**Dating the Destruction of the First Temple: Tradition and Interpretation in Josephus**

One of the least thrilling aspects of the historian’s work is chronologizing—partitioning time within a historical narrative as precisely as possible. Chronology is also a field in which miscalculation, faulty copying, and printing errors are so common that they hardly deserve comment. Nevertheless, one occasionally encounters a real puzzle that makes it truly necessary to determine the chronology of a given event. Josephus, perhaps unlike some historians, displays no hostility to chronologizing. On the contrary, in his *Jewish Antiquities,* he tends to draw up occasional chronological summaries of important events. For example, he numbers the years to the beginning of construction of the First Temple under Solomon relative to seven events: Solomon’s reign, the Exodus, Abraham’s arrival in the Land of Canaan, the Flood, the creation of humankind, Hiram’s reign, and the establishment of Tyre (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.62). He counts the destruction of Samaria from three events: The Exodus, the conquest of the Land of Israel, and the partitioning of the Davidic kingdom (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.280). He marks the destruction of the First Temple in the following way:

The sanctuary was burned down 470 years, 6 months and 10 days after it had been constructed. From the Egyptian sojourn of the people it was 1,062 years, 6 months, and 10 days. From the Deluge to the demolition of the sanctuary the whole length of time was 1,957 years, 6 months, and 10 days. From the generation of Adam until what happened to the sanctuary it was 4,513 years, 6 months, and 10 days. This then is the total of these years (Josephus, *Ant.* 10.147–148 [Begg and Spilsbury, *Josephus*][[1]](#footnote-1))

Unlike Josephus’ aforementioned enumerations, in which only years are counted, here he also repeatedly gives numbers of months and days.[[2]](#footnote-2) Not only here, however, does Josephus give the months and days. Several sentences earlier, he writes that the Davidic kingdom lasted 514 years, six months, and ten days (Josephus, *Ant.* 10.143). Accordingly, the day of the destruction is also the day when the kingdom met its demise.[[3]](#footnote-3) Later in his book Josephus uses a few more times the counting of months and days. After the depiction Nebuchadnezzar's war in Egypt, Josephus recapitulates the history of exiles from the Land. At the end he points out “Now the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites until the deportation of the two tribes amounted to one hundred and thirty years, six months and ten days” (Josephus, *Ant*. 10.185, Marcus[[4]](#footnote-4)). The same counting of months and days also slept later. When Josephus recounts that at the beginning of the Second Temple period the high priests headed the people, he reiterated Jewish leadership until the first destruction. He notes that since Saul rose to reign, the people have been under the rule of kings for “five hundred thirty-two years six months and ten days” (Josephus, *Ant*. 11.112, Marcus). And again, at the end of *Antiquities,* Josephus produces a chronology of the First and Second Temples, now using the priestly count of years. Referring the destruction of the First Temple, he writes that the High Priesthood in that edifice lasted 466 years, six months, and ten days (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.232). Josephus’ modern interpreters have often examined and discussed his years chronology.[[5]](#footnote-5) The system of months and days he uses only in reference to the destruction, however, has not yet been privileged with a real debate.

**a. The Biblical background**

Any discussion of the count of months and days should, of course, take place in connection with data on the destruction as reported in the Bible and other traditions. Indeed, the date of the destruction is contested already in Scripture. The last chapter of Kings gives a detailed account of the siege of Jerusalem, the breaching of the city walls, and, finally, the torching of the Temple:

8) On the seventh day of the fifth month—that was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon—Nebuzaradan, the chief of the guards, an officer of the king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem. 9) He burned the House of the Lord, the king’s palace, and all the houses of Jerusalem; he burned down the house of every notable person. (2 Kgs 25:8–9 JPS)

Thus, the First Temple was destroyed (according to the anachronistic Babylonian month-names) on Av 7. Now, in the last chapter of Jeremiah, which parallels the concluding chapter of Kings in a manner of speaking, we read:

12) On the tenth day of the fifth month—that was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon—Nebuzaradan, the chief of the guards, came to represent the king of Babylon in Jerusalem. 13) He burned the House of the Lord, the king’s palace, and all the houses of Jerusalem; he burned down the house of every notable person. (Jer 52:12–13 JPS)

Even though the descriptions are similar if not identical, the date Jeremiah specifies is Av 10.[[6]](#footnote-6) The contradiction is acknowledged and discussed by the Rabbis, traditional Biblical commentators, and, of course, modern research.[[7]](#footnote-7)

**b. The biblical tradition in Josephus’ works**

Josephus dealt with the destruction of the First Temple in his *Jewish Antiquities*, which describes the history of the Jews from the creation until the outbreak of the Great Revolt. However, even in his earlier book, *The Jewish War*, the first destruction, and especially its, took an important place. *Jewish War* deals with the last 200 years of the Second Temple, from the founding of the Hasmonaean kingdom to the destruction. When Josephus describes the Second Temple’s destruction, however, he evokes the memory of the first:

God, indeed long before, had sentenced it to the flames. But now in the revolution of the years had arrived the fated day, the tenth of the month of Lous, the day on which of old it had been burnt by the king of Babylon. (*J.W.* 6.250 [LCL, Thackeray] [[8]](#footnote-8))

According to Josephus, both temples were demolished on the same date: the tenth day of the month of Av.[[9]](#footnote-9) Obviously, he resolves the matter as does Jeremiah. He repeats this determination with greater emphasis several sentences later: “And who should not be amazed by the exactitude of his cyclicality for, as I said, he indeed waited until the same month and the very same day on which the First Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians” (*J.W*. 6.268 [Thackeray, LCL]).

Josephus’ familiarity with biblical chronology is also clearly evident in *Jewish Antiquities*. According to Josephus the siege of Jerusalem began in the ninth year of Zedekiah in the 10th day of the tenth month (*Ant*. 10.116), that is, in the month of Tevet. This figure is exactly in accordance with the biblical report (2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 39:1, 52:4; Ezek 24:2). Immediately after, Josephus writes that the siege lasted eighteen months (*Ant*. 10.116, 134). In other words, the wall of Jerusalem was broken into in the month of Tammuz in the eleventh year of Zedekiah. Again, this date in accordance with the biblical report “And in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, on the ninth day of the fourth month, the [walls of] the city were breached” (Jer 39:2 JPS). In light of the close familiarity with Biblical chronology, it is only natural to expect Josephus to bring the date of the destruction as well as narrated in the Bible, but at this point Josephus deviates from the Biblical tradition: “[Nebuzaradan] came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God [...] and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah” (*Ant.* 10.146 [Begg and Spilsbury, *Josephus*]). Josephus sets the date of destruction to the beginning of the fifth month, the first of Av. This date is different from both the biblical tradition which sets the destruction to 7th or 10th and Josephus himself who dated the destruction to the 10th of Av in his *Jewish War*.

**c. “I See the Rod of an Almond Tree”: The Destruction on Av 1**

How did Josephus set the date of the destruction to Av 1, a date not mentioned anywhere in Scripture? Michael Avioz suggests that the date originates in Ezekiel:

And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first day of the month, that the word of the Lord came unto me, saying “Son of man, because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem: aha, she is broken that was the gate of the peoples; she is turned unto me; I shall be filled with her that is laid waste”. (Ezek 26:1–2 JPS).

The title of the chapter gives the year and the day but the month in which the prophecy is given is not identified. Verse 2 gives the historical context of the prophecy: “because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem ‘aha’”. Tyre takes pleasure in the destruction of Jerusalem and, by inference, the prophecy was given in connection with the devastation of the city. The omission of the month allows various possibilities to emerge. Avioz claims that Josephus interprets Ezekiel’s remarks as relating to Av 1.[[10]](#footnote-10) Even if we assume, however, that Josephus traces the opaque date back to Ezekiel, we still need to ask why he overlooks the explicit date in Kings and Jeremiah in favor of the obscure one. Two complementary possibilities suggest themselves. The contradiction between 2 Kgs 25, which dates the destruction to Av 7, and Jer 52, which places it on Av 10, is irreconcilable. Consequently, a third verse is needed to resolve the matter. This interpretive approach is well known in rabbinic literature: “Two verses contradict each other until a third verse comes and resolves the contradiction” (Sifra 1:1).[[11]](#footnote-11) This rule is valid for the interpretation of any text and served ancient exegetes from the Graeco-Roman as well as the Jewish world.[[12]](#footnote-12) Thus Josephus, being aware of the contradiction between Jeremiah and 2 Kings, nullifies their conflicting testimonies about the day in the month in favor of Ezekiel’s report, which sets it to Av 1. Josephus fills in the missing information in Ezekiel, the identity of the month, from Jeremiah and Kings, which agree that the fifth month is the one at hand.[[13]](#footnote-13) Another possibility is that Josephus indeed relies on Ezekiel but does so not only due to the contradiction between 2 Kings and Jeremiah but also, and rather, because the date of the destruction in Ezekiel is reinforced by an ancient tradition.

