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”Judas Maccabeus’s Wars Against Judaea’s Neighbours in 1 Maccabees 5: A Reassessment of the Evidence”

Katell Berthelot

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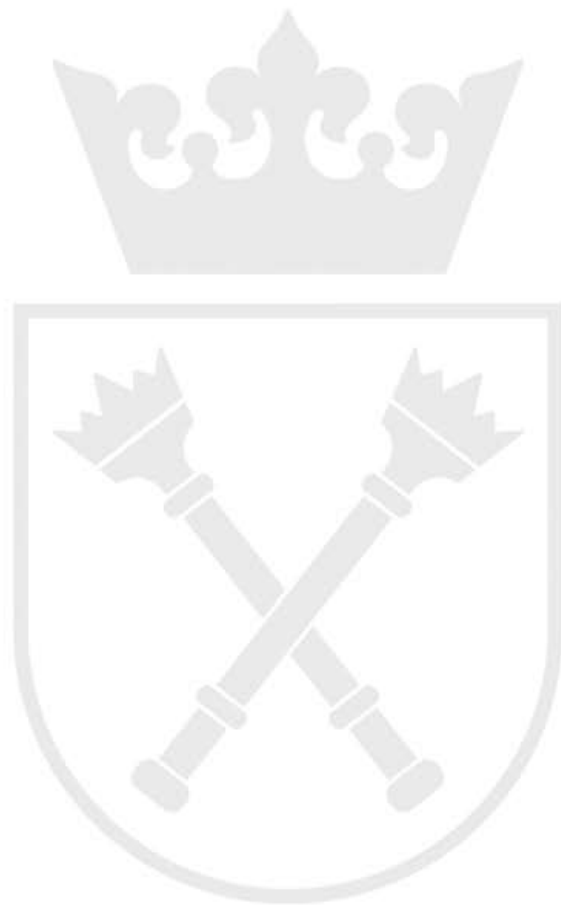
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JUDAS MACCABEUS' WARS AGAINST JUDAEA'S NEIGHBOURS IN 1 MACCABEES 5: A REASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE

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Abstract: The fifth chapter of the First Book of Maccabees recounts a whole range of wars waged by Judas Maccabeus against Judaea's neighbours, who are depicted as threatening the lives of the Jews living in their midst. The account of these punitive expeditions contains the only explicit reference found in the book to an *anathema* (*herem*) against a foreign people, a reference which has led some scholars to see Judas as re-enacting the biblical prescription of the *herem* against the Canaanites. In contrast with this interpretation, the present article argues that the description in 1 Maccabees 5 is highly literary and rhetorical, and that it is part of a strategy which aims at presenting Judas as the heir of the first kings of Israel. In particular, a careful literary analysis shows that nearly all the differences between the accounts in 1 and 2 Maccabees can be explained by taking into consideration the project of the author to present Judas's military expeditions in the light of Saul's campaigns, following 1 Samuel 10–15 (especially 14:47–48). Given the indebtedness of 1 Maccabees 5 toward such biblical traditions, the historicity of Judas's wars against Judaea's neighbours should be re-assessed.

Key words: history of Second Temple Judaism, Hasmoneans, 1 Maccabees 5, Judas Maccabeus, wars, biblical models, Saul.

Introduction

The fifth chapter of the First Book of Maccabees describes a series of military campaigns undertaken by Judas to fight against the enemies of Israel, the “nations round about” (τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν, v. 1),¹ who are described as angry at the dedication of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, as well as determined to destroy the descendants of Jacob (1 Macc. 5:1–2). Jewish groups living in Transjordan send emissaries to Judas to ask for help. As a consequence, Judas successively attacks and defeats the “sons of Esau” (that is, the Idumeans) (v. 3); the “sons of Baean” (v. 4–5); the Ammonites (v. 6–8); different cities in Gilead

¹ See also 1 Macc. 5:10, τὰ ἔθνη κύκλω ἡμῶν.

