'history' did not necessarily mean *recent* history.[5]

5 Bowman (2023) xvi marks David Flusser's argument that *SY* "may have been the only true 'historian,' in the modern sense of the term, during the medieval period. He devoted his story completely to the distant past, critically read his sources, and examined a wide range of materials that he adjusted to enliven the story."

Nor is *SY* alone in valuing antiquity as subject matter for *relevant* historiography in the much later here-and-now. In Thomas Carlson's excellent study of *Christianity in Fifteenth-Century Iraq*, he finds evidence that "the fifteenth-century Church of the East seems to have regarded its recent past as less important to the present than its ancient past."[6] The contemporary analytical imagination is, I deem, inclined either to ask 'how could this be?' or else to find some explanation that amounts to distinguishing categorically between recent/current historiography and earlier/ancient historiography. And perhaps this is right. But perhaps *SY* has something to teach us about the medieval historiographical imagination, or at least one distinctive Jewish iteration thereof. Certainly the recording of events from last year differs in many ways from records of events from centuries long past. But what *SY* shows is that a writing, indeed a rewriting, of the latter can be as relevant as any kind of history-writing; for what competitors did *SY* have among Jewish readers of history? None, in Hebrew at least. By entering into historiographical competition with *DEH* and rewriting the history of late-Second Temple Judaism and the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple, *SY* seems to have met a perceived need among the Jews of its time, proving the relevance of ancient history within the early medieval world.

• • •

In sum: a careful comparison of *SY*'s Hebrew to the Latin of its major source, *DEH*, shows how Yosippon took Jewish history back for the Jews in the Early Medieval Ages. He did so *inter alia* by means of biblicization, theologization, and Judaization, which transformed the Christian supersessionism inherent in his Latin source-text into a presentation of Jewish identity and/as history that resurrected the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism for a later age, thereby challenging the Christian account of the meaning of Jerusalem's destruction in the year 70. *SY* represents a reclamation project, contesting the standard Christian version of ancient Jewish history with a new and improved Jewish version. But it was not *so* new. Drawing upon the conceptual legacy of Hellenistic Judaism, *SY* filled the new wineskins of Hebrew historiography with the old wine of a millennium-old legacy, grown in the Greek literature of Hellenistic Jews and aged in the unlikely barrels of later Christian Latinity. In this way, then, did Josephus' *Jewish War* become a battleground between late antique Christianity and early medieval Judaism, fought with the invisible weapons of cross-cultural and

6 Carlson (2018) 225, in a chapter entitled "The Power of the Past" (222–251).

trans-linguistic historiography. Centuries and conceptual worlds apart, *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* and the *Book of Yosippon* represent historiographical contest of a kind common within history. Yet this particular iteration of such contest is as yet little-known. What all it has to teach us remains to be seen. The starting point, which this book has sought to provide, is to understand that such a contest existed and to gain an initial idea, at a granular level, of what such a contest looked like as manifested in the discrepancies between these influential Latin and Hebrew histories.

Bibliography

Abegg, Martin G., Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, in consultation with Emmanuel Tov. 2003. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*. 2 Parts. Leiden: Brill.

Abegg, Martin G., Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, in consultation with Eugene C. Ulrich. 2010. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume Three: The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert*. 2 Parts. Leiden: Brill.

Allison, Dale C. 2003. *Testament of Abraham*. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: De Gruyter.

Almagor, Eran. 2016. "Josephus and Greek Imperial Literature." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers and Honora Howell Chapman, 108–122. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Anderson, Bradford A. 2016. "The Intersection of the Human and Divine in Genesis 32–33," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 128.1: 30–41.

Asher, Adolf, trans. and ed. 1900. *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tuleda*. New York: Hakesheth Publishing Co.

Atkinson, Kenneth. 2024. "*Sefer Yosippon* as a Source for Hasmonean History: The Mysterious Story of John Hyrcanus and the Parthians." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 403–422. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Atkinson, Kenneth. 2007. "Noble Deaths at Gamla and Masada? A Critical Assessment of Josephus' Accounts of Jewish Resistance in Light of Archaeological Discoveries." In *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers, 349–371. JSJSup 110; Leiden: Brill.

Attali, Maureen. 2023. "Temple Ruins *versus* Temple Mount: Constructing Two Distinct Christian and Jewish Spaces in Late Antique Jerusalem." In *Religion and Urbanity Online*. Edited by Susanne Rau and Jörg Rüpke, 18 pages. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Baden, Joel S. 2010. "Hithpael and Niphal in Biblical Hebrew: Semantic and Morphological Overlap," *Vetus Testamentum* 60.1: 33–44.

Bader, Bernd, ed. 2019. *Josephus Latinus:* De Bello Iudaico*, Buch 1*. Palingenesia 119; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Baer, Yitzhak. 1949. "The Book of Josippon the Jew." In *Sefer Benzion Dinaburg*, 178–205. Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer. [Hebrew]

Barclay, John M.G. 1999. *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (*323 BCE–117 CE*). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baron, Salo W. 1972. *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History: Essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Baron, Salo W. 1964. *History and Jewish Historians: Essays and Addresses*. Compiled by

Arthur Hertzberg and Leon A. Feldman. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.

Baron, Salo W. 1952. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Volume VI: Laws, Homilies, and the Bible*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Baumgarten, Jean. 2011. "Jewish Studies." In *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms—Methods—Trends*, Volume 1. Edited by Albrecht Classen, 756–770. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Bay, Carson. Forthcoming A. "The Subaltern Speaks, in Hebrew: Medieval Judaism, Marginalized Voices, & the Significance of *Sefer Yosippon*," *Medieval Encounters*.

Bay, Carson. Forthcoming B. "Pseudo-Hegesippus." *Trends in Classics—Greek and Roman Humanities Encyclopedia*.

Bay, Carson. 2025a. "'A Rose among Thorns'? Reading Pseudo-Hegesippus (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*) amid the Latin Josephus Tradition." In *A Companion to Josephus in the Medieval West*. Edited by Karen M. Kletter and Paul Hilliard, 36–60. BCCT 106; Leiden: Brill.

Bay, Carson. 2025b. "Orosius in Hebrew? *Sefer Yosippon* 8 (ח) & the Sources of its Cyrus-vs-Scythians narrative between Orosius (2.7) and Herodotus (1.201–215)," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 68.1: 27–39.

Bay, Carson. 2025c. "On the Destruction of Jerusalem: One Narrative Bedrock of the Historiographical Construction of the Jews," *Co-produced Religions*: https://coproduced-religions.org/resources/sources/on-the-destruction-of-jerusalem-one-narrative-bedrock-of-the-historiographical-construction-of-the-jews.

Bay, Carson. 2024. "Killing Matthias: *De Excidio* 5.22 and *Sefer Yosippon* 81 (פא)." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 368–389. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Bay, Carson. 2023. *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity: The Historiography, Exemplarity, & Anti Judaism of Pseudo-Hegesippus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bay, Carson. 2022b. "The 'Maria Story' in Greek, Latin, & Hebrew: The *Teknophagia* Episode (*BJ* 6.201–213) in Josephus, Latin Josephus, Rufinus, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and *Sefer Yosippon* with Introduction, Texts, Translations, Notes, & Commentary," *Judaica* 3: 1–105.

Bay, Carson. 2022c. "Reinventing the Hammer: Judah the Maccabee and the Hasmonean Legacy in *Sefer Yosippon*." In *The Books of the Maccabees: Literary, Historical, and Religious Perspectives*. Edited by Jan Willem van Henten, 663–676. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 328; Leuven: Peeters.

Bay, Carson. 2022d. "The Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Identity Between Pseudo-Hegesippus & *Sefer Yosippon*: The Discursive Aftermath of Josephus' Temple *Ekphrasis*," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 16: 1–25.

Bay, Carson. 2022e. "Not 'Natural Law': [The] Law(s) of Nature ([ὁ/οἱ] νόμος/νόμοι φύσεως) in Flavius Josephus," *Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal* 22: 1–41.

Bay, Carson. 2022f. "Contagion of the Jews: Metaphorical and Rhetorical Uses of Sickness, Plague and Disease in Pseudo-Hegesippus," *Studies in Church History* 58: 8–27.

Bay, Carson. 2021a. "A New King David for Late Antiquity: Classical Exemplarity & Biblical Personality in Pseudo-Hegesippus," *Journal of Early Christian History* 11.2: 1–49.

Bay, Carson. 2021b. "Exemplarity, Exegesis, & Ethnography: Abraham in Pseudo-Hegesippus as a Test Case for Biblical Reception in Christian Late Antiquity," *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception* 8: 35–59.

Bay, Carson. 2021c. "Pseudo-Hegesippus and the Beginnings of Christian Historiography in Late Antiquity," *Studia Patristica* CXXVI: 255–266.

Bay, Carson. 2021d. "Disease and the Christian Discourse of Jewish Death in *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* 5, 2," *Vox Patrum* 78: 157–182.

Bay, Carson. 2021e. "Writing the Jews out of History: Pseudo-Hegesippus, Classical Historiography, & the Codification of Christian Anti-Judaism in Late Antiquity," *Church History* 90.2: 265–285.

Bay, Carson. 2021f. "On the Multivocality of the Latin Josephus Tradition: A Comparison Between the Latin *War*, Latin *Antiquities*, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Rufinus Based on the Egyptian Pseudo-Prophet Episode (*War* 2.261–263, *Antiquities* 20.169–172a)," *Medaevalia et Humanistica* 46: 1–36.

Bay, Carson. 2020. "Jewish National Decline and Biblical Figures as Classical Exempla in Pseudo-Hegesippus: Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David, and Elisha in *De Excidio* 5.2.1," *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception* 7.2: 167–204.

Bay, Carson. 2019. "Pseudo-Hegesippus at Antioch? Testing a Hypothesis for the Provenance of the *De Excidio Hierosolymitano*," *Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Étude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales* 8: 97–128.

Bay, Carson. 2018. "The Bible, the Classics, and the Jews in Pseudo-Hegesippus: A Literary Analysis of the Fourth-Century *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* 5.2." PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

Bay, Carson, and Anthony Ellis. 2025. "Introduction: The Medieval Afterlife of Hellenistic Judaism in Latin Europe." In *The Medieval Afterlife of Hellenistic Judaism: Reception & Reinvention in Western Europe*. Edited by Carson Bay, Anthony Ellis, Judith Mania, Sara Moscone, and Lena Tröger, 7–24. Basel: Schwabe.

Bay, Carson, Anthony Ellis, Judith Mania, Sara Moscone, and Lena Tröger, eds. 2025. *The Medieval Afterlife of Hellenistic Judaism: Reception & Reinvention in Western Europe*. Basel: Schwabe.

Bay, Carson, and Jan Willem van Henten. 2024. "*Exempla* in 1Maccabees and Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*: Doing Jewish Exemplarity in the Greco-Roman World," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 55: 169–195.

Bay, Carson, Katharina Heyden, and David Nirenberg, eds. 2026. *The Co-production of Hypocrisy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. CORE 2; Turnhout: Brepols.

Bay, Carson, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, eds. 2024. *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Baynes, Leslie. 2012. *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE–200 CE*. JSJSup 152; Leiden: Brill.

Begg, Christopher T. 2008. "The Dénouement of the Story of Gideon According to Josephus," *Antonianum* 1: 9–23.

van Bekkum, W. Jac. 1995. "Medieval Hebrew version of the Alexander Romance." In *Medieval Antiquity*. Edited by A. Welkenhuysen, H. Braet, and W. Verbeke, 293–301. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

van Bekkum, W. Jac. 1986. "Alexander the Great in Medieval Hebrew Literature," *Journal of the Wartburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49: 218–226.

Bell, Albert A., Jr. 1987. "Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus." In *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, 349–361. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Bell, Albert A., Jr. 1980. "Classical and Christian Traditions in the Work of Pseudo-Hegesippus," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33: 60–64.

Bell, Albert A., Jr. 1977. "An Historiographical Analysis of the *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* of Pseudo-Hegesippus." PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

Ben-Dov, Meir. 1985 [1982]. *In the Shadow of the Temple: The Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*. New York: Harper & Row.

Ben-Sasson, Menachem. 2010. "Remembering and Forgetting Persecutions: On Martyrdom in Christians and Muslims Lands in the Early Middle Ages." In *From Sages to Savants: Studies Presented to Avraham Grossman*. Edited by Joseph R. Hacker, Yosef Kaplan, and Benjamin Z. Kedar, 47–72. Jerusalem: Shazar. [Hebrew]

Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. 1995. *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Ben-Zvi, I. 1961. "A Lamp with a Samaritan Inscription: 'There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,'" *Israel Exploration Journal* 11.3: 139–142.

Berman, Samuel A. 1996. *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House.

Berthelot, Katell. 2021. *Jews and their Roman Rivals: Pagan Rome's Challenge to Israel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Biale, David. 1986. *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History*. New York: Schocken.

Binyam, Yonatan. 2024a. "*Zena Ayhud* (*The History of the Jews*): The Text and Context of the Ethiopic Version of *Sefer Yosippon*." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond:*

Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 561–576. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Binyam, Yonatan. 2024b. "Narrativity and literariness in receptions of Josephus' *teknophagia* story," *Classical Receptions Journal* 16: 243–253.

Binyam, Yonatan. 2023. "Sefer Yosippon Among Jews, Christians, and Muslims," *Coproduced Religions*: https://coproduced-religions.org/resources/sources/sefer-yosippon-among-jews-christians-and-muslims.

Binyam, Yonatan. 2017. "Studies in Sefer Yosippon: The Reception of Josephus in Medieval Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic Literature." PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

Bloch, René S. 2012. "Tacitus' Excursus on the Jews Through the Ages: An Overview of its Reception History." In *Tacitus*. Edited by Rhiannon Ash, 377–409. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bloch, René, S. 2009. "Die Verbindung jüdischer und römischer Urgeschichte im *Sefer Josippon*: Übersetzung aus dem zweiten Kapitel (2,1–52) des hebräischen Originals (editio Flusser)," *Judaica* 65: 339–343.

Bloch, René S. 2002. *Antike Vorstellungen vom Judentum: Der Judenexkurs des Tacitus im Rahmen der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*. Historia Einzelschriften 160; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Blumenkranz, Bernhard. 1960. *Juifs et Chétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096*. Paris: La Haye.

Bonfil, Roberto. 1996. *Tra due mondi: Cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana nel Medioevo*. Naples: Liguori.

Bonfil, Roberto. 1983. "Tra due mondi: prospettive di ricerca sulla storia culturale degli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale nell'alto Medioevo," *Italia Judaica* 1: 135–158.

Börner-Klein, Dagmar. 2010. "Jews and Romans as Friends and Foes according to Sefer Josippon." In *The Stranger in Ancient and Mediaeval Jewish Tradition*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits and Jan Dušek, 228–238. DGLS 4; Berlin: De Gruyter.

Börner-Klein, Dagmar, and Beat Zuber, trans. and eds. 2010. *Josippon: Jüdische Geschichte vom Anfang der Welt bis zum Ende der ersten Aufstands gegen Rom—Hebräisch-Deutsche Textausgabe*. Wiesbaden: Marix Verlag.

Bowen, Christopher J., and Roy Thompson. 2013. *Grammar of the Shot*. 3rd Edition. London: Focal Press.

Bowman, Steven. 2024. "Yosippon as an Innovative and Creative Genius." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 390–402. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Bowman, Steven, trans. 2023. *Sepher Yosippon: A Tenth-Century History of Ancient Israel*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Bowman, Steven. 2019. "*Sefer Yosippon*: Reevaluations," *Sefer yuḥasin* 7: 57–64.

Bowman, Steven. 2014a. "Freedom and Death: *The Jews and the Greek* Andartiko." In *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches*. Edited by Norman J.W. Goda, 224–237. New York: Berghahn.

Bowman, Steven. 2014b. "The Jewish experience in Byzantium." In *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*. Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget, 37–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowman, Steven. 2011 [2010]. "Jewish Responses to Byzantine Polemics from the Ninth through Eleventh Centuries." In *The Jewish Jesus: Revelation, Reflection, Reclamation*. Edited by Zev Garber, 181–203. Shofar Supplements in Jewish Studies; West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press. (Reprinted from *Shofar* 28)

Bowman, Steven. 2010. "Jewish Responses to Byzantine Polemics from the Ninth through Eleventh Centuries," *Shofar* 28: 103–115.

Bowman, Steven. 2008. "Mock Aqedah or Mashiah? Imagining Herod in Sepher Yosippon," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 2: 21–43.

Bowman, Steven. 2003. "Byzantium." In *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Norman Roth, 123–127. London: Routledge.

Bowman, Steven. 1995. "'Yosippon' and Jewish Nationalism," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 61: 23–51.

Bowman, Steven. 1994. "Dates in *Sefer Yosippon*." In *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of BenZion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by John C. Reeves and John Kampen, 349–359. London: Continuum.

Bowman, Steven. 1993. "*Sefer Yosippon*: History and Midrash." In *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History*. Edited by Michael Fishbane, 280–294. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bowman, Steven. 1987. "Josephus in Byzantium." In *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Edited by Lous H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, 362–385. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Bowman, Steven. 1985. *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Bowman, Steven. 1983. "A Tenth-Century Byzantine-Jewish Historian? A Review of David Flusser's Studies on the *Josippon* and its Culture," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 10: 133–136.

Boyarin, Daniel. 2004. *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Boyarin, Daniel. 1999. *Dying for God: Martryrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boyarin, Daniel. 1998. "Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6: 577–627.

Boysen, Carl. 1898. *Flavii Iosephi Opera, Pars VI: De Iudaeorum vetustate sive Contra Apionem Libri II*. CSEL 37; Vienna: F. Tempsky.

Braude, William G. 1959. *The Midrash on Psalms* (*Midrash Tehillim*). 2 Volumes. Yale Judaica Series XIII; New Haven: Yale University Press.

Breslau, M.H. 1855. *Hebrew and English Dictionary, Biblical and Rabbinical: containing the Hebrew and Chaldee Roots of the Old Testament Post-Biblical Writings*. London: John Weale.

Britton, Joseph Harp. 2013. *Abraham Heschel and the Phenomenon of Piety*. London: T&T Clark.

Brooke, George J. 2015. "The Kittim and Hints of Hybridity in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *People Under Power: Early Jewish and Christian Responses to the Roman Empire*. Edited by Michael Labahn and Outi Lehtipuu, 17–32. Early Christianity in the Roman World 1; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Brown, F., S. Driver, and C. Briggs, eds. 1996. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Buber, Martin. 1937 [1923]. *I and Thou*. Translated by Ronald Gregor Smith. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Buber, Solomon, ed. 1891. *Midrash Tehillim*. Vilna: Romm. [Hebrew]

Burke, Tony, ed. 2023. *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 3*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Burton, Marilyn E. 2017. *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica 68; Leiden: Brill.

Bush, Frederic. 1996. *Ruth-Esther*. WBC 9; Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Callu, J.-P. 1987. "Le De Bello Iudaico du Pseudo-Hégésippe: essai de datation," *Bonner Historia Augusta-Colloquium* 1984/1985: 117–142.

Cardona, Giorgio R. 1966. "I NOMI DEI FIGLI DI TÔGARMĀH SECONDO IL SĒPHER YÔSÊPHÔN," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 41: 17–28.

Carlson, Thomas A. 2018. *Christianity in Fifteenth-Century Iraq*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cassuto, Umberto. 1932. "Josippon." In *Encyclopedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Volume IX*. Edited by Jakob Klatzkin and Ismar Elbogen, 420–425. Berlin: Eschkol.

Cassuto, Umberto. 1918–1920. "Una lettera ebraica del secolo X," *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 29: 97–110.

Chapman, Honora Howell. 2007. "Masada in the 1st and 21st Centuries." In *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers, 82–102. JSJSup 110; Leiden: Brill.

Chazan, Robert. 2006. *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom*. Cambridge: Camridge University Press.

Chazan, Robert. 2004. *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chazan, Robert. 1987. *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cho, Paul K.-K. 2022. *The Willingness to Die and the Gift of Life: Suicide and Martyrdom in the Hebrew Bible*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Clark, Mark J. 2016. *The Making of the* Historia scholastica*, 1150–1200*. Studies and Texts 198; Turnhout: Brepols.

Clark, Matityahu. 1999. *Etymological Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew: Based on the Commentaries of Samson Raphael Hirsch*. Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers.

Clarke, Ernest G., trans. 1998. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy—Translated, with Notes*. The Aramaic Bible 5b; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.

Clines, David J.A., ed. 1996. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 9 Volumes. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Cohen, Gerson D. 1991. "Hannah and Her Seven Sons in Hebrew Literature." In *Studies in the Variety of Rabbinic Cultures*. Edited by Gerson D. Cohen, 39–60. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Cohen, Gerson D. 1967. "Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought." In *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. Edited by Alexander Altmann, 19–48. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cohen, Gerson D. 1953. "מעשה חנה ושבעת בניה בספרות העברית." In *Mordecai M. Kaplan: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by Moshe Davis, 2.109–122. 2 Volumes. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary. [Hebrew]

Cohen, Jeremy. 2004. *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*. College Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Cohen, Jeremy. 1999. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Shaye J.D. 2021. "The Forgotten Pharisees." In *The Pharisees*. Edited by Amy-Jill Levin and Joseph Sievers, 283–291. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Colafemmina, Cesare. 2012. *The Jews in Calabria*. Studia Post-Biblica 49; Leiden: Brill.

Coleman, Lori Jane, and Diana Friedberg. 2010. *Make the Cut: A Guide to Becoming a Successful Assistant Editor in Film and TV*. New York: Focal Press.

Collins, John J. 1999. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. 2nd Edition. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Cook, Edward M. 2015. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Cook, L. Stephen. 2011. *On the Question of the "Cessation of Prophecy" in Ancient Judaism*. TSAJ 145; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Davies, John A. 2004. *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on an Image of Israel in Exodus 19.6*. London: T&T Clark.

Deines, Roland. 2013. *Acts of God in History: Studies Towards Recovering a Theological Historiography*. Edited by Christoph Ochs and Peter Watts. WUNT 317; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Dimant, Devorah. 2017. *From Enoch to Tobit: Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Doerfler, Maria. 2011. "Ambrose's Jews: The Creation of Judaism and Heterodox Christianity in Ambrose of Milan's *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*," *Church History* 80: 749–772.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2024. "The Hebrew Manuscripts of *Sefer Yosippon*." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 169–210. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2022. "From Latin into Hebrew: Medieval Hebrew Narrative Adaptations of the Books of Maccabees." In *The Books of the Maccabees: Literary, Historical, and Religious Perspectives*. Edited by Jan Willem van Henten, 649–662. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 328; Leuven: Peeters.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2016. "Sefer Yosippon (Josippon)." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers and Honora Howell Chapman, 382–389. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2015. "Josephus im jiddischen Gewand—die jiddische Übersetzung des *Sefer Yosippon*," *Aschkenas* 25: 53–61.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2014. "Josephus Torn to Pieces—Fragments of *Sefer Yosippon* in Genizat Germania." In *Books within Books: New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings—European Genizah Texts and Studies, Volume 2*. Edited by Andreas Lehnardt and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 83–95. SJHC 42; Leiden: Brill.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2013. *Überlieferung und Rezeption des* Sefer Yosippon. TSMJ 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2011a. "Historiography Among Byzantine Jews: The Case of Sefer Yosippon." In *Jews in Byzantium: Dialects of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Edited by Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa, and Rina Talgam, 951–968. JSRC 14; Leiden: Brill.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2011b. "Alexander the Great in Medieval Hebrew Traditions." In *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Z. David Zuwiyya, 21–39. Leiden: Brill.

Dönitz, Saskia. 2009. "*Sefer Yosippon* and the Greek Bible." In *Jewish Reception of the Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Edited by Nicholas de Lange, Julia G. Krivoruchko, and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, 223–234. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Dwyer, William Francis. 1931. *The Vocabulary of Hegesippus: A Study in Latin Lexicography*. Patristic Studies 27; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.

Edrei, Arye, and Doron Mendels. 2007. "A Split Jewish Diaspora: Its Dramatic Consequences," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 16: 91–137.

Edwards, David R. 2025. "Trends and Trajectories in Josephus Research, 2020–2025," *Religious Studies Review* 51: 726–733.

Edwards, Mark Julian. 2002. *Origen Against Plato*. London: Routledge.

Eidelberg, Shlomo, trans. and ed. 1977. *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Einbinder, Susan. 1999. "The Troyes Lament: Jewish Martyrology in Hebrew and Old French," *VIATOR* 30: 201–230.

Ellis, Anthony. 2023. "The Rot of the Bones: A New Analysis of קנאה ("Envy/Jealousy") in the Hebrew Bible," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 142: 385–408.

Emerton, J.A. 2015 [1987]. "Sheol and the Sons of Belial." In *Studies on the Language and Literature of the Bible: Selected Works of J.A. Emerton*. Edited by Graham Davies and Robert Gordon, 97–100. VTSup 165; Leiden: Brill.