Indeed, such a tradition arises from a discussion in the Palestinian Talmud (PT) concerning the date of the destruction. A Mishnah in tractate Ta’anit, lists calamities that occurred on Tammuz 17 and Av 9. Among those that fell on the former date, it includes “The city was breached” (m. Taʿan. 4:6). The PT takes issue with this Mishnaic passage: “It is written ‘on the ninth of the month the city was breached’ (Jer 39:2) – and you say this?!” (y. Taʿan. 4:6, 68c [Schottenstein][[14]](#footnote-14)). While the Mishna dates the breaching of Jerusalem’s wall to Tammuz 17, the Talmud notes that, according to the Bible, this happened on the ninth of that month.[[15]](#footnote-15) In response, R. Tanhum b. Hanilai, a second-generation Palestinian Amora is quoted saying:

Rabbi Tanhum b. Hanilai said: There is an error in calculations preserved here; this is that which is written “in the eleventh year, in the first day of the month, that the word of the Lord came unto me, saying “Son of man, because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem: aha” (Ezekiel 26.1-2). What is “aha”? If you will say this is the first of Av, [the Temple] had not yet been burned; if you will say this is the first of Elul, could a courier leave Jerusalem and reach Tyre in just a day and a night? Perforce, there is an error in calculations preserved here. (y. Taʿan. 4:6, 68c [Schottenstein])

R. Tanhum b. Hanilai explains that, yes, Jerusalem was breached on Tammuz 17, as the Mishnah says, but due to the vicissitudes the date was miscalculated and set at the ninth of the month instead of the seventeenth. Proof that an error found its way into the Bible emerges from a discussion of the verses of Ezekiel. The Talmud realizes that Ezekiel dates the destruction to Av 1 and protests that this cannot be, since, after all, the Temple was still intact on the first of the month, and had it fallen on the first of the next month, Elul, much time would have passed from the destruction to the festivities in Tyre, which were unlikely to have dithered for three weeks. Thus, the Talmud infers that the date of the destruction as reported by Ezekiel, Av 1, is the result of “miscalculation.”

R. Manna, however, rejects the possibility of a misdating in Ezekiel: “R. Mana asks: Miscalculated retrospectively, very well. But prospectively?” (ibid.). Since Ezekiel prophesied before the Temple fell, future woes could not have influenced the prophecy at the time it was given. In other words, the date of the destruction as specified in Ezekiel, the first of Av, is immutable. By implication, there are two traditions about the date of the destruction and, in turn, two different traditions about when the city defenses were breached, as the Talmud concludes:

Rabbi Avunah said: “A staff of an almond tree I see” (Jer 1:11) – Just as this almond tree from when it gives forth its blossom until it completes its fruits is twenty-one days, so too from the day the city was breached until the day the Temple was destroyed was twenty-one days. According to the one who says “on the ninth of the month” [the city was breached], the Temple was destroyed on the first of Av; According to the one who says “on the seventeenth of the month” [the city was breached], the Temple was destroyed on the ninth of Av. (y. Taʿan. 4:6, 68c [Schottenstein])

The PT cites a tradition based on Jeremiah, according to which twenty-one days passed between the breaching of the wall and the destruction of the Temple. Importantly, this is an independent tradition not based on Biblical dates.[[16]](#footnote-16) Continuing this line, the PT proposes two equally possibilities. One is that the defenses fell on Tammuz 9, meaning that the Temple was destroyed on Av 1; the other sets the respective dates at Tammuz 17 and Av 9.

What may be inferred from the PT’s comments on the date that Josephus proposes? First, it should be noted that the entire discussion in the PT was conducted by the *amoraim* and the Talmud as a “narrator.” The debate *ad loc* makes no reference to the presence of any ancient tradition stating explicitly that the Temple was destroyed on the first of Av. However, the very existence of this possibility and, particularly, the way the historiographic debate develops in the PT can also teach us a great deal about Josephus’ way of thinking. The PT opens by confronting the mishnaic tradition of the city having been breached on Tammuz 17 with the Biblical dating of this event to Tammuz 9. The point of departure of the debate in the PT is that the chronological “truth” belongs to the tradition whereas the Biblical dating is flawed by “miscalculation.” At the end of the discussion, however, PT acknowledges the existence of two equally valid possible dates for the breaching of the city’s defenses and the destruction of the Temple. Accordingly, the PT does not feel beholden to the Biblical chronology and may instead prefer tradition over Scripture. Another conclusion is that the PT does not flinch from summoning opaque verses, such as that in Ezekiel, to promote a chronological approach. Similar considerations may have prompted Josephus to date the destruction of the First Temple to Av 1. The Biblical verses that establish this date, as stated, clash with each other, leaving room for chronological investigation. Once the chronological system in 2 Kings and Jeremiah is dispensed with, more obscure chronological proposals such as that in Ezekiel may be permissible, if not necessary.

**d. Six Months and Ten Days: By Count or by Calendar?**

In *Jewish Antiquities,* Josephus cites six separate events from which he dates the first destruction using the formula “X years, six months, and ten days.” The first point in need of elucidation in regard to the counting of months and days is the nature of this count. Namely, is it aimed at a specific date on the calendar or is it the literal number of months and days that passed between a certain event and the destruction? The latter possibility is undoubtedly altogether untenable. Josephus invokes the “six months and ten days” notation in regard to various events that took place in different months and on different days, both of which are well documented. He counts 470 years, six months, and ten days from the construction of the Temple to its destruction. According to the Bible and Josephus, the construction of the Temple began in the month of Iyar (1 Kgs 6:1, *Ant.* 8.61). As previously noted, Josephus also counts “six months and ten days” from the Exodus, which, according to both the Bible’s report and Josephus’, occurred on Nisan 15, the fifteenth day of the first month (Exod 12:17–18, *Ant.* 2.318). The Flood, in contrast, is dated on the seventeenth day of the second month in the Bible (Gen 6:11). In this case, Josephus explains, that the second month is Marheshvan, the month of Dius (*Ant.* 1.80).[[17]](#footnote-17) Thus, it is impossible to state that X years and an additional six months and ten days passed from each event to the destruction of the Temple. The regular count of months and days should be positioned relative to a fixed calendar date, most likely Nisan 1, the day on which the counting of months begins, as Josephus notes (*Ant.* 1.81).[[18]](#footnote-18) Now, if we count six months and ten days from Nisan 1, we arrive at Tishre 10—Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement.

Dating the destruction to Yom Kippur carries powerful theological-historiosophic weight. Before we continue to ponder it and its origins, we need to ask whether Josephus had no such thing in mind. A different possibility for the formation of the “six months and ten days” formula seems to arise from a comparison of Josephus’ remarks about the destruction of the Northern Kingdom:

The ten tribes of the Israelites were transported from Judea 947 years from the time when their ancestors went out from Egypt and occupied the country under their general Joshua. From [the time] when, revolting against Rehoboam the grandson of David, they handed the kingship over to Jeroboam, as I have related earlier, it was 240 years, 7 months, and 7 days. (*Ant*. 9.280 [Begg and Spilsbury, *Josephus*])