(v. 9–54)²; again the “sons of Esau,” particularly in Hebron (v. 63–66); and the “Philistines” (ἄλλόφυλοι) in the coastal plain, particularly in the city of Azotus (v. 66–68). This series of campaigns is slightly at odds with the main narrative of 1 Maccabees, which is focused on the military and political conflict between the Judeans and the Seleucid kings and their representatives. Despite this oddity, all the elements found in chapter 5 are probably not a mere invention, since they have some counterpart in 2 Maccabees, with which 1 Maccabees may share a common source. The historicity of the account in 1 Maccabees is, however, highly problematic, because the narrative has a clear ideological function, as we shall see.³

1. Royal models underlying the presentation of Judas in 1 Maccabees

That 1 Maccabees is a work of propaganda which aims at legitimating the Hasmonean dynasty is well-known.⁴ By alluding or referring explicitly to biblical episodes, the author tries to bestow the prestige of the heroes of the past on the sons of Mattathias. In particular, he tries to present them as the legitimate heirs of the first kings of Israel; not genealogically of course, but in terms of valor and in terms of function. Although the Hasmoneans were priests, from the revolt onwards they behaved as political and military leaders, thus performing a royal function. In a recent book, Sylvie Honigman has shown the importance of temple foundation or re-foundation for royal legitimacy, arguing that the story of Judas’s purification and dedication of the altar should be seen as a re-foundation granting Judas royal legitimacy.⁵ Today I would like to analyze another example of this literary strategy.

According to Arie van der Kooij, Judas embodies the model of King David; in other words, Judas is a new David.⁶ However, it seems that the picture of Judas in 1 Maccabees is composed of numerous references, running from Judah, the son of Jacob, to Saul, Jonathan, David, and Salomon.⁷ The First Book of Maccabees is actually characterized by a phenomenon which Jeremy Corley calls, in a somewhat anachronistic way, “canonical assimilation.” Jeremy Corley mentions this phenomenon in connection with the First Book of Chronicles; by “canonical assimilation,” he means that the ancient author associates the features of several characters known from previous traditions with the hero he tries to promote, by way of accumulation.⁸ Therefore Judas is at the same time a new

² This section includes Simon’s parallel expedition in Galilee (1 Macc. 5:14–23). See the table at the end of this article.

³ Doubts about the historicity of 1 Maccabees 5 have been raised by several scholars. See, in particular, Schwartz 1991, 16–38; Horsley 2002, 134–165, esp. 149 and 155; Parker 2006, 457–476.

⁴ Goldstein 1987, 69–96, esp. 73; Goldstein 1983, 12, 33, 240–241; Arenhoevel 1967, 40; Bartlett 1973, 18 and 213; Attridge 1984, 157–184, esp. 172; Rappaport 2004, 48–50; Mendels 2004, 81–88; Abadie 2014, forthcoming.

⁵ See Honigman 2014, 65–94, 147–181.

⁶ Van der Kooij 2012, 29–49, esp. 45–46; von Dobbeler 1997, 44–46; Lichtenberger 2005, 197–212.

⁷ In connection with Judah, see 1 Macc. 3:4 (echoing Gen. 49:9, and maybe also 49:8).

⁸ Corley 2011, 57–77, esp. 58–60. He shows that in the Books of Chronicles, the figure of David is constructed in reference to Moses; in particular, “the Chronicler’s depiction of the transmission of royal

“lion of Judah,” a new David facing a Seleucid Goliath, and a new Salomon dedicating a new altar.