Estève, Dominique. 1987. "L'Oeuvre historique du Pseudo-Hegésippe: "De Bello iudaico", livre I à IV." ELP 10; PhD Dissertation, Université Paris Nanterre, Paris, France.

von Falkenhausen, Vera. 2011. "The Jews in Byzantine Southern Italy." In *Jews in Byzantium: Dialects of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Edited by Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy Stroumsa, and Rina Talgam, 271–296. JSRC 14; Leiden: Brill.

Feldman, Louis H. 1998b. *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Feldman, Louis H. 1998a. *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible*. JSJSup 58; Leiden: Brill.

Feldman, Louis H. 1994. "Josephus' Portrait of Elisha," *Novum Testamentum* 36: 1–28.

Feldman, Louis H. 1992. "Josephus' Portrait of Joseph," *RB* 99.2: 379–419.

Feldman, Louis H. 1984a. *Josephus and Modern Scholarship* (*1937–1980*). Berlin: De Gruyter.

Feldman, Louis H. 1984b. "Flavius Josephus Revisited: the Man, His Writings, and His Significance." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.21.2. Edited by Wolfgang Haase, 763–810. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Feldman, Yael S. 2024. "Between Josephus and *Yosippon*: Lamdan's *Masada*." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 530–543. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Feldman, Yael S. 2010. *Glory and Agony: Isaac's Sacrifice and National Narrative*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Festinger, Leon. 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fitzgerald, William. 2016. *Variety: The Life of a Roman Concept*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Fleischer, Ezra. 1983. "Hebrew liturgical poetry in Italy: Remarks concerning its emergence and characteristics," *Italia Judaica* 1: 415–426.

Fleischer, Ezra. 1975. *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press. [Hebrew]

Flint, Peter W. 1997. *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*. STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill.

Flusser, David. 1987. "Josippon, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus." In *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, 386–397. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Flusser, David, ed. 1980. *Sefer Josippon* [*Josephus Gorionides*]*: Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes*, Volume II. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David, ed. 1978. *Sefer Josippon* [*Josephus Gorionides*]*: Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes*, Volume I. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David, ed. 1978. *Josippon: The Original Version MS Jerusalem 8° 41280 and Supplements*. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David. 1974. "Der lateinische Josephus und der hebräische Josippon." In *Josephus—Studien, Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament. Otto Michel zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Edited by Otto Betz, Klaus Haacker, and Martin Hengel, 122–132. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Flusser, David. 1973. "The Author of Sefer Yosippon as a Historian." In *The Place of the History of the People of Israel in the Context of the History of the Nations: The Lectures of the 16th Conference of the Israel History Society*, 203–226. Jerusalem: The Israel Historical Society. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David. 1959. "Review of Blatt, *The Latin Josephus 1*," *Kiryat Sefer* 34: 458–463. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David. 1957. "Ma'aseh Alexandros according to Ms. Parma," *Tarbiz* 21: 165–184. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David. 1953. "The Author of the Book of Josippon: His Personality and His Age," *Zion* 18: 109–126. [Hebrew]

Flusser, David. 1947–1948. "Zpráva o Slovanech v hebrejské knonice z X. století," *Český časopis historický* 48–49: 238–241.

Frede, Hermann Josef, ed. 1975–1982. *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos: Einleitung—Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum*. Vetus Latina 25.1; Freiburg: Herder.

Fredriksen, Paula, and Oded Irshai. 2008. "Christian Anti-Judaism: Polemics and Policies." In *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume IV: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Edited by Steven T. Katz, 977–1034. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frey, Jörg. 2021. "John within Judaism? Textual, Historical, and Hermeneutical Considerations." In *Jews and Christians—Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?: Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model*. Edited by Jens Schröter, Benjamin A. Edsall, and Joseph Verheyden, 185–215. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Friedenwald, Harry. 1922. "Jewish Physicians in Italy: Their Relation to the Papal and Italian States," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 28: 133–211.

Friedlander, Gerald, trans. and ed. 1916. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer:* (*The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great*) *According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna*. New York: The Bloch Publishing Co.

Friedman, Caleb T., et al., ed. 2021. *A Scripture Index to Rabbinic Literature*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Academic.

Fuhrmann, Sebastian, and Regina Grundmann, eds. 2012. *Martyriumsvorstellungen in Antike und Mittelalter: Leben oder sterben für Gott?* Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 80; Leiden: Brill.

Funkenstein, Amos. 1993. *Perceptions of Jewish History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Funkenstein, Amos. 1992. "History, Counterhistory, and Narrative." In *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*. Edited by Saul Friedlander, 66–81. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gallagher, Edmon L. 2025. *The Apocrypha through History: The Canonical Reception of Deuterocanincal Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, trans. and ed. 1999. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 Volumes. Leiden: Brill.

Garr, W. Randall. 2006. "The Paragogic *nun* in Rhetorical Perspective." In *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*. Edited by Steve E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, 65–74. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Garr, W. Randall. 2003. *In His Own Image and Likeness: Humanity, Divinity and Monotheism*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 15; Leiden: Brill.

Gasquet, Francis Aidan, ed. 1949. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgataum Versionem ad Codicum Fidem iussu Pauli PP. VI, Volume 12: Sapientia Salomonis—Liber Hiesu Filii Sirach*. Rome: Vatican.

Gaster, M. 1899. *The Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel; or, The Hebrew Bible Historiale*. Oriental Translation Fund, New Series IV; London: Royal Asiatic Society.

Gesenius, Wilhelm. 2013. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Edited by Herbert Donner. 18th Edition. London: Springer.

Ginzberg, Louis. 2003 [1909–1938]. *Legends of the Jews*. 2 Volumes. Translated by Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Golb, Norman, and Omeljan Pritsak. 1982. *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Goldenberg, Robert. 2006. "The destruction of the Jerusalem Temple: its meaning and its consequences." In *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume IV: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Edited by Steven T. Katz, 191–205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldin, Simha. 1997. "The Socialisation for Kiddush ha-Shem among Medieval Jews," *Journal of Medieval History* 23.2: 117–138.

Goodblatt, David. 1998. "From Judeans to Israel: Names of Jewish States in Antiquity," *JSJ* 29.1: 1–36.

Goodman, Martin. 2019. *Josephus's* The Jewish War*: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goodman, Martin. 2018. *A History of Judaism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goodman, Martin. 2012. "Religious Reactions to 70: The Limitations of the Evidence." In *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple*. Edited by Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss, 509–516. AJEC 78; Leiden: Brill.

Goodman, Martin. 2007. *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*. London: Penguin.

Goodman, Martin. 2002. "Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period." In *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*. Edited by Martin Goodman, 36–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goodman, Martin, and Joanna Weinberg. 2016. "The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23: 167–171.

Gottheil, Richard. 1906. *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, Volume XI: Samson—Talmid Hakam*. Edited by Isidore Singer, 639–640. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Gottheil, Richard, and Max Schloessinger. 1906. "Joseph ben Gorion (Josephus Gorionides); referred to also as Yosippon and Pseudo-Josephus." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, Volume VII: Italy—Leon*. Edited by Isidore Singer, 259–260. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Graetz, Heinrich. 1975. *The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays*. Translated and edited by Ismar Schorsch. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Graetz, Heinrich. 1859. *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, Fünfter Band: vom Abschluss des Talmud (500) bis zum Aufblühen der jüdisch-spanischen Kultur (1027)*. 2nd Edition. Leipzig: Oskar Leiner.

Grainger, John D. 2017. *Great Power Diplomacy in the Hellenistic World*. London: Routledge.

Grojnowski, Davina. 2023. *Situating Josephus' Life within Ancient Autobiography: Genre in Context*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Grossman, Avraham. 1999. "The Cultural and Social Background in Jewish Martyrdom in Germany in 1096." In *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*. Edited by Alfred Haverkamp, 73–86. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.

Grossman, Avraham. 1992. "The Roots of Jewish Martyrdom in Early Ashkenaz." In *Sanctity of Life and Marytrdom: Studies in Memory of Amir Yekutiel*. Edited by Isaiah Gafni and Aviezer Ravitzky, 99–130. Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History. [Hebrew]

Grossman, Avraham. 1981. *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press. [Hebrew]

Groves, Beatrice. 2015. *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gruen, Erich S. 2016. *Constructs of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*. DCLS 29; Berlin: De Gruyter.

Gruen, Erich S. 1998. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grundmann, Regina. 2009. "'Ist nicht an einem solchen Tag der Tod besser als das Leben?': Gewalt gegen sich selbst und gegen andere aus der Sicht des rabbinischen Judentums und des Sefer Yosippon," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge/Frankfurt Jewish Studies Bulletin* 35: 65–83.

Hahn, E. Adelaide. 1961. "Body and Soul in Vergil," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 92: 193–216.

Haidt, Jonathan. 2012. *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hall, Thomas N. 2016. "Nathan the Jew in the Old English *Vindicta Salvatoris*." In *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature & Cultured*. Edited by Samantha Zacher, 40–60. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Handelman, Susan A. 1982. *The Slayers of Moses: The Emergence of Rabbinic Interpretation in Modern Literary Theory*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Harris, Isidore. 1889. "The Rise and Development of the Massorah," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 1: 128–142, 223–257.

Hartel, Guilelmus, ed. 1871. *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani: Opera Omnia*. CSEL 3.2; Vienna: C. Geroldi.

Harvey, Katherine. 2021. *The Fires of Lust: Sex in the Middle Ages*. London: Reaktion Books.

Hayes, Christine. 2020. "Review of Ophir and Rosen-Zvi, *Goy*," *AJS Review* 44: 190–192.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 1807. *System der Wissenschaft, Erster Theil: Die Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Bamberg: Goebhardt.

Heil, Johannes. 2024. *Andere Juden: Texte der westlichen Diaspora (ca. 400–800) und ihre christliche Rezeption (ca. 700–1200)*. Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg 24; Heidelberg: Winter Universtitätsverlag.

Hengel, Martin. 1976. *Die Zeloten: Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr*. 2nd Edition. AGJU 1; Leiden: Brill.

van Henten, Jan Willem. 2024. "The Maccabean Mother and Her Seven Sons in *Sefer Yosippon* 15: Interconnections with Previous Versions of the Martyrdom and Important Motifs." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 345–367; JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

van Henten, Jan Willem. 2015a. "Josephus, fifth evangelist, and Jesus on the Temple," *HTS Theological Studies* 71: 11 pages.

van Henten, Jan Willem. 2015b. "Hannah and her Seven Sons." In *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception, Volume 11: Halah–Hizquni*. Edited by Dale C. Allison, Jr., Christine Helmer, Volker Leppin, Choon-Leong Seow, Hermann Spieckermann, Barry Dov Walfish, and Eric J. Ziolkowski, 244–248. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Heyden, Katharina. 2022. "Dialogue as a Means of Religious Co-Production: Historical Perspectives," *Religions* 13: 18 pages.

Heyden, Katharina, and David Nirenberg. Forthcoming. "What theology and history can offer each other when thinking together about Judaism, Christianity, and Islam," *Journal of Interreligious Studies*: forthcoming.

Heyden, Katharina, and David Nirenberg. 2025a. "Religious Co-Production in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam," *Harvard Theological Review* 118: 159–180.

Heyden, Katharina, and David Nirenberg, eds. 2025. *The Co-production of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Artefacts, Rituals, Communities, Narratives, Doctrines, Concepts*. CORE 1; Turnhout: Brepols.

Hogg, James Edward. 1927. "'Belial' in the Old Testament," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 44: 56–58.

Holladay, Carl R. 1995. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume III: Aristobulus*. Texts and Translations 39; Pseudepigrapha Series 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Holladay, Carl R. 1989. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume II: Poets*. Texts and Translations 30; Pseudepigrapha Series 12; Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Holladay, Carl R. 1983. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume I: Historians*. Texts and Translations 20; Pseudepigrapha Series 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Hollander, Harm W. 1998. "The Portrayal of Joseph in Hellenistic Jewish and Early Christian Literature." In *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*. Edited by Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, 237–263. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.

den Hollander, William. 2015. "Jesus, Josephus, and the fall of Jerusalem: On doing history with Scripture," *HTS Theological Studies* 71: 9 pages.

Hollender, Elisabeth. 2021. "Piyyut." In *Judaism II: Literature*. Edited by Michael Tilly and Burton L. Visotzky, 237–262. Die Religionen der Menschheit; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Holo, Joshua. 2011. "Byzantine-Jewish Ethnography: A Consideration of the Sefer Yosippon in Light of Gerson Cohen's 'Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought.'" In *Jews in Byzantium: Dialects of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Edited by Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy Stroumsa, and Rina Talgam, 923–949. JSRC 14; Leiden: Brill.

Holo, Joshua. 2009. *Byzantine Jewry in the Mediterranean Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hominer, Ḥayim. 1967. *Josiphon of Joseph Ben Gorion ha-Cohen: Reprinted according to the complete Edition of Venice 5304 (1544) with Supplements from the Mantua Edi-*

tion 5238–5240 (1478–1480) and the Constantinople Edition 5270 (1510). 3rd Edition. Jerusalem: Hominer. [Hebrew]

Hunt, Thomas E. 2019. *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Critical Approaches to Early Christianity 2; Leiden: Brill.

Hurvitz, Avi. 1985. "Studies in the Language of the Book of Proverbs—Concerning the Use of the Construct State בעל," *Tarbiz* 55: 1–17. [Hebrew]

Ilan, Tal, and Vered Noam, with Meir Ben Shahr, Daphne Baratz, and Yael Fisch. 2017. *Josephus and the Rabbis*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi. [Hebrew]

Inowlocki, Sabrina. 2016. "Josephus and Patristic Literature." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, 356–367. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Irshai, Oded. 2009. "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 99: 465–486.

Isaac, Benjamin. 2017. *Empire and Ideology in the Greco-Roman World: Selected Papers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Isaac, Benjamin. 2004. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jacobs, Andrew. 2003. *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

James, William. 1902. *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. New York: Longman, Green, and Co.

Jastrow, Marcus. 1926 [1903]. *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York: Choreb.

Jastrow, Marcus. 1950. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York: Pardes Publishing House.

Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, Daniel. 2009. *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Kenney, John Peter. 2021. "Platonism and Christianity in Late Antiquity." In *Christian Platonism: A History*. Edited by Alexander J.B. Hampton and John Peter Kenney, 162–182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kilburn, K. 1959. *Lucian, Volume VI: How to Write History. The Dipsads. Saturnalia. Herodotus or Aetion. Zeuxis or Antiochus. A Slip of the Tongue in Greeting. Apology for the "Salaried Posts in Great Houses." Harmonides. A Conversation with Hesiod. The Scythian or The Consul. Hermotimus or Concerning the Sects. To One Who Said "You're a Prometheus in Words." The Ship or The Wishes*. LCL 430; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kister, Menahem. 2005. "4Q392 1 and the Conception of Light in Qumran 'Dualism,'" *Megillot* 3: 125–142. [Hebrew]

Klawans, Jonathan. 2012. *Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klawans, Jonathan. 2010. "Josephus, the Rabbis, and Responses to Catastrophes Ancient and Modern," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 100: 278–309.

Kletter, Karen M. 2016. "The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, 368–381. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kletter, Karen M., and Paul Hilliard. 2025. *A Companion to Josephus in the Medieval West*. BCCT 106; Leiden: Brill.

Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. 1994. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Volume I:* א—ח. Revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm; translated by M.E.J. Richardson, G.J. Joneling-Vos, and L.J. de Regt. Leiden: Brill.

Kugel, James L. 1997. *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the Start of the Common Era*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kurtz, Paul Michael. 2022. "What's So Jewish about Hellenistic Judaism?" *Marginalia*, April 22. https://themarginaliareview.com/whats-so-jewish-about-hellenistic-judaism/

Lacerenza, Giancarlo. 2021. "Rabbis in Southern Italian Jewish Inscriptions from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages." In *Diversity and Rabbinization: Jewish Texts and Societies Between 400 and 1,000 CE*. Edited by Gavin McDowell, Ron Naiweld, and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, 291–321. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

de Lange, Nicholas. 1996. "The Hebrew Language in the European Diaspora." In *Studies on the Jewish Diaspora in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Edited by Benjamin Isaac and Aharon Oppenheimer, 111–137. *Te 'uda*—The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies Research Series XII; Tel-Aviv: Ramot.

Lehnardt, Peter Sh. 2014. *"Ha-Ṣur Tamim be-khol Po'al*: On some Italian roots of the Poetic *Ṣidduq Ha-Din* in the Early Ashkenazi Rite." In *Death in Jewish Life: Burial and Mourning Customs Among Jews of Europe and Nearby Communities*. Edited by Stefan C. Reif, Andreas Lehnardt, and Avriel Bar-Levav, 99–140. Studia Judaica 78; Berlin: De Gruyter.

Lehnardt, Peter Sh. 2006. "Studies in the Emergence of the Tradition of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy." PhD Dissertation, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel. [Hebrew]

Lenzen, Verena. 1995. *Jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Namen Gottes: Studien über die Heiligung des göttlichen Namens* (*Kiddusch HaSchem*). Zurich: Piper.

Levenson, David B. 2024. "Beyond Flusser: The Text of the Latin *Antiquities* 13 and *Sefer Yosippon*." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 211–323. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Levenson, David B. 2004. "The Ancient and Medieval Sources for the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Jerusalem Temple," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 35: 409–460.

Levenson, David B. 1990. "Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple: An Inventory of Ancient and Medieval Sources." In *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Edited by H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins, and T.H. Tobin, 261–279. College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Levenson, David B. 1980. "A Source and Tradition Critical Study of the Stories of the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Jerusalem Temple." PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Levenson, David B., and Thomas R. Martin. 2016a. "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers and Honora Howell Chapman, 322–344. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Levenson, David B., and Thomas R. Martin. 2016b. "The Place of the Early Printed Editions of Josephus's *Antiquities* and *War* (1470–1534) in the Latin Textual Tradition." In *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy, Volume 2*. Edited by Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, 765–825. JSJSup 175; Leiden: Brill.

Levenson, Jon D. 1993. *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Levinson, Hanne Løland. 2021. *The Death Wish in the Hebrew Bible: Rhetorical Strategies for Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, Charles T., and Charles Short. 1879. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Lewy, Hans. 1960. "Josephus the Physician: A Medieval Legend of the Destruction of Jerusalem." In *Studies in Jewish Hellenism*, 266–293. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. [Hebrew]

Lewy, Hans. 1937–1938. "Josephus the Physician: A Medieval Legend of the Destruction of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1: 221–242.

Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. 1973. *El tema literario de su cerco y destrucción por los Romanos*. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.

Lieber, Elinor. 1984. "Asaf's *Book of Medicines*: A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 38: 233–249.

Lieberman, Saul. 1965. "Some Aspects of After Life in Early Rabbinic Literature." In *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, Volume II, 495–532. Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research.

Lier, G.E. 2018. "Translating ברך in Job 2:9—A Functionalist Approach," *Acta Theologica* 38.2: 105–122.

Lincoln, Bruce. 2018. *Apples and Oranges: Explorations In, On, and With Comparison*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lincoln, Bruce. 2014. *Between History and Myth: Stories of Harald Fairhair and the Founding of the State*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lincoln, Bruce. 2012. *Gods and Demons, Priests and Scholars: Critical Explorations in the History of Religions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lindner, Amnon. 1992. "Ps. Ambrose's *Anacephalaeosis*: A Carolingian Treatise on the Destruction of Jerusalem," *Revue de'Histoire des Textes* 22: 145–158.

Lindner, Amnon. 1989. "An Easter Sermon on the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple." In *Culture and Society in Medieval Jewry: Studies dedicated to the Memory of Haim Hillel Bern-Sasson*. Edited by Menahem Ben-Sasson, Robert Bonfil, and J.R. Hacker, 19–26. Jerusalem: Shazar Center. [Hebrew]

Loader, William. 2011. *The Pseudepigrapha on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Apocalypses, Testaments, Legends, Wisdom, and Related Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Lowden, John. 2010. "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon." In *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, 107–152. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

Lowden, John. 1992. *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Lowe, Malcolm. 1990. "Bibliography of the Writings of David Flusser," *Immanuel* 24/25: 292–305.

Lunde, Ingunn. 2004. "Rhetorical *enargeia* and linguistic pragmatics: On speech-reporting strategies in East Slavic medieval hagiography and homiletics," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5.1: 49–80.

Macho, Alejandro Díez, ed. 1974. *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana, Tomo IV: Números*. Textos y Estudios Consejo de Redacción 10; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

MacRae, Duncan. 2021. "*Ludibrium Paulinae*: Historiography, Anti-Pagan Polemic, and Aristocratic Marriage in *De excidio Hierosolymitano* 2.4," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 14.2: 229–256.

Magness, Jodi. 2019. *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mancuso, Piergabriele. 2010. *Shabbatai Donnolo's* Sefer Ḥakhmoni*: Introduction, Critical Text, and Annotated English Translation*. Studies in Jewish History and Culture 27; Leiden: Brill.

Marcus, Ivan G. 2018. Sefer Hasidim *and the Ashkenazic Book in Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Marcus, Ivan G. 2013. "Performative Midrash in the Memory of Ashkenazi Martyrs." In *Midrash Unbound: Transformations and Innovations*. Edited by Michael Fishbane and Joanna Weinberg, 197–210. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Marincola, John. 1997. *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martens, Peter W. 2015. "Embodiment, Heresy, and the Hellenization of Christianity:

The Descent of the Soul in Plato and Origen," *Harvard Theological Review* 108.4: 594–620.

Marx, Moses. 1962. "Joseph ben Gorion Editions," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* VI: 38–42.

Mason, Steve. 2016a. "Josephus's *Judean War*." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers and Honora Howell Chapman, 13–35. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mason, Steve. 2016b. "Josephus as a Roman Historian." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Zuleika Rodgers and Honora Howell Chapman, 89–109. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mason, Steve. 2003 [1992]. *Josephus and the New Testament*. 2nd Edition. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Mason, Steve. 1994. "Josephus, Daniel, and the Flavian House." In *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*. Edited by Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers, 161–194. Studia Post-Biblical 41; Leiden: Brill.

Maybaum, Siegmund. 1883. *Die Entwickelung des Israelitischen Prophetenthums*. Berlin: Harrwitz & Gossmann.

Mazeh, Hanan. 2020. "Built, Destroyed, and Built Again: Temple and History in *Genesis Rabbah* in Light of Christian Sources," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 110: 652–678.

McCormick, John Patrick. 1935. *A Study of the Nominal Syntax and Indirect Discourse in Hegesippus*. Patristic Studies 43; Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.

McDowell, Gavin. 2025. "The Aramaic *Dream of Mordechai* as a Targum of *Sefer Yosippon*," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*: December 26.

McDowell, Gavin. 2020. "The Alternative Chronology: Dating the Events of the Wagenseil Version of *Toledot Yeshu*." In Toledot Yeshu *in Context: The Jewish "Life of Jesus" in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern History*. Edited by Daniel Barbu and Yaacov Deutsch, 59–80. TSAJ 182; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

McDowell, Gavin, Ron Naiweld, and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, eds. 2021. *Diversity and Rabbinization: Jewish Texts and Societies Between 400 and 1,000 CE*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

McGinn, Bernard. 2014. *Thomas Aquinas's* Summa theologiae*: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McNamara, Martin, and Ernest G. Clark, trans. 1995. *Targum Neofiti 1: Numbers—Translated, with Apparatus and Notes | Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers—Translated, with Notes*. The Aramaic Bible 4; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.

Middleton, Paul. 2020. "Creating and Contesting Christian Martyrdom." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Christian Martyrdom*. Edited by Paul Middleton, 12–30. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Milano, Attilio. 1963. *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi.

Mintz, Alan. 1984. *Ḥurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Modelski, Theophil E. 1912. "Die Berge Job und Schebtamo des Josippon," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 26: 132–142.

Morgan, Teresa. 2015. *Roman Faith and Christian Faith:* Pistis *and* Fides *in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morillo, Stephen. 2020. "Justifications, theories, and customs of war." In *The Cambridge History of War, Volume II: War and the Medieval World*. Edited by Anne Curry and David A. Graff, 615–639. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morrison, James V. 1999. "Homeric Darkness: Patterns and Manipulation of Death Scenes in the 'Iliad,'" *Hermes* 127: 129–144.

Morvvyng, Peter. 1558. *A compendious and most marueilous history of the latter tymes of the Iewes commune weale beginnynge where the Bible or Scriptures leaue, and continuing to the vtter subuersion and laste destruction of that countrey and people: written in Hebrew by Ioseph Ben Gorion, a noble man of the same countrey, who sawe the most thinges him selfe, and was auctour and doer of a great part of the same*. London: Iohn Daye for Richarde Iugge.

Moscone, Sara. 2025. *Pro veritate historiae: Flavio Giuseppe e le fonti ebraiche nell'Historia Scholastica di Pietro Comestore*. Basel: Schwabe.

Mras, Karl. 1960. *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri v—Pt. 2: Praefationem Caroli Mras et indices Vincentii Ussani*. CSEL 66.2; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky.

Muehlberger, Ellen. 2013. *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Muehlberger, Ellen. 2008. "Angels in the Religious Imagination of Late Antiquity." PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, Indianapolis, IN.

