

YUVAL SHAHAR

Josephus Geographicus

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98

Mohr Siebeck

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Yuval Shahar

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The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus

Mohr Siebeck

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Abbreviations

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| <i>ABSA</i> | <i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> |
| <i>ADAJ</i> | <i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> |
| <i>ANRW</i> | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> |
| <i>CAH</i> | <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> |
| <i>CB</i> | <i>Classical Bulletin</i> |
| <i>CP</i> | <i>Classical Philology</i> |
| <i>CQ</i> | <i>Classical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>FGrH</i> | <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> |
| <i>GGM</i> | <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> |
| <i>GLA</i> | <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> |
| <i>HCP</i> | <i>Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> |
| <i>HCT</i> | <i>Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> |
| <i>IEJ</i> | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> |
| <i>JRS</i> | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> |
| <i>LCL</i> | <i>Loeb Classical Library</i> |
| <i>LIMC</i> | <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> |
| <i>NEAEHL</i> | <i>New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> |
| <i>OCD</i> | <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> |
| <i>RE</i> | <i>Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> |
| <i>RG</i> | <i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i> |
| <i>TAPA</i> | <i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i> |
| <i>TIR</i> | <i>Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea-Palaestina: Maps and Gazeteer</i> |
| <i>ZDPV</i> | <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> |

Introduction

The birth of this book took place in the early stages of the preparation of my doctoral thesis, which was planned as a study of the image of the Land of Israel in the works of Josephus and the way in which he weaves geographical descriptions into his historical work. I assumed that classical studies had summarised the problem of the function of space and the different modes of presenting it in early historiography, and I wanted to place Josephus on the map of the relevant genres. To my surprise, when I first arrived at Oxford in 1991, I found that there was no such textbook in either the Ashmolean or in the Bodleian libraries, and presumably, it had not yet been written. Thus, with great interest, I was forced to research the subject myself and to summarise the principles in the first part of my doctorate, submitted in 1996.

Classical, Hellenistic and Roman geography, as a scientific field, was studied extensively and summarised in wide-ranging works during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In contrast, geography as a literary genre was scarcely discussed until the middle of the twentieth century. In 1957, van Paassen published a book that was intended to answer this need and, indeed, made a not inconsiderable contribution. However, not only did van Paassen's book not exhaust the subject, but, to some extent, even confused the picture, because he entangled the study of the development of geographical knowledge with the methods of expressing this in writing. At any rate, he did not get the response he deserved. Romm (1992) headed the introduction to his book "Geography as a literary tradition," and he and other scholars greatly advanced this aspect of research. Toward the end of the millennium, three new studies expanded and deepened the discussion of geography as part of Hellenistic and Roman historiography, as a result of a "rediscovery" of Strabo: Clarke (1999); Engels (1999) and Dueck (2000). It is against the background of this positive development that this book concentrates on two questions:

- I. *Why* did the historian include a geographical description in his historical work? What narrative or other function is intended for the spatial description?
- II. *How* does the spatial description fulfill its goal? In other words, what are the creative methods with which the historian shapes space and suits it to the historiographic function which the historian intends it to fulfill?

Clarke (1999) laid down a most important conceptual basis, particularly for the first question. This book attempts to expand and develop the discussion about both questions chronologically, from Herodotus up to the second century CE. The book investigates, in detail, a significant and representative number of historiographical passages in which the ancient historian includes a spatial description. There is no attempt to deal with the relationship between the literary description and the place described: in other words, between the linguistic and literary material and field research. Two aspects of the text are at the centre of my research: space and the historical event, as well as the relationship between the two.

An introductory chapter prefaces the historiographical survey. The chapter surveys four concepts which influenced the methods of shaping and comprehending geographical space in Greek writing, even before the “father of history.” Herodotus inherited these elements and adapted them in his work; they continued to influence and serve Greek and Latin historiography, to a greater or lesser extent, throughout the generations.