When Judas prays before the battle of Bethsur (1 Macc. 4:28–29), he himself refers to the salvation of Israel through David (in his fight against Goliath, 1 Sam. 17:4–54) and through Jonathan, Saul’s son, who also fought against the Philistines (ἄλλόφυλοι in the LXX) (1 Sam. 14:1–23).⁹ The scene in which Judas cuts off the head of Nicanor is also reminiscent of David’s fight against Goliath in 1 Samuel 17:51 and 54 (compare ἀφείλεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ in 1 Sam. 17:51 with 1 Macc. 7:47: τὴν κεφαλὴν Νικάνορος ἀφείλον). Moreover, the recurring use of the term ἄλλόφυλοι, which in the Septuagint corresponds in a rather systematic way to “Philistines,”¹⁰ also contributes to connect the story of 1 Maccabees to the memory of the wars of Saul, David, and Jonathan.¹¹ Finally, when Judas dies, the people of Judea laments him in the same terms as Israel did after the death of Saul and Jonathan. Whereas 2 Samuel 1:19 asks “How are the mighty fallen?” (אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים, πῶς ἔπεσαν δυνατοί), 1 Maccabees 9:21 states: “How is the mighty fallen, the one who was saving Israel?” (Πῶς ἔπεσεν δυνατὸς σῶζων τὸν Ἰσραηλ).¹²

It seems that in 1 Maccabees 5, the author is also trying to present Judas in the light of the first kings of Israel. Before looking at the details of the narrative in 1 Maccabees, however, it is necessary to have a close look at the parallel accounts in 2 Maccabees.

2. A brief comparison of the accounts of Judas’ campaigns in 1 and 2 Maccabees

That 1 and 2 Maccabees share information concerning Judas’s wars against Israel’s neighbors is illustrated by the fact that both mention two campaigns against the Idumeans and a series of battles in Transjordan (Gilead).¹³ Moreover, both refer by name to Judas’s main adversary, Timothy. However, it seems that in 2 Maccabees, Judas is actually confronted with two characters called Timothy, and not just one.¹⁴ The first Timothy is slain at the end of chapter 10 (v. 37), whereas the second one shows up at the beginning of chapter 12, together with Apollonios, Nicanor, and other Seleucid officials.

Beyond some similarities, the differences between 1 and 2 Maccabees are actually numerous and significant.

1) First, whereas in 1 Maccabees Judas fights against foreign ethnè, in 2 Maccabees the main encounters take place between Judas’s troops and Seleucid forces. The version

power from David to Solomon is partly modeled on the transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua in Deuteronomy–Joshua.” (59)

⁹ Cf. 1 Macc. 4:30 and 1 Sam. 14:1, 6–7.

¹⁰ There are only 4 exceptions altogether among 272 occurrences: in Exod. 34:15 and Isa. 2:6, where the Greek term translates the Hebrew נכרי; in Isa. 61:5, where it translates בני נכר; and in 1 Sam. 6:10, where it translates אנשים.

¹¹ See 1 Macc. 3:41; 4:12, 22, 26, 30; 5:15, 66, 68; 11: 68, 74.

¹² See also 2 Sam. 1:27, which uses the same terms.

¹³ For a synoptic view of the accounts in 1 and 2 Maccabees, see Sievers 2001, 71–99.

¹⁴ In favor of this solution, see in particular Parker 2006.

in 2 Maccabees seems more reliable, because the author of 1 Maccabees is using a literary *topos* characteristic of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, about the hatred and the jealousy felt by the nations located around Israel when they hear that the temple or the walls of Jerusalem have been rebuilt.¹⁵ In Nehemiah 4:1–2, for instance, one reads:

When Sanballat and Tobiah and the Arabs and the Ammonites and the Ashdodites heard that the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem was going forward and that the breaches were beginning to be closed, they were very angry; and they all plotted together to come and fight against Jerusalem and to cause confusion in it.