The count of the kings of Israel is a perfect fit for the formula discussed here: X years, Y months, and Z days. It is the sum of the reigns of all these kings as presented by Josephus himself in *Jewish Antiquities.* Thus, it is not an ancient tradition but a precise chronological calculation—one that squares rather well with the Biblical account. Seven months is the sum of the six-month reign of Zechariah the son of Jereboam (2 Kgs 15:8; *Ant.* 9.228) and the month-long reign of Shallum the son of Jabesh, Zechariah’s assassin (2 Kgs 15:13; *Ant.* 9.228). The expression “seven days,” of course, corresponds to the reign of Zimri (1 Kgs16:15; *Ant.* 8.311). Just as he reports the Israelite kings, Josephus adds up the terms in office of the Judean kings: “Together they reigned 514 years, 6 months, and 10 days” (*Ant.* 10:143 [Begg and Spilsbury, *Josephus*]). What is his source for the count of months and days here? At first glance, he obtains it by adding Jehoahaz’ three months on the throne (2 Kgs 23:31; *Ant.* 10.83[[19]](#footnote-19)) to Jeconiah’s three months and ten days (2 Chr 36:9; *Ant.* 10.8).[[20]](#footnote-20) One need only check this count to refute Josephus’ testimony. The tally of the Judean kings according to Josephus is 507 years and not 514, as is written here (*Ant*. 10.143). Consequently, the suggestion of Abraham Schalit, who traces Josephus’ count of the kings’ reign not to the information that he himself presents but to an independent tradition, makes sense.[[21]](#footnote-21) One may still assume, of course, that the tradition Josephus quotes is based on the calculation of Jehoahaz’ and Jehoiachin’s months and days on the throne. On this basis one could hypothesize that, when Josephus counted the years to the destruction from other events, including the Exodus, the Flood, and so on, he added the months and days, which originated in the count of the reigns of the Judean kings, to the tradition of counting the years from the various events. Of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that Josephus tampered with the chronological traditions instead of relaying them accurately. The counting of months and days recurs elsewhere and in more distant contexts (e.g. *Ant*. 10.185). At the end of *Antiquities,* Josephus specifies the duration of the high priests’ activity in the First Temple: “The term of service [of the priests who served from the time the Temple was built] is four hundred sixty-six years, six months, and ten days” (*Ant.* 20:232 [LCL, Feldman[[22]](#footnote-22)]). This count concerns the service of priests and not kings. Even so, it does not square with the 470 years in which the Temple stood according to *Ant.* 10.147. Thus again, the calculation of high priesthood years appears to be based on an independent tradition.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The counting of months and days in accordance with different chronological traditions can be explained in two ways. One is that Josephus created the count by adding up the years of rule of the Judean kings, as mentioned above. In chronological traditions concerning the timing of various events relative to the destruction of the Temple, only years are counted; it was Josephus who added the months and the days. The other possibility is that Josephus’ chronological traditions included the three chronological indications (year, month, day) *ab initio*. Some support for the latter originates in a tradition that appears in the chronological records at the end of Book 6 of *Wars*:

437) But before their days the king of Babylon had subdued it and laid it waste, fourteen hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after its foundation. 438) Its original founder was a Canaanite chief, called in the native tongue “Righteous King”… 439) The Canaanite population was expelled by David, the king of the Jews, who established his own people there; and four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after his time it was razed to the ground by the Babylonians. 440) The period from King David, its first Jewish sovereign, to its destruction by Titus was one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; 441) and from its first foundation until its final overthrow, two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven. (*J.W*. 6.437–441 [LCL, Thackeray])

In this list, the chronologies of the first destruction and the second are clearly differentiated. Both events are counted relative to the two foundational events of Jerusalem, the first being Melchizedek and the second David. For the first destruction, the number of months is given in addition to that of years; for the second, only years are given. Evidently, the two chronological systems are unrelated to each other and spring from different sources.[[24]](#footnote-24) The chronology of the first destruction somewhat resembles the one developed in *Jewish Antiquities.* As we recall, all chronological mentions of the first destruction in *Jewish Antiquities* specify “six months and ten days.” In the chronology discussed here, the expression “six months” occurs. There is no ignoring the difference between these traditions. First, in *Jewish Antiquities*, an additional “ten days” are appended to the count of months and years. Second, there is a blatant contradiction in the number of years. The tradition in *Jewish War* counts 477 years from David to the first destruction. This number is not obtained in any form from the tradition in *Antiquities* relatingto the reigns of the Davidic kings (514 years) or the duration of the First Temple era (470 years).[[25]](#footnote-25) It is likely, then, that there were several chronological traditions about the destruction of the First Temple that measured the years from various events to this calamity. These traditions, it seems to me, report an exact chronology including years, months, and days. The connection of the tradition in *Jewish War* with that in *Jewish Antiquities* emerges, of course, from the identical count of months—the addition of six months. The omission of the number of days evidently traces an erosion and abbreviation of the original tradition, either by Josephus himself (less likely) or by his source. The presence of this tradition in *Jewish War*, of course, clashes with Josephus’ own previous report that the Temple fell on Av 10, four months and ten days after the beginning of the calendar year.

As stated, one cannot totally rule out the possibility that Josephus himself drew the connection between the count of months and days of the Judean kings (*Ant.* 10.143) and the other chronological traditions that reckoned the years from different events to the destruction of the First Temple. But, if this addition was indeed added by Josephus in all its appearances in *Jewish Antiquities*, he surely tried to say something. The uniqueness of this counting becomes evident by comparison to the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. For this evet Josephus does not make use of the number of months and days (*Ant*. 9.280), nor in relation to other events. It is especially important to note that Josephus brings the exact date of the beginning of the building of Solomon’s Temple. The date is the fourth year of Solomon in the second month which called the Iyar or Artemius (*Ant*. 8.61). Immediately after, Josephus lists the years that have passed between the Temple building and the following events: the Exodus, the coming of Abraham to the Land, the flood, the creation of Adam, and the kingdom of Hiram. In relation to all these, Josephus brings only the years. Hence, when Josephus is bothering and bringing many times and in various places in his book the number of months and days, he surely does so on purpose.

If this is the case, however, Josephus must have been aware of the far-reaching significance of the linkage that he created. As stated above, since each of the events—the construction of the Temple, the coronation of the Judean kings, the Exodus, the Flood, and the creation of humankind—took place on different dates, then the expression “six months and ten days” in reference to each means that the reckoning begins at the start of the year, i.e., on Nisan 1. Thus, the destruction occurred on Tishre 10, Yom Kippur. In other words, irrespective of the origin of the tradition of months and days, by adding the count of months and days to each of the events relative to which the destruction of the First Temple is dated, Josephus —whether of his own invention or on the basis of other traditions—indicated that the destruction should be seen as having occurred on Yom Kippur.[[26]](#footnote-26)

This conclusion is problematic in two aspects. First, the implicit chronological assertion that the day of the destruction is also the holiest day is of religious significance which is very difficult to reduce. But in Josephus there is no indication that the day of destruction is indeed Yom Kippur, except the chronological aspect. Did this mean that Josephus, ignored or simply was not even aware of the possible implications of the chronology he wrote? Second, is it possible to bring other sources that linked the first destruction to Yom Kippur? The more we can offer a positive answer to the second question, the harder it will be to dismiss the first question on the grounds that Josephus was not at all aware of the meaning of his chronology. Therefore, we will open with the second question and then return to examine Josephus’ words regarding the destruction.

**e. The Post-Sabbatical Year, the Jubilee, and *rosh hashana***

Josephus rarely cited his sources; to identify them, one has to examine additional sources that at first glance may not be related. Thorough and critical study of the rabbinic tradition about the date of the first destruction may help us trace the tradition of Tishre 10 as the date on which this event occurred. A rather familiar tradition links the destruction to several chronologies:

Rabbi Yosse used to say: Propitiousness is assigned to a propitious day and a calamity to a calamitous day. As it is found say: When the temple was destroyed, the first time, that day was immediately after the Sabbath, it was immediately after the sabbatical year, it was (during the service of) the priestly division of Jehoiarib, and it was the ninth day of Av; and so the second time. (*Seder Olam* 30 [Milikowsky, *Chronography*, 547])

R. Yosse’s dictum stresses the calendric proximity of the dates of both destructions. He mentions four events: (1) the day of the week (the exit from the Sabbath); (2) the year in the sabbatical cycle—the exit from the sabbatical year, which mean the first year of the sabbatical cycle; (3) the cycle of the priestly watch—that of Jehoiarib; and (4) the date in the month: Av 9. Elsewhere, I showed that the last-mentioned point does not go back to R. Yosse’s main remarks; this leaves us with three temporal specifications, each distinct: days of the week, the sabbatical cycle, and liturgical time.[[27]](#footnote-27) As Chaim Milikowsky has pointed out, these three chronologies carry a theological message.[[28]](#footnote-28) The moment of the destruction marks the end of one cycle and the beginning of another. Without detracting from the importance of the theological aspect, however, one should examine the chronological argument as well.

