LEVITICAL HIGH PRIESTHOOD

IN

THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS

by

Fr. Peter Kumle, C.P.

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Josephus belatedly recognized the help he received in writing *The Jewish War*, when he wrote his *Against Apion* some twenty five years later. On this page, I would like to recognize promptly and sincerely all those who have helped me to complete this work.

This thesis owes its inspiration and completion in great measure to Fr. Quention Quesnell S.J., who served as my advisor. His never failing encouragement was a rock of strength. I also wish to thank the two readers, Dr. Barr and Fr. Caldwell for their kindly and positive criticism.

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\[1\text{Against Apion I, 50.}\]
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an effort to show what Josephus wrote concerning the Levitical high priesthood and to present this material in a way which throws light on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The thesis does not propose to show any direct or even indirect connection between the epistle and Josephus. It merely strives to present the thought of Josephus in the words of Josephus. The ambition of this thesis is to help scholars by bringing together in one place the contribution of Josephus on the Levitical high priesthood.

The method I followed was this: First, I researched the works of Josephus for pertinent texts. These texts will be found in Appendix A.

My second step was to establish an objective list of texts from the Epistle to the Hebrews, which presents the basic teaching of the epistle on Levitical high priesthood. Since C. Spicq¹ and C. Shrenk² explicitly treated of the teaching of the epistle on Levitical high priesthood, I used lists drawn from them as a basis of my own research of the epistle. Since the list of C Spicq was drawn up for a specific, limited purpose of contrast, I found his list too limited. C. Shrenk's treatment introduced more of the positive elements from the epistle. I added still

other texts that seemed to be necessary to give a rounded picture of the teaching of the epistle concerning the Levitical high priesthood. These lists are presented in Appendix B.

As a third step, I then tried to arrange the material of Josephus in such a way that it serves as a commentary on the teaching of the epistle. The material seemed to naturally fall into the four divisions, which I have made into chapters.

1. THE APPOINTMENT AND CONFIRMATION OF AARON AS HIGH PRIEST.

2. THE PURITY AND HOLINESS REQUIRED OF THE HIGH PRIEST.

3. THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY THE HIGH PRIEST.

4. THE HIGH PRIESTS FROM ELEAZAR TO PHANASUS.

Appendix C contains Josephus' treatment of Melchizedek. I thought it would be of interest to every scholar of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
CHAPTER ONE

THE APPOINTMENT AND CONFIRMINATION OF AARON AS HIGH PRIEST

καὶ οὐκ ἦν τὸς τῆς λαμβάνει τὴν
τιμὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλευες μετὰ τοῦ
Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὁ Θεός καὶ Ἀαρέως

(No one takes this honor on himself, but each one is called by God as Aaron was.)
Heb 5:4

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My family is no ignoble one, tracing its descent far back to priestly ancestors. Different races base their claim to nobility on various grounds; with us a connection with the priesthood is the hallmark of an illustrious line. 3

These opening words of the autobiographical Life of Josephus, reveal to us how highly Josephus thought of the priestly dignity.

1 Greek quotations from Epistle to the Hebrews are taken from Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine, ed. Augustinus Merk, S. J. (Rome, 1964.)

2 English quotations from Scripture are taken from The Jerusalem Bible (New York, 1966). Abbreviations for books of the Bible are also taken from pp. x-xi of The Jerusalem Bible. The rendition and spelling of Biblical names is also based on this work.

3 Flavius Josephus, Life of Josephus (hereafter to be identified as Life) I. The arabic numerals refer to the numbers used in the Loeb Josephus. English translations of Josephus are taken from Josephus (The Loeb Classical Library, London 1925-1965) eds. H. St. J. Thackeray, Ralph Marcus, Allen Wikgren and Louis H. Feldman. Vol. 9. This work is also used for the Greek text of Josephus.
In the opening lines of *The Jewish War*, he proudly claims priestly ancestry.\(^1\)

In his *Against Apion*, Josephus has this encomium of priests:

> Could there be a finer or more equitable polity than on which sets God at the head of the universe, which assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the whole body of priests and entrusts to the supreme high priest the direction of the other priests?\(^2\)

Josephus constantly uses the term ת"מ"פ for the high priestly dignity.\(^3\) This word occurs again and again in the account Josephus gives of the appointment of Aaron to be high priest and in the vivid account of Aaron's confirmation in office by God.\(^4\)

Before his appointment as high priest, Aaron plays a very minor role in the account of Josephus. Although Josephus claims to be neither adding nor omitting anything from the Hebrew records,\(^5\) he does skip the two unfavorable incidents that Aaron is connected with. There is no molding of the golden calf recorded.\(^6\) The incident of the murmuring of Aaron and Miriam\(^7\) is also passed over in silence.

\(^{1}\)Ibid. *The Jewish War* (hereafter to be identified as War) I, 3. The Roman numerals refer to the number of the Book.

\(^{2}\)Ibid. *Against Apion*, (hereafter to be identified as Apion.) II, 165.

\(^{3}\)Ibid. *Jewish Antiquities*, (hereafter to be identified as Ant. in the notes and as Antiquities in the text.) X, 152; XI, 297; XIII, 300; XIV, 490; XIII, 43.

\(^{4}\)Ant. III, 188ff.; IV, 24ff. \(^{5}\)Ant. I, 17; X, 218.

\(^{6}\)Ex 32; Dt 9:20. \(^{7}\)Nu 12:1ff.
But on the other hand, Josephus also omits items which favor Aaron. Aaron is not spoken of as the mouthpiece of Moses.\(^1\) In the account of Josephus, Moses does not plead that he is slow tongued and in need of a spokesman.\(^2\) The "staff of Aaron" is not mentioned as in certain biblical accounts.\(^3\)

Josephus does mention Aaron as one of those holding up the hands of Moses in the victory over the Amalekites,\(^4\) and we read that "Aaron with his company joined by Raguel, chanted hymns to God as the author and dispenser of their salvation and liberty."\(^5\)

But Aaron is only introduced in a prominent way in the Antiquities after Moses has everything ready for the sacrifice at Sinai. The preparation of the tabernacle and even the high priestly vestments is the work of Moses.\(^6\)

Then, when all is ready, Aaron is appointed by God to be high priest. Josephus brings this out in a more dramatic fashion than the accounts given in Leviticus and Exodus.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Ex 4:14-16. \(^2\) Ex 4:10-14.
\(^3\) Ex 7:9-10; 12; 8:5-16.
\(^5\) Ant. III, 64, cf. Ex 18:14, where they share meal.
\(^7\) Ex 28:1; Lv 8:1.
Now when the work of which I have spoken was complete, but the offerings had not yet been consecrated, God appeared to Moses and charged him to confer the priesthood upon Aaron, his brother, as the man whose virtues rendered him more deserving than all to obtain this dignity. ¹

The speech that Josephus puts into the mouth of Moses strikes us as strange, ² but it does underline that Aaron is being appointed by God.

So, convening the people in assembly, he Moses recounted his own merits, his benevolence and the perils which he had sustained on their behalf. And when they attested that all his words were true and displayed their devotion to him, "Men of Israel," said he, "the work has now reached its end, as was best pleasing to God himself and as we had power to accomplish it; but since it behoves us to receive Him into the tabernacle, we need first of all one to discharge the office of priest and minister for the sacrifices and for the intercessions on our behalf. For my part, had the weighing of this matter been entrusted to me, I should have adjudged myself worthy of the dignity, alike from that self-love that is innate in all, as also because I am conscious of having laboured abundantly for your salvation. But now God himself has judged Aaron worthy of this honour and has chosen him to be priest, knowing him to be the most deserving among us. So it is he who will don the vestments consecrated to God, have charge of the altars, attend to the sacrifices, and offer the prayers on our behalf to God, who will gladly hear them, both from the care that He has for our race and because, coming from the man of His own choosing, He cannot but accept them." ³

¹Ant. III, 189-190.


³Ant. III, 190-192.
Josephus records that:

The Hebrews were pleased with this speech and acquiesced in the divine election; for Aaron, by reason of his birth, his prophetic gift (and his brother's virtues, was more highly qualified than all for the dignity.

As the book of Numbers records, the people did not acquiesce for long. Korah, Dathan and Abiram lead a revolt against Moses for appointing his brother as high priest. The account of Josephus is even more vivid than the biblical account.

Josephus makes explicit the thought implied in Numbers. He shows Korah as leading the revolt and sedition to gain the honor of the high priesthood himself. Korah is made to say:

"What reason, pray, could Moses give for having conferred the priesthood upon Aaron and his sons? If God has decided to award this honour to one of the tribe of Levi, I have more right to receive it, being by birth on a level with Moses, in wealth and years his superior."

Again, making dramatic what is implied in the Numbers account, Josephus pictures Korah's confederates as winning over the people to rebellion. In fact Josephus pictures the crowds as wanting to stone Moses. They gather before the tabernacle and shout: "Away with the tyrant and let the

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1Ant. III, 192.
3Ant. IV, 19.
people be rid of their bondage to one who in the pretended name of God, imposes his despotic orders. 1

Josephus continues his dramatization of the event by having Moses turn and without addressing the multitude, shout with all his might at Korah:

"To my mind, Korah, not thou alone but each of these men" - indicating the two hundred and fifty - "appears worthy of promotion; nay, this whole concourse I would not deprive of like honour even though they lack what ye derive from wealth and other distinctions. And now, if Aaron has been presented with the priesthood, it is not because he was pre-eminent in wealth, for thou surpassest even the twain of us in magnitude of possessions; nor yet for nobility of birth, for God has made us equal in this respect by giving us the same forerather; nor was it from fraternal love that I conferred an honour which justly another should have had, upon my brother. For even had I disregarded God and the laws in giving away this dignity, 2 I should never have passed over myself and bestowed it upon another, seeing that I am a nearer kinsman to myself than is my brother and more closely attached to my person than to his. Nay it would not even have been to expose myself to the risks of an unlawful act only to present to another the resultant benefits. No; I on my side an above malpractices, while God would not have brooked such outrage to Himself nor left you ignorant what ye should do to win His favour. But since He himself has chosen him that is to serve as His priest, He has freed us from all responsibility in this regard." 3

Then Josephus has Aaron surrender his right and enter into competition with all the others. As Josephus puts it through the mouth of Moses:

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1 Ibid. 23.
2 τρωπός is used also in Ant. IV, 19, 20, 23, 31, 58, 66
3 Ant. IV, 25-28
"God then, it is who shall decide anew, whom He would have to offer Him the sacrifices on your behalf and to preside over the rites of worship; for it were monstrous the Korah, in coveting this honour should deprive God of the power of deciding to whom He would accord it."

On the following day, Moses and Aaron are justified as first Abiram and Dathan and their faction are destroyed near their tents, and Korah and his two hundred and fifty confederates are destroyed in the contest of the censers. Josephus expands the account given in Numbers. He makes explicit what is implicit and adds a long speech by Moses, as a development of the speech Moses gives in Exodus. The conclusion of these events is that:

Aaron being no longer believed to owe his highpriesthood to the favour of Moses, but the judgement of God, thus clearly manifested, had now along with his sons, the assured enjoyment of this dignity.

Josephus then briefly relates the story of the budding rods as it appears in Numbers. But omits the incident of the plague, during which Aaron intercedes to save the people. When Moses produces the rods, and the people see that Aaron's

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1Ibid. 29-32. 2Nb16; Ant. IV, 29-31; 51-57.
3Ant. IV, 40-50. 4Nb 16:28-30.
5Ant. IV, 58 6Nb 17.
7Nb 16:41-50.
rod had budded and even held ripe fruit, the people are finally convinced and allow:

Aaron to hold the priesthood with honour.
So he, having thrice been elected by God, was now firmly established in his office and the sedition of the Hebrews, so long rampant, was thus terminated.

("of the same order as Aaron"...by virtue of a law about physical descent...) Heb 7:11,16.

Josephus is insistent on the point that the high priests are all from the stock of Aaron.

It is said that Aaron the brother of Moses was the first to act as high priest to God, that after his death his sons at once succeeded him, and that thereafter the office remained permanently with all their descendants. Wherefore it is also a tradition that none should hold God's high priesthood save him who is of Aaron's blood, and that no one of another lineage, even if he happened to be a king, should attain to the high priesthood.

As we will see in more detail in Chapter four, Josephus is careful to trace the high priesthood from Aaron through Eleazar and Ithamar down to Solomon's reign. And "then the posterity of Eleazar reasserted it."3

Josephus records that Josiah restored the purity of the priestly families in his reform. Josiah:

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1Ant. IV, 66.  2Ant. XX, 225-227.
3Ant. V, 362; I Ch 6:4f; I K 2:27,35.
ordered the high priest to cast out any vessels that were left of those that had been set up in the temple by their forefathers to the idols and strange gods...he also killed the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.  

Josephus is careful to note that Alcimus, who replaces the deposed Onias Menelaus under Antiochus and his general Lysias, was of Aaron's line, if not of the same family as Onias.  

Even the obscure Ananel, whom Herod calls from Babylon to be high priest is said to have the necessary pedigree, and the very last high priest whom Josephus mentions, the one he calls a "clown", is still said to have been drawn from one of the high priestly clans called Enias.  

Jeroboam is condemned in the text of Josephus as in the text of the Bible for appointing priests from ordinary families. Josephus has Jeroboam say:

"I shall appoint for you priests and Levites from your own number, in order that you may have not need of the tribe of Levi and the sons of Aaron, but let him among you who wishes to be a priest, offer up to God a calf and a ram as Aaron, the first priest, is said to have done."  

Then Josephus editorializes:

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1 Ant. X, 65 cf. 2 K 23:4-5.  
2 Ant. XII, 387 says he was not of the family of high priests, but Ant. XX, 235 tells us he was of Aaron's line. cf. I M 7:14.  
3 Ant. XV, 40.  
4 War IV, 155.  
5 I K 12:31.  
6 Ant. VIII, 228.
By these words he misled the people and caused them to abandon the worship of their fathers and transgress the laws. This was the beginning of the Hebrews misfortunes and led to their being defeated in war by other races and to their falling captive.  

Josephus tells us that at the festival in the seventh month, Jeroboam made himself high priest and went up to the altar with his own priests. Then Josephus tells the story of the prophet Jacon, just as it is in I Kings, with the prophecy concerning Josiah's destroying false priests and the withering and cure of the hand of Jeroboam as a sign.  

Following I Kings 13:33-34, Josephus sees the punishments that come upon Jeroboam and his family as divine chastisement because:

He did not cease nor desist from outraging God, but all the time continued to erect altars on the high mountains and to appoint priests from among the common people.  

