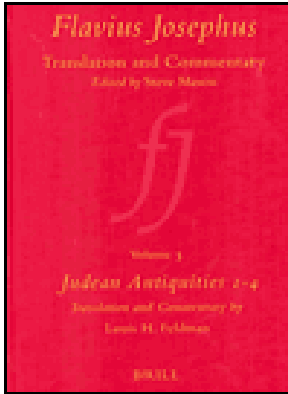


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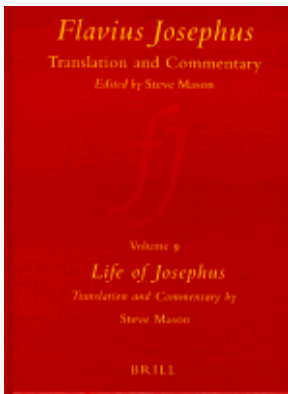


**Feldman, Louis H., trans. and comm.**

*Judean Antiquities Books 1–4*

Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 3

Leiden: Brill, 1999. Pp. xlv + 582. Cloth. \$151.00. ISBN 9004106790.



**Mason, Steve, ed.**

*Life of Josephus: Translation and Commentary*

Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 9

Leiden: Brill, 2001. Pp. liv + 287. Cloth. \$139.00. ISBN 9004117938.

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The present critical translation and commentary series not only revises preceding works by both authors (e.g., Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship [1937–1980]*, 1984; Mason, “An Essay in Character: The Aim and Audience of Josephus’s *Vita*,” 1998) dealing with Josephus’s *Judean Antiquities* 1–4 and *Life*, but it includes copious sources excluded from those studies as well as emendations of observations made there and in subsequent examinations. The ever-increasing complexity of Josephus studies in the past two decades has led to a need for the kind of ordering and explanation to be found in this series. Beyond this, Mason’s and Feldman’s works have collected a massive amount of research that will undoubtedly elicit new studies in many fields related to Josephan literature.

Under Mason's general editorship, this series follows a format that is uncomplicated and therefore extremely user-friendly: abbreviations, series preface, introduction to the particular text, translation and commentary, bibliography, and indices. The indices in Feldman's volume impressively incorporate Ancient Texts (i.e., Jewish Scriptures, Greek translations of the Bible [non-LXX], Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, New Testament, Christian Writers, Moslem Sources, Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, Other [Alleged] Greco-Jewish Writers, Rabbinic and Allied Literature, Mishnah, Tosefta, Babylonian Talmud, Minor Tractates, Jerusalem Talmud, Targumim, Midrashim and Other Rabbinic Works, Medieval Jewish Biblical Commentaries and Other Medieval and Modern Jewish Works, Samaritan Literature, Classical Greek Authors, Classical Latin Authors, Inscriptions, Papyri); Names and Subjects; Geographical Place-Names; Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic [Meanings of Hebrew and Aramaic Words], Arabic, and Coptic-Egyptian Words; and Modern Scholars. *Life* adds appendix A: "Josephus' Galilee in Archaeological Perspective," by Mordechai Aviam and Peter Richardson (177–201), with thirty-seven annotated plates (202–10) and eight maps (Judea, Galilee, and Transjordan: Overview; Galilee and the Golan; Galilee and the Coast; Judea and Samaria; Lake Region: Detail; Lake Region: Large Detail; Lower Galilee; Upper Galilee—two back-cover inserts); appendix B: "Josephus' Itinerary in the *Life*," with reference to Thackeray and Niese (211–12); appendix C: "Synopsis: Parallel Episodes in Josephus' *Life* and *War*," including both narrative and thematic parallels (213–22); appendix D: "*Hapax Legomena*: Josephan Vocabulary Appearing Only in the *Life*" (223–24); and appendix E: "Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 33" (225).

The present study differs from former analyses in two major respects. First, it presents a comprehensive literary-historical commentary on *Ant.* 1–4 and *Life*, whereas in general the Loeb series serves primarily as a modern English translation with textual-critical apparatus and Whiston's work (1737) offers both uncritical and outdated commentary in antiquated language. Second, it provides a comprehensive and informed contextualization of Josephus within his own literary and historical contexts, arranged in logical and sequential manner, so that the reader may be able to see the state of the question for various facets of Josephan scholarship. Previous studies of *Ant.* 1–4 and *Life* have treated the material thematically and selectively, with limited indication of the connection of other related works.