Muntner, Süssman. 1949. *Rabbi Shabtai Donnolo, 913–985*. 2 Volumes. Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook. [Hebrew]

Najman, Hindy. 2025. *Scriptural Vitality: Rethinking Philology and Hermeneutics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neuman, Abraham A. 1950. "Josippon: History and Pietism." In *Alexander Marx, Jubilee Volume: On the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, English Section, 637–667. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Neville, Leonora. 2016. "Why Did the Byzntines Write History?" In *Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies—Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016: Plenary Papers*. Belgrade: The Servian National Committee of AIEB.

Niehoff, Maren. 1992. *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature*. AGJU 16; Leiden: Brill.

Niese, Benedikt. 1955 [1895]. *Flavii Iosephi opera: De bello Iudaico libros VII*. Berlin: Weidmanns.

Nikolsky, Ronit. 2004. "The Rechabites in *Ma'aseh Alexandros* and in the Medieval *Ben Sira*," *Zutot* 4: 35–41.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2019a. "Medieval Hebrew texts and European river names," *Onomàstica* 5: 187–203.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2019b. "European fluvial names, Hebrew sources, and imagined history," *Onomàstica* 5: 157–185.

Nisse, Ruth B. 2024. "The Beginning of the End: *Yosippon*'s 'Aeneid' and Adso's Apocalypse." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 327–344. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Nisse, Ruth B. 2017. *Jacob's Shipwreck: Diaspora, Translation, and Jewish-Christian Relations in Medieval England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Noam, Vered. 2018. *Shifting Images of the Hasmoneans: Second Temple Legends and Their Reception in Josephus and Rabbinic Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Noam, Vered. 2016. "Lost Historical Traditions: Between Josephus and the Rabbis." In *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*. Edited by Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelaar, 991–1017. JSJSup 175; Leiden: Brill.

Noy, D. 2008. "The Jews in Italy in the first to sixth centuries CE." In *The Jewish of Italy: Memory and Identity*. Edited by Bernard Dov Cooperman and Barbara Garvin, 47–64. Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture 7; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland.

Nulman, Macy. 1993. *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Prayer: Ashkenazic and Sephardic Rites*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

O'Connell, Robert H. 1996. *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges*. VTSup 63; Leiden: Brill.

Offenberg, Adri K. 1994. "The Chronology of Hebrew Printing in Mantua in the Fifteenth Century: A Re-Examination," *The Library* S6–16: 298–315.

Opelt, Ilona. 1965. *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen: Eine Typologie*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter/Universitätsverlag.

Ophir, Adi, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi. 2018. *Goy: Israel's Multiple Others and the Birth of the Gentile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Otero, Andrés Piquer. 2011. "Some Philological Notes on the Sons of Belial and the Septuagint," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, sección Hebreo* 60: 191–208.

Park, Jang-Woo, Ali Dogan, and Ricardo Teixeira. 2021. "*Block Josephus Problem*: When the reality is more cruel than the old story," *Hacettepe Journal of Mathematics & Statistics* 50.4: 970–981.

Penner, Jeremy. 2012. *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*. STDJ 104; Leiden: Brill.

Perry, Micha J. 2017. "Jewish heaven, Christian hell: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi's vision of the afterlife," *Journal of Medieval History* 43: 212–227.

Pollard, Richard Matthew. Forthcoming. *Josephus and the Church Fathers in the Early*

Middle Ages: How Wide is the Canon? Studies in Early Medieval History; London: Bloomsbury.

Pollard, Richard Matthew. 2018a. "Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages." In *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*. Edited by Elina Screen and Charles West, 15–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pollard, Richard Matthew. 2018b. "De excidio Hierosolymitano." *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*. https://doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_036378

Pollard, Richard Matthew. 2015. "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *VIATOR* 46: 65–100.

Pucci, Miriam. 1982. "On the Tendentiousness of Josephus' Historical Writing." In *Josephus Flavius: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*. Edited by Uriel Rappaport, xi–xii + 117–129. Jerusalem: The Center for the Study of Eretz Israel.

Pucci, Miriam. 1981. "An Unknown Source on a Possible Treaty between Hyrcanus I and the Parthians," *Zion* 46: 331–338.

Raaflaub, Kurt A. 2007. "Introduction: Searching for Peace in the Ancient World." In *War and Peace in the Ancient World*. Edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub, 1–33. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rachetta, Maria Teresa. 2019. "Storia antica, etnografia biblica e profezia nel Livre di Moses ben Abraham (Parigi, 1244). Il testo e il testimone*." In *Critica del testo, XXII / 3: L'Antichità nel Medioevo—Testi, tradizioni, problemi*. Edited by Gioia Paradisi and Arianna Punzi, 207–217. Rome: Viella.

Rajak, Tessa. 2014. "The Maccabean Mother between Pagans, Jews, and Christians." In *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*. Edited by Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress, and Isabella Sandwell, 39–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rajak, Tessa. 2002 [1983]. *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*. 2nd Edition. London: Duckworth.

Rajak, Tessa. 2001a [1996]. "Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition." In *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*, 39–60. AGJU 48; Leiden: Brill.

Rajak, Tessa. 2001b. "Friends, Romans, Subjects: Agrippa II's Speech in Josephus' *Jewish War*." In *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*, 147–159. AGJU 48; Leiden: Brill.

Rapinchuk, Mark E. 1996. "The End of the Exile: A Neglected Aspect of Matthean Christological Typology." PhD Dissertation, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL.

Raspe, Lucia. 2006. *Jüdische Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas*. TSMJ 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Rees, Valery, 2013. *From Gabriel to Lucifer: A Cultural History of Angels*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Reiner, Jacob. 1969. "The Original Hebrew Yosippon in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 60: 128–146.

Reiner, Jacob. 1967a. "The Jewish War: Variations in the Historical Narratives of Josephus and the Yosippon." PhD Dissertation, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, PA.

Reiner, Jacob. 1967b. "The English Yosippon," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 58: 126–142.

Ringgren, Helmer. 1980. "זעם." In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Volume IV: חמץ-זאב*. Translated by David E. Green. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, 106–112. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Rives, James B. 2005. "Flavian Religious Policy and the Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple." In *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Edited by Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives, 145–166. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, Kathleen Glenister. 2007. *Alterity & Narrative: Stories and the Negotiation of Western Identities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Rocca, Samuele. 2023. "Salomè Alessandra, Tigrane II, e Roma: un trattato inedito di alleanza tra la Repubblica romana e la Giudea tramandato da Josippon," *Codex: Giornale romanistico di studi giuridici politici e sociali* 4: 175–189.

Rodgers, Zuleika, and Honora Howell Chapman, eds. 2016. *A Companion to Josephus*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rosén, Haiim B. 1995. *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures: From Outgoing Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. Leuven: Peeters.

Rosen, Tova, and Elis Yassif. 2002. "Hebrew Literature in the Middle Ages." In *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*. Edited by Martin Goodman, 241–294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rothschild, Jean-Pierre. 1990. "Une pièce tardive à verser au dossier medieval des livres des Maccabées." In *Biblische und judaistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*. Edited by Angelo Vivian, 545–574. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

Sabatier, D. Petri. 1751. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica et caeterae quaecunque in Codicibus Mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt*. Volume 2. Paris: Reginald Florentain.

Salvesen, Alison. 2018. "'Christ has subjected us to the harsh yoke of the Arabs': The Syriac Exegesis of Jacob of Edessa in the New World Order." In *Exegetical Crossroads: Understanding Scripture in Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Pre-Modern Orient*. Edited by Georges Tamer, Regina Grundmann, Assaad Elias Kattan, and Karl Pinggéra, 145–162. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Sanders, J.A. 1967. *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Schatz, Andrea. 2019. "A Tradition in the Plural: Reframing *Sefer Yosippon* for Modern Times." In *Josephus in Modern Josephus Culture*. Edited by Andrea Schatz, 62–84. Studies in Jewish History and Culture 55; Leiden: Brill.

Schechter, Solomon. 1887. *Avot de Rabbi Natan in two Recensions*. Frankfurt a.M.: D. Kauffmann. [Hebrew]

Schreckenberg, Heinz. 1992. "Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art." In *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*. Edited by Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert, 1–140. CRINT 3/2; Minneapolis: Fortress.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. 1984. "Josephus und die christliche Wirkungsgeschichte seines *Bellum Judaicum*." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.21.2. Edited by Wolfgang Haase, 1106–1217. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. 1977. *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus*. ALGJ 10; Leiden: Brill.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. 1972. *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*. ALGHJ 5; Leiden: Brill.

Schremer, Adiel. 2010. *Brothers Estranged: Heresy, Christianity and Jewish Identity in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schwartz, Daniel R., trans. 2025. *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary, Volume 8:* Judean Antiquities*, Books 18–20*. Leiden: Brill.

Schwartz, Daniel R., and Zeev Weiss, eds. 2012. *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple*. AJEC 78; Leiden: Brill.

Scolnic, Benjamin, and Thomas Davis. 2015. "How Kittim became >rome<: Dan 11,30 and the importance of Cyprus in the sixth Syrian war," *ZAW* 127.2: 304–319.

Sehlmeyer, Markus. 2009. *Geschichtsbilder für Pagane und Christen: Res Romanae in den spätantiken Breviarien*. BzA 272; Berlin: de Gruyter.

Sela, Shulamit. 2009. *The Arabic Josippon: Introduction, Hebrew Translation and the Arabic Text. 2 Volumes: Vol. 1: Introduction; Hebrew Translation of the Arabic Text. Vol. 2: The Arabic Text; The Judeo-Arabic Text*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, Yad Ben-Zvi, and the Hebrew University/Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center. [Hebrew]

Sela, Shulamit. 2003. "Josephus (Medieval Version)." In *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Norman Roth, 377–380. London: Routledge.

Sela, Shulamit. 1992. "The genealogy of Ṣefo (Σωφαρ) ben Elifaz: The Importance of a Genizah fragment for Josippon's History." In *Genizah research after ninety years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*. Edited by Joshua Blau and Stefan Reif, 138–143. UCOP 47; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ben Shahar, Meir. 2025. "'And, moreover, everyone relies upon Joseph ben Gorion ha-Kohen': Abraham Zacuto, Flavius Josephus, and the Beginnings of Modern Jewish Historiography." In *The Medieval Afterlife of Hellenistic Judaism: Reception & Reinvention in Western Europe*. Edited by Carson Bay, Anthony Ellis, Judith Mania, Sara Moscone, and Lena Tröger, 289–313. Basel: Schwabe.

ben Shahar, Meir. 2024. "Josephus on the School Bench." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 466–496. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Sharf, Andrew. 1976. *The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Sharf, Andrew. 1971. *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*. New York: Schocken.

Shepkaru, Shmuel. 2002. "To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Chronicles," *Speculum* 77.2: 311–341.

Sheridan, Mark, ed. 2002. *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament II—Genesis 12–50*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Sigvartsen, Jan A. 2019. *Afterlife and Resurrection Beliefs in the Apocrypha and Apocalyptic Literature*. T&T Clark Jewish and Christian Texts Series 29; London: T&T Clark.

Simonsohn, Shlomo. 2016. "Jewish Italy: The Melting Pot of Mediterranean Jews," *Materia giudaica: rivista dell'associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo* XXI: 217–227.

Simonsohn, Shlomo. 1997. *The Jews in Sicily, Volume One: 383–1300*. Studia Post-Biblica 48, 3; Leiden: Brill.

Simonsohn, Shlomo. 1974. "The Hebrew Revival Among Early Medieval European Jews." In *Salo Wittmayer Jubilee Volume*. Edited by Saul Lieberman, 831–858. Jerusalem: American Academy of Jewish Research.

Sinclair, Kyle James. 2012. "War Writing in Middle Byzantine Historiography: Sources, Influences and Trends." PhD Dissertation, University of Birmingham, UK.

Smith, J.Z. 2000. "In Comparison a Magic Dwells." In *A Magic Still Dwells: Comparative Religion in the Postmodern World*. Edited by K.C. Patton and B.C. Ray, 23–44. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Smith, Jonathan Z. 1994. *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, Katherine Allen. 2011. *Wars and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Smith, Mark S. 2015. "Words and their Worlds." In *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek: Semantics—Exegesis—Translation*. Edited by Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, 3–32. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Smith, Morton. 1987. "The Occult in Josephus." In *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, 236–256. Leiden: Brill.

Sokoloff, Michael. 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum III; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press.

Sokoloff, Michael. 1990. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestianian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum II; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press.

Somenzi, Chiara. 2009. *Egesippo—Ambrogio: Formazione scolastica e cristiana a Roma alla metà del IV secolo*. Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 27; Milan: Vita e Pensiero.

Sorscher, Esther. 1973. "A Comparison of Three Texts: The Wars, the Hegesippus, and the Yosippon." MA Thesis, Yeshiva University, New York, NY.

Souter, Alexander. 1957 [1949]. *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Spilsbury, Paul. 1998. *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible*. TSAJ 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Starr, Joshua. 1939. *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204*. Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie 30; Athens: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher.

Stein Kokin, Daniel. 2024. "*Sefer Yosippon* and *Sefer Masa'ot*: A Reconsideration." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 423–453. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Steinschneider, Mortiz. 1893. *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden alas Dolmetscher*. Berlin: Kommissionsverlag des Bibliographischen Bureaus.

Steinschneider, Mortiz. 1868. *Donnolo: Pharmakologische Fragmente aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Julius Benzian.

Stemberger, Günter. 1983. *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden*. Erträge der Forschung 195; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Sterling, Gregory E. 1992. *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography*. Novum Testamentum Supplements 64; Leiden: Brill.

Stern, Sacha. 2007. *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Strauss, Paul. 2024. "Classical Histories in Reformation Postils: Pericopic Preaching on the Jews and the Destruction of the Temple," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 55: 113–132.

Taube, Moshe. 2023. *The Cultural Legacy of the Pre-Ashkenazic Jews in Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ta-Shma, Israel M. 2000. "The Attitude of Medieval German Halakhists to Aggadic Sources." In *Facing the Cross: The Persecutions of 1096 in History and Historiography*. Edited by Yom Tov Assis, Geremi Cohen, Ora Limor, Aharon Kedar, and Michael Toch, 150–156. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press. [Hebrew]

Ta-Shma, Israel M. 1993. "The 'Open Book' in Medieval Hebrew Literature: The Problem of Authorized Editions," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 75.3: 17–24.

Thackeray, Henry St. J, trans. and ed. 1928 [1997a]. *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books 5–7*. LCL 210; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thackeray, Henry St. J, trans. and ed. 1927–1928 [1997b]. *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books 3–4*. LCL 487; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thackeray, Henry St. J, trans. and ed. 1927 [1997c]. *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books 1–2*. LCL 203; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thiele, Walter, ed. 1977. *Sapientia Salomonis*. Vetus Latina 11.1; Freiburg: Herder.

Thomas, D. Winton. 1963. "*beliyya'al* in the Old Testament." In *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*. Edited by J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson, 11–19. Freiburg: Herder.

Thomson, H.J., trans. and ed. 1953. *Prudentius: Against Symmachus 2—Crowns of Martyrdom—Scenes from History—Epilogue*. LCL 398; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Toaff, Ariel. 1969. *Cronaca Ebraica del Sepher Yosephon*. Rome: Barulli.

Toaff, Ariel. 1967. "La storia di Zephò e la Guerra tra Angias e Turno nello Josephon," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* 3: 41–46.

Townsend, John T., trans. and ed. 2003. *Midrash Tanḥuma, S. Buber Recension, Volume III: Numbers and Deuteronomy*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House.

Townsend, John T., trans. and ed. 1997. *Midrash Tanḥuma, S. Buber Recension, Volume II: Exodus and Leviticus*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House.

Traube, Ludwig. 1884. "Zum lateinischen Josephus." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 39: 477–478.

Trieber, Konrad. 1895. "Zur Kritik des Gorionides," *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft*: 381–409.

Tuval, Michael. 2013. *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*. WUNT II.357; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Ussani, Vincenzo, ed. 1932. *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri v—Pt. 1: Textum criticum continens*. CSEL 66.1; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky.

de Valk, Mark, and Sarah Arnold. 2013. *The Film Handbook*. London: Routledge.

Van Nuffelen, Peter, and Lieve Van Hoof, trans. 2020. *Jordanes*, Romana *and* Getica. TTH 75; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Vehlow, Katja. 2017. "Fascinated by Josephus: Early Modern Vernacular Readers and Ibn Daud's Twelfth-Century Hebrew Epistome of Josippon," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* XLVIII: 413–435.

Vehlow, Katja, trans. and ed. 2013. *Abraham Ibn Daud's* Dorot 'Olam (*Generations of the Ages*)*: A Critical Edition and Translation of Zikhron Divrey Romi, Divrey Malkhey Yisra'el, and the Midrash on Zechariah*. MEMIW 50; Leiden Brill.

Vivanti, Corrado. 1990. "Storia degli ebrei in Italia e storia d'Italia," *Studi storici* 31: 349–393.

Vollandt, Ronny. 2014. "Ancient Jewish Historiography in Arabic Garb: *Sefer Josippon* between Southern Italy and Coptic Cairo," *Zutot* 11: 70–80.

Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein. 2006. *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waxman, M. 1938 [1930]. *A History of Jewish Literature*. 5 Volumes. New York: Thomas Yoseloff.

Weber, Robert, ed. 1983 [1969]. *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 2 Volumes. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Weinberger, Leon J. 1998. *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History*. Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.

Weiss, Tzahi. 2018. Sefer Yeṣirah *and its Contexts: Other Jewish Voices*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Weitzmann, Kurt, and Massimo Bernabo. 1999. *The Byzantine Octateuchs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Westenholz, Joan Goodnick. 1995. *The Jewish Presence in Ancient Rome*. Leiden: Brill.

Whealey, Alice. 2016. "The *Testimonium Flavianum*." In *A Companion to Josephus*. Edited by Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, 345–355. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Whealey, Alice. 2003. *Josephus on Jesus: The* Testimonium Flavianum *Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*. Studies in Biblical Literature 36; New York: Peter Lang.

Whitmarsh, Tim. 2007. "Josephus, Joseph and the Greek Novel," *Ramus* 36.1: 78–95.

Wilken, Robert Louis. 1992. *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wilken, Robert Louis. 1983. *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wisse, Ruth R. 2007. *Jews and Power*. New York: Schocken.

Wittig, Joseph. 1906. "Der Ambrosiaster Hilarius: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papstes Damasus I," *Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie* (= *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*) 4: 1–66.

Wolf, Edwin. 1971. "The First Book of Jewish Authorship Printed in America," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 60: 229–234.

Wolf, Lucien. 1912. "'Josippon' in England," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1908–1910* 6: 277–288.

Wright, Benjamin G., and Albert Pietersma, eds. 2007. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (NETS)

Wright, N.T. 2009. *Justification: God's Plan and Paul's Vision*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.

Yadin, Yigael. 1966. *Masada: Herod's Fortress to the Zealots' Last Stand*. New York: Random House.

Yassif, E. 2006. "Hebrew Traditions about Alexander the Great: Narrative Models and their Meaning in the Middle Ages," *Tarbiz* 75: 359–407. [Hebrew]

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. 1982. *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Yuval, Israel Jacob. 2008. *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Translated by Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zahn, Molly M. 2011. *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*. STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill.

Zeitlin, Solomon. 1963. "Josippon," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 53: 277–297.

Zeitlin, Solomon. 1929. "The Slavonic Josephus and its Relation to Yosippon and Hegesippus," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 20: 1–50.

Zeldes, Nadia. 2024. "The Christian Reception of *Sefer Yosippon* in Western Europe." In *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Text—Re-Interpretations—Afterlives*. Edited by Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten, 577–598. JSJSup 215; Leiden: Brill.

Zeldes, Nadia. 2020. *Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance: Christians, Jews, and the Hebrew Sefer Josippon*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Zuckerman, Constantin. 1995. "On the Date of the Khazars' Conversion to Judaism and the Chronology of the Kings of the Rus Oleg and Igor: A Study of the Anonymous Khazar *Letter* from the Genizah of Cairo," *Revue des études byzantines* 53: 237–270.

Zuckier, Shlomo. 2026. "Coproducing Hypocrisy in Jewish-Christian Antiquity: The Pharisees, Esau, and Other Hypocrites." In *The Co-Production of Hypocrisy: Judaism, Christianity, Islam*. Edited by Carson Bay, Katharina Heyden, and David Nirenberg, forthcoming. Turnhout: Brepols.

Zunz, Leopold. 1832. *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt: Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin: Asher.

Zwierlein, Otto. 2024. *Das >Bellum Iudaicum< des Ambrosius*. UALG 157; Berlin: De Gruyter.

Index of Biblical Texts

Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Genesis
1:4–5
1:16
1:20
1:26
1:28
1:30
2:7
2:19–20
2:21
4:10
4:19
4:21
5
5:1–13
5:1–31
5:32
6:1
6:5
6:7
6:11
6:13
7:3
7:15
7:22
7:23
8:9
9:2
10:4
10–11
10:1–32
10:2–4
11
11:1–9
11:10–26
12
12:10–20
14:13–16
14:19
14:22
15:6
15:11
15:15
124*n*18
97*n*100
95
310*n*153
310*n*153
310*n*153
310*n*153
124*n*19, 126*n*24, 335*n*53
310*n*153
126*n*24
280*n*61
120*n*10
293*n*101
62*n*102
26*n*92
26*n*94
26*n*94
124*n*19
294*n*103
310*n*153
331*n*40
331*n*40
310*n*153
124*n*19
124*n*19
310*n*153
129*n*34
310*n*153
198
62*n*102
26*n*92
27*n*94
27*n*94
26*n*93
26*n*92
211*n*17, 212*n*20, 213
208–209, 211
214
125*n*21
125*n*21
144*n*69, 182
334*n*52
130–131
16:9–11
16:13
18:23
18:25
19:19
19:24
20
20:2
20:3
20:4
20:4–5
20:6
20:11
20:16
20:17–18
22
22:11
22:14
22:15
25:1–4
25:7–8
25:12–16
25:24
26:26–35
27:2
27:38
29:2
29:11
29:17
29:21
31:11
31:13
32
32:24–32
32:25
32:28
34:7
34:21
36:10–14
36:20–28
36:31–43
39:6
39:15
39:18
151*n*90
151*n*90
252*n*122
252*n*122
201*n*98
143*n*66
208–209, 211–213
212*n*20
209, 211*n*17, 212*n*20
212*n*20
209, 211*n*17
211*n*17, 212*n*20
309*n*149
209
209
265*n*26
151*n*90
151*n*90
151*n*90
26*n*92
130
26*n*92
161*n*125
29*n*112, 226
131*n*38
331*n*42
288*n*84
331*n*42
188
161*n*125
232*n*72
323*n*12
232
231
232*n*74
232*n*71
211*n*18
188*n*61
26*n*92
26*n*92
26*n*92
187
331*n*42
331*n*42

Genesis (*cont.*)
41–50 186
41:18 188*n*61
41:19 188*n*61
42:27 335*n*56
42:38 332
43:21 335*n*56
43:33 188*n*61
43:36 125*n*20
44 90
46:3 323*n*12
49:11 5*n*16
49:24 300*n*124
50:3 161*n*125
50:17 125*n*21

Exodus 283*n*69
3:15 283*n*67
4:24 335*n*56
7:6 346*n*86
7:13 265*n*26
7:22 47, 265*n*26, 330
8:12 327*n*25
8:15 265*n*26, 357*n*114
8:19 47, 265*n*26, 330
8:32 265*n*26
9:7 265*n*26
9:10 134*n*44
9:12 265*n*26
9:34 265*n*26
9:35 265*n*26
10:1 265*n*26
10:20 265*n*26
10:27 265*n*26
11:10 265*n*26, 357*n*114
12:13 150*n*84
13:21–22 347*n*88
14:8 265*n*26
14:11–12 172
14:19–20 347*n*88
14:21 345*n*82
14:22 289*n*88
14:24 347*n*88
14:26–28 283*n*69
14:29 289*n*88
15:1–18 233
15:3 193*n*76
15:4–21 284*n*69
15:5 345*n*83
15:19 289*n*88
15:25 327*n*25
16 289
16:4 289*n*88
16:10 347*n*88
16:23 172
16:31–35 346*n*85
17 228, 289
17:3 172
17:4 327*n*25
19:5 125*n*21
21:8 306*n*140
23:26 161*n*125
26:3–34 305*n*139
28:36 290*n*93
29:37 305*n*139
30:10 305*n*139
30:12 91, 150*n*84
30:15 92
30:29 305*n*139
30:36 305*n*139
32:9 222*n*50
32:31–32 104*n*113
32:32 104, 106
33:3 222*n*50
33:5 222*n*50
33:9 347*n*88
34:9 222*n*50
40:10 305*n*139
40:37–38 347*n*88

Leviticus
2:3 305*n*139
2:10 305*n*139
5:15 169
5:21 (6:2) 125*n*20
5:23 (6:4) 125*n*20
6:17 305*n*139
6:25 305*n*139
6:29 305*n*139
7:1 305*n*139
7:6 305*n*139
7:18 143*n*66
8:33 161*n*125
10:12 305*n*139
10:17 305*n*139
12:4 161*n*125
13:18 134*n*44
13:20 134*n*44