Perhaps the best proof of all that Josephus thought descent from Aaron as essential for the high priest is his effort to trace the high priesthood back to Aaron in the Anticuities.  

In Antion, he uses the care the Jews took in keeping their priestly records as proof of the dependability of Jewish history. In his proof he says:

1Tbid. 228-229.  
3Ant. VIII, 265.
Our ancestors... took precautions to ensure that the priests' lineage should be kept un-adulterated and pure. A member of the priestly order must, to beget a family, marry a woman of his own race, without regard to her wealth or other distinctions; but he must investigate her pedigree, obtaining the genealogy from the archives and producing a number of witnesses...

...But the most convincing proof of our accuracy in this matter is that our records contain the names of our high priests, with the succession from father to son for the last two thousand years.  

1 Anion, I, 30-36.
CHAPTER TWO

THE PURITY AND HOLINESS REQUIRED OF THE HIGH PRIEST

(To suit us, the ideal high priest would have to be holy, innocent, and uncontaminated, beyond the influence of sinners and raised up above the heavens.) Heb 7:26

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A study of the Greek word for "purity" and its corresponding verbs in the writings of Josephus show us the role that "purification" and "purity" play in his thought, which is merely a reflection of the thought of Exodus and Leviticus.

Purity is necessary to draw near to God. God cannot abide in a place unless it is pure. Purity is therefore a necessary disposition for sacrifice. The place must be purified, be "holy" and the persons taking part, especially the priests and high priest must be pure.

In this chapter, we will study this idea reflected first of all in Josephus' treatment of the construction and purification of the tabernacle of Moses and of the temple in

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1Word studies based on Thackeray and Marcus, A Greek Lexicon to Josechus, (Paris, 1930) Part i, p. 4ff. are at the end of this chapter. Also included are studies of the words and .
Jerusalem. Secondly we will consider Josephus' treatment or the purification and consecration of levites, priests and high priests, especially Aaron and his sons. Since the treatment of the vestments of the high priest brings out the same idea, we will consider this briefly and lastly show how Josephus treats of the laws of purity for high priests and the holiness of life he expects from them.

1) Construction and Purification of the Tabernacle and Temple.

Josephus in his introduction of the War says that he will speak of:

the plan of the temple and sanctuary, the measurements of these buildings and of the altar being all precisely stated; certain festival customs, the seven degrees of purity, the ministerial functions of the priests, their vestments and those of the high priest, with a description of the Holy of Holies.

In the fifth book of the War, he describes the zones of purity as follows:

Persons afflicted with gonorrhea or leprosy were excluded from the city altogether; the temple was closed to women during their menstruation and even when free from impurity; they were not permitted to pass the boundary which we have mentioned above. Men not thoroughly clean were debarred from admission to the inner court, from which even priests were excluded when undergoing purification.

1 Eph. 6:17. 
2War 1. 26. 
3War V, 199.
All those who were of priestly lineage but were prevented from officiating by some physical defect, were admitted within the parapet, along with those free from any imperfection...none but the officiating priest was clad in the holy vestments. The priests who were without blemish went up to the altar and the sanctuary clothed in fine linen, scrupulously abstaining from strong drink...

The high priest...peneated to the innermost sanctuary; this he entered alone once in the year, on the day on which it was the universal custom to keep fast to God.

We can see from this that Josephus shows the temple is constructed according to zones of purity. As regards the tabernacle in the desert, Josephus closely follows the details given in Exodus 27 and 36. Here again the implied idea is one of zones of increasing holiness. The innermost part of the tabernacle was inaccessible to the priests. This was "like heaven devoted to God, while in the twenty cubits' space even as earth and sea are accessible to men, was in like manner assigned to the priests alone."

The holiness or purity of the tabernacle of Moses and of successive temples at Jerusalem was brought about by the proper purificatory rites and sacrifices. The verb is used in the writings of Josephus for Jacob purifying his tents before performing sacrifices, for the Hebrews purifying their houses with the blood of the passover lamb, "using bunches of hyssop to sprinkle it" for sanctifying

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2Ant. III, 123.
3Ibid.
4Ant. I, 341.
5Ant. II, 312.
the tabernacle and the priests at Sinai,\(^1\) for purifying the tribe of Levi to serve the tabernacle,\(^2\) for sanctifying the temple at the time of Manasseh,\(^3\) for the necessary purification before entering the temple,\(^4\) for the purification of the temple by Judas Maccabaeus,\(^5\) and for the purification of the high priestly vestments before days.\(^6\)

Josephus faithfully records the biblical account of the purification of the original tabernacle by Moses,\(^7\) and of the temple of Solomon.\(^8\)

They lifted up the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had set up, and all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God, and carried them into the temple. And before it went the king himself and all the people and the Levites, with sacrifices, drenching the ground with libations and the blood of numerous victims and burning so vast a quantity of incense that all the air around was filled with it and carried its sweetness to those who were at a great distance; this was a sign of God's being present and dwelling, according to human belief, in the place which had been newly built and consecrated to Him.\(^9\)

Josephus had described the manifestation of God's presence after the consecration of the tabernacle in these words:

\(^1\) Ant. III, 197, cf. Ant. III, 199-to sanctify the oil.
\(^2\) Ant. Ibid. 256  \(^3\) Ant. X, 42.
\(^4\) Ant. XII, 145.  \(^5\) Ant. XII, 318.
\(^6\) Ant. XVIII, 94.
\(^8\) Ant. VIII, 101, cf. 1 Kgs. 8:4-9.
\(^9\) Ibid. 101-102.
Then did God manifest that He was well pleased with the work of the Hebrews and far from rendering their labor vain by disdaining to make use of it. He came as their guest and took up His abode in this sanctuary. And it was in this wise that He made His entry. While the heaven was serene, over the tabernacle alone darkness descended, enveloping it in a cloud not so profound and dense as might be attributed to winter storm, nor yet so tenacious that the eye could perceive a thing through it; but a delicious dew was distilled therefrom, revealing God's presence to those who both desired it and believed in it.¹

The need for the priests, esp. the high priest, and for those who serve the altar, i.e. the Levites to be purified is reflected in Josephus' treatment of their inauguration and consecration to their office.

2) Inauguration of Aaron, His Sons and Levites.

Josephus stays very close to the accounts of Exodus and Leviticus in his account. First, he has Moses purify the tabernacle and the priests by anointing with precious ointment.² Next, Moses sacrifices "a bull, a ram and a kid as atonement for sins."³

Then with the blood of the victims, he sprinkled Aaron's vestments and Aaron himself, together with his sons, purging them with water from the spring and with sweet oil in order to devote them to God. So for seven days he continued this process, purifying both them and their vestments, as

³Ant. III, 204. In Ex 29:1 and Lv 8:2 we read of a bull and two rams and no goat.
also the tabernacle and its vessels, both with oil...and with the blood of bulls and goats, of which they slaughtered every day one of each sort.

This idea of the purity needed to draw near to God is brought out by Josephus' working the account from Numbers of the special consecration of the Levites into this section.

Now Moses, having segregated the tribe of Levi from the general community, to make of it a holy tribe, purified it with the waters of perennial springs and with the sacrifices which on such occasions they offer to God as by law ordained: and to them he committed the tabernacle and the sacred vessels and everything that had been made for the covering of the tabernacle, to the end that they should act as ministers under the direction of the priests. For they had already been consecrated to God.

Josephus brings out the purification and consecration necessary to enter the sanctuary in the stories of Uzziah, Pompey and Herod.

Uzziah is condemned in the writings of Josephus in words that closely parallel 2 Chronicles 26:16-21 and makes it even more vivid:

He Uzziah was corrupted in mind through pride and, being filled with vanity on account of his mortal prosperity, he became contemptuous of the power that is immortal and endures for all time, that is, piety toward God and observance of the laws. And so,

1Ant. III, 205-206. cf. Ex 29 and Lv 8. In Ex. 29:20 we read of putting blood on the lobe of Aaron's right ear, on the lobes of his son's right ears, the thumbs of their right hands, and of the right feet of their big toes.

because of his successes, he slipped and became involved in the same sins as those of his father... Thus, on the occasion of a notable day which was a public festival, he put on the priestly garment and entered the sacred precinct to offer sacrifice to God on the golden altar. And when the priest Azarias, with whom there were eighty priests, tried to prevent him— for they said it was not lawful for any one to offer sacrifice, but to do so was allowed only to those of the line of Aaron—and they all clamoured for him to go out and not transgress against God. He became angry and threatened them with death if they did not hold their peace. But while he spoke, a great tremor shook the earth, and, as the temple was riven, a brilliant shaft of sunlight gleamed through it and fell upon the king's face so that leprosy at once smote him... When the priests saw the king's face smitten with leprosy, they explained to him the cause of his misfortune and told him to go out of the city as an unclean person. And so in his shame at the terrible thing that had happened to him and because he no longer had the right to speak out, he did as he was told; so miserable and pitiable a penalty did he pay for thinking to reach a station higher than man's and for the impieties toward God which were caused thereby.

Of Pompey and the others who were with him seeing what it is proper for only the priest to see, Josephus writes:

Of all the calamities of that time, none so deeply affected the nation as the exposure to alien eyes of the Holy Place hitherto screened from view. Pompey, indeed, entered along with his staff to the sanctuary, entry

1 2 Ch. 26:16: "He entered the great hall of the Temple of Yahweh to burn incense on the altar of incense."

2 2 Ch. 19: "Uzziah, censer in hand for the burning of incense, flew into a rage."

3 Ant. IX, 22-226.

4 Ant. XIV, 73.
to which was permitted to none but the high priest... However, he touched none of the sacred treasures.

King Herod is praised in the War!

Herod's next task was to gain the mastery over his foreign allies; for this crowd of aliens rushed to see the Temple and the holy contents of the sanctuary. The king expostulated, threatened, sometimes even had recourse to weapons to deep them back, deeming victory more grievous than defeat, if these people should set eyes on any objects not open to public view.

Herod, when he reconstructed the temple of Jerusalem at his own expense, kept the divisions of the temple into areas of holiness.

Josephus describes it in detail. To take one section:

Such then was the first court. Within it and not far distant was a second one... accessible by a few steps and surrounded by a stone balustrade with an inscription prohibiting the entrance of a foreigner under the threat of the penalty of death... and on the side where the sun rises it had one great gateway, through which those of us who were ritually clean used to pass with our wives. Within this court was the sacred (court) which women were forbidden to enter and still farther within was a third court into which only priests were permitted to go. In this was the temple, and before it was an altar, on which we used to sacrifice whole burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these courts did King Herod enter since he was not a priest and was therefore prevented from so doing.¹

¹War I, 152-153.
²War I, 354-5.
³Ant. XV, 380-425.
⁴Ibid. 417-420.
One other incident brings out the idea of Josephus concerning the purity necessary for the presence of God. When Onias wrote to Ptolemy and Cleopatra for permission to build a temple to God in a castle in a place called Diana, King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra reply that while granting his permission because he quoted the prophecy of Isaiah, they wondered that it would be pleasing to God to have a temple in a place so unclean and so unholy.¹

3) Description of the High Priestly Vestments.

Josephus tells us that "these robes were not worn by the high priest in general, when he assumed plainer attire, but only when he penetrated to the innermost sanctuary."²

In Apion, Josephus describes the divisions of the temple according to degrees of purity thus:

All who ever saw our temple are aware of the general design of the building, and the inviolable barriers which preserved its sanctity. It had four surrounding courts, each with its special statutory restriction. The outer court was open to all, foreigners included; women during their impurity were alone refused admission. To the second court all Jews were admitted and when uncontaminated by any defilement, their wives; to the third male Jews, if clean and purified; to the fourth the priests robed in their priestly vestments. The sanctuary was entered only by the high priests, clad in the raiment peculiar to themselves.³

Being "invested with the priestly robes" was a special

¹Ant. XIII, 70.
²War V, 236.
³Apion II, 103-104.
sign of dedication. As we will see, this is the reason given by Moses in Josephus' Antiquities why Aaron must put the homage to God above any sorrowing over the loss of his sons.¹

The description of the high priestly vestments given by Josephus is fundamentally in agreement with that of Exodus 28 but he is more detailed especially as regards the headgear or special cap of the high priest. He gives a lengthy description of this in the Antiquities.² He sums it up more briefly in the War:

His head was covered by a tiara of fine linen, wreathed with blue, encircling which was another crown of gold, whereon were embossed the sacred letters, to wit, four vowels.³

When Josephus describes the making of vestments for the temple of Solomon, he tells us that although thousands of other vestments were made, "the crown on which Moses had inscribed God's Name was unique and has remained to this day."⁴

A little of the tone of Sirach 45 can be felt as we read the description of the vestments of the high priest and their explanation in both the Antiquities and the War. ⁵ He

¹ Ant. III, 211. cf. Lv 10:7: "the chrism of Yahweh is on you."
³ War V, 235. Ἰᾶς ἔσται μετὰ τοῦ Καίτευθου
explains the symbolism of the high priestly vestments as follows:

The high priest's tunic...signifies the earth, being of linen, and its blue the arch of heaven, while it recalls the lightnings by its pomegranates, the thunder by the sound of its bells. His upper garment too denotes universal nature, which it pleased God to make of four elements; being further interwoven with gold in token, I imagine, of the all pervading sunlight. The ephod again, he set in the midst of this garment, after the manner of the earth, which occupies the midmost place; and by the girdle wherewith he encompassed it he signified the ocean, which holds the whole in its embrace. Sun and moon are indicated by the two sardonyxes wherewith he pinned the high priest's robe....Furthermore, the head dress appears to me to symbolize heaven, being blue; else it would not have borne upon it the name of God, blazoned upon the crown, a crown moreover, of gold by reason of that sheen in which the Deity most delights. ¹

Just as at the inauguration of Aaron, Moses sprinkled both "Aaron's vestments and Aaron himself...in order to devote them to God,"² for seven days, so too Josephus witnesses to the fact that in later days too, the high priest's vestments were purified for seven days before the great feasts.³

4) Laws of Purity for High Priests.

Josephus faithfully reflects the teaching of Leviticus 21 and Ezekiel 44 concerning the purity expected of priests

¹Ant. III, 184-186.
²Ant. III, 205-206 cf. Ex 29; Lv 8.
³Ant. XVIII, 94-95.
and high priests.