Both Mason and Feldman provide extensive albeit selective bibliographies, including from more than three hundred (313) to nearly six hundred (591) entries, respectively. Of greater value to many readers will be the detailed reference

indexes to Greek text (M:676; F:599); Latin text (M:229; F:193); Bible (M:85; F:3,987); Apocrypha (M:32; F:52); Dead Sea Scrolls (M:4; F:35); Pseudepigrapha (M:12; F:128); Philo (M:10; F:511); New Testament (M:109; F:107); early Christian literature (M:32; F:54); Josephus (M:2,133; F:1,551); Mishnah, Talmud, and related literature (M:44; F:1318); and other sources. Furthermore, Feldman distinguishes what Bible citations Josephus employs in *Antiquities* (1,316) from those indicated in text and notes of the translation's commentary (2,671). Feldman also has ninety entries for Pseudo-Philo.

The conventional editions of Josephus continue to be those that appeared concurrently by Niese (1885–95) and Naber (1888–96), with a more complete critical apparatus found in Niese; both Naber and Thackeray (Loeb edition, 1930) rely on Niese. Both translations typically follow the Niese text, diverging when better readings arise “from significant variants in Niese’s own critical apparatus and other modern reconstructions when they are available,” after Schreckenberg. Included in this last category are the Loeb Greek text and the ongoing projects by Siegert (Münster) and Nodet (Paris). The Naber edition (6 vols., Leipzig), with its faulty critical apparatus, was dismissed. The Marcus and Feldman volumes of the Loeb edition of *Antiquities* are not as directly relevant to the early portion of *Ant.* 1–4 as the earlier Thackeray volume (1930), though it is expected that they will play a more significant role in future Brill volumes on the *Antiquities*. It is not always clear why some leading foreign-language translations play no role in matters of translation and commentary (e.g., French: D’Andilly, Reinach; German: Clementz; Hebrew: Simchoni [Simchowitz], Schorr; Italian: Scarpellini; Spanish: Farré; Hungarian: Révay; Japanese: Hata; Polish: Kubiak and Radozycki, Dabrowski; Portuguese: Pedroso), while others do (e.g., French: Pelletier; German: Murmelstein, Schalit; Hebrew: Schalit; Italian: Ricciotti).

The general layout of both books is sufficiently well organized to invite ready access to the massive amount of information at a glance. The translation appears in Times Roman 10-point font at the top of each page in single column, with a double space separating it from double-column notes in 8-point font. A wider margin on the outside of the text provides space for summary descriptions of almost every text unit (Feldman) or of every unit section (Mason). It should be pointed out that references in Mason’s indices combine page numbers, section references, and footnote numbers, most frequently identifying the unit section in *Life* rather than a page or footnote number. As a result, the reader is most often required to search throughout the entire content of a page or, in some cases, two or more pages, where the unit section in question appears in order to find what material the index indicated (e.g., “Richardson, P., xxxvi, §§ 20, 30, 398”). In

contrast, references in Feldman's indices commonly direct the reader to a particular book of *Antiquities* and the specific footnote number in which the information is located (e.g., "Remus, Harold, 2n703"). He reserves reference to a textual unit for content contained in the actual translation of Josephus (e.g., "obedience of Israelites to laws of Moses, 3.317–22"). In spite of this difference in format, the reader will be able to make the necessary adjustment to either system of reference. It would seem to have made more sense to apply the same reference system to every book in the series.

Feldman goes a long way in fulfilling a call he made two decades ago that someone would provide "a systematic examination of Josephus' Biblical text in relation to the Hebrew, the Samaritan, the Septuagint, Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, Lucian, proto-Lucian, the Itala, the Vulgate, the Armenian, the Targumim, the Peshitta, Philo, and Pseudo-Philo's 'Biblical Antiquities'" (*Josephus and Modern Scholarship [1937-1980]*, 890). *Judean Antiquities* 1–4 represents Josephus's treatment of the biblical material contained in the Torah. Consequently, scholars interested in Josephus's Pentateuch and Feldman's aforementioned categories will discover extensive foundational material to advance their own research. What remains to be done is a thorough analysis of Josephus's view of the Torah. In *Ant.* 1.17, Josephus announces that he will "set forth [σημαινειν] the precise details [τα ακριβη] of what is in the Scriptures [ταις αναγραφαις], neither adding nor omitting anything [ουδεν προσθεις ουδ' αυ παραλιπων]." He concludes his "paraphrase" of the five books of Moses with the words, "Everything [παντα] has been written as he left it [κατελιπεν]. We have added nothing [ουδεν ... προσθεντων] for embellishment, nor anything that Moyses has not left behind [ουδ' οτι μη ... καταλελοιπε]" (4.196). Yet Josephus seems to extemporize freely, sometimes adding details that have no parallel in the Bible while at other times excluding extensive amounts of biblical data. Josephus says he has translated (μεθηρημηνευμενην) his account from the Hebrew records. To this Feldman argues that Josephus's method is more of a paraphrase than a translation (3 n. 4). Although Feldman does not specifically conclude that Josephus's method is midrashic, he does indicate that when Josephus adds details that appear to be embellishments of the biblical story all the while pointing to the Bible as his only source, he "may mean not only the written Bible but also Jewish tradition generally, including the oral tradition as later embodied in midrashim" (7 n. 22). For example, Josephus explains why the Torah begins with creation similar to what we find in *Midrash Genesis Rabbah* 1.2 and *Midrash Song of Songs Rabbah* 1.4.2. Feldman seems to leave open the possibility that Josephus's "translation" may be likened to a targum. Although,