Leviticus (*cont.*)
13:51 134*n*44
14:13 305*n*139
16:33 305*n*139
19:7 143*n*66
19:18 311*n*154
19:20 102*n*110
21:22 305*n*139
22:32 305*n*139
24:9 305*n*139
24:18 365*n*135
26:36 147*n*74, 219
26:39–40 265*n*26
26:40 223
27:28 305*n*139

Numbers 222*n*50, 283*n*69
4:19 305*n*139
5:12 170*n*14
8:19 150*n*84
9:16–22 347*n*88
10:10 308*n*147
10:11–12 347*n*88
10:34 347*n*88
11:6–9 346*n*85
11:10 133*n*42
11:12 327*n*25
11:14 133*n*42
11:15 133*n*42, 135
12:13 327*n*25
14:8 252*n*122
14:14 347*n*88
14:24 147*n*76
15:37–41 88*n*61
16 149, 250–251, 290
16:1–40 104*n*113
16:7 89*n*65
16:8 89*n*65
16:11 89*n*65
16:21 251*n*121
16:26 252*n*122
16:30 250
16:32 283*n*69
16:46–47/17:11–12 150
16:48/17:13 104, 106–108, 112*n*132, 149–152
17 307
17:8 307
18:9–10 305*n*139
20:8–11 346*n*86
20:23–29 149*n*81
21 149
21:6–7 149
21:7 223
23:7–8 129*n*33
24:17 346*n*83
24:24 198
25:4 354*n*107
25:6–13 98*n*103
26:10 284*n*69
26:55 89*n*71
31:3 324*n*19
32:11 147*n*76
32:12 147*n*76
32:14 354*n*107
32:15 296*n*106
32:36 297*n*113
33:54 89*n*71
34:13 89*n*71
35:31 92
36:2 89*n*71

Deuteronomy 143*n*66, 222*n*50
1:28 193*n*76
1:33 347*n*88
1:36 147*n*76
1:41 177*n*34
2:10 193*n*76
2:21 193*n*76
2:30 265*n*26, 357*n*114
4:30 282*n*65
5:22 167
5:26 125*n*19
6:4–9 88*n*61
6:5 87
6:7–9 87
6:18 167*n*5
7:9 323*n*12
8:3 346*n*85
8:15 346*n*86
8:16 167*n*5, 346*n*85
9:2 193
9:6 222*n*50
9:13 222*n*50
9:14 104*n*113
9:19 108
10:9 89*n*72
10:13 167*n*5

Deuteronomy (*cont.*)
10:17 323*n*12
11:6 284*n*69
11:13–21 88*n*61
12:12 89*n*72
12:28 167*n*5
13:5 89*n*65
13:10 332*n*43
14:21 306*n*140
14:29 89*n*72
15:3 306*n*140
16:20 96*n*96
17:5 332*n*43
17:14–20 182
17:15 306*n*140
18:1 89*n*72
20:3 89*n*64, 340*n*69
20:5–7 89*n*64
20:8 153*n*96
22:21 211*n*18, 332*n*43
22:24 332*n*43
23:20 306*n*140
26:15 305*n*139
27:15 264*n*24
28:15 282*n*65
28:26 310*n*153
28:27 134*n*44
28:35 134*n*44
28:36 182*n*46
28:45 282*n*65
28:65 160*n*122, 333*n*47, 366
29:23 143*n*66
30:1 282*n*65
30:2 223
30:6 201*n*98
30:9 167*n*5
31:14 130, 132*n*40
31:16 130
31:17 248
32:7 207*n*6
32:9 89*n*70
32:10 218*n*37
32:15 185*n*53
32:27 81
32:48–34:8 130
33:1 234*n*80
33:5 182*n*46, 185*n*53
33:26 185–186*n*53

Joshua
2:13 92*n*82
3 215*n*27
3:10 125*n*19
3:13–16 264*n*24
4:3 335*n*56
4:8 335*n*56
5:12 346*n*85
6 214
6:5 292*n*97
6:20 292*n*97
7 211*n*18
7:15 211*n*18
7:25 332*n*43
9:6–27 29*n*110
9:15 298*n*117
10 228
10:12 229
10:13 229
10:12–14 228*n*62
10:15 229
11:11 335*n*53
14:2 89*n*71
14:6 234*n*80
14:8–9 147*n*76
14:14 147*n*76
17:1 193*n*76
18:7 89*n*72
19:35 297*n*113
22:17 150*n*84
22:22 170*n*15
23:15 282*n*65

Judges
2:11–23 124*n*18
2:12 196*n*81
2:16 283*n*67
3:29 196*n*81
4–5 154*n*99
4:17–22 229
4:21 229
5:6 229
5:11 289*n*86
5:12 288*n*83
5:13 289*n*86
5:20 284*n*69, 311*n*154
5:24 229
7 216*n*30, 234, 236

Judges (*cont.*)
7:1 216
7:2–3 236*n*85
7:4–8 216, 236*n*85
7:12 235
7:19–25 236*n*85
7:24–28:35 236*n*86
9:7 331*n*42
13:6 234*n*80
13:8 229, 234*n*80
16:20 147*n*76
16:30 31*n*121
17:3–4 264*n*24
18:10 188*n*61
18:14 264*n*24
18:17–18 264*n*24
20:2 289*n*86
20:17 193*n*76
20:44 154*n*99
20:46 154*n*99
21:12 314*n*158

1 Samuel
1:3 124*n*18, 222*n*50, 293*n*101
2:5 322*n*9
2:27–36 338*n*62
3:1 216
4 196*n*84
6:6 216*n*30, 242
6:18 222*n*50
7:10 297*n*113
7:12 167
8:5 237
8:6 175
8:7 147*n*75
8:10–18 175
8:20 182
9:1 175
9:10 154*n*99
10:5 234*n*80
10:21 293*n*101
14:43–45 174*n*25
14:52 148
15 154*n*99
16:12 147, 291*n*94
16:13 188*n*61
16:14 147
16:23 147*n*76
17:26 292
17:33 125*n*19
17:36 193*n*76
17:44 125*n*19
17:46 310*n*153
18:12 310*n*153
20:2 147*n*76, 238*n*90
20:32 146*n*73
20:33 146*n*73
22:17 146*n*73
22:21 322*n*9
24:16 322*n*9
25:3 331*n*42
31:2 188*n*61
31:4 154*n*99
31:4–6 148, 348
31:7 344*n*78
191*n*69

2 Samuel
1:12 289*n*86
1:23 112, 144*n*67
3:32 331*n*42
5:5 191
6:5 293*n*101
6:21 289*n*86
8:1 191*n*69
8:1–4 192
8:15 191
12:1–23 239*n*94
12:14 239*n*94
13:36 314*n*158
14:13 289*n*86
16:6 332*n*43
16:13 332*n*43
17:8 193*n*76
17:23 134*n*44
21:10 310*n*153
22:6 139*n*56
22:12 347*n*87
22:22 154*n*98
22:31 323*n*12
22:33 323*n*12
22:48 323*n*12
24 295
24:1 295
24:9 154*n*99
24:13 290*n*92, 295*n*105
24:14 295*n*105
24:16 112, 295
24:17 112, 295, 296*n*106

1 Kings
1:42
6:16
7:50
8
8:9
8:22–53
8:29
8:33–34
8:37–39
8:38
8:45
8:46–53
8:49
8:54
9:3
10:12
11:6
12:22
13:4–31
14:11
15:29
16:4
17:18
19:4
20:7
21:13
21:24
22:17

2 Kings
3
3:9
3:17
3:19
4:16
5:1
5:7
6–7
6:13–14
6:15
6:17–18
6:18
6:20
6:21–22
6:23
7
7:1
143*n*66, 222*n*50, 285*n*73
154*n*99
305*n*139
305*n*139
301
308*n*146
301
301
301
301*n*126
301*n*126
301
301*n*126
301*n*126
301*n*126
293*n*101
147*n*76
234*n*80
234*n*80
310*n*153
334–335*n*53
310*n*153
234*n*80
134*n*44
249*n*117
332*n*43
310*n*153
300*n*124

217
217, 218*n*35
218*n*36
297*n*113
234*n*80
154*n*99
249*n*117
217, 297
297*n*113
154*n*99
299
297*n*115
298*n*116
298*n*116
298*n*116
219, 299
299
7:5
7:6
7:16
9:6
9:7
10:2
10:23
14
14:7
14:8–14
18:21
19
19:4
19:16
19:22
19:23
21:16
23
23:28–30
23:29
23:36
24:8
24:8–17
24:17
24:18
25
25:2–9
25:7
25:27–29

Isaiah
1:3
1:21
2:4
2:22
5:12
5:30
8:14
9:1/2
10:29
11:2
11:3
11:4
11:15
12:4
13:2
13:10
13:13
297*n*112
154*n*99, 219*n*41, 296*n*110, 299
297*n*112
289*n*86
125*n*21
297*n*113
125*n*21
240
242
241
173
210*n*16
125*n*19
125*n*19
332*n*42
335*n*56
281*n*63
219
220*n*44
344*n*78
352*n*103
352*n*103
352*n*102
352
352*n*103
220
352*n*102
333*n*47, 352
352

143*n*66, 346*n*86
264
284–285*n*72
333*n*47, 367*n*142
124*n*19
293*n*101
91*n*76
150*n*84, 330*n*38
90, 95, 340*n*69
335*n*56
309*n*149
333*n*47, 367*n*142
333*n*47, 367*n*142
346*n*83
327*n*27
332*n*42
91*n*76
354*n*107

Isaiah (*cont.*)
14:18 283*n*68
14:26 190*n*65
22 126*n*24
22:18 188*n*61
22:22 126
24:20 161*n*126
29:6 284*n*69
30–31 173, 220
30:6 143*n*66
30:33 143*n*66
33:5 327*n*27
33:21 188*n*61
34:9 143*n*66
35 218
35:6 218*n*38
36:6 173
36:9 173
36:13 167*n*6
37 210*n*16
37:4 125*n*19
37:17 125*n*19
37:23 289*n*87
37:24 335*n*56
37:28 332*n*42
38:12 367*n*142
40:1 333*n*47, 342
40:9 332*n*42
40:23 121*n*11
40:28 327*n*26
41:18 346*n*86
42:4 310*n*152
42:5 323*n*12
42:13 154*n*101
42:16 97*n*100
42:17 264*n*24
43 218
43:16 121*n*11
43:19–20 218*n*37–38
44:2 185*n*53
44:17 264*n*24
44:18 264*n*24
44:28 182*n*45
45:1 182*n*45
45:7 97*n*100
45:8 346*n*84
46:3 167
46:12 167
48:12 167
48:18 158*n*115
48:21 346*n*86
51:1 167
51:7 167
51:9 288*n*83
52:1 288*n*83
54:16 290*n*92
54:17 125*n*21
55:4 310*n*152
57:20 161*n*127
58:1 332*n*42
59:17 211*n*16
60:19–20 95*n*90
61:6 322*n*9
61:9 286*n*76
63:7 231*n*69
65:4 143*n*66
66:14 129*n*33, 273*n*47

Jeremiah 222*n*50, 346*n*86, 367*n*142
1:18 265*n*26, 297*n*113
3:7 222*n*50
3:10 91*n*79
3:12 139*n*56
3:25 177*n*34
4:8 354*n*107
4:25 310*n*153
4:26 354*n*107
5:19 282*n*65
5:24 121*n*11
5:31 91*n*79
7:4 306*n*141
7:11 306*n*141
7:13 282*n*65
7:23 167*n*5
7:33 310*n*153
8:14 177*n*34
9:1 335*n*56
9:3 331
9:10 310*n*153
10:10 125*n*19
10:16 89*n*72
13:14 310*n*151
13:16 91*n*76
13:17 327*n*27
13:20 288*n*84
13:25 91*n*79
14:9 154*n*101

Jeremiah (*cont.*)
14:22 282*n*65
15:3 310*n*153
16:4 310*n*153
19:7 310*n*153
20:6 91*n*79
20:11 154*n*101
21:7 310*n*151
22:7 290*n*92
23:2 300*n*124
23:14 91*n*79
23:18 330*n*35
23:36 125*n*19
24:1 352*n*102
24:2 351*n*99
24:8 351*n*99
25:30 305*n*139
25:37 354*n*107
25:38 354*n*107
29:9 91*n*79
29:23 211*n*18
30:6 249*n*117
30:24 354*n*107
31:10 300*n*124
31:35 121*n*11
32:18 323*n*12
34:20 310*n*153
35:4 234*n*80
36:7 301*n*125
36:14 186*n*54
36:21 186*n*54
36:23 186*n*54
37:20 301*n*125
39:3 103*n*111
42:2 301*n*125
43:9 186*n*54
50:9 154*n*101
50:15 324*n*19
50:28 324*n*19
51:11 324*n*19
52 220
52:1 352*n*103
52:11 352
52:28 186*n*54
52:30 186*n*54
52:31–33 352

Ezekiel 124*n*18, 143*n*66, 346*n*86
4:14 143*n*66
7:24 277*n*54
9:1 167
11:13 167
16:30 282*n*65
16:52 91*n*78
16:54 91*n*78
16:63 91*n*78
17:18 282*n*65
17:20 170*n*15
21:22 332*n*42
24 281
24:2 277*n*54, 281*n*63
24:3 281*n*63
24:7–8 281*n*63
24:9 281*n*63
24:21 277*n*54
29:5 310*n*153
30:6 277*n*54
30:18 91*n*76, 277*n*54
31:6 310*n*153
31:13 310*n*153
32:4 310*n*153
33:28 278*n*54
34:2 300*n*124, 301
36:20 289*n*86
38:20 310*n*153
38:22 143*n*66
39:20 193*n*76
39:26 170*n*15
41:4 305*n*139
41:21 366*n*140
41:23 366*n*140
42:13 305*n*139
43:12 305*n*139
44:13 305*n*139
45:3 305*n*139
47:12 368*n*144

Hosea 346*n*86
2:12 157*n*114
2:18 310*n*153
4:3 310*n*153
6:6 309*n*149
7:12 310*n*153
11:9 354*n*107
12:4 232
13:7–8 61*n*100

Joel
1:18 288*n*84
3:13 294*n*103

Amos
1:11 264*n*24
3:12 300*n*124
5:8 91*n*76
5:18 97*n*100
5:20 97*n*100
6:5 293*n*101
8:8 161*n*127
8:9 91*n*76

Obadiah
1:10 91

Jonah
1:4 158*n*115
1:5 158*n*115
1:6 158*n*115, 293
1:12 158*n*115
2:3 158*n*115
2:4 158*n*115, 161*n*127, 366*n*140
2:7 366*n*140
4:3 135
4:8 134*n*44
4:8–9 135

Micah
2:12 288*n*84
3:6 91*n*76
4:3 333*n*47, 367*n*142
5:7/8 157*n*114
5:8 288*n*84
6:10 129*n*33
7:2 139*n*56
7:8 97*n*100
7:19 346*n*83

Nahum
1:14 264*n*24
2:13 134*n*44

Habakkuk
1:5 249*n*117
1:12 333*n*47, 367*n*142
2:4 308*n*148
2:18 264*n*24
2:19 288*n*83
2:20 366*n*140
3:15 346*n*83

Zephaniah
1:3 310*n*153
2:2 354*n*107
2:10 289*n*86
3:8 354*n*107

Haggai
222*n*50

Zechariah
1:1 311*n*155
1:12 129*n*33
2:13 305*n*139
8:23 186*n*54
10:7 154*n*101
10:11 158*n*115, 345*n*83
13:7 288*n*83

Malachi
367*n*142
1:4 129*n*33
3:12 286

Psalms
124*n*18, 143*n*66, 222*n*50, 293*n*101
2:2 89*n*65
4:3 139*n*56
5:7 366*n*140
6:9 301*n*125
7:6 288*n*83
7:11 129*n*33
7:13 154*n*100
8:7 180*n*41
10:13 134*n*44
11:4 366*n*140
11:6 143*n*66
12:2 139*n*56
15:4 357
18:21 154*n*98
18:25 139*n*56
18:28 97*n*100
18:30 323*n*12
18:32 323*n*12
18:47 121*n*11, 323*n*12
19:5 154*n*101
21:4 335*n*55

Psalms (*cont.*)
21:12 190*n*65
25:10 161*n*123
27:14 357*n*114
31:24 357*n*114
32:6 139*n*56
32:9 264
33:2 293*n*101
33:5 161*n*123
33:19 92*n*82
34:19 294*n*103
35:23 288*n*83
36:10 94*n*83
38:5 353*n*106
38:6 168*n*11
40:10/11 86*n*54
42:2 125*n*19
42:7 158*n*115
43:1 139*n*56
44:23 288*n*83
45:10 197*n*84
49:20 94*n*83
50:5 139*n*56
50:10–12 125*n*21
55:1 301*n*125
56:13/14 92*n*82
57:8 288*n*83, 293*n*101
59:4 288*n*83
62:12 161*n*123
63:1 346*n*86
65:4 366*n*140
66:19 330*n*35
68:5 305*n*139
68:8 218*n*37
68:19–20 323*n*12
68:22 345*n*81
69:2 346*n*83
69:5 353*n*106
69:15 346*n*83
72:14 139*n*56, 323*n*12
77:19 284*n*69
78:14 347*n*88
78:23 347*n*87
78:24 346*n*85
78:40 218*n*37
78:49 315, 354*n*107
78:50 92*n*80
78:65 154*n*101
78:71 300*n*124
79:1 311*n*154, 366
79:1–3 276*n*51
79:2 310*n*153
79:13 327*n*27
80:1 300*n*124
81:8 284*n*69
84:2 125*n*19
85:8 323*n*12
86:2 139*n*56
88:6 346*n*83
89:1 231*n*69
89:14 161*n*123
89:48/49 92*n*82
90:1 234*n*80
91:16 335*n*55
92:3 293*n*101
93:4 158*n*115
99:7 347*n*88
104:7 284*n*69
104:12 310*n*153
104:20 157*n*114
104:25 188*n*61
105:28 97*n*100
105:41 346*n*86
106:7–9 284*n*69
106:14 218*n*37
106:17 284*n*69
106:31 182
106:38 282*n*64
106:43 89*n*64
107:4 218*n*37
107:24 346*n*83
107:35 346*n*86
108:2 288*n*83, 293*n*101
108:10 297*n*113
112:4 97*n*100
113:1 125*n*21
114:3 264*n*24
114:5 264*n*24, 311*n*154
114:8 346*n*86
115 264*n*24, 311*n*154
115:3 264*n*24
115:5 264*n*24
115:6 264*n*24
116:7 160*n*122
116:8 92*n*82
116:15 139*n*56, 144*n*68, 197*n*84
119:11 86*n*54

Psalms (*cont.*)
134:1 125*n*21
135:1 125*n*21
135:16–17 264*n*24
136:15 284*n*69
136:25 121*n*11
138:2 366*n*140
139:11–12 97*n*100
139:12 89*n*73
141:1/142:1 138*n*55
141:8/142:7 135, 138–140
142 138–139
144:10 121*n*11
145:12 366*n*140
146:7 121*n*11
147:9 121*n*11
149:1 139*n*56
149:5 139*n*56, 283*n*68
150:3 293*n*101

Proverbs 367*n*142
1:7 309*n*149
2:16 306*n*140
3:2 335*n*55
3:11–12 333*n*47, 367*n*142
3:15 197*n*84
3:16 335*n*55
3:20 346*n*84
5:20 306*n*140
5:23 353*n*106
6:24 222*n*49, 306*n*140
6:26 197*n*84
6:32 158*n*115
6:34 249*n*118
7:5 306*n*140
10:28 144*n*70
11:23 144*n*70
12:18 153*n*96
12:23 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
13:8 92
13:16 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
14:1 353*n*106
14:8 353*n*106
14:17–18 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
14:24 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
14:29 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
14:30 249*n*118
15:2 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
15:14 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
15:18 249*n*118
15:21 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
16:22 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
16:28 249*n*118
17:1 249*n*118
17:12 353*n*106
17:14 249*n*118
17:25 249*n*118
17:27 197*n*84
18:3 156*n*112
18:6 155
18:8 155
18:9 156, 158*n*115
18:13 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
19:3 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
19:8 298*n*115
19:15 (LXX) 155*n*105
22:10 249*n*118
22:14 129*n*33
22:15 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
23:27 306*n*140
24:9 156*n*112, 168*n*11, 353*n*106
24:11 92*n*80
24:24 129*n*33
25:9 249*n*118
25:23 129*n*33
26:4–5 353*n*106
26:11 353*n*106
26:17 249*n*118
26:20 249*n*118
26:21 249*n*118
27:4 249*n*118, 328*n*29
27:6 168
27:13 306*n*140
27:22 353*n*106
28:24 158*n*115

Proverbs (*cont.*)
28:25 249*n*118
29:7 168*n*11
29:22 249*n*118
30:33 249*n*118
31:13 158*n*115

Job
1:21 143*n*66
1:22 161*n*123
2:5 190
2:7 134*n*44
2:9–10 134*n*44, 135
2:10 135
3:3 190
3:20 134–135
3:21 134–135
3:23 135
5:10 134
5:20 121*n*11
8:3 92
9:28–29 323*n*12
10:8–11 134
10:12 125*n*21
10:13 125
10:15 86*n*54
10:18–20 154*n*98
12:7 134
12:14 310*n*153
15:32 121–122, 126
16:14 161*n*125
18:15 154*n*101
20:23 143*n*66
22:4 315*n*160, 354*n*107
22:5 333*n*47, 367*n*142
22:14 333*n*47
23:7 294*n*103
24:19 347*n*87
26:10 367*n*142
26:14 346*n*86
27:3 97*n*100
27:8 284*n*69
28:21 125*n*21
29:3 125
32:8 310*n*153
33:4 97*n*100
33:18 125*n*21
34:14–15 125*n*21
34:19 92*n*82
34:35 126*n*23
35:10 180
35:11 168*n*11
36:12 121*n*11
36:28 310*n*153
38:2 168*n*11
38:19 346*n*84
38:34 91*n*76
39:25 97*n*100
41:11 332*n*42
41:31 284*n*69
42:8 125*n*21
42:16–17 346*n*83
211*n*18
133*n*41

Song of Songs
1:15 188*n*61
3:11 308*n*147
4:1 188*n*61
4:16 288*n*83
8:6 309*n*149

Ruth
2:1 154*n*99

Lamentations
1:1 285*n*72, 286
1:3 129*n*34
1:4 315*n*159
1:8 315*n*159
1:11 315*n*159
1:12 354*n*107
1:21 315*n*159, 351*n*98
1:22 315*n*159
2:1 285*n*72
2:19 311*n*154
4:1 285*n*72
4:2 197*n*84
4:11 315, 354*n*107
4:13 139*n*56, 282*n*64
4:18 161*n*125

Ecclesiastes 285, 367*n*142
1:18 249*n*118
2:21 294*n*103
3:1–10 161*n*124
3:2 156
3:11 156*n*110
7:3 249*n*118

Ecclesiastes (*cont.*)
7:8 134*n*44
7:9 249*n*118
7:22 89*n*64
10:20 310*n*153
11:10 249*n*118
12:2 89*n*73

Esther 285
2:5 186*n*54
2:6 352*n*102
3:4 186*n*54
4:7 186*n*54
8:1 186*n*54
8:7 186*n*54
8:9 285*n*73
8:13 186*n*54
9:15 186*n*54
9:17–18 308*n*147
9:18 186*n*54
9:27 353*n*105

Daniel 53*n*80, 124*n*18, 212*n*21, 220*n*47, 285, 347*n*89
2:6 353*n*105
2:25 186*n*54
2:22 97*n*100
3:26 125*n*21
5:13 186*n*54
5:26 132*n*40
5:31 353*n*105
6:13 186*n*54
6:20 125*n*19
6:26 125*n*19
7:13 347*n*87
7:18 353*n*105
8 74*n*16
9:4 323*n*12
9:20 301*n*125
9:24 305*n*139
11:16 331*n*40
11:30 129*n*33, 198
11:36 331*n*40
11:39 180*n*41
12:2 143*n*66
12:2–3 94*n*87

Ezra 182*n*45, 285
2:63 305*n*139
3:2 234*n*80
3:12 332*n*42
3:13 314*n*158
5:8 285*n*74
5:11 125*n*21
5:16 132*n*40
6:21 348
6:22 308*n*147
7:14 186*n*54
7:19 132*n*40
9:2 170*n*15
9:4 170*n*15
9:5–10:1 223
9:9 190*n*65
10:6 170*n*15
10:14 354*n*107

Nehemiah 124*n*18, 285
1:5 323*n*12
7:4 188*n*61
7:65 305*n*139
9:2 223
9:11 289*n*88, 345*n*83
9:12 347*n*88
9:15 346*n*86
9:19 347*n*88
9:20 346*n*85
9:32 323*n*12
12:24 234*n*80
12:36 234*n*80