As regards marriage, Josephus does interpret the "one profaned by prostitution" to include "slave, or prisoner of war, aye or such women as gain their livelihood by hawking or inkeeping."\(^1\) Here is the complete quote from the Antiquities:

From the priests he exacted a double degree of purity. For not only did he debar them, in common with all others from the aforesaid practices (adultery, incest, bestiality, sodomy, etc.) but he further forbade them to wed a harlot, he forbids them to wed a slave or a prisoner of war, aye or such women as gain their livelihood by hawking or inkeeping or who have for whatsoever reasons been separated from their former husbands. As for the high priest, he would not suffer him to take even a woman whose husband was dead, though he conceded this to other priests: none but a virgin may be wed and withal one of his own tribe.\(^2\)

Josephus continues his summary of the laws of purity for the priests and high priests:

From like motives the high priest never approaches a corpse, whereas the other priests are not forbidden to approach a brother, a parent or a child of their own when deceased. They must be exempt from all physical blemish. A priest who is not wholly free of such defect he is authorized to partake with the other priests of the prerequisites, but to ascend to the altar or to enter the sacred building is forbidden him. Nor is it only during the sacred ministrations that purity is essential: they must see to it also that their private life be beyond reproach. That is why wearers of the priestly robes are spotless, immaculately pure, and sober, for wine is forbidden them so long as they wear the robe.


\(^2\) Ibid. 276-277. cf. *Lv* 21:14: "Only a virgin from his own family may take to wife."
Furthermore, the very victims which they sacrifice are entirely perfect and free from all mutilation. 

Josephus brings forward examples to show that these laws of purity did have an influence in Israel. For instance, he records the laceration of the ears of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Janmaeus, by the infamous Antigonus. When Hyrcanus was a prisoner of Antigonus,

Hyrcanus threw himself at the feet of Antigonus, who with his own teeth lacerated his ears, in order to disqualify him forever, under any change of circumstances from resuming the high priesthood; since freedom from physical defect is essential to the holder of that office.

An interesting case of ritual purity is the reasoning given for the one day tenure of high priesthood by Joseph:

It happened during this Matthias' term as high priest that another high priest was appointed for a single day... for the following reason. While serving as priest during the night preceding the day on which the fast occurred, Matthias seemed in a dream to have intercourse with a woman and since he was unable to serve as priest because of that experience, a relative of his, Joseph, son of Allemus, served as priest in his place.

Josephus reflects that consciousness among the Jews that the high priest must be specially holy by telling us that the mob demanded of Archelaus that the high priest

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1 Ant III, 277-279.
3 Ant. XVII, 165-167.
appointed by Herod be deposed and that a man of greater piety and purer moral be installed. They asked him to "choose another man who would serve as high priest more in accordance with the law and ritual purity."

When King Agrippa disposed Simon Cantheras from the high priesthood and proposed to restore Jonathan to office, Jonathan refused with these words:

"I rejoice, O king, to be honoured by you and heartily appreciate this high prize offered by your will, although God has adjudged me in no way worthy of the high priesthood. But I am content to have put on the holy vestments once, for then I arrayed myself in them with more regard for sanctity than would be shown if I were to take them back. But if you desire that another worthier than I should receive the honour, be instructed by me. I have a brother pure of all sin against God and against you, O king. Him I recommend for this honour."

In the very story of Aaron and his sons we have a striking biblical example that Josephus incorporates of the high priest not drawing near a corpse, even of the closest relative. A flashing fire killed Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest sons of Aaron as they attempted to bring incense to the altar. In this sorrow, Moses forbade Aaron to have any thought of grief for them, putting homage to God above sorrowing over their loss.

Josephus reflects how strictly the marriage laws were enforced. Manasseh is forced to give up the priesthood and the honor of being high priest at Jerusalem because of his...
marriage to a foreign woman, the daughter of Sanballat.\textsuperscript{1}
Other high priests were asked to give up their high priesthood on the very suspicion that they were sons of captive women.\textsuperscript{2}

Other high priests come in for more special censure in Josephus for their unholy actions. Josephus reflects Samuel 2 in his account of the punishment that came upon the house of Eli because of his sons, who were wicked.\textsuperscript{3}

John, the son of Eliashib, also comes in for special censure by Josephus. John profaned the temple by killing his brother Jesus in anger.

Now it was a horrible thing for John when he was high priest to perpetrate so great a crime. In punishment, God allowed Bagoses to punish the Jews for seven years with the taunt: "Have you the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple."\textsuperscript{4}

Alcimus is portrayed as a wicked high priest who was smitten suddenly by God and fell down and undergoing torments for many days, died.\textsuperscript{5} Alcimus' predecessor, Menelaus, was also condemned as a wicked and impious man, who in order to get the government for himself had compelled his nation to break its laws.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Ant.} XI, 310-311. cf. Ne 13:28.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ant.} XIII, 292; 372-376.
\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ant.} V, 350. \textsuperscript{4}\textit{Ant.} XI, 297-300.
\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Ant.} XII, 413. cf. 1 K 9:54-56
\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Ant.} I, 11; XII, 11-118.
Later Ananias is said to have been guilty of the same evil practices as his slaves.¹

On the other hand, certain high priests are singled out for special praise. Eleazar is praised in the opening lines of the Antiquities as one who yielded to none in virtue, especially in magnanimity.² Ananus, a high priest at the time of the War, is said to be a:

man on every ground revered, of highest integrity with all the distinction of his rank and the honours to which he had attained, yet delighted to treat the very humblest as his equals.³

Josephus treats John Hyrcanus with a special awe. John, son of Simon Maccabaeus, was high priest from 135-105. He is praised by Josephus in both the War and in the Jewish Antiquities because he was in close touch with God. Hyrcanus was said to have communed with God when he was alone in the temple offering incense. To quote the passage in the War:

He was the only man to unite in his person three of the highest privileges: the supreme command of the nation, the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For so closely was he in touch with the Deity, that he was never ignorant of the future.⁴

¹Ant. XX, 206-207.
²Ant. I, 11; XII, 11-118.
³War IV, 319.
WORD STUDIES

AYEREL

War I, 26: seven degrees of purity in the temple.
II, 129: bathing in cold water considered as a purification.
138: purer kind of water.
159: various forms of purification.
IV, 218: A purification service.
V, 194: Law of purification--no foreigner allowed.
VII, 204: laws of purity.
Ant. III, 78: practicing purity in general while waiting for Moses to descend from Sinai.
Ant. III, 152: purification prescribed by Law for priests.
224: purifications and the ritual of sacrifice.
273: provisions concerning sacrifices and purifications.
VIII, 96: people distinguished by purity allowed to enter temple court.
XVIII, 19: Essence perform purifications differently.
Life 11: for purification's sake.
Apion I, 199: certain purification rites.
262: rites of purification before entering holy city.
II, 198: in view of the sacrifices, the Law has prescribed purifications for various occasions.
203: purifications of Law.

AYERELV

Ant. VI, 235: after purifying himself.
XI, 109: in a state of purity for the festival.

XIV, 285: purifying themselves.

425: all persons who celebrate the paschal sacrifice are all pure and holy.

Ant. III, 197: (Moses) sanctified both the tabernacle and the priests, proceeding on this wise to their purification.

198: He (Moses) anointed both the priests themselves and all the tabernacle, thus purifying all.

279: Purity is essential in life of priest.

IV, 78: When the people had mourned for her (Miriam) thirty days, they were purified by Moses on this wise.

80: a place of spotless purity.

81: thenceforth they were clean.

222: hands pure of murder.

298: army...must be immaculate.

VI, 120: eating before washing away the blood and making the flesh clean.

IX, 74: pure of leprosy.

262: purify yourselves and your city, exhortation of Hezekiah. Purify the temple with sacrifices.

X, 70: Josiah purified the whole country.

XI, 153: Ezra purified the practice concerning marriage.

XII, 286: Judas Maccabaeus purifies the land of impurities.

316: People urged to go up to Jerusalem and purify the temple and offer sacrifices.

XIX, 315: Brother of Jonathan said to be pure of sin before God and King.

Apion I, 282: Lose purity if leper is contacted.
War I, 229: period of purification.

V, 227: those not totally pure.

Ant. III, 78, 152: purifications which the Law prescribes.

Ant. I, 199: performing certain rites of purification.

Ant. I, 311: purify his tents.

II, 312: purified the houses with blood.

III, 197: he sanctified both the tabernacle and the priests.

199: sanctify oil.

258: purified the tribe of Levi.

X, 42: he sanctified the temple and purified the city.

XII, 143: 3-4, have purified themselves.

318: 7-6, purify the temple and offer sacrifices.

XVIII, 94: after they had been purified.

War I, 153: Pompey, the very day after the capture of the temple gave orders to the custodians to cleanse it and to resume the customary sacrifices.

II, 129: (The Essenes) After this purification,... pure now themselves they repair to the refectory as to a temple.

V, 227: Women, even when free from impurity were not permitted to pass the boundary...mentioned above.

380: (Abraham) uplifting pure hands towards this spot which you have now polluted...

VI, 48: However pure they (bodies wasted by disease) may be from stain or pollution.

110: God Himself, who with the Romans is bringing
the fire to purge His temple.

War VI, 425: all persons who celebrate the paschal sacrifice are all pure and holy.

Ant. VIII, 100: festival of Tabernacles is considered holy.

War II, 321: bearing in procession holy vessels.

III, 307: Mt. Garizim was holy to the Samaritans.

374: souls are allotted the most holy places in heaven.

V, 7: the sacred facade.

Ant. XIII, 128: the sacred temple.

War V, 207: the holy temple.

Ant. VIII, 71: the holy temple.

Ant. XVI, 115: most holy temple.

War II, 129: as to some sacred shrine.

Ant. XIV, 227: sacred gatherings.

Ant. III, 125: the whole temple was called the Holy Place, its inaccessible shrine within the four pillars the "Holy of Holies".

War V, 385: The Philistines with all manner of expiations propitiated the sanctuary.

Ant. XII, 413: Alcimus plans to pull down the wall of the sanctuary.

War I, 26: the Holy Place of the sanctuary.

152: The Holy Place, exposed to eyes of Pompey and company.

IV, 150: enter the sanctuary with polluted feet.

151: make the Holy Place the headquarters of tyranny.
159: purge the sanctuary of its bloodstained polluters.

V, 194: law of purification—no foreigner was permitted to enter the Holy Place.

394: the sanctuary lay desolate for three years and six months at time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

War V, 219: unapproachable, inviolate, invisible to all, it was called the Holy of Holy.

IV, 388: 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, whenever it should be visited by sedition and native hands should be the first to defile God's sacred precincts.

War I, 354: sanctuary's holy contents.

Ant. XIV, 482: sanctuary's holy contents.

War IV, 163: the holy times.

War II, 341: the sanctuary or the holy places; cf. also 400, 401, 539; IV, 162; 171, 173, 182f.; 191, 201, 242, 323; V, 363, 397, 406, 412; VI, 104, 120, 122, 124-126, 165, 267, 346.
CHAPTER THREE

THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY THE HIGH PRIEST

(Chapter Three: Exploring the Role of Sacrifices by the High Priest)

(Every high priest has been taken out of mankind and is appointed to act for men in their relations with God, to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins.) Heb 5:1

Josephus counts sacrifice as most important for the welfare of the Jewish people. One of the most eloquent proofs is his lament over the city of Jerusalem in the Wars:

For although these frenzied men the three factions of Jews fighting within Jerusalem had stopped short of no impiety, they nevertheless admitted those who wished to offer sacrifices, native Jews suspiciously and with precaution, strangers after a thorough search; yet these... often became casual victims of the sedition. For the missiles from the engines flew over with such force that they reached the altar and the sanctuary, lighting upon priests and sacrificers...many...fell there themselves before their sacrifices and sprinkled with libations of their own blood at altar universally venerated by Greeks and barbarians.... What misery to equal that, most wretched city, hast suffered at the hands of the Romans, who entered to purge with fire the internal pollutions?

1 Other texts of Heb that reflect the idea of sacrifice and the high priest are: 2:17; 5:2, 3; 7:27; 8:3-5; 9:6-26; 10:1-18; 13:11.
For thou wert no longer God's place, nor couldst thou survive, after becoming a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own children and converting the sanctuary into a charnel-house of civil war. Yet might there be hopes for an amelioration of thy lot, if ever thou wouldst propitiate that God who devastated thee.  

Another incident recorded in the War brings out how important Josephus felt sacrifice to be. Titus learns that the Jewish people are very despondent because the so-called continual sacrifices had been stopped because of a lack of lambs. He then sends Josephus as his ambassador to urge the people to surrender that they may "restore to God the expiatory sacrifices." When the insurgents reject the plea of Josephus with the argument that the city is safe because it is the city of God, Josephus breaks out in an eloquent plea:

"Pure indeed have you kept it for God! The Holy Place too remains undefiled! Your looked-for Ally has suffered no impiety from you and still receives His customary sacrifices! Most impious wretch, should anyone deprive you of your daily food, you would consider him an enemy; and do you hope to have God, whom you have bereft of His everlasting-worship for your Ally in this war? And do you impute your sins to the Romans, who to this day are concerned for our laws and are trying to force you to restore to God those sacrifices which you have interrupted?"

Earlier in the War, Josephus sees the cessation of the sacrifices for the nation and the Emperor as laying

1 War V, 15-19. "Propitiate that God": Ἐρχυ ἔκπλητη
2 War VI, 94. "Daily sacrifices": Της ἡμέρας
3 Ibid. 97. "Expiatory sacrifices": Ἐναυάγγελος
4 Ibid. 100-101.
the sacrifices for the nation and the Emperor as laying the foundation for the war with the Romans. ¹

The notion of sacrifice also appears all through the Antiquities. In the opening pages, we read of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel:

Now the brothers took pleasure in different pursuits. Abel, the younger had respect for justice and believing that God was with him in all his actions, paid heed to virtue; he led the life of a shepherd. Cain, on the contrary, was thoroughly depraved and had an eye only to gain: he was the first to think of ploughing the soil and he slew his brother for the following reason. The brothers having decided to sacrifice to God, Cain brought the fruits of the tilled earth and of the trees, Abel came with milk and the firstlings of his flocks. This was the offering which found more favour with God who is honours by things that grow spontaneously and in accordance with natural laws, and not by the products forged from nature by the ingenuity of grasping man.²

"Thereupon, Cain, incensed at God's preference for Abel, slew his brother."³ But it is sacrifice which saves the life of Cain. "God however exempted him from the penalty merited by murder, Cain having offered a sacrifice and supplicated Him not to visit him too severely in his wrath."⁴

Josephus records two sacrifices of Noah. The first is


²Ant. I, 53-55. Gn 4 is elaborated by Josephus.