technically speaking, targumim were Aramaic interpretive paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible, like a targum Josephus's Greek translation offers comparable interpretive elements. Moreover, not unlike the meturgeman in synagogue services during the late Second Temple period, Josephus highlighted not only what was important about the biblical account but made the content relevant to his audience and present context, incorporating many sources and interpretations in his retelling of the weekly parsha.

Feldman identifies a key distinguishing factor in Josephus's Torah as being that of a legal corpus whose basis is the moral integrity of the divine being that gave it to a people. Josephus indicates that this law code was radically unlike those of "other legislators ... following myths ... with their tales ascribed to the gods, imput(ing) to them the shame of human errors and ... giv(ing) a considerable pretext to the wicked" (*Ant.* 1.22), stressing that human competence ( $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ ) can only emanate from divine virtue ( $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ ; 9 n. 31). Although Feldman refers to Ziegler's identification of Josephus's introduction to the Torah as "an astonishingly close abbreviated commentary on Pseudo-Longinus' (*de Subl(imatate)* 9.9," he nowhere explores Josephus's description of the prefixes, superscriptions, suffixes, and colophons of any "other legislators" indicated by Josephus. To my knowledge this study has yet to be done.

Feldman's work also lays the foundation for a comprehensive study on the "Bible" Josephus used. Was it Hebrew (of the MT tradition?), Greek (LXX?), Aramaic? Throughout the 499 pages of commentary, including introduction and 3,987 annotated footnotes, the author provides extensive reference to articles addressing the source language for scores of biblical passages in *Ant.* 1-4.

Further, in considering Josephus's rendering of the Pentateuch, Feldman's work gives rise to new areas of study. Many of Josephus's additions to Genesis are unattested in later midrashic traditions. Some of these may well have been Josephus's own inventions since, for example, identification of Esau with Rome could not have predated his writings (*Ant.* 1.275), only appearing in later midrash (*Genesis Rabbah* 65:21; 104 n. 805). A specific class of deletions from Josephus's Genesis may be more easily explained as passages designated by the rabbis to be read in the synagogue but not translated by the meturgeman. One of many such examples includes the incident of Reuben's intercourse with his father's concubine (Gen 35:22; *b. Meg.* 25a; 124 n. 973; cf. 255 n. 213).

In his treatment of Exodus, Josephus is motivated by Jewish apologetic against false charges that may have taken on a classic and stereotypical nature by the

time of his writing. He omits primary reasons given for Egyptian jealousy of the Hebrew people, namely, their remarkable increase in numbers (*Ant.* 2.201–202), and avoids the concern that the Hebrew people would exercise dual loyalty raised in Exod 1:10 by deleting this passage from his story line and instead siding with Egypt's enemy in the event of a war (perhaps viewed as an allusion to the charge of dual loyalty in *Ag. Ap.* 2.38; 18 7n. 566).

Feldman points out that both of these issues were charges laid against Jews by contemporary Roman historians (e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.1–3). Josephus makes several notable additions to Leviticus, including a complete banishment of lepers not only from the camp, as the Bible testifies, but also from the city, once again returning to the theme of Jewish apology against anti-Jewish aspersion (Lev 13:46, 14:3; thus implying that there were no lepers in Jerusalem at present). Also pertaining to Leviticus, Feldman notes that a fragment of *Targum Leviticus* 16:12–15, 18–21, discovered at Qumran, dates to the first century C.E. Similarities with Josephus's treatment of this text lend further credence to the theory that Josephus is modeling *Ant.* 1–4 after a targum.