Rabbi Yosse is not the only one who links the sabbatical cycle with the priestly watches. Several scrolls of the Dead Sea Scrolls describe in detail the course of the priestly watches (Mishmarot). The course of the priestly watches is based mainly on the six-year cycle and not on the seven-year cycle of the sabbatical years, but in one scroll (4Q319) there is an attempt to coordinate the sabbatical cycle with the priestly one.[[29]](#footnote-29) According to this scroll in the first year of the jubilee, which is also the first year of the sabbatical cycle, the house of Jehoiarib serves in the Temple for the first time (out of two) in the week between the fifth and the 11th of Tishre. It is said this year that the house of Jehoiarib is serving in the temple on Yom Kippur. This fact is explicitly stated: “[of Joiari]b the Day of Atonement”.[[30]](#footnote-30) In an enclosed article, it should be noted that according to this tablet in the first two weeks of the month of Av, the Imer and Hezir watches served in the Temple. If we accept the saying of Rabbi Yosse that the destruction occurred in the first year of the sabbatical cycle while the Jehoiarib house served in the Temple, the result is that the destruction took place on Yom Kippur.[[31]](#footnote-31) That, it is not at all clear that the tradition brought by Rabbi Yosse is connected or based on the list of the priestly watches from Qumran. And, it is not at all certain that there were regular weeks for each priestly house (except of the texts from Qumran),[[32]](#footnote-32) and even if there was there is no reason to assume that it matched the Qumran one.

We must return to the three chronological indications offered by Rabbi Yosse: Saturday Night, the first year of the sabbatical cycle, and Jehoiarib watch. The first two are probably correct in relation to the second destruction. The roman historian Cassius Dio states “Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most” (Casius Dio, *Hist*. 66.7.1). According to Cassius, the destruction happened on Saturday.[[33]](#footnote-33) Also, the statement that the temple was ruined on the first year of the sabbatical cycle is also correct. From 1930 until today in the of Zoar (a city located on the Dead Sea coast) cemetery new headstones are emerging. Most of the tombstones used a double dating method, which included the number of years since the second destruction and the year according to the sabbatical cycle, for example: משתה קדמיתה דשמטתה שנת תלת מא ושתין ורבע שנין לחרבן בית מקדשה".[[34]](#footnote-34) " [= First year for the *Shmita* (i.e. the sabbatical cycle); Three hundred and sixty-four years for the destruction of the Temple]. Dozens of the tombstones revealed that the year of destruction was indeed the first year of sabbatical cycle, in accordance with R. Yosse. It seems that the tradition of R. Yosse about the day and the year is affirmed. What about the name of the priestly watch? Unfortunately, we don’t have any reliable source that may confirm this.[[35]](#footnote-35)

It may be that the solution to the source on which Rabbi Yosse relies is the Mishmarot list from Qumran or a similar list. Rabbi Yosse claims that the two destructions occurred after the sabbatical year. As mentioned above, in relation to the second destruction his remark is based on chronological reality. But what about the first destruction? Below I will discuss in detail another Talmudic tradition on this subject, but at this point it is important to note on the fact that was emphasized by Milikowski that dating the first destruction to the first year of the sabbatical cycle is inconsistent with the sabbatical chronology which governs the *Midrash Seder Olam*. Hence, Rabbi Yosse’ remark that the first destruction also occurred in the first year of the sabbatical cycle is based on a different tradition, which is different from the chronological tradition of the Midrash, and this tradition was quoted by Rabbi Yosse.[[36]](#footnote-36)

We have no way of tracing this tradition, but it is worth considering that this tradition originated in the same social circles that formed the priestly course of Qumran. The Qumran list indeed places the Jehoiarib house on Yom Kippur and on the year after the sabbatical year, but this is a ritual schedule and not an historical schedule. This list has no reference to any historical event.[[37]](#footnote-37) In other words, it is necessary to find a connection between the social circle that created the Mishmarot list and the claim that the first destruction did occur on Yom Kippur and on the first year of the sabbatical cycle.

Before proceeding we must specify another chronological cycle. Yom Kippur is not just a Day of Atonement, but it is also the New Year (*rosh hashana*) of the Jubilee cycle as the Torah states:

9) Then you shall sound the horn loud; in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month—the Day of Atonement—you shall have the horn sounded throughout your land 10) and you shall hallow the fiftieth year. You shall proclaim release throughout the land for all its inhabitants. It shall be a jubilee for you: each of you shall return to his holding and each of you shall return to his family. (Lev 25:9-10 JPS)

The jubilee year is sanctified, i.e., begins, with the blast of the ram’s horn on the tenth day of the seventh month, i.e., Tishre 10.[[38]](#footnote-38)

**f. The Jubilee Chronology and the Destruction of the Temple**

Apocalyptic literature gives great importance to the division of the world chronology into jubilees (Jubilee tradition). The use of the jubilees system is documented in many apocalyptic essays, and appears to have been the subject of wide circles in Second Temple Judaism, including the Essenes and the Qumran sect.[[39]](#footnote-39) One of the major essays in the Jubilee tradition, though not the most important of them, is of course the Book of Jubilees, which was also a major book for the people of Qumran.[[40]](#footnote-40) The Book of Jubilees organizes the chronology of the world from Creation onward in accordance with the jubilee cycle. Most of this book describes events from Creation to its narrative present, the Revelation at Sinai. Near the end of the book, an intriguing reference to the future appears:

2) And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3) And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year. 4) Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees 2410 years from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 2450 “distant”) for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5) And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore. (Jub. 50:2-5)[[41]](#footnote-41)

The passage connects the both extremes of the Israelites’ stay in the Land of Israel: entering the Land and the exile that ensued with the destruction of the First Temple. As for their entry, *Jubilees* concludes with the Revelation at Sinai but creates a chronological and halakhic nexus between that event and the entering the Land. The Revelation occurred in the forty-ninth jubilee, in the first sabbatical cycle plus two years, and as *Jubilees* explains at once, another forty years remained until the next jubilee year. These are the forty years that the Israelites spent in the desert until they entered Canaan. Thus, the author of Jubilees dates the entering the Land to the first year of the fiftieth jubilee cycle! This chronological statement is surely understandable in view of the importance of entering Canaan.[[42]](#footnote-42) Although it clashes with the rabbinic view, i.e., that the counting of jubilees began only fourteen years after the Israelites’ arrival in Canaan, it does correspond to a baraita in BT, which counts the seventeen jubilees from the time Israel “entered the Land” (see below).

The chronology set forth in *Jubilees* recurs in additional works from the Second Temple era. In the *Apocryphon of Joshua* found in Qumran, one reads: “Israel crossed on dry land in the first month of the forty-first year of their exodus from Egypt, that is, of the year of the jubilees of the beginning of their entering the land of Canaan” (4Q379). [[43]](#footnote-43) The passage describes the crossing of the Jordan River under Joshua. The next sentence links the jubilees to the Israelites’ arrival in Canaan. This probably indicates that the Israelites’ reaching the Land took place in connection with the count of jubilees, i.e., at the beginning of the jubilee cycle. This chronology is consistent with the method in *Jubilees*.[[44]](#footnote-44) The opaque expression “the year of the jubilees to the beginning of their entering the land of Canaan” may also be of halakhic importance because it begins the counting of years by jubilees at the time of entering the Land. This approach, of course, does not contradict *Jubilees* since this book, too, counts the observance of the jubilee commandment only from the time Israel established its presence in its land.

Another connection between the Jubilees chronology and the entry into the Land is found in the Qumranic text “Words of Moses” (1Q22). The text describes Moses’ warnings to the people on the eve of their entering the Land. The sabbatical laws are then brought. The next lines are very fragmented: “[for ] they [ we]re wandering [in the desert,] your [fathe]rs, until the [te]nth day of the month [ on the t]enth [day] of the month [all work shall be] forbidden and on the t[enth of the] month shall be atoned”.[[45]](#footnote-45) From now on there is a description of the worship of Yom Kippur in the temple. It seems that the section links Yom Kippur with some event that occurred on this date, tenth of the month, during wanderings in the desert. The Hebrew word for wandering in the wilderness is "שטים." This word is related to the gathering of the manna by the Israelites: “7) Now the manna was like coriander seed, and in color it was like bdellium. 8) The people would go about and gather it [שטו העם], grind it between millstones or pound it in a mortar, boil it in a pot, and make it into cakes. It tasted like rich cream” (Num 11:7-8). The people of Israel gathered the manna until the tenth of the month, which is Yom Kippur, and on this day their wanderings also ceased in the desert. The cessation of the manna is the reason for the Day of Atonement.[[46]](#footnote-46) This reconstruction, of course, does not come up with the biblical chronology, according to which the Israelites crossed the Jordan at Nissan, and the Israelites began to eat from the grain of the Land on Nissan15.[[47]](#footnote-47) The source of 1Q22 concept that the Israelites entered the Land in Tishre must be found in the approach that the entry into the Land was at the beginning of the jubilee.