The four spatial concepts are as follows:

- I. The *oikoumene*, the inhabited world, and its three aspects: the geographical aspect, the political one, and the *oikoumene* as a space of cultural identity.
- II. Homer as the father of geography, especially as reflected by Strabo, who combined the first two spatial concepts: the geographical aspect of the *oikoumene* and the Homeric *oikoumene* as the space of cultural identity of Strabo himself.
- III. Greek geography – but no geography of Greece (up to the 2nd century BCE): In other words, there is a basic difference between descriptions of Greece and descriptions of other countries. The conclusion drawn from the survey is that not only was it the case, in Finley’s words, that “neither then nor at any time in the ancient world was there a nation, a single national territory under one sovereign rule called Greece (or any synonym for Greece),” but that neither one of the parts that constituted Greece, nor any of the historical events which took place there, were shaped into a geographical spatial description. This analysis is of considerable importance both in understanding the characteristics of Herodotus’ *History* and in testing anew the theory of Jacoby which says that Herodotus began as an ethnographer and geographer of the barbarians, only later becoming a political historian of Greece.
- IV. The linear literature – the literature of travel by sea and land.

After the introductory chapter, four chapters are devoted to a comparative study of the place of geographical space and the way it took shape in the important writers of different periods: Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius and Strabo

(Polybius' successor), with selective illustrations from Latin historiography up to the second century CE.

The main conclusions show that Herodotus devotes most of his attention to an inclusive description of geographical space, turning it into an active participant in his human and historical philosophical conception. However, topography and chorography usually do not play a part in his descriptions of military battles. The Thermopylae and Artemision campaigns are an exception which form an important precedent.

Thucydides chooses to move in the opposite direction in this respect. He greatly reduces his general, spatial descriptions, but, in contrast, builds up three-dimensional topographical models of the battlefields he describes.

Polybius synthesises the opposing approaches of these two classical historians: He guides the reader with overall descriptions of the wider regions where the action took place and precedes them with detailed passages on the actual arenas. The topographical details he includes in each introductory passage are those which will be relevant to the battle which he describes next.

In many respects, Strabo is a faithful follower of Polybius, including the aspect under discussion: the part played by geographical space and the way in which it should be described in geographical and historical writing. Polybius and Strabo attached great importance to geographical space from three complementary aspects:

- I. Space is one of the major players in history and has a far-reaching influence on the events and their consequences.
- II. It is important for the historian to know the area where the action took place to be able to describe it correctly.
- III. A clear and exact description of geographical space is an essential condition for the reader to be able to understand the historical narrative.

Julius Caesar follows this generic pattern. Otherwise, early Latin historiography, and especially that exemplified in the works of Livy and Tacitus, is essentially completely opposed to the methods of Polybius and Strabo. Space in Latin historical works is merely a literary element which is intended to provide surprise, dramatic intensity, and so forth. It is hardly necessary to add that this approach is completely free from cramping restrictions, such as truth to geographical reality or attention to topographic exactitude.

Josephus, who produced many descriptions of the Land of Israel, was able to choose between two opposite poles in his approach to geography: either the approach of Polybius and Strabo, or that of Livy and Tacitus. This book attempts to show that, in the aspect under discussion, Josephus consciously and definitively follows Polybius and Strabo. Moreover, in my opinion, it can be shown that

from his very first historical work, the *Jewish War*, Josephus was conducting a hidden dialogue with Strabo. Josephus' descriptions of parts of the Land of Israel are structured in the same way as descriptions in Strabo's *Geography*, and, in this way, serve to criticise and correct several of the statements of Josephus' predecessor.

The term *oikoumene*, that is, the inhabited part of the earth, serves as a leitmotif: All of our historians and authors, as well as we, of course, live in and experience the *oikoumene*, but in-depth analysis shows how different all *oikoumenai* are from each other and how much each is a reflection of its author.

At this point, the title of this book, *Josephus Geographicus*, and the meaning of the subtitle, *the classical context of geography in Josephus*, should be explained.