In Josephus's handling of Numbers, more appears to be deleted from the biblical account than what is added to it, from the numbering of the Hebrew people in the first chapter to the declaration of divine retribution made in anger (*Ant.* 4.169; Num 32:10–15), ascribed by Josephus to Moses instead of to G-d, against the tribes of Reuben and Gad (389 n. 497).

Analysis of Feldman's treatment of Deuteronomy permits the reader to see how Josephus rearranges the entire text to suit his own purposes. Feldman reminds his reader that Josephus has promised his own audience a logical and chronological presentation of Jewish sacred tradition, setting straight what was earlier presented to Moses the lawgiver in a manner then suitable to divine purposes (503–4).

While no thorough investigation of the biblical text behind the first four books of the *Judean Antiquities* covering the material of the Torah has yet been carried out, thus helping to explain the widely divergent views held by various scholars, Feldman has provided a solid basis for corresponding work. No single review, no matter how detailed, can adequately indicate the great contribution that this single volume offers to the academic community. Many separate studies will follow from the careful reading of Feldman's work.

Aptly, Mason's translation of Josephus's *Vita* begins where *Antiquities* leaves off. Indicating how appended autobiographical memoirs came into their own in the last century of the Roman Republic, with partial precursors also found in oriental inscriptions (xii–xv), Mason prefixes his translation and commentary of *Life* with a translation of *Ant.* 20.262–266, further noting that the inceptive use of δε, which begins §1 and §2 of *Life*, also introduces the last five books of the *Antiquities* (3 n. 1). Throughout the commentary Mason stays focused on current relevant critical matters of scholarship (e.g., textual, grammatical, literary, interpretive, historical) specific to each unit of text, having extensively addressed matters of prolegomena (e.g., relationship to the *Antiquities*, structural and narrative devices, survey of scholarship and issues, historical and literary contexts, purpose and character, text and translation notes) in the introduction (xiii–liv). The absence of any reference to the ongoing discussion advanced by Zlotnik, Brüll, Leshem, and others on why Josephus is not mentioned in talmudic literature is noteworthy; the lack of prevalent intertextual colloquy with early Jewish literature may direct us to at least a partial reason for this omission.

In a difficult passage (*Life* 10–12) Josephus indicates that when he was about sixteen years old he decided to gain experience (Mason: “chose to gain expertise,” εβουληθην ... εμπειριαν λαβειν) in the sects of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Mason treats the reader to nearly seven pages of carefully detailed and fully documented reflection on most pertinent critical issues related to §§10–12. For example, he chooses, against Shutt (παρ' αυτω, not παρ' αυτοις), to face the arithmetic problem of how Josephus fit into three years full training with the three sects as well as a formative time with Bannus on the grounds that there is no textual evidence for a dative plural form, further making reference to Josephus's earlier problem with arithmetic (*Life* 3–6). Mason's resolution, equally unsubstantiated by the text, supposes that, in all likelihood, “he composed this section of his work rather quickly and presented it for—perhaps oral—effect, without intending that it should be carefully studied” (20 n. 86). While readers may not always agree with Mason's reconstruction of Josephus's *Life*, they will not be disappointed with his fair presentation of the main issues, offered with respect and clarity in abundance. To thoroughly read the translation and commentary is to fast-track the learning process vis-à-vis Josephan studies.

Elsewhere in *Life* Josephus relates an unsuccessful early attempt on his part to repress revolutionaries in the Galilee (§17) and a subsequent acceptance of commission from leaders in Jerusalem to pursue a peaceful resistance in which self-defense alone should justify engagement against a formidable Roman

presence (§28). Mason indicates that this account conflicts at many points with what Josephus writes in *War* (2.499–555), where Josephus claims that he was appointed to conduct war.

From a purely pragmatic standpoint, one can understand why the volume on Josephus's *Life* has appeared before the all six volumes of *Judean Antiquities* were published. It is unfortunate, however, that Mason's work does not interact with contributions made by former volumes in this series, given that *Life* is an appendix to *Antiquities*.

The first two publications of the Brill Josephus Project have adequately satisfied the publisher's promise of being the first comprehensive literary-historical commentary on the works of Flavius Josephus in English. As such, they have established a formidable yet highly achievable standard for subsequent volumes in the series. These two works provide an indispensable source of competing critical perspectives on a wide variety of topics relating to Josephus, Jews, Judaisms, and the surrounding world during the period covered by Josephus's four works in thirty volumes. We wait expectantly for each one of the remaining eight volumes of the Brill series, to have ready access to the most recent scholarship on key critical issues raised in that which has correctly been termed an "indispensable source for all scholarly study of Judea from about 200 BCE to 75 CE" (Mason, ix).