⁴Ant. I, 58
in thanksgiving:

Noah thus learning that the earth was delivered from the flood, waited yet seven days, and then let the animals out of the ark, went forth himself with his family, sacrificed to God and feasted with his household.

The second sacrifice is offered to beseech God not to annihilate mankind by another flood:

Noah, fearing that God, having sentences mankind to annihilation, might annually inundate the earth, offered burnt-sacrifices and besought Him to maintain for the future the primitive order of nature. He therefore entreated Him graciously to accept his sacrifice and to be moved no more to wrath against the earth...

Josephus' account reflects Genesis 8:21-9:17. God signifies to Noah that he will grant his prayers.

"Nevermore shall the water overwhelm the earth. Yet I exhort you to refrain from shedding human blood... The other living creatures ye may use as may meet your desires and appetites, for I have made you lords of all... yet without the blood, for therein is the soul. Moreover I will manifest the truce that ye shall have by displaying my bow."

Josephus also reflects the Genesis account of Abraham

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2 Ant. I, 96-98. "Burnt sacrifices": MT, LXX, C, S. Josephus records another sacrifice by Noah in Ant. I,140, which agrees with Gn 9, where sacrifice is not explicitly mentioned.
as a man who offered sacrifice to God. Abraham,

thinking fit to emigrate, at the will and with the aid of God, settled in the land of Canaan. Established there, he built an altar and offered a sacrifice to God. ¹

After recording the meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek, ² Josephus follows the order of Genesis:

God announced that a son would be born to him, whose posterity would be so great as to be comparable to the stars. On hearing these words Abraham offered a sacrifice to God as bidden by Him. And the sacrifice was on this wise: he took a heifer of three years old and a ram of the same age, with a turtledove and a pigeon and at God's bidding divided them in twain, save the birds which he divided not. ³

Josephus gives the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in greater detail than Genesis 22. ⁴ Josephus reflects the rabbinical tradition which identified the mountain with Mount Moriah, where the temple of Solomon was afterwards built. ⁵

²Josephus' treatment of Melchizedek is contained in Appendix C.
³Ant. I, 183-184. cf. Gn 15. While substantially reproducing Gn 15, Josephus does not introduce נְכַנְכָּה n̄ of Gn 15:16. Perhaps the explanation is the same as for an explanation of circumcision which is put off to a later work in Ant. I, 192. נְכַנְכָּה n̄ is not introduced either to correspond to Gn 17 or Gn 21.
⁴Ant. I, 222-236. Some of the words used by Josephus in this story sacrifice are: "sacrifice": נְכַנְכָּה n̄ and נְכַנה n̄; "victim": נְכַנְכָּה n̄; "to offer as a holocaust": נְכַנְכָּה n̄ נְכַנְכָּה n̄ נְכַנְכָּה n̄; "consecration": נְכַנְכָּה n̄ נְכַנְכָּה n̄ נְכַנְכָּה n̄
⁵Ibid. 221-226. cf. 2 Ch 3:1.
Josephus reflects the tradition of sacrifice among the descendants of Abraham. For example, Abraham rehearses the story of Genesis 34 concerning the terrible reprisals taken by the sons of Jacob to revenge the rape of Dinah, their sister. When he learns of these terrible things,

Jacob being aghast at the enormity of these acts and indignant at his sons, God appeared beside him and bade him take courage, purify his tents, and perform those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when at the first he set out for Mesopotamia...and departing thence offered sacrifice at Bethel where he had seen the dream when journeying of yore to Mesopotamia.

Josephus also reproduces the account of Genesis 46:1 concerning the sacrifice of Jacob at the Well of the Oath, Beersheba, on the way to meet Joseph.

Josephus records the tradition of Exodus 5 that Moses is trying to get permission from Pharaoh to go to the wilderness to offer sacrifice. Josephus is more explicit than Exodus.

He went to the king and urged him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai to sacrifice there to God, for so He had commanded, and in no wise to oppose His will.

The central place of the paschal sacrifice in the Exodus account is reproduced in the account by Josephus.

1 Ant. I, 341-342.
2 Ant. II, 170.
3 Ibid. 291. Ex 5:1 mentions "a feast in the wilderness". Ex 5:3 mentions a three day's journey to offer sacrifices.
God, having revealed that by yet one more plague he would constrain the Egyptians to release the Hebrews, now bade Moses instruct the people to have ready a sacrifice, making preparations on the tenth of the month Xanthicus over against the fourteenth day...and then to lead off the Hebrews, taking all their possessions with them. He accordingly had the Hebrews ready betimes for departure and ranging them in fraternities kept them assembled together; then when the fourteenth day was come, the whole body in readiness to start, sacrificed, purified the houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop to sprinkle it, and after the repast burnt the remnants of the neat as persons on the eve of departure. Hence it comes that to this day we keep this sacrifice in the same customary manner, calling this feast Pascha which means "passing over." 2

Josephus closes Bk. II of the Antiquities with words that recall to his readers the centrality of the sacrifice on Sinai to the whole Exodus account. Moses, led them forward for Mount Sinai, with the intent there to sacrifice to God and to render Him the thank offerings of the people for their deliverance, even as he had received commandment. 3

Josephus faithfully records the "sacrifices of thanksgiving" which Moses offered after the victory over the Amalekites, 4 and the sacrifice-banquet which Moses offered and celebrated on the occasion of the visit of Raguel, his father-in-law. 5

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1 The underlined words are a translation of this Greek text: 


3 Ant. II, 349. 4 Ant. III, 59-60. cf. Ex 17:15.

5 Ant. III, 63. cf. Ex 18:12.
A very interesting omission in Josephus' account of Sinai is that there is no explicit "Blood of the Covenant" ceremony as in Exodus 24:6-11.

The lengthy descriptions of the construction of the tabernacle, its inaugural ceremonies, and the consecration and ordination of the high priests and Levites, which we considered in Chapter Two, are a good indication of the importance of sacrifice to Josephus.

As we have seen, Josephus often makes explicit what is implied in the accounts of Exodus and Leviticus. Here he has Moses explain that the chief task of the high priest is to offer sacrifice and to intercede for the people.

"We need first of all one to discharge the office of priest, and minister for the sacrifices and for the intercessions on our behalf....God Himself has judged Aaron worthy of this honour and has chosen him to be priest....So it is he who will don the vestments consecrated to God, have charge of the altars, attend to the sacrifices and offer prayers on our behalf to God, who will gladly hear them, both from a man of His own choosing, He cannot but accept them."  

In Ant. Josephus makes it clear that the high priest is in charge of the ordering of worship:

Could there be a finer or more equitable polity

1Ant. III, 102-187.
2Ibid. 183ff.
3Ibid.
4Ant. III, 189-192. cf. Ex 28 & Lv 28 which do not have Moses convincing the people by such a speech.
than one which sets God at the head of the universe, which assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the whole body of priests and entrusts to the supreme high priest the direction of the other priests? These men...to whom he entrusted the ordering of divine worship as their first charge...

In the War, Josephus indicates the high priest often took part in the sacrifices which were offered on occasions of solemnity.

The high priest accompanied them, not on all occasions, but on the seventh days and new moons, and on any national festival or annual assemblage of all the people.

Since we do not have the proposed work of Josephus that was to treat of sacrifices etc. in a more detailed way, the locus classicus for a treatment of the sacrifices of the Levitical priesthood by Josephus is Bk. III of the Antiquities. Here is a vocabulary of sacrifice drawn from there:

- ἐνυεία: purifications
- ὑμεταλθήναι: ritual of sacrifice
- ἱερα: sacrifice
- ιδίῳ τεὶ πατεμέναι: offered by individual(s)
- ιδίῳ τεὶ συντεμέναι: offered by community

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1Ant. II, 186. ff. Ibid. 193-194.
2War V, 230.
3References to this proposed work Customs and Causes are scattered through the works of Josephus. E.g. Ant. III, 230; IV, 198; III, 257, 205.
4Ant. III, 224 ff.
The victims offered in the holocaust are "an ox, a lamb and a kid, these last being a year old; the slain oxen may be older than this; but all victims for these holocausts must be males", according to Josephus.¹

In treating sacrifices for sins, Josephus distinguishes between the sinner "who through ignorance"² has fallen into sin, and "the sinner who is conscious of sin but has none to convict him of it."³

Josephus in general follows the order and content of Numbers 28-29 and Leviticus 23 in his presentation of the public sacrifices. Although he does record the fact that a kid was to be offered in expiation for sins on the feasts of the new moon and all the major feasts of the year,⁴ the special day of atonement is the tenth day of the seventh month. In view of the high priest's special part in this day I will quote Josephus in full on this Day of Atonement:

On the tenth of the same lunar month they fast

¹Ibid. 226, cf. Lv 1:3,10,11.  
⁴Ant. III, 238,239,246,247,249.
until evening; on this day they sacrifice a bull, two rams, seven lambs, and a kid as sin-offering. But besides these they offer two kids, of which one is sent alive into the wilderness beyond the frontiers, being intended to avert and serve as an expiation for the sins of the whole people; while the other they conduct to the suburbs to a spot that is perfectly pure and there burn it, skin and all, without any cleansing whatsoever. Along with it is burnt a bullock which is not offered by the community but is provided at his own expense by the high priest. So soon as this bullock has been slain, he brings the sanctuary some of its blood, as also of the blood of the kid, and with his finger sprinkles it toward the ceiling seven times, and likewise on the floor, and as many times over the sanctuary itself and around the golden altar; the rest he carries into the outer court and sprinkles about the larger altar. Furthermore, they lay upon the altar the extremities, the kidneys, and the fat with the lobe of the liver. The high priest also provides on his own account a ram for a burnt offering to God.\footnote{Ant. III, 240-243. cf. Lv 16; Nb 29:7.}

This account of Josephus is in substantial agreement with Leviticus 16, with such minor changes as "two rams" for one mentioned in Leviticus, the sprinkling of the blood seven times and the burning of extremities and kidneys, not mentioned in Leviticus.

This was the day when the high priest entered into the holy of holies. In describing the high priestly vestments, Josephus writes:

These robes were not worn by the high priest in general, when he assumed plainer attire, but only when he penetrated to the innermost sanctuary; this he entered alone once in the year, on the day on which it was the universal custom to keep fast to God.\footnote{War V, 236. cf. Ant. IX, 222.}
Josephus also records the reparative and purifying sacrifice of the red heifer which we find in Numbers 19. Here too, it is the high priest who is to perform the rite. Josephus changes the scriptural order so as to place this sacrifice of the red heifer after the death of Miriam as a purifying ceremony. Also whereas Numbers 19 is explicit in naming Eleazar as the officiating priest, who acts under the directions of Moses, Josephus leaves it vague and thus implies that the unnamed high priest is Aaron whose death is recorded in a subsequent chapter. Nevertheless the actual description of the ceremony is strikingly similar to Numbers 19.

A heifer, yet ignorant of the plough and of husbandry, without blemish and entirely red, was conducted by the high priest a little way outside the camp to a place of spotless purity, where he sacrificed it and sprinkled with his finger drops of its blood seven times in the direction of the tabernacle of God. Next, the heifer was burnt whole just as it was, including its skin and entrails, and into the midst of the blaze they cast cedar wood and hyssop and crimson wool. Its ashes were then all collected by a holy man who deposited them in a place of spotless purity. When therefore any had been polluted by contact with a corpse, they put a little of those ashes in running water, dipped hyssop into the stream and sprinkled such persons therewith on the third and seventh day, and thenceforth they were clean.

1Ant. IV, 78-81. cf. Nb 19:1ff.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE HIGH PRIESTS FROM ELEAZAR TO PHANASUS

(Now if perfection had been reached through the Levitical priesthood...why was it still necessary for a new priesthood to arise, one of the same order as Melchizedek, not counted as being "of the same order" as Aaron...not by virtue of a law about physical descent, but by the power of an indestructable life). Heb 7:11.16.

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Josephus divides up the eighty-three high priests he lists from Aaron to Phanasus into five periods: 

1) Those who served the tabernacle in the desert and in Jerusalem until the building of the temple by Solomon; 
2) The eighteen who held the high priesthood in Solomon's temple until the Babylonian exile of Jehozadak; 
3) The fifteen descendants of Jehozadak beginning with Jeshua who held the high priesthood until the reign of Antiochus; 
4) Alcimus and the Hasmoneans up to the time of Herod; 
5) The twenty-eight high priests who held the office under Herod, Archelaus and their

1Ant. XX, 227-251.
successors until the capture of the city and the burning of the temple by Titus.

1) From Aaron to Abiathar

Aaron...in the sight of the whole army divested himself of his high priestly robes and after delivering them to Eleazar his son, upon whom by right of age the high priesthood descended, he died with the eyes of the multitude upon him.

With this version of the transferral of the high priesthood from Aaron to Eleazar, Josephus begins to trace the high priestly succession down to his own time.

With interesting changes, (such as the one noted here that Eleazar divests himself and delivers his high priestly robes to his son, whereas Numbers says that Moses divests him and clothes Eleazar) Josephus records the transferral of power to Eleazar.

Josephus records that in the final address of Moses to the people, he urges them to follow the counsels of "Eleazar, the high priest and Joshua, as also...the elders and magistrates of the tribes." Josephus records the scriptural advice of Moses to the king: "Let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators." Eleazar is called with Joshua to witness the division of the Amorite land to the two and a half tribes if they remain faithful in fighting.


2 Ibid. 186. cf. Dt 31.

3 Ibid. 224. cf. Dt 17.

4 Ibid. 171. cf. Nb 32.
Josephus is more specific than Deuteronomy in explicitly assigning the high priest to read the law at the septennial ceremony.  

Josephus faithfully records the scriptural transferral of the leadership of the nation from Moses to Joshua. However Josephus is silent as regards the explicit command of Yahweh to Moses to bring Joshua before Eleazar, the priest, and the whole community and to have Eleazar make inquiry for him before Yahweh according to the rite of Urim. Instead Josephus writes:

Moses, already advanced in years, now appointed Joshua to succeed him both in his prophetic functions and a commander-in-chief, whenever the need should arise, under orders from God himself to entrust the direction of affairs to him. Joshua had already received a thorough training in the laps and in divine lore under the tuition of Moses.