- I. As already noted, the book is the direct result, but much expanded, of research devoted to the descriptions of the Land of Israel in the works of Flavius Josephus.
- II. Even though, during the writing of this book, I have greatly expanded my research and writing on other authors, in the final analysis, Josephus still plays a central part both in quantity and in detail. The topographical aspect with textual analysis are combined only in the chapters dealing with Josephus. However, more importantly, it is Josephus himself who actually decides the relative place given in the book to the different approaches of the genres. There can be no doubt that, had the book centred on Tacitus or Pomponius Mela, the discussion would have been about a different list of authors and different amounts of space would have been given to the authors who are discussed in this book.
- III. The life story of Josephus moved dramatically between Jerusalem and Rome. Thus, his writings, too, lean toward both the Jewish world and the Hellenistic and Roman cultures. This basic fact has been a leading light to modern research into the methods of historical description which Josephus uses; into the construction of the speeches which he places in the mouths of his heroes; into his historical and philosophical stance on the relations between Judaea and Rome in general and the anti-Roman revolts, in particular; and all that is consequent on this.

As well analysing Josephus' world outlook and his historical works, scholars have recognised his unique contribution to our picture of the face of the Land of Israel at the end of the period of the Second Temple. Furthermore, his descriptions and the topographical and geographical data found in his works have been used for research into this land before his time (e.g., in the time of the First Temple), as well as for reconstructing the face of the country in periods that post-date his

works, (such as the time of the Mishnah and the Talmud). However, in these fields, as opposed to the study of his historical works, Josephus' descriptions have served as mere adjuncts for reconstructing the historical geography of the Land of Israel. Up to now, there has been no published exhaustive and inclusive research on the subject of Eretz Israel (the Land of Israel) in the eyes of Josephus. Josephus the man was born in Jerusalem and lived, for half his life, in Judaea. During this time, he did not write even one book. The second half of his life he lived in Rome. This city was where he wrote all his works, but the geographical space he described was almost exclusively Eretz Israel. This biographical dichotomy is not a coincidence. Josephus' geographical descriptions are a spatial expression of the general tension in which the man existed and which infused his works: the tension between Judaea and Rome. To use a metaphor suited to an author who deals with space, Josephus' "home" was placed on the dividing line between two neighbourhoods: on the one hand, the Hellenistic and Roman genre of which Josephus became a member, and, on the other hand, Jewish Eretz Israel, the historian's childhood home. Only a clear delineation of the outlines of the different classical neighbourhoods and the borders between them (something which, as I have noted, as yet has not been done) will allow us to find the classical neighbourhood next to which Josephus placed himself. This is the meaning and the justification for the subtitle: *the classical context of geography in Josephus*.

To get some idea of the whole living space of Josephus, including the Jewish one (which is not part of the current book), I also wish to glance briefly at his Jewish neighbourhood. This is based upon Jewish spatial traditions of Eretz Israel, which Josephus dovetails into his works, adapting them according to Hellenistic generic demands. These traditions deal both with ארץ ישראל (the Land of Israel) as a whole and its inner tripartite partition into Judaea, עבר הירדן (Trans-Jordan) and Galilee. From a literary point of view, the relevant traditions are of two sorts: *midrashic* and *halakhic*.

Midrash is the Jewish term for the creative channel of hermeneutics. The traditions relevant to our study are mainly those based upon biblical passages about the fruitfulness of the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 8,7-10; 11,9-14) and the *blessing of the patriarch Jacob* to his sons, the eponymous ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel (Dt. 33). Josephus praises the *Galilee* and the Galileans as in the *blessing of Jacob* for the tribe of *Asher* (Dt. 33,24), and its midrashic expression, mainly in *Sifre Deuteronomy* cclv (ed. Finkelstein pp.419-422). Josephus characterises *Judaea* as having the same fruitfulness as the biblical Promised Land (Dt. 8,9 and 11,9-14), expressing this in terms very similar to the midrashic traditions found in *Sifre Deuteronomy* xxxix (ed. Finkelstein pp.77-78). Similarly, Josephus' *Peraea* (the Jewish Trans-Jordan, Hebrew הירדן עבר) blessed by the biblical verses (Dt. 8,7-9) and described in terms similar to the midrashic expansions on this passage in Deuteronomy in the early Aramaic translation of the Bible, the *Targum Yerushalmi*.