1 Chronicles 124*n*18, 143*n*66, 222*n*50, 293*n*101
1 26, 62*n*102
1:1–4 26*n*94
1:1–27 26*n*92
1:5–7 27*n*94
1:7 198
1:29–31 26*n*92
1:32–33 26*n*92
1:34–37 26*n*92
1:38–42 26*n*92
1:43–54 26*n*92
4:40 188*n*61
6:49 305*n*139
9:1 170*n*15
10:4 348

1 Chronicles (*cont.*)
10:4–6 344*n*78
10:7–18:1 191*n*69
10:12 154*n*99
11:22 154*n*99
12:1 174*n*25
12:38 193*n*76
13:8 293*n*101
15:16 332*n*42
21 112, 295
21:1 295
21:10 190*n*65
21:12 290*n*92, 295*n*105
21:13 295*n*105
21:15 112, 296*n*106
21:16–17 295
21:17 112, 295*n*106
22:8 281*n*63
23:13 305*n*139
23:14 234*n*80
26:8 154*n*99
26:28 174*n*25
29:22 308*n*147

2 Chronicles 368*n*144
3:8 305*n*139
3:17 352
4:22 305*n*139
5:13 332*n*42
6:12–39 301
6:19 301*n*126
6:20 301
6:24–25 301
6:28–30 301
6:29 301*n*126
6:35 301*n*126
6:36–39 301
6:39 301*n*126
8:9 193*n*76
8:14 234*n*80
13:3 154*n*99
13:7 153*n*96
13:9 322*n*9
14 216*n*31, 227
14:8–9 227*n*58
14:11 227*n*59
18:16 300*n*124
20:12 227*n*59
24:19–22 280*n*60, 311*n*155
25 240
25:7 234*n*80, 241
25:11 242*n*102
25:17–28 241
26:17 322*n*9
28:7 193*n*77
28:11 354*n*107
29:10 354*n*107
29:19 169*n*13
30:8 354*n*107
30:16 234*n*80
30:23 308*n*147
30:27 305*n*139
31:6 305*n*139
31:14 305*n*139
32:18 167*n*6
34:3–4 264*n*24
35 219
35:20–24 220*n*44
35:23–24 344*n*78
36 220
36:5 352*n*103
36:9 352*n*103
36:10 352
36:11–21 352*n*102–103
36:12 357
36:13 265*n*26, 357
36:22–23 182*n*45

New Testament

Matthew
2:6 300*n*124
3:9 289*n*85
4:16 89*n*73, 95*n*92
5:10 309*n*149
5:17 277*n*55
5:20 309*n*149
6:1 309*n*149
9:36 300*n*124
11:29 160*n*122
15:10 277*n*55
16:19 122

Matthew (*cont.*)
18:18 122
21:13 306*n*141
23:30 139*n*56
23:34–39 311*n*155
23:35 280*n*60, 312*n*155
26:24 143*n*66, 347*n*87
27:16–26 261

Mark
6:34 300*n*124
7:14 277*n*55
11:17 306*n*141
14:21 143*n*66
14:58 271*n*37
14:62 347*n*87
15:7–15 261

Luke
1:28 267*n*29
3:8 289*n*85
4:18 277*n*55
6:15 277*n*55
11:50–51 139*n*56
11:51 280*n*60, 312*n*155
16:19–31 352*n*100
17:29 143*n*66
17:33 277*n*55
23:18 261
26:61 271*n*37

John 347*n*89
2:19 271, 275
2:21 271*n*37
7:37 277*n*55
8:39–40 289*n*85
14:2 335*n*54
14:23 335*n*54
18:40 261

Acts
20:21 309*n*148
21:38 277*n*55
22:20 139*n*56
24:24 309*n*148

Romans
3:22 309*n*148
4 289*n*85
7:24 120, 127
9:33 330*n*39

1 Corinthians
10:3 156
10:10 107*n*121

2 Corinthians
4:7 159
6:7 210
7:10 159
10 216*n*29
10:4 210, 215

Galatians
2:16 309*n*148
3:7 289*n*85
3:26 309*n*148

Philippians
1:21 139
1:23–24 139*n*59
3:9 309*n*148

Colossians
1:4 309*n*148
2:5 309*n*148

1 Timothy
4:7–8 309*n*149

2 Timothy
1:13 128*n*28
1:14 127–128

Hebrews
9:4 307, 308*n*146
11:31 214
11:32 31*n*121

James
5:20 92*n*81

1 Peter
2:7–8 330–331*n*39
2:9 80

Revelation
3:7 127*n*25

Revelation (*cont.*)
9:17–18 143*n*66
14:10 143*n*66
16:6 139*n*56
17:6 139*n*56
18:24 139*n*56
19:20 143*n*66
20:10 143*n*66
21:8 143*n*66

Apocrypha

1 Maccabees 72, 245*n*112, 298*n*117, 302, 371*n*3
1:60 302*n*129
2:50 98*n*103
2:54 98*n*103
2:58 98*n*103
2:66 82*n*40
3:1 82*n*40

2 Maccabees 72, 302
6:10 302*n*129
7 20*n*65, 32*n*125, 302*n*129, 338
14:6 137*n*50
14:37 137*n*50

3 Esdras 340*n*70

4 Maccabees 302, 338
4:25 302*n*129
9:17 338*n*61
10:10 338*n*61
11:11 338*n*61
17:11–16 338*n*61
18:10 338*n*61
18:11–19 338*n*61

Judith 53*n*80

Susanna 212*n*21

Wisdom
18:20–25 150*n*86
18:22 107*n*121

Index of Ancient and Medieval Sources

1 Enoch
38.4 94*n*87
45.4 94*n*87
50.1 94*n*87
58.1–6 94*n*87, 95*n*89

1Q16 (= 1QpPs/*Pesher Psalms*)
198

1Q20 (= 1QapGen ar/*Genesis Apocryphon*)
XX.14 353*n*105
XX.27–28 285*n*75

1Q28 (= 1QS/*Community Rule*)
I.11 353*n*105
I.21–26 223–224
III.17–IV.1 95*n*89
IV.8 95*n*90
VIII.8 305*n*139
VIII.8–10 305*n*139
X.12 305*n*139

1Q33 (= 1QM/*War Scroll*)
198
I.2 198*n*87
I.4 198*n*87
I.11 94*n*88
XIV.17 94*n*88
XVII.6 95*n*90

1Q35 (1QH[a]/*Hodayot*)
XV.14–15 344*n*77
XVIII.28–30 95*n*89
XX.2 305*n*139
XXI.13–16 95*n*89
XXVI.10 305*n*139

1Q76 (= 1QpHab/*Pesher Habakkuk*)
198

1QSb (*Rule of Blessings*)
I.3 305*n*139
III.25 305*n*139
IV.25 305*n*139

2 Baruch
48.50 94*n*87, 95*n*93

2 Enoch 65.8–10 94*n*87, 95*n*89, 95*n*93

4 Maccabees
7.11 108

4Q55 (= 4QIsa[a]/*Isaiah Scroll A*)
198

4Q169 (= 4QpNah/*Pesher Nahum*)
198

4Q202 (*1Enoch*)
II.25 353*n*105

4Q246 (= *Aramaic Apocalypse/Pseudo-Daniel*)
I.4–5 285*n*75

4Q258 (= 4QS[d]/*Community Rule*)
VI.2 305*n*139
IX.13 305*n*139

4Q285 (*War Scroll*) 198

4Q289 (*Tefillin*)
fr.1.5 312*n*155

4Q299 (*4QInstruction*)
30.3 95*n*90

4Q392
1.5 95*n*89

4Q408 (= 4QH[d]/*Hodayot*)
1.8 344*n*77

4Q416 (*4QInstruction*)
2.IV.6 344*n*77

4Q418 (*4QInstruction*[d])
I.1–3 285*n*75
10.8 344*n*77
69.ii.14 95*n*90

4Q428 (= 4QH[a]/*Hodayot*)
fr.7.I + 9.14–15 305*n*139

4Q462
fr.1.10 94*n*88

4Q471b
fr.1–3.1 305*n*139

4Q491 (= 4QM[a]/*War Scroll*[a])
198
fr.8–10.I.14–15 94*n*88

4Q492 (= 4QM[b]/*War Scroll*)
198

4Q530 (*Aramaic Book of Giants*)
6.I.4 353*n*105

11Q5 (= 11QPs[a]/*Temple Scroll A*)
139*n*57
I.3 97*n*100
XXIV.4 305*n*139
XXV.4 138*n*53

11Q18 (*New Jerusalem*)
fr.18.1 369*n*144

Abraham ibn Daud
Divrey Malkhey Yisra'el 23, 24*n*83, 82*n*43
Dorot 'Olam 17*n*55, 82, 339*n*64
63 82*n*43

Abraham Zacuto
Sefer ha-Yuḥasin 17*n*52, 42*n*45

Academy Chronograph
23*n*80

Acts of Peter 334*n*50

Adso of Montier-en-Der
Libellus de ortu et tempore Antichristi
31*n*118

Ambrose of Milan
De officiis
2.11 107*n*118
Epistulae
5.5 107*n*118
Epistulae extra collectionem
14.51 107*n*118
14.56 107*n*118
Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam
66
Explanatio Psalmorum
39.8 107*n*118, 290*n*91
In Tobiam
20.76 107*n*118

Ammianus Marcellinus
23.6.76 290*n*91

Amphilocus of Iconium
Iambics to Selecus
60–61 5*n*15

Apuleius
Florida
15 188*n*60

Aramaic Levi Document (= CTLevi ar)
285*n*75

Arve poli conditorem 5*n*18

Asaf the Sage
Book of Medicines 43*n*52

Augustine of Hippo
De civitate Dei
6.11 77*n*24
16.39 232*n*75
Enarrationes in Psalmos
141.17 139*n*59
Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate
59 233*n*76
Sermones
30.2 151

Avot de Rabbi Natan
33.2 137*n*50
41.12 308*n*146

Bamidbar Rabbah
15 94*n*86

Basil of Caesarea
Epistulae
28 5*n*15

Benjamin of Tudela
Sefer Masa'ot 22*n*68

Beowulf 64

***Book of Recollections* (*Sefer Zikhronot*)**
17*n*55

Chronica Elini 42

Chronicle of Jeraḥmeel 40*n*32
31.14 17*n*55

Cicero
In Catilinam
1.1 284*n*70
Pro Cluentio
61.168 287*n*80
Pro Flacco
73 287*n*80
Pro Plancio
42.102 287*n*80

Cyprian of Carthage
Epistulae
63.6 5*n*16

Damascus Document (CD-A)
95
VII.13 344*n*77
XV.17 312*n*155

***De excidio Hierosolymitano* (= *DEH*)**
Prol.1 4, 5*n*17, 7*n*27, 70–71, 76*n*21, 144, 259, 270*n*34, 317*n*165
1–5 8
1.1.5 8*n*33
1.1.7 8*n*33
1.1.8 8*n*33, 71*n*5, 76*n*21
1.1.9 8*n*33, 25*n*86
1.6.3 137*n*50
1.8.1 39*n*26
1.31.1 25*n*86
1.32.6 86*n*53
1.37.5 266*n*28
1.40 8*n*33
1.44.8 266*n*28
2 334*n*51
2.1.1 266*n*28
2.3.4 52*n*76, 267*n*29
2.4 212*n*21
2.5.2 267*n*29
2.5.3 86*n*53
2.9.1 266*n*28
2.12.1 5*n*18, 70, 76*n*21, 223*n*50, 259, 267*n*29, 270*n*34, 317*n*165
2.12.2 76*n*21, 86*n*53
2.13.8 77*n*24
3 16*n*48, 334*n*51
3.2.1 54, 334, 361
3.3.2 38*n*26, 71, 82*n*41, 259, 271*n*37
3.3.3–4 82*n*41
3.5.2 1, 71*n*9
3.6 1
3.16–17 116, 162, 176*n*29, 266*n*28, 343
3.16.1 11, 68–115, 145, 149*n*80, 176*n*29, 296*n*107, 343
3.17.1 11, 47, 106*n*118, 116–163, 176*n*29, 343
3.26.3 77*n*24
4.8.1 77*n*24
4.22.1 277*n*55
5.2 254, 257, 363*n*133
5.2.1 5*n*17, 12, 86*n*53, 106*n*118, 109*n*126, 144, 149*n*80, 254–319, 351*n*98
5.2.2 312–314, 316
5.9 20*n*65
5.9.1 76*n*22, 253*n*125
5.9.4 54, 308*n*146
5.14 176*n*32
5.14.5 168*n*9, 253
5.15–16 164–165, 168*n*9, 170, 176, 184, 254
5.15.1 12, 76*n*22, 164–204
5.16.1 12, 176–177, 184, 203–254, 266*n*28, 297*n*114, 344*n*79, 356
5.22.1 12, 220*n*45–46, 254–255, 259, 320–321*n*6
5.22.1–3

***De excidio Hierosolymitano* (= *DEH*)** (*cont.*)
5.22.2 323*n*12
5.22.3 323*n*12
5.25.1 77*n*24
5.27.1 5*n*17
5.32.1 144
5.40 20*n*65
5.41.2 86*n*53, 264, 265*n*26
5.44.1 5*n*17, 20*n*65
5.53.1 11*n*38, 31–32, 266*n*28, 344*n*79

Dream of Mordecai 73*n*102, 345*n*80

Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Antiquitates Romanae
1.79.10 188*n*60

Egeria
Itinerarium (= *Peregrinatio*) 272*n*42

Epiphanius Scholasticus/Cassiodorus
Historia Tripartita
1.1.9 292*n*98

Eucherius of Lyon
De situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis 1

Eusebius of Caesarea
Demonstratio Evangelica
83.392–393 273*n*44
Historia Ecclesiastica 13*n*41

Genesis Rabbah 55
34.1 139*n*57
56.10 274*n*47
65.23 274*n*47
65.27 345*n*81
69.7 274*n*47
77.3 232*n*74
91.1 126*n*24

Gerald of Wales
De principis instructione liber 267*n*29
65–66 267*n*29

Gregory Nazianzen
Orationes
5.3 273*n*44
49.32 5*n*15

Herodotus of Halicarnassus
1.1 73*n*13
1.201–215 61

Historia Augusta
25.2.4 132*n*40

Homer
Iliad 298*n*115
4.457–462 298*n*115
22.247–366 353*n*104
22.370 188*n*60

Hypatian Chronicle 23*n*80

Isidore of Seville
Etymologiae
4.6.18–19 290*n*91

Jerome of Stridon
Commentarii in Isaiam
65.19 28*n*100
Quaestiones in Genesim 28*n*100

John Chrysostom
Adversus Iudaeos 66
5.11.4–10 273*n*44

Jordanes
Getica
10.61–62 61
28.141 298*n*117

Joseph and Aseneth 53*n*80, 187*n*58

Josephus, Flavius (Greek + Latin)
Antiquitates Judaicae 53*n*80, 299*n*119
1–16 14*n*44, 15*n*47, 21
1–20 21*n*67
1.288 188*n*59
1.331–333 232
2.9 187*n*58
3.313 272*n*39
3.314–319 39*n*26

Antiquitates Judaicae (*cont.*)
4.314 272*n*39
5.227–232 236*n*86
11–16 xv, 8
11.306 136*n*50
12.2–118 21*n*65
13.247–249 71*n*5
13.249 25*n*86
13.311 137*n*50
13.419–421 25*n*86
14.365–369 39*n*26
14.368 39*n*26
18.64–65 70*n*5, 267*n*29, 270*n*34
18.257 52*n*76
Bellum Judaicum
1.7–9 241*n*101
1.9–11 6*n*22, 256*n*8
1.61 71*n*5
1.62 25*n*86
1.81–84 39*n*26
1.116 25*n*86
2.345–402 3*n*10
2.648–651 3*n*10
2.650 3*n*10
3 16*n*48
3.350–355 86*n*57
3.356 85*n*51, 87*n*57
3.356–360 69, 84*n*49
3.361–382 69, 117*n*2, 119*n*5
3.369–375 127*n*26
3.374–375 97
3.387–389 68
3.391 69
3.472–484 221*n*48
4 321
4.286–287 3*n*10
4.323–334 3*n*10
4.334–344 280*n*61, 312*n*155
4.376 3*n*10
4.386–388 270
4.527–532 321*n*5
4.574–576 321*n*5
5:19 284
5.19–20 254, 256, 258–259, 316–318, 363*n*133
5.30 329*n*30
5.136–247 20*n*65
5.257 221*n*48
5.310–311 3*n*10
5.361 253
5.362–419 164
5.375 164
5.376–419 204, 228
5.378 207*n*6
5.387 242*n*104
5.391–393 220
5.394 220
5.394–403 224
5.400–403 225*n*54
5.413–417 246
5.415–417 223*n*50
5.418–419 228*n*61
5.420–422 164
5.531 323*n*12
5.534–540 323*n*12
6.34–35 221*n*48
6.42–44 202*n*100
6.104–106 220*n*45, 351*n*97
6.114 321*n*5
6.250 272*n*39
6.268–270 272*n*39
6.269–270 3*n*10
6.439–442 3*n*10
7.111–113 3*n*10
7.275–406 31
7.327–330 3*n*10
7.358 3*n*10
7.395 68*n*1
7.400 31
Contra Apionem
2.165 173*n*22
Vita
1 152*n*94

Joshua ben Levi, Rabbi
Vision of Heaven and Hell 336

Jubilees 329*n*32
21.1 131*n*38
35.17 232*n*74
39.5 188*n*61

Justin
Epitome 61, 63*n*104

Justin Martyr
Dialogus cum Tryphone 233*n*76, 318
108 277*n*55

Lamentations Rabbah
1.16 29*n*109, 338*n*61

Letter of Aristeas 21*n*65

Leviticus Rabbah
26.7 345*n*81

Livy xiv, 15*n*47, 28, 37, 63

Lucian of Samosata
Quomodo historia conscribenda sit
28 5*n*15

Ma'aseh Alexandros 22*n*70

Megillat 'Ahima'aṣ 37

Megillat Antiochus 303*n*130

Midrash Aggadah
Num.17.12.1 151*n*88

Midrash Lekach Tov
20.6.3 89*n*67

Midrash Tanchuma
Bamidbar Rabbah.15 308*n*146
Deut.6.2 132*n*40
Lev.7.15 126*n*24
Noach.3.3 95*n*93, 298*n*115
Noach.3.7–8 95*n*93
Terumah.11 308*n*146
Tetzaveh.15.4–6 151*n*88

Mishnah
Avodah Zarah 74*n*16
Berakhot
2 353*n*105
Pirkei Avot
1.4 309*n*149
4.13 309*n*149
5 353*n*105
Sotah
8 82*n*40

Origen of Alexandria
Exhortatio ad Martyrium 302
Homiliae in Numeros
9.5.3 108

Orosius 61
2.7 343

Passio Petri et Pauli 334*n*50, 361

Pesiqta Rabbati
43 338*n*61

Peter Comestor
Historia scholastica 64

Philo of Alexandria
De Abrahamo
258–259 127*n*26
De Iosepho
40 187*n*58
Legatio ad Gaium 52*n*76

Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer
7 96*n*95

Plato
Phaedrus
279 188*n*60
Republic
7.535A 188*n*60

Pompeius Trogus 61, 63*n*104

Prudentius
Peristephanon
5.285–287 287*n*80

Psalms of Solmon
3.12 94*n*87
5.5 94*n*87
5.15 94*n*87

[Pseudo-Ambrose]
Anacephalaeosis (= *Recapitulatio*) 5*n*18, 257*n*10

Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus
De re militari 298*n*117

Rufinus of Aquileia
Historia Ecclesiastica
10.36 273*n*44

Seder Eliahu Rabbah
28/30 338*n*61

Seder Olam 74*n*16

Sefer Chasidim
173.1 89*n*67
704.1 89*n*67

Sefer Harazim 59*n*93

Sefer Yeṣirah 41*n*44, 59*n*93

Sefer Yosippon
1 26–32, 35, 198*n*91
1–2 88*n*61
2 15*n*47, 28–32, 37, 62*n*102, 63, 98*n*103, 187*n*57, 188, 192, 198, 201, 239, 241, 258*n*12
3 98*n*103, 291*n*94
3–5 20*n*63
3–6 23
4 76*n*22, 98*n*103, 329*n*34
4–6 62*n*102, 63
5 291*n*94
7 136*n*50
6 99*n*103, 340*n*70
8 61*n*99, 63*n*104, 71–72, 343
9 62*n*102, 76*n*22, 136*n*50, 194*n*77, 291*n*94, 340*n*70, 343*n*74, 344, 345*n*80
10 136*n*50
11 329*n*34, 338*n*62
11–27 8*n*32
12 137*n*50, 338*n*62
14 142, 338*n*62, 365*n*135
15 20*n*65, 39*n*26, 142, 230*n*66, 304*n*134, 327*n*26, 329*n*34, 338–339, 361
16 8*n*31, 20*n*65, 72, 81*n*40, 83*n*44, 98*n*103, 99*n*103, 329*n*34
17 20*n*65, 83*n*45, 101*n*108, 139*n*56, 291*n*94
18 98*n*103, 136*n*50, 139*n*56, 365*n*135
19 78, 83*n*44, 136*n*50
20 83*n*44
21 83*n*44. 201*n*99
22 83*n*44
24 99*n*103, 136–137*n*50, 329*n*34
26 8*n*31, 71–72, 338*n*62
27 8*n*31, 8*n*33, 14*n*44, 99*n*103, 137*n*50
28 8*n*33, 72
28–50 8, 14*n*44
29 8*n*33, 25*n*86
30 71–72, 329*n*34
31 8*n*33, 39*n*26, 71–72, 99*n*103, 137*n*50, 188*n*61, 329*n*34
33 71–72
34 137*n*50, 188*n*61
35 25*n*86, 72, 137*n*50, 338*n*62
36 72
37 72, 99*n*103, 188*n*61, 196*n*84
38 72
39 72
40 73–74
41 39*n*26, 329*n*34
42 329*n*34
43 72, 197*n*84
44 99*n*103
45 72, 188*n*61
48 72, 197*n*84
49 14*n*44, 72, 75, 99*n*103
50 14*n*44, 72, 75
51 8, 75*n*20, 99*n*103, 197*n*84
52 197*n*84
53 329*n*34

Sefer Yosippon (*cont.*)
54 98*n*103, 197*n*84
56 99*n*103
57 267*n*29
58 52*n*76, 267*n*29
59 137*n*50
60 329*n*34
62 71*n*5, 345*n*81
64 334
65 75, 76*n*22, 82–83, 89*n*64, 96*n*97, 99*n*103–100*n*104, 329*n*34, 340
66 99*n*103, 198*n*91
67 11, 68–163, 196–197*n*84, 296*n*106–107, 329*n*34, 340, 343
69 99*n*103, 329*n*34
71 278*n*55, 329*n*34
73 12, 254–319
74 198*n*91
76 20*n*65, 76*n*22, 99*n*103, 291*n*94, 308*n*146
77 198*n*91
78 12, 76*n*22, 99*n*103, 164–254, 343, 356
79 178*n*37, 198*n*91
80 99*n*103
81 12, 38*n*26, 47, 220*n*45–46, 254, 320–
83 99*n*103, 198*n*91
84 178*n*37
86 20*n*65, 39*n*26, 264, 265*n*26
87 20*n*65, 25*n*86, 178*n*37
89 8, 11*n*38, 15, 31–32, 88*n*61, 96*n*97, 101*n*105, 304*n*136, 339

Shabbatai Donnolo
Sefer Ḥakhmoni 41

Sifrei Devarim
26 239*n*94
52 239*n*95
342 234*n*80
352 273*n*47

Sozomen
Historia Ecclesiastica 292*n*98
5.22.2 273*n*44

Tacitus
Historiae
5.8 77*n*24

Talmud (Babylonian)
Arakhin
16b 353*n*105
Bava Batra
10b 89*n*67
Bava Metzia
84a 353*n*105
85a 353*n*105
Berakhot
28b 274, 309*n*149
33b 309*n*149
61b 87*n*60, 353*n*105
Chullin
60b 95*n*91
Gittin
57b 338*n*61
Pesachim
22b 353*n*105
Shabbat
56b 239*n*95
89a 108*n*125, 151
Sotah
5a 131*n*38
Yoma
52b 308*n*146

Talmud (Jerusalem)
Berakhot
9 87*n*60
Kiddushin
4.1.8 89*n*67
Sanhedrin
3.5.11 89*n*67
Sheviit
4.2.6 89*n*67

Targum Neofiti 108

Targum Onqelos
Num.17:13 107*n*121

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Num.17:12 108
Deut.9:19 108*n*123

Targum Sheni
Esther 345*n*80

Tertullian
De corona militis
5 335*n*53

Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs 329*n*32

Testament of Abraham
16–20 131

Testament of Joseph
18.4 187*n*58

Theodoret of Cyrrhus
Historia Ecclesiastica
20.1 273*n*44
Interpretatio in Epistolam ad Hebraeos
11 215*n*26

Third Capture of Jerusalem by Titus 23*n*80

Thomas Aquinas
Summa theologiae 64

Thucydides
1.1.1 73*n*13
1.21.2 73*n*13
1.22.4 73*n*13

Toledot Yeshu 258*n*12

Vergil
Aeneid 29*n*108, 63
2.663 352*n*104
8 29*n*110
10 29*n*110
11.118 128*n*29
12 29*n*110