When it is stated that the Israelites entered the Land in a jubilee year, does this mean that the Temple was destroyed in a jubilee year as well? Given the perceptible effort in Jubilees and other works to present the jubilee framework as both chronological and theological, there is reason to expect the first destruction to be connected to the jubilee chronology. Indeed, although the *book of Jubilees* does not relate to the chronology of the events after Israel entered Canaan, it does sketch a clear time frame: “The jubilees will pass by until Israel is cleansed […]” (Jub. 50:5). Chronological use of the jubilee system persists in describing the post-conquest era. This, of course, is not meant to imply that the Temple will be destroyed in a jubilee year and none other, but since *Jubilees* explicitly establishes the jubilee as the year in which Israel entered Canaan, it only stands to reason that other meaningful events would take place in association with the jubilee cycle.

The nexus the *Book of Jubilees* creates between chronology and halakhah may allude to future chronology. Verse 3 interrupts the chronological reading that dates the Revelation at Sinai and the onset of the Israelite conquest; it deals with the obligation to observe the sabbatical year in accordance with the jubilee calendar. The emphasis on jubilees is not about the individual’s sabbatical but about that of the land. Thus it is strongly reminiscent of the account in Leviticus: “Then shall the land make up for its sabbath years throughout the time that it is desolate and you are in the land of your enemies; then shall the land rest and make up for its sabbath years” (Lev 26:34). This verse bundles chronology and halakhah much as the *Book of Jubilees* does. The years of destruction and desolation will be determined by the number of sabbatical years that Israel will have failed to observe. This perception, of course, underlies the chronological account of the period of desolation and devastation at the end of Chronicles: “in fulfillment of the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah, until the land paid back its sabbaths; as long as it lay desolate it kept sabbath, till seventy years were completed” (2 Chr 36:21 JOS). Chronicles, written after the Return to Zion, links the sabbatical law and the exile in Leviticus to Jeremiah’s prophecy of redemption at the end of seventy years (Jer 25:11–12, 29:10). If seventy years of exile indeed represent seventy years of unobserved sabbaticals, it means that 490 years, exactly ten jubilees, passed since Israel entered Canaan.[[48]](#footnote-48)

The chronological link between the counting of jubilees to the destruction of the First Temple recurs in several additional works. In the so-called Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q385a–389), the time frame is composed of jubilees.[[49]](#footnote-49) The Apocryphon acknowledges the return to Zion after the destruction of the First Temple but anticipates further destruction and exile: “but I shall not respond to their inquiry, because of the trespass which they have trespassed against me, until the completion of ten jubilees of years” (4Q384).[[50]](#footnote-50) As Cana Werman notes, the work draws a parallel between the nation’s sins during the First Temple era and those in the period of the Second Temple.[[51]](#footnote-51) In view of this, one may surmise that the chronological framework recurs as well, and since the Apocryphon counts 490 years (ten jubilees) to the destruction of the Temple and the Land the second time around, presumably this is its chronology for the destruction of the First Temple as well.[[52]](#footnote-52) The jubilee framework is invoked again in the *Testament of Levi*. Here the status of the priesthood in each and every jubilee is examined: “In each jubilee there shall be a priesthood” (T. Levi 17:2). Relating to the seventh jubilee, the *Testament* states: “In the seventh there shall be pollution such as I am unable to declare in the presence of human beings… Therefore they shall be in captivity and will be preyed upon; both their land and their possessions shall be stolen” (T. Levi 17:8–10).[[53]](#footnote-53) Hence, the destruction of the First Temple will occur at the end of the seventh jubilee. What matters for our purposes, however, is that here, too, the destruction is dated in association with the jubilee and not with some other reckoning.

In the *Acts of Melchizedek*, another step is taken that brings Josephus’ tradition closer to the Jewish apocalyptic world. As we recall, Josephus’ chronology dates the destruction to Yom Kippur and, after a complex interpretive move, we identified Yom Kippur with the *rosh hashana* of the jubilee year. In construing Melchizedek’s actions, this is stated explicitly. The extant text begins by quoting the laws of the jubilee from Lev 25:13. and continues by interpreting them: “And the Day of Atonement is the end of the tenth jubilee in which atonement shall be made for all the sons of light” (11Q13 [Parry and Tov, 1:393]).

This passage relates not to the destruction that occurred but to future redemption. Either way, here too, the framework for the fulfillment of the divine plan for history is the jubilee. As in additional apocalyptic works, here the redemption will take place in the tenth jubilee in accordance with the frame set forth in Daniel: 7\*70=490 (Dan 9:24). The *Testament of Levi*, however, also presents the exact date of the redemption and atonement in the jubilee year: Yom Kippur. Admittedly, one cannot prove upon which jubilee, and in which year in the jubilee period, the destruction of the First Temple occurred according to the *Testament* *of Levi* and the *Acts of Melchizedek*, but the intersection stands both in connection with its content and with other apocalyptic works that invoke the jubilee chronology.[[54]](#footnote-54) In light of this, one may presume that according to the *Testament of Levi*, too, the destruction occurred at the end of one jubilee cycle and at the beginning of the next one, on Yom Kippur. Thus, Yom Kippur as the *rosh hashana* of the jubilee year and as an era of historical changes is firmly anchored in the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple era.

**g. The Jubilees tradition in rabbinic literature**

The apocalyptic tradition that linked the destruction to the Jubilee cycle was probably familiar to the Rabbis. Rabbi Yosse’s remarks that the first destruction occurred after the sabbatical year open a long discussion in the Babylonian Talmud. During the discussion, the following *breita* is presented:

For it was taught [=*tanya*]: Seventeen jubilee [cycles] did Israel count from the time they entered the Land [of Israel] until they left it. And you cannot assume that they counted from the moment they entered, for if you were to say so, it would be found that the [first] Temple was destroyed at the beginning of a jubilee, and you could not find [correct the statement]: “the fourteenth year after the city had fallen” (Ezekiel 40:1). Rather, deduct from them the seven years of the conquest and the seven during which the land was distributed, thus you find [substantiated]: “the fourteenth year after the city had fallen” (b. ʿArak. 12b).

The BT begins its discussion with the word *tanya,* meaning that the editors assume that it is a Tannaitic source measures the Israelites’ sojourn in the Land as seventeen jubilees long. This would make the year of the destruction a jubilee year! The BT immediately rejects this possibility because it clashes with the date of the destruction in Ezekiel, fourteen years before the jubilee. To reconcile this reasoning with the *beraita*, according to which the Israelites spent seventeen jubilees in the Land of Israel, the BT explains that, yes, their stay was seventeen jubilees long—850 years—but the count and sanctification of jubilee years began only after the fourteen years of conquest and apportionment of the Land. If we accept the Tannaitic tradition verbatim, however, the destruction indeed occurred in a jubilee year.

According to this tradition, too, one need not necessarily assume that the destruction occurred specifically on *rosh hashana* of the jubilee year, Tishre 10. One may definitely sustain the Biblical chronology by dating the destruction to Av of the jubilee year. However, the connection that comes about between the destruction and the jubilee may well lead to a contrary interpretation, that the Israelites’ sojourn in the Land of Israel was exactly seventeen jubilees long and, by extension, the Temple was destroyed at the very beginning of the seventeenth jubilee, i.e., on *rosh hashana* of the jubilee year, Tishre 10.

**h. Josephus and the day of Atonement**

Determining Yom Kippur as the day of the destruction is a significant theological statement. How has the holiest day, the day when the high priest entered the sanctuary, become the day of destruction? However, Josephus does not at all hint at these serious religious questions. Some would argue that this is enough to reject the claim that Josephus acknowledged and even used a chronological tradition that linked the destruction to Yom Kippur. But before accepting this conclusion it should be noted a similar problem with other event documented in *Jewish Antiquities*. Among the serious events in the history of the Second Temple there is a special place for the occupation of the temple by Pompey in 63 BC. According to Josephus, Pompey, not only satisfied himself with the conquest of the temple but he also went inside the sanctuary with his companions and they “saw what it was unlawful for many but the high priests to see” (*Ant*. 14.72 [LCL, Marcus and Wikgren][[55]](#footnote-55)). Josephus even notes that Pompey had sinned: “and not light was rhe sin committed against the sanctuary” (*Ant*. 14.71). A few sentences earlier Josephus stated that the city was conquered “in the third month on the fast day” (*Ant*. 14.66). Josephus repeats this assertion at the end of the book as well. When he talks about the conquest of Jerusalem and the temple by Herod, which was also took place on the same day. Indeed, after the description of the city's occupation, Josephus concludes: “This calamity befell the city of Jerusalem during the consulship at rome of Marcus Agrippa…on the same day of the Fast, as it were a recurrence of the misfortune which came upon the Jews in the time of Pompey, for they were captured by Sossius on the very same day” (*Ant*. 14.487-88).