But Josephus does show Eleazar to be an influential person in the community, second only to Joshua. When the treaty is made with the Gibeonites, Eleazar the high priest, along with the elders, swears the oath with them. Whereas in the book of Joshua seems to distribute the lands to the tribes himself, Josephus shows Eleazar playing a significant role. Josephus is also more explicit than the book of

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1Ibid. 209. cf. Dt 31:11.
3Nb 27:19-20. 4Ant IV, 165. 5Ant. V, 55.
6Jos 18:10.
7Ant. V, 80.
Joshua in naming Eleazar as one of the leaders who quieted the Jews who wished to fight against the two and a half tribes, by sending Phinehas, son of Eleazar to parley.¹

Josephus, following the book of Joshua, records the death of Joshua and Eleazar as occurring about the same time.

About the same time died also Eleazar the high priest, leaving the priesthood to his son Phinees...²

Phinehas receives the functions of prophesying according to Josephus.

Now after the death of these leaders, Phineas prophesied in accordance with the will of God that for the extermination of the Canaanite race, the tribe of Judah should be given the command; for the people were keenly desirous to learn what was God's good pleasure.³

Later too Josephus records that the Israelites repairing to Bethel, the city nearest at hand, and having rested on the morrow, they besought God, through Phineas the high priest, to abate his anger against them and content with their two defeats, to vouchsafe them victory and mastery over their foes. And God promised them their petitions through the mouth of Phineas, His interpreter.⁴

Josephus records three more explicit instances of pro-

³Ant. V, 120. cf. Jg 1:1 with no explicit mention of Phinehas.
physaying by the high priest during the days of the tabernacle. When Ahijah was high priest King Saul, the king ordered the high priest to don his high priestly robes and to prophesy to him what would befall. The high priest having declared that it would be victory and triumph over his enemies, the king set off against the Philistines...

Josephus shows the high priest Abiathar as the medium of prophecy for David. In the scriptural accounts David seems to consult God directly but Josephus records these two incidents this way:

David...lifting his thoughts to God, besought the high priest Abiathar to put on his priestly robe and to inquire of God and prophesy to him whether if he pursued the Amalekites, He would grant him to overtake them and to rescue the woman and children and avenge himself on his foes. And when the high priest bade him pursue, he rushed off...

again,

The king of the Jews David who permitted himself to do nothing without an oracle and a command from God and without having Him as surety for the future, ordered the high priest to foretell to him what was God’s pleasure and what the outcome would be; and when he prophesied a decisive victory, David led his force out...

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1 Ant. VI, 107. cf. 1 S 14:3.
2 Ibid. 115. cf. 1 S 14:16-19.
3 Ant. VI, 359. cf. 1 S 30:8 shows David using the ephod himself.
4 Ibid. VII, 72-73. cf. 2 S 5:17 and 1 Ch 14 also show David directly consulting God.
These "prophecies" took place, according to Josephus, by means of the flashing of the stones on the high priests' robes. When God foreshowed victory to them on the eve of battle, a brilliant light flashed out from the twelve stones stitched to the Essen on the high priest's ephod. According to Josephus, these had ceased to shine just two hundred years before he composed the Antiquities,¹ (at the death of John Hyrcanus). The reason for this was God's displeasure at the transgression of the laws.

As we saw earlier, Josephus considered John Hyrcanus to be a prophet so closely in touch with God that he was never ignorant of the future.²

One more interesting remark of Josephus concerning the high priests of this first period is that concerning Eli acting as the ruler of the nation after Samson.

After the death of Samson, the leader of the Israelites was Eli the high priest.

But outside of Eli, the high priests of this period, whether they were Aaron and Eleaz under Moses and Joshua, or the high priests under Saul and David, are not portrayed by Josephus as having the government of the nation as the later high priests. David expects the high priest Ahimelech to help him³ and Saul orders Ahimelech and his kin killed for

¹Ant. III, 214-218 gives a rather detailed description of Essen.
²War 1, 69.
³Ant. V, 318.
⁴Ant. VI, 212. cf. 1 S 21:1ff.
this cooperation with David.\(^1\)

Abiathar, the only survivor, flees to David and David protects him and makes him high priest.\(^4\) Later it is David who appoints Zadok of the family of Phinehas to be high priest together with Abiathar.\(^3\)

Later Solomon deprives Abiathar and his family of the high priesthood for the disloyalty of Abiathar in joining the side of Adonias against Solomon when David was dying.\(^4\)

Josephus sums up the succession during these years of the tabernacle in these passages:

Eli was the first to bear rule of the house of Ithamar, the second of Aaron's sons; for the house of Eleazar held the high priesthood first, the dignity descending from father to son. Eleazar transmitted it to Phineas, his son, after whom Abiezer his son received it, leaving it to his son named Bokki, from whom Ozis Uzzi his son inherited it; it was after him that Eli...held the priesthood as also his posterity down to the reign of Solomon. Then the descendants of Eleazar once more recovered it.\(^5\)

Saul and his son and the high priest Achias, a descendant of Eli the high priest...\(^6\)

\(^1\)Ant. VI, 259-261. cf. 1 S 22:16. Josephus records punishment of Saul for this in Ant. VI, 278.
\(^2\)Ant. VI, 269. cf. 1 S 22:20-22.
\(^3\)Ant. VII, 109-110. cf. 2 S 8:16.
\(^4\)Ant. VIII, 10. cf. 1 K 2:27.
\(^5\)Ant. V, 361-362. cf. 1 Ch 6:4-5; 1 K 2:27, 35.
\(^6\)Ant. VI, 107. cf. 1 S 14:3. "Ahijah son of Ahitub, brother of Ichabod, son of Phinehas, son of Eli, the priest of Yahweh at Shiloh, was wearing the ephod."
David, fleeing from the king and death at his hands, now came to the city of Hama to Abimelech the high priest...

He chose Zadok as high priest together with Abiathar, his friend.  

In Book XX of the Antiquities, Josephus sums up this period in these words:

The total number of the high priests beginning with Aaron, who, as I have said was the first, up to Phanaeus, who during the war was appointed high priest by the revolutionary party, is eighty-three. Of these, thirteen served as high priests from the sojourn in the wilderness in the time of Moses, when the tabernacle was standing which Moses constructeed for God until the arrival in Judaea, when King Solomon erected the temple to God. At first, they held the high priesthood for life, but afterwards succeeded to it during the lifetime of their predecessors. These thirteen consequently, being descendants of Aaron's two sons, received the office in succession. Their first constitution was an aristocracy, then followed monarchy, and thirdly came the rule of kings. The number of years during which the thirteen held office from the day when our fathers left Egypt under the leadership of Moses down to the building of the temple which King Solomon erected in Jerusalem was six hundred and twelve.  

2) From Zadok to Jehozadak.  

Josephus sums up this period as follows:

After these thirteen high priests, eighteen others held the high priesthood in succession from the time of Solomon, who was king in Jerusalem until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, led his army against the city, set fire to the temple and carried away our nation to Baby-

1 Ant. VI, 212. cf. 1 S 21.  
2 Ant. VII, 110. cf. 2 S 8:16.  
3 Ant. XX, 227-230.
l on, taking prisoner the high priest Joso-
dakes. The period covered by the high priesthood
of these men was four hundred and sixty-six years,
six months and ten days, during which time the
Jews were governed by kings.

Earlier in Book X of the Jewish Antiquities, Josephus
gives us a list of these men:

The first of become high priest of the temple
which Solomon built was Sadok; after him his son
Achimas succeeded to the office, and after Achimas,
Azarias, then his son Joram, next Joram's son
Jos, after him Arioramos, then Aioramos's son,
Phideas, then Phideas's son Suidas, then Suida's
son Juelos, then Juelos's son Jothamos, then Joth-
amos's son Urias, then Urias's son Serias, then Ser-
ias's son Odaias, then Odaia's son Salumos, then
Salumos's son Alkias, then Alkias's son Azaros, and
finally Azaros's son Josadakos, who was taken cap-
tive to Babylon. In every case the son succeeded
his father in the high priesthood.

During the years of the kings, they, the kings dominated
the scene. For example, Solomon completes his new temple and
it is dedicated in the midst of the greatest splendor, as we
have seen earlier. The high priest was one of the appointees
of the King. The pattern of this period is broken in one case.

With the high priest Jehoiada, the high priest comes
to be a real power in the kingdom. Josephus tells the story
graphically and amplifies on some details, but fundamentally
he is telling us the story of 2 Kings 11 and 2 Chronicles 22-23.

1 Ant. XX, 231-232.
2 Ant. X, 152-153. cf. 1 Ch 6:8 gives the list as follows:
Zadok, Ahikaraz, Azariah, Johanan, Azariah, Azariah, Seraiah,
Zadok, Shallum, Hiliah, Azariah, Seraiah, Jehozadak.

3 Josephus uses the name Jodas. cf. 2 K 11:1ff; 2 Ch
23:1ff.
Jehoiada's wife is an aunt of little Jehoash (Joash) and so raises him. When the child was about seven, Jehoiada gathers priests and Levites and heads of tribes and in their midst, he places the child and declares: "This is your king from that house, which as you know, God foretold to us should rule for all time to come."¹ When a good guard had been set up around the temple, Jehoiada placed the royal crown on his head. Then

having anointed him with oil, proclaimed him king whereupon the multitude with rejoicing and clapping of hands cried out, "Long live the king."²

When Athalia heard the tumult, she was disturbed and rushed to the temple. When she saw the young king, Josephus expands on her cry of "Treason, Treason!" as recorded in scripture to: "She commanded her men to take the life of the man who had plotted against her and had worked to deprive her of the royal power."³

Thenupon, Joash called the captains of hundreds and commanded them to lead Othlia away to the valley of Kidron and there put her to death, saying that he did not wish to defile the temple by punishing the guilty wretch on the spot.⁴

Josephus shows Jehoiada to be very capable in taking care of everything and putting all in good order. He arranges

1¹Ant IX, 145. cf. 2 K 11:4; 2 Ch 23:3.
2²Ant. IX, 148-149. cf. 2 K 11:4-11; 2 Ch 23:3-11.
3³Ant. IX, 151. cf. 2 K 11:13ff.; 2 Ch 23:12ff.
4⁴Ant. IX, 150-152. cf. 2 K 11:13; 2 Ch 23:12.
a couple of good marriages for Jehoash, and takes care of renovating the temple.

But with the death of Jehoiada, the influence of the high priest wanes. In fact,

the king even ordered Zacharias, the son of the high priest Jodas, to be stoned to death in the temple, unmindful of the good works of his father, because, when God appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the people and counselled both them and the king to do right...

It was not long, however, before the king paid the penalty for his unlawful acts. For Azaelos, the king of Syria, invaded his country...

And afterward, Jehoash was killed by some of his officers, when he was ill, for they wished to avenge Zechariah.

The next high priest to receive prominence in the account of Josephus is Azariah who forbids Uzziah to enter the sanctuary to offer incense upon the golden altar. As we saw earlier, Uzziah is punished by leprosy.

Finally the last of this group of high priests, Ser- aiah's son Jehozadak is taken into exile into Babylon as a hostage after his father is beheaded.

At the close of the seventy years exile, the son of Jehozadak, named Jeshua comes back from Babylon.

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1 Ant. IX, 158. cf. 2 Ch 24:3. 2 Ibid. 161-165.
3 Ibid. 168ff. cf. 2 Ch 24. 4 Ibid. 170ff. cf. 2 K 12.
5 Ibid. 222ff. cf. 2 Ch 26.
3) From Exile's End to Antiochus Eupator.

Josephus sums up this period in these words:

After a period of seventy years of captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of the Persians, freed the Jews from Babylon and permitted them to return to their own land to rebuild the temple. At that time, Jesus, son of Josedek, who was one of the captives who returned assumed the office of high priest. He and his descendants, fifteen in all, held the office until the reign of Antiochus Eupator; and for four hundred and fourteen years they lived under a democratic form of government.

Elsewhere Josephus refers to the government at this time as "aristocratic and at the same time oligarchic." When describing the celebration of Passover under Ezra, Josephus writes:

. After offering the sacrifice called Pascha on the fourteenth day of the same month (Nisan) they feasted for seven days, sparing no expense bringing the whole burnt-offerings to God and performing the sacrifices of thanksgiving because the Deity had brought them back to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had disposed the mind of the Persian king favourably to them. And so with lavishness of sacrifice in return for these favors and with magnificence in their worship of God, they dwelt in Jerusalem under a form of government that was aristocratic and at the same time oligarchic. For the high priests were at the head of affairs until the descendants of the Asamonian family came to rule as kings. Before the captivity and deportation they were ruled by kings, beginning first with Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months and ten days.

For Josephus, this period after the exile when the high

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1Ant. XX, 233-234. 2Ant. XI, 110-111. cf. Ezr 6:22.
priests ruled the nation was the ideal. As he writes in Apion:

Could there be a finer or more equitable polity than one which sets God at the head of the universe, which assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the whole body of priests, and entrusts to the supreme high priest the direction of the other priests? These men, moreover owed their original promotion by the legislator to their high office, not to any superiority in wealth or other accidental advantages. Not of all his companions, the men to whom he entrusted the ordering of divine worship as their first charge were those who were pre-eminently gifted with persuasive eloquence and discretion...

Could there be a more saintly government than that? Could God be more worthily honoured than by such a scheme, under which religion is the end and aim of the training of the entire community, the priests are entrusted with the special charge of it, and the whole administration of the state resembles sacred ceremony?¹

Josephus clearly distinguishes when treating of John Hyrcanus between the three privileges of supreme command of the nation, prophet, and the high priesthood, but ideally, he would like to see them combined as they were in the person of John Hyrcanus.²

Josephus is quite clear that the "ordering of divine worship" is the first charge of the high priest. Continuing his description of the functions of the priests and high priests in Apion, he writes:

We have but one temple for the one God...common to all as God is common to all. The Priests are continually engaged in his worship, under the

leadership of him who for the time is head of the line. With his colleagues, he will sacrifice to God, safeguard the law, adjudicate in cases of dispute, punish those convicted of crime. Any who disobey him will pay the penalty as for impiety towards God Himself.

For example at the time of King Josiah, Hilkiah the high priest is appointed a curator of the temple. He is ordered to have the vessels for the temple made. Especially the part of the high priest in the ordering of worship is clear after the exile.

Book XI of the Antiquities begins with Josephus reproducing Ezra 1 and 1 Esdras 2, which show that Cyrus is divinely inspired to restore the worship at Jerusalem. Next Josephus follows 1 Esdras 3-4 to show how Zerubbabel was freed and sent to Jerusalem by Darius with the high priest Jeshua to rebuild the city, but especially the temple and renew its worship. In all these activities, the role of the high priest is shown to be central.