The Valley of Gennesar and the lake near by (Sea of Galilee) are also described by Josephus in terms reminiscent of the *blessing of Jacob* for the tribe of *Naphtali* (Dt. 33,23), with its many midrashic expansions in the early Aramaic translations *Onkelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*; in the *Tosefta* and the Jerusalem Talmud; in the Palestinian Midrashim: *Sifre Deuteronomy* ccclv (ed. Finkelstein p.419); and *Genesis Rabba* xcvi-ixc (eds. Theodor-Albeck pp.1267, 1283).

Halakhah is the term used to denote Jewish Law, based upon the written Law of the *Torah* (Pentateuch), interpreted and adjusted according to changing circumstances. The *halakhic* traditions relevant to our study are those related to the spatial aspects of the special agricultural laws dependent on residence in Eretz Israel, known as *mitzvot ha-teluyot ba-aretz*. To instruct Jews where and how to implement these laws, it was essential to define the Jewish conception of the borders of Eretz Israel and its various Jewish parts. Thus, the *halakhic* spatial traditions of Eretz Israel can be described as *halakhic geography*.

Josephus draws his general description of Judaea at the time of the Revolt *BJ* 3.3.3-5(35-58), according to the *halakhic* tradition of the tripartite division of Eretz Israel, and especially similar to the detailed division of the land for removing the crops of the seventh, sabbatical year (Hebrew *Bi'ur Shevi'it: Mishnah*, Shevi'it ix,2; *Tos. ib.* vii, 10-11; *JT ib.* ix, 38d).

The northern borders of the tribal territories of *Asher* and *Naphtali* are drawn by Josephus (*AJ* v 85-86) from Ecdippus (Achziv) to Paneas, unlike the relevant biblical borders in the book of Joshua (xix), but identical with the northern *halakhic* border of Eretz Israel in the Mishnah. Josephus also includes Ashkelon in the tribal territory of Judah, but leaves Gaza outside, (*AJ* v 128) which once again corresponds to the usual *halakhic* view in the period of the Mishnah, rather than the relevant biblical narrative (*Jud.* i, 18).

I am, of course, well aware of the keen scholarly disputes about the validity of using Talmudic literature as a historical source, in general, and as a source for the Second Temple period, in particular. This is not the place to enter this debate. There is, however, a large and sufficient body of evidence that many of these Jewish texts, both from the field of Midrash and from Halakhah which reflect Jewish laws and traditions from before the destruction of the Second Temple, as well as after it.

From here we shall return to our classical travel plan, studying and surveying some of the main phases of *the classical context of geography* in ancient historiography. We shall end our tour by setting *Josephus Geographicus* against this context.

It has been found convenient here, in most cases (except where indicated otherwise), to cite from the relevant editions of the *Loeb Classical Library*, which sometimes have been adapted as necessary.

Chapter 1

Early Spatial Concepts in the Classical Historians: The Oikoumene; Homeric Geography; Greek Geography Without the Geography of Greece; Linear Geography

The Greeks, particularly the Ionians, were preoccupied with the idea of space. Beginning in the 6th century BCE, at least, they began to study it intensively, expressing it in verse in a number of different ways. For the purposes of this current study, this field can be divided into two:

- I. The concept of the world as a whole, especially the *oikoumene*: the inhabited part of the world, its borders and internal divisions.
- II. Regional descriptions of various peoples.