The simple interpretation for “the Fast day” is, of course, “Yom Kippur,” but for many years many scholars have rejected this interpretation for various reasons. Recently, Nadav Sharon showed that there is no doubt that Josephus meant Yom Kippur, whether or not the event happened on this day. Josephus was well aware of the importance of dates. We have seen above that in *Jewish War* he emphasizes that the first and second destruction happened that day. For him, this periodicity is clear evidence of God’s involvement. Josephus also emphasizes that, both the occupation of Pompey and the occupation of Herod occurred on the same day. But aside from mentioning the chronological fact, Josephus says nothing about the city being conquered on Yom Kippur. Had he surely wished he could lament that precisely on the day when the high priest was allowed to enter the sanctuary, Pompey and his companions entered instead. Moreover, Josephus recounts that the priests continued to sacrifice the perpetual sacrifices, even though the Romans broke into the temple. That, Josephus does not even mention the worship of Yom Kippur. Sharon suggests that Josephus’ disregard for the date is related to the apologetic character of his work. Josephus’ pro-Roman tendency caused him to obscure the fact that the Romans struck Jews amid their holiest day.[[56]](#footnote-56)

It may be that a similar consideration caused Josephus to somewhat overlook the significance of the chronological tradition of the first destruction. Recall that the origin of the tradition that links the destruction with the Day of Atonement is in the apocalyptic view that the first destruction is at the end of the Jubilee cycle. The Jubilee chronology in the apocalyptic literature is rooted in the past, but it looks to the future. This chronology describes the order of the world until the Last Judgment and salvation. Each of the apocalypses has different conceptions and descriptions of the nature of salvation, but all share the expectation of the elimination of the alien kingdom. In Josephus’s time these traditions were interpreted as directed towards Rome. Josephus himself was not only familiar with these traditions, but probably even very subtly hinted at them. In his great speech in front of the Jerusalem Wall, he states that God who is transferring power from kingdom to kingdom, has now ruled Rome (*J.W*. 5.367). The reign of Rome is temporary, and it lasts all will be desired by God.[[57]](#footnote-57) Here Josephus may also refrain from offering the apocalyptic tradition too explicitly and too prominently. He feared that allusions to the apocalyptic tradition would be interpreted as an expectation of the destruction of Rome, the heir of Babylon.

**i. Discussion and Conclusion: Josephus—Between Scripture and Tradition**

Josephus’ summation of the events surrounding the destruction of the First Temple in *Jewish Antiquities* contains two salient contradictions relative to what we know, and to what he knew, about the chronology of the destruction. First, he explicitly dates the destruction of the First Temple to Av 1. Second, in proximity to this, he writes that the destruction took place X years plus six months and ten days after other events. His count of months and days comes out on Yom Kippur. This date not only clashes with his previous reporting of Av 1 but also appears nowhere, in any manner, in Scripture. In the course of this article, I showed that both dates are anchored in ancient interpretative approaches and traditions. The Av 1 dating evidently originates in a verse in the Book of Ezekiel; Yom Kippur is linked to the Jubilee-apocalyptic tradition. What needs to be elucidated now is what prompted Josephus to overlook Biblical writings that date the destruction to Av 7 (2 Kings) or Av 10 (Jeremiah).

In reference to the Av 1 chronology, above I noted the near certainty that the matter at hand is not an ancient tradition but biblical interpretation. Since 2 Kings and Jeremiah contradict each other as to the day in the month when the Temple fell, the testimony of neither should be accepted. The testimony in Ezekiel is perceived as the “third verse” that resolves the contradiction between the other verses. I demonstrated the emergence of similar interpretative considerations in the PT. However, whereas the interpretive difficulty and its implications are firmly understood, questions should be asked about tracing the destruction to Tishre 10 and why Josephus adopted a tradition, however ancient, and favored it over the biblical chronology—particularly since several years earlier Josephus himself, in *Jewish War,* put forward the biblical date as that on which both temples were destroyed.

Understanding Josephus’ interpretive and historiographic considerations in choosing these dates is linked to Josephus’ perception of his role as a historian and the extent of his commitment to facts. Elsewhere, I have showed that Josephus’ adherence to the Biblical date came at the expense of precise adherence to the chronological facts. Jewish tradition specifies the ninth of Av as the date of the fast in remembrance of the destruction of the Temple because it is the anniversary of the destruction of the Second Temple. This chronological fact, I claimed, may be proven from Josephus’ own remarks in his *Jewish War.* Josephus was interested in drawing a line from the destruction of the First Temple to that of the Second in order to liken the misdeeds of the rebels in the second destruction to those of Israel that occasioned the first destruction. To accomplish this, he “bent” the historical date to the Biblical destruction.[[58]](#footnote-58) The tendency toward chronological synchronization, of course, was not exclusive to Josephus. Rabbi Yosse’s dictum, cited above, reflects this principle well: “Propitiousness is assigned to a propitious day and a calamity to a calamitous day.” This is also the basis for the accrual of calamities that befell Israel on Tammuz 17 and Av 9. The tendency toward chronological synchronization was also manifest in the Graeco-Roman world. For example, on the *dies Alliensis*, according to Roman tradition, the Romans sustained defeat at the hands of theEtruscans near the Cremera on July 18, 478 BCE, and the Gauls destroyed the Roman army on the same day in 390. Therefore, this day and the middle days of each month were called *dies atri* (dark days) and were considered unlucky. Public rituals in temples were not observed and private individuals avoided new undertakings.[[59]](#footnote-59) Plutarch, in a special composition titled *Περὶ ἡμερῶν*, remarked about dates on the calendar that saw various disasters in different years.[[60]](#footnote-60) Thus, it is certainly no wonder that Josephus, or any other ancient author, deviated from “real” chronology in favor of an ideological one. Attention should focus instead on the reasons for and the meaning of Josephus’ interpretive choices.

In regard to Av 1 chronology, as stated, one may justify it as a constraint originating in the interpretation of verses. This, however, tells us something about Josephus’ self-perception. His willingness to resolve chronological contradictions by interpretive means indicates that he internalized and applied one of the basic tenets of Pharisaic Judaism, according to which the literal Biblical text is always subordinate to interpretive methods. One may defend the legitimacy of Josephus’ interpretation by noting the contradiction between the Biblical passages. However, by setting the date of the destruction at Tishre 10, Josephus clearly reveals another aspect of his thought. This statement is only thinly related to the Bible; in the main, it is founded on an apocalyptic tradition that thrusts history into the frame of jubilees. According to this perception, meaningful events, such as entering the Land, the destruction of the Temple, and redemption occur at the end and at the beginning of jubilee cycles. This chronological frame rests largely on Daniel’s interpretation of Jeremiah’s seventy-year prophecy, according to which seventy sabbatical cycles, i.e., 490 years or ten jubilees, set the temporal boundaries of exile and redemption.

The adoption of an interpretation *à la* Daniel is not foreign to Josephus. Evidently Josephus, like the apocalyptic circles that existed in and after the Second Temple period, attributed great importance to this book. As early as his *Jewish Wars,* he alludes to Daniel’s perception of the four kingdoms (*J.W*. 5.367). Josephus devotes much of Book 10 of *Jewish JAntiquities* to the description of Daniel and his visions (*Ant.* 10.190–281). At the end of the book, he writes that Daniel’s visions are steadily coming to pass and that this is perfect proof of divine providence (ibid., 279–80).[[61]](#footnote-61) By setting the destruction at Tishre 10, the first day of the jubilee, Josephus can allude to the importance of the event in association with the apocalyptic tradition. Although he does not link the destruction of the First Temple to the end or the beginning of the jubilee, he connects the date of this event with the anniversary of the most important historical occurrences of all times: the creation of humankind, the Flood, the Israelites entering the land of Canaan, and, of course, the construction of the Temple itself. This method of dating is, of course, indicative of the importance of the event. The calendric placement of the destruction on Tishre 10 defines the nature of the event as part of the sacred history that the apocalyptic tradition reveals.