And in v. 6:

When the Jews who lived by them came they said to us ten times: From all the places where they live they will come up against us.¹⁶

Nehemiah therefore receives these Jews in Jerusalem, to protect them from their hostile neighbors. This is precisely what 1 Maccabees 5 is about, so that Judas appears as a new Nehemiah.¹⁷

2) As a matter of fact, in 2 Maccabees the motif of rescuing the Jews living outside Judea is not completely absent, but it is evoked solely in connection with Joppa and Jamnia, places not mentioned at all in 1 Maccabees. In the other cases, the reasons that justify the expeditions differ. In 2 Maccabees, the whole campaign in Transjordan is directed against Timothy, while also implying a few battles against fortified cities on the way. The attack against Kaspin, for instance, does not aim at rescuing Jews. The defenders are described as blasphemers, but the blasphemies are actually uttered once the siege has already started (2 Macc. 12:13–16). The battle at Karnion is part of Judas's expedition against Timothy. The siege of Ephron seems to be directed against Lysias, another Seleucid official (to be distinguished from the tutor of Antiochos V). Finally, the second campaign in Idumea is meant to defeat Gorgias. In short, whereas 1 Maccabees quite consistently mentions the motive of rescuing the Jews living outside Judea, 2 Maccabees tells a different story.

3) Moreover, in 2 Maccabees 10:15–23, the first expedition in Idumea aims not only at defeating the Idumeans, “who had control of important strongholds,” and “were harassing the Jews,” but also at crushing the Judean enemies of Judas (“those who were banished from Jerusalem”), who had taken refuge in Idumea (2 Macc. 10:15). This is a much more complex picture of the situation than the account found in 1 Maccabees!

¹⁵ Pace Regev (2013, 274), who writes in connection with 1 Macc. 5: “The conflict between the Maccabees and the Seleucids developed into an ethnic struggle throughout the entire region.” The literal, non-critical understanding of 1 Maccabees 5 has of course a long history. See for instance Abel (1952, I: 143), who writes: “L’opposition qu’avaient rencontrée la restauration de l’autel sous Zorobabel et le relèvement de Jérusalem sous Néhémie se reproduisait au retour de fortune dû aux efforts des fils de Mattathias.”

¹⁶ Trans. NRSV (New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, Revised Standard Version).

¹⁷ See in particular Schwartz 1991, 25; Horsley 2002, 155.

4) A fourth difference between the two books lies in the fact that, whereas 1 Maccabees describes a nearly continuous series of military encounters, 2 Maccabees does divide these campaigns up into several discrete periods of time.¹⁸

5) The fifth main difference between 1 and 2 Maccabees consists in several omissions. 2 Maccabees does not say a word about Judas's battles against the "sons of Baean" (1 Macc. 5:4–5), against the Ammonites (1 Macc 5:6–8), or against the Philistines in Azotus (1 Macc. 5:66–68). Interestingly enough, 2 Maccabees also passes over in silence Simon's expedition in Galilee (1 Macc. 5:14–23) and the campaign against Gorgias by Joseph and Azariah in the coastal plain (1 Macc. 5:55–62). An alternative account is found in 2 Macc. 12, according to which it is Judas who fights against Gorgias. The limited success of this expedition is explained in 2 Maccabees by the fact that some Judean soldiers had behaved unfaithfully and had taken Jamneia's idols with them (12:18–22). Moreover, during the first campaign against Idumea, Simon's soldiers had let the enemies escape in exchange for money, and had been consequently punished by Judas. In comparison with 2 Maccabees, the account of 1 Maccabees more strongly promotes Judas and his brothers, especially Simon: in 1 Maccabees, Simon's role is parallel to that of Judas, whereas the other Judean generals, Joseph and Azariah, fail to accomplish anything significant and are explicitly said not to have been elected by God to save Israel, in opposition to the Hasmonean brothers.

3. Saul's military expeditions as the underlying model of Judas' campaigns in 1 Maccabees 5

Most of the differences between 1 and 2 Maccabees can be explained by taking into account an implicit biblical model at work in 1 Maccabees 5, that of Saul's military expeditions in 1 Samuel 10–15.