Both these topics come to the fore in the geographical and spatial interpretations of the *Homeric epic* and in the important cycles of wanderings associated with Odysseus, Menelaus and Jason. These creative channels, and especially the division of the Homeric epic into the Iliad on the one hand and the Odyssey on the other, gave a textual base for those interpretations which distinguished between barbarian living space and that of the Greeks. This distinction accentuated the difference between *barbarike* and *Hellenike*, particularly from the aspect with which we are dealing, namely, the spatial aspect. For space – real physical geography – is an essential part of any Greek description of a barbarian people and their region, but Greek descriptions of Greece, in whole or in part, are totally lacking in physical geography.

The cycles of wanderings mentioned above, as well as the voyages and journeys of the explorers, were conceived as taking place along a linear course and developed as a separate genre of *linear geography*.

It is not by chance that this preliminary chapter deals with precisely these four topics. As argued below in the discussion of Herodotus, the “Father of History,” inherited these four fields of thought and writing from his predecessors; they served him as raw materials, upon which he improved and combined into a new and original creation. Moreover, these same topics continued to influence Greek and Latin historiography to a greater or lesser extent throughout the generations; thus, they are discussed throughout this book.

These four topics are not considered here as independent issues for their own sake, but simply as a preparatory survey of their place in classical historiography, as presented by the authors discussed in the following chapters. In other words, real and imaginary geography in the Homeric epic and the vast amount of research into this in modern times are beyond the scope of our present study; here we are seeking to learn how this influenced the *Histories* of Herodotus or the *Geography* of Strabo, among other works. The same is true for the other three topics.

The Oikoumene

This term denotes the inhabited world as an object for research and description. As such, it is a part of a greater whole – the whole earth, including the mass of uninhabited parts.

This definition would seem to be clear enough, restricting as it does the relevant fields to which the term *oikoumene* should belong. But the *oikoumene* is not merely the space for human living and activity: It is also conditioned by astronomical and climatic factors. This term is, therefore, pivotal to a number of different branches of classical literature which differ significantly in their aims, methods of research and the literary genres which characterise them. Thus, mathematical geography studies the relationship between the heavenly bodies, the earth and the *oikoumene* (and, at least in theory, can ignore the human factor altogether). Anthropology deals with the interrelations between the natural conditions, *physis*, and the qualities and *nomoi* of peoples. Medical writings focus on the influence of the climate on human physiognomy and the health of the different various peoples throughout the *oikoumene*, and so forth. However, it is important to note that in spite of the fact that these fields took on different forms and even developed into characteristic genres, the borders between them were quite vague and easily separable, at least up to the second century CE.¹ This is particularly relevant for the classical historian, who generally tells about human beings, usually as a collective – a tribe or a people – settled in their own place and characterised by its qualities. Frequently the historical narrative compares peoples or even actually brings them together. Such a natural

¹ “Our detailed study will illustrate quite how closely intertwined are the separate disciplines, as they became later, of philosophy, medicine and the enquiry into nature (i.e., of the *physiologoi*) . . . The interaction of ideas, as well as the rivalry between incipient disciplines (or *technai*) may do something to illuminate the kind of pre-disciplinary world in which Herodotus wrote,” R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000, p.137.

connection between humans, their place and their activity explains why many of the classical historians interweave mathematical, geographical, sociological and historical elements in a manner that might be considered indiscriminate from the disciplinary point of view.²

Inasmuch as there are many studies devoted to the various aspects of the classical oikoumene,³ it is enough, for our purpose, to distinguish among the three aspects of this term which will come into play throughout this book.

The geographical aspect – Most of the spatial meanings of the term oikoumene had already been formed and the relevant issues and disputes defined by the 6th century BCE – in other words, before the first historian, Herodotus, was born.⁴ The oikoumene is the inhabited part of the earth, encircled by Oceanus (= the ocean). Extreme climatic conditions prevail at the edges of the oikoumene, which are responsible for unusual mineral, botanical, zoological and human phenomena. There is a correlation between the cold and wet conditions in the northern edge and the characteristics of the Scythians, the people who dwell there. The same holds true for the opposite picture at the extreme southern edge: There is a correlation between the hot and dry conditions and the characteristics of the Ethiopians there. The Indians denote the eastern edge, and the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) are the most westerly point, the boundary between the oikoumene and Oceanus which encircles it. In contrast to the extreme conditions at the edges, the centre of the oikoumene has a mild climate and conditions. The Hellenic space – mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and the western shores of Asia Minor, especially Ionia - are typically part of this centre.