Josephus’ chronological determination certainly sheds light on the sources he used, but his very willingness to disregard the Biblical date in favor of another tradition ties into another facet of his persona. In his autobiography, Josephus reports having chosen the Pharisaic way after searching for and studying the various Jewish sects (*Vita* 12). This he states toward the end of his life. There is no telling how strongly this remark reflects the image and doings of the priest Yossef son of Matityahu, but it certainly befits the aging historian Flavius Josephus in Rome. As many have shown, Josephus’ Pharisaic leanings are manifested profusely in *Jewish Antiquities*.[[62]](#footnote-62) What matters for our purposes, of course, is its historiographic manifestation. In *Jewish Antiquities,* it is evident that Josephus labored to integrate into his account ancient traditions of Jewish provenance, which the Rabbis, too, put to considerable use.[[63]](#footnote-63) Even though not all these Jewish traditions he uses are Pharisaic. Describing the miracle of rainfall as the Temple was being built, for example, Josephus notes, “And this story, which our fathers have handed down to us, is not at all incredible” (*Ant.* 15.425 [LCL, Marcus and Wikgren]). The Rabbis invoke much the same tradition.[[64]](#footnote-64) More important, the very willingness to consider ancient Jewish tradition as a preferred source is a hallmark of the Pharisees’ theology, as Josephus himself writes: “the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducaean group” (*Ant.* 13.297 [LCL, Marcus and Wikgren]). The implicit dating of the destruction of the First Temple to Tishre 10 may reflect Josephus’ willingness to rely on an old Jewish tradition, on the one hand, and, on the other, his forgoing the jubilee chronology in order to distance himself from the apocalyptic outlook, which had almost totally disappeared from the Pharisee/rabbinic world.[[65]](#footnote-65)