Let me briefly recall what is at stake in the First Book of Samuel. In chapter 10, Saul is designated by God as the one who shall reign over Israel. At the end of the chapter, the reader is told that Saul went back to Gibeah with "men of valor whose hearts God had touched," whereas "some worthless fellows" (בני בליעל) despised Saul, expressed doubts about his ability to save Israel, and brought him no present (1 Sam. 10:26–27). This description of Saul's opponents as בני בליעל in 1 Sam. 10:27 (LXX οἱ σὺν τοῖς) has a counterpart in 1 Maccabees 1:11, in which the Judeans who want to make a covenant with the

¹⁸ Parker 2006, 459. A first battle against Timothy (and Bacchides), probably unrelated to the campaigns of 1 Macc. 5, occurs in 2 Macc. 8:30–32. Later on, in 2 Macc. 10:14–23, a first expedition against the Idumeans takes place, followed by a war against Timothy, who is killed (2 Macc. 10:24–38). In 2 Macc. 12:3–9, the Jews from Joppa are killed by the Gentiles and Judas attacks the port of Joppa and that of Jamnia, a city in which Jews were threatened as well. After this episode, which is not mentioned at all in 1 Macc. 5, Judas moves to Transjordan, where he defeats five thousand Arabs before making peace with them, on his way after Timothy. In Transjordan, Judas conquers and destroys several fortified cities, Kaspin, Karnion, and Ephron (2 Macc. 12:13–28). After an expedition to Scythopolis, where the inhabitants show goodwill towards the Jews, Judas returns to Idumea in order to fight against Gorgias, and pursues him up to Marisa, but with a mitigated success (2 Macc. 12:32–37). He does not go as far as the coastal plain and Azotus, as in 1 Maccabees.

(τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν) and 5:65 (κυκλόθεν). Second, the list in 1 Samuel includes the Edomites, the Ammonites, and the Philistines, three groups which Judas is also said to have defeated. The “sons of Esau” in Idumea, in 1 Maccabees 5:3 and 63–65, are obviously to be identified as with Edomites, as several passages from Genesis already show.²² Moreover, in 1 Maccabees the expedition against the Ammonites and the Philistines, as well as the second expedition in Idumea, are not described as helping to rescue Jews, thus departing from the main narrative, a point which may indicate that their *raison d'être* was simply to make Judas's expeditions look similar to those of Saul.

I shall argue below that the mysterious “sons of Baean” in 1 Macc. 5:4–5 are to be identified with the Amalekites mentioned in 1 Samuel 14:48. If I am correct, the underlying model of Saul's expeditions can explain the reference in 1 Maccabees, to the three groups that are not mentioned at all in 2 Maccabees (the sons of Baean, the Ammonites and the Philistines). Moreover, supposing that the author of 1 Maccabees had 1 Samuel 14:47–48 in mind also helps to explain why Judas's campaigns appear in a continuous narrative, whereas we have a discontinuous one in 2 Maccabees. The connection with Saul's campaigns is more obvious if Judas's military achievements are presented as a series starting in Transjordan (or close by, in Idumea) and ending on the coast, in a Philistine city.

But what about the Amalekites, which are set apart in the summary found in 1 Samuel? The Amalekites, who were included among the descendants of Esau, were the arch-enemies of Israel and were supposed to be eradicated. Although they were not part of the seven nations of Canaan, they were supposed to be put to the ban (*herem*). Deuteronomy 25:17–19 prescribes:

Remember what Amalek did to you on the way as you came out of Egypt, how he attacked you on the way, when you were faint and weary, and cut off at your rear all who lagged behind you; and he did not fear God. Therefore when the Lord your God has given you rest from all you enemies round about (מסביב, κύκλω), in the land which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance to possess, you shall blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; you shall not forget.

This is precisely the program that Saul is meant to implement. Since he had been victorious against the enemies of Israel “round about,” God commanded him to eradicate Amalek, by putting it to the ban (*herem*) (1 Sam. 15:3). The victory against the Amalekites is already reported in 1 Samuel 14:48, but the story is actually told in chapter 15. As is well known, Saul and the Israelites do not completely respect the ban (by keeping Agag alive and by sparing the cattle) and Saul will ultimately be punished by God and lose his kingship for this. Just as the battle against the Ammonites in Transjordan is the way Saul becomes the legitimate king of Israel, the incomplete battle against the Amalekites causes him to lose the kingship.