There were many disputes over issues such as the spatial relationship between the *oikoumene* and the whole earth: the size of the *oikoumene*, its shape and the proportion of length to breadth. Are the most remote peoples actually located on the shores of the Oceanus, or are those regions uninhabited? What is the real relationship between natural conditions and the human being (the question now entitled “deterministic geography”)? There was also some debate about the subdivision of the *oikoumene*: the criteria of subdivisions, in general,

² See the discussion by K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History, Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1999, esp. 59-65.

³ F. Gisinger, “Oikoumene,” *RE* (17), 1123-1174.

⁴ There is neither need nor space to note the vast bibliography on these topics, so I refer only to Thomas (2000), who convincingly sums up previous work. Thomas analyses the intellectual world of Ionia, as shaped during the 6th century BCE and its continuing development in the 5th century BCE, as the cultural context of Herodotus. For our purposes, the most important parts are Ch.2: “Medicine and the ethnography of health”; Ch. 3: “Dividing the world: Europe, Asia, Greeks and barbarians”; Ch.4: “*Nomos* is king: *Nomos*, environment and ethnic character in Herodotus”; and Ch.5: “Wonders and the natural world: natural philosophy and *historie*.”

and especially of continents. Should a bipartite partition into Asia and Europe be preferred to a tripartite division into Asia, Europe and Libya? What are the borders between the continents?

All these questions, and all the agreed or disputed answers which had been given over the generations up to the second century CE make up the geographical and ethnographical concept of the term *oikoumene*. This aspect will be discussed in the chapters devoted to Herodotus, Polybius and, of course, to the *Geography* of Strabo.

The political aspect – The *oikoumene* is the whole human space where all the various different peoples live. Thus, it is possible to assess the power of empires via those parts of the *oikoumene* which are under their control. Therefore, the might of the Persian Empire, as well as its attempts to conquer Scythia and the Hellenic regions lead to a feeling that there is a spatial identity between a huge part of the *oikoumene* (Asia) and a political power (Persia). Herodotus ascribed this feeling to the Persians themselves (I 4.4; ix 116.3).

Nevertheless, the clearest and most unmistakable expression of the *oikoumene* as a political concept was a result of the swift and exceptional spread of the Roman Empire during the second century BCE. As is well known, Polybius devoted his work to the search for the causes, circumstances and processes which brought almost all of the *oikoumene* under Roman rule in less than 53 years. From here on, the term *oikoumene* serves as an equivalent to the space ruled by the Romans – the Imperium Romanorum. The political aspect of the *oikoumene* will be discussed in the chapters about Polybius, the Latin historians, Strabo and Josephus.

The oikoumene as a space of cultural identity – The linkage between the location of a people in the physical *oikoumene*, the natural conditions which prevail there, and the physical and mental qualities of the people itself implies a qualitative and moral dimension. From the time of the Homeric epic and Hesiod, and, later, in the creative thought of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, this potential comes to be realised in two contradictory directions. The first view holds that the best, wisest and most just peoples are located at the edges of the *oikoumene*. Usually, however, the opposite view is more prominent: The remotest peoples are also the most savage and behave in ways contrary to the highest human culture. On the other hand, in this view the peoples who dwell in the centre of the *oikoumene* and benefit from its mild conditions, especially the Greeks, lead human culture to its highest achievements.⁵ One of the criteria for classifying the quality of a particular

⁵ A.O.Lovejoy, G.Boaz, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1935; reprint New York 1965); J.S.Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought, Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton 1992), esp. 47-81.

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