Vindicta Salvatoris 5*n*18

Vita Sancti Nili iunioris 42–44

Yalkut Shimoni 74*n*16

Yizkor
7 90*n*67

Zena Ayhud 16*n*51

Index of Names and Subjects

אבות 73, 98*n*103, 136*n*150, 171–175, 197*n*84, 231, 242, 265*n*26, 282–283

אלהים xiii, 82*n*42, 98–99*n*103, 100*n*104, 105, 123–125, 129*n*33, 131, 134, 138, 141–148, 152*n*94, 160, 173, 176, 178–180, 183, 209*n*10, 218*n*36, 227, 232–234, 237, 248, 251, 276*n*51, 289*n*86, 307*n*144, 309*n*149, 323, 340*n*69, 357*n*114

אמונה 99*n*103, 284*n*72, 303, 307–308

ברית 73*n*14, 85, 87, 92, 98*n*103, 100*n*104, 170, 282, 337*n*60, 339, 340*n*69

גוים 73*n*14, 75*n*19, 100–103, 171, 174–175, 180, 184, 191–192, 221–222, 239, 276–279, 286, 291–292, 326*n*21, 340*n*69, 342*n*73, 348

גיבור 73*n*14, 76*n*22, 100–102, 105, 107, 136–137*n*150, 154, 157*n*113, 166, 168, 188*n*61, 193, 215*n*27, 280*n*61, 290–291, 303*n*130, 340*n*69, 344*n*80

האור הגדול 89–90, 95–96, 100*n*104, 340*n*69

השמים 142*n*66, 283*n*69, 288*n*81, 289, 309–311

היכל 99*n*103, 168–169, 177, 183–184, 221, 226–228, 248, 276*n*51, 282*n*64, 305–306, 311*n*155, 323–327, 349*n*93, 354*n*108, 356, 358, 365–366

חורבן 35, 74, 222*n*50

חיים 78*n*26, 84*n*47, 100*n*104, 104–108, 110, 119, 123–126, 132*n*40, 142–143, 149–150, 156, 290*n*92, 303*n*130, 311*n*154, 340*n*69

חסד 125, 139*n*56, 160–161, 201*n*98, 227, 231, 243*n*107, 283*n*68, 309*n*149

חרפה 78*n*26, 102, 156, 190, 195, 326*n*21, 342*n*73, 347

יהודי(ם) 76*n*22, 99*n*103, 137*n*150, 185–186, 202, 243*n*107, 285*n*73, 344*n*80, 353*n*105

יי (= יהוה) 26*n*93, 49, 75*n*19, 81*n*40, 83*n*45, 89–90, 93, 98–100, 102, 108*n*123, 110–111, 124, 128, 134, 137, 142–148, 174, 177, 180–184, 195–196, 200–201, 208, 210, 212–213, 215*n*27, 218*n*36, 221, 226–228, 231, 235, 237, 242–243, 248, 282–283, 288–291, 303–306, 310–311, 322*n*10, 324–328, 332–333, 337*n*60, 339–340, 342*n*73, 347, 349*n*93, 354*n*108, 356, 358, 362*n*130, 365–366

כבוד 98*n*103, 141–144, 196, 248, 252, 283*n*68

כהן 35, 42*n*45, 71*n*7, 72*n*11, 73*n*12, 74*n*15, 82*n*42, 85–86, 89, 101–103, 152*n*94, 154*n*99, 329, 349*n*93

מגפה 104–107, 150, 290*n*92

מזבח 183, 349*n*93

מלאך 105–108, 112, 149–151, 231–232, 290*n*92, 295*n*106

מקדש 89, 93, 98–100, 168–169, 181–184, 210*n*16, 221, 248, 303–305, 326–327, 339–340, 354*n*108, 356, 365–366

משוח 70, 75, 78*n*26, 81–89, 101–103, 112

מלחמה 70, 83, 89, 101, 152*n*94, 343*n*77

נגף 110, 149–150, 290*n*92

נפש 83*n*45, 85–92, 102, 120–169, 197*n*84, 221, 244, 288, 293*n*99, 303*n*130, 311*n*154, 327*n*28, 335*n*53, 345*n*80, 354*n*108, 355, 360*n*121, 362*n*130, 365–366

נשמה 121–126, 142*n*66, 215, 335*n*53

עיר 26*n*93, 102, 244, 281*n*63, 284, 286*n*77, 288*n*82–83, 293*n*99, 297, 305*n*138, 306, 311*n*154, 325–330, 354*n*108, 356, 360*n*123, 362*n*128

צדיק(ים) 96*n*96, 129*n*33, 131–132, 137, 139*n*56, 144, 221, 248, 251–252, 282*n*64, 308*n*148, 326*n*21, 342*n*73, 343*n*77, 347–349

קנא(י) 98–99*n*103, 100*n*104, 211*n*16, 248–249, 309*n*149, 340*n*69, *see also aemulatio*, *zelare*/*zelotes*/*zelus*, ζηλωταί, Zealots

רוח 125–126, 134, 142–143, 147*n*76, 197*n*84, 218*n*36, 265*n*26

חיים 123–124

רומנים 73*n*14, 89, 102–103, 180–181, 197–202, 224, 244, 329, 333*n*47

תורה 85–86, 93, 221, 282, 307*n*144, 309, 345*n*81

תפילה 208, 210*n*16, 229–230, 234

aemulatio [98], 222*n*50, 307*n*142, 308–309

altari 183, 263*n*23, 268*n*30, 275, 321–322, 325*n*20

angelus/*angeli* 108, 150, 151*n*89, 232

anima 85, 92*n*81, 94*n*85, 119–124, 127–128, 133, 138, 155, 157*n*114, 159–161, 278*n*55, 334–335

animus 79, 110–111, 222*n*50
arae 183
bellum xv, 1, 141, 169, 209, 214, 235, 238, 240, 243, 261*n*15, 265*n*26, 268*n*30, 269*n*31, 341*n*71
breuitas 74*n*14
caelestis 104, 111–112, 123, 172, 183, 341, 346, 356*n*112
caelum 233*n*78, 276*n*51, 283*n*69, 287*n*80, 289, 347*n*87
captiuitas 4*n*13, 79*n*33, 181, 220*n*44, 240, 351*n*96
ciuitas 257, 261*n*15, 266*n*28, 284–286, 304*n*137
contagio 104, 266*n*27, 287*n*80, 290*n*91
deuotio 111, 302*n*128
deus 85, 94*n*85, 122–123, 128, 141, 159, 169, 176–179, 182, 213, 231, 266, 321–322, 328, 365
  Hebraeorum 85, 88, 92
Discordia 294
dominus 105, 123, 176, 191, 209*n*11, 213, 231, 240, 322
excidium 3*n*10, 4*n*13, 261*n*15, 351*n*96, 358
  supremum 322*n*7
exemplum/exempla 110
  egregium 145
  uerum 145
fastidium 74*n*14
fides 47, 71*n*5, 86, 128*n*28, 214, 227, 230, 261, 302–303, 307–309
fortitudo 111
furor 151*n*89, 266–267, 275, 287*n*80, 292*n*98, 294
gens 76*n*22, 77*n*24, 80*n*36, 191, 210, 288
  historiae gentium 27*n*95
  spes gentium 5
Hebraeus/Hebraei 76*n*22, 85, 88, 92, 166–167, 170–171, 175, 185, 202, 235, 242
imperium 178–179*n*39, 220*n*44
Iudaeus/Iudaei 6, 70–71, 76–77, 170–171, 179, 202, 232*n*75, 242–243, 247, 270*n*34, 287*n*80, 296*n*110
lex 47, 86, 141*n*63
  diuina 85–86, 92
  naturae 127, 157*n*114, 268
libertas 47, 101*n*105, 154–155, 170–171, 175, 187, 263*n*23, 275–278, 287, 292, 341–342, 348
lues 107, 287*n*80, 290*n*91
mors 79*n*33, 85, 88, 92, 104, 107, 110–111, 118, 120, 133, 149–150, 155, 158*n*116, 159, 204*n*1, 263*n*23, 266*n*28, 287*n*80, 290*n*91, 292*n*98, 295, 302*n*128, 304*n*137, 306*n*141, 359*n*120, 360, 365*n*135
pater/patres 110, 137*n*50, 172*n*19, 174, 181, 199, 207*n*6, 209*n*11, 242*n*104, [313*n*156], 337*n*59, 351*n*96, 353*n*104, 355, 368*n*144
patria 47, 79*n*34, 84, 110–111, 145
pax 262, 275
perfidia 4*n*13, 70–71, 261–262, 266, 270*n*34
religio 4, 158*n*117, 216, 267–268, 351, 355
Romani 177*n*35, 197, 244, 261*n*15, 266*n*27, 328*n*30
Romanitas 115
ruina 77, 79, 222*n*50, 243
sacerdotes 71*n*6, 80*n*36–37, 200, 215–216, 227, 247, 287*n*80, 291*n*95, 307*n*142, 322, 325*n*20, 349*n*92
seditio 261–262, 269*n*31, 270*n*35, 351*n*96, 355
seruitium 123, 351*n*96
seruitus 47, 79*n*33, 94*n*85, 154, 170–174, 189*n*62, 194–195, 341–342
spiritus 86*n*53, 266–267, 275, 287*n*80, 292*n*98, 307*n*142, 309, 313
triumpho 80, 110, 238
triumphus 4*n*13, 47, 77, 79–80, 181, 199, 337*n*59, 339*n*65
ueritas 4, 71
uirtus 149, 153*n*97, 155, 222, 263*n*23, 275, 287*n*80, 206*n*110, 299, 307–309
urbs 227*n*57, 269*n*31, 322*n*7, 351*n*96, 356*n*112, 358
zelare/zelotes/zelus 98*n*103

ἄγγελος 232*n*72–73
Ἔρις 294
ζηλωτής 98*n*103, 270*n*35
ἱστορίης 73*n*13
νόμος/νόμοι 85*n*51, 127*n*26
πατήρ/πατέρες [85*n*51], 108, 207*n*6, 242*n*104, [270*n*35]
πάτρια 253
πίστις 128*n*28, 308–309*n*148
πόλις 256*n*8, 284
ὑπόδειγμα (καλὸν) 351*n*97
φάντασμα 232

Aaron 84, 103, *see also* priesthood; priests
deliverance by 149–151, 300*n*122
example of 149–151, 153
high priestly function 290, 307
holiness of 291
Moses and *see* Moses → Aaron and
priestly lineage of 152, 290
rod/staff of 307–308
summoning of 286–291
type of Christ 151
Abbadon *see* Sheol
Abimelech 29*n*112, 208–212, 226*n*56
Abinoam 288*n*83
Abiram 104*n*113, 247–252, 283*n*69
Abraham Asa 24*n*82
Abraham Ibn Daud 17*n*55, 23, 24*n*83, 82, 339*n*64
Abraham ibn Ezra 17*n*54, 94*n*83
Abraham, patriarch 117, 123, 129–137, 207–213, 226, 255, 372
Abraham Zacuto 17*n*52, 42*n*45
Abu Ahmad Ja'far ibn 'Ubaid 40*n*35
Achan 211*n*18
Achilles 193, 298*n*115, 353*n*104
Adam 26*n*94, 117, 124*n*19, 126*n*24, 248, 251*n*122
Adso of Montier-en-Der 31*n*118
Aeneas 29, *see also* Vergil
Africa 29, 96*n*95, 157*n*114, *see also* Cush; Ethiopians
afterlife 85, 91*n*76, 94–99, 127*n*26, 142, 254, 325, 334–336, 340–342, *see also* Gehenna; Hades; paradise; Sheol
Jewish ideas of 93, 95, 129
SY's treatment of 95–97
aggadah 24*n*85, 59
Agrippa *See* Herod Agrippa II
Aḥima'aṣ ben Paltiel 37, 40*n*32
Ahithophel 134*n*44
Ahuzzath 226*n*56
Akiva, Rabbi 87, 353*n*105, *see also* rabbinic Judaism; rabbinic literature
Al-Andalus 38*n*25
Alanni 27
Albano 192*n*73
Alcimus, priest 136*n*50
Alemanni 28
Alexander Hasmoneus 98*n*103, 197*n*84
Alexander Jannaeus 72*n*10
Alexander Romance 10*n*37, 22*n*70–71, 23*n*74, 40*n*32, 54*n*84, 94*n*86, 371*n*2
Alexander the Great 51*n*74, 54*n*84, 94*n*86, 136*n*50, 182, 371*n*2
Alexandria 21*n*65, 298*n*117, 363*n*134
Alps 28
Amalek(ites) 110, 219*n*43, 228, 235–236, 291*n*94, 344
Amalfi 36*n*13
Amaziah, King 237, 239–242
Ambrose of Milan xv, 1*n*3, 66, 297*n*114
Amittai 37
Amos 234*n*80
Amsterdam 17*n*51, 18*n*58
anachronism 62, 324
Anak(im) 193–194
analogy 81*n*39, 152, 159–160, 206, 213, 246, 330, *see also* metaphor
mineralogical 222*n*50
zoological 117, 157, 264, *see also* animals
Ananias, priest 82*n*43, 280
angel(s) 151, 230–234, 312*n*155
of destruction 108–112, 149–151, 290*n*92, 295*n*106, 315*n*160
of the Lord 150–151
animals 124*n*18, 157, 218*n*38, 276*n*51, 278*n*56, 332*n*45, 334*n*52, 365*n*135, *see also* analogy → zoological
analogy to 157*n*115, 158*n*116, 264
behavior of 157*n*114, 265
example of 157*n*114
hierarchies among 165
Jews and 263–264, 275
scavengers 310–311
world of 152
anonymity 1, 2, 7, 22, 25*n*89, 41, 64, 120, 138, 161, 229, 258–259, 368*n*144
anthropology 117–118, 122, 125–128, 167
Antigonids 298*n*117
Antigonus I 39*n*30, 188*n*61, 197*n*84, 220
anti-Judaism 5*n*18, 8, 31, 38, 66, 86–87, 202–205, 223*n*50, 255, 257*n*10, 262–264, 269, 294, 318, 339, 373
Antilochus 298*n*115
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 20*n*65, 72, 83, 137*n*50, 142–143, 195, 198*n*86, 220, 302–303, 328*n*29, 336–340, 361
Antiochus VII Sidetes 25*n*86
Antipater, son of Herod 197*n*84

Antipater, son of Salome 98*n*103
apocalyptic 31*n*118, 94, 106*n*115, 199, 242*n*103, 347*n*87
apocryphal literature 9*n*36, 62–63*n*102, 229, 334*n*50, 372
apologetics 52, 75*n*19, 198, 273*n*44
apotropaism 292–293
Apulia 37*n*19
Aquila (LXX) 7*n*28
Aquinas, Thomas 64
Arabic 16*n*51, 23, 27*n*98, 28*n*103, 29*n*113, 38*n*25, 63, 363*n*134
Arabs 40*n*35, 298*n*117
Aram 192*n*73, 218–219, 277, 279, 297
Aramaic 63*n*102, 108, 125*n*19, 132*n*40, 168*n*9, 253, 285, 345*n*80, 347*n*87, 353*n*105, 369*n*144, *see also* Syriac
Arameans 217–219, 296–300
archaeology 31
Archelaus, son of Herod 99*n*103, 199–200
Aristobulus I 39*n*30, 72*n*10, 98–99*n*103, 197*n*84, 220
Aristobulus II 188*n*61, 196*n*84, 224
Aristobulus III 188*n*61
Ark of the Covenant *see* covenant → ark of
Armenia 25*n*86
Arno River 28*n*100
Asa, King 216*n*31, 227–228, 237
Asaf the Sage 43*n*52
Asaph 276*n*51
Ashkenaz 38*n*24, 88*n*61, 90, 91*n*75, 339*n*66
Ashteroth 196*n*81
Assyria 173, 178, 195, 220–221, 277
  king(s) of 195, 210*n*16
Assyrians 172, 179, 194, 210*n*16, 277, 279
astrology 41–42, 44*n*55
astronomy 42*n*45, 95*n*93, 96*n*96, 283–284*n*69
Athanasius 233*n*76
Augustine 139*n*58–59, 151, 232–233, 257*n*10
authenticity, textual *see* originality, textual
Azariah dei Rossi 38

Baal(s) 196*n*81
Babylon 220, 277, 279, 302, 333
  Jerusalem destroyed by 5*n*19, 312–313, 350, 352, 354
  Jews deported by 192*n*72, 352, 354*n*107
  king of 103*n*111, 192*n*72, 277*n*54, 281, 351, 356, 358
  triumph of 4*n*13
Babylonians 42, 179, 220–221, 291*n*94, 302, 352–358
Balak 129*n*33
Bar Kochba revolt 2*n*7, 202, 372*n*3
Barabbas 260–263, 275
Barak 284*n*69, 288*n*83
Basel 24
Basil the Great 233*n*76
Bathsheba 238–239
Belial 99*n*103, 143, 223, 329, 364
Belshazzar 291*n*94
Benjamin of Tudela 30*n*115
Benjamin, patriarch 171–172, 186, 189–190, 332*n*45
Benjaminites 291*n*94, 344
Berditchev 18*n*58
Berechiah 311*n*155
Bern XI–XII, 1*n*1, 24*n*81, 65*n*109, 79*n*33, 80*n*35, 104*n*112, 152*n*95, 155*n*103, 255
Biblical Studies 11, 18, 33
biblicization 9, 32, 44–57, 70, 100–105, 113–117, 128–164, 203–205, 213–217, 250–277, 281, 319–321, 328, 366–375
Binyam, Yonatan 16, 20*n*64
Bloch, René 20*n*64, 31, 65*n*109, 255*n*6
Bobbio monastery 36
bodies 39*n*30, 123–126, 149, 157*n*115, 208, 211, 271*n*37, 286, 290, 354*n*108
  angelic 233*n*76
  animal 264*n*26
  Christian 97
  dead 276*n*51, 310*n*153, 323*n*12, 334
  joined to souls 119–128, 137, 158–162, 334
  mortal 127*n*26
  new 142*n*66
Bohemians 28*n*107
Book of Mormon 49
Bordeaux Pilgrim 272*n*42
Boston 24*n*83, 366*n*140
Bowman, Steven XIV, 25, 36, 74, 121
Breithaupt, Friedrich 24*n*81, 363*n*134
Britons 27
Brittania 27
Buber, Martin 318
Bulgarians 27
Bus (people) 27

Byzantine Studies 63
Byzantium 17*n*52, 22, 27*n*99, 35–36, 40–44, 63*n*105, 245*n*110, 246*n*113, 250

Caesarea 185*n*53
Cairo Genizah 20, 22–23, 30*n*115, 35, 71*n*9, 343–344*n*77, 354*n*108
Campania 28
Canaan 187–188
  king of 291*n*94
Canaanites 76*n*22, 194, 253*n*125
canon/canonicity 12, 16–17*n*51, 63, 88*n*61, 102*n*110, 107, 125, 129*n*32, 205, 252*n*122, 275
  extracanonical literature 131
Cassiodorus xv, 74, 292*n*98
Chaldeans *see* Babylonians
Chama bar Chanina, Rabbi 232*n*74
chronography 23*n*80, 27*n*95
chronology 16, 27*n*96, 181, 267–268, 326, 336*n*57
Christ, Jesus *see* Jesus Christ
Christian Church 29*n*111, 375
Christianity 53, 55, 97, 115, 122, 161–162, 237–238, 271, 313–320, 363, 367, 374–375
  anti-Judaism and 65–66, 262, 266, 276, 339, 370, 373
  Bible and 90*n*73, 92, 104, 122, 129, 140, 171, 210, 214, 232, 261
  culture(s) of 59, 210, 225, 237, 241, 369, 372
  discourses of 64, 66, 80, 91*n*76, 149, 160, 265, 268–269, 302, 308*n*148, 370
  diversity of 27*n*95, 274–276
  doctrines of 57, 70, 93, 248, 255
  Latin/Roman 54, 84, 86, 101, 151, 193, 303, 312, 348, 357
  literature of 62, 136, 176*n*31, 225
  thought of 76*n*23, 111, 115, 120, 142*n*66, 159, 205, 216, 239, 256, 262, 268, 309*n*148
  traditions of 108–109, 151, 232, 288, 342
Christianization 8, 32*n*123, 203, 205, 215, 372
Christians 57, 76, 104, 250, 263, 272–273, 303, 334
  as Jews, initially 4, 263*n*22
  as readers of Josephus 4, 144, 148
Chrysostom, John 6*n*20, 66, 273*n*44
civil war 3*n*10
Classics, discipline of 33, 62*n*101
Claudius, Emperor 132*n*40
codicology *see* manuscripts
collective memory 7*n*26, 13*n*40, 60*n*96, 173, 341
commentators 6, 14*n*44, 17, 24*n*84, 187
Comparative Literature 65
competitive historiography 2, 6–9, 45, 67, 113*n*134, 121, 254, 289*n*85, 319, 363–367, 371–375
Constantinople 1*n*2, 17*n*55, 18*n*58, 252*n*123
constellations *see* astronomy
counter history *see* competitive historiography
covenant 5, 49, 73, 169–170, 181, 196, 234*n*80, 249, 276, 280, 282, 294*n*104, 305*n*139, 315
  ark of 216*n*30, 242, 308*n*146
  curses of 219
  faithfulness 301
  language of 167, 176–177, 201
  name (of God) 224, 231, 323*n*12
  people 176, 223, 285, 327
  violation of 3*n*11, 147*n*74, 211*n*18, 248, 265, 267, 314, 366*n*141
creation (of the world) 41*n*44, 95*n*91, 95*n*93, 127*n*26
  of humanity 124*n*19, 125*n*22, 126*n*24
Croatians 28*n*107
Crusades, First 303*n*133, 89, 91, 96–99, 303*n*133
Crusader chronicles 96*n*96, 303*n*133
Crusaders 25*n*85, 87*n*61
Cush 285*n*73, *see also* Ethiopians
Cyrus the Great 61, 63*n*104, 72*n*10, 181–182, 199, 220, 343–344
Czech language 19*n*60

Damascus 186*n*53
Danes 28
Daniel, prophet 23, 44
Danube River 27, 30*n*115, 35
Darius I 220
Dathan 104*n*113, 247, 250–252, 283*n*69
David Qimḥi 17*n*54
David, King 29, 76*n*22, 112, 138, 190, 192, 238, 292–295, 372
  tomb of 71*n*5
Daylamites 28

Dead Sea Scrolls 91*n*79, 139*n*57, 198, 285, 309*n*149, 312*n*155, 344*n*77, 353*n*105, *see also* Qumran
death 39*n*30, 61, 63*n*104, 79*n*33, 100, 110, 117–118, 135, 158, 348, 359–360, 370 *see also* suicide
  acceptance of 131, 141, 157, 302
  angel of 108, 151*n*88
  approach of 81*n*40, 98*n*103, 134, 334
  cause of 107, 159*n*20, 247, 279–280
  choosing of 109, 146, 171, 302, 304, 326, 342, 347
  contempt for 85, 88, 92
  deliverance from 92, 150
  deliverance to 102, 105, 247, 260, 287, 292, 295, 321, 350
  effects of 118–119, 358, 365*n*135
  fear of 149, 153–154, 340*n*69, 360
  for country 89, 97, 110–111, 347, 362*n*130
  for God 89, 97, 99, 111, 302, 362*n*130
  hastening of 130, 155
  in battle 31, 90, 97, 99, 111–112, 340*n*69
  in captivity 31*n*121
  life after *see* afterlife
  longing for 156, 158
  moment of 298, 323*n*12, 327*n*28
  negotiation of 132*n*40
  noble 32, 83*n*45, 98, 130, 141, 143, 145, 157, 254, *see also* martyrdom
  penalty 92, 250, 260, 321, 329, 345*n*81
  perceptions of 139*n*56, 154, 191, 279–280, 327*n*28
  personified 104, 107, 131, 149, 286, 290, 304
  praise of 133, 144, 156
  presentation of 334, 367
  process of 120, 135
  shrinking from 100*n*104, 155
  type of 142
Deborah 229, 237, 284*n*69, 288*n*83
Demetrius I Soter 136*n*50, 302
Denmark 28
De excidio Hierosolymitano 183, 258*n*13
  historiography of 257, 259, 315–316
  ideological orientation of 10, 13, 129, 183, 254, 257, 262, 284, 319, 371
  readership of 11, 219*n*42
Deuteronomistic history 3*n*11, 144, 170, 250, 268, 282, 294–295*n*104, 357
dialogue, inter-religious 1, 318
Diaspora, Jewish 7*n*28, 51*n*73, 59, 221–224, 272*n*40
discrimination *see* prejudice
Dodanim 28
Dönitz, Saskia xiv, 16–17, 20, 22, 61, 255*n*6
Dunash ben Labrat 38*n*25, 42*n*44