The account in 1 Maccabees of the encounter with the “sons of Baean” is highly reminiscent of the biblical passages concerning the Amalekites. The text runs as follows:

4 He also remembered the wickedness of the sons of Baean, who were a trap and a snare to the people and ambushed them on the ways. 5 They were shut up by him in their towers; and he en-

²² See in particular Gen. 36:1, 8, 19.

camped against them, vowed their complete destruction, and burned with fire their towers and all who were in them.²³

First, “He also remembered the wickedness...” (καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῆς κακίας...) recalls the commandment to “Remember what Amalek did to you” in Deuteronomy 25:17 (Μνήσθητι ὅσα ἐποίησεν σοι Ἀμαληκ). Moreover, the fact that the sons of Baean “ambushed them on the ways” (ἐν τῷ ἐνεδρεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς) recalls the attitude of the Amalekites who “attacked (the Israelites) on the way” (ἀντέστη σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ).²⁴ For sure, the expression “a trap and a snare” (εἰς παγίδα καὶ σκάνδαλον) in 1 Maccabees 5:4 is reminiscent of Joshua 23:13, which warns the Israelites that if they do not put the Canaanites to the ban and intermarry with them, “they shall be a snare and a trap to you” (καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν εἰς παγίδας καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλα). In my opinion, this literary reminiscence is to be explained by the fact that the sons of Baean must be put to the ban, just as the Canaanites were; however, they do not suffer such a fate as descendants of the Canaanite nations, but rather as descendants of Amalek.²⁵

As a matter of fact, a Syriac translation of 1 Maccabees has the variant “sons of Esau” instead of “sons of Baean”.²⁶ The translator may have had a different version at his disposal, or it shows that in the eyes of the translator, the identification of the sons of Baean with the Amalekites, descendants of Esau, was so obvious that he did not mind the change, or did it unconsciously. In his commentary of 1 Maccabees, Carl Grimm also contemplated the possibility of identifying the sons of Baean with an Idumean group.²⁷ They seem to have been located in the Idumean territory or its vicinity, so it makes sense. The sons of Baean, however, are not merely sons of Esau. Their behavior implicitly identifies them with the Amalekites.

A further reason to identify the sons of Baean with the Amalekites (and not with other hostile nations such as the Moabites²⁸) is that they are the only people in 1 Maccabees

²³ καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῆς κακίας υἰῶν Βαιαν, οἱ ἦσαν τῷ λαῷ εἰς παγίδα καὶ σκάνδαλον ἐν τῷ ἐνεδρεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ συνεκλείσθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πύργους, καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνεπύρισε τοὺς πύργους αὐτῆς ἐν πυρὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν.

²⁴ As already noted by Goldstein 1983, 294–295; see also Batsch 2005, 419.

²⁵ Some scholars would argue that here Judas is depicted as a new Joshua defeating the remaining Canaanites to whom he applies the *herem*. This reading, however, is all the more implausible as Joshua is hardly a model at all in 1 Maccabees. The only explicit reference to Joshua is found in Mattathias’s speech to his children before his death, and hardly evokes the conquest of the Land. On this issue, see Berthelot 2007, 45–60.

²⁶ See Kappler 1936: 75: “esau SyII: ex v.3.” There is also an interesting correction in the Sinaiticus on verse 3, where the copyist first wrote ἀμαληκ, and then erased it; see Kappler 1936, 74: “pr. (praemittit) ἀμαληκ S* (del.1).” Therefore the copyist saw in the first reference to the “sons of Esau” in v. 3 a possible reference to Amalek. In 1 Macc. 5:53, the way Judas shows concern for the Jews who stay behind on the way to Judea may also betray a reminiscence of the episode of Amalek in Deuteronomy.