1. Translation according to Christopher T. Begg and Paul Spilsbury (trans. and comm.), *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary (ed. Steve Mason), Volume 5: Judean Antiquities Books 8-10* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Josephus uses the same counting method regarding the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, see below. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Josephus, *Ant*. 11.112, refers to the same event but it counts 532 years. The suggestion of Ralph Marcus, *Josephus,* vol. VI*: Jewish Antiquities, Books IX-XI* (LCL 326; Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1937), 368, n. b, seems reasonable but it doesn’t solve the problem fully. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Translation according to Marcus, *Jewish Antiquities, Books IX-XI.* [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See, Marcus, *Josephus*, 148, n. a, 149, n. c; Abraham Schalit (ed. and trans.), *Yossef ben Matityahu Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, vol. II (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Mosad Bialik, 1963), 159-60, n. 219-29 [Heb.]; Begg and Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities Books 8-10*, 254, n. 596-598. On the chronology of Josephus see the rich bibliography in Chaim Milikowsky, *Seder Olam: Critical Edition, Commentary and Introduction* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Press, 2013), 1:39-40, n. 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. According to the prevailing approach Jer 52, depends on 2 Kgs 25, see Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Judah under Babylonian Rule*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 336-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. On the rabbinic discussion of this contradiction see, *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30 (Milikowsky ed.), 324, and Milikowsky’s discussion in *Seder Olam*, 2:435-45, as well as the thorough paper of Michael Avioz, “The Date of the Destruction of the First Temple in Ancient Versions and in Early Biblical Interpretation,” *Textus* 22 (2005): 87-94. On modern critical approaches see Michael Avioz, “When Was the First Temple Destroyed According to the Bible?” *Biblica* 84 (2003): 562–565; Arthur J. Nevins, “When was Solomon’s Temple Burned Down? Reassessing the Evidence,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 31, (2006): 3-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Translation according to H. St. J. Thackeray (trans.), *Josephus, II-III: The Jewish War* (LCL 203, 210; Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press 1927-1928). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. The Hebrew/Jewish month of Av is parallel to the Macedonian month of Lous. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Avioz, “Date,” 91-92. Biblical Scholars suggest different months, among them the first month and the eleventh month, see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22A; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 529-530; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel,* vol. 2of *Chapters 25-48* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 2:33-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For this rule see *Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael*, Pishah 4 (H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin [eds.], Mechilta D’Rabbi Ismael [Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1931], 13); *Sifre on Numbers* 48 (Menhem I. Kahana [ed.], *Sifre on Numbers: an Annotated Edition*, vol. 1 [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2011], 146). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Exposure contradictions and their solutions were a significant part of classic interpretation of Homer. Yakir Paz, *From Scribes to Scholars: Rabbinic Biblical Exegesis in Light of the Homeric Commentaries* (Ph.D dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Jerusalem, 2014), 190-98 [Heb.], argues that Homer’s interpreters did not use the “third verse” method. Moreover, the Rabbis also, he writes, tended not to use this method intensively, see esp. Paz, *Scribes*, 199, n. 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. It seems that Josephus understood the third verse as a middle ground between the two verses and not as supporting one verse against the other. This understanding is very close to the school of R. Ishmael, see David Henshke, “The Rabbi’s Approach to Biblical Self-Contradictions,” *Sidra* 10 (1994): 39-59, esp. 44 [Heb.], see also the bibliography given by Paz, *Scribes*, 199, n. 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Translation of PT texts are based on the Schottenstein edition to the *Talmud Yerushalmi*, Tractate Taanis, New York 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. The reason for the discrepancy between the dates is that Tammuz 17 was the date of the cessation of the daily sacrifice (*J.W*. 6.94). The contradiction between the Bible and rabbinic tradition on Tammuz 17 was already discussed and solved in *Seder Olam*: “’In the fourth month, on the ninth day of the month, a breach was made in the city’ (Jer 39:2) – the first time; and the second time the seventeen of it” (*Seder Olam* 30 [trans. Chaim Milikowsky, *Seder Olam: A Rabbinic Chronography* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University: New Haven ,1981), 548]). Indeed, according to *Seder Olam* on Tammuz 17 the city wall was breached, while according to Josephus the daily sacrifice ceased, but the main issue is that *Seder Olam* connects Tammuz 17 to Second Temple events, while it connects Tammuz 9, the biblical date, with First Temple events, see Yuval Shahar, “Rabbi Akiba and the Destruction of the Temple: the Establishment of the Fast Days,” *Zion* 68 (2003): 145-65, here 159-60 [Heb.]; Meir Ben Shahar, “Ninth of Av: Chronology and Ideology in Fixing the Dates of the First and the Second Destructions in Rabbinic Literature,” *Zion* 81(2016): 5-30, here 15-17 [Heb.]. See also the harmonistic suggestion of Asher Weiser, *Bible and Linguistics: Collected Studies* (Tel Aviv: Niv, 1965), 76-77 [Heb.]. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. In *Lamentations Rabbah*, Ptihtah 23 (Buber ed., 21-22), there is a parallel tradition attributed to R. Eleazar. Wiser, *Bible*, 75, assumes that this is an independent tradition not connected to the dates of the destruction and the breaching of the wall. *Lamentations Rabba* here connects this tradition to Tammuz 17 and Av 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. The identity of the “second month” in which the flood occurred is in dispute in Jewish tradition: some consider it Iyar and others Marheshvan. According to Josephus the “second month” is Marheshvan, since Nissan became the “First month” only in the time of the Exodus (*Ant*. 1.81). On other Jewish traditions see Milikowsky, *Seder Olam*, 2:83-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Josephus distinguishes between calculation for religious purposes, which begins from Nissan, and calculation for secular matters, which begins in Tishre. However, all the dates Josephus mentions in *Jewish Antiquities* are based on a counting begins in Nissan. These are dates of a religious occasions as well as of political events (e.g. *Ant*. 4.327, 8.61-62, 10.135 etc.). To conclude, it is important to note that Josephus uses the Nissan’s counting and the Babylonian-Hebrew names of the months only in *Jewish Antiquities*. By contrast, in *Jewish War* Josephus only uses the Macedonian months, although the days of the month are actually determined according to the Hebrew calendar, see Jonathan J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State, 66-70 C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 210-13; Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd Century B.C.E.–10th Century C.E.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 34-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Josephus reads “three months and ten days”. Marcus, *Josephus*, 236-237, n. b, accepted this version, while Schalit, *Antiquities*, 159, n. 219, remarks this is a slip of the pen from Jeconiah’s account. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. According to 2 Kgs 24:8, Jeconiah ruled for only three months. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Schalit, *Antiquities*, 159, n. 219; *Ant*. 11.112. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The translation according to Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX* (LCL 411; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,1965). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Feldman, *Josephus,* 511, n. d, suggests that Josephus deducted from the 470 years of the First Temple the first four years of Solomon's kingdom, which preceded its building, rather than adding them. After all, the years do not include the first four years of the reign of Solomon, as is evident from the calculation of the years of the Davidic kings (Schalit, *Antiquities*, 159, n. 219). A more plausible suggestion is that Josephus relies on an independent tradition. After all, Josephus consulted priestly chronological traditions, as he points out in *Against Apion* 1.36. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. I tend to assume Josephus incorporates two traditions here. Assuming that Josephus had only one chronological system, and the other one based on that tradition with which he combined another tradition, these two chronological systems would have counted both months and years. More importantly, the data Josephus provides makes it possible to calculate the years that passed between the first and second destruction. Now, when the calculation is according to the founding of the city by Melchizedek there are 709 years (2177-1468). In contrast, when the starting point for calculation is King David the result is that only 702 years have been passed (1179-477). The proposal of Antti Laato, *Guide to Biblical Chronology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2015), 81, looks forced. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Milikowsky, *Seder Olam*, 1:42, n. 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Certainly, Josephus as a historian with chronological awareness was well aware of this meaning. Some evidence for that can be found in the way he lists the years, months and days of the second destruction. He lists 1130 years and another seven months and fifteen days from the founding of the First Temple to the destruction of the Second Temple (*J.W.* 6.269), and 639 years and forty-five days from the founding of the Second Temple to the second destruction (*J.W.* 6.270). The different number of months and days is of course since the founding of the First Temple and the founding of the Second Temple occurred on different dates. Previous scholars have dealt with various aspects of the years’ lists, see Michael First, *Jewish History in Conflict: A Study of the Major Discrepancy between Rabbinic and Conventional Chronology* (Northvale, N.J.; Jason Aronson, 1997), 119-20, n. 15; Laato, *Chronology*, 80-81. I must admit I found no satisfactory explanation for these dates. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Ben Shahar, “Ninth of Av,” 19-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Milikowsky, *Seder Olam*, II, 556. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. The scrolls of the priestly watches were publishe and discussed by Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Talmon, Ben-Dov and Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4*, p. 225. See also 4Q320, 4Q321. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Although, according to the Mishmarot list, Yom Kippur took place on Friday, and if so it is difficult to reconcile it with the first date of Rabbi Yosse that the destruction occurred on Saturday night. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Michael Avi-Yona, “The Caesarea Inscription of the 24 Priestly Courses,” *Ertetz Israel* 7 (1964): 25-28, claimed there was a fixed list but he did not specify its order. In contrast, Milikowski, *Seder Olam*, 2:572, argues that there is no evidence for a fixed calendar. Milikowsky points out that Rabbi Yosse bothered to note that the two destructions occurred at the time of the Jehoiarib, meaning that there was no fixed list, for if it was, it is obvious that because the two destructions occurred on the same date, they also occurred at the same priestly watch. Shmuel Safrai and Zeev Safrai, *Tractates Ta’anit and Megillah with an Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Liphshitz College, 2009), 176-173, discussed the various possibilities and found that it was impossible to decide whether there was a fixed list or not. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Another testimony to the destruction on Saturday is found in Frontinus, *Stratagems* 2.1.17. On Forntinus and Cassisu Dio see Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974-1984), 1:509-11, 2:377. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Joseph Naveh, “Aramaic Tombstones from Zoar,” *Tarbiz* 64 (1965): 477-97, here 478. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. This is also Milikowski's conclusion (*Seder Olam*, 2:555-56). From Milikowski's discussion it is unclear whether he thinks that R. Yosse's remarks are based on real knowledge of the second destruction. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Milikowski, *Seder Olam*, 2:552-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The distinction between the Mishmarot list board and the historical events list is discussed at length by Shemaryahu Talmon and Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Mishmarot Lists (4Q322-324c) and ‘Historical Texts’ (4Q322a, 4Q331-333) from Qumran,” in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Chaim Cohen, and Victor Avigdor Hurowitz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 927-942. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 3 vols. (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 3:2164-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. John Bergsma, *The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran: A History of Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Cana Werman, *The Book of Jubilees: Introduction, Translation, and Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press), 2015, pp. 48-69 [Hebrew]. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Translation according to R.H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Werman, *Jubilees*, 553; James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Translation according to Carol A. Newsom, “4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua”, in *Qumranstudien*, eds. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange and Hermann Lichtenberger (SIJD 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 35-85, here 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Bergsma, *Jubilee*, 252-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, in association with Geraldine I. Clements (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1:95 [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. For this interpretation see Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 97. Ariel Feldman, “Moses' Farewell Address According to 1QWords of Moses (1Q22),” *JSP* 23 (2014): 201–14, deals with the etiological aspects of 1Q22. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. The exact date of the cessation of the manna is not in the Bible, thus opening up an opening to various midrashic traditions, see *Seder Olam* 10 and Milikowsky’ commentary in his *Seder Olam*, 2:183-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See the thorough discussion of Scott, *On Earth*, 88-102 [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Devorah Dimant (ed.), “4QApocryphon of Jeremiah,” in *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001),113-15. For scope and characters of the Jeremiah’s Apocryphon see Cana Werman, “Epochs and End-Time: The 490 Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 229–55 [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. translation according to Parry and Tov, *Reader*, 2:807 [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Werman, “Epochs,” 236-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Scott, *On Earth*, 98-99 [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Translation according to Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Scott, *On Earth*, 96, and the detailed discussion of James C. VanderKam, “Sabbatical Chronologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature”, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Larry W. Hurtado, A. Graeme Auld, and Alison Jack (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 169-76. The texts mentioned here probably also include 4Q463. The text is probably based on Daniel’s seventy weeks vision, and these are probably related to the end of Jubilee. The text is very fragmented, and it is impossible to know what the chronological framework was. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Ralph Marcus and Allen Wikgren, *Josephus,* vol. VII*: Jewish Antiquities, Books XIV-XV* (LCL 489; Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1943). [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Nadav Sharon, *Judea Under Roman Domination: The First Generation of Statelessness and Its Legacy* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 404. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege,* pp. 116-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Meir Ben Shahar, “When was the Second Temple Destroyed? Chronology and Ideology in Josephus,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 547-573. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. The tradition of the affinity between the two events was quite widespread and brought by Tacitus, *History*, 2.91.1; Livy, 6.1.11, Plut. *Camillus*, 19.1. For chronological issues and the religious meaning see Gary Forsythe, *Time in Roman Religion: One Thousand Years of Religious History*, New York 2012, pp. 24-34. Most important is David Asheri, “The Art of Synchronization in Greek Historiography: The Case of Timaeus of Tauromenium,” *Scripta Classica Israelica* 11 (1991/2): 52-89. Asheri mentioned also Rabbi Yosse’s dictum and Mishnah, Ta’anit 6:4. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. The composition is now lost but parts of it are found in Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19. See the discussion of Anthony T. Grafton and Noel M. Swerdlow, “Calendar Dates and Ominous Days in Ancient Historiography,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988): 17-28 [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. On the importance of the Book of Daniel for Josephus see Steve Mason, “Josephus, Daniel and the Flavian House,” in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 161-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Daniel R. Schwartz, *Judeans and Jews: Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 48-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. This conclusion based on Tal Ilan and Vered Noam in collaboration with Meir Ben Shahar, Daphne Baratz and Yael Fisch, *Josephus and the Rabbis* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Press, 2017) [Hebrew]. Vered Noam put this conclusion explicitly in her introduction, ibid, pp. 38-40, see also the English version “Lost Historical Traditions: between Josephus and the Rabbis,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, 2 vols., ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 2:991-1017. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. *Sifra*, Behuqotai 1:1, 110b (Weiss ed.); b. Taʿan. 22b-23a. The story is discussed by Tal Ilan, “The Miracle of the Rainfall in Herod’s Day”, in Ilan and Noam, *Josephus and the Rabbis*, 411-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. The Rabbis and probably the Pharisees also criticized and detouched themselves from the apocalyptic tradition see Anthony J. Saldarini, “Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literature,” *CBQ* 31 (1975): 348-358; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Messianism and Apocalypticism in Rabbinic Texts,” in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. IV: *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, ed. Steven D. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1053-72, here 1060-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)