Early Christian Studies 62*n*101
Early Modernity 10*n*37, 17*n*51, 62*n*101
eastern Europe 37*n*20
Echepolus 298*n*115
Edom 29, 91*n*77, 192*n*73, 198, 218*n*35, 240–242, 342
Edomites 198*n*88, 242
Egeria 272*n*42
Egypt 185–190, 198*n*87, 209
  empire(s) of 178–179, 194, 219–220, 233
  Exodus from 133*n*42, 171–174, 180, 234, 330*n*36, 345*n*83
  Ptolemaic 298*n*117
  SY in 17*n*52, 371*n*2
Egyptians 171–172, 277, 279, 332*n*45, 345*n*83
Eleazar ben Aaron 149*n*81
Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi 17*n*55
Eleazar ben Yair 3*n*10, 31, 82*n*43, 304*n*136
Eleazar the Martyr 97*n*102, 137*n*50, 142, 338*n*62
Eli, priest 216–217
Elijah Capsali 30*n*115
Elijah, prophet 98*n*103, 234*n*80
Elisha, prophet 217–218, 234*n*80, 242*n*104, 286–288, 296, 300
Elishah 28
Elkanah 234*n*80
Emmaus-Nicopolis 185*n*53
empire(s) 31*n*117, 49, 178
  Assyrian 173
  Christian 237, 241
  lists of 279, 285
  Roman 29*n*108, 51*n*74, 317
  Seleucid 221
England 24*n*83
English 65*n*110, 139*n*56, 363*n*134
  academic discipline of 63
  language 19*n*60, 24, 49, 58
  Old/Middle 24*n*83, 63
  people 28*n*101

enslavement 195, 332*n*45, 350, *see also* servitude; slaves
Ephrem 66, *see also* Syriac
epigraphs *see* inscriptions
Epiphanius Scholasticus 292*n*98
Esau 29, 198, 230–232, 241–242
eschatology 94, 97*n*100, 199, 242*n*103
Essenes 75*n*19, 136–137*n*50, 139*n*56, 309*n*149
Esther 62*n*102, 194*n*77, 291*n*94, 340*n*70, 344–345
ethics 12, 69, 145, 162–163, *see also* immorality; morality
Ethiopian Orthodox Church 16–17
Ethiopians 227, *see also* Cush
Ethiopic 16*n*51, 23, 27*n*98, 363*n*134
ethnicity 76*n*23, 198, 326, 340*n*70, 348
ethnography 27, 30, 77*n*24, 117, 193, 198, 241, 340
Eunomius 233*n*76
Eupraxius, Viceroy of Calabria 43–44
European Association of Biblical Studies 340*n*70
Eusebius of Caesarea 5*n*18, 13*n*41, 262*n*22
Evagrius of Antioch 1*n*3
excavations *see* archaeology
exegesis 105, 232, 239*n*94
exempla 12, 103–113, 130–132, 140, 184–185, 220–229, 236–237, 250, 299–300, 320, 328, 333–334, 343–353, 364
exemplarity 53, 84, 135, 152, 203–208, 367

factions, Jewish 6, 364
Flavian dynasty 6*n*19, 12, 313
Flavius Josephus *see* Josephus
flood (of Noah) 294*n*103, 331*n*40
Flusser, David XIV, 19–21, 35–36, 38, 43–45, 56–58, 63*n*106, 74, 78, 97
France 27, 89, 336, 339*n*66
Frankfurt am Main 18*n*58, 20
Franks 27
freedom *see* liberty
Friedenwald, Harry 44

Gabinius (Aulus) 99*n*103
Gaius, Emperor 52*n*76
Gaius Sosius 224
Galilee 82–83, 340
Gamaliel, Rabbi 353*n*105
Garden of Eden 96*n*96
Gə'əz *see* Ethiopic
Gehenna 96*n*95, *see also* Hades; Sheol
gender, discourses of 102, 143*n*66, 154–155, 222*n*49, 229–230, 306*n*140
genealogy 26–27
genre 27*n*95, 30*n*117, 60, 246*n*113, 258
gentile(s) 3, 41–42, 54, 73–75, 100–103, 111, 148, 175, 184, 194, 261*n*15, 277*n*54, 304–305, 313, 315*n*159, 326, 340*n*169, 342, 348, 366*n*140
geography 27, 30–31, 63–64, 76*n*23, 90, 166, 187, 237, 336*n*57
German language 7*n*30, 19*n*60, 251*n*122
German scholarship 56*n*85
Germans 28*n*103, 339*n*66
Germany 17*n*52, 17*n*55, 87*n*61, 88–89, 336*n*57
Gershom Me'or ha-Golah 22, 88*n*61
Gideon 196, 216, 227–228, 234–237
gods/God 92–93, 323
  agency of 9, 98–99, 178, 182–184
  destruction by 3*n*11, 49, 112, 271
  protection from 3*n*11, 49, 177*n*35, 201, 214, 283, 300, 347
  punishment by 4, 103, 220, 315
  Roman 29–30
  wrath of 2, 107, 112, 143*n*66, 150, 272*n*42, 281*n*63, 291, 314–315, 326, 328, 354
Golden Calf 104*n*113
Goodman, Martin 18, 60, 62*n*101, 65*n*109, 271*n*38
Gospels 4, 66, 91*n*76, 124, 127, 261, 263, 271, 275, 278*n*55, 280*n*61, 335*n*54, 347*n*89
Gotha 18*n*58, 24*n*81
Gothic War 37*n*19
Graetz, Heinrich 44, 370–371
grammar 36, 43, 48, 92, 118, 177, 183, 289, *see also* syntax
Greek 12, 62–63, 69, *see also* Hellenism; Septuagint
  Josephus' 85*n*51, 119, 127, 157*n*114, 204, 220, 242*n*104, 254, 316–317, 363
  language 20*n*65, 51, 60
  literature 27*n*98, 51, 53, 188, 246*n*113, 375
  New Testament 140
  SY's knowledge of 156*n*108
  terms 98*n*103, 173*n*22, 232, 294
Greeks 28, 42
Greek Orthodox Church 28*n*104, 42

Gregory of Nyssa 233*n*76
Grottaferrata monastery 44
Gruen, Erich 53

Hades 352*n*100, *see also* Gehenna; Sheol
Haidt, Jonathan 368*n*143
halakhah 23*n*85, 59, 309
ha-Levi, Eleazar ben Asher 17*n*55
Haman 136*n*50, 344–345
Ḥannukah 17
hapax legomena 57, 143*n*66, 153*n*96, 158*n*115, 261*n*115, 328*n*29, 368*n*144
Hasdai ibn Shaprut 35–36, 38*n*25
Hasidim *see* Essenes
Hasmoneans 78*n*26, 180–181, 194–203, 224–225, 245, 302–304, 337, 364
  high priests 25*n*86
  history of 72*n*11, 83, 136*n*50, 142
  kingdom of 51*n*75, 182
Hebrew 41
  biblical 43
  classical *see* biblical
  modern 16*n*48, 19*n*60, 22*n*72, 32*n*126, 63*n*106
  rabbinic 43, 49, 249*n*118, 309*n*149
  renaissance 17, 37, 371
  texts 10
Hebron 187–188, 191
Hegesippus 16*n*49
Heil, Johannes 59
Hellenism 51, 194–203, 298*n*117, 317, *see also* Greek
  Jews and 10, 50–55, 70, 83, 97, 100–103, 115, 142, 212, 225, 248, 277–286, 298, 303, 312, 319, 357, 367, 371–375
Herakles 29
hermeneutics 7, 96*n*99, 151, 205, 238
Herod Agrippa II 3*n*10
Herod the Great 39*n*30, 75*n*19, 98–99*n*103, 197*n*84, 199–201, 220, 224, 242*n*105, 266*n*28
Herodotus 60*n*96, 61, 63*n*104, 73
heroes 31*n*121, 184–194, 216*n*31, 234–235, 241, 253, 286, 348, 372
  ancestors as 225, 287–289, 311, 372
  biblical 70, 105, 108, 113, 152, 154*n*98, 171, 196, 201, 203, 237–238, 291, 303
  female 229–230
  Jews as 114, 145, 194–195, 245
heroines *see* heroes → female
heroism 32, 51, 53, 61*n*98, 83, 102–103, 107, 201, 303, 340, 345
  Jewish 165, 304, 340
  rhetoric of 83, 105, 109, 326
Heshbon 265*n*26
Heyden, Katharina 65*n*109, 137*n*50, 255, 274, 318, 367
Hezekiah, King 210*n*16
Hiphil verb form 91*n*76, 92*n*82, 125, 180*n*41, 196*n*80, 288*n*83, 289*n*87
Historia Augusta 132*n*40
historians 17, 24*n*85, 26–27, 55, 60–61, 70, 106*n*117, 144, 167*n*8, 273, 294*n*104
historical causality 3, 69, 262, 271, 280
historiographical competition *see* competitive historiography
historiography 4, 7, 13, 33, 55, 60–61, 76, 246, 374–376
  apologetic 52*n*78
  biblical 6*n*21, 61*n*96, 282
  Byzantine *see* Christian
  Christian 49, 66, 245–246, 273, 280, 282, 295*n*104, 370
  classical *see* Greco-Roman
  genre of 24, 27, 42*n*45, 62, 75, 233, 258
  Greco-Roman 61, 73, 167, 317*n*163
  Hebrew *see* Jewish
  history of 60–62
  interests of *see* motivations for
  Jewish 11, 13, 61–62, 73, 82, 246*n*113
  medieval 62, 375
  methods of xv, 56, 73–74, 173, 177
  motivations for 30, 61*n*97
  pre-modern 2*n*7, 369
  rhetoric of 30, 53, 56, 59, 70, 165, 269, 279
  speeches in 61–62, 136, 162, 167*n*8, 318, 328, 364, 367, 372–374
  structure of *see* genre of
  western 12, 62
history
  intellectual 19*n*59, 50, 263*n*22
  literary 19*n*59, 33, 49, 59, 194, 371
  meaning of 1–2, 5–6, 12, 46, 53, 60–61*n*96, 66, 70, 84, 113, 279*n*58, 375
  use(s) of 13, 56, 165

written by winners 69*n*3
History of Religions school 47
Hithpael verb form 252*n*122
Hivites 29*n*112
Holy Spirit 127
holy war 32*n*125, 97, *see also* Crusades; *jihad*
Homer 188*n*60, 245*n*110, 256*n*8, 298*n*115, 353*n*104
Hominer, Ḥayim 90
Ḥoni the Circle-Drawer 137*n*50
Horace 63*n*104
Hungarians 27, 30*n*115, 35

Ibn Daud, Abraham 17*n*55
Ibn Ezra, Abraham 17*n*54
Ibn Mosconi, Yehuda 17, 22
Iddo, prophet 234*n*80
identity 13, 186, 277, 320, 326
construction of 29, 33, 52*n*78, 371
Jewish 10–11, 51, 53–54, 64–70, 84, 114, 152*n*94, 162–165, 194, 201–203, 279, 337, 341, 371
markers of 152*n*94, 243, 375
negotiation of 46, 50–51, 131, 192*n*71, 362–368
immorality 77*n*25, 223, *see also* ethics; morality
immortality 85, 127*n*26, 336
India 179, 285*n*73
Indians 42
Indo-European language 81*n*39, 93, 98*n*103
inscriptions 37*n*19, 60*n*95, 185*n*53, 273*n*47, 371*n*2
Ionia 28
Isaac Israeli ben Solomon 42*n*44
Isaac, patriarch 29*n*112, 131*n*38, 214*n*24, 226, 265*n*26, 372
Isaac the Jew 1*n*3
Ishmaelites *see* Muslims
Israel 31, 58
ancient 26*n*90, 29, 61*n*96, 80–83, 90, 108, 146, 157, 170, 175, 191, 196, 217, 229, 241, 289, 300
modern 25, 32
Israelite religion 52
Italian language 36, 41
Italy 19, 22, 36, 38–40, 43, 157*n*114, 241
Jews of 17*n*55, 34*n*1, 36–37, 41–42, 60, 67, 273, 317, 370*n*1
SY in 35*n*4, 36–37, 41, 45, 60, 63*n*105, 95*n*92, 273, 336*n*57, 372, 374

Jabbok 232–233
Jacob, patriarch 29, 90*n*70–72, 171–172, 227, 332, 372
as metaphor for Israel 91*n*77, 157*n*114, 202, 241
as rhetorical *exemplum* 185–186, 230–233
Jael 229
Jakob und Werner Wylter-Stiftung 24*n*81
Janus 29
Jatomir 18*n*58
Javan 27–28
Jeconiah, King 220*n*45, 326, 333, 350–359, 364
Jeraḥmeel ben Shelomoh 17*n*55, 52*n*76
Jericho 137*n*50, 214–215, 227, 286, 291–292, 300*n*122, *see also* Joshua
Jerome xiv, 36, 44, 138*n*53, 139*n*58, 335*n*53
Jerubaal 216
Jerusalem 183, 285–286
address to 256, 258–271, 278, 280, 304–305, 316–319
Alexander's visit to 23*n*74
destruction of 2–7, 28, 37, 43, 49–55, 70, 112, 164–166, 220, 254, 268–273, 283, 294, 313–315
foundation of 3*n*10, 76*n*22, 291*n*94
God and 49, 248
Jews of 204, 245–248, 253, 257, 262, 265, 277, 284, 289, 310, 360, 362
portrayal of 261, 276, 282, 284–285, 292, 299, 309, 323, 334, 364
prophecy about 310–311
remains of 272, 366
restoration of 136*n*50, 274, 313
Romans within 224, 242*n*105
suffering of 260–264, 279, 281, 352, 355
Temple in 3–6, 59, 66, 175–176, 301
walls of 12, 164, 182, 202*n*101, 204–207, 253
Jeshurun 185–186
Jesus Christ 5, 12, 57, 71*n*5, 127*n*26, 143–144, 160, 258*n*11, 300*n*124, 306–314, 331, 335*n*54, 352*n*100, *see also* Christianity

crucifixion/death of 54, 257, 260–289, 347*n*87
divinity of 70
incarnation of 90*n*73
scion of Judah 5
Jewishness *see* Judaism
Jewish Antiquities XV, 53*n*80, 74, 86*n*56, 299*n*119
use of by *SY* 8, 232
Jewish-Christian relations XVI, 1, 24*n*83, 65–66
Jewish Studies XIV, 18, 33, 58–60, 63*n*105–106, 65–66
Jewish War XV, 1, 17*n*51, 60*n*94, 68, 127, 256–259, 271, 375
audience of 317
contestation of 375
Latin translation of 2*n*5, 8, 271*n*38
use of by *DEH* 4, 97, 101, 103, 117*n*2, 119, 270
use of by *SY* 8
Jews as God's people 2, 6, 29, 49
jihad 97, 99
Job 117, 126–127, 133–140, 140, 154*n*98, 190
John III, Duke of Naples 36
John VIII, Pope 32*n*125, 97
John Hyrcanus 25*n*86, 71*n*5, 72*n*10, 99*n*103, 137*n*50, 220, 224, 242*n*105
John of Gischala 324, 329, 331, 351*n*97
Jonathan, priest 137*n*50
Jonathan, son of Saul 84, 117, 146*n*73, 325, 333, 341–343, 364
death of 109–114, 339
example of 145, 148, 340*n*68, 348
mourning over 144*n*67
Jordan River 215*n*27, 264*n*24, 341–342
Jordanes 61, 298*n*117
Joseph, patriarch 29, 62*n*102, 298*n*117, 331*n*42, 332*n*45
Joseph ben Gorion 35, 38, 42*n*45, 71–76, 82*n*42, 271*n*38, 288, 315, *see also* Josephus; *Sefer Yosippon*
Joseph ben Joshua Ha-Cohen of Avignon 61
Josephus ben Mattathias 38*n*26, 51, 61
as author 52, 54, 58*n*87, 61*n*97, 258, 271, 282, 299, 316, 372
as general 68–69
as historian 4, 31, 49*n*68, 76, 82*n*41, 98, 258–259, 267*n*29, 318, 375
as historical actor/personality 51, 54, 68–70, 77, 80–83, 100, 259, 340
as Jew 76, 78, 84–85, 87, 90, 102, 270*n*34, 315
as messiah 70–88, 102
as object of study 64–66, 70
as POW 12, 164–253
as priest 42*n*45, 82, 86–87, 114
as soldier 68–69, 79–83, 114, 117–163, 340
as source of *DEH*/*SY* 71, 76, 317, 319, 351, 363
as speaker 12, 68–69, 88–89, 92–97, 112, 117–253, 268, 288, 314, 316
as theologian 2, 3*n*10, 6*n*20–22, 228
Josephus Problem, the 68
Josephus Studies 64–65
Josiah, King 219–220*n*44, 239, 343–344
Jotapata 113, 118, 243–245
Battle of 11–12, 32*n*122, 68, 83, 99*n*103, 115, 144, 154*n*101, 176*n*29, 296*n*107
cave at 69, 102
speeches at 88*n*61, 97, 102, 116, 136, 340
Jubal 293*n*101
Judah Hadassi 22*n*70
Judah ibn Mosconi 17–18, 22, 48*n*65, 90
Judah, land of 98*n*103, 129*n*34, 191–192, 197*n*84, 216–220, 227, 240, 278*n*55, 285*n*74, 295, 311*n*155, 333, 341–344, 350–356
Judah, patriarch 5, 185–186, 202
Judah the Maccabee 8*n*31, 20*n*65, 72*n*10, 78*n*26, 81–82*n*40, 83, 99*n*103, 101, 107, 136–139, 201*n*99, 245, 291*n*94
Judaism 62, 317, 374
forms of 59*n*90, 62
Hellenistic 197, 312, 375
history of 52, 60, 186, 197, 201, 375
medieval 7, 49, 82, 258*n*12, 374–375
perception of 197
portrayal of 30–31, 69–70
practices of 62, 69, 83*n*46, 126*n*24
principles of 126*n*24, 298*n*117
Second Temple 2, 5, 55, 286, 369, 375
study of 47*n*62
vitality of 52
Judaization 9, 31–32, 47–66, 70–74, 89–97, 100–105, 113–117, 145–148, 196–205, 224–227, 273–289, 306–312, 319–328, 371, 375

Judeo-Arabic 16*n*51, 23
Julian, Emperor 66, 273
Justin, historian 61, 63*n*104
Justin Martyr 66, 233*n*76, 278*n*55, 318
Judith 229

Kabbalah 24*n*85, 309*n*149
Kanbina 27
Khetuvim 92
kiddush hashem 89, 137*n*50
Kiev 28, 30*n*115
King James Bible 49
Kittim 27–28, 180*n*41, 192*n*73, 194–203, 325*n*20
Korah 104*n*113, 247, 250–252, 283*n*69
Krakow(ians) 18*n*58, 28*n*107
Kurdistan 28
Kusar 27

Ladino language 24*n*82
Lamdan, Yithak 32*n*126
Lange, Nicholas de 41
Latin 36, 43, 84, 288–291, 303*n*131, 306*n*141, 310*n*153, 322*n*9, 355–356, 375
  language 10, 62–63, 81*n*39, 98*n*103, 127, 355
  literature 27*n*98, 94*n*85
  style 56*n*85, 138, 158*n*116, 284*n*71, 295, 366
  translation into 2*n*5, 24, 316, 363*n*134
law 85*n*51, 223, 325*n*20, *see also* ethics; Moses → lawgiver
  divine 85, 269, 275, 304, 309*n*149, 310*n*152
  of God *see* divine
  of Moses 86–87, 91, 95*n*93, 98*n*103, 278*n*55, 304, 348
  of nature 127*n*26, 157*n*114, 267–268
  of war 141
  of writing 256
  Roman 140–141
Leah, matriarch 188*n*61
Lehnardt, Peter 20, 255*n*6
Lemberg 18*n*58
Leo IV, Pope 32*n*125, 97
Levenson, David B. XIV*n*1, 2, 20*n*64, 21, 39*n*30
lexicography 11, 86*n*53
liberty 101*n*105, 170–175, 180, 186, 254, 277–279, 341
  aspiring to 101*n*105, 278*n*55
  betrayal of 263, 287
  dying for 154, 170
  juxtaposed to servitude 163, 189*n*63, 197, 278*n*55, 342
  loss of 263, 341
  preservation of 79*n*33, 287
libraries 29*n*108, 36, 43
light and darkness 80*n*37, 90*n*73, 91–97, 298*n*115
  in the afterlife 88, 143
Lincoln, Bruce 46–47
Literary Theory 65
literature 18, 31*n*117, 43, 45, 53, 162, 316, 329*n*32
  biblical 62
  children's 32*n*124, 374
  Christian 2*n*7, 42, 62, 140*n*61, 176*n*31, 374
  classical 62
  comparative 65
  deuterocanonical 63*n*102
  folk 24, 374
  Greek 53, 246*n*113, 317*n*163, 375
  Hebrew 53, 54*n*83, 59*n*93, 62, 124, 285, 371*n*2
  Israeli 58
  Jewish 53, 58, 59*n*93, 90*n*69, 96, 131, 375
  Latin 27*n*96, 86*n*53, 176*n*31, 246*n*113, 374
  Maccabean 72*n*11
  medieval 11, 27*n*96, 90*n*69, 212*n*21, 246*n*114
  poetic 323*n*12
  prophetic 48*n*65, 91*n*76, 346*n*84, 367*n*142
  sapiential 156, 168*n*11
  sectarian 95*n*89
Livy XIV, 15*n*47, 28, 37, 63
Longbards 28*n*103
Lost Tribes 94*n*86
Lot, nephew of Abraham 213–214
Lučanin 28*n*107, 30*n*114
Lucretius 94*n*85
LXX *see* Septuagint

Maccabean mother/sons 20*n*65, 97*n*102, 142, 230*n*66, 303–304, 327, 336–341, 361, *see also* martyrdom; Eleazar the martyr

Jewish 87–89, 91, 142, 334–339, 353*n*105, 355, 359–362, 370
of Peter and Paul 54
Macedon(ia) 28, 72, 181–182, 195, 200–203, 298
Macedonians 180, 193*n*77, 194
Macrobius XIV, 36
Madai 28
magicians 234, 330*n*36
Mainz Anonymous Chronicle 303*n*133
Mantua 18*n*58, 22*n*71, 23, 25*n*86, 82*n*42, 94*n*86, 267*n*29
manuscripts 13, 23*n*80, 36, 44*n*56, 198, 303*n*130, 345*n*80
biblical 140, 150*n*87, 250*n*120
of *DEH* 21, 36, 56*n*85, 79*n*34, 80*n*35, 85*n*50, 104*n*112, 106*n*118, 124*n*17, 152*n*95, 183*n*48, 257*n*10
of *LAJ* 21, 36
of *SY* 15*n*47, 17, 20–23, 29*n*108, 35, 74–75, 86*n*55, 105–107, 124*n*17, 131*n*36, 138, 149*n*82, 168, 177*n*34, 182*n*47, 202*n*101, 234*n*81, 242*n*104, 257, 264*n*24, 283*n*68, 322*n*11
of *Toledot Yeshu* 59*n*93
marginalization 31–32, 64, 237*n*8, 357, 370
Maria Story, the 20*n*65, 264
Mariamme I 197*n*84, 266*n*28
Marincola, John 256
martyrdom 20*n*65, 31–32, 50, 96–98, 137*n*50, 254, 287, 302–304, 320, *see also* afterlife; death
Mark Antony 224
Masada 15, 31–32, 61, 97*n*102, 101*n*105, 304, 339–340
suicide on 3*n*10, 31, 83*n*46
Mason, Steve 14*n*44, 64*n*108
Masorah 371*n*2
Mattathias 8*n*31, 72, 81–83, 98–99*n*103, 348–350, 364
Matthias (Amitai) 320–375
Me'or Einayim 38
Medes 72*n*10, 277, 279, *see also* Persia; Persians
medical knowledge 38–39, 42*n*47, 44*n*57, 369*n*144
Medieval Studies XIV, 33, 63–65
Mediterranean 41, 60*n*95, 87*n*57, 120, 154*n*114, 198, 363*n*134
Menaḥem bi-Rabbi Makhir 94*n*83
Meshech 28
messianism 83–84, 87*n*60, 147, 194, *see also* David, King; Jesus Christ; Testimonium Flavianum; Saul, King
Christian 313
culture of 95*n*92
David as 109, 113, 148*n*77
Jesus as messiah *see* messianism → Christian
Josephus as messiah *see* Josephus → as messiah
messiah of war 70, 78*n*26, 81–82, 84, 101, 114, 152*n*94, 194
Saul as messiah 343
metaphor 79, 81*n*39, 95*n*89, 117, 159, 206, 216, 281, 294, *see also* analogy
darkness as exile 91*n*76
disease/contagion/sickness 262*n*21
faith withers 308
God as king 160
Israel as a flock 288–289, 300*n*124
ship and steersman 117, 152, 158
slave and master 117, 123, 125, 127*n*26, 130–131
spiritual warfare 210*n*16, 211*n*16
Micah 234*n*80
Middle Ages 13, 17–18, 289*n*85, 358*n*117
beginning of 62, 369
Early 10, 53, 55, 162, 237, 241, 253, 370–374
High 90*n*69, 96
Jewish history a 55–56, 84, 91, 162, 370
literature of 11, 64, 90*n*69, 212, 246*n*114
thought of 87, 90
Middle East, the 371*n*2
Middle Eastern Studies 63*n*106
Midian(ites) 196, 235–236, 277, 279
midrash 26*n*90, 48*n*65, 55, 62*n*102, 88*n*61, 106*n*117, 227*n*59, 242*n*103, 299
Moab 129*n*33, 227*n*59
monks, monasticism 44, 216
morality 114, 298*n*116, 318*n*166, 320, 328, 359, *see also* ethics; immorality
exemplary framing of 112, 329–330
failings of 249, 309, 332*n*43
Moravians 28*n*107
Mordecai 62–63, 76*n*22, 136*n*50, 194*n*77, 285*n*73, 291*n*94, 340*n*70, 344–345