In the seventh month after the departure from Babylon the high priest Jesus an Zorobabelos Zerubbabel, the governor, sent around and showing no lack of zeal, brought the country people together in a body at Jerusalem. And they constructed an altar on the spot where the former one had been, in order that they might offer on it the customary sacrifices to God in accordance with the laws of Moses.

In the second year after the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, in the second month when they came there, the construction of the temple was under-

1Ant. II, 193ff.
2Ant. X, 56. cf. 2 Ch 34:8-35. 3Ibid. 57.
4Ant. XI, 7. 5Ibid. 75-76. cf. Ezr 3:1.
taken;...placed in charge of the...Jesus and his sons and brothers...And so, because those into whose hands the superintendence of the work was given, carried it out with all zeal, the temple was completed sooner than one would have expected.

Next Josephus treats of Ezra, whom he calls "chief Priest" in distinction to Joiakim, son of Jeshua, who became high priest. Especially under Ezra and Nehemiah the position of the high priest is consolidated. When Johanan and then Jaddua appear, they have the rule of the country according to Josephus.

Josephus reports that Ezra had the fate,

after being honoured by the people, to die an old man and to be buried with great magnificence in Jerusalem. About the time also died the high priest Jockelmos whom his son Eliašib succeeded in the high priesthood.

Josephus tells of the succession from Eliashib to his son Joiada to his son Johanan in the brief introduction to the story of Johanan and Bagoes, which we considered in Chapter II. When Johanan died, he was succeeded by his son Jaddua. It was the brother of this Jaddua who was asked not to practice the high priesthood at Jerusalem because of his marriage to a foreign wife.

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2Τοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Αρηντ. XI, 121ff. cf. 1 Esdras 7:1. cf. Ezr 7:15 where Ezra is called a descendant of the "chief priest" Aaron. 1 Esdras 9:40 calls Ezra "high priest."

3Ant. XI, 158.
Jaddua is clearly shown by Josephus as the head of the government. He receives a letter from Alexander the Great which requests his assistance and tribute. Jaddua remains loyal to Darius and refuses.\(^1\) This angers Alexander and he announces he will come and punish Jerusalem.

When the high priest Jaddus heard this, he was in an agony of fear, not knowing how he could meet the Macedonians, whose king was angered by his former disobedience. He, therefore, ordered the people to make supplication, and offering sacrifice to God together with them, besought Him to shield the nation and deliver them from the dangers that were hanging over them.

But when he had gone to sleep after the sacrifice, God spoke oracularly to him in his sleep telling him to take courage and adorn the city with wreaths and open the gates and go out to meet them, and that the people should be in white garments, and he himself with the priests in the robes prescribed by law and that they should not look to suffer any harm, for God was watching over them. Thereupon he rose from his sleep, greatly rejoicing to himself and announced to all the revelation that had been made to him and after doing all the things that he had been told to do, awaited the coming of the king.\(^2\)

Josephus tells us that the results were what God had told Jaddua.

For when Alexander while still far off saw the multitude in white garments, the priests at their head clothed in linen, and the high priest in a robe of hyacinth-blue and gold, wearing on his head the mitre with the golden plate on it on which was inscribed the name of God, he approached alone and prostrated himself before the name and first greeted the high priest.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Ant. XI, 317-320. For historicity and sources of this entire account concerning Jaddua and Alexander, see Ralph Marcus, *Josephus* (Loeb) Vol. VI, Appendix C.

\(^2\) Ant. XI, 326-328.

\(^3\) Ibid. 329-331.
Then Alexander have his hand to the high priest, entered the holy city with him and offered sacrifice according to the high priest's direction. Afterwards, when Alexander asked what the Jews would wish from him, it is the high priest, Jaddua, who according to Josephus, speaks for all.¹

After Jaddua, his son, Onias I succeeded to the high priesthood.² At his death, Simon the Just, the son of Onias I became high priest, according to Josephus. At the death of Simon, his son Onias II was too young so Eleazar his brother becomes high priest.³ Eleazar is the high priest in the Aristeas story⁴ which is paralleled by Josephus in his account of the magnanimous Eleazar who sent seventy scholars to Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria along with copies of the Law that they might translate it into Greek. Leaving aside other facets of the story, Josephus can certainly be said to take it for granted that Eleazar was in charge of the nation.⁵ Josephus also records that Eleazar is closely connected with the worship of the temple.⁶

According to Josephus, the high priesthood passed smoothly at Eleazar’s death to Manasseh and then to Onias

¹Ibid. 334-338.  
²Ant. XI, 347. ³Ant. XII, 13.  
II, son of Simon the Just. Then Josephus tells us that the honor passed to the son of Onias II, Simon II and when he died, his son Onias III succeeded him. But when Onias III died then trouble arose because of the intervention of Antiochus.

4) High Priests from Antiochus Epiphanes to Herod.

Josephus rehearses the Books of Maccabees' condemnation of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the War he describes what happened at this time thus:

At the time when Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, was disputing with Ptolemy VI, the suzerainty of Syria, dissension arose among the Jewish nobles. There were rival claims to the supreme power... Onias, one of the chief priests gaining the upper hand, expelled the sons of Tobias from the city. The latter took refuge with Antiochus and besought him to use their services as guides for an invasion of Judaea. The king, having long cherished this design, consented, and setting out at the head of a huge army took the city by assault, slew a large number of Ptolemy's followers, gave his soldiers unrestricted license to pillage, and himself plundered the temple and interrupted for a period of three years and six months the regular course of the daily sacrifices.

...Not content with his unlooked-for success in capturing the city and with the plunder and wholesale carnage, Antiochus, carried away by his ungovernable passions... put pressure upon the Jews to violate the code of their country by leaving their infants uncircumcised and sacrificing swine upon the altar. These orders were disobeyed by all.

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1 Ibid. 157.
2 Ibid. 225.
3 War I, 31-33. 2 M 4:7-27 shows a power struggle between Jason & Menelaus both bidding for the high priesthood.
and the most eminent defaulters were massacred. Bacchides, who was sent by Antiochus to command the garrison, with these impious injunctions to back his innate brutality, was guilty of every excess of iniquity, torturing distinguished individuals one after another, and daily parading before the eyes of all the appearance of a captured city, until by the extravagances of his crimes he provoked his victims to venture on reprisals. These began with Matthias, son of Asamonaeus, a priest of a village called Modein.

As the discerning reader will notice, Josephus has telescoped the events of many years in these sentences of the War.

According to the Antiquities, Antiochus Epiphanus first "removed Jesus (Jason) and appointed his brother Onias (Menelaus)" because he was angry with Jason.\(^2\) When the greater portion of the people side with Jason in his attempt to get the high priesthood back, then Josephus tells us that Menelaus and the sons of Tobias go to Antiochus for help. Then Antiochus comes and twice invades Jerusalem, the second time really plundering the temple. Thus Josephus in the Antiquities witnesses to the fact that Antiochus Epiphanes forced the Jews to revolt by his extreme efforts at Hellenization.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Ibid. 34-36. cf. 2 M 5:11ff.
\(^2\) Ant. XII, 236ff. cf. 2 M 4 185.
\(^3\) Josephus gives three differing accounts of these affairs in the War, I, 3ff, in Ant. XII, 237ff., and in Ant. XX, 235-239. However, all three accounts agree that the Jews were forced into revolt by the provocations of Antiochus Epiphanes and the general Bacchides. This is in agreement with 1 & 2 M. To attempt a reconciliation of these three accounts of Josephus seems beyond the scope of this thesis.
Josephus condemns both Menelaus and Alcimus who followed Menelaus and attempted further Hellenization.

Of Onias Menelaus, Josehus:

He had served as high priest for ten years and had been a wicked and impious man, who in order to have sole authority for himself had compelled his nation to violate their own laws.⁴

Alcimus is also condemned by Josephus and is punished by God when the temple wall he is trying to remove falls upon him.²

At the death of Alcimus, Josephus tells us in the Antiquities that the people make Judas Maccabaeus high priest.³

Josephus reflects Maccabees in seeing the high priesthood and the rulership of the nation passed on from Jonathan to Simon to John Hyrcanus. One interesting divergence in the treatment of Josephus is that in Book XX of the Antiquities, he writes that the sons of Asamonaios after they went on the offensive against the Macedonians, "resumed the tradition, appointing as high priest Jonathan"⁴ whereas in Book XIII he had written that Jonathan put on the robes of the high priest only after he received appointment

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¹Ant. XII, 385. cf. 1 M 7:9ff. for take over by Alcimus.
²Ant. XII, 413, 1 M. 9:54-57.
³Ibid. 414. cf. 419 & 439. No mention of this is made in War or in Ant. XX, 235ff. nor in 1 & 2 M.
⁴Ant. XX, 239.
by King Alexander. ¹ Later Jonathan receives confirmation in
the high priesthood from Demetrius. ² Simon is recorded
as being made high priest by the multitude ³ and Hyrcanus
takes over the high priesthood that had been his father's
before. ⁴

As we have noted before, John Hyrcanus is a favorite
with Josephus. Josephus tells us that

Hyrcanus, having assumed the high priestly
office of his father, first propitiated God
with sacrifices and then marched out against
Ptolemy. ⁵

Everything that Hyrcanus does turns out well. He
ejects Ptolemy from the country and makes a league with
Antiochus. Later he makes a league with the Romans. He
takes Samaria and utterly destroys it. God spoke to him
while he was offering incense on more than one occasion.
Josephus closes the section on this "ideal" high priest
thus:

And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak and
lived happily thereafter; and when he died
after administering the government excellently
for thirty-one years, he left five sons. Now
he was accounted by God worthy of three of the
greatest privileges, the rule of the nation,
the office of high priest and the gift of proph-

¹Ant. XIII, 46 tells us that Jonathan put on the high
priestly robes four years after death of Judas. Cf. 1 M 10:
20-21.

²Ibid. 125. ³Ibid. 213. Cf. 1 M 13:36.


⁵Ant. XIII, 230.
ecy, for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future.

John Hyrcanus, according to Josephus,

foresaw and predicted that his two elder sons would not remain at the head of affairs.

and his prophecy was certainly right. The oldest,

Judas (Aristobulus) died of illness after having held the high priesthood for one year together with the kingship, for Judas also put the diadem upon his head for a single year, being the first to hold both offices.

Aristobolus was very cruel to his mother and to all his brethren. Even Antigonus, who was his favorite brother, he killed out of jealousy.

At his death, Alexander Jannaeus ruled vigorously for twenty-seven years as king and high priest. Josephus shows him as a strong and an active man. When he was afflicted by a quartan ague,

he hoped to shake off the malady by a return to active life. He, accordingly, plunged into ill-timed campaigns and, forcing himself to tasks beyond his strength, hastened his end. He died, at any rate, amid stress and turmoil, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Alexander turned the kingdom over to his wife Alexandra. She kept the rule of the kingdom for herself and appointed

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1 Ibid. 299ff. Cf. War I, 54-69.
4 War I, 72-80. 5 War I, 106.
her elder son, Hyrcanus, to be high priest, because he was the older, and because of "his disposition, which was too lethargic to be troubled about public affairs."\(^1\)

Alexandra ruled for nine years, but "after her death Hyrcanus' brother Aristobulus made war upon him, defeated him, deprived him of his office and and himself became both king and high priest of the nation."\(^2\)

And now we enter the period of many "deposings" from the high priesthood. When Aristobolus had reigned as king and high priest of the nation for two years and three months,

Pompey came and took the city of Jerusalem by storm and sent him with his children to Rome in bonds. Pompey also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus and permitted him to have the leadership of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. Hyrcanus ruled for twenty-four years... Then Barzabanes and Pacorus, the rulers of Parthia, crossing the Euphrates, made war on Hyrcanus, captured him alive, and appointed Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, king. The latter ruled for three years and three months, following which he was captured after a siege by Sossus and Herod. When he had been taken to Antioch, he was slain by Antony.\(^3\)

As a transition from this troubled period the the period of Herod, who made a regular practice of appointing and removing high priests according to his convenience, I would like to insert Josephus' condemnation of this practice. Josephus is condemning Herod for removing Ananel from the high priesthood:

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\(^2\)Ant. XX, 243. Cf. Ant. XIV, 1-7; War I, 120-122.

\(^3\)Ant. XX, 244-246.
So King Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananel, who was... of a high priestly family and had been treated by Herod as a valued friend. Just as he once had honoured him, when he took over the kingship, so he now dismissed him in order to end his domestic troubles. But in this he acted unlawfully, for never had anyone been deprived of this office when once he had assumed it except that Antiochus Epiphanes had violated this law first when he removed Jesus and appointed his brother Onias; and next was Aristobulus, who removed his brother Hyrcanus; and the third was Herod when he took the office away from Ananel and gave it to the young Aristobolus.

5) From Herod until the Destruction of the Temple by Titus.\(^1\)

Josephus tells us that there were twenty-eight high priests during these one hundred and seven years.\(^3\) He also tells us:

Herod, when the kingdom was committed to him by the Romans, abandoned the practice of appointing those of Asamonaian lineage as high priests, and with the exception of Aristobulus alone, assigned the office to some insignificant persons who were merely of priestly descent....Herod's son Archelaus also followed a similar policy in the appoint-

\(^1\) Ant. XV, 39-41. The Greek words used here are: 
- \textit{παντελώθη}: took away the high priesthood from;
- \textit{κατέλυσεν}: dismissed him;
- \textit{νυν ουκ εἴη}: be deprived of this office;
- \textit{συνδεόμενος}: removed Jesus;
- \textit{ἀρίστι}: removed Hyrcanus.

\(^2\) For a detailed treatment, see: Gustav Hölscher, \textit{Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus und die evangelische Chronologie}, (Heidelberg, 1660).

\(^3\) Ant. XX, 250.
ment of high priests, as did the Romans after him when they took over the government of the Jews.¹

As we have seen, Herod first appointed Ananel, an obscure priest from Babylon to be high priest. Then he "removed" him. Josephus tells us that Herod had Arisobulus murdered² and Ananel obtains the office once more.

While Josephus does not explain how Jesus, son of Phubes, obtained office, we do read that Herod promptly "removed" him to make room for Simon, his future father-in-law.³

Later, when the daughter of Simon no longer pleases Herod, he once again "takes away the high priesthood," this time from Simon and appoints Matthias, son of Theophilus.⁴

Next, when Herod is threatened by sedition in Jerusalem, "he removed the high priest Matthias from his priestly office as being partly to blame for what had happened."⁵

Joazar, who succeeded Matthias, was the first high priest whom Archelaus removed.

