

Josephus and the "Archaeology" of the Jews

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Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, like his surviving *Jewish War*, is not only a history written in Greek, but one apparently Greek in conception and form. This substantial product of Josephus' later years was composed at Rome, where he lived as an expatriate, assisted to some extent by the emperor Domitian, and encouraged and perhaps subsidized by a Greek freedman, Epaphroditus. Yet the question arises how close the *Antiquities* are at a deeper level to the Greek historiography of their time. Should we treat them as Greek history?

This question can be, and has been approached along various lines, through analysis of parts, or of aspects of the text; of such features as narrative technique, the treatment of individuals and their reactions, rhetorical devices, the author's attitude to the course of history and to the role of divine Providence, or his view of the miraculous.¹ Here I shall consider Josephus' project in a more general way. I shall ask what was understood in Greek-Roman culture by "antiquities" or rather, to use the Greek term, "archaiologia"; and then whether Josephus' book conforms to these expectations. It has been taken for granted that, in writing a work to which that label was attached, the author was operating within a Greek framework. In a limited sense, this is obviously true. But, if we look further, doubts occur, and interesting contrasts emerge. We shall see that the answers to our question are to be sought within the first, Biblical part of the *Antiquities*, which truly constitutes the "archaeology". Examination of the largely political history in the second half of the work might well lead, by another route, to a not entirely dissimilar conclusion, but that is for a different occasion.

Archaiologia, the description Josephus himself gives of the theme of his work,² is a word with a clear meaning and an established usage in Greek. At

¹ Some of the more recent studies are: P. Colling, "En place de Josephus et de l'historiographie de l'hellénisme", *Revue néoscholastique de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 110: *Mélanges* 1945, 1, *Revue Néoscholastique* (Paris, 1947), 51-92; L. J. Le Pichon, "About the Greek Philosophy in Josephus", *JAPh* 99, 1968, 143-50; idem, "Hellenizations in Josephus' Portrait of Man's Decline", in *Religion in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of A. R. Goheen*, ed. J. Neusner (London, 1967), pp. 136-53; idem, "Hellenizations in Josephus' Version of Esther (Apoc. Jud. 11, 185-295)", *JAPh* 101 (1970), pp. 143-76; H. W. Abringer, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquities of Flavius Josephus*, *Harvard Dissertations in Religion* 7 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 47-XX, 159; 267; 17430; *Class. J.* 1, 2, 5-1, 127; II, 106; 257.

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