²⁷ See Grimm (1853, 78), who writes with caution: “υἰῶν Βαιαν kann nach Analogie von υἰοὶ Ἰσαῦ u. dgl. nur einen arabischen (vielleicht edomitischen Stamm zum Unterschiede von den Edomitern an un auf der Skorpionhöhe) Stamm [...] bezeichnen.” According to Abel (1949, 89–90), they could also be a group of nomads living in the Judean desert and using some refuge places there. Rappaport (2001, 710–734, esp. 718) writes: “‘Baeon’, a nomadic tribe, probably located in Trans-Jordan (cf. Num 32:3), which took advantage of the insecurity of the region for marauding purposes.” In his commentary, Rappaport (2004, 168) describes them as an Arab tribe.

²⁸ Or Arabs / Nabateans, if one looks for more contemporary names designating the peoples of this area in the 2nd century BCE.

that are described as having been put to the ban. In the Septuagint, the verb used in 1 Macc. 5:5, καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν αὐτοὺς (he “vowed their complete destruction”), always corresponds to the Hebrew term להחרים, as a study of the occurrences of ἀναθεματίζειν shows.²⁹ But in 1 Maccabees, this term is used only in connection with the sons of Baean, not with other peoples attacked by Judas, no matter what their fate is. Neither is the verb ἐξολεθρεύω, which often translates להחרים in the Septuagint, used in 1 Maccabees 5.

Contrary to an opinion frequently expressed in previous scholarship, there is no *herem* or *anathema* against the cities of Bosora, Alema, Kaspho, Maked, Bosor, Karnain, Ephron, or the Philistines in Azotus and other coastal towns. The description of Judas's battles in Transjordan corresponds to the prescriptions of Deuteronomy 20:13–15 against the cities outside of Canaan, not to the ban against the Canaanites (which is mentioned in Deut. 20:16–18).³⁰ According to Deut. 20:13–15, when a foreign city refuses to submit to Israel (a point taken for granted in the narrative of 1 Maccabees), all the men are to be slain, whereas the cattle and the spoils (including women and children) shall belong to the Israelites. This is precisely what happens to the cities in Transjordan. In the case of Bosora, “he took the city and killed every male by the edge of the sword; then he seized all its spoils and burned (the city)” (ἀπέκτεινε πᾶν ἄρσενικὸν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας καὶ ἔλαβεν πάντα τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτήν πυρὶ) (1 Macc. 5:28). The same formulas are used in connection with Alema (5:35) and Ephron (5:51). In each case, the text specifies that only the men are massacred, and that the spoils are taken by Judas and his companions; there is thus no *herem* or *anathema*. Similarly, in the encounter with the Edomites and the Ammonites, there is no *herem*. This attitude is actually in conformity with the commandments of the Torah, which do not prescribe to put the Ammonites or the Edomites to the ban, and even specify that their territory will not be given to Israel.³¹ The Amalekites are the only non-Canaanite people whom God orders to put to the ban. The use of ἀναθεματίζειν / להחרים, in the case of the sons of Baean, therefore corroborates the hypothesis that they are descendants of Amalek. The allusion to Judas's victory against the descendants of Amalek helps to connect him with Saul and to suggest that Judas is the legitimate political and military leader of Israel. He is even more righteous than Saul, insofar as he does not fail as Saul did; contrary to Saul, Judas utterly destroys the sons of Baean and does not take spoils from them.

All in all, the identification of 1 Samuel 10 to 15 as the underlying model of Judas' military campaigns in 1 Maccabees 5 thus provides a coherent explanation of the main

²⁹ See Park 2007, 56.