When Archelaus came to Judaea and took possession of his ethnarchy, he removed⁶ Joazar, the son of Boethus, from the high priesthood, blaming him for having supported the rebels, and in his place appointed Joazar's brother Eleazar.... Nor did Eleazar long remain in the priesthood for while he was still alive, he was replaced by Jesus, the

¹Ibid. 247.
²Ant. XV, 55-56. Cf. War I, 437.
³Ant. XV, 322.
⁴Ant. XVII, 78.
⁵Ant. XVII, 164.
⁶Removed from the high priesthood: ἀπελευθέρωσεν.
son of Sec. 1

It seems that Joazar was reinstated, 2 for he is once again stripped of his power by Quirinus and Ananus is installed in his stead. 3

Next Valerius Gratus,

deposed Ananus from his sacred office and proclaimed Ishmael, the son of Rabi, high priest. Not long afterwards, he removed him also and appointed in his stead Eleazar the son of the high priest Ananus. A year later he deposed him also, and entrusted the office of high priest to Simon the son of Camith. The last mentioned held this position for not more than a year and was succeeded by Joseph who was called Caiaphas. 4

Vitellius marked his two visits to Jerusalem by changing the high priest. On his first visit,

Vitellius was guided by our law in dealing with the vestments, and instructed the warden not to meddle with the questions where they were to be stored or when they should be used. After he had bestowed these benefits upon the nation, he removed from his sacred office the high priest Joseph surnamed Caiaphas, and appointed in his Jonathan, son Ananus the high priest. 5

On his next visit,

Vitellius spent three days at Jerusalem during which he deposed Jonathan from his office as high priest and conferred it on Jonathan's brother Theophilus.

1Ant. XVII, 339-341. 2Ant. XVIII, 3.
3Ibid. 26. 4Ant. XVIII, 34-35c.
5Ant. XVIII, 95. 6Ibid. 123.
King Agrippa continues the same pattern. He removes Theophilus and gives the office to Simon. Next he deprives Simon of office and offers it to Jonathan who refuses in favor of his brother, Matthias. Next Jonathan's brother Matthias is replaced by Elioneus, son of Cantheras.

Herod of Chalcis, brother of the deceased Agrippa, received special authority over the temple and the holy vessels and the selection of high priests from Claudius Caesar. Next, when Herod is threatened by sedition in Jerusalem his first exercise of this power was to remove Elioneus and to appoint Joseph, son of Camei. After some time, he removed him from office and assigned the office to Ananias, son of Nedebeaus.

The last high priests in the list of Josephus were appointed in the following way according to the Antiquities:

King Agrippa II appoints Ishmael, when ananias is taken in chains to Caesar. Under Ishmael Josephus records:

There now was enkindled mutual enmity and class warfare between the high priests, on the one hand and the priests and the leaders of the populace of Jerusalem, on the other. Each of the factions formed and collected for itself a band of the most reckless revolutionaries and acted as their leader. And when they clashed, they used abusive language and pelted each other with stones. And there was not even one person to rebuke them. No, it was as if there was no one in charge of the city, so that they acted as

1 Ant. XIX, 297.  
2 Ibid. 313.  
3 Ibid. 342.  
4 Ant. XX, 15-16.  
5 Ibid. 103.
they did with full license. Such was the shamelessness and effrontery which possessed the high priests that they actually were so brazen as to send slaves to the threshing floors to receive the tithes that were due to the priests, with the result that the poorer priests starved to death. ¹

When Ishmael is taken as a hostage in Rome, King Agrippa II, gave the high priesthood to Joseph Cabi, son of Simon.² Then shortly afterwards, he removed him and put Ananus, son of Ananus in office.³ But he only lasted for three months and was deposed from the high priesthood because of his rashness and replaced by Jesus, son of Damaeus.⁴ King Agrippa II next replaced Jesus, son of Damaeus with Jesus, son of Gamaliel.

As a result, a feud broke out between factions supporting the two. But according to the Antiquities, it was Ananias who was in control.⁶ He was in control because he obtained a good deal of money obtained by taking the tithes of the priests.⁷

The last high priest appointed by the king was Matthias "under whom the war of the Jews with the Romans began."⁸

In the War, Josephus tells us of the appointment of Phanasus:

These wretches (the zealots) converted the temple of God into their fortress and refuge from

¹Ibid. 179-181. ²Ibid. 196.
³Ibid. 197. ⁴Ant. XX, 198-203.
⁵Ibid. 213. ⁶Ibid.
⁷Ibid. 205-207. ⁸Ibid. 223.
an outbreak of popular violence, and made the Holy Place the headquarters of their tyranny. To these horrors was added a spice of mockery more galling than their action. For to test the abject submission of the populace and make trial of their own strength, they essayed to appoint the high priests by lot.

They accordingly summoned one of the high priestly clans called shiachin and cast lots for a high priest. By chance the lot fell to one who proved a signal illustration of their depravity; he was an individual named Phanni (Phanasus), son of Samuel, of the village of Apthia, a man who not only was not descended from high priests, but was such a clown that he scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant. At any rate they dragged their reluctant victim out of the country and dressing him up for his assumed part, as on a stage, put the sacred vestments upon him...To them this monstrous impiety was a subject for jesting and sport, but the other priests beholding from a distance this mockery of their law, could not restrain their tears.

1War IV, 152-157.
APPENDIX A

Descriptive List of Texts Concerning High Priests in the Writings of Josephus.

Ant. I, 10-13: Magnanimity of Eleazar the high priest in allowing Law to be translated is a precedent for Josephus.

III, 151-178: Description of priestly and high priestly vestments.

179-187: Symbolism of tabernacle and vestments explained.

188-192: Appointment of Aaron as high priest.

204-207: Inaugural ceremonies for Aaron and sons.

208-211: Attitude of Aaron at death of his two sons.

214-218: Further description of high priestly vestments.

224-257: Description of sacrifices.

240-243: Description of Day of Atonement.

276-279: Special laws of purity for priests and high priests.

IV, 14-16: Confirmation by God of Aaron as high priest in face of rebellion by Korah, Jethan and Abiram and followers.

79: Sacrifice of red heifer by high priest.

83: Death of Aaron and succession of Eleazar to high priesthood.

152-153: Phinehas, son of Eleazar the high priest, slays Zambrias.

171: Eleazar, the high priest, is summoned by Moses to witness cession of Amorite land to two and a half tribes.

172: Life of high priest is term of exile for crime of manslaughter.

186: Moses urges people to follow counsels of Eleazar and Joshua.
Ant. IV, 209: Septennial reading of the Laws by the high priest.

216: High priest and the prophet and the council of elders to decide difficult cases.

224: King to do nothing without advice of high priest.

V, 43: Joshua summons the high priest Eleazar and the magistrates to draw lots.

55: Eleazar swears an oath of friendship with Gibeonites.

57: Joshua convokes the high priest Eleazar and the council to help him decide.

80: Eleazar helps in distribution of land.

103-104: Eleazar helps settle the problem of the trans-Jordanian tribes.

119: Eleazar dies, leaving high priesthood to Phinehas, his son.

120: Phinehas prophesies will of God.

159: People beseech God through Phinehas to abate anger and God answers through Phinehas.

318: Eli, the high priest, becomes leader of Israelites after death of Samson.

338-351: The iniquity of Eli's sons.

354: Sons of high priest arrive with ark. Phinehas son of Eli, is already acting as high priest.

356: Sons of Eli are killed in battle.

358-359: Eli, the high priest, dies when he hears the ark has been captured.

361-362: Succession of high priests from Eleazar to Eli.

VI, 107: Ahiah is mentioned as high priest at time of Saul.

115: Saul orders high priest to don high priestly robes and prophesy to him what would happen.

122: Saul orders Achitob, the high priest, to
prophesy but there is no response from God.

Ant. VI, 242-244: Ahimelech the high priest helps David.

255-261: Saul destroys Ahimelech and his family (except Abiather) for helping David.

269: Abiathar escapes to David.

291: Samuel is said to have been ruler of the people after the death of Eli the high priest.

359-360: David asks Abiathar to don high priestly vestments and prophesy to him. High priest prophesies victory.

378: Saul’s tragic end is seen as partly punishment for slaughter of the high priest and his family.

VII, 56: Zadok, the high priest, is mentioned.

72: David orders the high priest to prophesy to him God’s pleasure.

110: Zadok and Abiathar are high priests.

200: Zadok and Abiathar remain with ark in Jerusalem.

222f: High priests send word to David.

245ff: Son of Zadok announces victory to David.

260ff: High priests act as messengers for David.

293: Zadok and Abiathar are appointed priests.

354: Zadok anoints Solomon.

393: Hyrcanus, the high priest, afterwards used the money put in the tomb of David by Solomon.

VIII, 10: Abiathar is deposed from the high priesthood.

11: The passage of the high priesthood from the house of Ithamar occurs as prophesied.

12: Genealogy of the house of Phinehas during the time Eli and the house of Ithamar held the high priesthood.

16: Zadok is made sole high priest by Solomon.

93: Production of high priestly vestments for the
temple of Solomon. High priestly crown is the same one Moses made.

Ant. VIII, 230: Jeroboam makes himself high priest and is punished by God.

IX, 142-153: Jehoiada the high priest successfully executes the overthrow of Athaliah and enthronement of Joash.

161-165: Jehoiada is very influential over King Joash: repairs temple.

166-169: King Joash changes after death of Jehoiada and orders Zecheriah killed.

170ff.: Punishment of Joash for his unlawful acts is described.

222-227: Uzziah is punished by God for putting on priestly garb and entering to the golden altar to offer sacrifice. High priest at time is Azariah.

X, 56: Hilkiah described as one of the officials in charge of rebuilding temple.

57-59: Hilkiah discovers a book of Moses' law in the temple. He reads them to King Josiah.

65: Josiah kills priests who were not of the family of Aaron.

149-150: In deportation of Jews to Babylon, Seraiah the high priest is killed and his son Jehozadak is carried into captivity.

151-153: List of high priests from Zadok to Jehozadak.

154: The high priest is released from confinement.

Ant. XI, 62: Darius agrees to pay for making of high priestly vestments.

71: Priests are expelled from office for not having proof of descent.

73: Leaders of return include Josua, son of the high priest, Jehozadak.

75ff.: Josua the high priest and Zerubbabel restore the customary sacrifices.
Ant. XI, 79-90: Joshua the high priest and Zerubbabel restore the temple.

95: Zerubbabel and the high priest convince officials not to stop building of temple.

111: The high priests were at the head of affairs until the Hasmoneans came to rule as kings.

121: The high priest at time of Xerxes was Joiakim.

145-153: Foreign wives were put away by the descendants of Joshua the high priest and of the other priests, Levites and Israelites.

158: Joiakim dies and is succeeded by Eliashib.

297: Joiada succeeds his father Eliashib as high priest. Johanan succeeds him.

297-301: Johanan kills his brother in the temple and is punished through Bagosos.

302: Jaddua, son of Johanan succeeds him as high priest.

306-312: Hanasses, brother of Jaddua, is excluded from exercising high priesthood because of his foreign wife.

317-339: Story of Alexander the Great and high priest Jaddua.

347: Son of Jaddua, Onias, becomes high priest.

XII, 11-118: Josephus' version of Aristobus story which involves Eleazar the high priest.

156-157: Succession of high priests from Eleazar to Hanasses to Onias, son of Simon.

158-159: Onias described as one of little soul, very avaricious.

160ff.: Story of Joseph, son of sister of Onias.

223-224: Succession to high priesthood of Simon and Onias.

228: Simon the high priest joins majority in supporting older sons of Joseph against the youngest, Hyrcanus.
Ant. XII, 237-238: Older brother of Onias is appointed high priest by Antiochus and then removed in favor of Onias, his younger brother.

239-241: Helenization by high priests includes changing of name of Jesus to Jason and of Onias to Menelaus.

364-366: Antiochus Eupator sends Onias Menelaus to Beroea in Syria and has him killed. He was a wicked and inauspicious man. Alcimus is chosen as next high priest.

387: Alcimus is said to be of family of high priests. (cf. Ant. XX, 235)

391f.: Alcimus is listed among the wicked and renegade Jews who accuse their own nation.

413: After the painful death of Alcimus, the people give high priesthood to Judas Macchabaeus.

419: Judas is said to be high priest of the nation.

434: Judas is said to die after holding high priesthood for three years.

XIII, 45: Alexander Balas elects Jonathan high priest.

46: Jonathan puts on high priestly vestments.

62-73: Onias, son of high priest Onias, builds a temple at Leontopolis.

83: Alexander writes to the high priest Jonathan.

124: Jonathan confirmed in high priesthood by Demetrius.

45-212: High priestly reign of Jonathan is described.

209: Jonathan is murdered.

213: Simon chosen high priest by the populace.

213-230: High priesthood of Simon is described.

228-230: Simon is killed and John Hyrcanus succeeds his father as high priest, offers sacrifice.

230-300: High priesthood of John Hyrcanus is described.

282-283: Special communication of God to John Hyrcanus.

299-300: Special gifts of John Hyrcanus.
301: Aristobulus turns the government into a kingdom.

372ff.: Evil deeds of Alexander Jannaeus.

408: Alexandra appoints her eldest son, Hyrcanus, high priest.

XIV, 4-7: Hyrcanus yields rule to Aristobulus.

37-73: Pompey reinstates Hyrcanus as high priest.

97: Aristobulus was high priest for three years and six months.

137-143: Caesar confirms Hyrcanus as high priest for taking part in the campaign.

146: Hyrcanus is high priest and ethnarch.

191-264: Letters and decrees of Caius Julius Caesar concerning Hyrcanus and the Jewish freedom of religion. Hyrcanus is recognized as high priest and ethnarch in these letters.

306-318: Letters from M. Anthony which recognize Hyrcanus as high priest and ethnarch.

324ff.: Advice of Hyrcanus is asked by M. Anthony concerning Herod. Hyrcanus favors Herod.

365-366: Antigonus mutilates ears of Hyrcanus to exclude him from high priestly practice.

XV, 11-21: Release of high priest Hyrcanus from captivity of Parthians and his return to Jerusalem.

22: Herod appoints Ananel high priest.

24: Alexandra seeks to have her son Aristobulus made high priest.

31-41: Herod removes Ananel and appoints Aristobulus to the high priesthood for his own personal reasons.

50-56: Herod has Aristobulus murdered and restores Ananel.

179-182: Evaluation of the character of Hyrcanus the high priest.

322: Herod to facilitate his marriage with Simon's
daughter, removes Jesus, son of Phabes, from the high priesthood and appoints Simon.

Ant. XV, 4,03-4,09: On the custody of the high priest's vestments.