Morvvyng, Peter 24*n*83
Moses 78, 84, 272*n*39, 283*n*69, 286, 372
  Aaron and 70, 103, 108, 113, 247, 250
  authority of 250
  deliverance by 149, 151*n*88, 171–173, 180, 300*n*122, 330
  example of 104, 113, 130–135, 286, 296*n*108
  heroizing of 109
  Joshua and 215
  lawgiver 80, 87, 103
  leader of Israel 193, 219*n*43, 228, 233–234
  mediation through 234*n*80
  model of piety 227, 303*n*131, 308*n*146, 327*n*25
  song of 233
  summoning of 286–289
  traditions about 108
Moses ben Abraham, *Book* of 23*n*75
Mount Abarim 130–131
Mount Galil 82*n*41
Mount Masada *see* Masada
Mount Nebo *see* Mount Abarim
Münster, Sebastian 24*n*81, 363*n*134
music 206, 292–294, 300*n*122
Muslims 28*n*105, 42, 97, 157*n*114, 255*n*5, 363*n*132
mysticism *see* Kabbalah
myth 28, 32*n*124, 46, 57*n*86, 63, 173

Naḥmanides 17*n*54, 96*n*96, 309*n*149
Najman, Hindy 52
Naphtali 82*n*41
Naples 35–36, 42*n*48
  Bay of 29*n*108
nationalism 32, 37, 101*n*105, 114, 199, *see also* identity; *patria*; patriotism; Zionism
natural law *see* law → of nature
Nebuchadnezzar, King 265*n*26, 281, 313, 352–357, 359*n*119
Neco, King 219–220
Neoplatonism 41–42*n*44, 120, *see also* philosophy
Neoptolemus *see* Pyrrhus
Nero, emperor 83, 225, 334
Nicanor 99*n*103
Nicephoras Phocas, Emperor 28*n*105
Nicholaus of Damascus 99*n*103, 197*n*84
Nilus, saint 42–44
Niphal verb form 102*n*110, 134*n*44, 327*n*27
Nirenberg, David 255, 274, 367
Nisse, Ruth 31, 97
novelty, textual *see* originality, textual
numerology 41*n*44
Nummius Aemilianus Dexter 1*n*3

Old Testament 13
ontology, human 69
orality 95*n*93, 105
oratory 61, 153, 175–184, 186, 192, 212–213, 253, 258, 261, 297, 316, 356, 367
Oria 40–41
Origen of Alexandria 108, 120*n*8, 139*n*58, 262*n*22, 302
originality, textual 13*n*41, 17*n*55
Orosius XIV, 36, 44, 61, 63*n*104, 343
orthodoxy 24*n*85
Ostia 37*n*19
Otranto 40*n*35
Ottomans 30*n*115
Ovid 94*n*85

Palermo 40*n*35
Palestine 17*n*51, 37, 90*n*69, 279
Palestinians 190–194, 277, 279
paradise 85, 94*n*85
Paris 23*n*75, 257*n*10
Parthians 25*n*86
Patriotism 47, 88, 112, 141, 145, 245, 360, 367
  death for country 49, 114, 347
  Jewish tradition of 32*n*126, 37, 53, 347
  martyrdom and 89
  Roman 111
Paul, apostle 54, 120, 128, 139–140, 159, 215–216, 334, 348*n*91, 361
Paulina 267*n*29
Pecheneg 27
Pentateuch 89, 93, 104, 223, 232, 48*n*65
Persia 72–73, 202, 277, 285, 298*n*117, 336, 340, 344
  empire of 178, 181, 277, 279
  king of 136*n*50, 181, 195, 197*n*84, 343
Persians 98*n*103, 179, 194–195, 199, 220–221, 302, *see also* Cyrus the Great; Darius I; Medes
pesharim 198, *see also* Dead Sea Scrolls; Qumran
Peter, apostle 54, 334, 361, 363

Peter Comestor 64
Pharaoh 47, 187, 207–214, 226–234, 239*n*95, 286–287, 330, 345*n*83, 364
Pharisees 137*n*50
Phasael 39*n*30
Phicol 226*n*56
Philistines 31*n*121, 190–191, 214*n*24, 216*n*30, 226, 237, 242, 277, 348*n*91
Philo of Alexandria 51
philology 11, 18, 33–34, 62*n*101
philosophers 17, 42*n*44
philosophy 43, 48, 51, 56*n*85, 69, 73, 97–98, 119–120, 144, 152, 159, 313–317, 359
Phinehas 98*n*103
Piacenza 36
Piel verb form 134*n*44, 209*n*13
Pisa 21*n*67, 28*n*100
piyyutim 37
Placiti Cassienesi 41*n*38
plague(s) 92*n*80, 134, 301
  as divine chastisement 104–105, 108, 149–151, 290, 295
  of Egypt 234
planets *see* astronomy
Platonism 120, 122, 128–129, 139, 159–162, 365*n*135
Plautus 94*n*85
poetry 37–38, 42*n*44, 86–87, 92–94, 144*n*67, 185*n*53, 213, 218, 294–298, 306*n*141, 323*n*12, 331, 346
polemic 9, 24*n*85, 75*n*19, 271*n*37, 309, 317, 347*n*89, 373
  Christian 7, 76*n*22, 91*n*76, 107, 198*n*90, 261
  counter-Christian 26, 29*n*111, 38
Poles *see* Lučanin
politics 13, 143*n*66, 163, 170, 181, 193, 267*n*29, 359, 368
  as identity marker 50, 53, 237, 345, 358
  as motive for writing 16*n*48, 22*n*68, 49*n*68, 77*n*25, 167, 181–182
political power 53, 74*n*14, 173, 175*n*27, 178, 180, 194–203
Pollard, Richard Matthew xv, 1*n*1, 2*n*5, 65*n*109
pollution 3*n*10
Pompeius Trogus 61, 63*n*104
Pompey 312–313
portents 3*n*10
Porto 37*n*19
post-colonial critique 31*n*118
Prague 18*n*58
prayer 136*n*50, 230, 237–238, 300–301
  as weapon 209–215
  communal 89*n*67
  house of 306*n*141
  instead of violence 207, 242*n*104, 297
  of Aaron 150*n*86
  of Abraham 209
  of Asa 227
  of David 239, 296*n*106–107
  of Deborah 229
  of Elisha 218, 296–299
  of Ezra/Nehemiah 314
  of Gideon 235–236
  of Jacob 227, 230–231
  of Josephus 86–87*n*57, 117
  of Joshua 228–229
  of Maccabean mother 327*n*26
  of Matthias (Amitai) 322*n*8, 327, 367
  of Moses 228, 234
  of Samson 236
  of Saul 237
  of Solomon 301
  performative 153
  Psalms and 139*n*56
Prayer of Mercy 91
prejudice 64, 71*n*5, 77*n*24
Priam 353*n*104
priesthood 149*n*81, 152, 199, 247, 329*n*31
  of Israel 80
priests 80, 82*n*43, 136–137*n*50, 169, 181–184, 194, 200–202, 216–217, 227, 263, 279–280, 322, 328, 362
  blowing trumpets 215*n*27, 286, 291–292
  death of 310–311, 322, 325*n*20, 350, 364
  high 25*n*86, 82*n*43, 152, 169, 199, 263, 279, 290, 307, 310, 321, 329, 347*n*87, 349
  liturgies of 223
printed editions 18, 22*n*71, 24*n*82–83, 82, 152*n*94, 154*n*99
Promised Land 90, 193
prophecy 87*n*57, 171, 270, 285*n*72, 297
  mysteries of 238
  spirit of 110
prophets 6*n*20, 44, 105*n*114, 147, 165, 170, 252, 270*n*35, 275, 293, 356*n*112
  deaths of 311*n*155

deliverance from 242*n*104
instructions of 167–168, 203, 298*n*116
laments of 331
role of 167, 175, 234*n*80, 248
statements of 232, 240
warnings of 240–241, 267–268, 277*n*54, 280–281, 330, 357*n*116
works of 299–301
pseudepigrapha 94
Pseudo-Callisthenes 22*n*70, 94*n*86
psychology 310*n*150, 359
Ptolemaic dynasy 286*n*78, 298*n*117
Ptolemy II Philadelphus 20–21*n*65, 298*n*117
Ptolemy son of Abubus 137*n*50
Puglia 36*n*14
punishment 117, 158*n*116, 247, 251, 263, 275*n*150, 280, 358, 365*n*135
capital 332
of the Jews by God 2, 4*n*13, 16*n*48, 70, 104*n*113, 196, 267–268, 272, 282, 295–296, 306, 315
postmortem 336, 338
Purim 17, 353*n*105
Pyrrhus 193, 352–353*n*104

Qal verb form 196*n*80, 209*n*13, 252*n*122, 288*n*83
Qimḥi, David 17*n*54
Qumran 94–95, 198–199, 344*n*77, *see also* Dead Sea Scrolls

rabbinic Judaism 25, 49, 52, 56–59, 74*n*16, 90*n*74, 96*n*95, 198–199, 210*n*14, 232, 239–241, 309*n*149, 338*n*61, 353*n*105
rabbinic literature 7*n*26, 48, 59–60, 95, 125, 234*n*80, 308*n*148, 353*n*105, 372
rabbis 6*n*20, 7*n*26, 7*n*28, 26*n*90, 42*n*44, 55, 88, 216, 236*n*86, 272*n*40
race 3*n*10, 5, 110, 190–193, 210*n*16, 286, 340*n*70
Rachel, matriarch 188*n*61, 332*n*45
Rachel of Mainz 303*n*133
Rahab 214–215
Rajak, Tessa 20*n*64, 24*n*83, 65*n*109
Ramban *see* Naḥmanides
Rashi 17*n*54, 232*n*74
Ravenna 28*n*100
reception (history) XIV–V, 4*n*12, 10, 15–19, 26, 46*n*59, 58, 61–65, 94, 96, 228, 254, 271*n*37, 374
Rechabites 94*n*86
Red Sea 283*n*69, 289, 300*n*122, 345–346*n*83
redaction 17*n*55, 20*n*63, 25*n*86, 195, 271
redaction criticism 11, 45, 259, 306*n*141, 317
religion 12–17, 51, 80, 261, 350, 362, 368, *see also* ritual
as identity 55, 62, 76, 194, 210, 216, 263*n*33, 267, 270*n*34, 364
as motivation 32*n*126, 101*n*105
as point of contention 141
as source of authority 100, 237
as thought system 49, 96*n*99, 114, 303, 358
as way of living 60*n*95, 87, 114, 210, 217, 222–223, 275, 309*n*149, 325
religious co-production 54, 254–256, 274, 289, 317–320, 363–364, 367, 369
Religious Studies 19, 33, 65
religious texts 46–47
rewritten Bible/Scripture 62, 205
replacement theology *see* supersessionism
Rhineland 37*n*20, 87*n*61, 89*n*67, 90
ritual 3*n*10, 12, 17, 76*n*23, 88*n*61, 183, 223, 281*n*63, 308*n*146, 326
(im)purity 144, 148, 269, 348, 355
Roman(s) 12, 28, 54, 78, 153, 164–165, 177–179, 197–199, 253–257, 266, 327, 339–340
Antiquities 16*n*47, 28, 30–31, 198, 239
Christianity 50, 70, 84, 101, 193, 237, 241, 357, 372
culture 29, 37, 73, 113–115, 308, 317, 356, 372
discourse 167
Empire 29*n*108, 51*n*74, 237, 241, 285
Jews 31*n*117, 220, 224
military 69, 79, 87–88, 102–104, 118, 140–141, 144, 151, 154, 166, 190, 200, 243–245, 264, 294, 329
monarchy 29*n*108, 72*n*10
perspectives 77*n*24–25, 79, 81, 101, 111, 145, 162, 243, 277, 294, 348
politics 49*n*68, 167, 181, 201
Republic 25*n*86
soldiers 31*n*121, 61*n*96, 68, 99*n*103, 304*n*136, 321
world 128, 170, 181, 192, 202, 275

Roman-Jewish War 16*n*48, 66, 71*n*9, 83, 98*n*103, 224
Romulus 29, 192*n*73, 239, 242*n*103
Rossano 42*n*47
Rufinus of Aquileia 108, 273*n*44
Russian language 23
Russians 28, 30*n*115

Saadia Gaon 35, 38*n*25
Sabbath 17*n*53, 72, 238, 322*n*9, 348–350
Sabines, rape of 63
Sachoch 27
sacrilege 2, 4*n*13, 138, 232, 251, 269, 325*n*20, 329
Salome Alexandra, Queen 25*n*86, 99*n*103, 137*n*50
Samaria 217–218, 287, 296–297
Samaritan inscriptions 185*n*53
Samson 31*n*121, 147*n*76, 196, 216, 228, 236–238, 303
Samuel Ibn Nagrela 23
sapiential literature 72, 75*n*19, 92, 150, 152–157, 168*n*11, 346, 357*n*115
Sarah, matriarch 127*n*26, 207–214, 226
Saturnus 29*n*108
Saul, King 84, 109, 113–114, 174, 219, 229, 237–238, 291*n*94, 322, 333, 340–341, 364
  as messiah *see* messianism → Saul as messiah
  death of 109, 111–112, 145–149, 191, 339
  evil spirit of 292
  example of 110–112, 117, 145–149, 174, 325–326, 342–348
  mourning over 144*n*67
  reign of 190, 199
Saxons 28, 192–193
Scandinavian languages 63
Schatz, Andrea 16–17, 65*n*109
Sefarad 17*n*54
Sefer Yosippon
  audience of 8, 84, 132, 225, 246, 253
  author of 8, 25*n*86, 34–39
  dating of 19*n*60, 34–35, 320*n*4
  genre of 60
  historiography of 30, 60, 197, 246, 259, 277, 309, 370
  ideological orientation of 10, 13, 30, 57, 59, 78, 114, 165, 194, 199, 203, 216, 229, 239, 281, 284, 370–371
  intentions of 9, 30, 76, 370–371
  open text 22, 106
  origins of 15, 39–45, 371
  provenance of 34, 36–39
  recensions of 16, 22–26, 54*n*83, 74*n*18, 85*n*52, 94*n*86, 107, 218*n*36, 264*n*24, 279*n*57, 314*n*158, 338*n*62, 363*n*134
  reliability of 13*n*40
  sources of 15–16, 70, 76
Seir 198, 227*n*59, 242*n*102
Sela, Shulamit 14*n*43, 29
Seleucids 78*n*26, 194–195, 198–201, 221, 286*n*78, 298*n*117
Semitic language(s) 29*n*108, 30*n*116, 71*n*7, 81*n*39, 98*n*103, 120*n*9, 160*n*122, 253
Seneca 63*n*104, 77*n*24
Septuagint 7*n*28, 10*n*37, 20*n*65, 51–52, 156, 250*n*120, 298*n*117
Serbians 28*n*107
Sergius, Duke of Naples 36
servitude 94*n*85, 123, 129*n*34, 154, 165, 170–173, 341, 351
  embraced 172, 194–195
  endured 171*n*18, 187, 350
  juxtaposed to liberty 163, 174, 189*n*63, 197, 278*n*55, 342
sex/sexuality 102*n*110, 211–212
Shabbatai Donnolo 38, 40–41, 45, 366*n*140
Shekinah 91*n*75
Shema, the 87–88, 340*n*69, 353*n*105
Shemaiah, prophet 234*n*80
Sheol 94*n*88, 143, 324, 332
Shimon ben Pazzi, rabbi 95*n*91
Shlomith, daughter of Herod 99*n*103
Sichem (Nablus) 186*n*53
Sicily 37*n*19, 41*n*42
Sihon 265*n*26
Simhoni, I.N. 22*n*72, 32*n*126
Simon bar Giora 12, 47, 278*n*55, 321–365
Simon the Maccabee 8*n*31, 72*n*10, 82*n*40
Simon the Zealot 278*n*55
Simonsohn, Shlomo 41
sin 2, 6*n*21, 86*n*54, 223
Sisera 284*n*69
Sixth Syrian War 198*n*86
slavery *see* servitude
slaves 35, 102, 172, 278*n*55, 331*n*40, 332*n*45, 342
  metaphor of 117, 123, 125, 127*n*26, 130

Slavonic language 23, 63, 95*n*93
Slavs 30*n*114
Smith, J.Z. 47
Society of Biblical Literature 64*n*108, 344*n*77
Sodom and Gomorrah 143*n*66
Solomon bar Samson Chronicle 303*n*133
Solomon ben Isaac *see* Rashi
Somenzi, Chiara xv, 107, 302
Sorrento 36*n*16, 192*n*73
soul 43, 50, 83*n*45, 123, 130, 161–162, 308*n*148, 334
  atonement for 88, 91–92
  created/owned by God 126, 142, 158, 160
  death of 134, 327*n*28
  deliverance of 120, 137–138, 160*n*122
  desires of 244, 278
  enchained in the body 119–122, 125, 128, 159–160
  giving up of 132*n*40, 135, 302, 362*n*130
  immortality of 127*n*26
  postmortem 85, 96*n*99, 160, 311*n*154, 360
  preservation of 139*n*56
  sacredness of 159
  sanctification of 85, 120
  self as 87, 153, 155, 160, 214, 344
  suffering of 133, 222, 366
source criticism 11, 18, 26, 33, 58*n*87, 253, 345, 363
Sozomen 273*n*44, 292*n*98
Spain 17*n*52
Sparta 298*n*117
stars *see* astronomy
stereotypes 29*n*111, 111, 199*n*93, 212*n*21, 223*n*50, 266, 276, 352*n*100
subalternity 31*n*118
Subria 28*n*100
suicide 101*n*105, 117, 162–163, 261, *see also* Masada
  debate over 12, 31–32, 68, 127–141, 149–161
  of Saul 111, 145–148
sun *see* astronomy
  stopping of at Gibeon 228–229, 341–342
supersessionism 5–6, 48, 248, 263*n*22, 265, 274, 280, 282, 305, 313, 316–317, 322*n*7, 372–375
Susanna 212*n*21
Symmachus (LXX) 7*n*28
syntax 43, 48, 114, 118, 121*n*14, 183, 209, 296*n*106
Syriac 27*n*98, 63, 160*n*122, *see also* Aramaic
Syrians 296

Talmudic culture 24*n*84, 55, 96*n*99, 106*n*117, 199, 239*n*95, 309*n*149
Tarrentum (Taranto) 40*n*35
Tarshish 27–28
Tarsus 28, 30*n*115, 35
Temple (Jerusalem) 3–11, 43, 49, 59, 99, 175*n*27, 184, 254, 299
  administration of 169, 268
  burning of 55, 350, 353, 355, 373
  contamination of 247, 249
  defense of 263
  desecration of 177, 224, 269, 276, 282, 304–308, 314
  destruction of 70, 74, 98*n*103, 165, 227–228, 257, 271, 294, 313–315, 354, 358, 364, 375
  First 281, 301
  God and 175, 221, 256, 275, 304, 323–328, 349, 354, 366, 369
  Jesus Christ as 269, 271, 275
  Jews and 318, 320, 323
  liturgy of *see* administration of
  pollution of *see* contamination of
  precincts of 183–184, 312
  rebuilding of 66, 272–274
  renovation of 75*n*19
  Third 252*n*123
  vessels of 98*n*103, 169*n*113
  war within 169, 183, 256, 267, 282
temporality 9*n*36, 54*n*83, 64, 76, 229, 268, 325, 350
Tertullian 66, 335*n*53
Testimonium Flavianum 70*n*5, 267*n*29, 270*n*34
Tetragrammaton/Digrammaton 322–323
Thamyris, Queen 61, 343
theodicy 2–4, 11
Theodora, wife of John III 36
Theodotion (LXX) 7*n*28
theological anthropology 117–129
theologization 9, 32, 47–55, 113–117, 161–162, 201–205, 228, 253–256, 319–321, 323–328, 343, 371–375

theology 2, 13, 66, 69, 84, 263*n*22, 267, 274, 282, 294, 313, 315, 369
Christian 93, 176*n*31, 233, 257, 265, 271–273, 308*n*48
language of 13*n*40, 50, 91
Jewish 60*n*96, 97, 100, 111, 145, 169, 177, 180
Tiber River 28*n*105
Tigranes II 25*n*86
Timotheus of Gaza 78*n*26
Tiras 28
Tisha B'Av 17*n*53
Titus, Emperor 2–5, 11–12, 37, 72*n*10, 99*n*103, 164, 202*n*101, 264–265, 314, 324–325
Tolmats 27
tombs, tombstones 37*n*19, 60*n*95, 71*n*5, 304, 306
Tower of Babel 26–27
translation 8, 57, 65, 74, 86, 121, 193, 215, 259, 288, 319, 333
treaties 25*n*86, 29, 192*n*73, 226*n*56
triumph, Roman 79–81
Tubal 28
Turks 27
Tuscans/Tuscany 28

Urbis Salernitanae Historia 42
utopia 218

van Henten, Jan Willem 65*n*110, 338
Varus (Publius Quinctilius) 98*n*103
Vegetius 298*n*117
vengeance literature 5
Venice 18*n*58
Venosa 30*n*115, 37*n*19, 60*n*95
Vergil XIV, 15*n*47, 28, 29*n*108, 37, 63, 94*n*85, 128
Vespasian, Emperor 2, 3*n*10, 5*n*18, 11, 37, 68, 72*n*10, 79, 83, 225, 243, 314
violence 35, 78*n*26, 91*n*77, 155, 290*n*91, 329, 331*n*40
abstaining from 209
civil 269, 355
notional vs. physical 79
senseless 275, 364
Volga 27
Vulgate Bible XIV, 8, 20–21*n*65, 44, 52*n*76, 128, 140, 155, 214, 290*n*91

Wacholdner, Benzion 74*n*16
Warsaw 18*n*58
weather events 3*n*10
Western Church, the 66, 157*n*114, 276, 369
western culture 12, 62, 129*n*32, 210*n*14, 369
western Europe 10, 12*n*39, 27*n*95, 31–32, 41, 55, 60, 64, 97*n*102, 157*n*114, 279, 336*n*57, 357, 373
Western Wall, the 273*n*47
wisdom literature *see* sapiential literature
worldview 51, 53, 120, 162, 199, 312
Jewish 97*n*100, 102, 162, 253, 301
of *DEH* 66*n*111, 322
of *SY* XV, 121

Yehoshua ben Korḥa, Rabbi 353*n*105
Yiddish 10*n*37, 24

Zealots 98–99*n*103, 270, 278*n*55, 312*n*155
Zechariah 186*n*54, 280, 311*n*155
Zedekiah, King 219–220, 239, 265*n*26, 326, 333, 351–359, 364
Zeitgeist 50–51, 372
Zeitlin, Solomon 43
Zeldes, Nadia 16, 339*n*64
Zena Ayhud 16*n*51, 23*n*78, 363*n*134
Zepho ben Eliphaz 29–30, 187*n*57, 198, 241
Zerubbabel 23, 62*n*102, 340*n*70
Zion(ism) 32, 315, 318, 330–331
Zurich 24*n*82, 152*n*94

ÉTUDES SUR LE JUDAÏSME MÉDIÉVAL

Tome 105

On the Destruction of Jerusalem, an anonymous Latin Christian text from Late Antiquity (c. 375 CE), paraphrased Flavius Josephus' Greek *Jewish War* (ca. 75 CE) to reinterpret the Roman-Jewish War (66–70 CE) and the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple (70 CE) as proof that God had abandoned the Jews (because they had rejected Jesus Christ). No Jewish alternative to this supersessionist historiography existed for hundreds of years. Then, around 900 CE, the anonymous Hebrew *Book of Yosippon* rewrote this history anew, based on the narrative of *On the Destruction Jerusalem*. This monograph provides the first extensive comparison of these texts, showing how the *Book of Yosippon* biblicized, theologized, and Judaized its Latin source, overwriting the Christian narrative of late-Second Temple Judaism and underwriting a new version of that story. In so doing, the *Book of Yosippon* resurrected the spirit of Hellenistic Judaism, reclaiming Jewish history for the Jews in the Early Middle Ages.

Carson Bay is Associate Professor of Classics & Biblical Studies at the University of Austin (UATX). His publications include the monograph *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity: The Historiography, Exemplarity, and Anti-Judaism of Pseudo-Hegesippus* (Cambridge University Press, 2023).

ISBN 978-90-04-75910-7

9 789004 759107

ISSN 0169-815X

brill.com/ejm