³⁰ As rightly emphasized by Horsley 2002, 155. For the opposite opinion, see for instance Batsch 2005, 421; Shatzman 2007, 237–270, esp. 255. On the influence of Deut. 20 on 1 Maccabees, see also Schwartz 1991: 30–33, 35. In 1 Macc. 3, for instance, Judas is said to have put into practice the laws of war found in Deut. 20:5–9. However, as far as Deut. 20:15–18 is concerned, we have no evidence for their implementation, as Weinfeld (1993, 208) already rightly noticed: “Through all their conquest activities, the Hasmoneans never relied on the ancient laws of the Pentateuch concerning the dispossession of the Canaanites and the inheritance of the promised land. The old Genesis traditions were rewritten in the light of contemporary events, but as a matter of practice the Hasmoneans neither mentioned nor implemented the ancient laws concerning the conquest of the land.”

³¹ For the Ammonites, see Deut. 2:19; for the Edomites, see Deut. 2:2–8 and Num. 34:3. This is also true concerning the territory of the Moabites (Deut. 2:9).

differences between the account in 1 Maccabees and that in 2 Maccabees, and of some intriguing peculiarities in the former.³² The role played by such a literary model forces us to be extremely cautious in assessing the historicity of 1 Maccabees' account of the wars against "the nations roundabout," be it the precise proceedings of the battles or a particular political and religious ideology ascribed to Judas. In view of the legitimizing function of the biblical model, it is highly dubious that Judas led all the rescuing expeditions ascribed to him in 1 Maccabees 5. The version of 2 Maccabees, according to which most of these expeditions were actually aimed at fighting Seleucid forces, whereas there were only occasional military encounters with groups such as the Idumeans, is certainly to be preferred over that of 1 Maccabees. Not because the former is intrinsically more reliable – it is a literary construction just as 1 Maccabees is –, but because, in this specific case, it lacks the ideological foundations that structure the account in 1 Maccabees. This conclusion may in turn modify our understanding of the relationships between the Judeans and their neighbors during the 2nd century BCE, leading us to favor the more nuanced approach conveyed by the Second Book of Maccabees.

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³² Another important difference between the two books, the story of Simon's expedition in Galilee, may represent a secondary development added by the redactor who reworked a first version of the book in order to emphasize Simon's role in the dynasty's history. Schwartz (2011, 213–223) has identified a similar redactional phenomenon in 1 Maccabees 2:65–68. Alternately, a single redactor may have built the "cycle of Judas" following the pattern of Saul's expeditions and simultaneously added a pro-Simonian development in order to create a parallel between Simon and Judas and to associate Simon with Judas's successes.

Judas' military expeditions in 1 Maccabees 5	Saul's military expeditions in 1 Samuel 10–15 (esp. 14:47–48)	Other biblical backgrounds
v. 1–2 Threat of the nations around	1 Sam. 12:11; 14:47	Neh. 4:1–2
v. 3 Sons of Esau in Idumea, Akrabattene (// 2 Macc. 10:15–23)	1 Sam. 14:47	
v. 4–5 Sons of Baean (<i>herem</i>)	1 Sam. 14:48; 15:2–3 Amalekites (<i>herem</i>)	Deut. 25:17–18 Jos 23:13
v. 6–8 Ammonites (Yazer)	1 Sam. 14:47	Num 32:3
v. 9–54* Galaadites (24–54: Bosora, Alema, Kaspho, Maked, Bosor, Karnain, Ephron) (// 2 Macc. 12:13–16 [Kaspin], 21–26 [Karnion, against Timothy], 27–28 [Ephron, against Lysias])	1 Sam. 10:27–11:15	Deut. 20:13–15 Num. 20:17–21 and 21:21–25
v. 63–66 Sons of Esau in Idumea (Hebron) (// 2 Macc. 12:32–37 [Gorgias in Idumea])	1 Sam. 14:47	
v. 66–68 Allophyloi / Philistines in the coastal plain (Azotus)	1 Sam. 14:47	Deut. 7:5 and 12:3

* Vv. 14–23 deal with Simon's parallel expedition in Galilee.

Vv. 55–62 deal with the failed attempt of Joseph and Azariah to win fame as the sons of Mattathias did.

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