XVI, 163: Mention of "Hyrcanus high priest of the Most High God" in decree from Augustus.

XVII, 14: Mention that Herod's son Herod was born of the daughter of the high priest.

19: Mention of daughter of high priest as wife of Herod.

78: Herod divorces daughter of high priest and removes Simon from high priesthood. Matthias, son of Theophilus, is appointed.

164-167: Herod removes Matthias and appoints Joazar as high priest. During the term of Matthias, Joseph was high priest for a day.

207: People demand a new and purer high priest from Archelaus.

339: Archelaus removes Joazar from the high priesthood and appoints Eleazar.

341: Eleazar is replaced by Jesus, son of Sec.

XVIII, 3: Jews yield to arguments of high priest Joazar.

26: Quirinius strips Joazar of the high priesthood and appoints Ananus, son of Seth.

34-35: Gratius deposes Ananus and proclaims Ishmael to be high priest. Then he appoints Simon in place of Ishmael, then removes Simon and appoints Joseph Caiphas.

94: Purification of high priestly vestments before feast days.

95: Vitellius appoints Jonathan instead of Joseph.

109: Herod's son, Herod, is mentioned as being son of the daughter of the high priest, Simon.

123: Vitellius deposes Jonathan and appoints Theophilus.

136: Mention of Mariamme as the daughter of the high priest.
Ant. XIX, 297-298: Agrippa removes Theophilus and appoints Simon Cantheras.

313-316: Agrippa offers high priesthood to Jonathan but he refuses in favor his brother, Matthias.

342: Agrippa appoints Elionaeus in place of Matthias as high priest.

XX, 6-13: Struggle over possession of high priestly vestments.

15-16: Herod, brother of deceased Agrippa is given authority by Claudius Caesar to select the high priest. He appoints Joseph son of Camei.

103: Herod removes Joseph and appoints Ananias, son of Nedebaeus.

131: Ananias is sent to Rome in chains by Quadratus.

179: Ishmael son of Phabi is appointed high priest.

195-196: Nero retains Ishmael as hostage. Agrippa then appoints Joseph son of high priest Simon.

197: Agrippa removes Joseph and appoints Ananus, son of Ananus.

199-203: Younger Ananus is removed for rashness and replaced by Jesus, son of Damaeus.

205-207: High priest Ananias enjoys good reputation but is guilty of evil practices.

213: Agrippa replaces Jesus, son of Damaeus, with Jesus, son of Gamaliel.

223: Jesus, son of Gamaliel is deprived of high priesthood and it is given to Matthias, son of Theophilus.

224-251: Josephus lists the eighty three high priests from Aaron to Phanesus.

War I, 26: Josephus plans to speak of vestments of high priest.

31-47: Persecution of Antiochus and rise of Haccabees.

33: Onias, the high priest escapes to Ptolemy.
War I, 53: Simon is appointed high priest.

54-69: John Hyrcanus as high priest.

68-69: Three special privileges John Hyrcanus.

70: Aristobulus makes himself a king.

70-84: Aristobulus rules only a year. He kills his brother and dies in punishment.


109: Queen Alexandra appoints her eldest son, Hyrcanus, as high priest.

120-122: Hyrcanus abdicates in favor of Aristobulus.


152: Pompey enters where none but the high priest is allowed to enter.

153: Pompey reinstates Hyrcanus as high priest.

162-169: Gabinius defeats Alexander, restores order and reinstates Hyrcanus in Jerusalem and gives him custody of the temple.

194: Hyrcanus is confirmed as high priest by Caesar in order to please Antipater.

199: Caesar declares Hyrcanus to be the more deserving claimant to the high priesthood. Antipater is made viceroy of all Judea.

270: Antigonus ends the active high priesthood of Hyrcanus by lacerating his ear.

437: Herod bestows the high priesthood upon Aristobulus when he is only seventeen, then has him drowned when swimming.

562: Mariamne identified as high priest's daughter.

War II, 240: The Jewish notables including the high priest Jonathan, son of Ananus, appeal to Quadratus.

243: Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests are
sent up to Caesar.

War II, 256: Jonathan the high priest is first to be assassinated by the sicarii.

301, 316, 318, 331, 342, 410, 422, 428 et passim in War: “chief priests” are linked with notables and other leading men.

409-416: Under the leadership of Eleazar, son of Ananias the high priest, it was decided by those at the Temple to accept no more sacrifices from foreigners.

426-429: The house of Ananias, the high priest, is burnt.

441-442: Ananias the high priest is murdered.

562: Ananus, the high priest is elected along with Joseph to supreme control of affairs in the city.

566: Eleazar, son of the high priest Neus, is elected one of the generals.

647-654: Activities of Ananus the high priest in Jerusalem.

IV, 147-157: The choice of the high priest Phanæus by the Zealots.

162-192: Speech of Ananus the high priest against the Zealots.

164: "I who wear the high priestly vestments."

238: Jesus, the chief priest next in seniority to Ananus, addresses the Idumæans.

319-325: Encomium of Ananus and Jesus.

349, 506, 508: Mention of Ananus, the high priest.

V, 230-236: The high priest’s vestments and his participation in feasts.

506: Mention of the tomb of Ananias the high priest.

527: Matthias, son of Boethus claims high priestly ancestry.
VI, 114: Joseph and Jesus, chief priests, and certain sons of chief priests go over to Romans with other leaders.

VII, 267: Murder of chief priests by Idumeans to exterminate religious worship.

423: Onias is mentioned as one of the chief priests at Jerusalem.

Apion I, 29: The keeping of records was a task assigned to the chief priests and the prophets.

36: Jewish records contain names of high priests for two thousand years.

II, 104: Sanctuary was entered only by high priests, clad in the raiment proper to themselves.

185-189: Excellence of the theocratic constitution under the leadership of the high priest.

193-194: Special functions of the high priest.

Life -2-4: Josephus traces his ancestry back to the Hasmonean high priests through a daughter of Jonathan.

9: Josephus reports that high priests of the city went to him for precise information on subjects.

193-194: Josephus mentions high priests Ananus and Jesus.

197: Simon is said to be descended from high priests.

216: Jonathan is sent from Simon and Ananus the high priest.
APPENDIX B

Lists of the Qualities of the Levitical High Priest
Reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews

1. List by C. Spicq

Recu par le privilège d’une descendance charnelle,
Déterminé par la législation mosaïque,
Prêtres mortels, transmettent leurs pourvoirs à
leurs successeurs,
Hommes faibles et pécheurs,
N’étaient que prêtres,
Leur culte est une image et une ombre du culte
céleste, VIII, 5.
Moyen d’expiation: le sang des animaux.

Offrande quotidienne.
LIEU: Dans un tabernacle terrestre.
EFFET: Sacrifices inefficaces.
Dieu ne les agréait pas.

2. List based on the treatment of C. Shrenk in TWNT.

1) The priest is called by God, 5:1-6.
2) He represents the people before God, 2:17;5:1.
3) Even before God he is in solidarity with men, 5:1.
4) He is able to have sympathy for others because he
   himself is weak, 5:2-3.
5) The offering of unbloody and bloody sacrifices
   for sins is his true task, 5:1;6:3;10:11.
6) This takes place in expiation, 2:17.
7) There is no remission without the shedding
   of blood, 9:7,18-22.
8) The priest offers for his own sins and for those
   of the people because he too is weak. 5:2-3;7:27.
9) The Levitical priesthood does not accomplish its
   final goal. It neither sets sin aside permanently
   nor perfects man by fellowship with God, 7:11,19.
10) The sense of guilt is not removed by the sacrifices
    of the Levitical priesthood, but the sacrifices
    must be continued. 9:9;10:2-3. The cultus becomes

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2C. Shrenk, E[n].L(3).-10/([φ]κροπές, G. Kittel, Theological
   Dictionary of N.T., (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1965) Vol. 3,
   pp. 277-278.
a reminder of sins, 10:3.

11) The priests who practice it are mortal. This is why they are a changing plurality, 7:23.

12) The sacrifices lack the character of eternity and consequently need to be repeated continually. The sacrifice on the Day of Atonement is offered only once a year, but it is offered every year. 9:6 f., 12:10:1.

13) The ministry of priests may have some purifying power, 9:13, but it brings about only external and cultic purifications.

14) The blood of animals cannot take away sin, 10:4.

15) It is a priesthood by virtue of physical descent. 7:16.

16) It is carried on in an earthly sanctuary. 9:1.

17) A sanctuary made by human hands, 9:11.

18) It is only a true tabernacle. 9:23; 8:5; 10:1.

3. Lists of texts taken directly from the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning the Levitical high priesthood directly or indirectly.

2:17 It was essential that he should in this way become completely like his brothers so that he could be a compassionate and trustworthy high priest of God's religion able to atone for human sins.

5:1-4 Every high priest has been taken out of mankind and is appointed to act for men in their relations with God, to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins; and so he can sympathize with those who are ignorant or uncertain because he too lives in the limitations of weakness. That is why he has to make sin offerings for himself as well as for the people. No one takes this honour on himself, but each one is called by God as Aaron was.

7:5 We know that descendants of Levi who are admitted to the priesthood are obliged by the Law to take tithes from the people, and this is taking them from their own brothers, although they too are descended from Abraham.

7:11-16 Now if perfection had been reached through the Levitical priesthood because the Law given to the nations rests on it, why was it still necessary for a new priesthood to arise, one of the same order as Melchisedek not counted as being of the same order as Aaron? But any change in the priesthood must mean a change in the Law as well.

So our Lord, of whom these things were said, belonged to a different tribe, the members of which
have never done service at the altar; everyone knows he came from Judah, a tribe which Moses did not even mention when dealing with priests.

This becomes even more clearly evident when there appears a second Eleazar, who is a priest not by virtue of a law about physical descent, but by the power of an indestructible life.

7:20-24 The others indeed were made priests without any oath... Then there used to be a great number of those other priests, because death put an end to each one of them; but this one because he remains forever, can never lose his priesthood.

7:26-28 To suit us, the ideal high priest would have to be holy, innocent and uncontaminated, beyond the influence of sinners and raised up above the heavens; one who would not need to offer sacrifices every day as the other high priests do for their own sins and then for those of the people, because he has done this once and for all by offering himself. The Law appoints high priests who are men subject to weakness; but the promise on oath, which came after the Law, appointed the Son who is made perfect forever.

8:3-5 It is the duty of every high priest to offer gifts and sacrifices, and so this one too must have something to offer. In fact, if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all, since there are others who make the offerings laid down by the Law and these only maintain the service of a model or reflection of the heavenly realities.

8:7-13 If that first covenant had been without a fault, there would have been no need for a second one to replace it. And in fact God does find fault with them; he says:

(Jr 31:31-34)

By speaking of a new covenant he implies that the first one is already old. Now anything old only gets more antiquated until in the end it disappears.

9:1-5 The first covenant also had its laws governing worship, and its sanctuary, a sanctuary on this earth. There was a tent which comprised two compartments; the first, in which the lamp-stand, the table and the presentation leaves were kept, was called the Holy Place; then beyond the second veil, an innermost art, which was called the Holy of Holies to which belonged the gold altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant, plated all over with gold. In this were kept the gold jar containing the
manna, Aaron's branch that grew the buds, and the stone tablets of the covenant. On top of it was the throne of mercy, and outspread over it were the glorious cherubs. This is not the time to go into greater detail about this.

9:6-10 Under these provisions, priests are constantly going into the outer tent to carry out their acts of worship, but the second tent is entered only once a year and then only by the high priest who must go in by himself and take the blood to offer for his own faults and the people's. By this the Holy Spirit is showing that no one has the right to go into the sanctuary as long as the outer tent remains standing; it is a symbol for this present time.

None of the gifts and sacrifices offered under these regulations can possibly bring any worshipper to perfection in his inner self; they are rules about the outward life, connected with foods and drinks and washing at various times intended to be in force only until it should be time to reform them.

9:13 The Blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer are sprinkled on those who have incurred defilement and they restore the holiness of their outward lives.

9:18-20 Even the earlier covenant needed something to be killed in order to take effect, and why after Moses had announced all the commandments of the Law to the people, he took the calves' blood and the goats' blood and some water and with these he sprinkled the book itself and all the people using scarlet wool and hyssop; saying as he did so: This is the blood of the covenant that God has laid down for you.

9:21-22: After that, he sprinkled the tent and all the liturgical vessels with blood in the same way. In fact, according to the Law almost everything has to be purified with blood; and if there is no shedding of blood, there is no remission. Obviously only the copies of heavenly things can be purified in this way, and the heavenly things themselves have to be purified by a higher sort of sacrifice than this. It is not as though Christ had entered a man-made sanctuary which was only modelled on the real one; but it was heaven itself so that he could appear in the actual presence of God on our behalf.

9:25-26: And he does not have to offer himself again and again like the high priest going into the sanctuary year after year with blood that is not his own, or else he would have had to suffer over and over again since the world began. Instead of that, he has made his
appearance once and for all, now at the end of the last age, to do away with sin by sacrificing himself.

10:1-4 So since the Law has no more than a reflection of these realities, and no finished picture of them, it is quite incapable of bringing the worshippers to perfection, with the same sacrifices repeatedly offered year after year. Otherwise, the offering of them would have stopped, because the worshippers when they had been purified once, would have no awareness of sins. Instead of that, the sins are recalled year after year in the sacrifices. Bull's blood and goats' blood are useless for taking away sins.

10:11-18 The efficacy of Christ's sacrifice.

10:11 All the priests stand at their duties every day, offering over and over again the same sacrifices which are quite incapable of taking away sin.

13:11 The bodies of the animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for the atonement of sin are burnt outside the camp.
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APPENDIX C

Josephus' Treatment of Melchizedek

Ant. I, 179-182.

"So Abraham, having rescued Sodomite prisoners, previously captured by the Assyrians including his kinsman Lot, returned in peace. The king of the Sodomites met him at a place which they call the 'royal plain'. There he was received by the king of Solyma, Melchizedek; this name means 'righteous king'! and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God: Solyma was in fact the place afterwards called Heirosolyma. Now this Melchizedek hospitably entertained Abraham's army, providing abundantly for all their needs and in the course of the feast he began to extol Abraham and to bless God for having delivered his enemies into his hand. Abraham then offered him the tithe of the spoil, and he accepted the gift."

War VI, 438.

"Its [Jerusalem's] original founder was a Canaanite chief, called in the native tongue 'Righteous King'; for such indeed he was. In virtue thereof he was the first to officiate as priest of God and being the first to build the temple, gave the city, previously called Solyma, the name of Jerusalem."
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